TRANSLATION AND POST-BELLUM IMAGE BUILDING: KOREAN TRANSLATION INTO THE US AFTER THE KOREAN WAR

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DOCTORAL THESIS

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

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TRANSLATIONS AND POST-BELLUM IMAGE BUILDING: KOREAN TRANSLATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE KOREAN WAR

PhD THESIS

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April 20, 2013

I hereby certify that the present study "Translations and Post-Bellum Image Building: Korean Translations in the United States after the Korean War", presented by Ester Torres Simón for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under the supervision of myself at the Department of English and German Studies of the Rovira i Virgili University, and by Dr. Joaquín Beltrán Antolín of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, and that it fulfills all the requirements for the award of Doctor.

Tarragona, April 20, 2013.

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April 20, 2013

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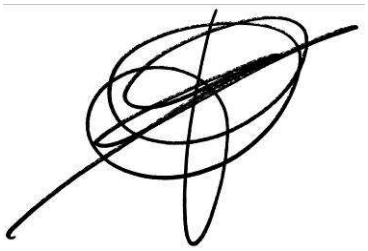
Cerdanyola del Vallès, April 20, 2013



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This thesis is dedicated to the three men who have suffered it throughout all our life in common: Moi, Pol and Leo. I love you.

Abstract

This research looks into translations from Korean into English right after the Korean War (1951 to 1975), comparing them to the translations published in the later years of truce and development (1976 to 2000). The aim is to discern to what extent a historical situation of interest in another culture (the United States' interest in a country it went to war for) goes hand in hand with a real rise in the demand for translations from that culture. I also look into how discourses presenting Korea vary as different agents become involved in the translation process. To do this, I look at the selection of works and the paratexts through which the translations were presented.

After comparing the peaks of the translation exchanges with the turning points in Korean American relations, I conclude that despite the influence of historical relations in the initiation of the translation exchange, there is no clear correlation between one and the other, suggesting that the translation flow has a logic on its own.

The characteristics of the translation flow display several relations. The more volumes in the flow and the longer the cultural exchange, the wider the availability of possible agents, and the more specialized those agents (translators, editors, publishers) become. Moreover, there is a growing variety of literary forms involved, with a tendency to translate longer works in the later stages of the flow. On the other hand, there is a greater presence of anthologies at the initiation of the translation exchange.

Qualitative analysis of the translations' paratexts shows that the process of specialization also affects the discourses in which Korea was represented. As the flow grew, Korean literature was presented in more specific terms, the fact of translation and the intervention of translators lost visibility, and the commercial aim was more noticeable in the presentation of the works. While these developments hint at a growing target-orientedness of the translations, the publishing patterns hint at a symbiotic relationship between the source-culture agent and the target-culture publisher. That is, both the selection of the works and the peritextual presentation of Korea indicate a situation in which selection is by the source agents and the target agents act as a filter, resulting in a cooperative presentation of the source culture.

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"Only those who have attempted the production of an English book in the East can appreciate the tremendous task involved in such undertaking. Where a single individual is author, editor, proofreader, scientific expert, and much besides, errors of various kinds are sure to creep in. Thus, no better excuse can be offered for the typographical and other errors to be found within this book than to say it is published in the East."

James Urqhart, translator, 1929

Chapter 1: Introduction

Behind most research there is a personal quest for answers, and this study is no exception.

When I landed in the Republic of Korea in 2001, I knew very little about the country I was moving to. Actually, I only had a short piece of information that was very useful for packing: it would be cold. I had learned this in the lesson on comparative clauses in my Japanese language book, where I could clearly read that "South Korea is colder than Japan". As I learnt the language and made friends, I began to learn about and like this slowly-built and well developed culture.

"Translation" and "Korea" would come together in the same sentence some years later, when a Korean colleague asked me to collaborate with him in translating a Korean classic into Spanish. He planned to apply for a translation subsidy from the Daesan Foundation. I agreed, Daesan agreed, we agreed on a final draft, and three years passed until all those agreements became a published book. By the time I received a complimentary copy of the result, numerous questions about the process of publishing a literary translation had formed in my mind.

Initially, I blamed the lack of cultural relations between Spain and Korea for the three-year delay. I had assumed that Spain's scarce interest in Asian literature (and the complete ignorance of Korean literature) was the reason behind the holdup. That is why in my preliminary doctoral research I decided to look into translations from Korean in the United States, a situation where the relationship between the systems had been stronger and longer. The overlapping histories of Korea and the United States provided fertile ground for research. And the Korean War, which marked the initiation of their political relationship, is recent enough to allow the location of volumes and to function as an example of how sociocultural aspects of translation exchanges are built.

1.1. Research outline

This research will look into the practice of literary translation from Korean into English right after the Korean War and compare it to the same practice in the later years of peace, in order to discern to what extent interest in another culture goes hand in hand with a real rise in the demand for literary translations from that culture. I will also look into how discourses presenting Korea vary as different agents become involved in the translation process. To do this, I will look at both the selection of works and the paratexts through which the translations were presented.

In chapter 1, I will introduce the overlapping histories of Korea and the United States, highlighting the relevance of the Korean War and the developments in the mid-1980s as the turning points in their exchanges, as well as covering other relevant cultural improvements. Chapter 2 will review previous studies in the field. First, I will look at the main studies on the cultural relationship between the United States and Korea to then present previous research on their translation exchanges. The empirical research carried on translation flows will also be reviewed, highlighting the theoretical approaches used.

The methodology of my research will be presented in chapter 3. The main hypotheses and claims will be stated and the terms used operationalized.

The corpus will then be presented and analyzed. In chapter 4, the selection criteria for building the corpus will be introduced and its delimitations explained. The volume of the translation flow will provide us with a picture of the overall situation and the possible influence of the United States support. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will look into the volumes, publishers and translators in more detail. The main characteristics will be categorized and a general statistical view will be offered.

Bearing in mind these characteristics, chapter 8 will then present the results of the paratextual analysis. The analysis will focus on the external information provided by the volumes: introductions, notes, acknowledgements and reviews, as well as information on the author, translator and publishers. The paratexts not only provide information on the initiation of the translation process but a closer analysis can show how the translation practice developed and was professionalized.

Chapter 9 will analyze the iconic dimension of paratexts and it will compare the discourse presented on the front covers with the discourses analyzed in chapter 8.

I will conclude in chapter 10 by summarizing the findings of the research and presenting future paths of study.

Throughout this study the 2000 Revised Romanization is applied except when titles and authors' names are presented otherwise in the corpus. The nomenclature "Korea" is used here as a synonym of "the Republic of Korea" or "South Korea" when used in the post-division context. Due to lack of access to reliable information, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea falls out of the scope of this research.

After these preliminary remarks, some historical and socio-cultural background might be necessary for those unfamiliar with Korean-US history so as to understand the relationship between the two countries.

1.2. Historical background: from the Korean War to the Asian Tigers

1.2.1. East meets West

Before it became known as the "Land of The Morning Calm", as coined by Percival Lowell, Korea was described as "the Hermit Kingdom", and for good reason. Contacts with the Western world had been scarce prior to 1945. Korea was not entirely isolated from the world, though. Powerful and expansive neighbors surround the 222,154-sq. km. peninsula. Its location between China, Russia and Japan ("a prawn in the middle of whales' fights," as a Korean proverb puts it) ensured early contacts with its neighbors and mutual influence in its history. Powerful reasons can explain the lack of communication with the West.

The internal affairs of the ruling dynasty in 19th century Korea provide an important background for the lack of acceptance of the foreign. The early deaths of several kings had led to instability in the country, leading to nepotism and corruption. This unstable situation was conducive to the spread of Catholicism, a set of ideas that had been introduced by Yi Seung Hun in 1785. By preaching equality, Catholicism was a threat to the strict Confucian hierarchy and class division. The rulers began to persecute the new religion, seeing how the less favored happily embraced it. Priests and believers alike were executed when discovered. Suppression of the new religion thus became an influential factor in Korea's refusal of the West.

The situation of Korea's neighbors also warned Koreans against evil white men. The defeat the Chinese suffered at the hands of the British army in 1839 resulted in the end of the Opium Wars. The signing of unequal treaties in 1842 promptly provoked growing social resentment, leading to the Taiping Rebellion of 1850. Joint repression by France and the British Empire succeeded in finally opening Chinese ports and the mainland to foreigners. The fall of China, the cultural mother of Eastern Asia, was a major shock to Korea.

At a similar time, in 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States Navy arrived at the Japanese port of Uraga with his battleship and a letter from the United States President, requesting Japan to open its ports to trade with Americans. The request brought controversy in Japan, which had been closed to the West for the previous 200 years of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1600-1868). After the Shimabara rebellion in 1635, the uprising of peasantry partially blamed on Catholicism, Japan had closed their country to foreigners, only allowing exceptional trade with the Chinese and Dutch on the man-made island of Dejima (next to Nagasaki) and other outposts of the main islands. After a year, Japan reached the conclusion that negotiating was better than being forced to sign unequal treaties, as had happened in China. In 1854 a trade treaty was signed with the United States, and four years later there were treaties signed with France, Russia, Britain and the Netherlands. These changes brought revolution, and shortly thereafter a movement began to restore the Emperor to power and finish with the Shogunate of the past two centuries. This culminated in 1867 with the surrender of the last Shogun and the installation of the Emperor's court in Edo, then renamed Tokyo.

A further factor to consider is that the physical sizes of China and Japan had left Korea outside the focus of foreign attention. The few ships that had appeared near the Korean coast had been turned away with the information that it was illegal for foreigners to enter the country. Busy with Japan and China, the foreign powers showed merely passing interest in Korea.

In Korea there was yet another change of king in 1863, and the Cho clan recovered the throne in the person of the Daewongun, who would reign in the name of his 12-year old son Yi Myong-bok. Representing Confucian tradition, Daewongun was a radical anti-foreigner and became stricter on Christians, hence calling the attention of foreign powers. Korea was living on borrowed time, remaining free from incursions only because none of the Western powers considered the country important enough to

send a large-scale invasion. Meanwhile, Korea felt safer behind the Daewongun ban on foreigners. After some attempts to use the Japanese as mediators, the United States managed to negotiate a commercial treaty and signed the first United States-Korea agreement under the name of the Shufeldt Treaty on May 22, 1882, at Chemulpo, through Chinese ambassadors and after two years of negotiations.

The validity of the Shuffeld Treaty would not last very long. It was not fulfilled in the long run due to the reluctance of the United States to provide a military adviser to the Korean Emperor: "The United States was a disinterested friend but had no intention to become a guardian" (Schnabel 1992: 4). The "guarding resources" were centered on ousting the Spanish from necessary strategic points: Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

Meanwhile, the unequal Treaty of Kanghwa (1876) had meant the first open advances in Korean territory by the Japanese. No attention was paid to the fact that Japanese investors had acquired and were controlling large pieces of Korean land and infrastructure, and Japanese troops had entered Korea in large numbers to protect Japanese treaties. The settlement of Japanese troops in Korea was crucial for the outcome of the 1894 Sino-Japanese War. In order to control a peasant revolt (the Donghak uprising in 1894), the Korean government asked for the intervention of Chinese troops. As the Japanese had not been informed of this involvement, despite what had been agreed in the Treaty of Tient-sin (1848) between Japan and China, another Sino-Japanese War was declared. That very same year ended with the defeat of the Chinese in the form of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, a treaty that would put Korea, and also Taiwan, in Japanese hands.

A few years later, the United States made no objection to the Japanese colonization of Korea. President Theodore Roosevelt remarked, "We cannot possibly interfere for the Koreans against Japan. [...] They could not strike one blow in their own defense" (quoted in Schnabel 1992: 4). Before the annexation was official, in July 1905 a secret "agreed memorandum" had been negotiated between the United States and Japan. The United States approved of Japan's foreign policy over Korea and Japan stayed away from the American interests in the Philippine Islands.

The Japanese occupation brought many changes to Korean life. In the first stage, there was a movement to promote cooperation. Education was reformed so as to be Japanese-oriented and social pressure made Japanese displace Korean as an official

language. During this period, the first Korean migrants were invited to work in Japan or Japanese-occupied Manchuria, which was in need of workers in preparation of a Sino-Japanese war. This voluntary exodus of people with fewer resources was not the first wave of Korean migration. Before the Japanese occupation in 1905, several Korean farmers had unofficially migrated to Russia and China and to Hawaii. Records from 1910 register around 7000 Korean workers that had been admitted to Hawaii in previous years (Lee 2000).

However, in 1905 Japan prohibited Korean migration to other territories and negotiated with Russia and China for the assimilation or return of Korean ethnic groups. Despite the prohibition, between 1905 and the beginning of the Korean War in 1950, around 900 students were recorded as entering the United States either illegally through China or under Japanese passports. Koreans had also reached Mexico, Europe (Germany and France), Russia and non-occupied China. These foreign networks worked for the freedom of Korea during the ironhanded Japanese rule. The Provisional Government of the Republic of Great Korea was proclaimed in Seoul on the 1st of March 1919, provoking persecution by the Japanese troops and the exile of the instigators. Most of these patriots had studied abroad and had been part of the diaspora Japan itself had provoked. Syngman Rhee (who would later become the first president of South Korea), Kim Koo and others met in Shanghai on the 10th of April of the same year to establish a provisional government. Although there were some contacts between the Korean government in exile and the United States diplomatic corps, the main achievement of the group was a considerable following among Koreans abroad and passive support within Korea (Schnabel 1992)

In the second stage of Japanese rule, the situation hardened in Korea, with the prohibition of using the Korean language and the closing of universities and positions to anybody not fully pro-Japanese. Japan now received two kinds of Korean visitors: students able to attend university, and forced workers needed for the war industry. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 would result in the National Total Mobility Act in 1938, a plan that encouraged forced migration towards Japanese territory. Similar plans were approved in 1942 and 1944. In total, more than 2 million Koreans are recorded as migrating to Japanese territory, either voluntarily or forced.

During the Second World War, Korea started to be considered a victim of Japanese aggression. A joint statement by the United States, China and Great Britain in

December 1943 said, "The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent" (Department of State 1943: 448, as quoted in Schnabel 1992: 6).

The US "sympathy" for Japan ended with the Pearl Harbor attack. The intervention of the United States and the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings dramatically changed Korea's situation.

1.2.2. The Korean War: a defense of principles

With the end of the Second World War, the Korean Peninsula was divided between the Soviet and American armies, as agreed at the Yalta conferences. The division along the 38 parallel (proposed, drafted and approved in less than four days) would not put Korea completely in Soviet hands but looked good enough to convince the Communists to respect the division until the arrival of the nearest American army, which was in Okinawa - more than 1200 km. away.

The Soviet Union and the United States went to work, under the cover of "socialism" on the one side and "democracy" on the other, to carve out their own spheres of influence. They began to share and contest the domination of the world. The Truman administration took advantage of the astounding regeneration of the USSR, presenting the Soviet Union not just as a rival but as an immediate threat. It then established a climate of fear of Communism by presenting revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia as examples of Soviet expansionism. This climate would steeply escalate the United States' military budget and stimulate the economy with war-related orders, dominating American public opinion, which was otherwise war-weary and in favor of demobilization and disarmament. This combination of policies would permit more aggressive actions abroad, and more repressive actions at home (Zinn 1980).

In general, the United States' interest in Korea was limited. They did not consider it a strategic area, due to its small population and the lack of a developed industry or natural resources. The only danger Korea's occupation by an unfriendly (Communist) power could present for the United States was as a threat to Japan, and thus to Americans' freedom of movement. In general the American leaders were expecting two possible modes of aggression after the Second World War: a surprise Soviet attack on the United States, or the invasion of Western Europe by the Red Army. Therefore, their perimeter of defense, in words of General Douglas MacArthur,

Commodore of the United States army in the Pacific, "begins in the Philippines and continues through the Ryuku archipelago, including its main fort, Okinawa. Then it bends towards Japan and the Aleutian Islands until Alaska" (MacArthur 1949, as quoted in Schnabel 1992: 9). By 1949 most of the United States army was thus outside Korea: the United States government felt safe thanks to the increase of the army resources on the United States borders and the activation of the Marshall plan in Western Europe.

Unlike the United States, the USSR maintained a long-standing regard for Korea as a strategic area. Following Japan's surrender, their aim was to cover as much of the Korean peninsula as possible. According to Kissinger (1996: 505), the USSR understood the United States' foreign policy towards Korea as an invitation for invasion, in the belief that if the United States had let China become communist, they would not present any resistance to defend Korea, which was of less importance for their final aims.

However, North Korea and its presumed allies underestimated the interest of the United States in the area. Surprised by a sudden invasion of the land south of the 38th parallel, an attack they had never expected, the United States took it as proof that Communism was expanding and not slowly disintegrating, as they had thought would happen. Therefore, and despite some strong geopolitical arguments, President Truman justified the United States' intervention in Korea, citing the "[v]alues and feelings of the American people and describ[ing] the intervention as the defense not of North American national interests but of a universal principle" (Kissinger 1996: 508).

In this sense, the Korean War set a precedent for the direct involvement of one country in another country's civil war. The United States' aid to South Korea was aimed at the establishment of democracy and the decline of Communism, taking the South Korean side and thus becoming a direct intervention of a foreign power in the internal affairs of another country. Although it may be argued that the defenseless situation of Korea at that moment left the United States troops - with UN approval - without any other solution, this was perhaps the first war fought in the name of another country's democracy. The later flowering of Korea as a democratic country justified military intervention – especially on the part of the United States public opinion.

The campaigns in South Korea would later be called "limited war." The Second World War was too close in time and the aim of the intervention was to make the North Koreans return north of parallel 38 without provoking other countries to take sides on

the war. Political decisions placed restrictions on military strategy, and none of the sides used its full military potential, with the exception of the two Korean governments. But there was nothing limited about the ferocity of the battles. According to the United States Department of Defense, 36,574 Americans were killed and 103,284 wounded; other UN countries claim between 2,000 and 3,000 casualties. The Korean population was reduced by 2 to 3 million.

In a balance between full stop – the end of conflict – and full war – an undesired third world war – the conflict was allowed to develop. The frustration ensuing from this limited situation resulted in a systematic exploitation of the Korean conflict as a basis for accusations of Communist infiltrations in Washington.

In March 1947 Truman had issued Executive Order 9835, initiating a program to search out any "infiltration of disloyal people" in the United States government. This required the Department of Justice to draw up a list of organizations it decided were "totalitarian, fascist, communist or subversive […] or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (Truman 1947). Between the launching of his security program in March 1947 and December 1952, some 6.6 million people were investigated. By 1954 there were hundreds of groups on this list. Not a single case of espionage was uncovered, although about 500 people were removed from their posts in dubious cases of "questionable loyalty" (Zinn 1980: 4). All of this was conducted with secret evidence, secret and often paid informers, and neither judge nor jury. The broad scope of the official anti-Communist investigations gave popular credence to the notion that the government was riddled with spies. A conservative and fearful reaction ran through the country. Truman's commitment to victory over Communism, to completely safeguarding the United States from external and internal threats, was in large measure responsible for making Americans convinced of the need for absolute security, the preservation of the established order, and the need to be ready to take action against Communists. Anti-Communism permeated culture at all levels: magazines, newspapers, serials, etc. It is not strange in this situation that everything happening in the Korean War was in the public eye.

In short, when the Korean War took place, the United States was fighting in several different fields at the same time. At home, politicians were under pressure due to the Committee on Un-American Activities; United States general foreign policy was determined by the Cold War; and the Vietnam conflict was beginning to grow.

At the same time, the Korean War had become a test of the idea of collective security. The Korean crisis was indirectly responsible for the rise in the number of military powers in Europe as well as the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The possibility of having "world guardians" maintaining the peace was seen as a successful outcome of the crisis.

The need to dismiss MacArthur in April 1951 for public pronouncements against this official policy, together with the first nuclear test in the USSR, made the situation more delicate. However, Stalin was fully aware of the superiority of the United States if a nuclear war started and had no intention of taking the conflict any further. Eventually, a peace agreement was signed in Korea, leaving the situation where it had started: divided by parallel 38. The difference was in the number of soldiers left in the country and the new foreign policy towards Korea, now considered a point of resistance against Communism.

1.2.3. Post-war struggles and economic miracle

After the Korean War, the country was completely devastated. Its reconstruction was presented as a humanitarian recovery operation and received massive aid from the United Nations under the auspices of the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency. However, many reconstruction plans are suspected of being bound to intervention and armed conflict. According to Ekbladh (2003: 11), "[t]he succor to these reconstruction programs promised was crucial to attempts to justify the military and political interventions by the state and organizations that invoked them. At the same time the reconstruction plans were implemented to fulfill the strategic goals of the sponsors." Reconstruction is not as straightforward as one would expect and it often covers governmental aims, but it must involve elements that prove to public opinion that a benefit was bestowed upon the injured party.

Moreover, in the Korean case, the general expectations were that the Korean peninsula would reunite sooner rather than later, with the "evident" imminent fall of Communism and, therefore, aid was directed at covering basic and urgent needs. The intention was to avoid duplication of institutions in a reunified country. In the words of Eisenhower in 1953, "[t]he assistance now proposed is carefully designed to avoid projects which would prove valueless in a united country" (Chung 2000: 381).

Without long-term foreign aid, Korea's solutions were either to redirect the military budget to development or to attract foreign investment. As most mineral resources, virgin forests and hydroelectric plants were located in the North, South Korea's only possible benefit for investors was cheap labor, an asset easy to find in many other countries that had better resources. Regarding the reduction of troops, President Rhee was strongly anti-Communist and did not understand the armistice as the end of the war – he regarded it as a postponement. His "March North" doctrine was diametrically opposed to United States' attempts to set up a dialogue with North Korea.

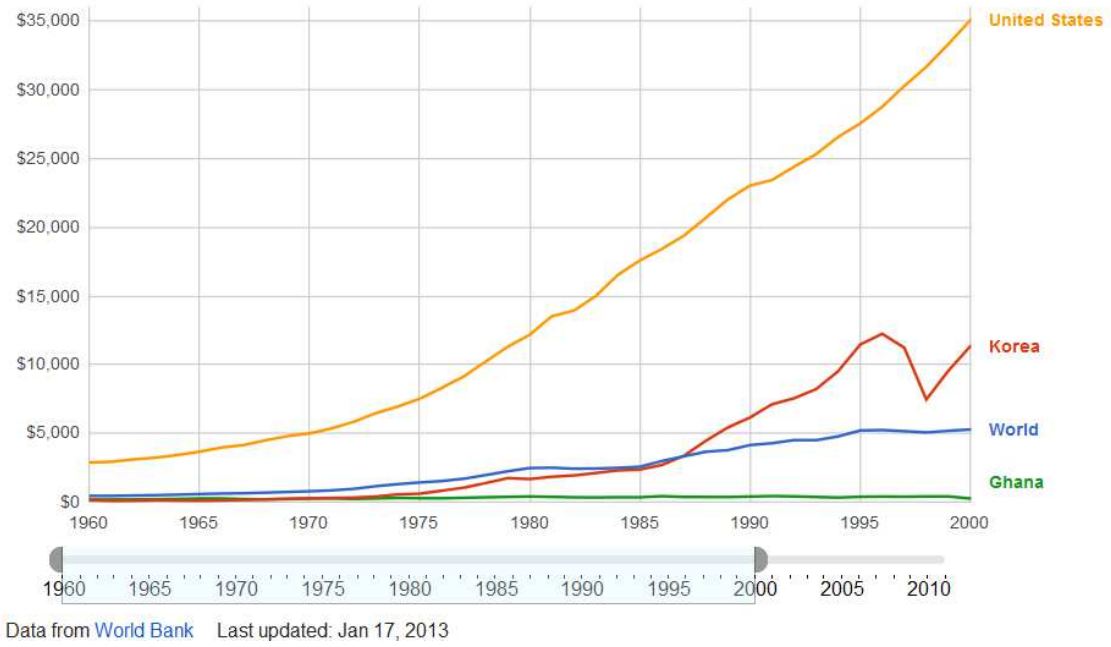
The difficult economic situation of South Korea worsened, with unstoppable inflation. In 1960, after massive riots and demonstrations, Rhee fled the country, putting an end to his dictatorial rule and leaving a leadership vacuum. After some months of poor rule by Premier Chang Myeong, in office from July 1960 to May 1961, General Park Chung Hee carried a coup d'état and took over the presidential role.

General Park aimed at self-sustainability, without United States intervention. Once it became clear that there would not be any foreign interference in his rule – since the Americans obtained his promise to restore a civilian government in due time – he began a hard-line military dictatorship marked by a strong industrial policy to rebuild the South Korean economy. Based on the pre-war Japanese model, General Park nationalized Korean banks, imposed strict control on foreign exchange, and subsidized exports, taking advantage of United States' anti-Communism to gain preferential access to the American market during the Cold War. Park leaned on the *chaebol*, large family-owned conglomerates, to promote rapid industrialization, reserving other basic industries such as steel for state-owned enterprises (Liu 2006). Among some of the policies adopted, a seven-day working week was established, farming credits with more than 20% interest rates were frozen, and alleged criminals were re-educated as miners. The currency, which had been renamed "hwan" after the war in an attempt to stop inflation, was changed back to the won, in an attempt to bring black money to the surface and to stabilize the devaluated exchange rate.

In 1963 Washington discreetly reminded General Park of his promise to re-establish a civilian government. Elections were called for in October that year, and Park Chung Hee won the election by only 156,052 votes (Chung 2000: 457), in peaceful but fraudulent voting. The bond with the United States was strengthened by Korea's normalization of relations with Japan in 1965, amid massive anti-Japan protests and the

dispatch of 300,000 South Korean soldiers to Vietnam. The economic measures imposed by General Park led to a rise in exports, urbanization and industrialization: the country's economy was recovering at the expense of dreadful working conditions.

Figure 1: GDP Per capita 1960-2000 (World Bank data collected by Google Public Data in US$)



The spectacular economic recovery of the impoverished and destructed "Land of the Morning Calm" secured Korea a place among the Asian Dragons in the 1980s (see Figure 1 for GDP growth). Figure 1 helps explain how miraculous the Korean recovery was. According to a World Bank study (Werlin 1991), in 1957 South Korea's GDP equaled that of Ghana, then the wealthiest nation in Sub-Saharan Africa. By 1980, Ghana's annual income had decreased by 20%, while Korea's had multiplied by five (a 500% increase). In 1990, Korea's annual purchasing power was ten times greater than Ghana's (*The Economist* 1990: 81).

Korea is the perfect example of a country's fight for economic excellence. Despite four millennia of reclusion, thirty years of colonial repression, a divided peninsula, military dictatorships and a permanent fear of attack, in 2009 the Republic of Korea occupied the 15th position in the world's GDP ranking (World Bank: 2010).

However, the relationship between the United States and the Republic of Korea had been transformed in the mid-1980s.

1.2.4. Consolidation and internationalization

In the mid-1970s, the vision of reunifying the divided peninsula began to change. Negotiations between the Koreas initiated by the Red Cross in 1972 ended after a second coup by Park Chung Hee in October 1972, justified by the threat of a North Korean attack, and the 1973 separate entry application to the UN. The "Yushing" policy imposed by General Park would result in a security apparatus led by the KCIA (Korean Central Intelligence Agency), involving repression, torture and increasing censorship. Washington's lack of voiced opposition indicated a long-term policy trend toward less interference in the Republic of Korea's internal politics. Moreover, Nixon was facing strong domestic opposition, which became extreme with the Watergate scandal.

In 1976, the United States presidential elections led to changes in the Korean peninsula. In the aftermath of Vietnam, the United States population became skeptical of open military engagements, resulting in President Carter's call for a complete withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea. The Korean War had had an indirect influence on the Vietnam conflict. In Kissinger's words, "[w]hile the critics of the Korean War were actually asking for stronger measures to reach success, the Vietnam War critics would aim at the acceptance of failure" (Kissinger 1996: 522). One of the reasons for this change of orientation was the fact that the other part of American public opinion had exhausted most of its patience and resistance during the Korean War and was unwilling to leave more men to die in a war with no apparent resolution. One way or another, American troops had been fighting other countries' wars for more than twenty years.

As a result, Park Chung Hee increased the military budget (until his assassination in 1979) and proposed joint exercises with the United States army. However, some conflicts arose in the demilitarized zone (DMZ), the 4-kilometer-wide strip of land separating South and North Korea through the 38 parallel, which resulted in a line drawn within the DMZ to further separate North and South. Security improved and Carter eventually won a face-saving reduction of troops.

By 1981, when President Reagan's hardened Cold War policy deemed the USSR to be the Evil Empire, the United States had become South Korea's largest and most important trading partner. In the late 1980s, South Korea was the seventh-largest market for United States' goods and the second-largest market for its agricultural products. However, the special situation of South Korea as a passive trading partner was slowly

fading away. Seoul had to give in to Washington's demands to open part of their economy to United States investment in order to avoid being designated as a "Priority Foreign Country", the lowest designation that US foreign policy can give. This classification was given to "foreign countries that deny adequate and effective protection of intellectual property rights (IPR) or fair and equitable market access to US persons" (Blakeney 2012). Economic policymakers in Seoul resented this unilateral threat. South Korea had been labeled an East Asian Tiger and public opinion began to resent some United States attitudes, especially their support to General Chun's coup d'état, as was shown in the United States' tolerance towards the Gwangju massacre of May 1980. The election of Seoul to host the 24th Olympiad in 1988 could be considered the pivotal event in South Korea's foreign policy. Moreover, without the economic and military support of the USSR, the differences between South and North became clearer and South Korea realized the extent of their economic miracle.

Moreover, nuclear issues had put South Korea in the middle of disputes between North Korea and the United States, because of the United States' continuous unilateral policies towards the Communist country (see Lee 1992 for a full history of the United States' policies). In spite of the 1985 acceptance by North Korea of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, by 1992 the required safeguards had not been completed. Despite the declared denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, the inspections could not be carried out normally, leading to the nuclear crisis of 1994. The new Clinton administration opted for an open approach through the figure of William Perry, Deputy Secretary of Defense.

North Korea's policies were strengthened by a change of attitude in South Korea with the Sunshine Policy formulated by Kim Dae Jung. The doctrine emphasized peaceful cooperation, seeking short-term reconciliation as a prelude to eventual Korean reunification. Since its articulation in 1998, the policy had resulted in greater political contact between the two nations and several high-profile business ventures, and brief meetings of separated family members. Critics believed that the policy ignored what they called the fundamentally repressive and belligerent nature of North Korea, and resulted mainly in propping up the regime of Kim Jong-il, which they believed would have toppled if other countries had stopped sending aid. Criticism of economic aid flared within the decline of the South Korean economy after the Asian economic crisis

of 1997. Detractors argued that any investment should be directed to the improvement of domestic finances.

George W. Bush's revision of the Korean Peninsula policy complicated the dialogue. The War on Terror after 9-11, which could have been an opportunity for further approaches, encouraged confrontation by placing North Korea in the infamous "Axis of Evil" in order to gather domestic support within the United States. This delicate situation placed South Korea at a crossroads: it could strengthen United States-Korea relations against the betterment of relationships with North Korea, or weaken United States-Korea relations to promote approaches to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. South Korea's decisions on that matter have opened a new episode in United States-Korean history, which may be taken into account in future research. All in all, in this most recent period, the Republic of Korea entered the world's top twenty of the GDP list, developed their own economic, market and political strategies, and acquired full real independence for the first time.

Korea is little by little finding its place in the world system. Nowadays, it is well-known to the world, not only due to its excellent economic growth but also as a host to international sports events: Seoul hosted the 1988 Olympics, South Korea co-hosted the 2002 Soccer World Cup, and Yeosu hosted the International Expo in 2012. The Republic of Korea has reached a powerful position within the Asian context with renewed relations with Japan and China. Besides, the *hallyu* or Korean Wave phenomenon has spread all over the continent, making Korean popular culture a referent between young and not so young people. Moreover, Korea's historical importance has been recognized and it was considered a key element in the Cold War, a key element for international security and an example of successful democratic transition. And the Korean War and post-War period were key elements for these changes.

This study aims to unveil to what extent translations helped represent these historical processes and were influenced by them.

1.3. Other socio-cultural considerations

Official national histories tend to focus on economic and political exchanges, but socio-cultural development must be taken into account as well.

1.3.1. The recovery of Koreanness

The transformation of Korea's international relations over the last century had a strong influence on Korea's identity or *hanguginnon*.

After China's defeat at the barbarians' hands, Koreans began to reevaluate their concept of civilization (*munmyeong*), which had been traditionally linked to the countries that practiced Confucianism (Chung 2002: 114). Korea began to look at Japan as a role model for enlightenment (*gaehwa*). With the rise of Japanese influence in Korea, the idea of a united Yellow Race began to grow. After 1886, a rejection of traditional Korean values and manners began to gain voice in society, strongly influenced by newspapers like *The Independent* (cf. Sin 1974), to the extent that more Koreans subscribed to the idea of the Yellow Race than to the Korean nation: Japan was not "the other". However, when the protectorate treaty with Japan was signed in 1905, it was Japan who differentiated themselves from Korea: Fukuzawa claimed in his article "Escape from the Orient" that "Japanese minds had already moved to the West" (Chung 2002: 128). Shin Chae-ho's essay "A new way of reading history" in 1908 (In Korean "*doksa sillon*"), equates for the first time Korean history (*kuksa*) and the history of the Korean Nation (*minjoksa*) (Em 1999: 289). However, Japanese annexation halted the development of discourse and "Asianism" became irrelevant (Shin 2005: 616). As a movement of resistance to Japanese impositions, the idea of a Korean nation had to be rescued and their traditional values re-evaluated.

Not until the 1980s did cultural nationalism spread in Korea, and the importance of considering themselves a nation completely differentiated from others was established. As a result, there developed an ambivalent relationship towards other actors in play. In particular, there was an inferiority-superiority complex towards the West, a love-hate relationship with Japan, and a sense of differentiation from other Asians.

1.3.2. Migrations

After the Korean War, cultural contacts led to a new relationship between Korea and the United States. The United States' markets were opened to Korean products, and some American products could be found in Korea for the first time. New communication channels opened, the most important of them resulting from the American presence in Korea. Other than the missionaries who had arrived in Korea in the late 19th century,

American troops were the first Westerners to establish themselves in Korea, bringing in their cultures and views and becoming not only the first mass witness of Korean ways but also representatives of foreign ways in the eyes of the Korean people.

After the war, Korean students arrived in American universities and American researchers arrived in Korea. Koreans also migrated to North and South America (the United States, Canada, Mexico, Argentina and Brazil). Women and children also arrived in the United States. According to Yuh (2005), since 1950 more than 100,000 Korean military brides have immigrated to the United States and around 200,000 children have been adopted (2005: 278-279). After the Vietnam War, Korean engineers and soldiers working with United States troops moved mainly to South East Asia and Oceania, thus creating connections all over the world and reinforcing the diaspora communities that had been created during the Japanese occupation.

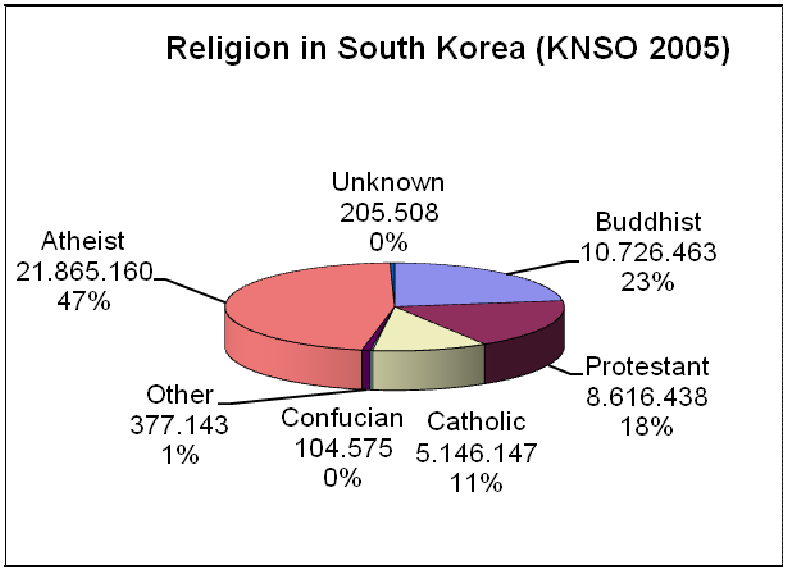
Foreigners are also more commonly seen in Korea. There was a time when the number of foreigners in Korea could be counted with one hand, but in 2005 the official number of foreigners residing in Korea was 747,467. That is approximately 1.55 percent of the entire South Korean population, according to figures from the Ministry of Justice, the main government organization in charge of migration and foreigner-related affairs. The number of foreigners who entered and left the country more than doubled between 1995 and 2005 (Kim 2006). In 2008, foreigners constituted 2.2 per cent of the national population (De Wind, Kim et al. 2012: 379).

1.3.3. The christianization of Korea

According to the Korean National Statistics Office, in 2005 the Protestant Church was the second most important religion in Korea, after Buddhism, and Catholicism was the third religion. If figures for Catholics and Protestants are added up, Christianity is the predominant religion of South Korea.

Despite its late arrival - the first real resident priest landed in 1831 (Kim 1995: 37) – Christianity flourished in Korea, largely thanks to the the historical hardships faced by Koreans.

Figure 2: Religion in South Korea (Korean National Statistics Office 2005)



The evolution of the Christian church in Korea is not only representative of the hardships Korean people went through, but has had further consequences regarding contacts with other societies. First, it provides a supranational common set of references and interest in religion-related events. Second, it works as a very important network of contacts, not only at a national level, but also at an international level. Third, having been part of national resistance, the church is not seen as a foreign construct. This fact is even clearer in Protestant churches, where Koreans and local priests play a very important part.

It is important to mention how foreign missionaries have always learned the local language to spread the faith and spread the scriptures and they were then the first foreigners who knew Korean and were able to translate.

All in all, the role of the Christian religion cannot be dismissed when studying the evolution of Korean literature in translation.

1.3.4. Literary exchanges

The enlightenment movement that had swept East Asia in the late nineteenth century arrived in Korea at the beginning of the twentieth century. Enlightenment urged writers to move their focus from the individual to the social context. However, its development was halted in the 1930s by the Japanese New Order, which stated that "literature must serve all the needs of the state" (Pihl 1990: 16).

However, the annexation enhanced the development of modern literature in Korea in two ways. First, several Koreans born at the turn of the century studied in Japanese universities and became acquainted with Western authors, receiving their influence via Japanese translations. Second, the need to preserve the language and literature in a colonial situation encouraged writers to adopt Hangeul as the literary script (cf. Fulton 2007: 30).

Translations from Japanese resulted in the introduction of Western literary movements like Realism, Symbolism and Romanticism in Korea. The struggle for liberation and the ideological struggle that ensued momentarily stopped further theoretical development. The 1950s and 1960s was a time for self-reflection in which the focus of concern was the individual experience of the war.

With the establishment of Korea as an economic power, a new translation scene developed thanks to the economic stability, a new-found openness of the country after several military dictatorships, as well as the popularity of a new batch of Korean authors heavily influenced by Western techniques.

Moreover, the creation and expansion of Korean Studies programs in foreign universities, especially in the United States, created a market for translations from Korean. Korea was gaining a voice at different levels of the international arena.

1.4. The evolution of Korean literature

In an analysis of the evolution of translation within a historical context, it is important to be aware of the evolution of the literature as well.

Written literature has a long written tradition in Korea, with wood-block printed historical records dating from the seventh century. However, literature in Korean is a more recent phenomenon. In medieval times, Chinese was considered the lingua franca and was used for literature. While Korea also has a long tradition of oral literature (both poetry and prose), the most popular songs, poems and plays would not be recorded until the late Joseon period (eighteenth century). With the support of the kings, Buddhist monasteries played an important role in the shift from Chinese to Korean script. In addition, writing was considered more a social skill of the higher class. It was not

unusual for the educated high class, the *yangban*, to hold poetry competitions. It was not until the twentieth century that writing literature began to be seen as a profession.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the first contacts with the West and the strong Japanese influence gave way to a new literature. Its most prominent characteristic was the attempt to unify spoken and written language or *onmunilchi* (KCAF 1996: 325). In prose, the *new novel* (*sinsoseol*) advocated modernization, in spite of being "full with traditional moral stances" (Lee 1990: xvi). Lee Kwang-su is one of the most representative writers of this period and his novel *The Heartless* is considered the first modern novel in Korean. Poetry also developed with the introduction of punctuation marks (a Western convention), unequal stanzas and new imaginary. However, pioneers like Choe Nam-son were still linked to traditional prosody and the traditional poetic devices of allusion.

The definitive recognition of Korea as a protectorate of the Japanese empire in 1905 encouraged contacts with Western literature. Japanese universities became a door to the Western world for the wealthiest or the most gifted Korean students. Hwang Sun-won, Han Yong-un and Kim Dong-in are some of the writers that attended Japanese colleges. Kim Ok graduated in Literature at Keio University (Japan) and published the first collection of translations from Western poetry in Korea in 1921 (*Onoe ui mudo*, *Dance of Anguish*). This selection of Symbolist poetry would influence his own work - he published *Songs of a Jellyfish* in 1923 - and metaphor, personification and new literary forms henceforth had a heavy influence on modern Korean poetry (Lee 1995: xvii). The 1920s were defined by a movement towards Naturalism, while the worsening living conditions under the Japanese empire launched a new class-conscious proletarian literature.

In the 1930s, literature began to be a political tool to reveal a poverty-stricken nation. Manifestations of Social Realism were quickly banned by the Japanese government, with the forced dissolution of the Korean Artist Proletarian Federation in 1935 and the prohibition of public use of the Korean language in 1940. Some writers moved towards a more aesthetic pursuit (pure literature), others began to collaborate with the Japanese in their propagandistic activities, while still others remained loyal to the Korean independent movement, ending in prison, death or exile.

When the peninsula finally became independent from the Japanese with the end of the Second World War in 1945, Koreans had to redefine themselves. They had been

occupied by foreign powers, released by foreign powers, and then occupied again by foreign powers. Their internal affairs were defined, in short, by international politics. Nevertheless, for a brief period of time Koreans had the chance to choose from the wide political spectrum, with the USSR and the United States as the two extremes. In search of a national literature, several literary organizations were created, with sharp ideological differences. The international confrontation of Symbolism and Naturalist aesthetics was resumed under the dichotomy of "pure literature" versus "literature of engagement", the former being represented by liberal writers like Kim Dong-ni and the latter by left-wing authors like Kim Mu-san. After the defeat of the Korean peasants' uprising against the United States military government in 1946, several of the left-wing authors moved to the North, meeting different fates. Also during this period, writers that had collaborated with the Japanese were judged and often sent to prison.

The Korean War left a deep imprint on Korean literature. The war as an experience and the subsequent division of the country opened a new range of topics: writers dealt with the devastation of the war, its side effects, the experiences of the people, and the division of the country.

The debate about the role of literature surfaced again in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s Realism was argued to be the only truly acceptable aesthetic in a national literature (Y. Kim 1998: 13). Rapid industrialization was a source of reference for social realistic writers, who considered that literature had to bring to the surface the suffering of people. At the same time, other authors defended imagination as the only real source for literature.

All in all, two aspects played a basic role in the definition of a modern national literature in Korea: literary criticism and short stories. While literary criticism reinterpreted the literature of the previous decades and thus influenced contemporary development, short stories worked as a sandbox for new techniques and new topics. Thus, while short stories are often considered a minor literary form in the West, in Korea, they constitute a key form in prose for the development of literature. Poetry also adopted new influences, developing techniques and topics. And all these changes took place in less than a century.

In general, writers tended to publish in often short-lived literary journals, which covered poetry, short fiction and essays. Novels were usually serialized in newspapers and were popular in two senses: they enjoyed mass readership and they were frowned

upon by literary elites (cf. Fulton 2007: 20). Often a writer would have more serious publications after winning a literary award of some sort. Some of the most prestigious literary prizes in Korea are the Hyundae Literary Award, the Manhae Literary Award (in honor of Han Yong-un), the Yi Sang Literary Award (for fiction) and the Sowol Poetry Literary Award (both sponsored by the publishers Munhak-sasangsa), the Dong-in Literary Award sponsored by the newspaper Chosun Ilbo or the Dong-a Theater Award), but new awards are constantly being created: Hwang Sun-won Literary Award (since 2001 sponsored by the newspaper Chung-ang Ilbo) the most recent Park Kyung-ni Literary Award (since 2011 sponsored by the Toji Foundation).

The consolidation of Korea as a first-world economy and its growing internationalization encouraged a general feeling that Korea should opt for a Nobel Prize in Literature. In the 1980s, the poet Kim Chi-ha had been short-listed as an Asian candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. Charged with violating anti-Communist legislation for his critical poem "Five Bandits" in 1970, he was arrested and released on bail, only to enter jail again after the publication of "Groundless Rumors" in 1971. As a response to Park's severe restrictions on activists in 1974, he wrote "Cry of the People", which brought him prison and a death sentence. Eventually, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he was released in 1975. Declarations to the international press then put him back into prison the very same year. Eventually, he was pardoned and rehabilitated in 1984. Currently, Ko Un is one of the authors that are considered eligible for the Nobel Prize for Literature (Kim 2012). Among other works, he wrote *Ten Thousand Lives*, ten thousand poems, each one dedicated to a different person.

The national aim of achieving a Nobel Prize necessarily involves translation, and the quality of translations is often blamed for the lack of diffusion of Korean literature in general (Kim 2012; Yoon 2008). In contrast, the success of authors like Yi Mun-yol or Hwang Sok-young is supposed to lie in the quality of their translations.

The dynamism of Korean literature, which in less than fifty years became in touch and adapted a whole range of new foreign literary movements - like Naturalism, French Symbolism, Modernism, Surrealism, German Romanticism, Russian Proletarian literature, Norwegian or even Indian literature represented by Tagore (cf. Lee 2003: 396-397) - makes it difficult to choose the most representative authors. Some authors introduced moods and modes from earlier Western literary movements; others adapted the techniques to suit Korean needs and another group managed to move the people. In

other words, some authors are selected based on the quality of their work; others are important due to innovations their works implemented; another group would include authors whose ideas moved society in one way or another. Sometimes, the ideas defended in a certain period of time would hinder literary achievements.

The concept of the national literature is still under construction, further complicating the aim of analyzing Korean literature in translation. Therefore, bearing in mind the development of Korean literature and its special characteristics, I will analyze the topics most often covered in translation, the most translated authors, and the most translated literary forms.

Chapter 2: Previous Studies

We are looking into the development of the translation flow between the United States, a powerful Western country with an international language, and the Republic of Korea, a smaller Asian country with a language of limited diffusion, whose relationship ignited due to an armed conflict. Several starting positions are possible. The large number of variables involved - which enable the researcher to apply several theoretical frameworks - have posed a serious challenge.

To put it briefly, I am studying the relationship between two countries that are very different regarding global presence, language literature, and theoretical literature. The United States is a powerful country, with a widely spoken language, a strong publishing industry, and whose universities have a long research tradition. The Republic of Korea does not have the same powerful position, and Korean is spoken for the most part in the Korean peninsula only. Moreover, Translation Studies have a shorter trajectory there, as will be developed shortly, so literature addressing translation is scarce.

Taking these considerations into account, I will first review studies related to the cultural relationship between the United States and Korea within the context of Korean studies and research on Korean-English translation exchanges. Second, I will review empirical research on translation flows, centering on the theoretical approaches used to provide an overview the translation exchange between two countries.

2.1. Studies on the cultural relationship between the United States and the Republic of Korea

In spite of their short common history, the relationship between the United States and South Korea has been studied extensively. The clash of these two worlds and the development of their relationship has been a constant source of inquiry.

However, as we will see in detail in this chapter, the exchange of literary goods has not always been taken into consideration when analyzing both systems. Bilateral comparison, the examination of translation flows and the breakdown of cultural exchanges have not been tools of analysis applied to the relationship between the two countries. This is particularly surprising if we consider the large number of studies on translation flows in other contexts, which have proven to be useful to evaluate cultural systems.

Two bibliographies help give an overview of the numerous studies on aspects of Korean history, culture and life style. *Studies on Korea: A Scholar's Guide* (Han 1980) was the first bibliography to collect studies on Korea written in the West. The work introduces the state of the question of the sixteen sub-fields the book was divided into and then proposes a list of works. Unfortunately it does not include some of the studies that would be published just two years later, in 1982, to celebrate the centenary of United States-Korea relations and to analyze the hundred years of contacts, mostly from a political perspective (Han 1982, Kwak 1982, Koo and Suh 1984, Lee and Patterson 1986, among others). Hoare would propose an updated international bibliography in 1997 in the volume on Korea of the *World Bibliographical Series* (volume 204). Without discussing in detail the state of the question, this bibliography included studies published in German, French, and Spanish, besides English, and presented each item with a brief description of the contents and availability.

In general, most early studies look into the role of Korea and the Korean War in the United States foreign policy, while later articles discuss the convenience or inconvenience of the United States-Korea alliance, from both the American and the Korean perspectives. Most of these studies center on the bilateral historical relations but do not consider the evolution of each country separately. Studies were centered on the political and economic relationship both before and after the Korean War (Foot 1985, Kim 1999, Chung 2000, Moon 2004) and while research presented in series like Jimoondang "Korean Studies Series" (e.g. Lee 2002; Lew et al 2006) usually deals with "relations" or "culture", it rarely combines both.

Exceptions to the publications centered on only one of the two cultures are the studies on Korean immigrant communities in the United States (Patterson 1979, Patterson 1988, Baringer and Cho 1989, Lee 2000), personal accounts of Korean integration in the United States (Pai 1989, Kim and Yu 1996), as well as studies on the

influence of the Western tradition in Korea (Park 1981, Shin 1988, among others). Journals like *Korea Journal*, *Korea Observer*, *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, *Koreana Quarterly*, among others, and university publications like *Studies on Korea in Transition* (McCann et al, 1979), *The Foreign Policy of the Republic of Korea* (Koo et Han 1985) or *Modernization of Korea and the Impact of the West* (C. Lee 1981) offer space to some of these early studies that take interculturality into account, even if they merely present case studies and lack a broader perspective.

The Institute for Modern Korean Studies of the University of Yonsei (Seoul) has published a series of lectures that cover various aspects of intercultural history. To mention but a couple, Peter H. Lee collects his reflections on Korean literary history (P. Lee 1998), while James B. Palais looks into Korean social history (Palais 1998). Most of these lectures are written by Korean Studies specialists who aim at widening the range of possible sources for their students in the United States. Although translation is not their field of study, their experiences often compel them to express the need for more translations about their topics. Lee, after commenting on the need of translation for teaching literature, notes that "the lack of texts [translations] has led me to compile anthologies and translate certain literary texts important to literary history" (1998: 2). Later, he argues that "we need more translations of literary works as well as compilations of histories and handbooks" (1998:11).

2.2. Studies on translation in Korea

This felt lack of translations encouraged many Korean Studies professors to eventually take the step not only into translating but also into voicing the difficulties of translation. Interviews with these professor-translators in magazines and journals outside the academic world afford important information on the process and difficulties of translation.

Translators like Bruce Fulton (Montgomery 2010) or Kim Chiyoung (Lee 2008; Montgomery 2011) tackle the professionalization of translators and their agency in the publishing process by explaining how their first works were commissioned and telling about their struggles to have translations published. Brother Anthony - known by his adopted Korean name An Sonjae – brings to the arena the importance of the initiation of

the translation and the relationship between author, translator and publishers (Yoon 2011). He coincides with Peter H. Lee in illustrating the difficulties of maintaining the balance between readability and accuracy (Ryu 2004; Hong 2007). Key aspects of translating in Korea like text selection, subsidies or the evolution of the target audience can be isolated by comparing the answers of Richard Rutt (Koh 2008), one of the first translators published, Bruce Cummings (Shin 2004), a translator and Korean studies Scholar who first arrived in Korea in the 1950s, and Yu Young-nam (Einarsen 2005), a contemporary Korean writer and translator.

The insights mentioned in the interviews have sometimes become articles with reflections on the translation of Korean literature, covering both linguistic and social aspects. On the one hand, some have expressed current needs in translation either by stressing the lack of translators (Baker 2008) or criticizing criteria for the selection of Korean works to be translated (An 2002). Lee has also been very critical of the lack of a general focus in selecting source texts for subsidized translations (P. Lee 1998b: 3).

The untranslatability of the cultural context is a constant source of discussion. Fulton (1992) offers several examples of the importance of building the cultural subtext for the Western reader, while An (1996) uses his experience in translation as a point of departure for discussing the subtleties of readers' expectations. Lee (1998: 5) also compares the renditions of three different works to illustrate the dangers and joys of bad and good translations. This kind of textual analysis is not covered by our research, but articles like An 2002 and P. Lee 1998b help us understand better the problems and worries Korean-English translators face.

The growing calls for translations have led Korea to invest in translator training and translation research. Several universities have begun teaching translation in their language departments, while others have opened specialized courses on interpreting and translation theory. Hanguk University opened a Graduate School of Interpretation and Translation as early as in 1979, while Ehwa Women's University Graduate School of Translation and Interpretation was established in 1997. One of the clear fruits of this investment has been the growing number of associations related to translation and Translation Studies. The English Language and Literature Association of Korea (1954) was a very early pioneer, opening the way for professional associations like the Korea Literature Translation Institute (1996), the Korean Society of Conference Interpretation (1998), the Korean Association of Translation Studies (2000) or the most recent Korean

Association of Translation and Interpreting (2007). In addition, some of these universities have student clubs where translation is discussed and criticized (i.e. Translation Criticism Circle of Danguk University).

Side by side with the creation of these associations, South Korea, and especially Seoul, has been host to various events related to literature and translation, which have often discussed the export of Korean literature. Literary production on the global markets was looked into at the Seoul International Forum for Literature in 2000 (Kim 2002, Yu 2002) with special emphasis on East-West hegemony (Kim 2002, Soyinka 2002). A couple of years later, the First International Workshop on Translation and Publication took place in Seoul in order to discuss the development and publication of translated Korean literature. Publishers from Germany, France and the United States explained the difficulties associated with publication and proposed improvements for the promotion of Korean literature abroad (Smith 2002, Leroy 2002, Ripken 2002). The success of the event promoted its biannual repetition in different countries: to mention but a few, United States, Germany, France or Spain have hosted this forum. Also, the International Association of Publishers held its 2008 international congress in Seoul and raised issues related to translation costs and the dominant direction of translation flows (Kim 2008, Müller 2008, Owen 2008). Even if the opinions shared cannot be linked to any theoretical framework, its practical prescriptivism is aimed at promoting short-term changes.

Translation Studies has become of growing importance in South Korea and scholars have published their research not only in national publications (*Koreana*, *Korean Journal*, *Acta Koreana*) and Asian Studies journals (*Asian Perspectives, Kyoto Journal*), but also in international journals of Translation Studies: the Canadian journal *Meta* published a special issue on translation and interpretation in Korea (2006), while the Korean-French journal *Forum*, which was first released in 2003, is living evidence of Korean developments in the field. Other than showing a clear interest in Descriptive Translation Studies and research on interpreting, Korea, as a leading country in technological innovation, has carried out several experiments and studies in Machine Translation within Computer Science.

The history of translation in Korea has also been tackled. The *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English* includes an entry on Korea written by Theresa Hyun (2000), who has also published articles on nineteenth-century colonial translation (Hyun

2005) and twentieth-century translation practice changes (Hyun 1992). Korean tradition has also been described in relation to other countries. Peter H. Lee has revisited the present and future of Korean literature in the United States (Lee 1998b), while Wakabayashi has presented a historical revision of Korean translation roots within the Asian translation tradition (Wakabayashi 2005). While aspects of traditional and contemporary Korean translation have been covered - even if superficially - one misses more research on translation in post-war Korea and the development of Korean translation.

Behind these advances, there is the aim of Korean writers to become part of the international literary arena. Moreover, after the shattering of Korean hopes that Ko Un would win a Nobel Prize for Literature in 2006 or 2008 (as the poet was short-listed for the prize in both these years), the idea extended that "no matter how talented authors may be, if their works are not translated into English and other major Western languages then they do not exist on the world literary scene" (Yoon 2008: online). This notion provides fertile ground for the development of translation.

As can be seen, Translation Studies in Korea and research on English-Korean translation is rapidly growing. While special effort has been put into trying to define Korea's current situation in the world system and current translation practices in Korea, an extensive empirical study of the development of Korean-English translation and the United States-Korea translation flow remains to be done.

2.3. Empirical research on translation flows

Following growing interest in the sociology of translations (see Wolf and Fukari 2007 and Pym, Shlesinger, Simeoni 2008 for the state of the art) or just as a result of applying current sociological trends, several studies on translators and translation flows have been published.

Since the publication of pioneer studies on seventeenth-century English-Dutch translations (Schoneveld 1983), several language pairs, country relationships and foreign literatures have been compared. There have been studies of relationships between European countries and languages, like Chalmers (1999), who looked into the image of German writers presented in Great Britain in the 1990s; Bobozka (2004) on

connections between Italy and France; Linn (2006), covering Dutch into Spanish translation; Poupaud (2008) on the role of mediators between Spain and France from 1980 to 2000; Kos (2009) on the reception of French literature in Turkey; Vimr (2009), who studied two minor cultures by outlining the dynamics of the distribution of translation processes between Scandinavian languages and Czech; or Ozkän (2011), who maps translations of Social Sciences works from Greek into Turkish.

Trans-Atlantic connections have also been contrasted: D'hulst has extensively studied Caribbean and French literary systems (2005; 2007) and María Sierra Córdoba has studied the reception in Spain of Quebecois literature, closely analyzing its reception by a community that empathizes with the minority context, the Catalan region (Córdoba 2008).

Crossing the invisible line sketched at some point in history between East and West, synergies between remote literary traditions have also been studied. Among others, Fowler (1992) presents a case study for Japanese canon formation in the United States; Hung (1995) connects Hong Kong and the United States; Sapiro (2002) talks about Hebrew literature in France, Kung (2009) study aspects of the relationship between Taiwan and the United States, Karashima (2006) looks at the publication of Japanese narrative fiction in English translation in the United States between 1996 and 2005, and Haddadian (2012) looks into literary translations from English in Iran.

As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the large number of variables involved in any flow allows the researcher to apply several theoretical frameworks. The previous studies thus work in terms of different theoretical approaches.

The first studies on the reception of translation developed from the notion of "polysystems", formulated for the literary context by Even-Zohar (1990). According to the theory of polysystems, literatures cannot be studied as individual isolated systems but in relation to other systems. Some quantitative analyses have been made of synergies between systems. D'hulst (2005; 2007) includes in his study a discussion on the definition of system; Liu (2005) relates the Taiwan-United States relationship to their common recent history; Bobozka (2004) contrasts statistics with personal interviews.

Considering these notions, the role of translation both within and between systems was developed by Gideon Toury and adopted as a base for Descriptive Translation Studies (1995). The concept of norms as formulated by Toury (1995: 53)

has been applied in several studies, although the applicability of the model has been discussed and often criticized for the lack of social agency (Pym 1998: 111). Yau (2007) applies the concept of norms to analyze the selection of texts by post-modernist literary translation journals in Hong Kong. At the same, some case studies have questioned another aspect of Toury's model, its target orientation. Liu (2005) studies the translation of Huang Chun-Ming's short stories, concluding that the translation of Taiwanese literature into English is a clear case of cultural *exportation*. Kung (2009) also claims that the translation of Modern Chinese literature from Taiwan was initiated in the source culture. In her analysis of the agents and networks of translations, Kung concludes that the subvention networks for distributing translations have limitations in that they may fail to produce a translation that fits target-culture needs. Hung (1995) also states that in English-language journals of Chinese literature, even when selection is made with a specialist reader in mind, "nothing is chosen on the basis of its 'good potential after translation'" (1995: 249).

When analyzing the relationship between countries or literary systems, some studies start from the basis that the countries are not in an equal position within the world system. De Swaan's concepts of peripheral, central and hypercentral languages (de Swaan 2001) were revised by Heilbron and applied to translation, thus providing a tool for analyzing uneven flows (Heilbron 1999). The model also allows for considerations of different relationships depending on the position of the languages in the world system. Córdoba (2008) and Vimr (2009) have looked into the relationship of minority languages. While Córdoba looks into the sympathetic acceptance of Quebecois literature in Catalonia, on the assumption that the similarities between both situations might enhance it, Vimr studied the agency of translators in the Scandinavian-Czech exchanges. More recently, Janet (2012) looks at the evolution of translated literature within a region with an ethnic minority (Slovenian in Austria).

A major implication of unequal positions is the inequality of power. A claim was raised after *Translation, History and Culture* (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990) efforts have been made to study the power exerted by larger countries over their colonies and the later recovery of power by the colonies. Post-colonialist approaches study the role of translation as a tool to subjugate colonies as well as a tool to recover power and visibility. *Translation and Empire* (Robinson 2007) summarizes some of the studies on unequal relations between nations.

Tymoczko has studied how translation of Medieval Irish heroic narratives helped reaffirming the cultural self-awareness of Irish people by defining their Irishness in different terms of those stated by the English (1999: chapter 2). Rafael (1993) studies the role of translation in the conversion of the Philippines to Catholicism and how the colonialist role of Spanish was subverted at the end.

The notion of power and manipulation in the production of culture was not completely new. Already in 1978, Edward Saïd made strong claims regarding the Western perception and presentation of the East. His key term "Orientalism" describes a patronizing Western attitude that presents Asian and North African societies as undeveloped and static, implicitly reinforcing the hegemony and superiority of the West. The concept has been revisited often since then. Among others, Sardar (1999) revisited the concept and Golden (2009) proposed a theoretical model applicable to East Asia. How the Other is presented has led to studies on the image of societies in translation like Carbonell's studies on the presentation of Arabic culture in Spanish (1997, 1998, 2000) or work by Gil-Bardají (2008). There have been studies on the presentation of particular authors, like Rodríguez Navarro's (2008) on Inazo Nitobe's translation into French, Prado-Fonts's (2008) on Gao Xingjian's mis-representation in the global literary system, or Karashima's (2008) on the role assigned to Murakami in Japanese literature in the United States.

The reasons for initiating and consolidating the presentation of other cultures and literatures have also been theorized. Lefevere (1992) understood that literary systems had a series of control systems (patronage, ideology, poetics and experts) that ruled, among other things, acceptance and canon formation. Pym (2007) and Kittel (1995) have looked into the creation of anthologies, their role in literary canon formation and its causation. Fowler (1992) works from his experience and personal informants to describe the ultra-nationalistic interests in the formation of the Japanese literary image in the best-known collection of Japanese works in the United States.

Not only what is selected but also how it is presented shapes the image of the other. Paratexts, as defined by Genette in 1997, and whose taxonomy has later been expanded (Smith and Wilson 2011) have become a tool of analysis in translation studies. Several qualitative studies have looked into the presentation of a country's image in translated literature based on reviews (Chalmers 1999), covers (Harvey 2003; Kos 2004; O'Sullivan 2005), introductions and translators' notes (Haase 2006). Kos

analyzes the paratexts of the translations of Simone de Beauvoir's novels into Turkish, discerning how Beauvoir's feminism and femininity is represented. Harvey studies the covers of translated American gay literature in France, to conclude how the image was manipulated to adapt to French expectations. O'Sullivan (2005) looks at covers of Italian crime fiction translated in the United Kingdom to see how Italy is presented.

Not only have these studies uncovered modified images of other cultures, but they have also brought to the limelight the role of translation and translators. McRae (2011) studies the paratextual presence of translation and translators in translations into English of Sicilian writers with a strong regional emphasis.

Visibility (Venuti 1995) as linked to agency is easily framed within the Bourdieu's sociology. Pierre Bourdieu's analysis and theorizing of the French publishing system (1993) opened the way for the study of agency and placed literature in a commercial context. Simeoni (1998), Sapiro (2002) Poupaud (2006) and Meylaerts (2006) apply Bourdieu's framework in their research.

Buzelin (2005) proposes the combination of Bourdieu's framework with Latour's Actor Network Theory to palliate the excessive importance placed on institutional control. Drawing on these approaches, Buzelin looks into the role of the literary agent in French translations in Quebec (2007); Kujamaki (2006) studies translation from Finnish into German; Kung (2009) analyzes the translation of contemporary Taiwanese novels in the United States; Hekkanen (2009) analyzes Finnish prose Literature in English in the United Kingdom.

All in all, many different macro- and micro-textual aspects of translation have been studied. While these research projects might provide findings that coincide with the results found in my corpus, as I will stress in the corresponding chapters, none aims at providing a full quantitative and qualitative panorama of the creation of a translation flow in a post-bellum situation.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

Cultural and diplomatic relationships between the United States and South Korea are located in a fascinating period of history. After the first failed attempts at contact toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Cold War acted as the scenario of later relations. The first translations can be found at the time of the "failed attempts" (see Introduction), but it is in the second period, the mid-twentieth century, that translation contacts became more stable.

I have divided the study according to the historical development previously presented. The Korean War marks the beginning of the Korea-US relationship. Korea had hardly any contact with the West before the end of the Second World War (1945). The United States Army soldiers were the first foreigners most Koreans had ever seen. Moreover, the Korean War set a precedent for direct involvement of one country in another country's civil war. Then Korea completed a full economic recovery, becoming a leading power in Asia, with the United States as one of their main trading partners. Lastly, the Korean peninsula is the last remnant of the Cold War, the last knot to tie in the United States-USSR opposition that ruled the world for most of the late twentieth century.

The research will first look quantitatively at the practice of translation from Korean into English in the United States right after the Korean War and during the coldest days of the Cold War (1951-1975), comparing it to the translation practice in the later years of more relaxed anti-Communist policies (1976-2000). I ask if political interest in another country results in a rise in the demand for translations from that country. In other words, I aim to discern to what extent the development of a translation flow goes hand in hand with the development of diplomatic relations.

A quantitative and qualitative study of the translation flow between Korea and the United States will help identify the contextual factors that made the flow possible,

while the analysis of paratexts can provide an in-depth understanding of the internal relations of translation history only hinted at by the volume of exchanges.

I will look at the quantity of volumes published, focusing on the range of literary forms and topics covered, but figures alone cannot tell the whole story. In similar research carried out for my minor dissertation (Torres 2005), the results hinted at a low number of publications during the 1950s and 1960s. In comparison to the present research, the time span studied then was shorter and the corpus was more general, as most non-fiction was included. Still, the total number of volumes found could have been considered merely anecdotal: 24 volumes in 25 years. If we consider translation as a tool to present a country via its literature, according to my initial research, Korea had little representation in the United States during this first stage, in spite of its geopolitical importance.

I thus wanted to look at the development of the translation flow from Korean into English at a later stage, paying special attention to the agents involved - translators and publishers – and how changes were reflected in the presentation of the works themselves.

In order to carry the quantitative analysis, I analyzed what databases provided the relevant information to create my corpus. As explained in-depth in chapter four, three databases of Korean-English translations were consulted, and literary translations in book format distributed in the United States from 1951 to 2000 were thus located. While not all volumes were physically accessed, the bibliographical information was contrasted and completed by the information provided in the paratexts (both the paratextual elements attached to the book - peritext - and other relevant sources like reviews or online translators' résumés - epitexts). The quantitative analysis aimed at classifying what was translated, who was translating it and who was publishing it.

An additional qualitative analysis was performed based on both the selection of works and their presentation of Korea and Korean literature in peritexts, that is, forewords, prefaces, introductions, translator's notes, acknowledgements and covers. This study aimed at identifying what aspects of Korea were most often highlighted. It linked them to a possible evolution of agency in the publication process. This evolution was reinforced with considerations on the visibility of translation as a connection to the agency of translators and the commercial relevance of the literary translations as points connecting with the agency of publishers.

In this way I plan to achieve two objectives: first, by outlining a history of the translation flow from Korea to the United States, I expect to draw some general conclusions about translation interaction between systems; second, by looking at how Korean literature was presented in another culture, I want to look into the role and agency of translation practitioners in the presentation of cultural items.

3.2. Hypotheses

These early findings allow us to formulate the following hypotheses.

First, I claim that *translation practices and practitioners become more specialized as the translation flow becomes more voluminous*. In other words, as more volumes are published in the Korean-American translation flow, practitioners will tend to have translation as their main activity and will benefit from more solid structures - unlike the heroic efforts of the first period (Torres 2006): they will have clearer functions, and the resulting translations will fit specific genre slots.

The changes observed in the translation flow are expected to work in relation to the objective the translations seemed to focus on, a picture of Korea's presentation in the United States (Torres 2006). Therefore, I have studied this process of specialization not only from the point of view of the figures and profiles of the agents involved, but also in the discourses employed by the agents. The paratexts in the corpus are analyzed by means of a qualitative analysis of the discourse they present, based on keywords (see chapter eight).

This allows me to propose a second hypothesis. I claim that *discourses in the paratexts become more target-oriented as the translation flow becomes more voluminous*. In other words, as more volumes are published, the discourses will be more strongly tied to the focus of the publishing houses, with greater emphasis on the promotion of the book. Further, although at the beginning the image of Korea presented by translations is closer to the Korean self-image, in the second stage, Korea is made to fit target readers' expectations. Finally, with the growing agency of publishers, the translational status of the text will be less visible.

In order to draw out the implications of these two hypotheses, it is important to clarify the terms they include.

3.3. Operationalization

By "translation flow" I understand the passage of translated literary goods between two languages; in our case, I apply the concept to the number of works translated from Korean into English. A flow is considered voluminous when the number of translated goods is high.

"Translation practices" and "translation practitioners" refer to the actions and actors involved in the whole process of translation, from the moment the text is selected until it is published. Therefore, "practitioners" are translators, editors and publishers, and "practices" are the activities they perform.

"Specialized" is applied here in the sense of becoming adapted to a specific function or environment. That is, I expect translation practitioners to center on one role only and their discourses to focus on a single function. This concept is often linked to the concept of professionalization. As the translation flow develops, practitioners become more professional, that is, translators tend to translate as their main economic activity, texts are chosen by editors rather than translators, and publishers are in charge of the distribution of the translation. Consequently the outcome (the published work) corresponds more strictly to certain structured expectations: translators highlight communication, publishers focus on sales.

These expectations can be discerned in the discourse presented in the paratexts. By looking at the language used and the main discourses repeated, I may understand the normative vision and expectations involved in the translation-publishing system.

3.4. Paratexts

By "paratexts" I understand the "verbal or other productions, such as author's name, a title, a preface, illustrations [...], accompanying [a book], which vary in extent and appearance" (Genette 1997: 1).

According to Genette's classification, in this research I have centered on peritexts, that is, "the external presentation of a book" (1997: 8) for the discourse analysis. Epitexts - "any paratextual material not appended to the text within the same

volume" (1997: 344) - have been used mainly for obtaining bibliographical information. Within this research, "paratext" is thus used as a synonym of "peritext": it refers to covers, introductions, translator's notes, acknowledgements and prefaces.

The textual and visual elements of the books have to some extent been studied separately in order to later compare the results of both. The iconic elements of covers often work as a more direct introduction to the volume than the rest of the paratexts.

The reasons for looking closely at the information provided by the paratexts come from the key role they play: they present the work for a certain public or in response to certain author's demands, without changing the text:

> Being immutable, the text in itself is incapable of adapting to changes in its public in space and over time. The paratext - more flexible, more versatile, always transitory because transitive - is, as it were, an instrument of adaptation. Hence the continual modification in the "presentation" of the text. (Genette 1997: 408)

Although the immutability of the text cannot be taken for granted in translated works, what concerns this research is the flexibility of the paratexts. In the corpus, not only might the inborn characteristics of the works (like literary forms) respond to the development of the Korean-American translation flow, but I expect paratexts to reflect the process of specialization that surrounds the flow.

In other words, paratexts will help us understand the context that surrounds the flow and will also help signal the agents involved in the translation process. Actually, paratexts provide two types of information. First, a simple reading of peritexts and epitexts can provide information on the book's context. Second, a critical reading and an analysis of certain discourses presented in the peritexts can help the researcher understand the finality of the published translation.

3.4.1. Literal reading: information on the translation's context

Within the paratexts I have uncovered information that has helped reconstruct the situation of the translation practice in the period studied. Primarily, this information is located in acknowledgments (in which translators extend their gratitude to helpers, revisers, editors, etc.) and covers (in which the officially recognized translator and/or

editor is found). However, other paratexts, and especially epitexts, have unexpectedly provided information on the initiation of translation (e.g. stories about how the original work arrived in the hands of the translator), its process (in apologies regarding the quality of the final product or complaints about the delay of its publication), the professional level of the translator (either in their curricula or their presentation of their work) and the publishing process.

Understanding that there is a certain level of self-censorship in paratexts, I assume that the information provided by the agents is true to their knowledge. That is, the fact that many of the translators were not professionals could have influenced their expectations regarding the translation practice. However, the possibility of dealing with biased representations of translations does not change most of the objective information I receive from the paratexts: who the agents were and how they came to be in charge of the translation. Sometimes this information is repeated and thus confirmed in interviews with the translator and author, or in reviews of the book.

The information compiled with this method has been organized in tables and will be presented in chapter five with respect to the corpus, chapter six for information on the publishers, and chapter seven for details on the translators.

3.4.2. Critical reading: discourses presenting Korea

As mentioned above, paratexts are a useful tool to unveil the specialization of translation because its main function is to present a text to a public. Genette comments on the functionality of paratexts:

> The most essential of the paratext's properties [...] is functionality. Whatever aesthetic intention may come into play as well, the main issue for the paratext is not to 'look nice' around the text but rather to ensure for the text a destiny consistent with the author's purpose. To this end, the paratext provides a kind of canal lock between the ideal and relatively immutable identity of the text and the empirical (sociohistorical) reality of the text's public [...] the lock permitting the two to remain 'level'. (Genette 1997: 407-8)

In order to understand the finality of the paratexts, I will look at the differences in the "destiny consistent with the author's purpose" in the period from 1951 to 1975 and

1976 to 2000, and the changes in the "empirical reality of the text's public." The contextual information surrounding the works can provide part of the answer, which the paratexts will complete, as an index of the public.

These changes can be tracked in the shifting discourses of the paratexts. The impossibility of applying OCR technology to all the volumes made it impossible to carry out an electronic keyword search, which would have allowed statistics and ensured that these words were fully located. Therefore I opted for considering certain keywords that could be representative of the issues to study (change of agency, situation of translation and presentation of Korea and its literature), locating them manually in the paratexts and analyzing the discourse they represented. The specific keywords selected and why I consider them representative of the topics will be explained in detail in the corresponding chapter. However, I will now explain in-depth why covers are treated separately, how paratexts affect my research and then briefly outline why these issues can help test my hypotheses.

3.4.3. Iconic analysis: images presenting Korea

Richard Macksey quotes Genette's description of the paratext as being "neither on the interior nor on the exterior: it is both; it is on the threshold" (Macksey 1997: xvii). Covers are, though, clearly on the exterior, and that changes the approach to them. Actually, Genette continues saying that perhaps "[I]ts being depends upon its site" (1997: xviii).

The first printed covers date from the early nineteenth century, but "once the possibilities of the cover were discovered, they seem to have been exploited very rapidly" (Genette 1997: 23). Covers offer the possibility to generate or reinforce interpretations of the book. They are also the responsibility of the publisher - although Genette claims that it might be done in consultation with the author, I have no indications of this happening in this field. While Genette does not go into critical discourse analysis, in his examples he claims that certain interpretations are "generated, or reinforced, surreptitiously by a paratextual arrangement that in theory is wholly innocent and secondary" (1997: 31).

I will thus study the shifting discourse in the covers in order to confirm coherence in the editorial line, changes in marketing approaches, and the visibility of translation. I will analyze the appearance and positioning of agents on the cover as well

as the typology of the images used to present Korea, using categories similar to those applied in the literary form's and paratextual analysis.

3.5. Testing the hypotheses

It was claimed above that the discourses, translation practices and practitioners become more specialized as the translation flow becomes more voluminous. Certain steps have been taken to confirm or refute this main hypothesis. The claim will be considered confirmed if justified by the combined results of quantitative and qualitative analysis.

On the one hand, I expect numerical data to show a tendency to specialization at three levels:

1. A growing variety of literary forms, with declining presence of anthologies and more emphasis on particular authors.
2. Publishers will increasingly be in charge of selecting works and their profile will shift from small independent presses to bigger publishing houses.
3. Translators will increasingly have more than one volume published. Translation will more frequently be their main activity.

Since the numbers of translations is small, the quantitative analysis has to be complemented with attention to qualitative data. Part of this qualitative analysis involves looking at the discourses in the paratexts, which should show the same specialization, partially understood as target-orientedness.

4. "Korean literature" will be increasingly presented by classifying it in terms of literary movements (e.g. Modernism) and more specific literary forms (e.g. women's literature).
5. The publication of a product will increasingly respond to specific needs of the publishers and will follow an editorial line and a marketing approach.
6. The discourse on translation will become a part of a process taken for granted; comments on translation will become progressively rare.

Last, covers should reinforce the specialization of discourses presented in the other peritexts:

7. There is growing heterogeneity in the topics highlighted in the covers.
8. There is growing inclusion of reviews and prizes, as well as a growing presence of authors on covers.
9. Translation will lose its presence in the main covers.

The combination of the quantitative and the qualitative analysis will help define and compare what happens (numerical data), what is said to happen (discourse analysis) and what is shown to happen (covers analysis).

The hypothesis will be fully confirmed if all these expectations are met, as they will prove a clear development, a clear specialization and a clear integration of objectives. If some of these suppositions are not affirmed, we will have to look into the disagreements to try to confirm partially our initial claims. Possible explanations are expected to arise from the investigation of the discrepancies.

In order to investigate the development of the translation flow from South Korea to the United States after the Korean War, I will begin by presenting and analyzing the data available.

Chapter 4: The Corpus

4.1. The world of databases

4.1.1. Delimiting the corpus

The first step in this research was to define and locate the corpus for the study. In the first instance, the corpus was defined as "translations from Korean into English and published in the United States from 1951 to 2000". The *Index Translationum* was going to be the main source of information to define the corpus.

However, as will be explained in full detail later in this chapter, it was soon clear that the information provided was definitely not complete and was in some instances misleading. I thus had to look for other sources of information. The recently created Korean Literary Translation Institute database (KLTI), which at first I only regarded as a tool to locate translators' curricula, helped build up the corpus. Also, when the volumes were to be located physically, it often occurred that they were sitting on the shelf next to other translations not mentioned in either database. Those supplementary volumes were included. Further, research to confirm their validity pointed to a third limited database, on Korean Literature in English until 2000 (henceforth ASJ), which is a list of translated works compiled by Brother Anthony (An Sonjae), a well-known British translator residing in Korea.

Different criteria in the databases made it necessary to be more specific about the characteristics of the corpus.

First, I noticed that several non-fiction works were included in the *Index Translationum*. However, I was mostly interested in literary volumes. Any work of literature reflects to a certain extent the transmission of culture. Literary translations not only carry cultural values that are worth analyzing, but also help identify national consciousness. Moreover, literary translations are usually aimed at a wider public, involving the national publishing system. Therefore, I excluded academic or educational

works. I accepted creative non-fiction, however, as its distribution and publication networks are similar to the fiction in the corpus. Therefore, self-biographies and creative essays when published in book form have been included. In all cases, I have kept the non-fiction data as control texts for comparison purposes since, especially in the first stage, they account for half of the whole amount of volumes listed, although I have not analyzed them in the final corpus.

Second, I have focused on works in book format, as they were more easily available and better catalogued. I am aware that a lot of grey literature was translated, especially during the first years of the research period. I found, as well, a good number of short translations published in literary journals and Asia-oriented magazines. However, I decided not to take them into consideration as these out-of-print journals were too difficult to locate to justify any additional information they might bring. Moreover, most of these short stories and poems were later compiled in books that do form part of my corpus.

Third, revised editions were counted as new volumes (as in the case of *Poets from Korea* and *20th Century Korean Poets*), while reprints and non-revised editions were only considered the first time they appear (like *Folk Tales From Korea*, which appears in three different years). This decision was made after locating some reprints mentioned as new translations in the databases, specifically in the *Index Translationum*.

Finally, works published in Korea (which often appear in the ASJ and the KLTI) were not taken into account unless they were co-published with non-Korean publishers (like the SISA-Pace publications collection) or were marked as being distributed in the United States (for example by Hollym International). Once this decision was taken, it was logical to include other works published abroad as long as they had reached the American market. So I included works published in other countries, as long as they had been available in the United States. I used amazon.com as a tool to double-check this availability, as will be explained later.

I thus present the most complete list of Korean literary works in book form translated into English and distributed in the United States I have managed to collect. However, as I have found volumes outside of the previous databases, I dare not claim that the list is exhaustive. In a library or an old bookstore somewhere there is probably a volume that could be part of the corpus.

4.1.2. Limitations of the databases

In order to build a strong corpus, it was necessary to be aware of the benefits and drawbacks of each catalogue. As it is explained above, the *Index Translationum*, the Korea Institute Translation Database and An Sonjae's "List of English translations of Korean literature" were my primary sources. Given their limitations (See 4.1.2.4, "wrong data in the databases"), the Library of Congress, Amazon.com and other databases like the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation database served as secondary sources to double-check contradictory information in the primary sources.

4.1.2.1.The Index Translationum

The first source of research was the *Index Translationum* (UNESCO 1951 to 2005), as it is the only international translation database that is readily available online. However, as other authors (see Sajkevic 1992, Heilbron 1999, Pym and Chrupala 2005, Pym 2009) and even UNESCO itself (2012 seminars) have noted, it has various disadvantages.

First, there are great fluctuations in the data for no obvious reason. That is, it contains omissions and irregularities, two drawbacks common to all major databases (Sajkevic 1992: 2). For example, Korea does not appear in the *Index Translationum* for the year 1968. Another difficulty is the presentation. While nowadays the *Index Translationum* can be found and consulted over the Internet, the volumes for 1951 to 1972 are in the traditional paper format only. Moreover, the *Index* has a problem with definitions. As Heilbron notes, "what is considered to be a book or a title varies from country to country" (1999: 433). In the present study, "volumes" are just books in Korea, while in the United States "volumes" include journals, doctoral dissertations, administrative documents, military papers and comic books. Further, as seen in the previous examples, the *Index Translationum* includes both fiction and non-fiction, which was a problem for the creation of my corpus. There are also problems with the idea of "new volumes": either by definition or by mistake, this catalogue includes re-editions of the same book in different years (five in total) as new books, a phenomenon that is not observed in the other lists.

On the other hand, it seems that the *Index Translationum* compiles information mostly from well-known publishing companies, until more recent years when the National Library of Korea is acknowledged as the information provider. So, on top of its

accessibility, it includes the greatest number of volumes. From the *Index Translationum* we can extract a corpus of "Korean works translated into English and published in the United States".

4.1.2.2. Korea Literature Translation Institute Database

As mentioned, my desire to be exhaustive in the corpus led to the Korea Literature Translation Institute database (hereinafter KLTI). This database was begun in March 2001 with the integration of functions and responsibilities previously held by the Literature Department of Korean Culture and Arts Foundation and the Korea Translation Foundation. It is more comprehensive with respect to translated works and it is accurate regarding anthologies and collections of short stories. This assessment can be justified both by its closer connection to Korean publishers (when there is a simultaneous edition) or access to the resources of other Korean governmental organizations whose main fields of action are precisely shorter texts (like the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation and its journal *Korean Literature Today*). Moreover, the database focuses on literary works, so the only "non-fiction" books found are essays on literature.

However, the KLTI has three major drawbacks. First, it includes volumes pending publication or published by minor companies in English in South Korea, which are very unlikely to have reached any other country. Second, some of the volumes included in the translation list are compilations or studies written originally in English (like essays on literature). Rewritings of traditional oral texts are also common, presenting the researcher with the question of defining what is meant by a "translation," as my research focus does not deal with the oral tradition. Third, some of the volumes presented as translations in English from Korean were originally written not in Korean but in German, Japanese or Chinese. So its corpus is defined as "Korean works of literature in English." To sum up, in trying to be exhaustive, it includes volumes that are unsuitable for my study.

4.1.2.3. An Sonjae's List of English Translations of Korean Literature

For the above reasons, I had to look for further sources of information on volumes available. When looking for other people or organizations who might have worked for the promotion of Korean literature in translation, I came across Brother Anthony of

Taizé (his Korean name is An Sonjae), a translator and Emeritus Professor at the English Department of Sogang University in Seoul. Brother Anthony compiled a list of *English Translations of Korean Literature Published before 2001* (An 2006), which covers translations since 1978. This became the third database consulted in my research. *English Translations of Korean Literature Published before 2001* (hereafter ASJD) includes some volumes that cannot be found anywhere else. It is possible that the inclusion of these volumes may have come through direct communication with the translators themselves, as Brother Anthony is well-known within Korea: he is active and productive in the academic world, which is the same world as that of the translators of the volumes he has listed. Individuals alone cannot have works included in the *Index Translationum* and it would be complicated to do so in the KLTI. That is why the ASJD list may be one of the most complete regarding translated fiction.

However, the list's drawback is the distribution of the volumes. It includes many volumes published by minor publishing companies in Korea, putting in doubt the possibility that they can be accessed from the United States.

An Sonjae has published various articles on the situation of Korean literature in English (An 2000; An 2007), in which he enumerates other databases that may be consulted to double-check the relevance of books and translations as well as to find the full references of books.

4.1.2.4. Wrong data in the databases

I had assumed that by having two databases of translations, the corpus was going to be easy to compile. However, several omissions and mistakes were spotted in the databases, sometimes making the selection of the works complicated.

In some cases, the same title appears with a different year or published in a different place. *Folk Tales from Korea* appears twice in the *Index Translationum* and three times in the *KLTI*. According to the Library of Congress, it was originally published by Routledge in 1953, and it was later reprinted by Hollym International in 1969. As no major modifications had been made, I have accepted Routledge 1953 as the correct entry. *The Square* by Choe Inhun is also registered twice in the *Index Translationum*, in 1985 and 1987, but only one edition was released. *This Paradise of Yours* (1986) by Yi Chongjun appears twice in the same year in the KLTI.

Sometimes there are discrepancies between databases. According to An Sonjae, *Black Flower in the Sky* by Jeong Kisok was published in Honolulu by the University of Hawaii Press, while in the KLTI is registered as a publication of Katydid Books, New Mexico. In reality, it was a joint publication that came out in 2000. The same thing happens with *Songs of Flying Dragons*, registered in 1975 in the *Index Translationum* and 1974 in the KLTI database. The Library of Congress confirmed the 1975 entry.

Several references to a book called *The Hermitage of the Flowing Water* from 1967, which appeared again with the same details in 1982, ended up being a database mistake. The 1967 volume was called *The Running Water Hermitage*; it included four short stories by Hahn Moo-Sok and it was translated by Chung Chong Hwa and published in Seoul by Moonwang Publishing Company, while *The Hermitage of the Running Water* was translated by the Korean Literary Translation Association and it included nine short stories by different authors, most of them members of the association.

In other instances, the information is partial. The biography of Paek Mun-Gyu (a North Korean journalist), although recorded in the *Index*, is partially in Korean, does not give the English title *Reminiscences*, and offers the name of the author as the publisher. *Voices of Dawn* and *The Ever White Mountain*, in spite of appearing in the *KLTI*, only give references to British and Japanese publications respectively. However, my further research showed that *Voices of the Dawn* was distributed in the United States by John Day Co., and Tuttle had published *The Ever White Mountain* not only in Japan, but in its normal combination, Kobe-Vermont, according to the Library of Congress database.

Finally, funnily enough, *The Cry of the Harp and Other Korean Short Stories* and *One Way and Other Korean Short Stories* do not appear in any database, in spite of being part of the Best Korean Short Stories series published by Sisa-yong-o-sa and Pace International, whose other ten volumes are registered.

These examples point not only to the deficiencies of the databases but also to the unstructured method I had to use for information gathering. Usually, this happens when the bibliographical information is not widely available or it is built on one-off efforts instead of a prearranged approach. It also makes us reconsider to what extent the data on the translation flow should be trusted.

All in all, the lack of reliability made it impossible to use any of the prior databases on its own; I had to consult secondary sources.

4.1.2.5. The Library of Congress

If there is one database that supposedly includes all the works on Korea ever published in the United States, it is the Library of Congress catalogue. However, Korean works are listed in the Asian section, whose search options are slightly different from the main catalogue. While the main collection can be browsed by publication date or subject search, in the Asian Collection the author field or the title field cannot be left empty and there is no possibility of doing a search by publication date. Given the 240,000 volumes available in the Korean collection (Library of Congress 2010), any filtering according to our criteria (literary, translations, from 1951 to 2000) would have been a titanic effort. However, the Library of Congress catalogue was a good tool to double-check publication dates that were not the same in the other databases. Also, books with the Library of Congress registration number in the credits page confirmed their arrival in the United States and whether the book was considered a translation or not.

4.1.2.6. Other databases

The Korean Culture and Arts Foundation (KCAF) have put online a list of 1,847 works of Korean literature translated into English. It mostly contains information on short stories published in hard-to-find periodicals or in books long out-of-print. As it provides information on different editions of the same work, this list has proven very useful when seeking the place of publication of some volumes. Browsing through it presents the same limitations as browsing through the Library of Congress catalogue: lack of usability for my classification purposes. The KCAF is also responsible for the quarterly *Korean Literature Today*, edited by Korean PEN, which offers on-line translations of poems, short stories and segments of novels, some of which are listed in the KLT database. Similar samples can be found in *Korea Journal*, a quarterly published by the Korean UNESCO. The KCAF also published the *Introductory Bibliography of Korean Literature* (KCAF 2002), a volume that lists recent translations sponsored by them in different languages. It has been of great help to analyze the current translation situation in Korea and to provide information on subsidies and sponsorship. However, due to their lack of diffusion and recent publishing dates, these sources did not seem particularly useful for my research.

The Daesan Foundation's homepage is another source of translated works. The Daesan Foundation has a program of grants to translate and publish Korean works. However, the program has some drawbacks, and many of the works remain unpublished. Thus the list cannot be taken as a reference.

The last provider of volumes for my research was the library of the University of Yonsei in Seoul. Not only has this institution always promoted and published translations but it also holds the private collection of its former president Horace G. Underwood, a missionary and author of *Partial Bibliography of Occidental Works on Korea* (1931). Several early translations were found in the "Underwood Collection" section of the library. In the general reading room, other volumes were found besides the ones I was looking for. The search engine of the university's main library allowed the subject line "Korean – translations" and language discriminations, thus becoming a very useful tool to complete the corpus.

4.1.2.7. Amazon.com

In spite of all the information compiled, I was unsure as to whether the titles listed in the KLTI and ASJD as having been published in the Republic of Korea had reached the American public. *Amazon.com* became the tool to verify availability.

Amazon gives an accurate image of what is available to the American public. It not only provides their own selection of books, but also includes information on volumes held by other bookstores, second-hand bookstores and private sellers. Once the information on a book is entered into the database by any of the possible sellers, it is kept for future reference, even if the book is out-of-print or unavailable. Government documents are also listed, making this a good reference database for grey literature, had my interest been driven in that direction. There were thus guarantees that the volumes listed in Amazon, even the minor technical reports, had been available to the American public at some point in time.

Amazon's most valuable asset was its advance-search engine. On top of the usual options of author, title and keyword search, it allows for discrimination by publication date ("before-during-after year") and the topic search is precise. The results can be presented according to different criteria: best-selling, publication date, author a-z/z-a, title a-z/z-a, and the total number of results are given with the list. On the left-hand side, the titles are organized under secondary subject headings, which include the

entry “other languages”. It is also possible to discriminate them by “New–Used–Collectible”. For a more specific search, there is a Boolean Search tool for all these fields called “Power Search”.

However, as Amazon was not designed to be a translation researcher’s tool, it has some limitations. The most important drawback is that “translation” as such does not constitute a field. Often the translator appears as another author of the book and is included in the author field search, and only some books are marked as translations in the book review section. Unfortunately it was nearly impossible to determine whether other books were translations or not, with some exceptions such as Korean leaders’ speeches (Kim Il Jeong, Rhee Syngman, Park Jeong Hee), some technical works that included the Korean title, and the books I had previously identified in other databases.

Further, the flexibility of the subject organization provides wider results on a first search but may lead to erroneous conclusions when consulting the secondary subjects. These secondary subjects are not reciprocally exclusive. For example, books listed under Korea-Non-Fiction may also be listed under Korean-Military, making the numbers given by the secondary subjects unreliable.

The most important limitation, though, is due to changes in the interface of Amazon. In 2008, the Boolean Search disappeared for some of the fields and the results obtained now are different from the data collected in the first place. The unreliability of the results made it risky to include them in the corpus, but the information offered by this tool is still relevant regarding works available in the United States. The data offered in the present research was compiled in November 2007.

4.1.3. Main characteristics of the corpus

I can conclude that each catalogue specializes in one sector, depending on its background, scope and possibilities. The *Index* is the place for reference books in any field (in addition to acceptable information on non-fiction in general); KLTI is the option for compilations of short stories; ASJD is the most complete source for translations of fiction. Other catalogues can offer accurate information on publishing dates, places and availability, for consultation when incoherence is encountered. Still, libraries always hold surprises for adventurous readers and researchers.

To sum up, the figures on Korean literary translations into English published in the United States from 1951 to 2000 have been extracted from two main catalogues for

the first period of the research (1951 to 1975): the *Index Translationum* (UNESCO 1951-2005) and the *Korea Literature Translation Institute Database* (Korean Culture and Arts Foundation). For the second period (1976 to 2000), the list of *English Translations of Korean Literature Published before 2001* (An 2006) has also been used. In addition, I have taken into account the volumes found in the libraries that fulfilled the previous criteria (fiction, translation, 1951-2000) and the volumes included in the KLTI and ASJD that, despite being published outside the United States, were listed in Amazon and were thus presumed to have been distributed in the United States.

4.1.4. Locating the volumes

For the purpose of this research it was important to have access to the physical volumes. Volumes often provide information on subsidies, grants and other translators, which epitexts like the bibliographical note does not include. Moreover, the second part of the study is an analysis of the peritexts, which requires having the volumes in-hand.

First, libraries were consulted. Nearly all the volumes from the first period were located in the Horace G. Underwood collection of the University of Yonsei Library. This private library was donated by the first Dean of the university, a Methodist missionary who collected books on Korea and Korean research. Two of the three remaining books were found in other libraries in Korea, leaving just one volume from the first period missing.

Locating the volumes in the second period was a much more complicated and expensive task. Surprisingly few volumes were to be found in Korean university libraries and few more could be bought in second-hand bookstores (even those co-published in Korea). The most recent ones were available second-hand from amazon.com at a reasonable price, usually with stamps from libraries or missing pages. However, most of the corpus for the second period (around a hundred volumes) was either out of print, unavailable, or available at an unaffordable price.

To compensate for this deficiency, Google Books was also used to look at covers, introductions and translators' notes whenever the book was available. Sometimes, reviews were consulted in order to extract more information on the volumes and agents of the translation. While not many reviews were found in newspapers, journals like *Korea Journal* or *The Journal of Asian Studies* were an excellent source of information.

More specific information will be provided in the following section, but to give a general idea, out of the total corpus of 162 volumes for both periods, only 95 were physically accessed; additional information was found on 19 further volumes, and only bibliographical information has been collected for the remaining 48 volumes.

4.2. Corpus of publications

4.2.1. Time span

In the minor dissertation, the first period studied covered 1950 to 1974 (Torres 2003), but for this research I decided to consider the first period from 1951 to 1975. At first, 1950 was chosen due to its historical importance (it marks the beginning of the Korean War, whose relevance is stated in the introduction). However, it can be argued that any historical influence may not be revealed in the publication process until some time has passed, and there were not any actual results for that year, so in order to make the quantitative analysis easier, I decided to take 1951 as the starting year. In this way, the study is divided into two comparable and easy to divide twenty-five-year stages: from 1951 to 1975 and from 1976 to 2000.

4.2.2. Definition of literary forms

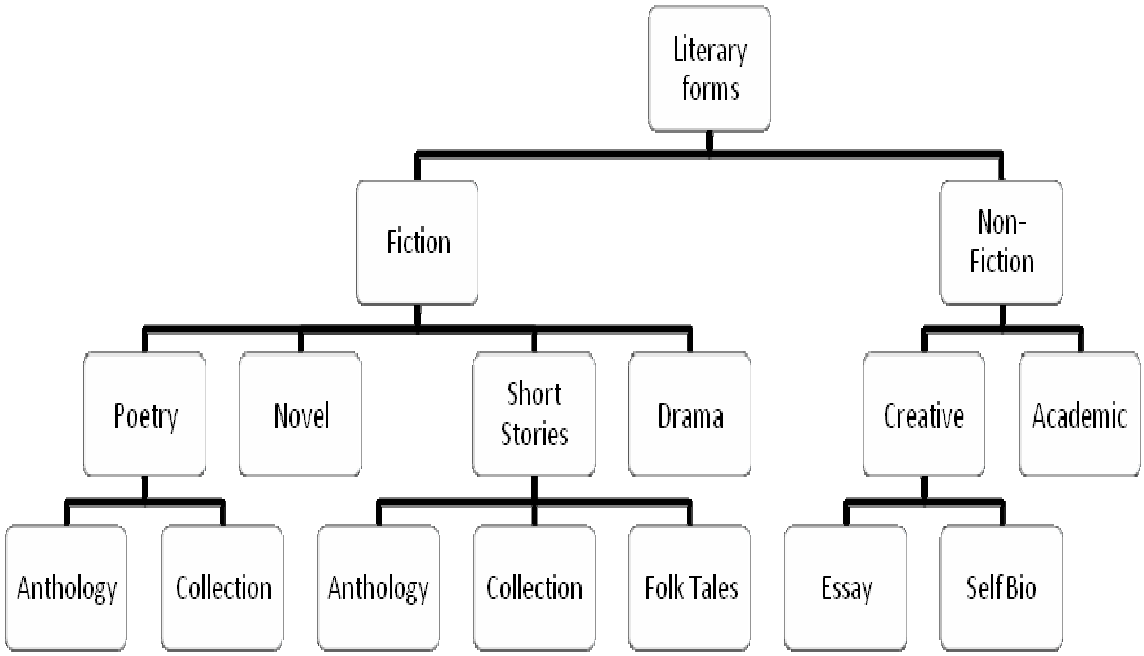
I had assumed a growing variety of literary forms, with declining presence of anthologies and more emphasis on particular authors. This was hypothesized as proof of specialization of the corpus. But for the comparison of literary forms, it became necessary to define these forms. While everyone agrees on what the three classical "genres" are (epic, drama, lyric), the criteria for classifying literary forms (like poem, novel, or short story) are not consistent and are the subject of constant argument (see, for example, Derrida and Ronell 1980).

Initially the division was made in accordance with the *Index Translationum*. The *Index* classifies translations into nine sections similar to the Dewey Decimal Classification system applied in most libraries: 1 General and Reference, 2 Philosophy and Psychology, 3 Religion and Theology, 4 Law, Social Sciences and Education, 5 Natural Sciences, 6 Applied Sciences, 7 Arts, Games and Sports, 8 Literature, 9 History and Geography. This division, while accurate and helpful for locating books by topic,

did not served the purpose of the desired comparison of this study, as it placed most importance on non-literary works while embracing all literary works in one section, and did not classify forms such as poetry, drama, and novel. Therefore a division applicable to this study was created. Books were classified on three levels:

- On the first level, they were divided between fiction and non-fiction.
- On the second level, fiction was divided into poetry, novels, drama and short stories, while non-fiction was divided into creative and academic. Academic non-fiction will not be looked into in this research.
- On the third level, poetry was divided into anthologies (compilations of poems by different authors) and collections (compilations of poems by the same author either listed by the author, the editor or the translator), while short stories were counted as folk tales, collections or anthologies. Creative non-fiction was divided into essays and self-biographies (see Table 1 for a summary).

Table 1: Division of literary forms



Once the corpus was compiled, the 223 volumes were arranged chronologically, analyzed in detail to discard non-valid volumes, and counted.

4.2.3. Is that a translation?

Some of the examples found then made me wonder and reconsider the definition of "translation." On the one hand, I found some works that do not refer to a clear source text. On the other hand, some source texts did not seem to be written in Korean, but often the case is that the original work was in a sort of written Chinese, which would correspond to Old Korean.

4.2.3.1. Oral tradition

As mentioned, the lack of a reference to a source text made me wonder to what extent I had a translation in my hands or not. While some cases have proven not to be translations, in the case of folk tales the base is usually oral tradition. For example, in *Tales of a Korean Grandmother* (New York: Doubleday, 1947), the acknowledgements show little interest in a possible Korean original. Instead, Frances Carpenter claims to base its content on other translations of folk tales and personal accounts by her father, who visited Korea in 1888.

Korean Folk Tales (1994) by James Riordan follows a similar process. It talks about compiling folk tales but he does not clearly mention from where they were compiled from.

4.2.3.2 Is it Old Korean, Korean?

The suspicion that some originals may have not been written in Hangeul, the Korean script, was reinforced by comments found in different peritexts and reviews. In an open letter to a scholar studying his work, the translator John Meskill praises the scholar's studies on Choe Pu and mentions "I should study Han'gul" (Meskill 2003: 1). This confession implies that his specialization was most likely Chinese.

Although a distinct spoken language can be traced back to 100 BCE (see Jo 2008), the literary and administrative language used in the peninsula was classical Chinese. That is, until the nineteenth century most canonized Korean literature was written in Chinese, in spite of the existence of Hangeul, the Korean writing system created in 1443. Actually, it was post-liberation nationalism that boosted the usage of Hangeul in a way to create a national identity fully differentiated from Chinese and Japanese. Getting rid of Chinese characters (and Japanese *kanji*) effectively masked the

influence of China and Japan on Korean culture. A current saying is that the Chinese are now "one-eyed in Japan and blind in Korea," meaning that Japanese *kanji* still give hints to Chinese speakers, but Hangeul is a completely different script.

All in all, several classics like *Songs of Flying Dragons* must have been written in Old Korean/Chinese. The same holds for the tales by Im Pang and Yi Ryuk. Yi Ryuk was born in the mid-fifteenth century, that is, when the Hangeul system was invented but centuries before it was used in written literature. As the translator James S. Gale was fluent in both Chinese and Korean, his source texts could have been either the Chinese originals or translations into Korean of the Chinese originals.

Choe Pu's Diary: a Record of Drifting Across the Sea also dates from the fourteenth century. It is the record of Choe Pu, a Korean soldier who, travelling from Jeju Island to the mainland, encountered a storm and accidentally arrived in China. As mentioned above, its translator John Meskill was not familiar with Hangeul.

Poetry can also often be written in Old Korean. *Slow Chrysanthemus: Classical Korean Poems written in Chinese* and *Hyangga, Oldest Korean Songs* (1986) are two examples of poetry written in Chinese. Its translator, Kim Joyce Jaihiun, must be well familiar with it.

Peter H. Lee (1997: 3) complains that there has not been a clear definition of what the classics are, and to what extent works written in Chinese (90%) as well as works written in vernacular would account for it. However, from the way these works are individually presented it is taken for granted that they are considered "classics." Actually, Lee continues his article on Korean Literature in the United States giving a list of which works he includes in his syllabus for doctoral candidates. This list includes most of the translated works in this corpus. In any case, as I was more worried about the flow of Korean literature into English and not so much about determining what type of Korean the original was written in, all these volumes are perfectly acceptable for this research.

4.2.3.3 Volumes with translations

References were found to early compilations of tales by Kang Younghill: *The Grass Roof* (Kang, 1932) and *The Happy Grove* (Kang, 1933). As they fall out of our time span, they would not have been taken into account anyway, but they made me reflect on how much of a book must be a translation for it to be accepted as such. In these cases,

The Grass Roof includes some translations of poetry from unnamed Korean sources, while *The Happy Grove* is a biography written in English but which includes some of the poems referred to in *The Grass Roof*. Although both volumes were presented as translations, when the books were accessed it became clear that those poems did not even account for 20% of the book, being the rest originally written in English.

Modern Far Eastern Stories (1981) made me think of how much of an anthology has to come from Korea for it to be considered Korean literature. This compilation of short stories includes not only Korean stories, but also Malaysian, Japanese, and Chinese. As I was not able to locate it physically I was in doubt as to whether to consider it a Korean-to-English translation. My reasoning for including it was that, if there were at least two or three Korean stories, the translator should appear in the corpus. The criteria for defining the activity of a translator (see chapter seven) is based on the quantity of volumes or short stories published. If the translator has more than one translation, they will be treated like any other active translator in the corpus. If this volume was a one-off experience, the translator's active status will be discarded.

This consideration is important not only for the delimitation of the corpus, but also to show a tendency to highlight the Koreanness of works partially or completely written in English. Buzelin noted in her research on independent publishers that while publishers regard translation as important they also consider it costly and difficult, incurring an additional risk in the publishing process (2006: 137). Therefore it would be less risky for publishers to publish works on Korea that originally written in English seems.

4.2.4. Corpus of publications, 1951 to 1975

I initially wanted to consider as translations from Korean into English all the items that appear both in the *Index Translationum* and in the KLTI database.

According to the *Index Translationum*, the total number of books translated from Korean into English and published in the United States from 1951 to 1975 was 21.

According to the KLTI, there were a total of 56 volumes translated from Korean into English during the same period (1951-1975). Several of these turned out to be works written by American writers or short stories in periodicals, so the number could be reduced from 56 to 31. Nine of them had already appeared in the *Index Translationum*. Then I ended up with 48 volumes: 21 from the *Index Translationum*

plus the 22 volumes included in KLTI but not in *Index Translationum*, plus five volumes found in the library of Yonsei University (see Table 2).

However, when looking carefully at the titles, I noticed that there were twelve non-fiction books, three pseudo-translations, one entry repeated, three volumes that did not correspond to our time span, and eight volumes that were unlikely to have reached the United States. The final list can be found in the Appendix 1.

Table 2: Korean-English translations from 1950-1975

Period	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	ALL
Index Translationum	1	2	2	3	4	12
KLTI	4	1	2	1	14	22
Both	2	1	1	2	3	9
Yonsei Library	2	1	1	1	0	5
Total	9	5	6	7	21	**48**

Thus the final corpus of literary Korean works translated into English and distributed in the United States from 1951 to 1975 comprises 21 volumes (see Table 3).

Table 3: Literary Korean-English translations from 1951 to 1975

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	ALL
Index Translationum	0	1	1	0	1	3
KLTI	0	1	2	0	4	7
Both	2	0	1	2	4	9
Yonsei Library	0	1	0	1	0	2
Total	2	3	4	3	9	**21**

Despite the significant increase during the process of my research, the total volume of publications (21) is still very small for a 25-year period. Even the total number of volumes (48) including non-fiction and inconsistent records looks small for the period. The total appears even smaller if I compare it with the number of translations from Japanese and Chinese published in the United States during the same period (see Table 4).

Table 4: Translations from North-East Asian languages into English published in the United States (*Index Translationum*)

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	Total
Korean	2	3	4	3	9	21
Chinese†	12	61	94	146	160	467
Japanese†	32	48	68	90	109	325

†Figures for 1973-1975 retrieved from the online version.

Moreover, the Japanese and Chinese translations, unlike the Korean ones, seem to acquire certain regularity and show a tendency to grow in frequency.

The low number of results, especially for the first period, made me reconsider some assumptions about distribution and availability. Korean-English translation was happening; the American public was theoretically eager to know about Korea. However, publishing did not seem to be taking place in the United States. Further research showed that volumes published in the United Kingdom, Australia, Japan or Korea could have reached the United States easily, as many foreign publishing houses had distribution arrangements with local companies.

In spite of the drawbacks, the use of Amazon was not only useful to double-check availability in the United States, but could also provide a good picture of the imports from Korea, and perhaps of public expectations in the United States. A "Power Search" on Amazon for literature published in English from 1951 to 1974 on the subject "Korea" gave no fewer than 640 results (see Table 5 for a comparative summary). Most of the titles were technical works (485, several of them translations), followed by translations of Korean leaders' speeches (82), literary works (71, of which 33 were translations) and war-related books (12, of which five were possible translations). The total of 640 includes the 48 I had identified previously.

Table 5: Comparative of Korean translation in the corpus vs. Amazon.com (1951-75)

Period	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	Total
The corpus	2	3	4	3	9	21
Books on Korea	12	98	165	170	300	640

The data presented in Table 5 confirm a clear rise in publications on Korea since the Korean War. So why were there so few translations?

4.2.5. Corpus of publications, 1976 to 2000

For the second period, as mentioned, three main databases were consulted: the *Index Translationum*, the *Korean Literary Translation Database*, and *English Translations of Korean Literature Published before 2001*.

The *Index Translationum* offers a total of 103 results. The *Korean Literary Translation Database* offers a total of 116 entries. Of those, 51 correspond to entries in the *Index Translationum* (36 shared by all), 33 more appear in the ASJD as well, and 32 are listed in the KLTI only. Then, the ASJD provide 78 entries, 36 shared by all, five

that appear in *Index Translationum* but not in KLTI, and 33 that appear in KLTI but not in *Index Translationum*. This leaves four that appear in ASJD only. Finally, libraries provided eight extra volumes (see Table 6 for a summary).

Table 6: Korean translations in the United States from 1976 to 2000

Period	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000	ALL
Index Translationum	11	16	23	24	29	103
KLTI only	3	14	6	6	3	32
ASJD only	0	0	0	1	3	4
KLTI and ASJ	6	3	7	7	10	33
Library	0	3	5	0	0	8
Total	20	36	41	38	45	180

The total number of volumes correspond to those in the *Index Translationum* (103), plus those that appear in the KLTI only (32), plus those that appear in the ASJD only (4), plus those that appear in the KLTI and ASJD but not in the *Index Translationum* (33), plus those volumes found in libraries (8). The total is 180 volumes. A full list is included in Appendix 2.

As happened in the first period, when looking carefully at the volumes I found several inconsistencies. There were 31 volumes of educational non-fiction, two volumes that were not actually translations, and six wrong references in the catalogues: four repeated entries and two more with real publication dates outside the timespan. Thus 40 volumes were discarded, leaving the final corpus of Korean literary translations published in the United States from 1976 to 2000 at 141 (see Table 7).

This second period gives more promising results than the first, as there is at least one volume published each year and an average of six volumes per year. All in all, in spite of a tendency to a slow and steady growth, there are still peaks and changes. It is also true that the information on the volumes is more accurate and readily available for this second stage.

Table 7: Korean literary translations in the United States from 1976 to 2000

Period	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000	ALL
Index Translationum	7	10	18	14	21	70
KLTI only	3	14	3	5	3	28
ASJ only	0	0	0	1	2	3
KLTI and ASJ	6	3	7	7	9	32
Library	0	3	5	0	0	8
Total	17	30	33	27	35	141

However, the difference with the number of volumes located through Amazon.com is still significant. A search for literature linked to the subject-word "Korea" from 1976 to 2000 offered a total of 3320 entries (see Table 8).

Table 8: Comparative of Korean translations in the corpus vs. books on Korea (1976-2000)

	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000	*Total*
The corpus	17	30	33	27	35	141
Books on Korea	379	486	668	761	1026	3320

These data are relevant in order to gauge the importance of translations in relation to the volume of publications on Korea or related to Korea. There were obviously many more non-translations than translations in this period, and the latter provide a context for the former.

Before moving to the relevance of these results, it is interesting to see them in a more global context.

Table 9: Classification of volumes subsidized by KLTI (1980-2002)

Language	Modern Poetry	Classical Poetry	Modern Short Stories	Modern novel	Classical prose	Drama	Special Issue	Criticism	Fairy Tales	Total
English	25	7	27	33	6	2	3	2		105
French	18		31	23	1	6	1	1		81
German	13		12	16	2	3	5	1	4	56
Spanish	15		7	3				1		26
Russian	1		2	1						5
Polish		1	2	1		1				5
Italian			2	1						5
Portuguese	1	1	2							4
Czech	1	1	1	1						4
Swedish	2			1						3
Malaysian			1							2
Japanese	1	1		1						2
Dutch	1			1						2
Chinese	1			1						2
Turkish			1							1
Rumanian										1
Bulgarian	1									1
Total	80	10	88	83	14	12	9	5	4	305

We can compare these numbers to other statistics and information offered on the state of translation from Korean before 2000. The Korea Literature Translation Institute published in 2003 *An annotated Bibliography of Korean Literature in Translation* summarizing all works translated from Korean from 1980 to 2002 with financial support by the institution.

As we can see in Table 9, 105 books are recorded as being translated into English and published with KLTI support. While the figures do not fully correspond to the ones in our corpus, it is an interesting source for comparison with the translation of Korean into other languages.

First, we can see that there has been a lot of support to promote Korean literature in American and European languages. Those languages account for nearly 300 volumes (298-299 volumes to be more exact). Asian languages, on the contrary, only have six volumes subsidized – seven if we consider Turkey part of Asia.

Second, most investment has been directed to the translation of modern works: Modern Short Stories (88 volumes), Modern Novel (83 volumes) and Modern Poetry (80 volumes). The classics have been utterly neglected, according to these results: Classical Poetry (ten volumes), Classical Prose (14 volumes) and Fairy Tales (4 volumes, all of them into German).

Third, there are outstanding differences in desirable literary forms in the major languages. English favors the modern novel; French prefers compilations of short stories; German also prefers novels but also shows a peculiar interest in fairy tales; Spanish mostly translates modern poetry.

Of course, even if we add up all the volumes subsidized, the results are still far from the total figures of translation of Korean works.

4.3. Does history control translation?

My research covers translations published between 1951 and 2000, dates chosen on the assumption that there would be a sudden rise of interest in Korea at the beginning of this period.

Admittedly, there had been some exchanges before 1951, as mentioned in the introduction. Mostly it was missionaries that had arrived in the Korean peninsula from

China or Japan. So there were foreigners and translation in Korea before the Korean War. Translations compiled by church-related foreigners include *Corean Tales, Korean Folk Tales: Imps, Ghosts and Fairies, The Tiger of Tong San* or *Other Korean Short Stories.*

Since Korean did not appear in the *Index Translationum* until 1953, the above volumes were not found in the available databases but in the Underwood Division of the Rare and Old Books section of the University of Yonsei's library.

The above volumes have only been taken into account if reprinted within the time span, but it is important to note that some type of translation was happening prior to my research period.

Now, my initial assumption was that the sudden interest created by the American intervention in Korea's internal affairs would result in an increase in translations. If we look at Table 10, we can see that results only partially confirm that assumption.

From 1951 to 2000, there are 162 literary translations from Korean into English published in the United States. However, an average of 0.84 literary translations per year in the first 25 years can hardly be considered a "sudden increase." The second stage presents more stable figures, with 5.68 published volumes per year but, still, how significant are the figures if compared to other translation flows?

Table 10: Korean translations 1951-2000

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
All translations	9	5	6	7	21	20	36	41	38	45
Literary translations	2	3	4	3	9	17	30	33	27	35

Hekkanen positively values 28 volumes of Finnish literary prose translated in Britain from 1945 to 1995 (2009: 2). Özkan counts 53 translations from Turkish into Greek from 1960 to 1989 and 192 translations of fiction in the 21 following years and considers the later an "overwhelming increase" (2011: 8). Compared to its closer neighbors, however, Korea is at a clear disadvantage: for example, Karashima locates 487 translated volumes of Japanese published in the United States from 1996 to 2005 (2007: 32).

Considering these examples, I understand that there is a rise, which is evident, but it does not match the expectations I had when I assumed a "sudden rise." Also, the increase in volumes seems not to correlate closely with the bilateral historical events.

Since comparison with other flows in terms of quantity is difficult - the previous examples give completely different figures -, I decided to compare this flow with the general production of works on Korea. If we compare the data in the corpus with the data on books on Korea in Amazon, we first see a clear difference in quantity. While the catalogues results add up to 193 volumes, Amazon.com lists a total of 4065 volumes.

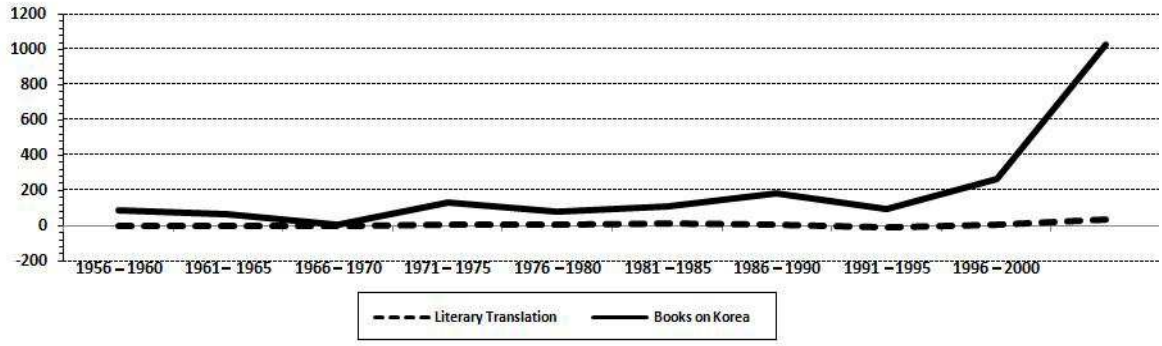
Table 11: Comparison of Korean works in the corpus vs. Amazon (1951-2000)

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
Corpus	2	3	4	3	9	17	30	33	27	35
Amazon	12	98	165	170	300	379	486	668	761	1026

Although both present clear growth, Amazon's growth is more steady, while the corpus has small ups and downs.

I compared the two sets of data in terms of growth tendencies: that is, I calculated the increase of volumes every five years to analyze the stability of the growth. Figure 3 shows how many more volumes were published in a five-year period in comparison to the previous five-year period. If in period there were fewer volumes published than in the preceding period, the results will be negative.

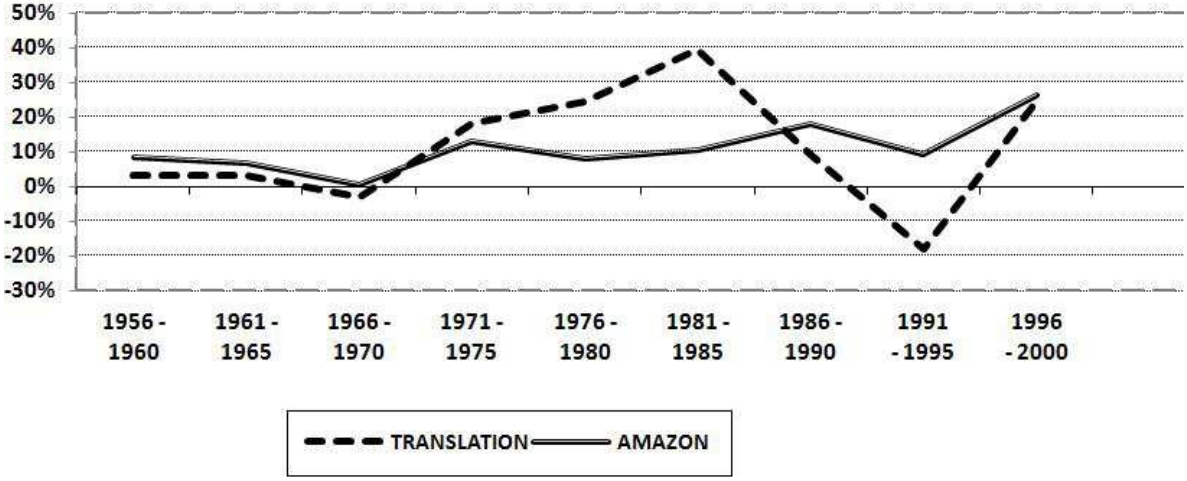
Figure 3: Growth of Korean translations and books on Korea



The differences are clear, as literary translation does not seem to have as many ups and downs as the quantity of books on Korea, nor the same tremendous increase.

Still, as the total numbers are very different, the curves are difficult to compare. Therefore, I calculated the normal deviance - that is, I divided the difference of volumes of each period between the total of volumes in order to see what percentage of growth of the total growth I was dealing with. This calculation offers results for very different data (as it is ours) on a similar scale (0 to 1). The results of the calculation are offered as percentages in Figure 4. For example, from 1991 to 1995 literary translation underwent a nearly 20% decrease, while books in Korea increased by nearly 10%. In this way we can compare the growth of Korean translations (the corpus) and the growth of books on Korea (Amazon).

Figure 4: Average growth of Korean translations and books on Korean



The resulting graph (Figure 4) shows that the corpus of translations has a tendency to regular growth, with the exception of a clear peak in the 1980s, which corresponds to the collection of 25 works published to celebrate the 30th anniversary of UNESCO-Korea. However, Amazon shows a very different pattern. It does not seem to be regular, but instead begins high in the 1950s, drops dramatically in the 1970s, and has a very clear revival during the 1980s. Then it goes down again in the 1990s to recover at the end of the century. These peaks could correspond to the major historical events between the United States and Korea. The 1950s correspond to the Korean War, which is a topic that eventually tires out; the flow then begins to recover with the end of the Cold War and the spectacular economic recovery of the Asian Tiger, with the Seoul 88 Olympics as its culmination point. The Asian economic crisis of 1997 then puts Korea on the map again.

So, while book production seems to develop in rough parallel to historical events, *literary translation* does not appear to present this direct correlation. However, since the number of translations is small, the quantitative analysis needs to be completed, at each stage, with attention to qualitative data.

That is, there is still an evolution of the translation flow, which needs to be studied in more detail.

Chapter 5: What is translated?

5.1. Translated volumes

I had assumed in my initial claims that specialization of the corpus could be seen by analyzing what was translated and checking that there was a growing variety of forms, with declining presence of anthologies and more emphasis on particular authors as well as a greater heterogeneity of topics.

Here I will thus first analyze what topics are most often covered in translation, then I will list the most translated authors, and last I will present the volumes classified by form. I will see if there are correlations between the most translated topics, the topics linked to the most translated authors, and the literary forms they use.

Then I will draw conclusions about the evolution of these three features.

5.2. Development of topics

In order to study the topics found in the corpus, four categories were defined bottom-up, after the corpus was collected and a preliminary analysis was carried out. That is, the categories correspond to the most common issues dealt with in the works as seen in a general overview. Those issues were isolated on the basis of the plot, the author's affiliation, and the paratextual presentation of the work, that is, the elements of the book that are highlighted in the introduction and prefaces. As the topics are not mutually exclusive, there was a possibility that one volume could be categorized under more than one label. I decided to avoid this possibility, and assigned only one topic per volume, choosing the most prominent one according to the above-mentioned criteria.

The resulting categories were: "Modernity," for volumes that highlight a contemporary Korea and post-modern Korean literature; "Spirituality," for books that

rely on highlighting a connection with a superior being; "Struggle," for works whose main concern are the hardships encountered by the Korean people represented by their characters; and "Tradition," for the classics, bucolic poetry and story-telling, and other works set in pre-annexation Korea. Due to the large number of anthologies covering more than one topic, I had to include the label "mixed," and the lack of access to some volumes resulted in the addition of "Unknown." These categories will be further explained in each sub-section. The overall results can be seen in Table 12.

Table 12: Number of volumes by topic

Modernity	19
Spirituality	23
Struggle	53
Tradition †	41
Mixed	20
Unknown	6

†Includes two volumes of children's literature

Further analysis of each category will show how the labels were defined, how the works were classified and what sub-topics were covered.

5.2.1. Modernity

Fourteen works are identified within "Modernity." Under this heading I have classified novels and short-story collections centered on social development in a wide sense, and more specifically on works that deal with social changes unrelated to the Korean War. That is, the works are associated with subjective experience, the search for an egalitarian society, urbanization and, consequently, technology. Within the possible sub-topics I have located works that center on social issues (Social) and gender differences (Gender). There are also some works that center on an image of modern Korea, a country that has left the Korean War and post-War behind (Post-post). The most experimental works, in which introducing new literary techniques such as self-consciousness, montage, paradox or the dehumanization of the subject is more important than the actual topic covered, have also been classified as such (Experimentation). Works like *The Metacultural Theater of Oh Tae-sok* (2000), which presents Korean avant-garde theatre, or *The Snow Falling on Chagall's Village* (1998), which introduces the "poetry of no-meaning" by the modern author Kim Choon-soo

(KLTI 2002: 25), raise the question of whether a post-modern category would be necessary. The literary critic Kim Yoon-shik wonders "if postmodernist literature has really emerged in Korea" on the basis that the so-called post-modernist literature did not propose its own aesthetic characteristics, but merely imitated other schemes (Y. Kim 1998: 168). The purpose of my research is not to provide a formal explanation of a literary movement in Korea, but a more humble study of the image of Korea that was constructed in our catalogue of translations. In that sense, I understand that both modernist and post-modernist works have left behind the trauma of the war, which is one of the main concerns of research, so there is no major loss if I classify "post-modernist" works under the label of Experimental.

Table 13: Sub-classifications of "modern"

Gender	Experimentation	Industrialization	Post-post	Social
2	10	2	3	2

As can be seen in Table 13, while some social issues and optimism appear, modern works are related to the introduction of new techniques in Korean prose and drama. On gender and social issues, we find *The Valley Nearby* (1997), which introduces the story of a woman who tries to reconcile cultural tradition and a need for individuality. *This Paradise of Yours* (1986) locates its plot in a leper island in Southern Korea and represents the choice of the islanders between fear of the outside world and the desire to experience adventure and love. In a straightforward but optimistic style, Hwang Tong-gyu embraces the joy of living in *Wind Burial* (1990).

5.2.2. Spirituality

Next, twenty-three volumes are labeled as Spirituality. In the novels and short stories, the main topic addressed is religion, either the suffering of the main characters due to their religious principles or the interaction between different religions in Korea. In poetry, the poems are also analyzed or presented from a religious point of view.

I have divided Spirituality according to the main religion represented, (Buddhism or Christianity) or if different views clash within the generic "Religion." Some works, especially in poetry, convey a communion with nature, very closely related to Taoism or even Shamanism, but do not explicitly mention any philosophy. I have categorized these under the label of "Nature."

There are some connections between topics and authors. Ko Un and Han Yong-un are writers with a deep Buddhist influence; Kim Chi-ha and Ahn, I-suk present Christian suffering; stories like "Portrait of the Shaman" by Kim Dong-ni show the clash between traditional Korean religion (Munism or Shamanism) and the newly introduced Christianity. Seo Jung-joo, on the other hand, is one of the poets that praise the beauty of nature.

Table 14: Sub-classification of "Spirituality"

Buddhism	Christianity	Nature	Religion
9	6	4	4

In principle, Table 14 indicates not the position of religion in Korean society, but its connection to religion in the West. As we saw in the Introduction, in 2005 23% of Koreans defined themselves as Buddhists, 18% as Protestants, and 11% as Catholics. There were fewer than 1% Confucian practitioners. However, the non-religious majority (47%) share a cultural Confucian and Buddhist background. So, to a certain extent the results coincide with the statistics on religion in Korea. At the same time, Table 14 highlights two important points of connection with the West: the spread of Christianity in Korea, and Western interest in Buddhism.

In most cases, these stories are about martyrdom and suffering. Christianity was severely frowned upon and even persecuted in traditional Korea. The Japanese empire in the twentieth century requested Koreans to adhere to the Japanese national religion, Shinto, with the consequent ostracism of Buddhism, Shamanism and Christianity. After the war, Communist opposition to religion resulted in North Korea's active "discouragement" of religion. However, Buddhism is said to be tolerated as a traditional cultural practice in North Korea. In any case, all religions have stories of suffering to share, which relate closely to another common topic in Korean literature: Struggle.

5.2.3. Struggle

Religious suffering directly connects with the topic of "Struggle." The main characters in these works fight in despair against surrounding hardships. Kevin O'Rourke begins an article on literature after the Korean War noting three elements inseparably linked to Korean literature:

> Pessimism has been the dominant note in modern Korean literature. Nationalism has been the dominant note in modern Korean literature. Romanticism has been the dominant note in modern Korean literature. (O'Rourke 2003: 291)

O'Rourke claims that Korean fiction presents "a man totally alienated from a cruel, unfeeling society [...] heightened by a pervasive concept of fate or *unmyeong*" (2003: 291), but with burning aspiration. It is not strange, then, that Struggle is a predominant topic in our corpus. It is important to note that "struggle" here does not convey multilateral opposition and ultimate triumphalism, as perhaps in Marx and Gramsci's concept of "class struggle," but relates to bearing and overcoming the hardship borne by Koreans. It is linked to the Korean concepts of *unmyeong* (preordained fate) and also to Korean *han*, often defined as

> a feeling of unresolved resentment against injustices suffered, a sense of helplessness because of the overwhelming odds against one […] and an obstinate urge to take revenge and to right the wrong. (Yoo 1988: 221)

Park Kyung-ni expresses this more briefly as "sadness and hope" (in Kroman 2000).

Thus, Struggle here relates to hardship, endurance, and hope, but not necessarily to success. It is centered more on the process than on the outcome.

I have divided these stories into Pre-liberation (during the Japanese occupation), War (from liberation to the end of the Korean War), Post-war (accounts of the effects of the war and subsequent military dictatorships), and Political (if their publication relates to the political importance of the main character/writer). Several anthologies and collections include stories or poems covering all these topics, without clearly centering on only one.

Table 15: Sub-classification of "Struggle"

Anthology	Political	Pre-Liberation	War	Post-war
24	2	7	6	13

If we leave anthologies aside, we see that the post-war period was a constant source of Struggle topics, with thirteen volumes and a certain balance between accounts of Japanese colonial times and difficulties during and after the war.

In general terms, Struggle is one of the most recurrent topics in Korean literature in translation. This is not entirely surprising since, first, it coincides with the emergence of Korean literature, and second, the difficulties authors experienced were destined to become a source of creative work. Moreover, as most works were written at a time when Koreans were trying to create not only a national literature but also a national identity, the notion of Struggle tends to be considered of utmost importance when defining what Korea is.

5.2.4. Tradition

Identity is also defined by Tradition. I have sub-divided topics related to Tradition into Children's stories, Folk tales, Classical works, Pre-modern anthologies and Traditional collections. The difference between the last three rests on when they were created. "Pre-modern" anthologies are works prior to the twentieth century. *Anthology of Korean literature from early times to the nineteenth century* (1984), for example, covers from the sixth to the nineteenth century; *Early Korean Literature: Selections and Introductions'* selection dates from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Tradition refers to twentieth-century works that were created within traditional norms regarding form and content. That would be the case of *Modern Korean Verse in Sijo Form* (1997) or *Distant Valleys* (1994). Classical Works refers to canonical texts, works representative of literary development or of higher traditional importance like *Songs of the Dragons* (1971), but also popularly recognized works like *Fragrance of Spring* (1959) or *Best Loved Poems of Korea selected for Foreigners* (1984).

Table 16: Sub-classification of Tradition

Children	Classical	Folk tales	Pre-modern	Traditional
2	20	6	10	3

In the process of building a national image and a national literature, the high number of Traditional and Tradition-inspired works is not surprising. One recalls that Korea was undergoing a process of recovering a national identity that had been suppressed not just by the Japanese influence but also by Western "modern ways," as I mentioned in the Introduction.

5.2.5. Mixed and Unknown

Last, there are fourteen anthologies and three collections that have not been classified under one topic as they deal with more than one topic. They are labeled as "Mixed". Also, in some cases, neither the volumes nor a reliable summary or review of the work was found. Those six instances have been labeled as "Unknown."

5.2.6. Evolution of topics

In Table 17 we can see the main topics of Korean literature divided into five-year periods.

As can be seen, in the first stage Traditional topics are usually covered. This could be due to an avoidance of conflict regarding the Japanese colonization, to greater importance placed on the image of a country with a long-lasting culture, or even to the fact that accounts based on the experience of the War were just beginning to appear in Korean.

Table 17: Evolution of topics found in Korean literature in translation

Topic/ Year	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
Modern	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	6	3	5
Spiritual	0	0	0	0	0	5	4	3	6	5
Struggle	0	1	0	1	3	3	12	13	8	14
Traditional	2	2	4	1	4	3	5	6	7	7
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	1
Mixed	0	0	0	0	2	5	5	3	2	3

Translations of works set in the pre-liberation period correspond to the 1980s and later (1982, 1983, 1995, 1996 and 2000), with the exception of *The Yalu Flows*, published in 1956. This account of the early stages of Japanese occupation seen through the boyish eyes of the author mostly reflects the changes rural societies began to undergo, and it was translated into English from German.

In the 1970s, general anthologies are introduced and in the second stage new topics like religion and Modernity appear. Not surprisingly, Modernity is touched upon in the later years.

The 1980s mark a clear rise in works on Struggle. Still they are combined with translations that focus on Tradition. In general, Struggle could be said to define the translated literature of the second period, but the inclusion of other topics promotes a more heterogeneous image of Korea.

So is translated Korean literature representative of Korean literature?

5.3. Who has been translated?

In order to see how representative Korean literature in translation is, I will look at which authors have been translated and I will compare the results with the authors usually studied in Secondary Education in Korea and Higher Education in the United States.

The most published authors in translation will be studied according to two categories. First, authors with solo works, that is, novels written alone or collections dedicated either to them or to a maximum of two authors. Second, authors that appear most in anthologies of translated works. This division was made since the two sets of data are difficult to compare. As was mentioned in the introduction, short stories are a very important form in the development of Korean literature. Anthologies of short stories allow the inclusion of many different authors, even of those who might not be that relevant for the general evolution of the national literature. Secondary authors might appear in one or two anthologies, but the relevant authors will appear in most of them. Indeed, important authors may appear more than ten times. Novels and solo works, on the other hand, are not usually retranslated and therefore their authors might disappear from the results if they were not classified in a different table.

Each author has been assigned the topics of the works they have in translation to see to what extent that correlates to the appearance of topics previously stated. That is, in the previous section we could see that the most common topics were Tradition and Struggle, and we would like to see if the most translated authors cover those topics.

Eighty Korean authors can claim to have at least one work published in English translation in the United States. Table 18 shows the rank of the most published authors, including the main literary form they specialize in, the number of translated works published, and the author's year of birth. A full list can be found in Appendix 3.

Table 18: Most-published Korean authors in translation (long works)

Name	Main form	Topic	Translated works	Year of birth
Hwang, Sun-won	Novel	Struggle	7	1915
Choi, In-hoon	Novel	Modernity/ Struggle	4	1938
Kim, Chi-ha	Poet	Modernity/ Struggle	4	1941
Seo, Jung-joo	Poetry	Spirituality/ Tradition	4	1915
Han, Yong-un	Poetry	Spirituality	3	1879
Kim, Dong-ni	Novel	Spirituality/Struggle	3	1913
Ku, sang	Poetry	Modernity	3	1919
Lady Hong	Novel	Tradition	3	1735
Park, Wan-suh	Novel	Modernity	3	1931

Anthologies introduce the work of 246 authors (see Appendix 4 for a full list). The most published authors in translation appear in Table 19, with the main literary form they publish in, the topics they can be linked to, the number of anthologies in which their works are included (there can be more than one short story or poem in each), and their year of birth.

Table 19: Korean authors that appear most often in translated anthologies

Name	Main form	Topic	Anthologies	Year of birth
Hwang, Sun-won	Novel	Struggle	14	1915
Kim, Dong-in	Short stories	Struggle	10	1900
Kim, Dong-ni	Novel	Spirituality/Struggle	10	1913
Choi, In-hoon	Novel	Modernity/ Struggle	9	1938
Han, Yong-un	Poetry	Spirituality	9	1879
Kim, So-wol	Poetry	Tradition	9	1902
Park, Wan-suh	Novel	Modernity	9	1931
Yi, Sang	Novel	Modernity	9	1910
Yun, Tong-ju	Poetry	Tradition	9	1917

Five authors appear in both rankings: Hwang Sun-won, Choi In-hoon, Han Yong-un, Kim Dong-ni and Park Wan-suh. Hwang Sun-won is a very prolific writer, with some well-known novels (*The Book of Masks*) and short stories. Choi In-hoon is responsible for *The Square* and *The Daily Life of Ku-poh the novelist*, as well as for introducing new techniques in prose via his short stories. Han Yong-un is a Buddhist poet, revered in Korea for his activism against the Japanese, but also famous for the poem "Nimui Chinmuk" (translated as "The Silence of Love" or "Silence of the Beloved"). This Buddhist allegory explains the story of a woman who cannot and does not want to

forget her past beloved. This "beloved" or "nim" can be interpreted in terms of sensual love, ideal or spiritual figure or nation, becoming a reference to the loss of cultural identity under Japanese rule. Kim Dong-ni's most famous short story, which he later developed into a novel (*Portrait of a Shaman / Ulhwa the Shaman*), represents the conflicts between Christian and Shaman beliefs. Park Wan-suh is the only woman in the top nine, but she is probably the most international of them all. One of her recent novels *Who Ate up All the Shinga?* (published in Korea in 1992, translated in 2009) sold 1.5 million copies in Korea only.

Kim Chi-ha, Ku Sang, Han Yong-un, Yi Sang and Yun Tong-ju are all examples of how literature can oppose the abuse of power. Yi Sang and Yun Tongju met with early deaths; Han Yong-un was an active fighter against the Japanese empire. Ku Sang experienced persecution in North Korea and had to flee to the South. Kim Chi-ha was repeatedly imprisoned for raising his voice against the corruption of the military dictatorships.

Undoubtedly, these translated authors are all important in modern Korean literature, but are they representative of the top ten (top eighteen, actually) Korean authors prior to the moment of translation?

5.3.1. The representativeness of the corpus

Evaluating the representativeness of authors is always a thorny issue, but it becomes even more complicated when there is no clear information on what Korean national literature is supposed to be. First, I considered using as the main source the volume *Who is who in Korean literature* by the Korean Literary Translation Institute. However, I soon located some biased omissions in it. For example, there is a very low percentage of women. Montgomery (2011: unpaginated) points out that only two of the ten women presented in a recent anthology of women writers (*Questioning Minds*, University of Hawaii Press, 2012) appear in this volume. Second, early century writers, especially those with a leftist past, do not appear. This could be evidence of lack of reconciliation between past factions in certain sectors. The Korean Literary Database collects all authors, as well as critics and other literature-related people, but does not give any hints about the graded relevance or the artistic merits of the authors.

I then tried to access the basic curricula for Korean literature in secondary education. However, Korean literature is introduced not just as a subject but students

also study literary texts in Korean-language classes since junior high school. As Korean books must be approved - if not be written - by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (according to KMEST 2013), analyzing them could provide a full picture of what Korean students are expected to learn about Korean literature. In 2012, Tongkeung-Sesang, a children's publisher, working with the advice of Seoul National University experts, published a collection of works that included all authors recorded in the 14 approved textbooks in existence. This collection includes all the novelists and short-story writers in our top ten, except Choi In-hoon. Actually, three of the authors have two volumes dedicated to them: Hwang Sun-won, Kim Dong-ni and Kim Dong-in. The other three authors with two volumes each -Yom Sang-sop, Hyun Shin-gon and Chae Man-shik - also appear in our corpus. Yom Sang-sop only has two items in anthologies while Hyun Shin-gon has six stories in anthologies, and Chae Man-shik has several translated works: short stories in six anthologies and an award-winning novel. In the most translated authors list, Park Wan-Suh and Yi Sang have a volume each. So, with the exception of Choi In-hoon, we could say that the most translated novelists and short fiction writers are representative of what is studied in Korean secondary education. It's difficult to justify why Choi In-hoon is not in this list. He is one of South Korea's most acclaimed authors and his novel "The Square" is a steady seller in Korea with 25,000 copies sold on average per year, 48 years after its first publication in 1961 (Bong 2009). It could be that he is included in the volume 79, which is dedicated to university entrance exams or included in the drama or essay volumes, two literary forms he has also cultivated. It could also be the case that *The Square* is considered too controversial for high school students to read: It was the first novel to deal with the divided system criticizing both equally to the point that the main character eventually decides to reject both Koreas and asks for asylum in India. Informal surveying among acquaintances hinted that Choi In-hoon's work was studied but not read.

In the two volumes dedicated to poetry (out of 80 volumes), three of the six poets are mentioned in the list (Kim So-wol, Han Yong-un, Seo Jeong-ju). The remaining authors (Ku Sang, Kim Chi-ha and Yun Tong-ju) might appear in those two volumes, too, as the list is not complete. Since the collection is centered mostly on modern works, Lady Hong does not appear.

On the whole, the most translated Korean authors are representative of the most studied Korean authors.

5.3.2. The representativeness of the corpus in the US

In order to see if these authors were also representative of target-culture expectations I compared my list of translated authors to the authors studied in a sample of literature-related subjects in Korean Studies programs in the United States. I looked at three literature subjects in the Korean Studies Program in the University of Hawaii: "Korean narratives," "Literature in translation," and "Introduction to Korean literature;" "Korean Literature in Translation" from the University of Southern California; "Border Crossings in Modern Korean Fiction" in the UCLA's Korean Studies Program; "Introduction to Korean Literature" at Boston University; and "East Asian Texts in Translation" at Florida International University.

In general, most of the syllabi cover short fiction and novels rather than poetry. Also, there is a tendency to cover modern rather than classical literature, although half of "Introduction to Korean Literature" at Boston University is dedicated to classical works.

Only four of the most translated authors are not studied in any of the subjects: Ku Sang, Lady Hong, Han Yong-un, and Yun Tong-jun. Five other authors are studied in only one subject: Kim Chi-ha, Seo Jung-joo, Kim So-wol, Choi In-hoon, and Kim Dong-ni. Kim Dong-in is studied at two universities; Park Wan-suh and Hwang Sun-won at three universities; and Yi Sang at four universities (see Table 20 for a summary).

Table 20: Representativeness of most translated authors

Author	Translated works (solo/anth)	Who is who	Junior Collection (volumes)	Us Syllabus (out of 5)
Choi, In-hoon	4/ 9	Y	0	1
Han, Yong-un	3/ 9	Y	1	0
Hwang, Sun-won	7/ 14	Y	2	3
Kim, Chi-ha	4	Y	0†	1
Kim, Dong-in	10	Y	2	2
Kim, Dong-ni	3/10	Y	2	1
Kim, So-wol	9	Y	1	1
Ku, sang	3	Y	0†	0
Lady Hong	3	N	0	0
Park, Wan-suh	3/9	Y	1	3
Seo, Jung-joo	4	Y	1	1
Yi, Sang	9	Y	1	4
Yun, Tong-ju	9	Y	0†	N

†Not a full list of poets is provided

So, who are the most studied authors? Comparing the syllabi, only one author that is not among the top nine translated authors is studied at all universities: Lee Kwang-su. Four universities also cover Na Hye-Sok, Cho Se-hui and Kim Young-ha - who are not in our top nine - as well as Yi Sang, whom I mentioned above.

Lee Kwang-su's short stories appear in eight anthologies in our corpus, and *The Heartless*, which is considered the first Korean novel, is studied at secondary school. A dedicated Korean nationalist in his youth, he worked for the Korean Provisional Government in exile while he lived in Shanghai. Later in his life he would collaborate with the Japanese and allegedly died in North Korea. However, he was a pioneer of early Korean fiction and very active in literary circles until liberation.

Cho Se-hui is usually presented in connection with "A small ball tossed up by a dwarf," the first short story to criticize the negative effects of Korean industrialization. The story of this unlucky dwarf that represents the thousands of "little people" who were sacrificed in the name of the economic miracle has been a steady best-seller, reaching its 200th printing and having sold almost a million copies since the first publication in 1978 (Fulton 2006: 222). His stories appear in four anthologies and he has an entry in the *Who is who* volume.

In a similar way, Yi Sang is often linked to "Wings". Written in 1936, this portrayal of the weird relationship between an a-social man and his prostitute wife is considered an example of innovative and even post-modern narrative. In spite of his short life (he died at the age of 27), Yi Sang is widely studied and republished and one of the most important literary prizes in Korea is named after him.

Na Hye-sok is an exceptional case: she was considered the first professional female painter of Korea and her short story "Kyung-hi" (1918) is seen as the first piece of feminist writing in Korea. Like other early modern women writers, she is excluded or perfunctorily mentioned in the tracing of early Korean fiction, in spite of having published prior to great voices like Kim Dong-in, Yong Sang-sop or Hyon Chin-gon (cf. Kim 2002: 3). She does not appear in the *Who's who*, in the list of secondary school works, nor in our corpus. Kang Kyung-ae is another female name that appears in university syllabi but does not appear in the Korean references.

Kim Young-ha does not appear in any list either but for a different reason: he is too contemporary. Born in 1986, his first novel *I have the right to destroy myself* was

published in 1996 and translated into English in 2007, after the success of *Photo Shop Murder* (translated in 2003). He has been translated into several languages and is considered the leader of the new generation of international Korean authors, together with Shin Kyung-Sook. This shows the flexibility of university syllabi to incorporate new authors in comparison to the time that passes before an author becomes representative of a national literature.

All in all, what is translated into English does not match completely what is taught in English. First, short fiction is more often introduced in the syllabi than novels. This could be due to time constraints in the courses: as lectures want students to cover as many authors as possible, short stories are more often suggested for reading than novels. Second, the selection of works is much more contemporary in academia. The revision of what is "core" does not need to be is the domain of the professors only and this allows more flexibility. Third, authors who deal with "Struggle" and "Modernity" tend to be the ones selected for the classes, with a certain under-representation of other topics like Spirituality and Tradition. And this is the most relevant finding of the comparison

So, if we consider our corpus to be representative of Korean translation, Korean literature is not well represented in United States academia. At the same time, if we consider Korean literature taught in the United States as the reference literature that should be exported, the selection of works for translation is not the most adequate. In conclusion, there seems to be a gap between who is translated for the American market and who is studied in the United States. That gap implies that in spite of the students of Asian culture as an important target audience, there is a wider reading public.

5.3.3. Correlation of authors and topics

As hinted at in the selection of authors in university syllabi, the topics authors are associated with sometimes play an important role in the selection of their works for translation or for inclusion in an anthology.

If we look at the topics associated with the authors we notice the importance of Struggle and Modernity. Modernity proportionally appears more often in the correlation with authors than in the analysis of topics. We also notice the decline of Tradition as a topic.

It is understandable that Tradition does not usually appear associated with authors. Several of the traditional Korean stories that have reached our time are anonymous, as they often came from oral tradition.

The criteria for creating anthologies and, to some extent, the criteria to define what a national literature is might explain this rise of "Modernity." When trying to define for the first time what is most important or most representative in a literature, there is a tendency to choose texts that have provoked change. Therefore, those short stories (and their authors) that have successfully introduced new techniques into Korean tend to be represented. However, those anthologies are often presented beneath a different umbrella, like general literature, literature of resistance, or even women's literature, or whatever defines the general topic of the volume. So, there are two tendencies: in favor of which authors are considered most important, and what topics are considered most relevant. In our corpus their connecting point is the same: "Struggle."

Struggle is the topic most commonly covered in translation; Struggle is associated with most of the most-translated authors, and by extension is in the canon of Korean literature; Struggle is also part of the syllabus of American universities.

Therefore, "Struggle" is the baseline of our corpus, the link between source-created suggestions and target-oriented expectations, if we consider universities to be the prospective recipients of the translation. All in all, our corpus seems to be more attached to source-created suggestions rather than target-oriented interests.

5.4. Literary forms and anthologies

5.4.1. Literary forms

If we look at the translations in relation to literary forms, we find that in both stages most volumes are compilations and anthologies (see Table 21).

Table 21: Translations by literary form from 1951 to 2000

	Fiction								Non-Fiction	
	Poetry		Novel	Short Stories			Drama	General Literature Anthology	Creative	
	Anthology	Collection		Anthology	Collection	Folk tales			Essay	Self-bio
1951-1975	8	3	1	2	0	4	0	0	1	2
1976-2000	22	36	30	32	4	3†	3	3	0	8

†Includes Children's literature (1 volume)

Besides the great quantity of compilations and anthologies, which will be looked at in detail below, several changes in literary forms between the two stages are to be mentioned.

First, folk tales are characteristic of the first stage. Although some are to be found in the second stage, they are anecdotic in comparison with the total quantity of volumes. Second, works in the first stage are shorter. There is a tendency towards easily divisible works in the first stage. Actually, the longer works in the first years are not even translated from Korean, but from German or Chinese. It is not until the second stage that direct translations of longer works appear. Third, drama translation and general anthologies pertain to the second stage, even including some folk drama and songs like *Farmers' Dance* (1999) or *A Korean Century: River and Fields* (1991).

If we look at the publications divided into five-year periods, not only are the previous considerations confirmed but one more can be added: poetry and the novel rise more clearly than short stories, which would descend if it was not for the 1981-1985 peak (see Table 22). That peak corresponds to the Si-sa-yong-sa collection of short stories, which has previously been mentioned.

Table 22: Translations by literary form from 1951 to 2000 (in 5 year periods)

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
Poetry	0	1	2	2	6	5	4	15	18	16
Novel	0	1	0	0	0	3	4	9	6	8
Short Stories†	2	0	1	0	3	6	19	5	2	7
Drama	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
General Anthologies	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Creative Non-fiction	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	2	1	2

†Includes Folk Tales and Children's literature (7 volumes)

Looking at the figures, one must wonder to what extent translations of Korean works into Englishthis selection - and especially the figures of the later years - are representative of what Korean literature is or of what American readers would choose.

There are some convergences. With the passing of time, there are fewer short stories published - a literary form that is not very popular in the West - and more novels. And novels are one of the bestselling literary forms. Actually, according to 2008 data, the bestselling genre in paperback fiction is the romantic novel, followed by science fiction and horror stories (Grischy 2008). None of these literary forms are represented in our corpus. Montgomery (2012) claims that one of the reasons for the lack of success of Korean literature in translation is its lack of agreement to American genre expectations. Actually, he shows that recent successes were works that fitted into a specific genre slot: *Your Republic is Calling You* (thriller), *The Photo Shop Murder* (horror) and *Please, Look after Mom* (women's literature or "Oprah-type tearjerker" in Montgomery's definition).

This called my attention to the high number of poetry volumes published. If we look back at Table 9, we notice that poetry is widely published in French and German, and is by far the most commonly published literary form in Spanish, according to the KLTI; it is also the literary form with representation in most languages, and six authors among the most translated ones are poets. Nevertheless, it is not a mainstream form in our corpus. How can this difference be explained?

It is true that here is a wide network of small publishers that center on poetry, and that facilitates publication. However, this seems to reinforce the source-created selection of works. Without looking into detail at the works selected, it seems that they would fit more what Koreans find attractive and representative than what it would reach the American public most successfully. I will now move on to see if anthologies follow the same line.

5.4.2. Collections and anthologies

As explained in the data analysis, I distinguish between two types of compilations. Anthologies include works by different authors, which in the original edition were often part of different works, too. Collections, on the other hand, include works by the same author, which were often a book in the original. Now, how might one explain the

predominance of compilations in our corpus? There are several theoretical and practical explanations possible.

On the one hand, the promotion of the source literature is highlighted as a cultural task performed by anthologies. Moreover, it may help to promote the "emancipation of an indigenous literature from less desirable cultural influences" (Kittel 1995: xv-xvi). From the point of view of the source culture, anthologies and compilations allow a culture to present different versions of itself in one volume and at the same time help aim at a wide range of readers. From the point of view of the target culture, anthologies can provide new impulses to the target literature. Publishers moreover have the chance to decide how much (how many pages) they want to invest in the chosen potential audience.

On the other hand, short texts might appear to be easier for inexperienced translators to render. Different translators can work on the short stories separately and then collect them in a compilation. In this way, the individual translator has more time to work. Also, translations can be published individually in journals and periodicals, giving translators publication experience if not monetary reward. Different stories can be presented more than once according to different criteria: author, time span, topic, etc.

We must bear in mind that while biographies and diaries have a longer tradition in Korean literature - actually the majority of translations presented here correspond to historical characters -, novels are a very recent phenomenon. It is understandable, then, that novels only begin to be translated in the second period.

If we look at the distribution of anthologies and collections (see Table 23), other characteristics of the flow come to the surface.

Table 23: Anthologies and collections (1951 to 2000)

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
Anthologies	2	1	3	2	6	7	20	11	8	12
Collections	0	0	0	0	3	4	5	12	12	11

Anthologies (compilations of the works of different authors) are clearly greater in number than are collections (compilations of works by the same author) in the first stage. As the flow develops, collections begin to appear until the last five years of the second period, when there are as many collections as anthologies. This evolution is clearer in poetry (with no collections in the first stage but 23 from 1991 to 1996, in comparison to 10 anthologies) than in short stories (with more anthologies than

collections), although it is also true that it is more common to find poetry collections than short story collections on the book market in general. As we argued in Chapter 3, this phenomenon is a sign of the specialization of the flow.

The content of the anthologies also differs in the two periods. While earlier anthologies include shorter texts (*20th Century Korean Short Stories*, *Poems from Modern Korea*), general anthologies (on Korean literature) are to be found in the second period only: *Modern Korean Literature: an Anthology* (1990) edited by Peter H. Lee, *Modern Korean Literature* (1995) by Chung Chongwha, *An Introduction to Classical Korean Literature* (1996), or *Korean Classical Literature* (1989). It is understandable that first compilations introduce what is available (usually poetry), while further development of the flow is necessary for a more complete introductory volume. Lefevere reaches similar conclusions in his analysis of anthologies of African poetry, noting that "the simple availability of products constitutes a constraint under which anthologists of African poetry have to operate" (1992: 126). In Chapters 8 and 9 I will see to what extent this tendency towards generalization in anthologies correlates with the presentation of Korean literature in paratexts.

5.4.3. Collections and anthologies by topic

If we look at the distribution of topics in anthologies (see Table 24) and collections (see Table 25) we also notice an evolution.

Table 24: Anthologies by topic (five-year periods)

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
Tradition	2	1	1	1	2	0	4	5	3	4
Struggle	0	0	0	1	2	1	10	3	3	5
Mixed	0	0	0	0	2	5	5	0	1	1
Spirituality	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Modernity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total Anthologies	2	1	3	2	6	7	20	11	8	12

Table 25: Collections by topic (five-year periods)

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
Tradition	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	3	0
Struggle	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	3
Spirituality	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	5	4
Modernity	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	2
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Total Collections	0	0	0	0	3	4	5	12	12	11

First, as happened with other literary forms, certain topics are part of the second period only. “Modernity” and “Spirituality” begin after 1976, while Struggle appears at the end of the first period in collections and a little earlier in anthologies.

This reinforcement of Tradition at the beginning of the period can be understood as a tendency to highlight the country’s long cultural development. It is also a way to avoid Japan-related and war-related topics. In the post-war situation, the trauma of the colonization and the war was too recent to be dealt with in detail. Also, the works on post-war struggle were being written in Korean in the middle of our time span and it is difficult to decide which ones have the quality or the relevance to be classified as priority works to translate. They became translatable works some years later, when their literary value or their importance in the development of Korean literary tradition was clearer.

The predominance of anthologies and particularly compilations of classical poetry and fairy tales reinforces the image of a Traditional Korea.

5.5. So, what is translated?

After having looked at the topics, authors and literary forms, we can summarize certain characteristics of our corpus of translations.

First, while anthologies tend to highlight Tradition, the corpus as a whole is centered on Struggle.

Second, classical and modern volumes are translated but there is a delay in translating contemporary works. In general, a certain stretch of time needs to go by for works to be considered "translatable."

Third, the corpus of translations seems to be more representative of what Koreans think their literature should be than of what American universities consider relevant to include in their syllabi.

Fourth, poetry is the most translated literary form in spite of not being the most popular one. This is another indicator of source-created counseling, as it is valued literary form in Korea. At the end of the time span, we can see the representation of several literary forms, including drama, so there is growing heterogeneity.

Last, compilations are the most important presentation format for the works. Anthologies appear broadly in the first stage, while collections are a fact of the second stage.

All in all, the corpus shows a tendency to specialization on two levels: a growing variety of literary forms and a declining presence of anthologies. There is also an emphasis on particular authors – Hwang Sun-won, Park Wan-suh, and Lee Kwang-su.

As I collected the information for the corpus, I found certain characteristics that hint at a particular text selection and publishing scenario, which I move on to investigate in the following section.

5.6. How is it published?

On the one hand, the choice of works and the translation of titles indicate a poorly coordinated exportation process. On the other, the reutilization of texts, in the sense of publishing the same translation in different anthologies, suggests a publishing process that differs from the standard procedure where someone commissions a translation, the book is translated, and someone publishes it.

5.6.1. Same title, different translations

The corpus selection was often complicated by the constant repetition of some titles. Combined with unreliable databases, this made us double-check bibliographical data in several cases.

There are always some books that, due to their historical importance or acceptance in the target culture, are more readily translated. For example, the *Diary of Lady Hong* (*Hanjungrok)* has been published as *Han Joong Nok: Reminiscences in Retirement* (1980) by Bruce K. Grant and Kim Chinman, *Memoirs of a Korean Queen* (1985) as part of the PhD thesis defended by Yanghi Choe Wall at the University of Canberra, and *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng: The Autobiographical Writings of a Crown Princess of Eighteenth-Century Korea* (1996) by Jahyun Kim Haboush. Similarly, *The Shaman Sorceress* had been published under the title *Ulhwa the Shaman* and *Portrait of the Shaman*.

This phenomenon is to be expected when building a corpus of translations. What is nevertheless surprising in our case is the quantity of volumes with similar titles, leading to confusion in the catalogues.

There are two works with the name *Modern Korean Literature: an Anthology*: one was edited by Peter H. Lee in 1990 and the other by Chung Chong-wha in 1995. *Modern Korean Poetry* might correspond to the selection done by Kim Jaihiun in 1994 or the one by Chung Chong-wha in 1983, or the earlier compilation of the PEN Korean Center in 1970. One *Contemporary Korean Poetry* was compiled by Ko Won in 1974, while the other was by Kim Jaihiun in 1994. They should not be confused with *The Contemporary Korean Poets* (Kim Jaihiun 1980) or *Anthology of Contemporary Korean Poetry* (Ko Chang soo 1980).

This confusion with titles increases when compilations of short tales tend to choose the same short story as the reference in the main title. For example, I found an edition of *The Rainy Spell* published in London by Onyx Books in 1983, and another with the same title but a different translator and a different selection published in the United States by M.E. Sharpe in 1998. Selections and translators are also different between *The Stars and Other Korean Short Stories* (1980) translated by Edward Poitras and *The Star and Other Korean Short Stories* (1996) translated by Agnita Tennant.

Similarly, Han Young-un's poem *Nimui Chimmuk* might lead to confusion in translation. The twentieth-century anthology of Korean poetry *The Silence of Love* (1980) compiled by Peter H. Lee should not be confused with the 1985 collection of poems by Kim Jaihiun published by Prairie Books with exactly the same title. In 1999, a new collection by Kim Jaihyun and Ronald B. Hatch was published as *Love's Silence*.

Actually this poem is often also translated as *My lover's silence* and *Silence of the Lover*.

This repetition of titles seems to point to either a lack of diffusion within Korean Studies of what is already available in translation or to a poorly coordinated joint strategy of national translation. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Korea was still in the process of defining what their national literature was during the time span of this research. Therefore it is not surprising that a coordinated strategy, theoretically started by the creation of the Korean Literature Translation Institute in the 1980s, took some time to bear fruit.

5.6.2. Translations have a past

When reviewing the bibliographical data, I found that several volumes have been published more than once. Novelty, understood as new creation, may not be the most widespread characteristic of the corpus. Chapter 8 will discuss in detail the approach to novelty in the paratexts, but what is clear is that repetition and reutilization are often present. Works can have different "pasts."

5.6.2.1. A past in a different language

Some of the books had been translated into other languages before being translated into Korean. Zeong In-sob indicates in the foreword that *Folk Tales from Korea* includes many tales previously compiled in the Japanese collection *Ondoru Yawa*, co-written by the translator and adapting stories by Bang Jeong-Hwan.

The cases of *The Story Bag* and *The Yalu Flows* hint not only at a previous publication in another language, but also to an original source text in a different language.

The Story Bag (Vermont 1955) is a translation of folk tales by the Korean storyteller Kim So-Un, which was written in Japanese under the title *Negi o ueta hito*. Although there is a Korean version of this book, the translator is Japanese. And the cover shows the title, the author's name, and the translator's name in Japanese and in Korean.

The Yalu Flows was written by Li Mirok, a Korean activist, during his exile in Germany, and although it was translated into Korean later on, it was originally written

in German. The translator lived in Austria and does not mention any knowledge of Korean.

There were some further examples in the volumes listed in *Index Translationum*, but since they are non-fiction, they are not part of the corpus. Still, the findings suggest a practice more common than expected. The migration of Koreans towards Europe and the United States and the situation of Korean before liberation, with Korean banned and Japanese as the official language, could explain why Korean literature was not written in Korean only.

Indirect translation - understood as a translation from a third language - is useful for publishers for two reasons. First, that third language usually has a better-established translation industry or better connections with the target system. Second, the third language acts as a trial system for success.

The issue of indirect translation will be tackled in-depth when analyzing the translators in the corpus.

5.6.2.2. A past in journals

Some of the novelists began their careers producing short stories, a form that has attracted attention from translators, either for the advantages of working with a shorter text or due to its wider range of publication possibilities (i.e. journals, magazines, different compilations). In translation, short stories seem to follow a similar pattern. Many stories are first published in literary journals are later compiled in book form, as an anthology of short stories either by the same translator, by the same author or on the same topic. This is the case of *Black Crane* (1982), *Words of Farewell* (1989), *The Prophet and Other Stories* (1999), *The Rainy Spell and Other Korean Stories* (1998), or *Wayfarer* (1997).

The Korean National Commission for UNESCO also prepared two series of short story collections to celebrate their 30th anniversary. The twelve volumes comprising “The Best Korean Short Stories” and “Modern Korean Short Stories” series were co-published and co-funded by Sisa Yong-o-sa and Pace International in 1983. They bring together translations previously published in UNESCO’s *Korea Journal*, organized according to period or topic. For example, *Home-coming* covers the writers of the 1960s, *Hospital Room 2005* introduces the best female writers, and *The Cruel City* compiles stories on the process of urban migration.

In spite of the general assumption that poems are especially difficult (or controversial) to translate, poetry is one of the most popular Korean literary forms, and often poems were translated for journals and periodicals, to be compiled later. The first of these anthologies was *Contemporary Korean Poetry* (1970), but many others would follow. After 1975 I find anthologies of poetry like *The Contemporary Korean Poets* (1980), *Love in Mid-Winter Night* (1985), *The Wind and the Waves* (1989), or *Pine River and Lone Peak* (1991), and little by little there come complete books by the same author - and even sometimes by the same translator: *Wren's Elegy* by Mo Yunsuk translated by Kim Jaihiun (1980), *Selected Poems of Pak Mog-wol* translated by Kim Uchang (1990), or *Heart's Agony* by Kim Chiha, translated by James Han and Kim Wonchun (1995).

In poetry, *sijo* is one of the most studied and translated verse forms. *Sijo* is a Korean composition in verse written in Hangeul and often sung. *Voices of the Dawn* (1960), *The Ever White Mountain: Korean Lyrics in the Classical Sijo Form* (1965), *The Bamboo Grove: An Introduction to Sijo* (1971) provide a good sample. With the evolution of the translation flow, some translators began to specialize in poetry or even in a specific type of poetry. An Sonjae, either alone or with Kim Youngmoo, published five volumes in ten years: *Wastelands of Fire* by Ku Sang (1989), *Midang: The Early Lyrics of So Chong-ju* (1993), *The Sound of My Waves* by Ko Un (1993), *Back to Heaven* by Chon Sangbyong (1995), *Beyond Self: 108 Korean Zen Poems* by Ko Un (1997), and several poems in journals, especially those by Ko Un, Ku Sang and Chon Sangbyong. Another example is Kim Jaihiun, who specialized in *sijo*.

All in all, poetry has been one of the most constant literary translation forms from Korean into English, both in terms of its appearance in journals and because of the numerous compilations published, to the extent that even nowadays poetry is the most translated form from Korean into English (An 2002b).

Finally, *In this Earth and in that Wind: This is Korea* (1967 and 1970) is a special case of "reutilization." The scholar David J. Streinberg here translates a compilation of editorials published in the early 1960s in the *Kyong-hyang Shinmun*, a Korean-language daily newspaper in Seoul. The fifty translated articles began appearing weekly in *The Korea Times* (an English-language newspaper) on November 16, 1966, before they were compiled. The editorials were on the nature of Korean culture and people, and how they were facing their current situation.

In most of these compilations and anthologies we find acknowledgements and copyright disclaimers regarding the reutilization of poems previously published in other publications. This constant reutilization maximizes the investment in translation (especially from the translators' point of view) and is indicative of a system of "progressive publishing." A translation first appears for a reduced group, mostly formed by academics, and when it is approved, that is, when it receives good reviews, it is compiled in a larger volume.

Moreover, this is the natural consequence of serialization, a practice that was widely established in the peninsula, especially for novels. The important role of journals is also characteristic of the Korean literary scene. Literary journals are the places in which writers published their first pieces, and Korean literary journals in English also worked as a test field for translations.

5.6.2.3. A past edition

In keeping with a culture where translations are reutilized, early translations published in Korean by minor publishing houses or with limited diffusion were republished either by other companies or with certain changes. Many of these re-editions involve a change of title.

Within Korea we find *Poems from Modern Korea* (1970), which is presented as a second edition of *Korean Verses* (1961). The revision is justified because "[t]he circumstances under which it was edited and printed demanded great haste, resulting in both translational and typographical inadequacies" (Korean Poets Association 1970: Note for the second edition). However, more than a mere typographical revision was made. The first edition included 81 poems, while the second has 70. Moreover, as is stated in the note to the second edition, all the classical section and 15 modern poems were removed and 30 new ones added. In any case, the Poets Association claims:

> With all these inadequacies, however, it attracted no little attention from home and abroard [sic]; we are happily aware that it served as the main source text for both the Spanish and Bengali anthologies of Korean Poetry, respectively published in Spain and Parkistan [sic]. (1970: Note for the Second Edition)

Some typographical mistakes are to be found, and while it is true that there are different translations into Spanish called "Versos coreanos" - all of them by MinYong-tae either alone or with the University of Columbia former Professor of Hispanic Studies, Philip W. Silver -, none correspond to my knowledge to the time span between these two editions: the earliest book with this name is from 1948, the 1977 edition is published in Venezuela, the 1983 edition refers mostly to modern poetry, and the 2004 edition does not give credit to earlier translations. Again, however, the Korean into Spanish translation databases are also unreliable (Torres 2008).

Another poetry volume originally published in Korea with a change of title was *Before Love Fades Away* (1957). A second edition was found in the library of the University of Yonsei. Although this text does not appear in either bibliography, it was edited and republished under the title *Stopping By* (1973) after major changes. Any explanation of the changes lies in the land of guesses, but it is interesting to note that, in the introduction, the corrector mentions how "Mr. Kim Dong Sung [the translator] tried a free translation which is sometimes too liberal" (Pi 1957: Editor's note). Moreover, the second edition includes in the acknowledgments a mention of a native speaker, which the first one lacks.

Ten Korean Short Stories (1973) changed title and publication place. Initially published by the Korea Studies Institute (Seoul), it was republished by Larchwood in 1980 with the title *A Washed-Out Dream.* The translator, Kevin O'Rourke, mentions the original publication and explains that "the decision to include the White Paper Beard in this revised second edition necessitated changing the original title" (O'Rourke 1980: 26). No explanation is given for the change of publishing house.

Kim Unsong does explain why One Mind Press (California) published in 1987 a second edition to *Classical Korean Poems (sijo)* only one year after it was originally published in Korea by Il Nyum Press:

> The first publication of the book by the Il Nyum Press was primarily for the consumption of Korean readers. Poem [sic] 50 copies of the book I brought to my California home were presented to U.S. poets and friends whose response was overwhelmingly favourable. In order to meet the demand of overseas readers, the book was thoroughly edited in the revised book in new binding. (U. Kim 1987: 9)

What is strange about this revision is that One Mind Press published the second edition not only in the United States but also in Seoul, Republic of Korea, where it is also present. When there is only a short gap between one edition and the other, it would normally make more sense to do a joint publication, as is the case of Kim Chong-un translation's *Postwar Korean Short Stories*.

With respect to *Postwar Korean Short Stories: An Anthology* (1974 and 1983), the first edition was presented by Seoul National University Press, while the second was a joint publishing project with the Center for Korean Studies of the University of Hawaii. While SNU Press covered the Korean market, the University Press of Hawaii was in charge of its distribution outside Korea.

The changes of press are sometimes difficult to explain, although it could be a way of accessing subsidies or publishing grants. Kim Jong-gil translated *Slow Chrysanthemums: Korean Poems in Chinese* with a translation grant by the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation, and Anvil Press (London) published it in 1987. In 2003 the revised edition *Among the Flowering Reeds: Classical Korean Poems Written in Chinese* was published by White Pine Press (Buffalo, NY), in part with a grant by the Witter Bynner Foundation for Poetry. On the credits page an agreement with Anvil Press is noted. The translator's and editor's changes are defined as follows:

> [T]ranslations have been revised and the dates of poets corected [sic] and made considerable more accurate. The Chinese texts have been omitted and short biographical notes have been added for each poet. (Kim 2003: 12)

The selection and order of poems were kept and the new publisher was acknowledged for "making this anthology readily available to the general public" (Kim 2003: 12).

Poems from Korea: A Historical Anthology was published in 1974 by George Allen & Unwin Ltd (London) and the University Press of Hawaii, where the translator, Peter H. Lee, was lecturing at the time. It was a revised version of the 1964 *Anthology of Korean Poetry*, published by John Day Co (New York). This volume, listed within the UNESCO collection of representative works, was "brought up to date to reflect the most recent scholarship. Authorship of some poems [was] redetermined, some dates [were] changed, and some textual ambiguities [were] clarified" (Lee 1974a: front flap).

While the change of publishing house could be surprising, John Day Company, founded by Pearl Buck's second husband, was sold to Thomas Y. Crowell Co. in 1974. Since Thomas Y. Crowell specialized in trade books and biographies, it understandably did not show any interest in republishing this work.

Parallax is one of the few publishers that published both the first and second editions of a book, in his case Ko Un's *108 Zen Poems*. The first edition was published as *Beyond Self: 108 Zen Poems* in 1997 and the second edition as *What? 108 Zen Poems* in 2008.

Some volumes like *Land of Exile* (1997, 2007) or *Folk Tales from Korea* (Routledge 1953; Hollym 1972, 1982, 2005) kept the name and the publishers throughout the revisions and re-editions.

Journals acted as a first step towards distribution of a work, and Korean publishing houses sometimes acted as a second step. Books were published in Korea and if they found good reception within the limited audience of ex-pats, they could be republished in a foreign publisher for a wider audience.

5.6.2.4. A distant past

As a way to pay homage to the pioneers of Korean studies, Paragon initiated a series of reprints of old books on Korea. Among them we find *The Orchid Door*, originally written in 1935 and "done into English by Joan S. Grigsby." The other texts in the series are accounts of Korea written in English by foreigners.

Tuttle also reprinted in 1961 and 1973 *Korean Folk Tales: imps, ghosts and fairies*, which dated originally from 1913.

This type of reprint is a very limited practice, but reinforces the idea that foreign publishers were not sure of what to publish from Korea and relied on previously published volumes for securing a minimum success.

5.6.4. Translation and publishing

In spite of the importance placed within Korea on the definition of a national literature, or perhaps because the process developed over a long time, there does not seem to be a common direction with respect to what literature in translation should be.

Most translated works are compilations of shorter texts, with repetitions of selected stories and poems. They are more like volumes for academic purposes than

potential best sellers. Actually, few volumes in our corpus have received reviews in widely distributed press.

As the detailed characteristics of the corpus hint, it seems that what was lacking was a fully qualified editor who might be aware of which Korean works would suit the American audience. The characteristics of the corpus of translations suggest a random selection of works, mostly based on personal preferences. Works to be translated were chosen by an individual and their suitability would be tested by the process. These works later underwent several levels of legitimization before reaching the final international publisher. That is, acceptable translations would be first published in journals, later by local publishers, and that would work as a letter of recommendation for international publishers.

In the following chapter we uncover who the publishers were.

Chapter 6: Who publishes?

This is a fragmented corpus, with several compilations of short texts, which seemed to undergo a first filter for publication in the source culture's literary journals. Success would then lead to possible by in a Korean publishing house or visibility for publication abroad.

One of my general hypotheses is that publishers increasingly took charge of selecting works, with their profile shifting from small independent presses to bigger publishing houses.

So, who published and distributed Korean translations in the United States?

6.1. Types of publishers

Publishers are an important driving force in the formation and distribution of literary translation and they should be analyzed as such.

Previous studies have analyzed and classified publishers. Bourdieu's study of the French publishing system categorized 61 publishers according to their status (legal and financial), financial links to other publishers, market importance, symbolic capital, and their view of foreign literature. According to his analysis, the French publishing field outside of Paris was composed mostly of young, small publishers with limited symbolic and economic capital, relying heavily on networks of small bookshops, while in Paris there were some well-established and larger publishers with much economic and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 2008: 7). The situation of the American publishing market cannot be divided in "the capital" and "the rest" as in the French case, but other divisions apply.

Karashima offers an overview of the United States publishing field according to available statistics, locating publishers involved in Japanese literature in translation within the system as a "sub-field of restricted production towards the literary pole of the industry" (Karashima 2006: 58). In our case, however, it was difficult to claim that there

was such a thing as a sub-field involving Korean literature in translation. That is, most works did not seem to rely on their "Koreanness" for their publication but on the topics they cover or their foreignness. Moreover, I was more interested in the possible connections between translators and publishers and whether an edition was created for the wider public or for a more specialized sector. I thus divided publishers into four groups: self-publishing, independent publishers, university presses, and major publishers.

Self-publishing presses place all the costs of the editing and printing with the author/translator of the book. While publishers like Gateway "guide[s] inexperienced authors through the intricacies of book production" the "reasonable cost" (Gateway 2012) is not covered by the publisher. Modern editing programs and devices help create this type of usually non-profit presses, whose weakest point is the lack of an established distribution network.

When the work is of academic interest, university presses are a recurrent option. Originally they also had a small distribution network, but with the evolution of the American publishing market some university presses have grown in size and specialization. In the 1990s, while university presses disagreed on their role as publishers of fiction, most felt they had the duty to publish translations (Feldman 1998: 19). They can be considered dependent on knowledge production, as the main purpose of most of them is "to disseminate scholarship" (Princeton University Press 2012), and translation, as a representative of foreign ways, is included in that "scholarship."

In theory, independent presses choose their publications according to literary merits only, without taking into account what the wider public expects. Often family-funded or subsidy-based, some work as non-profit publishers. The rest tend to specialize in a literary form or topic, to create a faithful – though limited – public. Again, the objectives of independent presses change with the evolution of the publishing market in the United States. Small independent "giants" like Grove Press disappeared in the 1970s, absorbed by major publishers: Grove Press is now part of Morgan Entrekin, Grossman is owned by Lagardère Group, Tuttle is part of Periplus Editions, GP Putnam's Sons, and EP Dutton are now part of Penguin. What these presses have kept in common is their relative independence from the popular market (or the more commercial-oriented market).

Finally, we have major publishers. By definition, they are market-dependent conglomerates whose aim is to reach as wide a public as possible. With their wider distribution networks, they tend to have a clear marketing strategy. They began appearing in the 1970s and their hegemony over the past decades has recently been broken by Internet sales and print-on-demand strategies.

6.2. Publishers 1951 to 2000

Taking into account the two periods, we have 72 publishers: 15 from the first period, 50 for the second period, and 2 publishers found in both periods (see Appendix 5 for a full list). As with translators, there were more publishers ready to repeat the experience of dealing with Korean literature in translation in the second period. In the first period, the 17 publishers printed 21 translations. In the second period, the 52 publishers brought out 141 volumes. The presses in relation to the volumes published were divided as shown in Table 26.

Table 26: Categories of publishers

	1st stage (1951-1975)		2nd stage (1976-2000)	
	Presses	Volumes	Presses	Volumes
Self	0	0	6	7
University	7	8	10	51
Independent	9	13	30	61
Major	0	0	3	14
Unknown	0	0	4	8

As can be seen, the role of university presses and independent publishers is key for the spread of Korean literature. This corresponds to the situation of other literatures in translation. The surprising success of works like Hans Fallada's *Alone in Berlin* (Alberge 2010) have revealed the importance of independent publishers and subsidies for non-English works. Small publishers have found their mission in translation (Lohter 2009), playing a role in translation, often obtaining little profit, and even then only surviving thanks to subsidies and grants (Buzelin 2007: 24).

While the role of the Internet might be positive for the future of independent and small publishers, allowing them a visibility and distribution network only afforded to major publishers previously, in the period studied the *distribution* of the Korean works

is one of the main problems. Currently most titles are out of print or hard to find. Without knowing the numbers of copies sold, reviews hint at just a couple of good-selling titles in the best of cases: *The Poet* by Lee Munyol has the most important reviews.

Despite our initial assumptions, we cannot claim that by the year 2000 any major publisher had developed an interest in Korean literature.

6.3. Publishers and subsidies

Subsidies are sometimes blamed for poor results. Ross claims that the Korean governments' subsidies shape the selection of works, ignoring the reality of the target culture (2003: 2). This opinion is shared by Fouser: "Attempts by Korean critics to draw up lists of works suitable for translation are doomed from the start because, with rare exceptions, Korean critics have trouble putting themselves in the shoes of American readers" (Fouser 1999, in Ross 2003: 3). An Sonjae also claims that for Korean readers it is difficult to understand that the works they value are not equally valued by other readers (An Sonjae 2002: 76).

So who subsidizes Korean Literature? If we take into account subsidies for translation and publication, we find that of the volumes classified in the second period, 78 are subsidized, 26 are not subsidized, and 37 might have some kind of subsidy but it cannot be confirmed. Of those 78, 53 had Korean investment, 14 had UNESCO's, six received grants from the target culture, and five received subsidies from both Korea and the United States. In the first period, there were only eight volumes subsidized, most of them by UNESCO (three volumes), two by Korean organizations, one by American organizations, and two more combined Korean and American subsidies.

Therefore, Korean literature is highly subsidized and most of their subsidies come from Korea, in an effort to export their literature.

6.4. Who initiated the translation?

It is not always stated who initiated a translation project. However, it seems that the most common case is that translators choose a work they like or a work recommended by the KLTI, do the work either with a translation subsidy or not, contact the publisher, and apply for a publication grant.

Inez Kong Pai states in the foreword to *The Ever White Mountain*: "I yearned to share and boast of my love to all. That is when I began translating classical Korean *sijo* into English, over three hundred fifty of them, of which more than two hundred appear in this collection" (Choe Chung et al 1965: 7-8). Later, she continues to thank the publishers for "their warm reception of this work from the very beginning" (Choe Chung et al. 1965: 9). We can assume, then, that she approached the publisher Weatherhill after having begun the translation.

David I. Steinberg began the translation of *In this Earth and in that Wind: this is Korea* as "a language exercise for [his] own amusement" (Yi 1967: ix). Then, as is explained in the translator's preface, the articles were published in *The Korea Times* and after their success there they were compiled in a book by the Korea branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which had began operating in 1900 and began the publishing of Korea-related books in 1960. This is the second in the series.

This personal interest of translators in Korean literature has even been recorded in a poem. David McCann discovered when translating *Unforgettable Things* a poem by So Chongju called "David McCann, translator of my poems and the town of Andong" describing - "misremembering" McCann says (2002:1) - the first visit of McCann to ask for permission to translate his poems.

Brother Anthony was first linked to Ku Sang thanks to an innocent remark: "Having made a remark to the effect that it would be interesting to translate some Korean poems into English, I found myself introduced by Prof Kim Tae-Ok to the works of Ku Sang" (Ku Sang 2000: xii).

It is obvious that without a possible market, the publishers would have not accepted the volumes, but the initiators of the translations were often translators with recommendations of Korean friends or professors.

As we have seen in Chapter 5, journals also worked as sandboxes for translators. First translations were published in literary journals, to later be compiled in book form by Korean publishers and then reedited or redistributed by international publishers. This

type of "progressive publishing" provides a first filter of works and gives visibility to the successful pieces. However, as Hung also concludes in her analysis of three Chinese literary journals specialized in Chinese literature in English translation, this type of journal is source-oriented: "nothing has been selected in [the journal] *Renditions* simply because it has good potential *after* translation" (Hung 1995: 249).

There thus seems to be a lack of spontaneous interest by publishers in selecting works and initiating the process of translation. Indications found in peritexts (acknowledgements, editor's notes) and epitexts (interviews) are reinforced by the connections between publishers and translators. First, there are direct connections like university presses and professors working at the university. The clearest examples are Peter H. Lee, who often publishes with the University of Hawaii Press, or David McCann, who is the driving force behind Cornell University's publications. Second, there are contextual relations like church-related translators or religious texts being published in religious presses (Orbis Press, Morehouse Publishers). Third, there are coincidences in nationality and location of the press that may indicate the direct involvement of the translator in the selection of the publisher: the Irish priest Kevin O'Rourke publishes in Dedalus Press, which specializes in Irish writers; the British poet An Sonjae publishes in English presses mostly; or the Fultons appear in publishers located in their city, Seattle. Last, some publishers are directly involved in the translation process. FT Yoon published *The Middle Hour* with a press that bears his name. Ronald B. Hatch is the main editor of Ronsdale Press, where he published *Love's Silence* and *Fugitive Dreams* in co-translation with Kim Jaihyun. Ko Won is the translator of *Four Poets of Resistance* and in the editorial board of CrossCultural Communications Press.

These individual connections between translators and publishers point towards the intervention of agents who, lacking an agreed common literature for translation, tried to recreate what they individually considered most important. Then the target culture industry served as a filter to finally decide what was published.

Who selected the works, who initiated the translation and who paid for it might be relevant to confirm any growing agency of publishers in the second period. However, paratexts, analyzed in Chapter 8, might also help confirm this.

Chapter 7: Who translates?

In the methodology, I claimed that translators would also "specialize" more with the passage of time. More specifically, translators are expected to invest more energy in translation than in other activities, and will increasingly have more than one volume published.

Before starting the research, I was concerned about how much information I could collect on the translators. It has been claimed that translators in Anglo-American culture are, in general, invisible (Venuti 1995), and to a certain extent that claim also applies to translators of Korean literature. However, I have been lucky enough to find information about the translators in the corpus. This has been due to several reasons.

First, most literary translators have another, more visible position in society – they are professors, journalists, poets, and so on. This means they can be traced, and in some cases I have been able to locate their résumés.

Second, it is customary in Korean publications to give a brief description of the author's profile, and this tendency has extended to translators as well.

Finally, the government support of translation stimulates the visibility of translation exports. Recently, the Korean Literature Translation Institute, and previously the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, have supported translation either as "achieving sustainable development through education, science and culture" or with the aim of "sharing Korean Literature with the world" (LTI 2012). In terms of my research, this means that it has been possible to find interviews with translators published in Korean journals and newspapers, as well as cross-references in peritexts.

These sources have provided information on various aspects of Korean translators and translation: their professionalization, the usual practices of translation in Korea, and the development of the flow.

The corpus of 162 literary translations was created by a workforce of 143 translators, which I will analyze in terms of their main activities and predominant translation practices.

7.1. Translators' main activities

In a study by the Conseil Européen des Associations de Traducteurs Littéraires on the comparative income of literary translators in Europe (Holger et al. 2007), there is a differentiation between "professional literary translators" and "active literary translators." Professional literary translators are those who earn their main income from literary translation and occasionally from translation-related activities (like book publishing, literary criticism, and readings), while active literary translators are those who publish a translation every two or three years but make their living from another profession. I do not have access to information on the income of Korean translators, but I am aware, for example, that the LTI translation grant, although substantial (16 million won - around 11.000€ in 2013) is not comparable to the starting salary as a faculty member (around 55-65 million won - 38 to 45 thousand euro - according to Donga 2009). Regular fees for English-to-Korean translation are even lower. The editor of the publishing house Imprima Korea editor states, "a translator working on a 200-page novel receives about $10,000" (Seo 2010), that is, around 7.000€ in 2013 exchange rates. I thus doubt there are many "professional literary translators" as defined in the European study. Actually, even the study centered on Europe, an apparently solid market, concludes that "literary translators cannot survive in the conditions imposed on them by the market" (Holger 2007: 73), which reinforces my suspicions.

I was interested in whether the translators in the corpus earned their living from translation or if they could be related to other activities. Again, as happened with the most translated authors, I did not believe that translating a full book was the same as translating a short story or a poem, which was part of a wider work. That is, I did not want to put on the same level translators who had only done part of one Korean-English translation in their lives and those who had who were engaged full-time in the profession. For the purposes of my research I will analyze the translators who either had more than one long translation published or whose short translations (short stories, poems, and fragments) appear in at least two volumes. Moreover, I will look at the main activity of the literary translators in the corpus, in order to draw a picture of the translation scene. The main activity of translators might hint at their reasons to go into translation and might indicate their connections to Korean literature. It will thus

complement the general background offered by biographies. A rising number of volumes published by the same people would also confirm the development of a stable translation practice in Korea. Moreover, literature-related and academic professions are more likely or understandable to be part of a translator's background.

All in all, an analysis of the translator's other economic activities will help explain the nature of the translation flow.

As mentioned above, the corpus of 162 literary translations was created by a workforce of 143 translators (see Appendix 6 for a full list). However, some considerations are needed in order to evaluate these numbers.

First, out of those 162 translations, 21 are compilations of short stories translated by more than two translators (per volume). Actually, 76 translators (or translation teams) participated in those 21 volumes. By "translation team" I mean two translators (usually) working together on the same text (see Table 27 for a summary).

Table 27: Total number of translations and translators of the corpus

	Total	Anthologies	Team Translation	Full books	Data missing
Volumes	162	21	36	100	5
Translators	143	76	31	58	0

Second, of the remaining 141 translations, 36 were translated by two translators working in a team. Out of those 36, there are two that might be included in the previous group as they involved more than two translators, but their special characteristics make them closer in this group. One is *Wren's Elegy*. The volume is composed of a short novel translated by Ko Changsoo and Peter Hyun and a collection of poems translated by Kim Jaihiun. Being so well divided, this is more comparable to a book translated by two people than to a volume with 20 stories translated by 12 people. The other exception is *The Hye Cho's diary: Memoirs of the pilgrimage to the five regions of India* translated by Jan Yün-hua, Iida Shotaro, Laurence W. Preston and Yang. As explained in the introduction, these translators worked together on the same text, giving their expertise on different aspects.

Third, four records of translations do not give any information on the translator at all, while another one presents translators as "various," without further details. Bibliographical searches have not provided more information on those four volumes.

The 100 remaining translations were done by 58 translators.

Table 28, Table 29, and Table 30 show the number of translators repeating the experience of translating long solo works, long works with a partner, and short stories respectively.

Table 28: Translators by quantity of volumes published (long solo works)

Nr of volumes	1	2	3	4	5	6
Translators 1951-75	16	0	1	0	0	0
Translators 1976-2000	25	7	4	1	4	1

Four of the translators of the first period (out of 17) continue their work in the second period: Peter H. Lee, who has three translations in the first period and five in the second; Kim Joyce Jaihun, who has one translation in the first period and six in the second period; Ko Won, who has one translation in the first period and another one in the second period; and Kim Chong-un, who has one translation in the first period and has translated short stories for nine different volumes during the second.

Table 29: Translators by quantity of volumes published (team translations)

Translated volumes	1	2	3	4
Translators 1951-75	Not applicable			
Translators 1976-2000	27	1	1	1

In the first period, some non-fiction that was left out of the corpus had been translated by a team, but no literary work was translated by two translators together.

Regarding translation of short stories, in the first period there is only one volume that has different translators (*Flowers of Fire: Twentieth Century Korean Short Stories*) and the ten translators who participated in it are included in the table. Out of those ten, six translated more short stories in the second period: Peter H. Lee, Kim Uchang, Kim Yongchol and Richard Rutt published their translations in one other volume at least, while Song Yo-in has three publications more, and Marshall R. Pihl six more.

Table 30: Translators by quantity of volumes published (short stories)

Quantity of volumes	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
Translators 1951-75	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Translators 1976-2000	40	13	10	4	1	1	3

Out of the 50 translators with translations published in one short-story volume only, 12 have also translated longer stories. The remaining 38 translators, who have only

published short stories in one volume, will not be included in the profession analysis. So 105 translators are considered "active." They will first be analyzed regarding their professions (see Table 31).

Table 31: Translators by main profession

	Church related	University Related	Writers	Association	Other	Unknown
1951-1975	2	7	5	0	3	0
1976-2000	3	50†	25±	1	5	11
Total	5	54	29	1	8	11

†Three translators had already appeared in stage 1.
±One translator had already appeared in stage 1

It is important to note that many translators have more than one profession or could be related to more than one other field. Although the most important differences will be presented below with regard to each profession, as a general rule I have understood that their main profession was whatever they claimed in their biographies. In the cases without available biographies, I have considered their most visible position, which is the occupation most likely to have provided them with the possibility to translate. For example, some professors of English literature (university-related) are also poets (writers), but they have been listed as professors if their work as poets does not have public recognition, and as poets when they have that recognition. Also, the time span allows for several personal developments. Brother Anthony of Taizé, for example, arrived in Korea as a missionary but did most of this translation work while he was a professor of English at Sogang University, so the latter is the main profession he has been assigned.

Given the figures, let's look at the different professions in more detail.

7.1.1. Church-related

As the first foreigners to arrive in Korea, missionaries were also the first to study the Korean language, to translate Korean works, and to write about Korea. In spite of the purpose of their rapid language learning – that is, the spread of Christianity –, they were pioneers in analyzing the Korean language and customs. Their works cover not only religious translation but also Korean folklore and traditions. They would often combine a knowledge of Korean with a wide understanding of the cultural situation in order to make their message reach the people.

Some church-related translators worked even before our period of analysis. This was the case of Horace N. Allen (1858-1932), who first arrived as ambassador to Korea but eventually found in the Presbyterian Church the way to understand the country. W. N. Gumey of the Methodist Church translated various works from Korean and published some in Milwaukee (United States) through the Methodist publisher Morehouse.

In the corpus, three translators hold a position in church. James S. Gale (1863 - 1937) is probably the most renowned translator. His work was later studied by another Christian translator, the Anglican Bishop Richard Rutt (1925-2011), who had arrived in Korea as an Anglican country priest. Sister Janice Vere Hillburn (1920-2010) arrived in Korea as a nurse of the Maryknoll sisters.

Moreover, some important universities have a religious background. Yonsei University is a private Christian research university that has also promoted translation and translators. Sogang University was established in 1960 by the Society of Jesus, inspired by the Jesuit educational philosophy. It is thus understandable that some religious men who came to Korea as missionaries later occupied more visible positions at university. Brother Anthony arrived in Korea with the Taizé Community but he is noted for his work at Sogang University. Kevin O'Rourke is an Irish priest who arrived in Korea with the St. Columban Missionary Society, but he has also been a professor at Kyunghee University for more than 30 years. Bruce K. Grant introduces himself as a federal employee but was also well connected to the Northern Far East Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Church-related foreigners are less common in the second stage, unless they have adopted a role at a university. Still, they are among the best-recognized translators.

Also, as was the case in Mediterranean countries in the recent past, in Korea the church works as an important hub of relations and connections. All in all, Christian churches have worked as a translation provider, especially in the first stage of the time span.

7.1.2. University-related professions

By university-related professions I mean professors, researchers, and students. The majority of translators work at or are connected to a university. In the corpus we find 27 professors of English, eight professors of Asian Studies, ten professors of other

specialties, three scholars (which at some point in their lives worked as professors), three PhD researchers, and two graduate students.

Of those 27 professors of English, 26 teach in Korean universities, and one in an American College (Grace E. Gibson from UNC Pembroke). Seoul National University, with nine translators in its English Department, seems to be the most significant contributor. Actually, most translators of the Sisa-yong-sa collection are members of this department. Sogang University also has three active translators, and Korea University has three more. The remaining eleven translators are from different universities all over Korea (Ajou, Catholic University of Korea, Chungang, Dongukk, Hanguk, Polytechnic, Sungkyunkwan, Yeungnam, and Yonsei). Of those 27 professors, 22 are Korean, one is Korean-American, and the rest are not Korean.

There are eight professors of Asian Studies specializing in Korean, Chinese, or Japanese. All of them but one teach in American universities (Martin J. Holman teaches in Japan). Most of them have lived in Korea at some time for various reasons.

There are ten professors in other fields, which are usually related to the translated volume. Then there are three professors of Drama, one of Economics, one of Cultural Studies, one of Anglicanism, and four whose specialization I have been unable to determine.

Also, there are three translators who present themselves as “scholars” and who would later be associated with different universities: Kim Chongsun is a historian, Shelly Killen does research on prison art, and David J. Streinberg is a specialist in Asian societies and teaches at the University of Hawaii.

Within the Korean academic world, literary translation increasingly counts as a publication and provide merits for professional development, thus perhaps explaining the large numbers of translations found in this professional group. Actually, some of the Korean professors in the English departments have one or more translations of English literature published in Korean as well. According to Choi and Lim (2000: 384), the requisites to be accepted in the Korean Translators Association include having taught languages for five years, being at least assistant professor in a language department, having published two books, having lived for more than ten years in a foreign country, or being a foreigner whose translation ability is recognized by the Association’s Council. That is, according to this association, having been hired to teach a foreign language is enough to translate. While some language teachers might be more than

capable of translating, the language requirements - as well as other skills - to teach and to translate are not necessarily the same. A theoretical knowledge of grammar does not imply knowledge of expressions and twists of language, nor does a native knowledge of a language entail the ability to pass on that knowledge. As Choi and Lim criticize, "to have the association perpetuate the myth of such equivalence [between language teachers and professional translators] is unconscionable" (2000: 384). However, it could be the case that the association merely reflects the reality of the profession.

So, on the one hand, translation can be seen in this group as a way to improve one's academic standing, but also as a response to a need created in the classroom or, sometimes, a result of the preparation for a class. For example, David R. McCann states in the introduction to *Early Korean Literature:* "The experience of designing and teaching a course at Cornell University encouraged my interest in exploring history through literature." The result is a selection of early modern Korean literature.

In this sense of taking advantage of work done, there are three PhD researchers whose published translation is a direct result of their PhD dissertation. Yang-hi Choe-Wall, James Riordan, and JaHyun Kim Haboush discussed certain classical works and their own translations to complete their PhDs, and later reformulated their works to meet publishing needs.

In my list, there are also two graduate students. This way of presenting translators is particularly intriguing in Korea, where the title "graduate student" is the lowest rung in the professional ladder. However, one of those graduate students is a widely published translator, Juchan Fulton, who usually translates with her husband. The other one, Eugene Chung, is a mystery. He has published more than one volume, but the only information provided on him is that he is a Cambridge graduate student.

We should bear in mind that, besides the church, universities are hubs of connections, to the extent that it is said that a Korean's destiny is set the day they take the university entrance exams. Outside Korea, and bearing in mind that Korean Studies are not present in all universities, institutions like the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii and the University of California at Berkeley have also trained or hosted scholars interested in Korea. We note Peter Hyun and Peter H. Lee, both of Korean origin.

So universities are an important hub of translation creation in that they offer a main salary to many literary translators and also opportunities to young language learners.

7.1.3. Writers

The group of "translator-writers" could be considered the most "professional," as their livelihood is linked to literature. It includes thirteen translators (twelve in the second period), six fiction writers, and ten poets.

Within the group translators, other than those who present themselves as such, I also include two people whose personal details I have not been able to find but who have published translations not recorded in the corpus, normally English into Korean. A distinctive characteristic of the first period is that none of the individuals in this group actually has a biography introducing them as "translators." While on the credits page the book is introduced as "translated by," so the role of the agent is clear, no reference to translation being their usual activity is mentioned.

It is to note that translators do not have a high social status. Paid literary activities were not greatly valued in traditional Korea. In Joseon, only the aristocracy, *yangban*, learnt to read and write and prepared the imperial exams to enter the civil service (with few exceptions, see Choe 1974). According to the Confucian hierarchy, the classical scholar (*sunbi*) was on the highest step of the ladder, followed by civil servants. As Choi and Lim note, "[t]ranslators belonged to the service sector and were much lower on the social scale. Though relatively well-paid, they did not receive social recognition" (2002: 634). The fact that translators were putting a price on a symbol of prestige and a privilege of the higher class could perhaps explain this paradox. It was during the colonial period that the Japanese introduced newspapers as means of public communication, and writing slowly became a profession (cf. Altman 1984).

Within professional writers, there are two who also translate themselves. That is the case of An Seong-hyo and Park Hyeongbong. Some poets also translate themselves, although it is more common for them to work in a team with a native speaker. Hwang Dong-gyu, Ok Ku Kang Grosjean, Lee Suncheol, and Kim Yansik, to mention but a few, have translated their own works.

In general, poets tend to translate poetry. The specific characteristics of poetry translation usually require expertise in the field. Ko Won is a published poet, but he has also translated Kim Chiha or Ko Un.

All these characteristics apply to individuals in the second stage. In the first stage, the literary professionals tend to be foreigners: the translator of *The Yalu Flows*, H.A. Hammelmman, works from German into English, Joan S. Grigsby was a poet in her own right, Frances Carpenter has published several compilations of folk tales, and Peter Hyun is the only writer who is also a scholar and university professor.

The appearance of self-recognized translators in the second stage is a clear wink at professionalization, while self-translation may hint at certain suspicion on the part of authors regarding the adequacy of translations.

7.1.4. Associations

I only have one proven example of "communal" translation: the Korean Literary Translation Association translated and edited *The Hermitage of the Flowing Water*. It is not clear, though, if there was only one unmentioned translator or more than one. It is possible that the authors, who were part of the Korean Literary Translation Association at the time, had translated themselves. Han Moosok, the main author, was the vice-president at the moment of publication and has published some translations. An Jeonghyo appears in our corpus as an author and as a translator as well.

If I Perish is probably a translation done by an association, too. The Moody Bible Instititute holds the copyright of the translation but there is no reference to an actual translator. The association might have promoted a translation by their members. In the Preface there is also a reference to the success of the story in Japan, but again, it does not mention how or when it was translated into Japanese.

7.1.5. Other professionals

Kim Unsong notes in his introduction to *Classical Korean Poems:* "Poetry is for everyone including scientists" (Kim 1987: 9). Thus, despite being a scientist, he published his translation of Korean poetry. Other professionals who have experienced translation in the corpus include a diplomat, a publisher, three housewives, and three United States public servants.

The presence of activities completely unrelated to literature would seem to hint at a non-professional field. It seems that the choice of translators was made more in terms of availability or visibility than vocation.

It is important to note that the divergence of primary activities concerns more how translators were selected (or proposed themselves) for the job than the quality of the outcome. That is, I do not try to claim that they were unqualified to do the job. On the contrary, as we will see below, they were as capable as any other person in the corpus to do tackle a translation.

Kim Unsong may be an exception to this, although he proudly introduces himself as a "scientist," he is also a published poet. Lee Dongjin, the diplomat, is also a widely published poet.

Regarding the housewives, while their main professions might discredit their abilities in some people's view, they were actually as qualified as any other translator in the corpus. Genell Y. Poitras, wife of Edward W. Poitras, lived in Korea for more than twenty years, mastering the language and social customs. Inez Kong Pai, other than being the wife of the Korean Ambassador to Argentina, is a teacher, a graduate of the University of Hawaii, editor and translator for the United Nations, and proficient in Korean, English, and Japanese. Setsu Higashi, the Canadian-Japanese wife of an Associated Press journalist, is introduced in the flaps of *The Story Bag* as a fine storyteller.

Three translators included in this group introduce themselves as United States government workers. James Hoyt was an army officer, Special Assistant to Cultural Affairs of the United States Embassy in Japan, and Chairman of the Fulbright Program Commission in Japan. He was a graduate of Oriental Studies and later professor at the University of Hawaii. Edward D. Rockstein was a teacher of Korean to United States officers. He obtained his PhD from the Naval War College with the dissertation "Strategic and Operational Aspects of Japan's Invasions of Korea 1592-1598." Bruce K. Grant, as mentioned, also presents himself as a federal worker, although there are references to him being a teacher and being well connected with the church of the Latter Saint Days. Even those who were more closely related to the United States army would often work as a bridge between civil societies, due to their interest in cultural exchange.

Other organizations like the Peace Corps worked as a first introduction to Korea for some who would later become well-known scholars, like David R. McCann or

Bruce Fulton. Actually, since governmental organizations are less open regarding their activities, associations like the Royal Asian Society Korean Branch are sometimes the link between church-related foreigners and United States government workers.

In general, translators in this group either pertain to the first stage or are connected with agents of the first stage. In the second stage, the question of simple "availability for the task" is also important but it seems to be pushed to the background.

7.1.6. Unknown translators

No information was found on nine translators, while two were very cryptically presented.

Kathryin Kisray has in common with Eugene Chung the Cambridge residence and the mystery of how they became involved in Korean translation. I assume that they might have acted as proofreaders for some short stories, but it is just a guess.

The nine "missing" translators are of Korean origin and from the second stage. These two characteristics reinforce the idea of professionalization, and thus invisibility, in the second stage.

7.2. Translation practice in Korea

Other than the main activity carried by translators, I hoped at the beginning of this research that the country of origin would give an orientation as to the translator's affiliation and way of working. However, it became a variable that I have not been able to study in-depth, as most translators have spent enough time in another country to have changed their ways of acting or accepting the world, a situation that has been presented in-depth in Pym 1998. For example, Peter H. Lee was of Korean origin but lived in several countries before building a solid academic career in Hawaii, while Brother Anthony of Taize, to give but one counterexample, has worked and lived in Korea for more than 30 years, where he is Emeritus Professor at the University of Sogang, in spite of his British origin.

My assumption was then restated in terms of native language. However, the mother tongue became an issue when the early information on translators was collected. It soon became clear that the otherwise "standard" translation practice, direct translation

into mother tongue, was an exception in the Korean case. Therefore, information on the translators' mother tongues and working languages helped to uncover a large number of non-standard translation practices.

7.2.1. Non-Standard Translation Practices

By "non-standard" I do not mean "uncommon" or "rare," but "outside the norm of direct translation from a written source text into a written target text carried by a native speaker of the target language." Therefore, I include in the group of non-standard practices translation into non-mother tongue (or L2 translation), indirect translation, pseudotranslation, self-translation, and team translation.

Although the last decade has seen an increasing number of studies on these apparently outlawed practices, there are still few studies on indirect translation, translation into L2, and the role of third countries in the building of a translated literature. Different explanations can be offered for this negligence. First, most translation theory deals with ideal situations or is based on chosen or controlled results. Second, most translation theorists look at the difficulties of major languages. Although minor languages tend to rely more on translation for survival, they have fewer experts studying their translation practices (cf. Cronin 2003). Third, these practices are sometimes hidden or difficult to look into.

If we look at the corpus, of the 21 volumes in the first stage, only seven would correspond to what it is understood as standard practice: a translator working alone into their mother tongue. And if we understand Korean-English translation in a narrow sense, four of those seven examples could be classified as "mediated" translations, in the sense that the originals were written in Chinese/Old Korean. Ten volumes are translations into non-mother tongue (L2 translation), two are indirect translations, and two further volumes cannot be classified (see Table 32).

Table 32: Translations practices in Korea

	Standard	Into L2	Indirect	Self	Team	Not applicable	Total
1951-1975	7	10	2	0	0	2	21
1976-2000	26	50	1	4	34	26	141

Regarding the second period, translation into the non-mother tongue is still the most common practice, closely followed by a new type of translation: team translation. Another "novelty" of this period is self-translation, while indirect translation is less

common. Moreover, there are 26 volumes in which the translators work into their mother tongue, the same number as the volumes that have not been classified. Regarding the unclassified volumes, 22 correspond to compilations of short stories. As a single volume sometimes comprises different practices, I have left such cases outside the analysis. Moreover, there are four volumes without any information on the translation.

I will now present the different practices and explain how the classification has been made.

7.2.2. Translation into non-mother tongue (L2)

It is sometimes claimed that translators need to be bilingual speakers. Although most linguists have long rejected the possibility of perfectly symmetrical bilingualism, some translation scholars openly support the claim. Catford entrusts the success of equivalence on a "competent bilingual informant or translator" (Catford 1965: 27). Mary Snell-Hornby requires translator training to form "not only a bilingual but also a bicultural specialist working with and within an infinite variety of areas of technical expertise" (Snell-Hornby 1992: 11), an idea supported by Lefevere and Bassnett (1990: 11), who claim that biculturality is more important than bilingualism. If equal language competence is difficult to accept, so is perfect competence in two cultures.

In spite of the discussion on language competence, a translator is expected to translate better into their mother tongue (or L1). Newmark dismisses the possibility of translating into a non-mother tongue (L2) by assuring us that translating into L1 is "the only way you can translate naturally, accurately and with maximum effectiveness" (1988: 3). This traditional view of translation practices can be found earlier in Schleiermacher (1985: 322) or Walter Benjamin when he defines the task of the translator as "the release *in his own language* of that pure language which is under the spell of another" (Benjamin 1982: 80, italics mine). Prescriptive approaches tend to sanction translation into L1 or merely take it for granted.

However, the earliest translation practices did not put an emphasis on L1 translation. In classical Rome, before the dominance of translators like St. Jerome, Greek Christian translators did most translations into Latin. Chinese speakers did not do the first translations of Buddhist sacred texts into Chinese; the translations were prepared by Sanskrit monks (Pokorn 2005: 34-35). Chinese translators, for example, are

trying to change the distorted image of China presented in early translations into English (Lefevere 1990). Russian interpreters at the UN have always insisted that they work into L2. All in all, Campbell (1998: 4) describes L2 translation as "an activity as normal and possibly as widespread as translation into the first language." However, in most major-language settings, agencies, organizations, professionals and theorists recommend working into L1 as to avoid "contributing to many people's hilarity" (Newmark 1998: 3). However, they do not take into account the question of "availability."

As Pavlovic states in a study on the differences in directionality, "in countries using a language of limited diffusion […] the question is not framed in terms of who should do it but rather who *can* do it" (Pavlovic 2007: 19). The position of majority languages in relation to minority languages plays an important role in the choice of translation into L2. Minority languages or languages of limited diffusion are mostly not spoken outside their primary language community and are rarely studied as a second language. Under these circumstances it is difficult to find translators with enough fluency to understand the source-text message and transfer it into their own L1. The most frequently available option for languages of limited diffusion, like Korean, is to have translators working into their L2.

This tendency is reflected in the corpus.

Table 33: Evolution of translation from Korean into English by L1 and L2 speakers

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
L1	0	0	2	2	3	3	4	5	7	7
L2	1	2	2	1	4	7	8	14	10	12

As we can see in Table 33, translation into L2 is more common than translation into L1 in the corpus. In the earlier years, the lack of available translators working in their L1 is clear. In the later years, there are more available translators, but most of the workload is still covered by non-native speakers.

7.2.3. Indirect translation

By "indirect translation" I understand "the usage of a translated text as the source text when the original text cannot be located or used."

The intervention of a third language in a translation process, that is, the translation of a translation, has been given little attention in Translation Studies. In the

Routledge *Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1998) there is no entry for "indirect translation." Two of the main definitions of indirect translation (Even-Zohar 1990: 92 and Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 76-77) are unrelated to the existence of a third language. The closest term found is "retranslation." The term "retranslation" was used by UNESCO as early as 1976 in its *Recommendations On The Legal Protection Of Translators And Translations And On Means To Improve The Status Of Translations*: "as a general rule, a translation should be made from the original work, recourse being had to retranslations only where absolutely necessary" (UNESCO 1976). The fact that indirect translation has been a common practice does not deter theorists from either criticizing or ignoring it. On the other hand, Toury devotes a whole chapter to indirect translations (1995: 129-146), defending their existence and validity, as "mediated translations should be taken as syndromic basis for descriptive explanatory studies" (1995: 129). However, the defense of mediated translation loses some credibility in the strongly target-oriented approach defended by Toury himself (ibid: 29).

Fawcett (2003) has also looked into the topic, while some specialized studies have been carried out in the field of audiovisual translation (Zaro and Ruiz 2007) and literary translation (Lacarta 2008). Perdu (2005: 68), in an article on translation into Arabic via English, highlights simplicity and economy as two of the main advantages of indirect translation from the point of view of a less translated language: using a widespread language like English as middle point ensures more possibilities of being translated into other languages. Also, rates for translation between distant languages tend to be higher. Some researchers at the University of Helsinki have also defended dissertations related to indirect translation (Seljavaara 2004; Naukkarinen 2005; Ringman 2006).

These examples show the importance of indirect translation, especially from minor languages into major languages.

In the first stage studied, the situation of Korean was quite extreme. Not only had Korean hardly been studied by Westerners, but there had scarcely been any Westerns in Korea. Most knowledge in and out of Korea had arrived through Japan and China. Moreover, both Chinese and Japanese had been strongly intertwined within Korean history. Up to the fifteenth century, Chinese characters were the only script used in Korea. In the following centuries, Chinese still held an important position as the language of culture. Japanese, on the other hand, was imposed on Korean society after

Korea's "annexation." Those Koreans who could afford it completed their studies in Japan, which should explain why some of the writers in the corpus have been published in Korean and Japanese. Also, the Korean diaspora has often published in their host countries' languages, in situations where it is unclear what the original language was. That is the case of Li Mirok. Although his works are to be found in German and Korean, he is actually more often presented within German literature than Korean literature.

While only two examples of clear indirect translation are to be found in the corpus (dating from 1955 and 1956), I have come across several others in non-fiction and earlier works.

7.2.4. Pseudotranslation and Self-translation

Kálmán includes "pseudotranslation" and "self-translation" as "borderline translations" (Kálmán 1986: 118).

"Pseudotranslations" have been tackled in depth by various authors, especially by Gideon Toury in *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* (1995). The target-oriented approach defended by Toury explains the importance of pseudotranslations in the development of target literary systems. Venuti understands them as examples of "literary hoaxes" (1995: 26), while Santoyo sees pseudotranslations as a type of narrative technique (Santoyo 1984: 35). Other studies have looked into the role of the pseudotranslator in the target system as author of a cultural product (Frei 2000).

Some arguments have been presented to explain the existence of pseudotranslation in terms of interrelations between systems. Another possible explanation might be economic. In order to take advantage of the popularity of a topic at a given time, works on the culture or traditions of that language and country are bound to spread, and pseudotranslations allow writers to introduce their works into the market.

As is summarized by Lambert:

> These borderlines cases are not at all "exceptions" or whatever we may call them: they belong to the translational phenomena as such, but in most cases they are not identified as such since culture has not been aware of their complex nature. (Lambert 1987: 129)

While the examples of pseudotranslations found are part of non-fiction, self-translation appears on five occasions in the corpus, all in the second stage. Recently, the figure of the self- translator has been the scope of research. Among others, Santoyo (2002), Tanqueiro (2000), or Grutman (2009) have looked into the matter. In our corpus, An Jeonghyo (1990), Park Hyeongbong (1995 and 1998), and Lee Dongjin (1999) have translated their own work into English. While it is clearly stated in the credits page "Translated from the Korean by the author," no reasons are offered in any of the translations to explain that choice.

7.2.5. Team translation / Co-translating

In the corpus it is often the case that two or more translators work together on the same text.

Different terms have been coined to define the cooperation of two or more agents in order to produce a translation. This "collaboration," in a wide sense, has been studied in non-professional settings (Pavlovic 2007) and proposed as a mode of professional training (Kiraly 2005). The more specific term "collaborative translation" builds on this general usage and is linked to different agents working on the same text in localization or machine-assisted translation (O'Brien 2011: 17; O'Hagan 2011). In his analysis of the translation profession, Gouadec refers to collaboration between agents as "teamwork" or "assisted translation," and defines it as "an organisation where various tasks and functions will be allotted to different specialist operators" (Gouadec 2007: 106).

However, I am interested in the situation in which the two or more agents involved in the process are all considered "translators." In his analysis of the practice of poetry translation, Jones (2011) encounters this situation often and divides the types of cooperation into "complementary language co-translating," "same-expertise co-translating," "added-value co-translating," and "distributed co-translating" (2011: 97-98), depending on the role and characteristics of the agents involved. With the exception of "distributed co-translating," which refers to different people translating different parts of a text (in a similar way to collaborative translation in localization), the other modes assume that at least one translator can read the source-poem and at least another one can write in the target-language. If success is measured by re-publication, the most successful mode of co-translation in the corpus includes a Korean native speaker and an

English native speaker. Little information has been found, though, on how the work was distributed or the role each agent undertook.

Actually, it is generally accepted in Korea that literary translation should be carried by a Korean speaker and a target-language speaker. The Daesan Foundation includes in the requirements for applicants for its translation (publication) grant that "[t]he translation should be a team effort composed of one Korean and one native speaker, one working as the head translator and the other as the assistant translator (copy editing, proofreading)" (Daesan 2012). The need for a native target-language speaker seems to be shared by all, but the requirement of having a Korean native speaker in the translation process has been sometimes criticized as a sign of lack of confidence in foreigners' abilities to understand Korean literature (King 2003: 222). More alarming, it has been the trend by "unscrupulous language institutes and other such profit-seeking agencies" to assume that a minimum (high school) knowledge of a foreign language should be enough to produce a "draft translation" that a native can edit and correct (Choi and Lim 2000: 387). A "draft translation" is understood as a rough written version in the foreign language that theoretically conveys the basic meaning of the source text without using correct target language forms.

Perhaps due to the absolute normality of the practice, little if any reference is found in the peritexts regarding how co-translating works. Comparisons between different editions, though, show that it is always not clear to what extent the native speaker is considered a translator or just a corrector. Grafton K. Mintz, editor of the *Korea Times*, appears as "editor" in *The History of Korea* but he is considered "co-translator" in *History of the Three Kingdoms*, another translation with Lee Kyung-Shik published in Korea. In *The History of Korea* he acknowledges deep changes being made to the translation received from Professor Lee: "It was therefore felt that straight-forward translation into English would not be sufficient to make the book comprehensible and interesting to Western readers. […] the publishers asked me to undertake a revision of the translation" (Han 1971: vii).

In *Before Love Fades Away*, Kim Dok Sun includes an editor in the acknowledgments in the second edition, but he claims to have rewritten the poetry himself: "Mr. Cho's lyrical strain, however, came so close to my heart that I had little difficulty in my work. Often my pen moved as if I were writing my own poetry" (Kim 1957: Preface). The editor is not mentioned in the first Korean edition.

Kim presents a case study of strategic collaboration as a means to reduce cultural difference (2006), which implies that the exchange of views between the agents facilitated translation. Choi also stresses this idea in her article on literary translation from Korean into French:

> Dans la traduction en B avec co-traducteur ou réviseur, il y a plusieurs allers-retours du texte entre le traducteur et le réviseur, et donc un nécessaire dialogue entre eux. Ce dialogue est peut-être une façon d'extérioriser le dialogue intérieur auquel se livre le traducteur solitaire qui travaille en A. (Choi 2006: 526)

Jones also praises the advantages of working with a co-translator, comparing it to "a rope connecting the two of you: one will take the lead up the mountain of the poem and hold the rope to the other, and the other will lead" (2011: 97). Bowman, in his case study on the translation of vernacular languages, also claims that "[h]owever cumbersome this way of working, I know that this collaborative method has some advantages and has shed some light for us on the whole business of what translation is" (2000: 31).

While no information is found in the peritexts, published interviews with translators do shed light on their translation processes. When the relationship is formal, so is the interaction. In Lee 2010, Choe and Bellemin-Nol, who work from Korean into French, explain how Choe first translates the entire text "with a long list of footnotes that contain explanations of cultural context, synonyms of major words, and alternative ways of interpreting the text" and then Bellemin-Nol rewrites it in refined French. Afterwards they compare the original Korean text to the refined version to "compromise the two drafts". The Hodges work in a more informal manner. Sun-Ae translates into "serviceable English" and H. J. reworks the translation with "an ear to the literary quality in English." Then there are several mutual revisions in which Sun-Ae checks that the translation "remains true to the original Korean" (Hodges 2010). In those cases, the target-language speaker hardly has any command of the source language. When the target-language speaker knows Korean, the situation might differ. The Fultons, for example, have a different working mode. According to an interview in *Korean Literature in Translation*, Mrs. Fulton "[w]ill go through [the text] with an eagle eye

and mark places that might need a little bit of extra explanation, places that might have some cultural subtext," then Mr. Fulton will produce a first draft, which he will read aloud while "she follows along in the Korean" and corrects deviations. They will let the translation sit for a while and "later shape it into something that comes alive in English" (Montgomery 2012: unpaginated).

These accounts suggest there are two main factors that model the working mode between co-translators: language ability and the relationship between the translators.

In our set of collaborative translators, all language pairs are composed of an L1 native speaker and an L2 language speaker, with two exceptions where I cannot be completely sure that an L2 speaker was involved.

Regarding how the language partners came together, on fifteen occasions no clear relationship was stated. As the translators themselves are often the initiators of the translation, sometimes following the Korean Translation Institute list of recommendations, sometimes according to their own taste and interest, I cannot assume that the pairs were assigned by publishers in any way. Quite the opposite, it is more logical to think that even in those cases where no confirmation has been found, translation pairs were created due to previous acquaintance, most likely between colleagues. For the cases when they state the connection, or where I can find social fields in common that connect the translators, I have divided them into "family connections," "social connections," "agents connections," and "topic connections" (see Table 34 for a summary).

Table 34: Type of relationship in team translation

Type	Nr teams	Nr volumes
Team	15	15
Social	3	3
Agent	5	6
Family	3	5
Literary form	5	5

Within "family connections" I find two main variants: blood relatives or married couples. Bruce and Juchan Fulton are married and have translated at least three volumes in our period of study; Chang Wang-Rok was a well-known scholar who translated a volume with her daughter, Chang Yong-hee, also an English language specialist; Lee

Sung-il learnt the trade from his father Lee In-so, although in this case they did not translate together; Lee Sung-il compiled his father's translations in the book on poetry he edited.

Some translators seem to share a social interest. Marshall R. Pihl was a translator on his own and a good friend of the Fultons, editing *Land of Exile* with them. Bruce K. Grant shared religion with Kim Chin-man; since churches very active interpersonal scenarios, it is likely that there was a connection created there. An interview with Naoshi Koriyama reveals the connection to Elizabeth Ogata: Elizabeth's mother had been Mr. Koriyama's square-dance partner when he was studying in the College of Teachers in Albany (United States). When Elizabeth moved to Japan to continue her studies, they reactivated their old friendship and ended up working on this project together (Hanson 2002).

On other occasions it seems that the topic or form of the work to be translated has drawn the translators together. R. B. Graves and Kim Ah-Jeong are both drama specialists, while Kim Chongsun and Shelly Killen are specialists in Kim Chiha, one as a poetry expert, the other as a prison-art scholar. The translation of poetry seems to have its own rules, too. Three of the teams are composed of poets: An Sonjae and Kim Young-moo, Choe Wolhee and Constantine Contogenis, and Choe Wolhee and Peter Fusco. While it is clear what each team has in common, it is not so clear why it was them who worked together and not another specialist in the field. Only by interviewing them could a possible answer be provided.

Finally, on some occasions one of the translators has had another function within the translation process. Kim Joyce Jaihyun has collaborated twice with Ronald B. Hatch, who is in charge of the publishing house that edited both books. Francis Taewon Yoon co-translated *Half Past Four* with David L. Lapham and also owns the publishing house. Hwang Dong-gyu, Lee Sunchol, and Shin Dongsun are not only authors but also translators of their books. Moreover, their co-translators Grace E. Gibson, Bonnie Gartshore, and Germain Drogenbroodt are also poets. Actually, this last team (Shin and Drogenboodt) was most likely created during a poetry workshop in Calcutta.

To sum up, team translation is not only a widespread working mode for literary translation in Korea, but is also the recommended practice in some instances. Further research with personal interviews could shed some light on this neglected practice. As

Choi mentions, this should help "exteriorize the inner dialogue taking place within the lonely translator" (Choi 2006: 526).

7.3. Evolution in the identity of translators

According to the characteristics studied, there is an evolution in the profile of translators over these 50 years.

First, the translators from 1951 to 1975 were related to visible positions in society. Especially the translators of Korean origin, who had had most of their education abroad, were distinguished members of Korean society or were related to distinguished positions (ambassadors, journalists, etc.). On the contrary, most of the Korean translators in the second period worked as university professors in departments of English literature and had previous experience in translating foreign literatures into Korean. Also there are a good number of Korean translators in the second stage whose information or profile remains unknown. This change of profile could be related to the professionalization of translation. In the first stage, translators are chosen in terms of availability: a Korean person with foreign-language ability or a foreigner with Korean-language ability. In the second stage, as more people fulfill the basic language requirement, experience and specialization - a more exclusive dedication to translation - are the characteristics to have. It is not until the second stage that a translator claims translation to be their main activity.

Second, this increasing specialization can also be observed in the number of books published by each translator. While in the first stage, only one translator out of 18 worked on more than one volume, in the second stage 17 out of 41 translators repeated the experience of translating a long work. With respect to short stories, 32 out of 72 translators were involved in more than one project, as compared to none out of ten in the first stage.

Third, translation practices also evolve. While the first stage presents examples of indirect translation and pseudotranslation, the second stage presents the first case of self-translation, especially among translators, and the establishment of team translating as a usual and even recommended practice. This increasing frequency of team translations could be understood as the result of placing more importance on an editor or

a corrector. Self-translation might hint at certain suspicion by authors regarding the quality of translations. It is interesting to note that most translators seem to have contact with the author at some stage.

Fourth, certain assumptions by associations hint at a partially outdated vision of translation. The assumed link between language teachers and translators, as well as practices like "draft translation" reported by Choi and Lim (2000: 387), seem to support the idea that language proficiency (or knowledge) is enough to translate. Partly due to this assumption of language competence as the only requisite needed in order to translate, most translators develop their main activity as language instructors or literature professors. Besides university, the church is a major field of translation.

As a general rule, translation seems to be more vocational than professional. In a situation of change, most agents seem to have undertaken their tasks because they were present at the right time in the right place and ready to put their two cents in, or they were motivated by a wish to introduce Korea to the world. In the last years of our period, there is a clear change towards specialization, and that underlying motivation seems to stay.

Chapter 8: Who speaks?

8.1. Money moves, translation moves

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the Korean translation context developed with the emergence of the Republic of Korea as a world power. Step by step, translators devoted more of their time to translation activities, publications were more accurate, and they reached wider distribution networks. In other words, a more professional Korean literature in translation reached the United States, trying to find a slot in its publishing and distribution system.

In the first stage, the translation of literary works was possible thanks to subsidies and UNESCO investment. As we saw in Chapter 6, most of that money was administered by the Republic of Korea. As the country did not have solid translation infrastructure, it was translators - often working as editors as well - who ended up ,making the main decisions regarding selection of works, translation strategies, and presentation. Publishers were contacted directly, based on personal connections.

In the second stage, subsidies decreased and agency moved towards the publishers. We assume that the target countries' publishing houses began administering investment, and they were the ones who chose what works to publish, or at least they applied a stronger filter on how to present it. They also implemented their know-how concerning better financial performance.

I claim that these changes had certain implications:

- More specific literary presentation of the works: the volumes were presented in terms of more precise literary subgenres and related to more international referents.
- More agency for the publishing houses: there was a clearer commercial orientation of the works.
- A change of discourse: the presentation of Korea did not come directly from the source culture but was highly filtered by the target culture.

- Loss of agency by the translator: the importance and visibility of the translator's intervention declined.

As explained in the methodology chapter, paratexts are more flexible and versatile than body texts, and they thus function like "an instrument of adaptation" (Genette 1997: 408). Hence, I would expect them to be mirrors of such changes. Each of the above implications, which correspond to a wider interconnected context, might thus be tested by analyzing the discourses presented in the translational paratexts. The process of analysis is specified in each section below.

8.2. Korean literature, a literature for the world

One might argue that the shift in presentation does not imply an evolution of the flow or a shift in any other sense. One could even say that any paratext is first and foremost an isolated individual discourse whose generalization would only be feasible in the context of a greater number of volumes than I have here.

On the other hand, while the human factor is to be taken into account, as I have already mentioned, the discourses found in the paratexts will always voluntarily or involuntarily represent and reflect the existing ideas and preconceptions.

However, in order to reinforce my claims and reduce the margin for error, I would like to compare the evolution of the discourse presenting Korea with the evolution of the discourse presenting Korean *literature*.

While I expect the presentation of Korea to be much more irregular - with generalizations at the beginning of the flow, a growing specificity when the flow develops, and a return to generalizations when big publishers come in - I expect Korean literature to be presented in very general terms at the beginning and increasingly more specifically in terms of geography and literary forms. Moreover, Korean literature will gradually be compared to more international referents.

In other words, I expect literature to be presented first as merely "Asian," progressively as "Korean," and later as "Korean from this era." At the same time, literary forms will be more accurately limited, from major forms like "novel" to subgenres like "autobiographical novel," and later they will be framed into a more

international panorama by inscribing them within a wider movement (like Modernism or Realism) or by comparing their writing styles with the style of international writers (like Sylvia Plath).

8.2.1. An Oriental work of social literature on Korea

In order to test my claims, I searched the peritexts for the movement in which the book was framed. Keywords to be taken into account were: "literature," "novel," "poetry," "stories," and "*ism." I also marked any foreign author used as a reference. In cases in which more than one term was used to place the volume in a wider context, I understood the more limiting term as the valid one. That is, if in a volume there are references to Korean literature and to Early Korean novels, I understood that it was the latter which was inscribing the work in its context.

For this search I developed eight categories: Oriental literature, if it includes references to Asia, Orient or similar; Korean Form, when it is framed within a general term (literature) or major literary from (find below what is understood by "major") from Korea; Korean Specific Form, when the previous specification is limited by either a time reference (modern, classical, early) or included into a subgenre (Korean women's literature, Korean historical novel, etc.); Major Literary Form, when the volume is presented as novel, poetry, drama, or short stories without any other adjective; Subgenre, if the book is included within a subgenre without further description; Literary Movement, if there are references to tendencies or styles in literature; and finally, World References, when volumes are presented in comparison to international well-known authors or within a universal framework.

Defining what I mean by "major literary forms" and "subgenres" posed a problem, as many classifications are available. I have taken as a reference the two main classification systems used in libraries, the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC) system and the Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC) system. Both agree that poetry and drama are major literary forms, but UDC lists "novel" as a third possibility while DDC lists "fiction." The usage of "fiction" is often controversial; therefore I have opted to accept "novel" as a major literary form. Moreover, although little reference is made to the novel's younger brother "short stories," according to the corpus the latter is a very important literary form in Korean literature in translation. Therefore, for the purpose of this research, I have included in the category "major literary form" those volumes listed

as "novel," "poetry,", "drama," and "short stories," the second level in the classification of literary forms applied for categorizing the corpus in Chapter 4.

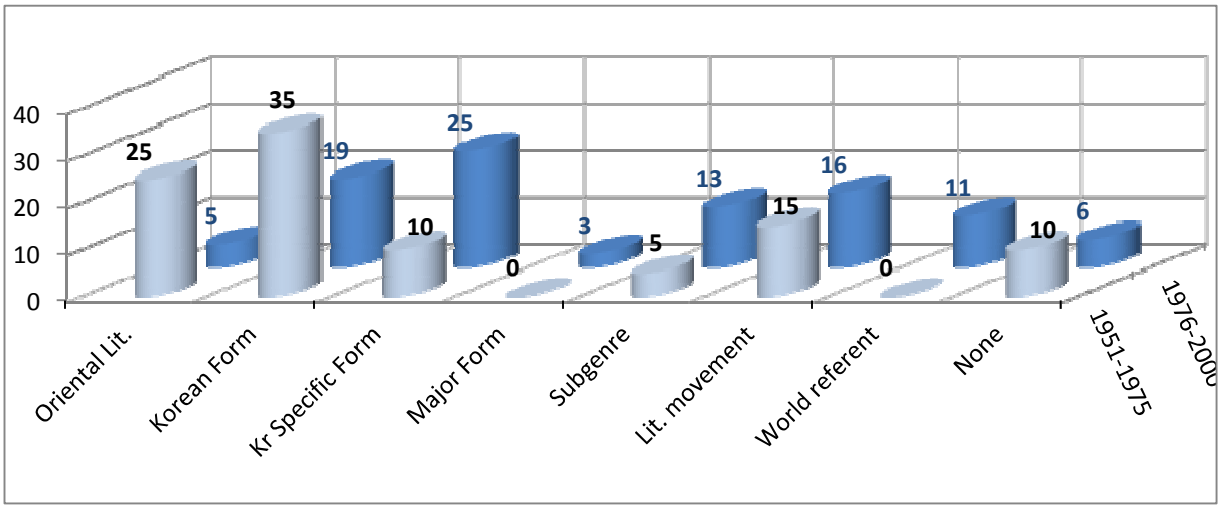
Applying these criteria, the results are shown in Table 35.

Table 35: Presentation of corpus according to literary criteria

	Oriental Lit.	Korean Form	Specific Korean Form	Literary Forms	Sub genre	Literary movement	World ref	None
>1975	5	7	2	0	1	3	0	2
>2000	4	14	19	2	10	12	8	6

As we can see, there is clear rise in the usage of more specific Korean Forms (in comparison to general literature). In Figure 5, the results are shown in percentages, which is in relation to the total number of volumes published in that stage. That evolution of the discourse can be seen here, too.

Figure 5: Presentation of Korean literature according to literary criteria (%)



8.2.1.1. From Asian to Modern Korean

As expected, Korean literature is first presented in very general terms. In the first stage, it is labeled not just as "Oriental Literature" but even as "Far East poetry," or within "East Asian tradition." In the second stage these terms are rare, although some volumes are still presented as examples of Oriental or Asian literature.

In the second stage, most volumes are presented as a specific form of Korean literature (19 volumes, representing 25% of all the volumes) like "20th century Korean literature," Classical Korean Poetry" or "Modern Korean short stories".

Between one and the other, the "Korean" literary forms accounts for seven volumes in the first stage (35%) and 14 volumes in the second (19%). Although the latter number of volumes doubles that of the first stage, it is not as significant in relation to the total number of volumes of the period. Still, it is greater than "Oriental literature" (see Table 35 and Figure 5).

8.2.1.2. From a novel to examples of anti-realism

The figures on the increasingly specific forms for the presentation of the Korean literary works hint at a more established literature. The figures for international references reinforce this claim.

In the first stage, only one volume was given a neutral position in literature - *Songs of the Dragon* was presented as "epic literature" -, and three others were included in a literary movement. Those 1974 volumes (*The Immortal Voice*, *Postwar Korean Short Stories*, and *Flowers of Fire*) were presented as examples of "world realism," "realism", or "naturalism," respectively. All in all, they account for 20% of the total number of volumes.

In comparison, in the second stage twelve volumes were presented in terms of wider categories, 12 within literary movements and eight more in comparison to other international referents. At first sight, the numbers are much higher than in the first period and so is the percentage: these 32 volumes account for 40% of works in the second period.

Moreover, if we look in detail at what kind of literary movements are cited, we notice they become more specific. Thus, the works in *Two travellers* "attain classical aestheticism" (Oh, Soh et al. 1983: flap), or Kim Chunsu's work is described as "a chemical combination of realism and anti-realism" (J. Kim 1998: 2). Even some Korean authors begin to be labeled under certain generations or groups. For example, O Sang-won, Son Chag-sop, Chon Kwang young, Yi Ho-chol, and the rest of authors translated in *A Respite and Other Korean Short Stories* belong to "the so-called postwar generation" (Son, Nam et al 1983: flap).

At the same time, Korean authors are gradually compared to more international referents.

Kim Ok, as a translator, is said to have been influenced by the works he translated: the masters of French Symbolism, since he is said to have quoted Mallarmé, Verlaine, Rimbaud, and Baudelaire (P. Lee 1980: xii). Meanwhile, Tagore seems to have been a major inspiration for Han Yong Un (idem: xiii). Some years later, McCann states that the tale "The honey jar" in *Black Crane* "[...] has the confessional stance of such contemporary poets as Robert Lowell and Sylvia Plath" (McCann 1982: 4).

The translator An Sonjae sees a parallelism between John Fowles' *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *The Poet,* although he admits that "it would not be fair to push the comparison too far" (Yi 1995: viii). In the introduction to another translation by him, *Beyond Self*, the literary critic Allen Ginsberg compares previous works by Ko Un to "the *Characters* of WC Williams and Charles Reznikoff" (Ginsberg 1997:10).

These types of comments help internationalize Korean literature by highlighting what Korean works have in common with other traditions, rather than stressing the differences.

8.2.2. Korean literature, world literature

As claimed above, the results of this research show that Korean literature is increasingly presented in more precise subgenres and related to more international referents. Various reasons can be offered for this change.

First, the change can be understood as a logical step in the evolution of a literature in translation: the larger the corpus, the greater the need to classify substructures.

Second, it can be read as a publishing strategy to sell a product by domesticating it. Relating Korean literature to World literature or categorizing examples of Korean literature within World literature frameworks and movements (such as realism, naturalism, postmodernism, or x generations) creates common bonds and attempts to bridge intercultural differences.

Third, it is a way of differentiating a familiar product: the evolution implies framing the work within a certain editorial line. The marketability of a product is promoted on the basis of its differentiation from other similar products.

The internationalization of Korean literature thus corresponds to the expectations of a growing sector: the more voluminous the translation flow, the more necessary the need first to familiarize and then to differentiate.

8.3 Our product is the best

By looking at the use of superlatives, and more specifically the usage of "first" and "most," we can gain some insight into the importance of commercial criteria in the different stages. As formulated, I expect this discourse to appear on more occasions in the later stage, which was more commercial, than in the first subsidized volumes.

We must bear in mind the contextual image presented in the previous chapters. In the first stage, translators with little previous experience, who had proposed the translations themselves or whose connections had proposed they translate one work or another, were doing multiple tasks in the translation process. They needed, somehow, to show that their work was valid. In the second stage, some of those translators have acquired more experience and they have new trained individuals in their group who have been requested to translate. They center on translation and they need to differentiate the outcome of their work from the growing amount of literature that is piling up in bookstores abroad.

8.3.1. Who is first? Who is the best?

While the full corpus of literary works translated from Korean into English and published in the United States from 1951 to 2000 comprises 166 volumes (21 in the first stage and 141 in the second), I have only studied the peritexts of the 96 volumes that were physically accessed (21 corresponding to the first stage and 75 in the second).

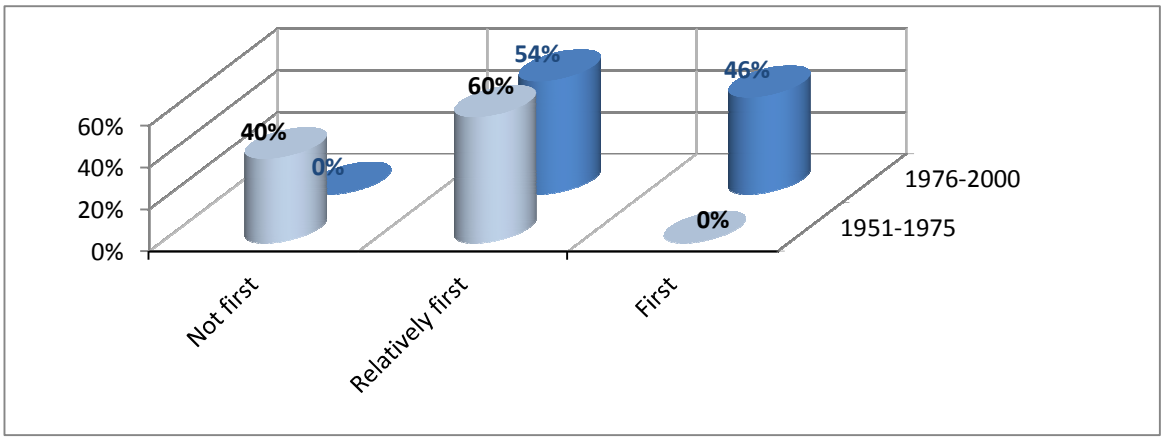
I found variations of the discourse of novelty in five volumes in the first period and 13 in the second (see Table 36).

Table 36: Presence of the discourse of novelty in the corpus of peritexts

	Not first	Relatively First	First	No references
1951 to 1975	2	3	0	16
1976 to 2000	0	7	6	62

Remarkably, none of the translations in the first period claims to be the first and none of the works in the second period refers to previous works (see Figure 6). By "relatively first" I mean a claim of novelty in a certain aspect only. For example, *The Wayfarer* is presented "*one of the very few* (anthologies) to be published in North America, and is the *first to focus* on the work of such a variety of women writers" (Fulton and Fulton 1997: back cover; italics mine).

Figure 6: Distribution of the discourse of novelty (percentages)



Let us look at the numbers in more detail.

8.3.1.1. First Stage: not the first

Two volumes in the first stage acknowledge not being "first":

- The front flap of *The Ever White Mountain* reminds the reader of the previous translations: "It is only in recent years that Western understanding of the Orient has begun to be enriched by a small number of excellent *pioneer works* devoted to Korea, the Land of Morning Calm" (Kong-Paiz 1965, front flap, my italics here and hereinafter), before including her translation in this group of pioneer translations: "The present book belongs among these works, for this is a sparkling presentation of a major poetic form hitherto virtually unknown to the West - the brief and evocative Korean sijo" (Kong-Paiz 1965, front flap).

- Lee mentions how in *Songs of Flying Dragons* he "attempt[s] to explore from *yet another angle* the East Asian view of man and history" (Lee 1975: ix), intrinsically accepting the existence of previous explorations.

In these two cases there is mention of previous works, proving the translator's knowledge of the earlier references.

8.3.1.2. First stage: the first... I think

Two works in the first stage are presented as novelties, but within certain parameters:

- In the case of *In this Earth and in that Wind: This is Korea*, Steinberg clarifies that the way the author had pictured Korean society "has never been presented before in English" albeit "in the translator's knowledge" (Steinberg 1967: vii), leaving the door open for such a work to exist beyond his knowledge.

- *Anthology of Korean Poets* includes many reprinted poems (as can be seen in the acknowledgments) but claims originality as "[i]t is a remarkable achievement in introducing *on this scale* for the first time to a Western audience" (Lee 1964: 14, italics mine).

The way the works are introduced reinforces being "first" if certain conditions are taken into account. But at the same time they refer to the existence of previous works.

8.3.1.3. Second Stage: the first... in something

Seven works in the second stage present clarifications in the introduction of the volume, which might shed light on the intended meaning of "first" for each of them:

- In *The Silence of Love* we read: "The introduction of substantial selections from the works of more recent poets [...] makes this anthology the *first truly representative* collection of modern Korean poetry in English or Korean" (Lee 1980: front flap).

This veiled reference to updating previous works (although "not truly representative" in this case) allows reviewers, editors and translators to present their work as "the first" in something. For example, *The Rainy Spell* becomes a whole new book as "three stories have been *added* to the original edition and are presented here for the *first time in English translation*" (Suh, ed 1998: back flap, italics mine)

Sometimes the work might not be the first translation but it can be considered the first translation - anthology - or collection of a certain author. For example, in *The Stars and other Korean Short Stories* we read: "In this *first anthology* of twelve short stories, chosen from over a hundred written in five decades, the translator E.W. Poitras

considered it important to span *Hwang's entire writing career*" (Hwang 1980: back cover, italics mine). *The House of Twilight* is the "*First English* collection *by* Korea's most original and stylish *young writer*" (Yun 1989: front cover), as is again stressed in the back cover which in big letters reads: "The House of Twilight, his first-ever collection in English..." (Yun 1989: back cover).

The back cover of *The Metacultural Theater of Oh Tae Sok* uses a sentence from the preface to summarize the collection of avant-garde Korean plays stressing their originality: "Offered here are the first English translations of five plays by Oh Tae Sok, Korea's most gifted playwright and one of the most original dramatist and stage directors in Asia today" (Graves and Kim 1999: vi).

At this stage, introductions seem to be more market-oriented, with stress on the improvements and novelties the works offer.

8.3.1.4. Second Stage: the first despite the evidence

The non-exaltation of originality in the first period contrasts with the six volumes in the second stage that claim to be the first of their kind.

In some situations, these claims might be refuted by looking at the corpus. That is the case of *The Shaman Sorceress,* a 1989 translation of 울화 (Ulhwa). It states in the inner flap: "This novel, published here *for the first time in English* […]" (Kim 1989: inner flap, italics mine), obviously overlooking the 1979 translation of the same novel by An Jeonghyo, published in the United States by Larchwood: *Ulhwa the Shaman*.

The back-cover presentation of *The Moonlit Pond* (1998) is also difficult to believe. It is presented as a "major anthology, *the first of its kind* in English" (Lee, tr 1998: back cover, italics mine). Without wishing to deny the excellent editing in this volume, it is difficult to consider it "the first of its kind" when there were at least thirty anthologies of poetry published before 1998.

Meeting and Farewells is also supposed to be the first selection of Korean short stories: "This selection of the best modern Korean short stories - *this first such volume* to appear in English translation - will help introduce Korea's literary achievement" (Jeong 1980, xi, italics mine), and it would be if we ignored *Flowers of Fire: Twentieth Century Korean Short Stories* (1974) and *The Hermitage of Flowing Water and nine others* (1967). We would also need to assume that *Meeting and Farewells* was

published months before two other anthologies that appeared in the same year: *Modern Korean Short Stories* (1980) and *A Washed-out Dream* (1980).

The same applies to *Trees on the Cliff*, presented on the inner flap as "his *first translation* of a Korean novel and is the *first complete* modern Korean novel *ever to be published in English*" (Hwang 1980: inner flap, italics mine). However, *If If Perish* was published in 1976 and would better fit this description. *The Yalu Flows* was published in 1960 and could be described as a Korean modern novel, too.

In other situations, the claims are refuted by information provided in the same volume. For example, Lee's translation of *The Silence of Love* claims that "[t]he translations collected here make possible for the *first* time an appreciation of the full range and depth of modern Korean poetry" (Lee 1980: front flap, italics mine). However, as is stated in the acknowledgements, the text includes a considerable amount of reprinted material, which could be surely seen in other editions.

These examples contrast drastically with the examples provided in the first stage that avoided any claim to newness. How can these diametrically opposed views be reconciled?

8.3.2. Are first sellers best sellers?

As explained above, the early translations depended on subsidies, and translators in their role of multiple agents needed to legitimize the relevance of their work. Moreover, the visible - yet inexperienced - translators had to prove good knowledge of the foundations of their work, while justifying their efforts. Showing knowledge of previous translations served a double function: it showed an effort to know the state of the art and it gave references to be compared to. Moreover, if more than one person has translated a certain book, it might be assumed that this is because it is a worthwhile volume to translate. The reluctance to place emphasis on the novelty of the product in favor of the exaltation of the idea of continuation corresponds to a first stage of professionalization, which was present in the corpus of 1950 to 1975.

On the other hand, the latter translators did not feel the pressure to be as well-read as they were in the first stage. They are already considered professionals or at least paid as such. Their obligation is not so much to the public or the sponsor but to the intermediary between their work and the final reader: the publisher. Either encouraged by publishers, or bearing in mind the commercial purpose of their work, they tend to

present the text as something original, new, and different from previous works. This tendency was probably reinforced by the publishers themselves. The commercial appeal is understood in a context in which translators are more professional and their opinion is only requested on literary matters.

8.4. Translators and translation in the paratexts

In the first stage, we have seen that the translators were well-known and visible actors in Korean society. As the translation flow developed, however, it becomes increasingly difficult to find information on them. Their profile is not as visible as it used to be.

In concordance with a higher degree of professionalization, we might expect translation to be taken for granted. Professionalization might shift the agency towards the publisher, making the translator become a mere laborer, a long way from the heroism that permeated their job in the first stage.

In order to test this supposition, I have looked at covers, flaps, acknowledgements and forewords, prefaces, post faces and introductions, translators' notes, and biographies. I carried out a textual analysis that consisted of locating certain words in the peritexts and seeing how they fluctuated. I have focused on their linguistic aspect, albeit highlighting when more relevance has been given to a certain discourse by placing it on the most visible part of a book: the covers. Given the importance Genette places on the iconic aspect of the publishers' peritexts (covers, format, series, etc.), I have included here the analysis of the linguistic elements that appear on the covers, although Chapter 9 is dedicated to a more extensive analysis of the iconic elements in the paratexts.

I have searched the peritexts for the words "translator" and "translation." I counted how many volumes had some sort of biographical notes on the translator, how often the translator was also in charge of writing part of the paratexts, and, if there was a reference to translation, how many different references there were and what type of references they were. One volume might have more than one type of reference.

I have organized the references into seven categories: process, technical, qualifications, free-literal dichotomy, untranslatability, general role of translations, and metaphors. The categories were decided after having done the keyword search as a

method of organizing the results. Understanding the types of comments made on translation could provide relevant information about the importance of translation in each stage.

I classified the references as "process" when they referred to the editorial process, that is, who ordered the translation, how the translator was selected, if there were several corrections or if previous translations were included. For example, James S. Gale explains in his preface to *Korean Folk Tales: imps, ghosts and fairies* how he began his translation: "An old manuscript copy of Im Bang's stories came into the hands of the translator a year ago, and he gives them now to the Western world" (Gale 1913: vii).

"Technical" refers to statements on choices made by the translator. In Korean-English translation there are several comments on the type of Romanization used, the presentation of Korean and Chinese proper names, the translation of public employment positions, or the outline of poems. For example, Steinberg notes in his preface that "Chinese names follow the same order as Korean" (Steinberg 1967: x).

When comments in the peritexts refer to the difficulty of keeping the balance between literal and literary, or they have expressed a preference for faithfulness or readability, these remarks have been placed under the free-literary dichotomy. This is a recurrent discourse tackled by translators and editors alike. Kim Jaihiun points out that "[i]n order to convey each poet's imagery, I have tried to be faithful to the whole tonal texture rather to the literal translation of words" (J. H. Kim 1997: ix).

Another classical concern related to translation is also recurrent: untranslatability. I have placed under this heading those comments that assumed implicitly or explicitly the impossibility of translating from Korean into English.

When an opinion is offered on the quality of the translation, I have labeled it as "qualifications" and I have marked in which respects the opinion was negative. For example, a quote from Marshall R. Pihl's review of *Shadows of a Sound* is published on the back cover: "For those who want to sample modern Korean writing at its best, flawlessly translated into living English, this is the place to start!" (as quoted in Hwang 1990: back cover).

The analysis also tracked comments on the general role of translation, regarding either its role in literature or its importance in the development of science, as well as metaphors representing translation or translators. In all cases, I have marked when such

commentaries were made by the translator or by another agent in the process, like an editor, a literary critic, or a reviewer.

More than one category might be present not only in the paratext of the one volume, but even in the same sentence. In such cases, the volume has been marked with all the relevant tags.

8.4.1. So, translation is…

As is stated in the methodology chapter, 21 volumes from the first period and 75 from the second period have been studied, giving a total of 96 peritexts. Of those, 59 refer to translation, 15 volumes from the first period and 44 from the second. Some volumes make more than one reference. In the first stage, there are 31 references to translation: 22 by the translator and 10 by others. In the second period, they add up to 51: 29 references by translators and 22 by others (see Table 37).

Table 37: References to translation in the peritexts

	Volumes studied	Volumes with reference	Total nr. references	Stated by translators	Stated by others
1951-1975	21	15 (75%)	32	22	10
1976-2000	75	44 (59%)	51	29	22

From the general numbers, we might extract the conclusion that translation is mentioned more often in the first stage and it is translators who mostly comment on it. On the other hand, translation loses space in the second stage and other agents like the publishers, literary critics, or editors are the ones who start to comment on translation. While in the first stage two out of three comments were by translators, in the second stage only one out of two corresponds to a translator's statement.

The different types of references have also been studied, giving the results shown in Table 38.

Table 38: Types of references on translation written by Translator or Other

Discourse	Free		Process		Quality		Tech		Untrans		Role		Metaphor	
By	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O
1951-1975	4	1	7	0	2(2)	6	5	0	3	1	1	0	0	2
1976-2000	10	0	15	2	3(2)	13(1)	5	2	8	5	1	3	3	0

As Table 38 suggests, in the first stage translators were primarily concerned with the process, while other agents wanted to give their opinion on quality. In the second stage the same pattern is repeated: translators often offer their view of the editorial process while the quality is often commented on by others.

The results can be understood as a reflection of the role of translators and publishers. While translators tend to focus on the texts, publishers tend to focus on the business. It is not surprising that the main concern of publishers is to highlight the quality of their product, either by offering their view in forewords, prefaces, or publisher's notes or by selecting appropriate quotations from reviewers to be included on the covers. On the other hand, it might be the case that translators think that paratexts are not the adequate place to boast about the quality of their work. Or it is simply a question of cultural etiquette.

Moreover, it should be noted that within Korean culture, humility is one of the most respected values, so it would not be considered appropriate to comment too positively on one's own work. Actually, following Korean society's expectations, some disparaging remarks are to be found. That is case for example of Suh Ji-moon, who assures the reader how "I did not know at the time how poorly qualified I was for such a task, both in my understanding of literature and life and in my skill with the English language" (Suh 1998: xiii). Although such a display of negativity might surprise an American reader, it would not be the same for a Korean reader.

Also, within Korean society, interpersonal relationships are deeply valued. While it is complimentary in other traditions to acknowledge the work of collaborators, in Korean cultures it is essential and imperative. Therefore, it is not surprising that comments on the process of translation (who offered the job, who helped, who had translated parts before) become part of any peritext written by a translator.

Finally, one might accuse the translators in the first stage of disregarding the importance of translation by rarely commenting on its role or the meaning it has for them (through metaphors, for example). It is true that this approach happens more often in the second stage, where translation is "a living entity" (Lee Sung-il 1989: preface) or "like giving birth to a child" (Poitras 1983: v), but it is even more interesting to see how it is often more commented on by "outsiders," that is, by other agents.

In general terms, the comments offered by translators on translation in the first stage seem to indicate a hands-on approach that fits in perfectly with Korean

expectations. That is, they are very practical and socially oriented: first, they acknowledge everyone who has intervened in the process, then they help the reading experience by stating their modus operandi (regarding technical items and later free or literary approaches), to later apologize for mistakes and finally they theorize about translation. The other agents in the first stage, who do not have a major presence, follow the opposite path: they mostly state the excellence of the work, and then they theorize about translation, leaving any practical comments to translators.

In the second stage, the pattern is very similar, with one important difference: there are fewer technical comments. In 1986, a variant of McCune–Reischauer Romanization had been designated as the official transcription system by the Korean government. With the normalization of Romanization and usage of Korean names, technical comments become less important and untranslatability and the free-literal dichotomy take its place. Again, the more theoretical part of translation is less commonly commented upon. The other agents primarily insist on quality, as in the first stage.

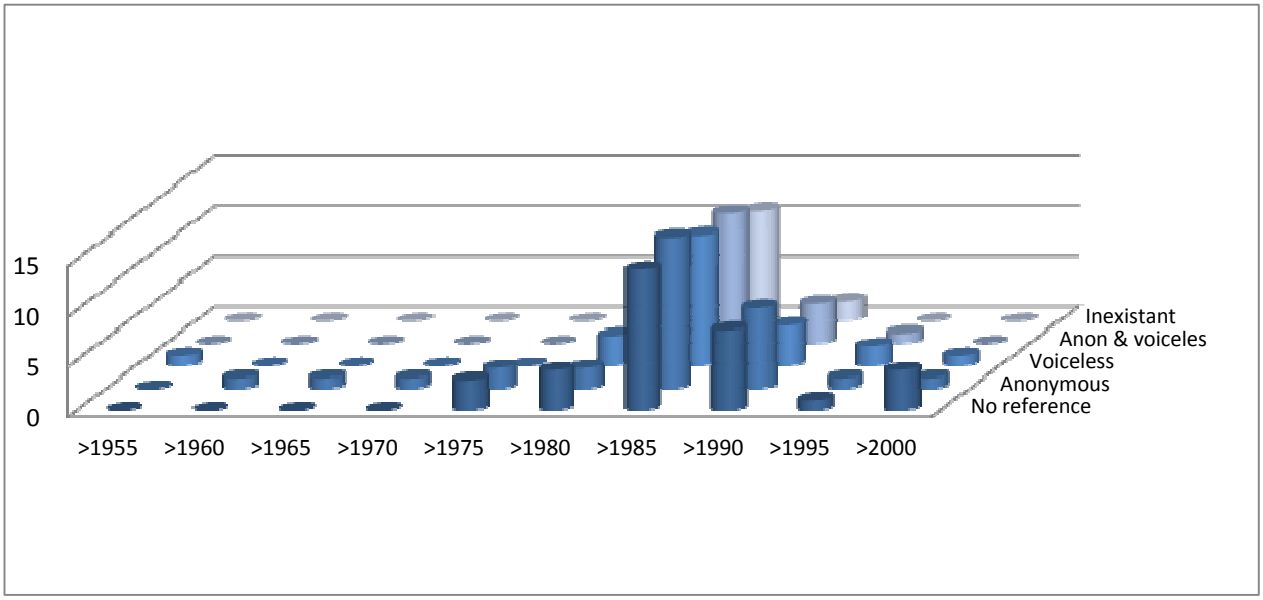
Regarding the presence of translators in the paratexts, 16 volumes in the first period include some kind of biography of the translator (so five translators remain nearly "anonymous"), while the translators wrote at least one piece of peritext on 18 occasions (being "voiceless" in three). Only in one volume does the translator remain both voiceless and anonymous. In the second period, 47 volumes introduce translators to the reader, while 51 include the translator's views on the volume. In 20 volumes, I only know of the existence of a translator thanks to the credits page (see Table 39).

Table 39: Presence of translator and translations in the peritexts

	Anonymous (bio notes)	Voiceless (peritexts by trans)	Anonymous and voiceless	Anonymous, voiceless and with no reference to their work
1951-1975	5 (24%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
1976-2000	27 (36%)	23 (31%)	20 (27%)	14 (19%)

If we look at the absolute numbers in terms of five-year periods, there seem to be clear differences regarding the presence of translation in the second stage, with a slight rise in the period from 1976 to 1980, a peak between 1981 and 1985, and a slow decrease between 1986 and 1990, which is nevertheless higher than the numbers of the first period. In the last five years of the second stage, the numbers are close to the first stage (see Figure 7)

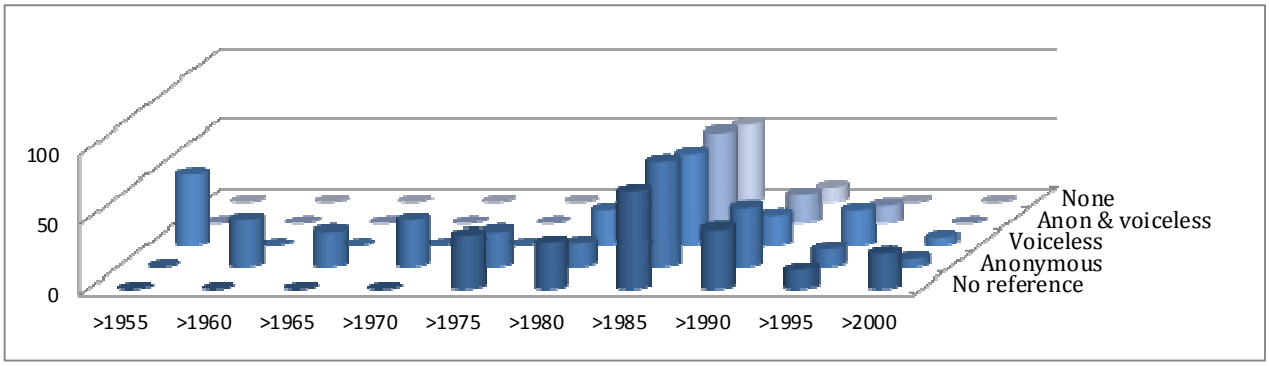
Figure 7: Presence of translator and translation in the peritexts (five-year periods)



The high number of references found between 1980 and 1985 corresponds to the publication of a special series on Korean literature by Sisayong-sa and Pace International Research. This series was edited by the Korean National Commission for the UNESCO and sponsored by the publishers in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Commission. It includes a total of 25 volumes, of which 14 are part of the corpus.

If we present the number of references in relation to the total number of volumes published in that period (see Figure 8), we still see a similar curve, but the figures for the first period seem more relevant. References to translation decrease in the 1970s and almost completely disappear from the corpus. In the rest of periods since 1971, there is an extensive lack of references to translation. The lack of references not just to translation but also to translators is also a phenomenon of the second period, first found in 1976. There are more examples of "anonymous translations" in the second period, but the examples of the first period are just as relevant or more when compared to the total number of volumes published. Voiceless translators seem to be the case in the second period as well, but the cases located between 1951 and 1955 account for 50% of all the volumes published in those five years.

Figure 8: Presence of translator and translation in the peritexts (percentages in five-year periods)



When we present the results in relation to the quantity of references existent in each period, we see the relevance of each type of discourse.

8.4.2. Voiceless, anonymous, unimportant… inexistent?

According to Edwin A. Falkowsky in the foreword to Kim Unsong's collection of classical poetry, "translators are as the Watchers before the Gate of Paradise, ever alert with their pens to ennoble the Celestial promises phrased in every book of religion since day One, including the faith of the Korean Chondokyo" (Falkowsky 1987: 7). In spite of this important role, and probably as happens with most watchers of paradise, while their job is well-known, their names, life and views are often forgotten.

8.4.2.1. The trans-who?

In the first stage, it is interesting to note that not even one volume hides the existence of translation: either it includes a biographical note on the translator, or the translator signs the peritext, or there is a mention to the translation process or output.

In the second stage, 14 volumes show no reference that might confirm the existence of translation. Most of these volumes (eleven) correspond to the co-publication by Sisayong-sa and Pace International Research explained above, and may thus be considered a result of editorial choices.

Similarly, *The Waves* and *The Shaman Sorceress* are part of the Korean series of Kegan Paul International (KPI), whose editorial format seems not to provide room for introductions.

The remaining examples are enigmas. *If I perish* does not even mention the name of the translator. The copyright is held by the Moody Bible Institute, which makes

me suspect that it is either a self-translation or an unpaid translation done within the Bible Institute. In the Publisher's Preface, the success of the book in Japan is commented on and no reference to it being translated into Japanese appears. And then, *The Hermitage of the Flowing Water and Nine Others* includes only a short biography of the authors. Some of the authors mentioned are also translators. Ahn Jeong Hyo, for example, translated his own book *Silver Stallion* (Ahn 1990) with great success. It is quite probable that *The Hermitage of the Flowing Water* is also a self-translation.

8.4.2.2. Anonymous and voiceless but with the work done

In the first period, all the works have some information on or by the translator. In the second period, six volumes have comments on translation but none is made by the translator, nor is any information about the translator provided. It is strange that on four of those occasions, the difficulty of the text and its untranslatability is declared, while in the other two cases several translators were involved in the process, suggesting that it may have been decided not to give the voice just to one.

Professor Kwang-yong Chun, who wrote the introduction to *Han Joong Nok, Reminiscences in Retirement*, finishes his explanatory note stating how "the highly esoteric language of the court makes the work difficult even in Korean and poses some special problems for translation". This is supposed to be a positive comment on the skill of the translators, although it reads more like a criticism of the work of Bruce K. Grant and Kim Chin-man, who do not have the chance to speak for themselves. It is strange that this is the only translation of this classical diary where the translator does not give at least some technical indications to assist the reader. The Korean story *Hanjoongnok* has been translated on two other occasions. Both Jahyun Kim Haboush in her 1996 translation *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyong* and Choe-Wall Yang-hi in his 1985 version *Memoirs of a Korean Queen* explain not only the background to the novel but some of the translation decisions regarding official names, Romanization, etc.

Similarly, in *Encounter*, the Korean Studies Professor Don Baker introduces the work warning the reader that "English translation cannot do justice to their rustic dialect" (Baker 1992: xiii), an opinion that the translator, Ok Young Kim Chang, apparently cannot defend by herself. Supposedly, they all hold the literary critic Yoh Suk-kee's opinion that "it is always a legitimate question, though, to what extent the characteristics of the original are carried over through translation" (Yoh 1983: ix)

because as Yu Jong-ho assures, "part of the characteristic quality in Korean, necessary for an inside look into the knowledge and image Korean people have of the world has inevitably been lost through translation." (Yu 1983:xvii)

As indicated above, the *Hermitage of Flowing Water and Nine Others* and *If I Perish* are probably by different translators.

8.4.2.3. Anonymous but not voiceless, end up being not so anonymous

In five instances in the first period, translators have the chance to give their comments on the volume - either in an introduction or in a translator's note - but they are not introduced to the reader.

One of the translators, H. A. Hammelmann, might be Hans Andreas Hammelmann (1921-1969), a German-English translator and expert on the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal, while no further information is found on the co-translator, Gertraud Guttensohn. Since *The Yalu Flows* turned out to be a translation from German into English and not from Korean, it might be the case that the Korean tradition of including a biographical note of the translator was not taken into account. Instead, the book layout corresponds to expectations of translated German literature, where the note on the translator might not be as common.

Joan S. Grigsby was a Canadian-Scottish writer and an authority on the Korean poetry of her time. She lived in Korea from 1928 to 1931, as the wife of the Vancouver Art Gallery first curator. Since *The Orchid Door* was a reprint of an old volume of the same name, it might be the case that biographical notes were not common at that time or that they went missing in the reprint.

The two remaining translators in the first stage hardly needed any introduction. Both Peter H. Lee (translator of *Flowers of Fire* and *Songs of Flying Dragons*) and John Meskill (translator of *The Diary of Cho-Pu*) were well-known figures in their fields (Korean Studies and Chinese Studies) and their careers provided enough support for their work as translators. For any reader with previous knowledge of Asian Studies, those names could have been a trade mark.

In the second stage, this situation applies to all the volumes translated. David R. McCann (translator of *Black Crane 2, Unforgettable Things,* and *Early Korean Literature and Prison Writings*), Suzanne C. Han (translator of the *Wind from the*

South), and Sol Sun-bong (translator of *Hail to the Emperor* and *The Cross of Saphan*) are experienced translators and scholars, and authorities in their field.

I conclude that in both stages translators who are not presented in their works with a formal biographical note tend to be well-known individuals within Korean Studies. Moreover, there are fewer translators in this category in the first stage than in the second.

8.4.2.4. Introduction to voiceless translators

If we take into account the total number of volumes in each stage, we notice that in the first stage it is rare that translators do not have the chance to introduce their work. Actually, the only occasion when this happens is in *The Story Bag*. As I do not have any other volume by Tuttle to compare it with, and since it is a Japanese-English translation, I can only speculate that this may have been a publishing decision, a tradition deriving from the combination of languages, or the assumption that the translator, Setsu Higashi, otherwise a housewife, would not be able to add relevant information or prestige to the volume.

The volumes following this trend in the second stage are certainly surprising. All the translators of those volumes are well-known, with published articles on Korean literature and a recognized tradition in translation. An Sonjae has, among other things, compiled one of the databases I have taken as a reference to build the corpus, but he does not sign the introduction that accompanies *Back to Heaven*. The co-translator, Kim Young-moo, nevertheless signs an afterword as the Series Editor. Julie Pickering's translations include the works of Han Sung-won, Hwang Sun-won, Yang Kwi-ja, and Yi Ch'ong-jun. Still, the introduction to *The Prophet* has no signature. Both volumes are part of the Cornell East Asia Series, so we might consider this an editorial rule.

8.4.2.5. Translation with all the words

In 12 volumes in the first period and 34 in the second, the translator and translation appear in all the possible forms: there is some sort of biography of the translator, the translators writes at least one of the peritexts of the book, and one or more aspects of translation are commented in the peritexts. This implies a slightly higher rate for the first stage: 60% in the first stage and 45% in the second stage.

If I look at the publishing houses that present those volumes I find a good number of independent and specialized presses like Anvil Press, Copper Canyon, Forest Books, Fremont Press, Mercury House, One Mind Press, Parallax, Soho Press, and Women in Translation. These all tend to have "translation with all the words."

Within major publishers, Asia Humanities Press, Harvill Press, and M.E. Sharpe regularly mention translation, give voice to the translator, and present a short biography of the translator.

Many of the other major publishers do not seem to follow an editorial line, albeit always with exceptions. Readers International includes a bio of the translator and an introduction by them. Kegan Paul International sometimes includes the biography of the translator, sometimes it does not. Miller & Schnobrick does not introduce translators, but it includes many references to the translation process. Tuttle, the only major publisher in the 1951 to 1975 corpus, does not have a clear guideline either: each of its three volumes in the first period has different characteristics.

Nor do university publishers seem to follow a strict editorial line regarding translators' biographies, who writes introductions, or what comments on the translation there are. Pace International does not usually include an introduction to their compilation of short stories, but in *The Cruel City, The Cry of the Harp* and *Wedding Day* they do. Further, later volumes published by them also include a biographical note on the translator, which in the 1983 volumes cannot be found. The University of California Press and Cornell East Asian Studies Press do not present regularities regarding what paratexts to include.

Finally, some publishers do have certain regularities regarding peritexts but those patterns do not seem to concern what topics to mention, as translation does not appear. Larchwood nearly always includes a biography and an introduction by the translator, but not all the volumes make a reference to translation.

8.4.2.6. And who cares about translation?

The example of Larchwood links to the remaining datum on translation: in 16 volumes in the second stage, translators are in charge of presenting the volume but there is no mention of translation in any form. No case of this is registered in the first period.

This situation can be interpreted from the standpoint of the duplicity of roles translators often have. Since most of them have another specialty, they present the

translation from that point of view: literary studies, history of Korea, or economic references. Translation is taken for granted and the focus is on other fields of knowledge.

8.4.3. Who defines translation?

If these results are understood as a reflection of the role of translators and publishers, the translators would appear to lose agency and visibility over time. Translations are more often commented on in the first stage and it is translators who make the comments. In the second stage, translation is less mentioned in general, and when comments on it do appear, they are not stated by translators but by other agents.

For translators, the most important part is the process and the least important is to theorize on translation by highlighting its role or comparing it metaphorically with something else. For other agents, quality is the main point of discussion. This might be understood in relation to the function each paratext has: prefaces and translators' notes refer respectively to the more process-related and technical part of the translation of a book, while other agents' voices tend to appear on covers and flaps, and when they correspond to reviewers they are placed there to attract readers.

This choice of topics in the peritexts complies with the social expectations of the Republic of Korea and the United States regarding the presentation of personal achievements and the management of professional and personal connections.

Regarding the role of publishing houses' regulations concerning the presence or absence of biographies and translator's notes, we find that some publishers seem to have clear directions on whether to include translator's biographies or not, but they are more flexible - or simply heterogeneous - on the inclusion and authorship of introductions and translator's notes. Even within the same series, differences can be found.

All in all, if as Chapter 7 hinted, translators are more specialized - understood as devoting more time to translation rather than other activities - in the second stage, and given that often the better-known translators were the ones that were not introduced, we might conclude that the more professional translators are the more anonymous.

However, despite the loss of importance and visibility of translators and translation in the second stage, "translation" still has an important presence in translated literature, as more than a 50% of the translated works in the corpus mention translation.

8.5. Putting Korea on the map

As was explained in the Introduction, Korea had been named the Hermit Kingdom for some very good reasons. The lack of exchange meant that foreign cultures were virtually unknown in the peninsula, and in the Western world's view the peninsula was no more than an appendix to Japan or China. The outcome of the Second World War and the Korean War placed the Korean peninsula in the Western imaginary.

One of the main functions of paratexts is information. Paratexts, especially introductions, aim at introducing the main subject of the book so as to direct the reader.

In the first stage, Western knowledge of Korea was scarce. In 1950 the references that could be found in the United States' imaginary relate to Korea's geographical location (in Asia between China and Japan), assimilation with the continent (Asian, and by assimilation Oriental), and the country of the War.

In the second stage, after 25 years of relationship, there is theoretically greater knowledge of Korea's culture and ways. However, it was difficult for source-culture agents to become aware of how much the target readers knew about the country.

Comparing yourself to others according to your own standards, you assume that a certain implicit knowledge about your country is shared by all. Generously, you may understand the lack of historical or political knowledge, but it is difficult to realize that the rest of the world may not be interested in your country beyond a few merely anecdotal exchanges. In the case of trade between East and West, this gap may be even wider. Orientalism promoted a series of features about a continent based on the first impressions of travellers, who analyzed the new places with paternalism and indulgence, creating an esoteric imaginary related to the East.

When an image is source-created, the emphasis is on the information that you find most relevant about your country and, in translation, the information you believe the other side will share. Since translators have usually experienced both cultures, they become more aware of those points in common, but they are also sometimes less aware of the lack of information the target culture may have. In plain terms, it is difficult to remember what you did not know (if you work into your mother tongue for your own country) and it is difficult to believe that your former lack of knowledge is general, if you work into a foreign language or for a foreign country.

However, when a presentation of a country is target-oriented, the emphasis is on the information the target audience will accept most easily and will be part of its imaginary, regardless of its acceptability in the source culture.

The presentation of Korea in the peritexts should indicate how these dynamics actually worked, and which vision was dominant, that is, whether a particular image was source-created or target-oriented.

In order to locate the discourses, I worked bottom-up to identify the most common discourses used to present Korea to the world, and divided them into four categories: cross-cultural references, Geo-Historical references, oriental references, and folk references.

"Cross-cultural references" are defined as those of the target audience's specific cultural items that are well-known in the source culture or vice versa. For example, McCann mentions the film and then television series MASH as a reference for Korea and the Korean War (1993: 9). "Geo-Historical references" are those that help the location of the country with regard to its historical development or geographical location on the map, especially with respect to modern history, including in this category comments on their relationship with their neighbors China, Japan, and the Soviet Union. For example, Bruce and Juchan Fulton comment in their introduction to *Words of Farewell* that "[i]t is an irony of Korean history that the culture of Korea has come to the awareness of the West mainly in the wake of the Korean economic miracle" (Fulton and Fulton 1989: vii). "Oriental references" are those that highlight a suggestive and evocative landscape and tradition, emphasizing the contrast between the West and the East, in a discourse that could be interpreted within Edward Said's Orientalist paradigm. Finally, folk references include the presentation of Korea through their most traditional past and customs, in contrast to modern Korea.

These are the general types of discourse I have come across, although it is true that in some instances the presentation of the country is secondary to the presentation of the literary work, without further pretensions.

These labels help us classify the peritexts into target-oriented or source-created. Cross-cultural references can be located in one country or the other in terms of their origin. Oriental references are definitely target-oriented, as they connect with the Orientalist discourse present in the Western imaginary. And folk references are source-created unless there is a specific connection with the foreign imaginary. However, not

all references can be classified on one side or the other. Geo-Historical references can be of both types, meaning that the same sentence can be understood as target-oriented or source-created depending on how you approach it. Trying to brand them as one or the other would be a game of pure speculation. For example, a reference to traditional China might be interpreted as a sign of Korea and China's common cultural history or as trying to avoid mentioning current Communist China. However, these references are interesting in order to see how that topic was approached over these fifty years.

8.5.1. That is Korea to us

Out of 95 volumes studied, 91 carried references that could be classified under the four headings. The rest either lacked peritexts or gave a pure literary analysis. As the discourses are not mutually exclusive, I accept that more than one discourse is possible for a single volume. When such cases are found, all the possible discourses are taken into account.

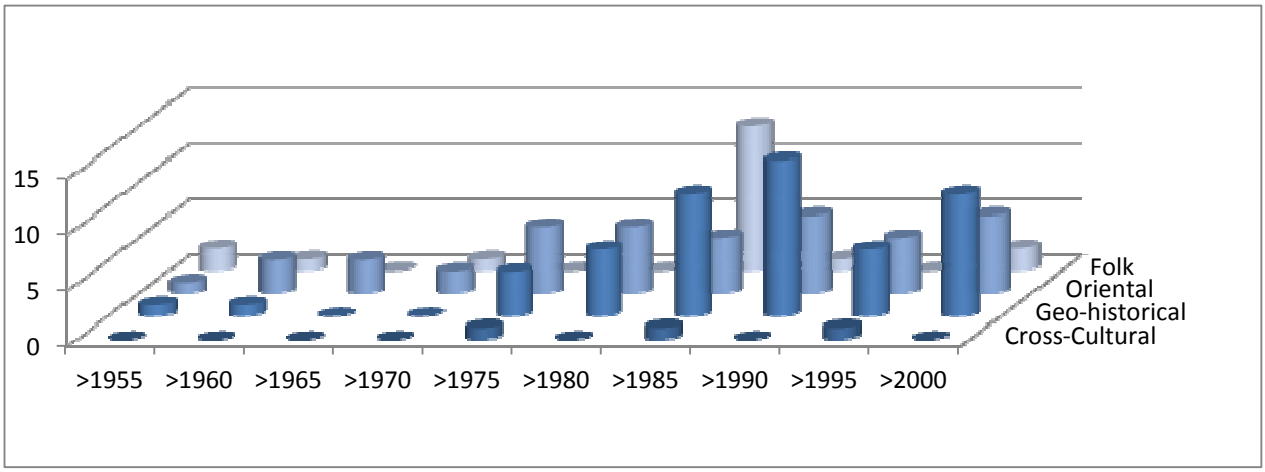
Table 40: References to the presentation of Korea organized by types

	Total	Cross-cultural	Geo-Historical	Oriental	Folk
1951-1975	25	1 (4%)	6 (24%)	15 (56%)	4 (16%)
1976-2000	96	2 (2%)	48 (50%)	30 (31%)	16 (17%)

In the first stage 25 references were found in 19 volumes, with five volumes presenting more than one reference type. In the second stage, 95 references were found in 72 volumes, with 22 volumes presenting more than one reference type. As we see in Table 40, the most common references in the first stage are Oriental (14), followed by Geo-Historical (6), Folk (4), and Cross-cultural (1). In the second stage, the most common references are Geo-Historical (43), followed by Oriental (33), Folk (17), and Cross-cultural (2).

According to these figures, the most typical discourse presenting Korea in the first stage is the Oriental discourse, and in the second stage it is the Geo-Historical discourse. In Figure 9 the results appear divided into five-year periods.

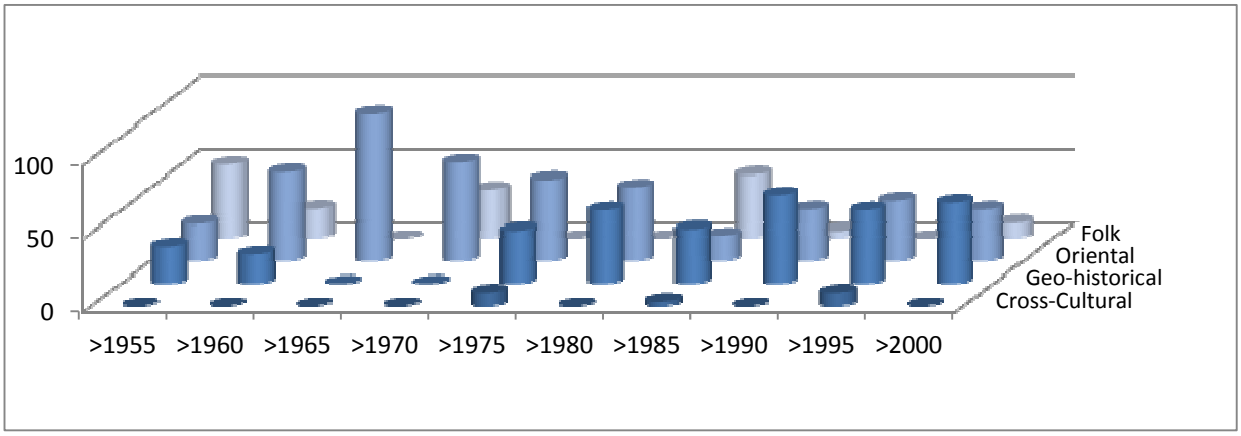
Figure 9: Presentation of Korea in five-year periods (absolute numbers).



As we can see in Figure 9, the distribution of the discourses is irregular, although the Oriental discourse does appear in all periods. The Geo-Historical discourse is quite regular, too, except for the 1970s.

If we look at the percentages of the references (see Figure 10), it is clear that the Oriental discourse has a much greater presence in the first stage, while in the second stage there is a growth in the Geo-Historical discourse, albeit with lower numbers. Cross-cultural and Folk references are much more irregular. A closer look at the different references and discourses might resolve some doubts.

Figure 10: Paratextual discourses on Korea in five-year periods (percentages)



8.5.1.1. Cross-cultural references

Three cross-cultural references appear in the corpus: Korea as the country backdrop to MASH (McCann in the introduction to *The Snowy Road*, 1993: 9) and the American army represented by Air Smith, the first person to fly an airplane in Korea (Kim So-un

in his foreword to the *Story Bag*, 1955: vi). The third is a parallelism between Koreans under Japanese rule and Jews (or Christians-to-be) under Roman rule, as stated by Sol Sun-bong in *The Cross of Saphan* (1983: ix).

While MASH is definitely target-oriented, the other two references are more source-created, that is, they correspond to source-culture expectations more than target-culture entities.

The comparisons drawn between Korean authors and international authors are a sub-type of Cross-cultural references. As developed in 8.2.1.2 in page 140, these types of comments try to internationalize Korean literature by highlighting similarities.

Still, there are only 8 volumes with Cross-cultural literary references, all of them located in the second period. Even if we take into account the international literary allusions, the total number of cross-cultural references is surprisingly low.

8.5.1.2. Folk references

As the space between referring to tradition and branding a country through Orientalists' eyes is very narrow, Zong In-sob's statement on Korea defines the background of this category: "Korea is not a primitive country, it has a long cultural history" (Zong 1953: vii). Certain paratexts encourage the idea of a country with a valuable cultural tradition, which has developed into current Korea.

In the first stage some of the values linked to traditional Korea are presented in a positive light. Setsu Higashi comments how "[i]t is somehow deeply reassuring to know that […] these same stories are still being told to children as they have been for generations" (Kim 1955: back cover), supporting the idea of keeping traditions. Peter Hyun supports the same idea in his introduction to *Voices of the Dawn* by highlighting the "Korean relationship to nature and tradition" (Hyun 1960: 13-16). Ko Won in his introduction to *Contemporary Korean Poetry* associates conventions with Korea by stating that "[s]ome [poets] are more conventional and more Korean and others are more modernistic; this is simply a matter of degree" (Ko 1970: xxviiii).

In the second stage, again the Si-sa Yong-sa Collection distorts the figures to a certain extent. While the short introduction found in the flaps of each book presents Korea in different way, the Foreword to the 30th anniversary editions has a traditional reinforcing approach: it might be summarized in the claim that "Tradition is alive and vital in Korea today" (Park 1983: v). The remaining four examples of traditional

references are more heterogeneous. One reference summarizes the plot of the *Shaman Sorceress* as "[t]he conflict between the ancient Shamanism of Korea and Christianity" (Kim 1989: flap), while two others explain the motivations of translators to present their work: Peter H. Lee assures us that "the cultural history of an ancient people is revealed, beautifully, through myths, short lyrics" (P. Lee 1981: Back cover) and Lee Sung-il states that "I undertook these translations in order to introduce this magnificent part of Korea's literary legacy to English readers" (S. Lee 1998: xix). Only Tennant's translator's note adds information to what is traditionally Korea: "The source of this humanity lies in two things which are characteristic of Korean people, namely powerful family bonds [...] and nostalgia for a past [...]" (Tennant 1996: xiii).

When we look at the examples in more detail, the numbers for the first and second stages are more regular. That is, if we count all the repetitions of Sisayong-sa's foreword as one, there are four Folk references in the first stage and four in the second stage. In percentages, Folk references account for 17% of all references in the first stage and 5% of all the references in the second stage.

Therefore we can claim that references work in the expected way in the second stage, but slightly below the expectation that the discourses in the first stage were source-created. That is, I had assumed folk references would have been common in the first stage, when the translators supposedly had more agency, and merely anecdotal in the second stage, when publishers were in charge. Given the numbers, though, it is difficult to state that the discourses of the first stage were source-created.

8.5.1.3. Oriental references

Several volumes in the corpus are offered "[t]o anyone who would like to look somewhat into the inner soul of the Oriental" (Gale 1963, vii) with the intention to "make his own country better known to the West" (Zong 1953: flap).

The Orientalist discourse, which is present in 15 volumes in the first stage and 30 in the second, adopts various strategies to present Korea.

First, some discourses simply distinguish East from West, without going deeply into the main differences between them. Chang Wang-Rok's mentor "[u]sed to say how unfortunate it was that Korea's rich culture and literature were virtually unknown to the Western world" (Chang 1980: xi), while Kim Chong-un selects "stories translated into

English for the Western reader" in *Postwar Korean Short Stories: An Anthology* (C. Kim 1974: vii).

This discourse may not present the straightforward stereotypical image of Asian countries with blossoming flowers and obscure hidden feelings, but they do sustain the idea that East and West are different, and misunderstanding will surely arise. For example, James Hoyt includes not only the translation of *The Songs of the Dragons* and the original commentary, but also provides his own notes to "illuminate the texts of the songs for the modern Western reader" (Hoyt 1971, ed: back cover).

In other cases, the use of the East-West dichotomy seems to suit geographical purposes only. In the second stage, some authors talk about the literary changes "after Western trends entered Korea" (Yi, Na et al. 1983: flap) or how "in recent years in the West the short story has somewhat lost its prestige" (Tennant 1996: xiii). Even in those more neutral cases, the differentiation between whole geographical areas is maintained.

Then I find statements in both stages that the translation "will appeal to anyone with a taste for the cool wit and refined pathos of Chinese poetry, with the added attraction of its fresh setting in Korea" (Kim, ed. 1987: back cover). The remarks may be applicable to literature, as in *The Snowy Road* where "the stories have a similar and undeniable Eastern flavour […] a technique that may be comparable to watching a gentle ripple on a pond" (Yee 1993: 14) or in *The Yalu Flows*, which presents "the qualities of an Eastern brushdrawing, its warmth and its most sensitive delicacy" (Hammelmann 1956: 190). In other cases they define landscapes of Korea where "[w]e think of moonlight on the Autumn river, flower petals in the yard, travelling scholars with lame donkeys" (O'Rourke 1995: ix) and "[e]ven the hills and mountains seem to arrange themselves like scenes from a folding screen" (McCann 1982: 9). In general, the stories are presented for readers to "[f]ind the mysteries of the Oriental soul in full exposure" (Kim 1979: flap).

While I expected this type of discourse to be related to certain profiles, I have not been able to find the numbers to support such a claim. In the first stage, out of 14 Orientalist references, only three are penned by literary critics or reviewers, that is, not by the translator himself. In the second stage, nine out of 30 references were not stated by the translators. Some translators are more likely to make this type of claim, but they do not share a common profile.

However, eight of those nine were found in the most visible parts of the book: on the covers or on the flaps for the hardcover edition. That might be indicative of a commercial orientation of the discourse, but it is not proof of it.

8.5.1.4. Geo-Historical references

I have analyzed to what extent the Translation and Oriental discourses appeared and also whether they could be considered more source-created or more target-oriented. In the same way, I have studied what type of Geographic and Historical references appear. Given the nature of the relationships between the Republic of Korea and the United States, I have divided these references into four groups: references to Japan, references to China, references to the Korean War and Post-war, and other references. What is characteristic about these references are the conflicting views on the various topics. One might think that, from a historical perspective, such a dichotomy would be extremely visible, as history often has two opposed sides. However, that is inexact in our circumstances.

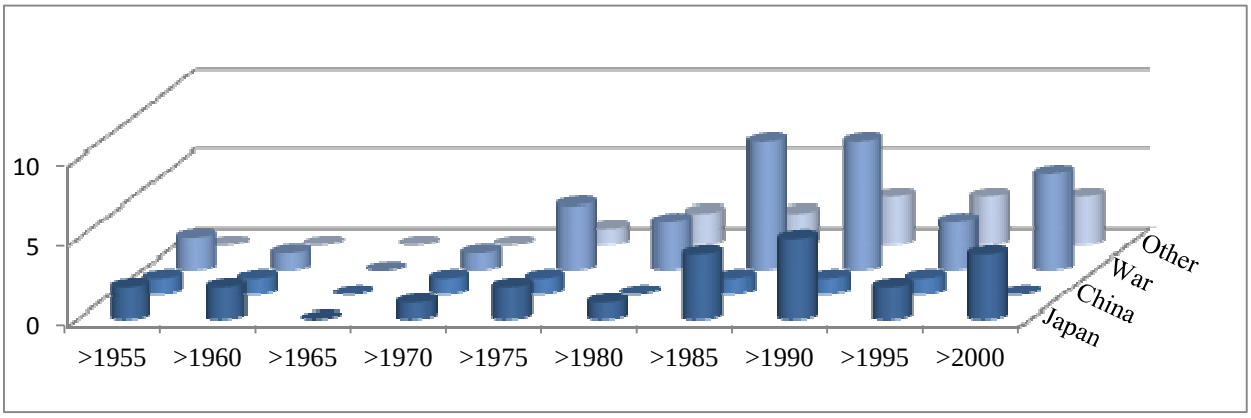
Of the 95 volumes of the corpus (20 and 75), 56 books have some type of Geo-historical discourse, nine in the first period and 47 in the second period. Eighteen out of those 56 volumes present more than one discourse. The number of discourses found is distributed as shown in Table 41.

Table 41: Geo-Historical references by type (percentages)

	Volumes with refs	Total Refs	Refs on Japan	Refs on China	Refs on the War	Other Refs
1951-1975	9 (43%)	19	37%	21%	42%	5%
1976-2000	48(64%)	60	27%	5%	48%	22%

Chronologically (in five-year periods), they do not seem to follow a clear direction, with ups and downs at different moments (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Geo-Historical references by type (five-year periods)



I will look into the different discourses in more detail to analyze the results.

8.5.1.4.1. Japan

In the 1950s, Japan was for the Republic of Korea the bloodthirsty tyrant, the ruthless colonizer who had plundered the Korean peninsula in the previous decades. For the United States, though, it was the defeated country of the World War, a previous collaborator and a future ally in Asia.

Initially, one would expect any comments on Japan to be clearly representative of source-culture or target-culture influence. That is, Japan-related comments would be negative when coming from Koreans, who had suffered their rule, and more neutral from Americans, whose country was in the process of rebuilding diplomatic relations.

However, de-colonization is not an easy and quick process, particularly when, as in the Korean case, it affects all social strata. Korea was divided geographically at the end of the Second World War, but it had already been divided into pro-Japanese and anti-Japanese groups in the previous fifty years. Consequently, mentioning Japan at all might be too conflictive or just too recent in the first stage.

In the second stage, as American-Japanese relations were normalized and Korean-Japanese relations improved, references to the Japanese colonization of Korea should be less controversial, and thus probably more present. While one would expect that time would bring better understanding between Korea and Japan, the shared history is still a hot issue between both countries, with several diplomatic red lights popping up in the second period, and heated discussions on issues like presentation of Japan-Korea relations in history books, territorial rights over the island of Dokto/Takeshima, the

status of Japan-born Koreans, and a recent claim that Japan entered Korea out of compassion (see Caprio 2010 for a detailed development of this subject).

With this background of intense exchange between the two countries, I was also interested in comparing the historical distribution as well as the nature of the comments.

Contrary to my expectations, Japan is used as a referent to present Korea at nearly all stages of the corpus. Although it is slightly more present in quantity in the second period, in percentage terms it is much more frequent in the first. In the first period, out of nine volumes with Geo-Historical references, seven mention Japan, that is 78%. In the second period, 16 out of 56 use Japan as a referent, which is only 29%.

In all these cases, Japan is usually presented in a bad light. Although most of the negative comments refer to the historical deeds of the Japanese, both in the first and second periods, the first stage is particularly harsh. In the paratexts the reader is reminded of how "[f]rom the East came Japanese troops to annex the country in a bloodless war" (review by *The Times Literary Supplement*, in Li 1956: back cover), so later Korea experienced "this Japanese rule of terror" (Cranmer-Byng 1960: inner flap) and then tried to rebel, so "[i]t was in 1919 that Korea […] rose against Japanese colonial rule [and] suffered defeat before the brutalities of the oppressors" (J. Kim 1974: 3). Peter H. Lee summarizes the colonization of Japan in his introduction to *Flowers of Fire* from the imposition of the land survey which "deprived the peasantry of the basis of their live hood [sic]" (Lee 1974b: xv) through to the moment when "[s]ome of those who had barely survived the last years of Japanese rule emerged from imprisonment" (Lee 1974b: xxi).

There are some exceptions to these unsympathetic remarks. Zong In-sob, for example, presents the Japanese from the perspective of a Korean ethnocentric paternalism. It highlights how "[i]n the cultural field, Korea was not only the channel through which the civilization of China and the religion of India were transmitted to Japan, but also by the ingenuity of her people made a great contribution to the inventions of the world" (Zong 1953: xvii). Later in the introduction, the comments on Japan emphasize the differences in folklore: "Many supernatural beings appear, but they do not behave in the same way as those in Japanese stories" (idem: xix). The influence of Korean "wit" on Japanese culture is also reinforced in the inner flaps of *Voices in the Dawn*, where the general editor of the series argues that "th[e] blend of bitter sweetness with a delightful Korean wit was possibly incorporated into the verse of Japan when

cultured Korean travelers were sent to enlighten the backward natives of the island" (Cranmer-Byng 1960: inner flap).

Kim So-un in *The Story Bag* simply informs the readers that the stories have been translated into Japanese, without any further comments. Meanwhile, although Steinberg reminds the reader of the 36 years of Japanese occupation and how it "did not encourage [speculation on the nature of society]" (Steinberg 1967: iv), it also seems to imply that Korea has some inferiority complex as "Korea was overwhelmed by the importance of her larger neighbors" (idem: v).

In the second period, Japanese colonial rule is commented on several times, but the comments tend to be slightly more neutral. That is, there are comments on "the Japanese atrocities against Korean Christians" (An 1978: back cover), "the oppressed nation under foreign rule" (Choi and Hwi 1983: flap), or how Koreans under the Japanese resembled "Jewish tribulations under Roman rule" (Sol 1983: ix). But images from the first period like "brutalities," "rule of terror," or "perverse atmosphere" are now uncommon. More often there is a mention of "the Japanese colonial rule" (Suh, ed. 1998; Pickering 1999: v) or "the Japanese colonial period" and how it affected writers. When a short history of Korea is included in the introduction to provide background to the text (Holman 1990: ix-x; Fulton and Fulton 1993; among others), "the poorly understood period of the Japanese rule in Korea" (Chae 1993: back cover) is covered neutrally.

On some occasions, the relationship to Japan is presented in a positive light, unrelated to the colonial period. Yun Heung-gil (*The House of Twilight* 1989) is presented as "the most widely read Korean writer in Japan" (Yun 1989: back cover). In the foreword to *The Wedding Day* the reader is informed that "[t]o most foreigners familiar with Chinese and Japanese art, Korean art comes as a profound revelation and a delightful experience" (Park 1983b: v).

To sum up, there are references to Japan throughout the corpus. The country is most often presented in a bad light, especially in the first period, with a detailed description of the brutality of its rule. The evolution of the discourse shows a stronger source-culture view in the first period than in the second.

8.5.1.4.2. China

The U.S. attitude towards China during the first stage was clearly unsympathetic, as the Chinese were allies of the Russians and it was the time of the Cold War. However, the position of the Republic of Korea was more ambiguous. On the one hand, Korea shared a long and quite peaceful traditional relationship with China. On the other, China had supported the Democratic Korean Republic during the Korean War. So it is unclear whether and how the discourse might appear.

China appears to be linked to the presentation of Korea less often than is Japan. Four references are made to China in the first stage and three in the second. However, unlike Japan, when China is mentioned it is usually in a positive light and in relation to the traditional common past or common culture.

That is the case of *Folk Tales from Korea* (1953), *In this Earth and in that Wind* (19679), *Songs of the Dragon* (1971), *Wedding Day and other Korean plays* (1983) or *Classical Korean Poetry* (1994). This common past is presented either by emphasizing similarities - "Korea has shared with his neighbor, China, the Confucian tradition for scholarship" (Steinberg 1967: iv) - or difference: "the vocabulary reflects the two traditions of Korea, that of China and that of Korea" (Skillend 1994: xiii).

We find a more modern reference in *The Yalu Flows*, where China is presented as the stopover in the escape towards Europe as the author "crossed the Yalu to seek asylum in Shanghai" (Chung 1956: 194). Other than this example, little mention is made of modern China, its alliance with the North, or Communism.

We might conclude that China is mentioned as part of the traditional and cultural origins of Korea, but not as the large Communist neighbor that supports the Democratic Republic of Korea.

8.5.1.4.3. The Wars

Finally, due to some of the above-mentioned reasons, I had doubts about how or whether there would be references to the Korean War. I suspected they would be difficult to find at the beginning of the corpus (1950-1965) and then they would become more and more common. As with the Japanese colonization period, a Civil War traumatizes a country and it could be claimed that a certain period of silence is necessary in order to come to terms with the experience.

Within this analysis, I have included mentions of the Second World War, the Korean War, and Post-War Korea. Eight references are found in the first stage and twenty-eight in the second.

In the first stage, there are three volumes that fall slightly outside of this analysis as they were written before the end of the War: *The Yalu Flows* (the German original *Der Yalu fliesst* was published in 1946), *The Orchid Door* (first published in 1935), and *Folk Tales from Korea* (1953). However, in the last-mentioned volume, Zong In Sop does mention the Second World War as possible topic for tales and how "[t]he situation of Korea since the Second World War may give rise to folk tales, for example, on the subject of the 38th parallel" (Zong 1953: xxviii). *The Story Bag* (1955) might have been planned before the date of its publication, as it mentions that "[i]t is somehow deeply reassuring to know that even in present-day war-ravaged and politically divided Korea, these same stories are still being told to children as they have been for generations" (Kim 1955: back cover), implying that the country was still at war.

All the volumes of the first period that were written after the beginning of the War make some kind of mention of it. Interestingly, *Songs of the Dragons* (1971) mentions the Second World War but not the Korean War. The comment is not related to the book but the Royal Asiatic Society, which supports the publication of the book and claims that "[t]he RAS was founded in 1900 and ever since, with the exception of the years leading up and including World War II, has functioned as a bridge between Korean culture and the West" (Hoyt, ed. 1971: back cover). Given the difficulty of functioning during the Korean War, it is surprising that no direct mention is made of it.

In the second stage, the discourse on war is less common and more related to the theme or the authors of the books. Although they cannot be considered folk tales, as Zong In-Sob predicted, many short stories and novels arose on the topic of the War and post-war periods, so it is not surprising that reference to war appears on several occasions. Surprisingly, there are few comments on atrocities committed during the War. Some authors mention the number of casualties - McCann talks about "as many as three million Korean people" (1993: 10) - and others refer to "the full horrors of the Korean War" (Y. M. Kim 1997) but there are no exact explanations of events or comments on persecution during the post-war military dictatorship. For example, the introduction to *Back to Heaven* explains this story of the author nearly at the beginning:

> He [the author] had already left the world a first time in 1967, when the agents of the National Security Agency (KCIA) whisked him away to the dreaded cellars of their building in Central Seoul. There he was subjected to torture by water, and by electro-shock applied to his genitals. His name had been found in the address-book of a friend from university days. (An and Kim 1995: ix)

The inclusion of these details contrasts with the lack of specification in comments on the War. According to Ko Won, "the dictatorship practiced in South Korea is obsessed with its fear of poetry and the poet" (Ko 1980: 4), which may explain why poets were more heavily affected by it. Actually, out of 29 references to war, 15 are on the Korean War and 14 on the Post-war, showing the importance the period had in Korean history.

This clear exemplification of the post-war dictators as the villains is paradoxical if compared to the presentation of North Korea. If one would expect the Democratic Republic of Korea to be presented in a bad light, but that kind of image is not to be found. In the introduction to some volumes there is mention of how the author fled to the South at some point (Ku Sang or Hwang Sun-won, to mention but a couple), or how the fact that part of the family was in North Korea (like Lee Munyol's father) meant trouble for those remaining in the South. Also the fear of Communism might be deduced from criticism of the dictatorship. However, nobody draws a line connecting "evil" and "North Korea" after the War. Brother Anthony mentions how Ku Sang's elder brother is "amongst the priests that disappeared into silence and presumed martyrdom in North Korea forty years ago" (An 1989: ix), locating this happening in the colonial period. McCann explains how the North is to be ruled by "the so-called Great and Fearless Leader Kim Il Sung" (1993: 10), but the comment is not followed by further criticism other than the implied irony.

One could extract from this finding that it is still the Korean view that dominates the presentation of the corpus. This is because, even today, North Koreans are "the brothers of the North" and the inclusion of the Democratic Republic of Korea in George W. Bush's "axis of evil" provoked several diplomatic incidents between the Republic of Korea and the United States.

We might also conclude that the period of the post-war dictatorships is more openly criticized than the Korean War itself. Probably, the "villians" of the post war are

more generic- "the police," "the government," "the corrupt system" - while the "villains" of a civil war are bound to be someone's brother, son, or friend.

8.5.1.4.4. Other Geo-Historical References

The Geo-Historical perspective was not limited to connections with China, Japan, and the War. A further 15 references were found, as shown in Table 41 and in Figure 11.

These references are presented in Table 42. Most of the references classified as "Other" (nine out of those fifteen) present Korea from a classical perspective. That is, they introduce stories or references about pre-modern Korea. These introductions are to historical novels (like *Encounter* or *The Poet*) or biographies of important figures in traditional Korean history. For example, *Han Joong Nok* explains the role of Lady Hong, the writer, in Korean history. A similar introduction is found in *King Sejong*, whose introduction explains the role of King Sejong, the ruler that promoted the invention of *hangeul* among other developments. A classical perspective is also necessary to introduce a book considered a classic: *Songs of the Dragons*.

Table 42: Other Geo-Historical references

	Classical	Geographical	Religious	Economic
1951-1975	1	0	0	0
1976-2000	8	2	2	1

Two volumes use a geographical referent as the main way to present the country. Actually, *The Hye Cho's diary* makes a correlation with its links to "India and Central Asia," while *The Book of Masks* compiles stories set in the capital, Seoul, with the purpose of "penetrat[ing] the mysteries of Seoul life today" (Hwang 1989: back cover).

Given the contents of *Hye Cho's Diary* and *Encounter*, their peritexts also include references to the historical importance of Buddhism and Christianity in the peninsula.

Finally, in *Words of Farewell* the Korean economic miracle is presented as the turning point for Korea's presence in the Western world.

8.5.2. So, what is Korea?

I started the analysis of the discourse presenting Korea in the peritext aiming at defining its source-creation or its target-orientedness as well as connecting discourses to publishers or translators profiles.

Against the initial expectations, very few cross-cultural items have been found in the corpus. Most of these items were literary referents and were located in the second stage.

It is also surprising to note that in the first stage, the Oriental discourse is even more present in all stages than is the traditional discourse. As the publications in this period were proposed from Korea, either by Koreans or by foreigners living in Korea, it could be an example of self-Orientalism.

Actually, it is the Geo-Historical discourse that provides more relevant information here. The way Japan, China, and the wars are presented leads me to believe that there were certain doubts about freely discussing the impact of Japanese colonization, the relationship with Communism, and the cruelty of the Korean War. These reservations did not apply to openly talking about the post-war dictatorships that ruled the Republic of Korea.

The lack of references to conflicting Geo-Historical references in the first period corresponds to both Korean and American interests, while the growing importance of this type of referents in the second stage might be understood as indicative of a more academic approach in the introductions (more professional) or as a natural consequence of the growing number of volumes talking about the War or written by authors who suffered the War.

However, I have not been able to link agents and discourses. On the one hand, I have not been able to find correlations between certain discourses and the translators' profiles. However, some translators have a tendency to repeat certain discourses: Kim Jaihyun has a very metaphorical view of translation and a clear (self-)Orientalist approach to Korean culture. Peter H. Lee also tends to present a traditional view of Korea that can often be understood within this Orientalist discourse. A third Korean translator, Chun Kyung-ja, also tends to include Oriental references in the paratexts he writes. On the other hand, the American scholar David R. McCann usually introduces his translations from a more academic point of view, providing the reader with literary and historical perspectives. However, these examples cannot be generalized.

On the other hand, other than the expected correlations between specialized publishers and certain topics, I have not been able to find correlations between the referents selected and the type of publishers. Then, the analysis of the items presenting Korea cannot confirm the general claim of the publishers' growing agency in the second stage.

However, despite the lack of direct correlation between individual agents and discourses, there is a historical patterning of the discourses. I must thus conclude that, in the wider historical perspective, publishers do exercise criteria regarding readers' expectations and are well aware of how to use a country's image to sell a product.

8.6. Who tells the story, then?

To recapitulate the above findings, according to the epitexts, with the evolution of the flow translators lose visibility and agency. With the loss of agency, the process of translating is less commented upon and its quality becomes the main issue. Comments on the good quality of a translation are repeated in visible parts of the book, presenting quality as an extra asset for the reader.

The way the volumes are presented also changes with the shift of agency. Volumes in the second period become "the best," "the first," and "the most of the most." Volumes in the first period, though, are presented in a more conservative manner, reinforcing the tradition behind them and the effort to produce them in difficult circumstances.

All in all, Korea is usually presented in relation to Asia, within a decidedly Orientalist framework. Also, some topics seem to be handled with kid gloves (the Korean War, Japanese Imperialism, Communism) while others are freely criticized (post-War military dictatorships). However, no direct correlation has been proven between publishers' profiles and certain discourses, or between translators' profiles and discourses. Only certain discourses and certain translators can be linked, but no general conclusions can be extracted. The discourses may suit both sides but cannot directly be linked to the source culture or the target culture.

The changes in the presentation of Korean literature, though, confirm that there is an evolution of the flow and that the agents of the translation are aware of Korea's new situation in the world.

While the analysis of the paratexts supports three of the four claims made at the beginning of Chapter 8, the role of the source culture and the target culture should be better analyzed by a comparison of the findings from chapters 5, 6, and 7, and the claims supported in this chapter.

Chapter 9: What is on display? Iconic paratexts

Genette defines the publisher's peritext as "the whole zone that is the direct and principal responsibility of the publisher […] or publishing house" (1997: 23). Within this classification, both space and material are considered. For the purpose of my research, I will not analyze the materials (i.e. quality of the paper) or the format the books are presented in (size, special editions, etc.), unless they provide relevant information.

The outermost peritext tends to be the cover. However, as was already the case in Genette's analysis (1997: 27), the cover is often not the first introduction the reader receives of the book. Currently, several books are presented with dust jackets and bands. While I have not had any access to bands, some of the volumes I studied did have a dust jacket. There is a difference between covers and dust jackets, but the purpose of this research is to study the information that is put most readily available to the reader, and therefore I have included both in the category of "covers," referring to the items that perform that role, that is, the peritext that first provides the reader with an image of the book, be it a cover or a dust-jacket. In any event, in the corpus, the cases where the book has a dust-jacket are hardcover editions, where the hard-bound volume itself is without information on the cover and only the title of the book is on the spine.

In Chapter 8 I analyzed the appearance and development of certain discourses and their relationship to a source-created or target-oriented presentation strategy. In this chapter I want to study those same discourses again with respect to their appearance and relevance on the covers, which is the domain of the publishers. The previous chapter hinted at the presence of several voices and agendas in the peritexts. Here, by comparing the results of that analysis with the covers, I expect to define more clearly the expectations associated with the target culture. That is, I assume that since the covers are normally the sole responsibility of the publisher, the publishers' positions will be more clearly stated there. Given the circumstances in which translated literature is published, and in view of the general lack of contact between publishers and authors,

I do not even consider the possibility of the publisher consulting with the author, although Genette suggests (1997: 23) that such consultations might help define the publishers' peritexts.

I will first analyze how often Korean literature is presented with reference to its country of origin and whether the evolution of the covers follows the trend to specialization suggested in the other paratexts. As the analysis of the commercial nature of the books has already taken into account those aspects of the information written on the covers, I believe that no further analysis is necessary in that regard, although certain considerations of other aspects will refer back to it.

I will then proceed to look into the role of translators. I will check the appearance of the name and role of translators on covers, paying attention to their visibility in relation to the author's name.

Last, I will proceed to the analysis of the iconographic elements of the translations. I will compare the covers to the discourses in the accompanying peritexts and to the topics of the books – as stated in Chapter 5.

Fortunately for this research, the proliferation of publishers' websites, along with those of online libraries and booksellers, has made covers easier to locate than other paratexts. Moreover, the Korea Literature Translation Institute published in 2002 *An Annotated Bibliography of Korean Literature in Translation*, which includes several of the covers in the corpus. All in all, 131 out of 162 possible covers have been found and analyzed. This is a relatively high number if I compare it to the 96 volumes whose peritexts I located and analyzed, and the 112 volumes whose topic I was able to classify. As I could only locate some back covers, I have decided not include them in my analysis.

9.1. Is this Korean literature?

In Chapter 8, the internationalization of Korean literature was found to match general expectations, with a first period of familiarization and a second period of differentiation (see Table 35 on page 139).

In comparison to the results in Chapter 8, the covers present a higher percentage of mentions of Korean culture, as 84 out of 131 volumes have the word "Korea" or "Korean" on the front cover (see Table 43).

Table 43: References to Korea and Asia in the front cover (periods and %)

	Korea	Korean script	Asia	None	Total covers
1950-1975	11 (73%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	3 (27%)	15
1976-2000	73 (63%)	7 (6%)	7 (5%)	29 (26%)	116

Three further covers combine the title in English with the title in Hangeul (Korean script). Then, four covers use an image of old Korean script as the background for the English title. *The Square* only includes the author's name with the title, but the cover shows a map of Asia, with the Korean peninsula already divided and highlighted in two distinctive colors. So, in total, 90 volumes out of 131 make reference to their Korean origin on the front cover.

We also find some works that state their Asian origins, usually by inscribing the work in an Asian Series or an Asian department. We find seven examples of this, books in which the word "Asia" appears in the title but the word "Korean" does not.

If we look at their distribution over time (see Table 44) we notice there is no clear development in the usage of Korea to define literature, as there was in the paratexts I analyzed in Chapter 8. The appearances diminish slightly in the second period, but they are always well over 50%, often over 65% if we combine inscription within Korea or the usage of Korean script on covers.

It is only at the end of the second period that Asia begins to be used as a referent to locate Korea. If we look at the works that do not include any reference to Korea or Asia, we notice that some of the titles that are not presented on the cover as "Korean" display some interesting characteristics.

First, some of them are by very well-known authors. Kim Chi-ha and Kim Dae-jung can be considered the most international Korean authors in the corpus. The relevance of the poet of resistance Kim Chi-ha in Korean literature and international studies has been explained in Chapter 5. Kim Dae-jung, the 8th President of the Republic of Korea, was also a figure of resistance against the dictatorship and his Sunshine Policy of reconciliation with North Korea earned him the Nobel Prize for

Peace in 2000. Kim Dae-jung's *Prison Writings* uses solely his image to present the book, with his name and the title on the front cover, and a full-size picture on the back cover. Kim Chi-ha's image is also on two of his books in translation. A third one has his name as the main information on the cover - other than the title. And only one of his three collections of poetry has the translators' names on the front cover, in the role of "editors." The image of these authors was enough to attract the potential reader, and other information - like ascribing the work to Korea - might excessively narrow the profile of the target reader.

Table 44: References to Korea and Asia in the front cover (percentages for five-year periods)

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
Korea	100%	67%	100%	100%	50%	54%	84%	52%	55%	66%
Korean script	0	0	0	0	17%	15%	8%	9%	0	3%
Asia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17%	9%
None	0	33%	0	0	33%	31%	8%	39%	29%	22%

Second, other volumes reconsidered their link to Asia in later editions. The original edition of *Songs of the Dragons* in 1971 did not make any direct reference to Korea, although it was illustrated with an Asian Dragon (see Figure 12). In a later edition in 1979 (see Figure 13) the cover incorporates the title in Classical Chinese but the dragon becomes more modern.

Third, certain publishers do not include the words "Korea" or "Asia" in the title or subtitle of their translations. KPI does not introduce their translated works as translations: usually they only offer the title and the author's name on the cover. However, the images on the covers are definitely Asian and often significantly Korean. In a different situation, while all 12 volumes in the Si-sa-yong-sa selections of short stories include the word "Korean" (usually as Best Korean Short Stories or Modern Korean short stories), the publisher's *novels* do not. The cover shows the title, the author and the translator's name only, with modern typography

Figure 12: Songs of the Dragons 1971

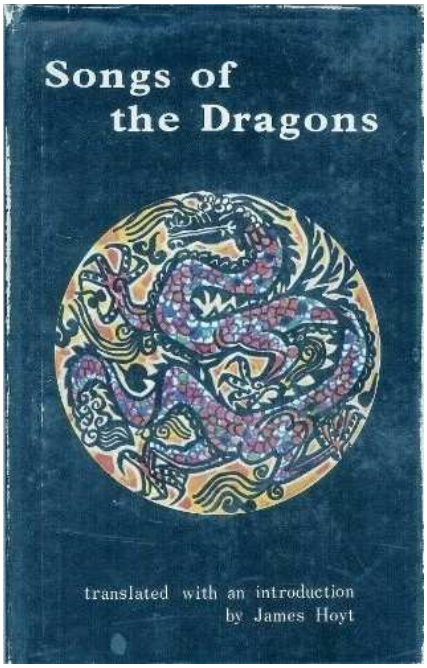
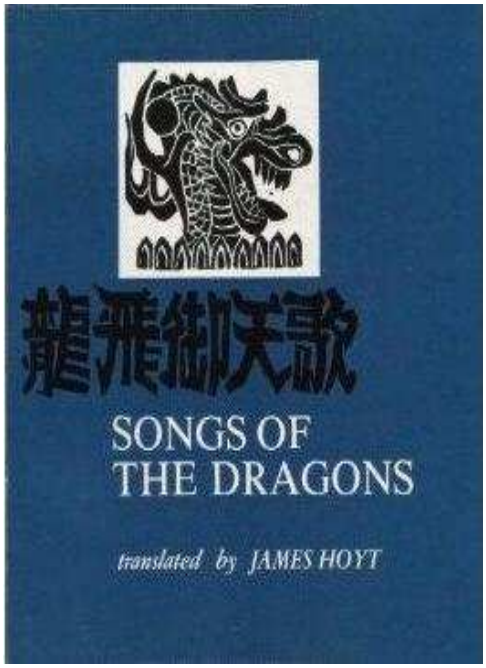


Figure 13: Songs of the Dragons 1979



Finally, further works are rooted in or based on the best-known Korean referents, the court ladies or *kisaengs*, and the traditional shamans, and the cover reflects this in spite of omitting the word "Korea" in the title. Books like *The story of Chunhyang*, *Songs of the Kisaeng*, *Ulhwa the Shaman or the Shaman Sorceress* are examples of this trend. Other volumes present traditional Asian scenarios, as in *The Waves* or *Fugitive Dreams.*

I will now analyze these characteristics in comparison with the discourses presented. If we compare Table 43 with Table 35 on the presentation of the corpus according to literary criteria, I notice that the term "Korea" is used much more widely on the covers that in any of the peritexts. That is, although works were presented as "Korean literature" or within a "Korean Form" in only 45% of the volumes of the first period and 44% of the volumes of the second period (see Table 35), "Korea" appears on 73% (80% if we include Korean script) of the covers of the first period and 61% (or 69% with flexible criteria) of the covers of the second period. "Asia" is the literary referent of 25% of the volumes of the first period, although none of the books has the actual word "Asia" on its cover. In the second period, 5% are introduced as Asian literature and a further 5% have that inscription on the cover as well.

Therefore, "Korea" is used more often on the covers than in the rest of peritexts to inscribe the origin of the book, the only exception being when the author is a prominent figure himself (and all the prominent authors are men).

9.2. Is this a translated book?

The analysis of translators and references to translation in Chapter 8 showed the visibility of the profession and uncovered a shift of agency. The results indicate a higher visibility of translators in the first stage, with 76% of works including a bionote of the translator and 97% including some sort of peritext written by them. In the second stage, 64% of the translators were introduced with some sort of bionote and 69% wrote a peritext. In 14% of the cases in the second period, nothing is indicated about the translators.

How do these statistics relate to the mention of translators on the front covers? In Table 45 I present how often the agents of the translation process (authors, translators and publishers) appear on the front cover.

Table 45: Agents on cover (percentages for five-year periods)

	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000
Translator	2%	2%	2%	1%	5%	11%	12%	14%	21%	29%
Author	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	11%	12%	24%	20%	28%
Publisher	3%	2%	0%	0%	2%	14%	35%	18%	12%	15%

At first sight, what looks most surprising is the fact that authors may not appear: 63% of the volumes in the first period and 29% of the volumes in the second do not have an author's name on the front cover. As many as 55 of the 56 volumes that do not include any author are anthologies or anonymous works. We might thus conclude that the high number of authors or the lack of one is what leaves these books "author-less". *The Fifth Wheel* is the exception to the rule: on its front cover we can only see a drawing of a Polaroid-type picture of a man – who might look Asian - and the title of the book. It is to note, as well, that *The Story Bag*, an indirect translation from Japanese, has the title and author in English and Japanese, creating some confusion about the origin of the work.

Publishers – and there is always one – usually leave their imprint in the shape of a logo, with the exception of academic publishers, who tend to include not only their full name but also the university department they are associated with. What I have found are further "imprints" in second editions in the form of stamps highlighting the reception of prizes or the number of the edition.

The statistics for translators are quite similar to the ones given in the previous chapters. The translator appears on the front cover in 12 out of 15 occasions in the first period (that is, 80% of the cases), and in 84 out of 131 covers in the second period (72% of the cases). However, the translator does not always appear as such. In Table 46 I have summarized under what role – if any - the translator is presented on the front cover.

Table 46: Presentation of translators

	As translator	As other	As author	Absent
From 1951 to 1975	8 (53%)	0 (0%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
From 1976 to 2000	72 (62%)	11 (10%)	4 (3%)	29 (25%)

As we can see, the role of the translator is most commonly highlighted with a "translated by," which can be found in poetic versions like the "done into English by" that appears on *The Orchid Door*, or with full specifications as in the "translated from the Korean by" in *The Man She Loved*.

However, if some translators are not presented as translators, how are they presented? In eleven instances in the second period they "edited," "selected," and "introduced." James Riordan even "retold" *Korean Folk Tales* in 1995. I point out the hierarchy of values this consideration implies, that is, that the person who made the selection of the stories or edited the volume plays a more important role than does the translator. However, it is also true that editors and others in charge of writing introductions tend to have experience in the trade and they are even known by people in the field. In Korean literature in translation, names like Peter H. Lee or David R. McCann function as a stamp of quality.

In four volumes the role of the translators was not specified. In general, the fact that their name was the only one on the front cover might induce the reader to suppose

they were the authors. On two occasions that would have been the right guess, as the author translated himself (Ok Ku Jang and Ahn Jeong-hyo).

Given the rate at which translators' names appear, the relevance of the translator seems to be clear. However, we can compare the relevance given to translators and to authors when they share the spotlight. On 52 occasions, authors and translators share the merits on the front cover. Are they presented equally then?

I looked at the covers to see which name occupied the upper position and which was presented in a larger font, if there was any difference. After the analysis, I can conclude that, in spite of the visibility given to translators when they play "alone," usually in another role like editor of an anthology, when there is direct conflict with the author, translators are in second place.

This trend is more obvious in the second period than in the first. Actually, the only two volumes of the first period that have the author's and translator's names on the front cover introduce them with the same font size: *In this Earth and in that Wind, this is Korea* and *The Story Bag*. In the first book, both names appear at the same level, one after the other. This is the only book in the whole corpus in which this is found. In the second book and in the rest of the titles of the corpus, the author appears at the top of the cover and the translators at the bottom. Three other covers from the second stage also present translators and authors with the same font size, again with the author above the translator.

The remaining covers present the author on top and in a larger font. It is true that in 18 instances the difference is small and the names are consecutively listed. However, in the remaining 35 covers, the author's name is clearly larger and more visible, and the translator either appears in a smaller font in the center of the cover or at the very bottom. Four books reinforce the importance of the writer by decorating the cover with a picture or a caricature of the author.

What caught my attention was the rearrangement of names in re-editions. *Memoirs of a Korean Queen* has few differences between the author and the translator in the first edition in 1985: the author is at the top part of the cover, but the translator's name, despite being at the bottom, is in capital letters. In the 1987 paperback edition, however, the translator disappears from the cover (see Figure 14 and Figure 15 for the differences).

Figure 14: Memoirs of a Korean Queen (1985)

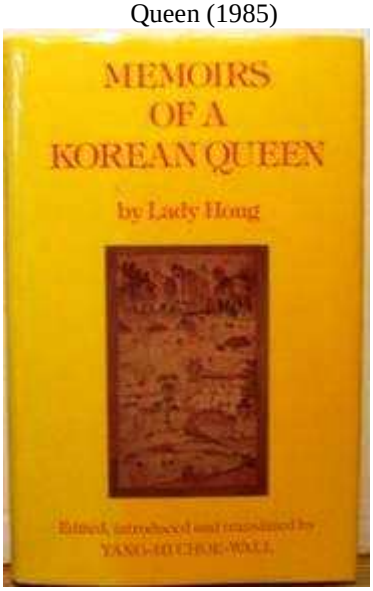


Figure 15: Memoirs of a Korean Queen (1987)

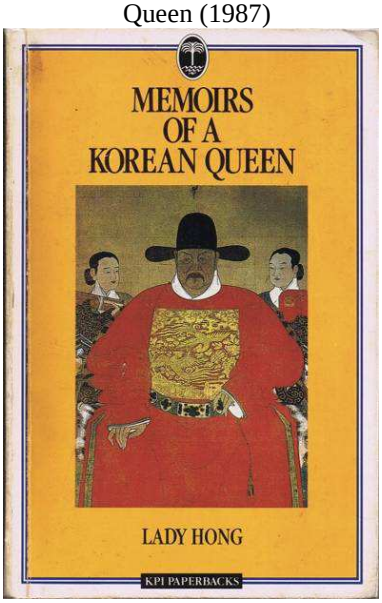


Figure 16: Land (1995)

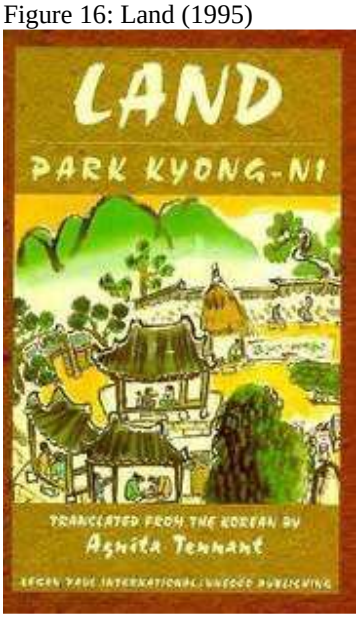
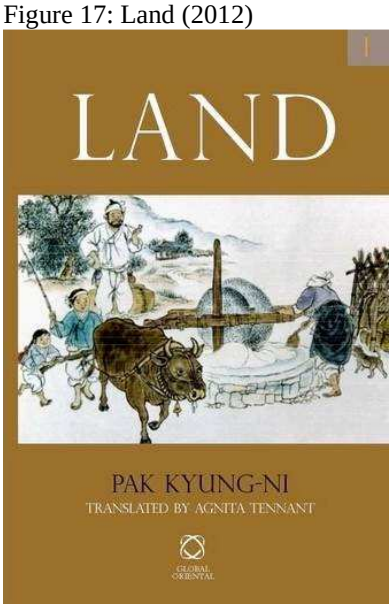


Figure 17: Land (2012)



Land's redistribution is not so obvious (see Figure 16 and Figure 17). In the 1996 edition, both names were visible, but the author, Park Kyong-ni, appeared on top of a drawing and in a large bright font, while the translator was below the picture in a slightly smaller font. In the 2012 retranslation, the author's name is still bigger, but there is less difference and they are listed consecutively below the picture.

I can thus conclude that translators are in general well considered and visible in the corpus of Korean literature in translation. This visibility is more clearly stated when the author is not relevant and when the translators play additional roles in the creation of

the volumes, like selecting or editing the stories presented. If the author is a well-known figure, the translator tends to disappear completely.

9.3. Drawing Korea?

In Chapter 5 I analyzed and presented the main topics dealt with by the books in the corpus. For the purpose of acquiring a general idea of the topics covered, I grouped sub-topics under four labels: Tradition, Modernity, Struggle, and Spirituality. In Chapter 8 I then analyzed the discourses used to introduce the works and, by extension, to introduce Korea to the reader. Those discourses have been classified into four categories: Traditional, Modern, Historical, and Oriental. To a certain extent, the topic labels and discourse categories overlap, but it is not a perfect match. For example, Modernity includes works that experiment with narrative techniques, a situation that cannot be found in the presentational discourses. Also, Spirituality refers to books with a religious background, be it Buddhist, Catholic, or Shamanistic. While the images associated with Buddhism could be linked to an Oriental Korea (like the minimalistic images of nature), Christianity is not usually linked to the Land of the Morning Calm, in spite of being the most widespread religion (if we combine Protestants and Catholics in the one group). Shamanistic rites, on the other hand, are traditionally Korean.

Taking these differences into account, I tried to analyze the covers by assigning a label to each in a similar fashion to what I did with the topics. However, I soon discovered the special characteristics of the images, it was clear that classifying each under a single label, or just trying to discern which label was most appropriate, was a difficult task.

For example, I had assumed that the representation of traditional elements and animals would represent Traditional Korea. One of those traditional referents is the tiger. An autochthonous species, tigers have appeared in the Korean imaginary since the forgotten origins. In Korean cosmogony, a tiger and a bear prayed to the Heavenly King to become human. He asked them to fast for 100 days, but only the bear was successful, becoming a woman and the mother of Dangun, the legendary founder of Gojoseon. The tiger retired after twenty days, but he has become a character of folk tales regardless. He sometimes has the power to adopt a human shape, like the Japanese fox (*kitsune*), in

order to trick peasants or help friends. He is also a God of the mountain, good at matchmaking, and a righteous and loyal animal, despite being carnivorous.

In the corpus, the tiger is the main image on three covers: *Folk Tales from Korea* (see Figure 18), *The Shaman Sorceress* (see Figure 20), and *The Poet* (see Figure 21). These are three very different books, with three different topics and three different paratextual presentations. The three tigers are clearly Asian, but their origin, geographical and biological, is the only thing they have in common.

Figure 18: Folk Tales from Korea (1956)

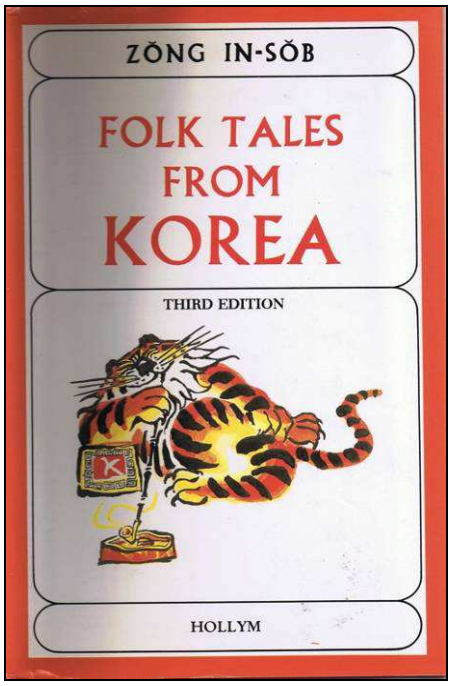


Figure 19: Detail of Peace Under Heaven (1993)

The tiger in Figure 18 would not be out of place in a comic book. The one-stroke technique and watercolors used to draw it creates a colorful tiger sitting in a typical *yangban* position of relaxation, on cushions and smoking a pipe. Its position resembles that of Master Yun on the cover of *Peace Under Heaven* (see Figure 19). The image conveys the content of the book: "folk tales," represented by the tiger, and "Korean," represented by the position and actions of that tiger. At the same time, it is an attractive image: it is fun and colorful. The cover conveys the idea of light reading.

The tiger in the Figure 20 is much more serious. The perspective still indicates an Asian tiger, in spite of the difference in techniques. The cover reproduces "Tiger Guardian," an eighteenth-century Korean painting. The icon developed from

shamanistic art, in which the tiger is a sacred symbol with the power to repel evil. It is a tiger that is alert, ready to jump (as the raised back leg indicates), and self-confident. This tiger knows what to do next, in a way similar to how Ulhwa, the main character of the story, is completely sure about the priority of Shamanism over Christianity and what to do to perpetuate it.

Figure 20: The Shaman Sorceress (1989)

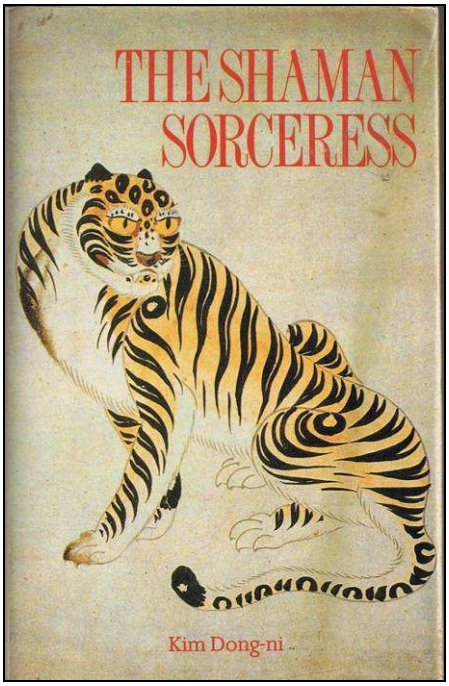


Figure 21: The Poet (1995)

The tiger in Figure 21 is also an Asian tiger. It reproduces a painting called "Tiger" by Song'Am, done with the *sukiyo-e* technique. Again, the inclusion of both eyes in the side view reflects the Asian origin of the tiger. However, this is a "struggling" tiger. The hunched back, the distribution of weight, the strange look situated right in the middle of the cover, points at a tiger that survives in the wild. This is a tiger whose life might be quite similar to that of Kim Sakkat, the main character of the "Poet," an ostracized *yangban* who wanders Korea with the intention of bringing his family back to the position they lost because of his father's behavior.

The techniques used, the position of the elements on the cover, the size of the elements, their background and the inter- and intra-cultural referents make it very difficult to ascertain in a just a quick glance what type of discourse they are representing. They cannot be analyzed as directly as can the appearance of the word

"Korea" or "Asia" on the cover, or the situation of the name of the translator, author, and publisher. A detailed analysis can nevertheless reveal a complexity that says much about the imaginary. That said, my objective here is not to analyze the covers in themselves, but to determine to what extent they reflect the topics and discourses of the works they accompany.

Therefore, instead of beginning with a descriptive classification of the covers, labeling them and comparing the numerical results with topics and discourses as I did with the discourses and the relevance of translators on covers, I will start with a classification of the extent to which the covers are representative of the topic and/or discourses used to present the books. I will give the rate of concordance and I will then proceed to analyze the cases in which there are disagreements.

Table 47 shows the correspondences between topic, discourse, and cover. To reach these figures, I first assigned a preliminary label to each cover based on the elements found in the center of the cover, usually the image but sometimes the title. Then I compared my initial results with the categories of discourses and the topics of the books. I went through the results again, paying special attention to the volumes with discrepancies. I could then review cases where an a priori discrepancy was possible. For example, *The Ever White Mountain* is a book of classical poems. It is traditional in topic, but the introduction concerns Asia and is quite Orientalist. The cover shows two relatively modern mountains, open to multiple readings: "spiritual" due to the representation of nature, Modern due to the style of the book, Traditional implied by the importance of mountains in Korea, and more. The cover could thus represent a Traditional topic and an "Oriental" discourse.

As the analysis of the 131 covers has been done individually in this way, I have been able to recognize several possible readings of the images, allowing a more complete description of the function of iconographic elements and typographical choices.

Table 47: Coincidences in discourse, topic and representation on the cover

What coincides?	Discourse, Topic, Cover	Discourse, Cover	Cover, Topic	Discourse Topic	Nothing	N/A
1951-1975	9 (60%)	2 (13%)	2 (13%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)	0
1976-2000	26 (23%)	13 (11%)	25 (22%)	10 (8%)	23 (20%)	19 (16%)
Total	36 (28%)	15 (11%)	27 (21%)	11 (8%)	24 (19%)	19 (15%)

In the first stage, I notice a high ratio of coincidence between the three elements presenting the book. These coincidences are represented by images that can be labeled as traditional and/or Asian. On two occasions, the discourse and the cover coincide but the topic does not. One of those cases is an anthology with a non-defined topic. The other is *The Yalu Flows*. This book narrates the struggling boyhood of the author in Japanese-occupied Korea; it is represented on the cover by an idealistic minimalist image of a boy playing the flute and riding an ox, and an Oriental view is reflected in the peritexts as well. *Cry of the People* is the other side of the coin. It is a book by Kim Chi-ha, whose close-up picture is reproduced on the front cover, expressing the same struggle as his poems do, while the rest of the peritexts introduce mostly the *Asian* writer.

Figure 22: In this Earth & in that Wind (1967)

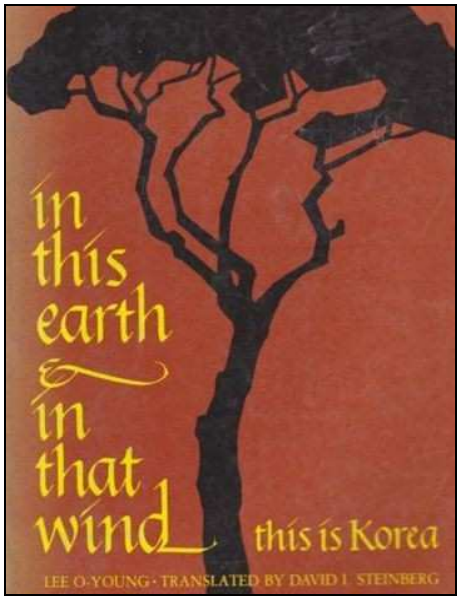
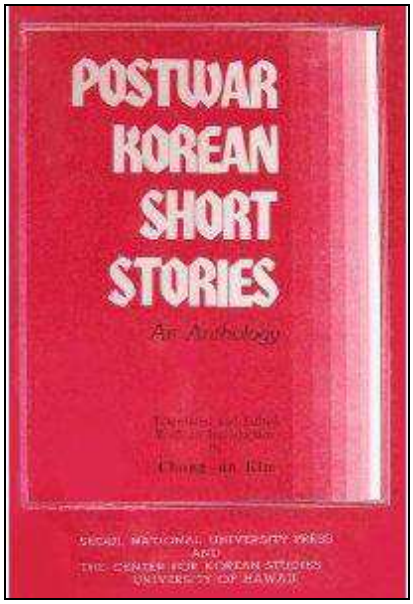


Figure 23: Postwar Korean Short Stories (1974)



In this Earth and in that Wind is a collection of essays that criticize the backwardness of Korea and seek modernization in a period in which Japan was the referent for Asian development. Bearing in mind the topic of the book, the translator explains in the introduction the current situation of Korea at the moment of writing. That is, the topic and the main discourse in the peritexts coincide. However, neither the topic nor the discourse is represented by the tree on the cover (see Figure 22). Then I have one book that does not show any correlation between discourse, topic, and cover: *Postwar Korean Short Stories* collects stories reflecting the struggle of Koreans before

and after the War. Introduced in relation to the rest of Asia, the cover is modern and simple and does reflects neither tradition nor struggle (see Figure 23).

As there are only two examples of absolute discrepancy, it is difficult, not to say impossible, to generalize. Therefore, I will proceed to see what happens in the second stage and analyze the results regarding the subsequent findings.

Figure 24:The Sound of My Waves (1993)

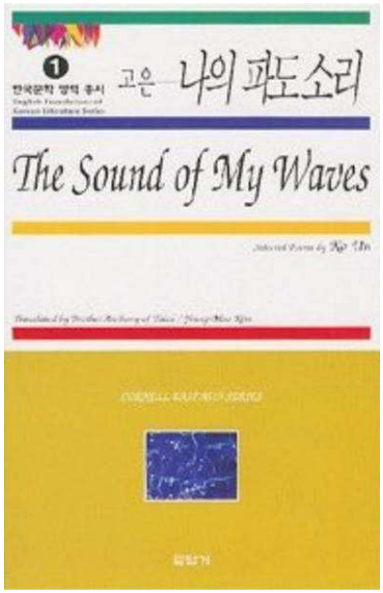
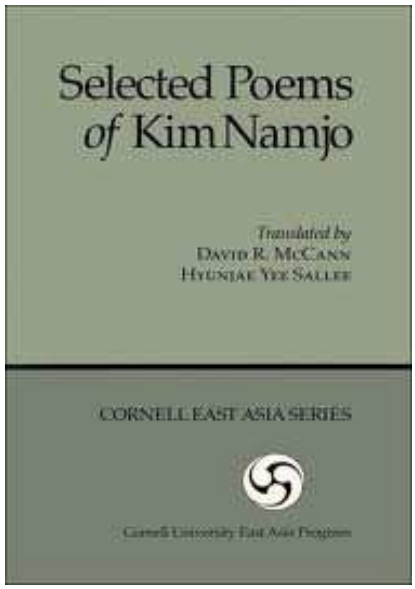


Figure 25: Selected Poems of Kim Namjo (1993)



First, the rate of correspondence in the second stage is much lower than in the first: only 23% in the second stage as compared to 60%. Actually, in the second stage the rate of correspondence and non correspondence are similar (23% and 22%). Second, a new column was necessary: N/A, standing for "not applicable." I have listed here academic volumes that have only the basic book information on the cover (15 volumes), which makes it impossible to create a connection with the content but the cover nevertheless reflects the clearly academic purpose of the volume. Also, I have included anthologies that have various possible topics and whose paratexts I was not able to find, and therefore I only have the cover and nothing to compare it to (4 volumes). Third, there is a slight decrease in the degree of connection between the cover and the discourses (13% to 11%) and a rise in the links between the topics and the cover (13% to 22%). So what do the different parts of the books agree and disagree on?

9.3.1. Full harmony

In 36 volumes, I have found that the discourses of the paratexts, the topic of the book, and the cover are fully compatible. In other words, the cover is representative of all the voices in the book.

Figure 26: The Moonlit Pond (1998)

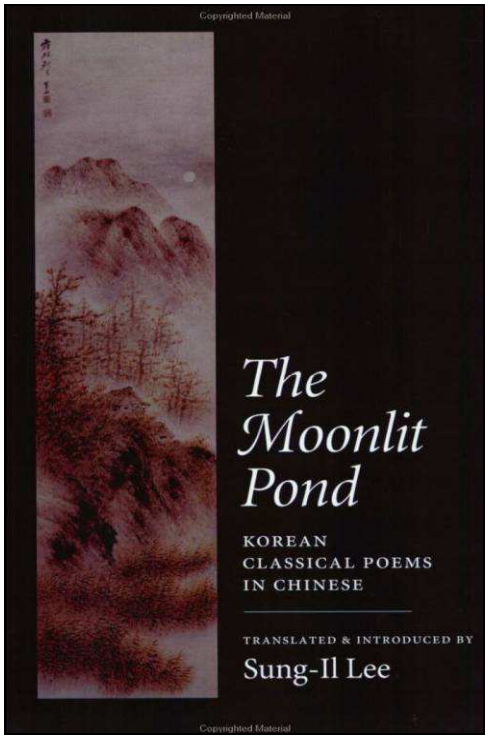
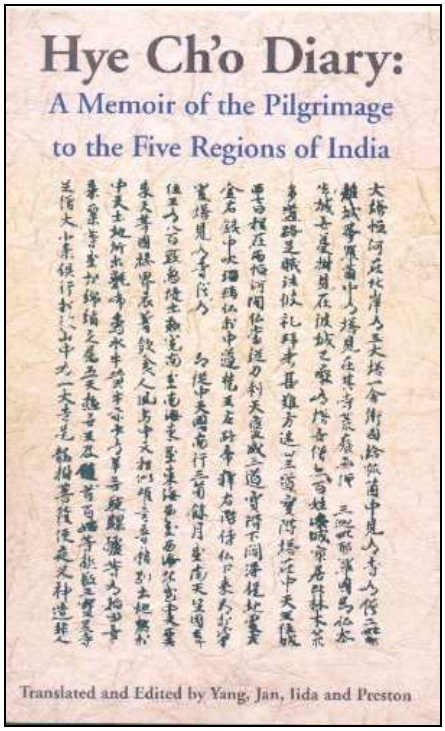


Figure 27: A Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India (1984)



For example, *The Moonlit Pond* comprises classical poetry written in Chinese, and the peritexts invite the reader to enjoy the beauty of Asian poetry. The cover design shows a typical Chinese misty mountain scenario (see Figure 26). In other cases, the correlation is not as direct (as in classical content, classical introduction, classical drawing), but equally acceptable. In *Hye Cho's Diary*, the assigned topic is "spiritual," as it is a diary of a Buddhist pilgrimage, and the main discourse relates the figure of Hye-Cho to Asia by explaining briefly why he was important in his region, so it could be traditional or historical. The image (see Figure 27), which I labeled a priori as Orientalist, represents a passage from the original diary and thus creates a connection between the content, the pilgrimage in the search of scripts, the topic, Buddhist scripts, and the discourse on Asia.

The discourses that are shared in the 36 books are summarized in Table 48.

Table 48: Harmony in discourse in topic, cover and paratexts

	Struggle	Modern	Traditional	Oriental
Covers	8	2	11	3

According to these figures, the discourse of tradition is the most commonly kept. There are also instances of the discourse of struggle and the discourse of Modernity.

9.3.2. Partial agreement

In thirteen cases, the discourses of the peritexts and the covers coincide, although the topic of the book is slightly different. The percentage of agreement is similar to that of the first period, 11% as compared with 13%. Again, the most frequently represented discourse is traditional Korea (eight covers), followed by Orientalist images (three Asian references and two spiritual references).

Out of these thirteen volumes, there are four cases in which the topic of the book has not been taken into account. They correspond to general anthologies with more than one topic covered. As happened in the first period, the topics not represented on the covers fell under the classification of Modern and Struggle. Actually, in this second period, the eight volumes labeled under Struggle were represented differently.

In 25 volumes there is agreement between the topic of the book and the cover, but the discourses of the peritexts do not play a part. Actually, in 19 out of those 25 cases the paratexts do not match the comparison because they have not been found. In those cases, the most common discourse is again a reflection on traditional Korea (seven volumes), followed by natural-spiritual images (five Oriental covers), four Modern illustrations, and three covers reflecting Struggle.

In the remaining six volumes, instead of the four examples of Struggle, one of Modernity and one of Spirituality, I find covers that present three Oriental works, two modern books, and one struggling character.

Table 49: Partial disagreement on the presentation of Korea

	Struggle	Modern	Traditional	Oriental
Covers	1	2	4	8
Topics	8	1	0	0
Paratexts	4	1	0	1

As there is a certain agreement between the covers and part of the book in these cases, I cannot claim any full change of presentation on the part of the publishers. However, it is interesting to see which discourses were discarded and which ones took their place. If we look at Table 49, we notice how the discourse of Struggle diminishes and the discourses of Orientalism and Tradition take over. In other words, publishers seem to have sought to reduce the image of Korea as a land of struggle and highlight its traditional and Orientalist aspect.

I will now analyze the cases of outright contradiction between the different visiting cards of the volumes, to see if this tendency to avoid conflict is confirmed.

9.3.3. Disharmony

If in general a book cannot be judged by its cover, in nine of the titles in the corpus this is quite literally true. While discourses and topics on these volumes are on the same ideas, the covers present a completely different image. Beneath five images of Modernity and four of Tradition, we actually find nine stories of Struggle.

Stories of the War and the post-War are presented with Traditional natural images or Modern designs that do not clearly transmit the idea of confrontation.

Figure 28: Early Spring, Mid-summer (1983)

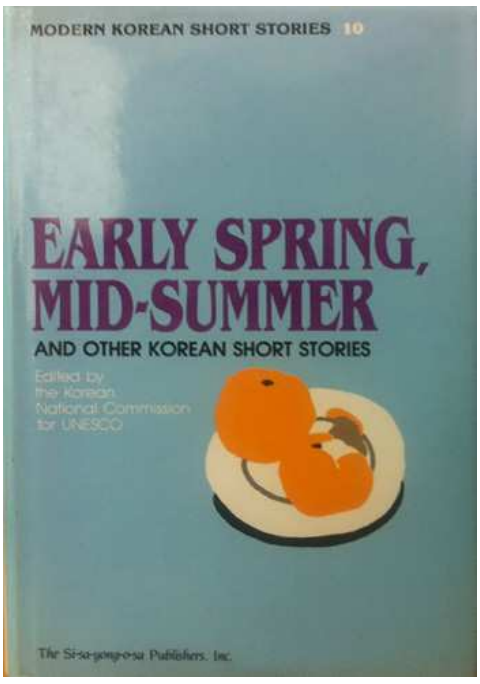
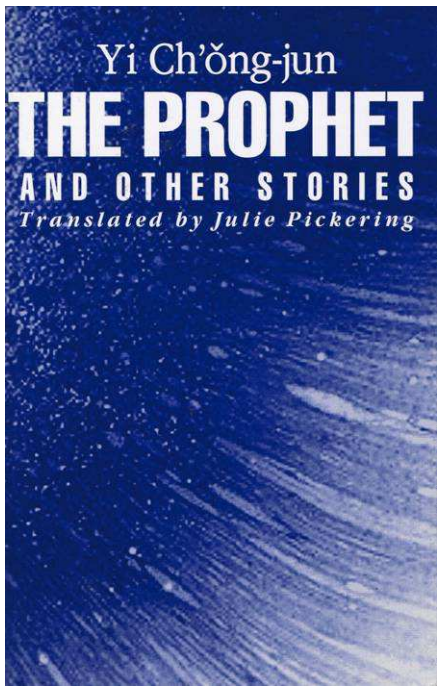


Figure 29: The Prophet (1999)



The volumes shown in Figure 28 and Figure 29 comprise post-war short stories. Both seem to place more importance on a modern cover design than on representing a topic or discourses. On the cover of *Early Spring Mid-summer*, the image of mandarin oranges, a very common fruit in Korea, suggests a traditional family meeting, where this fruit is usually shared. Still, we tend to associate the fruit with late autumn, early winter, whereas the title refers to the opposite time of year. Regarding *The Prophet*, the cover is designed by a contemporary Korean artist (Park Seung-u, ArtSpace Korea, according to the credits page) and although it may catch the potential reader's attention, it gives few clues about the content. The use of McCune Reische Romanization on the cover is also uncommon. Although it was still in use in the 1990s, as the revised Romanization was not applied until the year 2000, most author names on covers do not show breves or apostrophes.

Figure 30: The Wind and the Waves (1989)

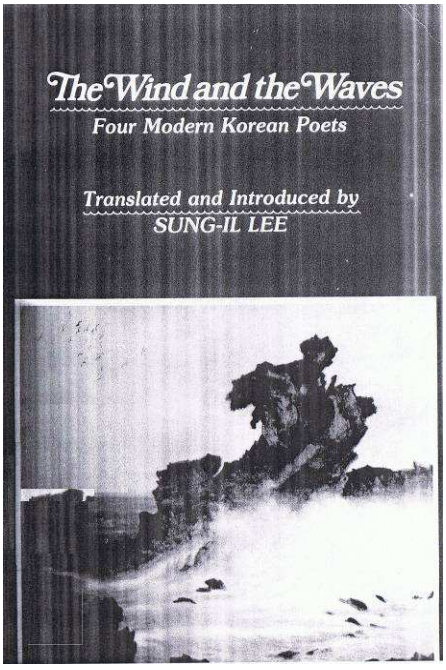
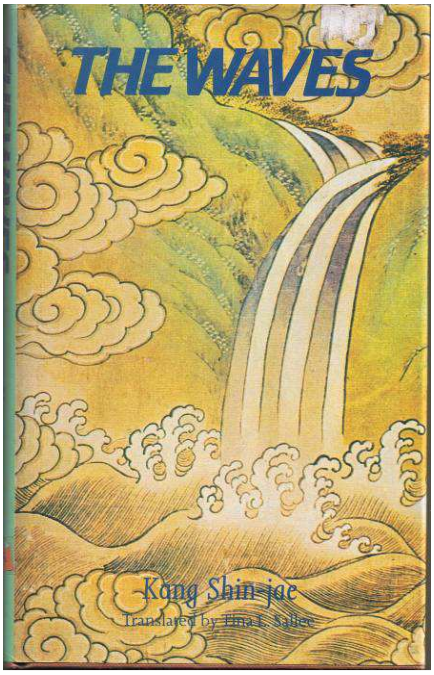


Figure 31: The Waves (1989)



This search for a modern look might explain the gap between these discourses and covers. For example, the Sisayongsa collection in which *Early Spring, Mid-Summer* appears has a similar typography and design for their collection of works: the trademark of the collection is to have the title in a large font with a small picture related to it. The inclusion of abstract covers, which might convey a meaning for those who appreciate abstract art, is another explanation, if indeed the meaning corresponds to the topic for

some readers. In other cases, covers represent the title, which is not necessarily representative of the topics covered by the book. *The Wind and the Waves* shows waves on the cover (see Figure 30), but the picture does not represent the Modernity of the poems included. *The Waves* also shows waves (see Figure 31), but since the cover illustration is a detail from an eighteenth-century Korean screen painting, it does not situate the book in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century at all. One cannot say that such covers are completely unrelated to the contents. But one can say that the discourses and main topics cannot easily be deduced by looking at these covers.

On 23 occasions I have found no connection between discourse, topic, and cover: each tells a different story. In 14 of these 23 volumes, the peritexts were not found at all, so I am actually analyzing the disagreement between topic and cover. In the remaining nine, each element has a different agenda.

What are the discourses of preference, and which are repressed? When we look at the discrepancies in these 32 volumes in which the cover does not reflect paratexts or topic, some differences appear (see Table 50).

Table 50: Disharmony in the presentation of Korea in covers, topics and paratexts, according to discourses of presentation (1951-2000)

	Struggle	Modern	Traditional	Oriental
Covers	0	15	10	7
Paratexts /topics	25	4	0	3

I have used "Oriental" for Asian-style images that are not exclusively representative of Korea, but a strict border is difficult to draw. So if we combine both "Traditional" and "Oriental", this is clearly the dominant category on the covers. However, Modernity follows closely. What we have left is a clear "loser," the discourse of Struggle (which does indeed struggle to get on the covers!).

Why do these changes appear? On the one hand, seven of the titles in Table 50 correspond to the Sisayongsa collection. Their covers have a heterogeneous format, with large modern typography and small side images that do not necessarily convey the topic of the book but are usually related to the story giving the title to the collection (see Figure 28 for an example). This collection was created for the 30th anniversary of UNESCO Korea and its purpose was to show the development of the country's *twentieth-century Korean* literature, as "literary distinction has been the hallmark of the

refined man in Korea" (Foreword to *Two travellers*). That is, the series appears designed to convey the image of a modern Korea.

Readers International seems to share this objective. A short subtitle highlights the theoretical Modernity of *The House of Twilight* by remarking that is the "[f]irst English collection by Korea's most original and stylish young writer" (Yun 1989: front cover). Hwang Sun-won's *The Book of Masks* becomes a collection of "searing psychological tales by Korea's modern short story master" (Hwang 1989: front cover).

However, this is not the common trend. Kegan Paul International relies on eighteenth-century illustrations to present most of the works in the Korean Culture Series (see *The haman Sorceress*, Figure 20, or *Memoirs of a Korean Queen*, Figure 14 and Figure 15).

Whether one trend or the other is followed, the discourse that is hidden is clear: Struggle. More explicitly, in the cases of partial disagreement and also in the cases of full disharmony, the topic that tends not to appear on the front cover is "Struggle."

9.3.4. Hidden struggles

It can be argued that the discourse of Struggle is not on the covers because it is difficult to represent. Actually, this discourse would have been difficult to isolate in a direct analysis. As we saw with the tiger of *The Poet* (Figure 21), several elements might be engaged before one pays attention to the animal's sad look. Difficulties in isolating the discourses of Struggle depend on the book. We can see the difference by comparing *Silver Stallion* and *Wayfarer*.

Silver Stallion is set in the Korean War and post-war period. Its cover (Figure 32) shows three men leaning over and a fourth looking enquiringly towards the sky. The men might be bowing deeply to a bloody master (a possible reference to the Japanese, the North Koreans, or even the Americans) or might be helping the man in the middle to stand, while bombs fall around them. Regardless, it clearly conveys an image of despair and struggle. The struggle in *Wayfarer* in much more subtle (see Figure 33). It is indicated by the dead branches and the leafless sunflowers and, to the right of the picture, a grey sunflower: the typical symbols of sunshine, warmth, and loyalty have been painted grey, dry, and dead.

Figure 32: Silver Stallion (1990)

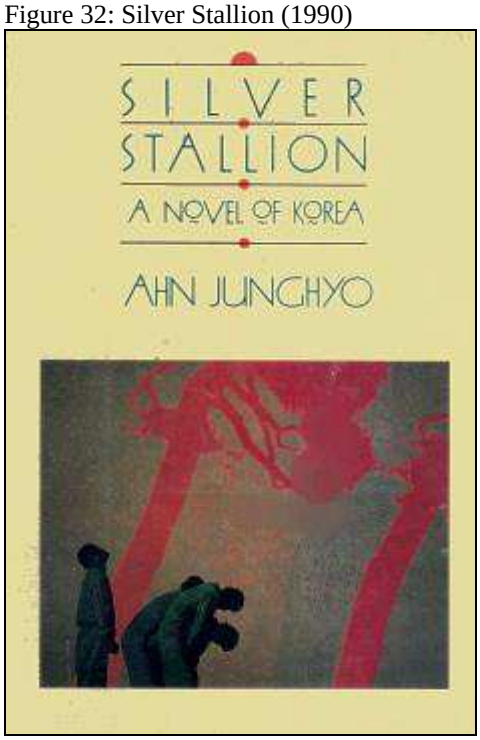
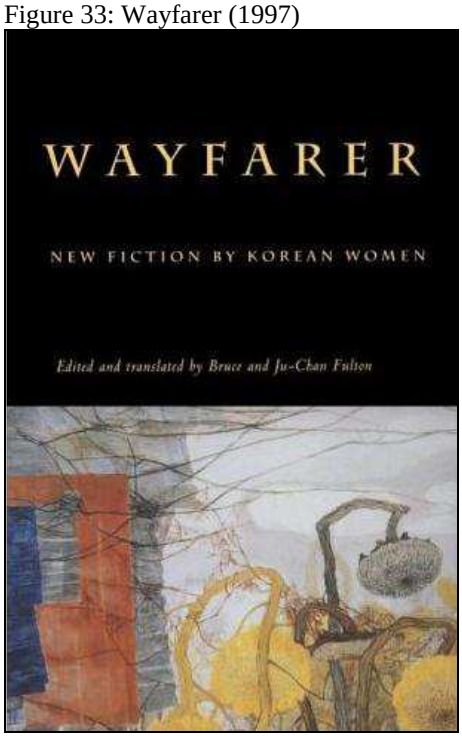


Figure 33: Wayfarer (1997)



The need to fight for survival can then be communicated to the possible reader. Actually, these images show that Struggle can be represented in a way that is attractive to the reader. Therefore, the visual aesthetics might override what is happening on the level of discourse. Either the discourse of Oriental-Traditional is found to be more relevant to representations of Korea, or the discourse of Struggle is discarded for other reasons.

I have played with the possibility of this repression being a question of political relations. That is, certain discourses might be hidden due the development of political relations between Korea, Japan, and the United States - the three countries usually involved in "Struggle". Although this option cannot be completely discarded, especially as other factors point in the same direction, the fact that this tendency to hide conflict is also present in the later stages of my research period, when the diplomatic relations had been stabilized, would suggest other possibilities as well.

It might be argued that the covers are presented in a more cheerful manner in order to lure readers who would later develop an interest in Korean literature as such. Folk tales have survived as we know them today since they were assumed to serve an educational purpose. The Grimms' tales, for example, were made suitable for children, regardless of the original intentions of the authors (Haase 2006: 57). If that is the case,

why is this abstract, oriental image of mist and mystery, as shown in Figure 20, Figure 21, Figure 26, Figure 30 or Figure 31, deemed more adequate on the front covers? It can be argued that it is a continuation of the Orientalist discourse that had permeated the presentation of all Asian countries. In a situation outside Asia, but which could be analyzed in parallel, Watts argues in his analysis of Aimé Césaire's *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* that the paratexts "tend to present the text as culturally foreign, exotic, or different, but also as ultimately interpretable" (2000: 32). The Orient is undoubtedly an image American readers already had and could relate to.

It has also been claimed that the love of despair that Koreans reflect and enjoy in their literature is not shared by Western readers. In a short text for a Korean publisher's online journal - the *Changbi Weekly Commentary* - the translator An Sonjae mentions that a common reaction among English speakers to Korean fiction is "Why is it so depressing?" (An 2007). Since Korean literature in translation is highly subsidized, the selection of works is usually in the hands of translators, but their field of choice tends to be reduced to what the government foundations find acceptable to subsidize. So, in the long run, it is the Korean administration that decides what to translate. However, what to accept and how to present it is then the publisher's choice. Alvstad argues that

> Even in those cases when somebody (a translator) who is not a publisher decides to translate a book and then presents it to a publisher, it is the publisher who makes the decision whether to publish the book, whether to publish it in the translation by that translator and whether to introduce changes into the translation. (2003: 274)

While it is true that the publisher has the final word on what to invest in, several of the publishers in the corpus have an independent profile, an academic purpose, and a non-profit intention that might put the commercial motive in doubt. Moreover, the fact that Korea is exotic, that there is a wide cultural distance between countries, combined with a situation in which there is a lack of literary agents specialized in Korea, and, in general, a lack of opportunity to publish something from Korea, might move publishers to have special considerations towards the few existing translations from Korean that are brought to their attention. Even when the source culture decides what to present, in

the long run it is the target culture that filters this information to suit its needs and/or market.

9.4. The story behind the image

When Genette (1997: 24) sees illustrations as mere supplements to texts, he does not reflect on the possible interaction or lack of interaction between images and cultural references (cf. Lees-Jeffries 2010: 186). Stallybras, on the other hand, points out how illustrations might directly contradict the text and even have the power to predetermine how a reader recalls it (2010: 205). He offers the example of the Bible, in which Adam and Eve leave Paradise either naked (in the 1539 *Great Bible*) or with a strategically located fig leave (in the 1688 edition of *Paradise Lost*), in contradiction to Genesis 3:21, which explains that God clothed them before asking them to leave.

In the case of Korea, the translated texts explain the story of a country that has built itself, while the covers still present a very traditional land. And this divergence is even more pronounced in the later years of my research period.

The greater degree of harmony between the different elements in the translations at the beginning of the period could be explained by the smaller number of people involved in the process, with more translators involved in multi-tasking. Toury (1995: 183) claims that “one can never be sure just how many hands were actually involved in the establishment of the translation as we have it,” and the same can be said of “the exact way the target text came into being” (ibid). Whatever the actual plurality of hands at work in the corpus, the discrepancies between discourses and covers show a clear conflict of agency. The higher rate of harmony in the first period would then correspond to common agreement on what image should be presented. The shift in the second period is partly explained by the greater agency of the publishers, who were trying to present a specific image.

The analysis has shown that translators are quite visible in the corpus - if we define visibility as the appearance of names on the front cover -, especially when they play a role in addition to the transposition of words. That is, when a translator plays another role in the publication of the book, he tends to be presented on that other role. This implies that translating has a relatively low status, as it is replaced by other tasks that seem more important, like selecting stories or editing volumes.

However, I have also found that if the author is well-known, he will be in the spotlight and displace not only translators, but also any discourse inscribing the book within a field like “Korea” or “Asia”.

All these findings point to the growing commercial status of the product. In a market society, non-academic volumes will be sure to present on the cover whatever information they deem most interesting for the potential readers. In the absence of a powerful author, this image tends to be a traditional exotic country, and if that fails, it can be an edited and selected Modernity. When those elements are not present, some readers might be lured by the name of a well-known translator.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

10.1. Summary of findings

This study started from the premise that the building of a translation relationship runs parallel to the building of a political and economic relationship. However, the first results questioned this initial assumption. While we can say that a shared history marks the beginning of the translation exchange and even that certain milestones are reflected in its progress, the development of a translation flow is also a process with its internal logic, in the sense that it is a process that happens with time, and in which many factors play a role.

The main factor can be defined as the *increase of choice*, that is, the growth in the quantity of agents able to undertake the task and the necessity to differentiate from others incites an evolution from availability to specialization. This can be seen at all levels of the process.

Regarding what is translated, the first selections of texts to be translated tend to focus on works that are canonical in the source culture, usually non-contemporary works or texts that might easily travel between cultures. At a later stage, retranslations of those initial works are combined with the translation of more complex texts deemed more relevant to the target culture. And as the corpus grows, a more specific classification of translated literature becomes necessary.

This predictable growth of the corpus implies a development of the publishers involved in the translation. At the beginning, in this case, literature in translation is generally published by independent or academic publishers, accessed by personal contacts between translators and publishers. The growing knowledge of the source-culture literature might then allow a transition to major publishers. However, the target publishing system eventually defines who publishes what. And Korean literature in translation is not usually among the mainstream bestseller paperbacks.

The increase in choice is also seen in the availability of professionals. The longer the cultural exchange, the greater the number of cultural agents available. At first, the translator was usually selected on the basis of availability. In our study, these initial agents are highly visible Korean nationals with international experience, and foreigners associated with aid institutions or the church, who had been the first Westerners to settle in Korea. Later, a greater number of translators were available, covering a wider range of profiles, even professional translators. The availability of agents refers not only to translators but also to literary agents and publishers. Initially, the translator took on more than one role, but over the years the tasks of selection, translation, and publication do not usually fall in the hands of just one person.

Therefore, I can confirm the initial claim that *a more voluminous translation flow implies a greater specialization of the agents*.

As theorized in Chapter 3, numerical data show a tendency to specialization at three levels.

First, there was a growing variety of literary forms represented in later stages of the studied time span, and a declining presence of anthologies, which were being replaced by one-author collections. There is a greater emphasis on selected authors.

Second, translators are more professional in the second stage, that is, translation is not a one-time experience for them but something they do with a certain regularity, or at least, on more than one occasion. However, there is still a strong vocational trend among translators, even in this second stage.

Third, publishers begin to play a more important role in the selection of works, and some major publishing houses enter into play. However, the situation of Korean literature within the context of foreign fiction in the United States limits a full introduction to major literary publishing houses. We cannot forget that we are dealing with a language of limited diffusion and therefore the ability to compete directly with larger literatures and languages is limited.

Discourse analysis of the peritexts shows this same specialization, although the total target-orientedness of the discourses has not been proved.

Regarding specialization, Korean literature is increasingly presented in terms of literary movements and literary forms.

Translation and translators progressively lose visibility in the process: at the beginning of the period studied, translation was often commented upon, with remarks

on form, process, and translatability. As the flow grew, feedback on translation diminished, and the remaining comments centered on the difficulties encountered when translating and the quality of the final output. In the second stage, the positive qualitative characteristics of the translated works, like its novelty or excellence, take the front cover, literally. There is a more noticeable stress on the commercial aim of the volumes and the greater agency of the publishers. In this context, the paratexts indicate a loss of agency by the individual translator, as the translation flow grows and involves other professions. New agents' voices take the lead: literary critics, experts, editors, and publishers. This shift is also clear on the covers. In spite of the common appearance of translators' name on covers, they are very often presented as editors or introduction writers, rather than translators.

All in all, this points to a growing agency of publishers and a more market-orientedness of products. Since publishers are part of the target culture, I can partly confirm the target-orientedness of the products. However, certain divergences from my initial expectations must be taken into account, particularly concerning which topics are presented and how the publishing process works.

Regarding topics, we noticed that the most important common historical exchanges (Japan, the Korean War) and cultural perceptions (that is, the classical Asian imaginary of traditional lands) are indeed among the recurrent topics mentioned in the discourse on translations. However, potential sources of friction (like the love-hate relationship with Japan or the brutality of the Korean War) are inevitably blurred. These topics are commented on from an apparently neutral perspective, with no references to conflicting views. Also, while most translated volumes relate to the struggle of the Koreans for survival and development, it is usually the traditional vision of Korea that is highlighted on the covers.

Regarding the publishing process, unlike the general conception that publishers choose what to translate, perhaps with the help of literary agents, Korean literature in translation is often selected, translated, and paid for in the source culture, thanks to subventions, and is then presented to possible publishers. In this case, it is pertinent to speak of "symbiotic publishing," where the translator or agent of the source culture chooses what to translate and then looks for an editor that might accept the translation - that is, publishers whose interests include literature in translation or a topic related to the translated work. There is thus a symbiotic relationship between the source-culture

agent and the target-culture publisher. Added to this, we find "progressive publishing," when fragments or short works are published in specialized journals and their acceptance there then helps their publication in book form by publishers at the national level. That process in turn works as a platform providing visibility for a possible international publication. In this case, the target culture seems to act more as a filter than as a creator; actually, it acts more as a passive discourse filter than as an active new discourse creator.

To sum up, as the translation flow becomes more voluminous, translation practitioners, translation practices, and discourses become more specialized. As this specialization takes place, the agency of the target elements grows.

All in all, these different elements are part of an internal logic, and this logic explains why the translation flow does not narrowly follow the history of wars, economic growth or diplomatic relations. Translation has its own field.

10.2. Shortcomings of the study and paths for future research

In this research I have aimed to give a panoramic view of a translation flow. While I have commented on the difference in publication figures between Korea, Japan, and China, I would have liked to be able to draw more comparisons between these translation contexts. However, the lack of previous studies on those cultures has not allowed a formal comparison. As the studies on translation in Japan and China grow, such comparison will probably soon be very possible.

Within my research design, the agents could express their views only through paratexts. In the future, I would like to obtain first-hand information on the publication process by interviewing the available agents. I believe that comparing my results with the views of the available agents would be an interesting avenue for future study. Most likely, such interviews would shed light on the interaction between translators and publishers, from the moment a work is selected for translation to the moment it is published.

In the course of this study, I have come across some surprising findings. Some of these elements, whose in-depth study does not suit the purposes of the current enquiry, are undoubtedly possible paths for future research.

First, I uncovered a widespread usage of non-standard translation practices in languages of limited diffusion. In the future, I would like to carry out an in-depth study of team translation. Several researchers have come across this practice and have commented on or criticized it. However, a full study of its possibilities, real practice, advantages, and disadvantages remains to be done.

Second, I came across several examples of self-translation, which in the Korean case is more common among semi-professional translators. While this is a topic that is beginning to be studied in depth, a study of these particular cases might provide the view of someone who is aware of the extent of both roles, as well as uncover the unconscious limits of the translator as an author.

Third, the continual instances of re-translation in the Korean text are another path for future research. Not only books have been translated two or three times (like *Memoirs of a Korean Queen*), but short stories like the "The Buckwheat Season" or "Silence of love" offer new versions in most published anthologies.

Finally, there has been growing interest and investment in translation in these last ten years, as well as an increasing cultural exportation of popular culture – commonly known as *hallyu* or the Korean wave – which has placed Korea in a different position from what it held in 2000, when I began this research. In the future, I would like to study the cases of successful exportation, to see how they differ from many of the events in this study.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Corpus from 1950 to 1975

Author	Year	Title	City of publication	Publisher	Translator
Zong, In-sob	1953	*Folk Tales from Korea*	New York	Groove Press	
Kim, So-un	1955	*The Story Bag: A collection of Korean Folk Tales*	Rutland (VT)	Tuttle	Setsu Higashi
Li, Mirok	1956	*The Yalu Flows: A Korean Childhood*	East Lansing	Michigan State Univ.	H.A. Hammelman
Anonymous	1959	*Fragrance of Spring*	New York	Taplinger Publisher	Chai Hong Sim
Various Authors	1960	*Voices of the Dawn: A Selection of Korean Poetry from the Sixth Century to the Present Day*	London	John Murray	Peter Hyun
Im Pang; Yi Yuk	1963	*Korean Folk Tales; Imps, Ghosts and Fairies.*	Rutland (vt)	Tuttle Co	James S. Gale
Peter H. Lee (editor)	1964	*Anthology of Korean Poetry*	New York	John Day	Peter H. Lee
Choe Pu	1965	*Diary: A Record of Drifting Across the Sea*	Tucson	University of Arizona Press	John Meskill
Various Authors	1965	*The Ever White Mountain: Korean Lyrics in the Classical Sijo form*	Tokyo	John Weatherhill	Inez Kong Pai
Yi, O-nyong	1967	*In this Earth and in That Wind, this is Korea*	San Francisco	Tri-Ocean	David I. Steinberg
Chu, Yohan et al	1969	*Contemporary Korean Poetry*	Iowa city	University of Iowa Press	Ko Won
Various Authors	1970	*The Orchid Door*	New York	Parangon Book Reprint	John S.Grisgby
Yi Saek	1971	The Bamboo Groove: An Introduction to Sijo	LA	Univ of California	Richard Rutt
Anonymous	1973	*Tales of a Korean Grandmother*	Vermont	Tuttle	Frances Carpenter
Han Yong-un et al	1974	*The Inmortal Voice: An Anthology of Modern Korean Poetry*	Seoul	Inmun Publishing	Kim Jehyeon

Anonymous	1974	*Songs of the Flying Dragons: A Critical Reading*	Cambridge	Harvard University	Peter H. Lee
Various	11974	*Postwar Korean Short Stories: an Anthology*	Seoul	Seoul National Univerity Press	Kim Chong-un
Kim Jiha	11974	*Cry of the people and other poems*	Hayama	Autumn Press	¿?
Various	11974	*Poems from Korea: a historical anthology*	Honolulu	Univ. Press of Hawaii	Peter H. Lee
Anonimous	11975	*Songs of Flying Dragons: A Critical Reading*	Cambridge	Harvard Univ	Peter H. Lee
Hwi, Seon-u et al	1974	*Flowers of Fire: Twentieth Century Korean Stories*	Honolulu	University Press of Hawaii	Peter H. Lee

Appendix 2: Corpus from 1976 to 2000

Appendix 2.1. Works found both in the Index Translationum, the KLTI and Anthony Teague's list from 1976 to 2000

Author	***Year***	***Title***	***City***	***Publisher***	***Translator***
Lady Hong	1980	*Han Joong Nok: Reminiscences in Retirement*	New York	Larchwood	Bruce K. Grant. Kim Chin-man
Mo, Yunsuk	1980	*Wren's Elegy*	New York	Larchwood	Various
Pak Chong-wha	1980	*King Se-Jong*	New York	Larchwood	Ahn Jung-Hyo.
Various	1980	*The Contemporary Korean Poets*	New York	Larchwood	Kim Jaihiun.
Various	1982	*Black Crane 2*	Ithaca	Cornell China-Japan	David R. McCann
Han, Malsook	1983	*Hymn of the Spirit*	Seattle	Fremont	Suzanne Crowder.
Choi, In-hoon	1985	*The Daily Life of Ku-Poh the Novelist*	Seattle	Fremont	Hong Ki-Chang.
Choi, In-hoon	1985	*The Square*	London	Spindlewood	Ku Ki-sung.
Lady Hong	1985	*Memoirs of a Korean Queen*	London	KPI	Choe-Wall Yang-hi
Various	1985	*Love in Mid-Winter Night*	London	KPI	Chung Chong-wha
Anonymous	1988	*Traditional Korean Theater*	Berkeley	Asian Humanities Press	Jo, O-kon (ed)
Kang, Shin-jae	1989	*The Waves*	London	KPI	Tina L. Sallee.
Ku, Sang	1989	*Wastelands of Fire*	London	Forest Books	Br. Anthony.
Various	1989	*Words of Farewell*	Seattle	Wash	Bruce + Juchan Fulton
Various	1989	*The Wind and the Waves*	Berkeley	Asian Humanities Press	Lee Sung-Il.
Pak, Mogwol	1990	*Selected Poems of Pak Mog-wol*	Berkeley	Asian Humanities Press	Kim U-Chang.
Various	1991	*Pine River and Lone Peak*	Honolulu	U Hawai'i Press	Peter H. Lee.

Han, Musuk	1992	*Encounter: a novel of nineteenth-century Korea*	LA	U California Press	Ok Young Kim Chang
Che, Man-Sik	1993	*Peace Under Heaven*	Armonk	M E Sharpe	Chun Kyung-Ja.
Ko, Un	1993	*The Sound of My Waves*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Br. Anthony. Kim Young-Moo.
Seo, Jeongju.	1993	*Midang: The Early Lyrics of So Chong-ju*	London	Forest Books	Br. Anthony.
Chon, SangByong	1995	*Back to Heaven*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Br. Anthony; Kim Young-Moo.
Kim, Chiha	1995	*Heart's Agony*	New York	White Pine	James Han; Kim Won-Chung
Park, Wanseo	1995	*Naked Tree*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Yu Young-nan.
Pak, Gyeongni	1996	*Land*	New York	KPI	Agnita Tennant.
Hwang, Sunwon	1997	*The Descendants of Cain*	Armonk	M E Sharpe	Julie Pickering; Suh Ji-moon.
Kang, Seok-kyeong	1997	*The Valley Nearby*	Hong Kong	Heinemann	Choi Kyong-do
Ko, Un	1997	*Beyond Self: 108 Korean Zen Poems*	Berkeley	Parallax	Br. Anthony. Kim Young-Moo
Park, Je-chun	1997	*Sending the Ship out to the Stars*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Ko Chang-Soo.
Various	1997	*Wayfarer*	Seattle	Women in Translation	Bruce Fulton; Ju-Chan Fulton
Various	1997	*Songs of the Kisaeng*	New York	BoA	Constantine Contogenis; Choe Wolhee
Various	1998	*The Rainy Spell and Other Korean Stories*	Armonk	M E Sharpe	Suh Ji-moon.
I, Cheongjun	1999	*The Prophet and Other Stories*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Julie Pickering
O, Taeseok	1999	*The Metacultural Theater of Oh T'ae-Sok*	Honolulu	U Hawai'i Press	R. B. Graves; Kim Ah-jeong
Park, Wanseo	1999	*A Sketch of the Fading Sun*	New York	White Pine	Hyun-jae Yee Sallee.

Appendix 2.2. Works found only in the Index Translationum, from 1976 to 2000.

Author	**Year**	***Title***	**City**	**Publisher**	**Translator**
An, I-sug	1978	*If I perish*	Chicago	Moody Press	
Jeong, In seob	1978	*Folk Tales from Korea*	New York	Grove Press	Jeong, In-seob
Yun, Seog-jung	1978	*Half past four: poems for children*	LA	F T Yoon Co	Francis Taewon Yoon; David D. Lapham
Various	1983	*The hermitage of flowing water and nine others*	Baltimore	Gateway Press	Korean Lit. Trans. Assoc
Various	1984	*Best Loved Poems of Korea selected for Foreigners*	New Jersey	Hollym Int	go Chang su
Gim Dae jung	1987	*Prison Writings*	Berkeley	U California Press	Choi sung-il
Hye, Cho	1987	*The Hye Cho's diary Memoirs of the pilgrimage to the five regions of India*	Berkeley	Miller & Schnobrick	
Seo, Jeong-ju	1989	*Selected Poems of Seo Cheong-ju*	New York	Columbia Univ	David Richard McCann
Yun, Heung-gil	1989	*The House of Twilight*	London	Readers International	Holman, J.Martin
An, Jeong-hyo	1990	*Silver Stallion: a novel of Korea*	New York	Soho	An, Jeong-hyo
Sin, Dong-shun	1990	*Beyond Language*	Calcutta	Writers Workshop	
Baeg, Mun-gyu	1997	*Hoegorok (Reminiscences: an autobiography)*	New York	Paek Mun-gyu	
Gim, So-wol	1998	*Fugitive Dreams*	Vancouver	Ronsdale Press	Ronald B. Hatch ; Jaihyun Kim
I, Eog-bae	1999	*Sori's harvest moon day: a story of Korea*	Norwalk	Soundprints	
I, Hae-in	2000	*The Sea of Dandelions: selected poems*	Göttingen	Peperkon	Lee Dong-jin

Appendix 2.3. Works found both in the Index Translationum and the KLTI database

Author	***Year***	***Title***	***City***	***Publisher***	***Translator***
Anonimous	1980	The Silence of Love	Honolulu	U Hawai'i Press	Peter H. Lee.
Various	1981	Anthology of Korean literature from early times to the nineteenth century	Honolulu	U Hawai'i Press	Peter H. Lee
Various	1987	Classical Korean poems (sijo)	San Bruno	One Mind Press	Gim Eun Seong et al
Eo, sug-gwon	1989	A Korean storyteller's miscellany: the P'aegwan chapki of O Sukkweon	Princeton	Princeton Univ	Peter H. Lee.
Hwang, sun-won	1989	The Book of masks	London	Readers International	
Various	1989	Essays and Poems from Korea	Baltimore	Gateway Press	Korean Lit. Trans. Assoc
Hwang, sun-won	1990	Shadows of a sound: stories	San Francisco	Mercury House	Holman, J.Martin
Various authors	1993	Land of exile: contemporary Korean Fiction	Armonk	M E Sharpe	Phil R. Marshall, Bruce and Juchan Fulton
Gang, Og-gu	1994	A Hummingbird's dance	Berkeley	Parallax	
Various	1994	Classical Korean Poetry: more than 600 verses since the 12th century	Berkeley	Asia Humanities Press	Gim Jae-hyeon
Hwang, Sun-won	1996	The Stars and Other Korean Short Stories	London	KPI	Agnita Tennant.
Hyegyeonggung Hongssi	1996	The memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng : the autobiographical writings of a Crown Princess of eighteenth-century Korea	LA	U California Press	JaHyun Kim Haboush
Gim, Jong-cheol	1999	The floating island: selected poems 1968- 1997	Göttingen	Peperkon	Lee Dong-jin
I, Dong-jin	1999	Songs of my soul: poems	Göttingen	Peperkon	Lee Dong-jin
Gu, Sang	2000	Poems	Göttingen	Peperkon	Anthony Teague

Appendix 2.4. Works found both in the Index Translationum and the Anthony Teague's list

Author	***Year***	***Title***	***City***	***Publisher***	***Translator***
Various	1983	*The Rainy Spell and other Korean Stories*	London	Onyx	Suh Ji-moon
Kim, Dongni	1989	*The Shaman Sorceress*	London	KPI	Shin Hyun-song. Chung Eugene.
Various	1993	*The Snowy Road and Other Stories*	New York	White Pine	Teresa Margadonna Hyun; Hyun-jae Yee Sallee.
Jeong, Jiyong	1994	*Distant Valleys*	Berkeley	Asian Humanities Press	Daniel A. Kister
Pak, Wanseo	1999	*My Very Last Possession and Other Stories*	Armonk	M E Sharpe	Chun Kyong-ja etc.

Appendix 2.5. Works found only in the KLTI, from 1976 to 2000

Author	***Year***	***Title***	***City***	***Publisher***	***Translator***
Kim, Jiha	1978	The Gold-crowned Jesus and Other Writings	New York	Orbis Books	Kim Chongsun et al
Kim, Jiha	1980	The Middle Hour	New York	Human Rights Publishing	David R. McCann
Kim, Jiha et al	1980	Cross-cultural review 4: South-Korean Poets of Resistance	New York	Cross-cultural Communicatiosn	Ko Won
Cho, Sehui et al	1981	Modern Korean Short Stories	New York	Larchwood	Hyeon Jungshik; Han Hakjun
Hwang, Seokyeong et al.	1983	The Road to Sampo and Other Korean Short Stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	Brendan McHale
Kim, Won-il et al	1983	Early Spring, Mid-Summer and Other Korean Short Stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	Seol Sunbong et al.
Lee Cheongjun et al	1983	The Cruel City and Other Korean Short Stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	Choe Yeong et al.

Lee, Kwangsu et al	1983	The Unenlightened and Other Korean short stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	Jang Wangrok
O, Yongjin	1983	Wedding Day and Other Korean Plays	Westchester	Pace Pub	Song Yo-in
O, Yugweon et al	1983	Two Travelers and Other Korean Short Stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	Kim Taeyeon et al
Seo, Jeong-in et al	1983	Home-coming and Other Korean Short Stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	Seol Sunbong et al.
Song Ki-jo	1983	Debasement and Other Stories	Seattle	Fremont	Yun Ju-chan. Bruce Fulton
Various authors	1983	Hospital Room 205 and Other Korean Short Stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	Edward D. Rockstein
Various authors	1983	Loess Valley and Other Korean Short Stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	John F. Holstein et al
Various authors	1983	A respite and Other Korean Short Stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	Kim Chong-un et al
Various authors	1983	The Drizzle and Other Korean Short Stories	Westchester	Pace Pub	Kim Jong-un
An, Dongmin	1984	The Will of Nostradamus	Seattle	Fremont	Hong Kichang; Han Hakjun
Kim, Yangsik	1986	Bird's Sunrise and Other Poems	Milwaukee	A writer's workshop Redbird	Kim Yangsik
Various authors	1986	Hyangga, Oldest Korean Songs	San Bruno	One Mind Press	Kim Unsong
Yi Ch'ong-jun	1986	This Paradise of Yours	London	Crescent	Chang Wang-rok. Chang Yong-hee
Various authors	1990	Modern Korean Literature: An Anthology	Honolulu	U Hawai'i Press	Kim Kijung et al
Anonymous	1994	Korean Folk Tales	Oxford	Oxford Univ	James Riordano
Hwang, Seokyeong	1994	The Shadow of Arms	Ithaca	Cornell University East Asia Program	Jeon, Geyongja
Lee, Suncheol	1994	The Fifth Wheel	California	Whys World Publications	Gartshore, Bonnie
Various authors	1994	Modern Korean Poetry	Berkeley	Asian Humanities Press	Kim Jaehyeon
Park, Hyeongbong	1995	A Poor Fisherman	New York	Jay Street	Park, Hyeongbong

Park, Hyeongbong	1998	Being Alone	New York	Jay Street	Park, Hyeongbong
Han, Yong-un	1999	Love	Vancouver	Ronsdale Press	Ronald B. Hatch ; Jaihyun Kim
Kim, Pusik	2000	Early Korean Literature: Selections and Introductions	New York	Columbia Univ	David McCann

Appendix 2.6. Works found only in the Anthony Teague's list from 1976 to 2000

Author	***Year***	***Title***	***City***	***Publisher***	***Translator***
Various.	1994	Contemporary Korean Poetry	New York	Mosaic Press	Kim Jaihiun.
Various.	1997	Modern Korean Verse, Sijo	Vancouver	Ronsdale Press	Kim Jaihiun.
Various	1998	The Golden Phoenix	Boulder	Lynne Rienner	Daisy Lee Yang; Suh Ji-moon

Appendix 2.7. Works found both in the KLTI database and the Anthony Teague's list

Author	***Year***	***Title***	***City***	***Publisher***	***Translator***
Kim, Dongni	1979	*Ulhwa the Shaman*	New York	Larchwood	An Jeonghyo.
Hwang Sun-won	1980	*Trees on the Cliff*	New York	Larchwood	Chang Wang-Rok.
Hwang, Sunwon	1980	*The Stars and Other Korean Short Stories*	Hong Kong	Heinemann Asia	Edward W. Poitras.
Various	1980	*Modern Korean Short Stories*	Hong Kong	Heinemann Asia	Chung Chong-wha ed.
Various	1980	*Meetings and Farewells*	Queensland	U Queensland Press	Various
Various.	1980	*A Washed-out Dream*	New York	Larchwood	Various.

Various.	1981	*Modern Far Eastern Stories*	Hong Kong	Heinemann Asia	Various.
Oh, Yeongsu	1984	*The Good People*	Hong Kong	Heinemann Asia	Marshall R. Pihl.
Han, Yong-un	1985	*The Silence of Love*	New York	Prairie Poet Books	Kim Jaihiun.
Pak, Yonhee	1986	*The Man she Loved*	London	Crescent	Yun Hyo-Yun.
Various.	1986	*The Anthology of Modern Korean Poetry*	Honolulu	East West	Chung Chong-wha
Yi Ch'ong-jun	1986	*This Paradise of Yours*	London	Crescent	Chang Wang-rok. Chang Yong-hee
Various.	1987	*Slow Chrysanthemums*	New York	Anvil Press	Kim Jong-Gil.
Various	1989	*The Green Prodigals*	Adelaide	Flinders University CRNLE series	Tina L. Sallee.
Various.	1989	*Korean Classical Literature*	London	KPI	Chung Chong-Wha etc
Hwang Dong-Gyu	1990	*Wind Burial*	New York	St Andrews Press	Grace Gibson. Hwang Dong-Gyu.
Kim, Gwang-gyu	1991	*Faint Shadows of Love*	London	Forest Books	Br. Anthony.
Ku, Sang	1991	*A Korean Century: River and Fields*	London	Forest Books	Br. Anthony.
Kim, Namjo	1993	*Selected Poems of Kim Namjo*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	David R. McCann. Hyunjae Yee Sallee
I, Gyubo	1995	*Singing like a Cricket, Hooting like an Owl*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Kevin O'Rourke.
Seo, Jeongju	1995	*Poems of a Wanderer*	Dublin	Dedalus Press	Kevin O'Rourke.
Various	1995	*Modern Korean Literature*	London	KPI	Jeong Jonghwa
Yi, Munyol	1995	*The Poet*	London	Harvill Press	Br. Anthony. Chung Chong-wha.
Jo, Jeong-rae	1997	*Playing with Fire*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Chun Kyung-Ja.
Jeong, Hyeonjong	1998	*Day-Shine*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Peter Fusco; Wolhee Choe
Kim, Chun-su	1998	*The Snow Falling on Chagall's Village*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Kim Jong-gil.
Various	1998	*The Moonlit Pond*	Port Townsed	Copper Canyon	Lee Sung-Il.
Various	1998	*A Ready-Made Life*	Honolulu	U Hawai'i Press	Bruce Fulton; Kim Chong-un

Shin, Gyeongnim	1999	*Farmers' Dance*	Ithaca	Cornell EAS	Br. Anthony. Young-Moo Kim
Various	1999	*Looking for the Cow*	Dublin	Dedalus	Kevin O'Rourke.
Jeong, Kiseok	2000	*Black Flower in the Sky*	Honolulu	U Hawai'i Press	Naoshi Koriyama. Elizabeth Ogata
Various	2000	*The Record of the Black Dragon Year*	Honolulu	U Hawai'i Press	Peter H. Lee.

Appendix 2.8. Volumes found in the Yonsei University Library

Author	**Year**	**Title**	**City**	**Publisher**	**Translator**
Choi, In-hoon; Hwi Sonu	1983	*One Way and Other Korean Short Stories*	Arch Cape	Pace International Research	Kim chong-un; Paek Sung-gil; Kim Yong-chol; Kim Ki-chung; Marshall R. Pihl; T.O. Kim.
Choe Chong-hui	1983	*The Cry of the Harp and Other Korean Short Stories*	Arch Cape	Pace International Research	Genell Y. Poitras
Kim , Tong-ni	1983	*The Cross of Shaphan*	Arch Cape	Pace International Research	Sol Sun-bong
Seo Chong-ju	1986	*Unforgettable Things: poems*	Arch Cape	Pace International Research	David R. McCann
Lee, Mun-yol	1986	*Hail to the Emperor!*	Arch Cape	Pace International Research	Sol Sun-bong
Son So-hui	1988	*The Wind from the South*	Arch Cape	Pace International Research	Suzanne Crowder Han , Kim Mi-za
Kim Won-il	1988	*The Wind and the River*	Arch Cape	Pace International Research	Choi Jin-Young

Appendix 3: List of translated authors (solo volumes)

Authors / Volumes published	
Hwang, Sun-won	7
Choi, In-hoon	4
Kim, Chi-ha	4
Seo, Jung-joo	4
Han, Yong-un	3
Kim, Dong-ni	3
Ku, Sang	3
Lady Hong	3
Park, Wan-suh	3
Han, Moosuk	2
Kang, Sok-kyung	2
Ko, Un	2
Oh, Yeong-su	2
Park, Hyeong-bong	2
Yi, Chong-jun	2
Yi, Mun-yol	2
Ahn, Jung-hyo	1
An, Dongmin	1
An, I-sug	1
Baeg, Mun-gyu	1
Chae, Man-shik	1
Choe, Chong-hi	1
Choe, Pu	1
Chon, Sang-byong	1
Chong, Hyon-jong	1
Chong, Ji-yong	1
Chung, Chul	1
Eo, sug-gwon	1
Han, Mahl- sook	1
Hwang, Suk-young	1
Hwang, Tong-gyu	1
Hye, Cho	1
I, Dong-jin	1
I, Eog-bae	1
I, Gyubo	1
I, Hae-in	1
Im, Pang	1
Jeong, Kis-eok	1
Jo, Jung-rae	1
Kang, Shin-jae	1
Kim , Dong-ni	1
Kim, Chi-won	1
Kim, Choon-soo	1
Kim, Dae-jung	1
Kim, Jong-cheol	1
Kim, Kwang-kyu	1
Kim, Nam-jo	1
Kim, Pusik	1
Kim, So-un	1
Kim, So-wol	1
Kim, Won-il	1
Kim, Yangsik	1
Ku, In-hwan	1
Lee, Sun-cheol	1
Mo, Yun-suk	1
Oh, Chong- hui	1
Oh, Taeseok	1
Ok ku Kang Grosjean	1
Pak, Mog-wol	1
Pak, Yon-hee	1
Park, Chong-hwa	1
Park, In-ro	1
Park, Je-chun	1
Park, Ji-won	1
Park, Kyung-ni	1
Ri, Kai-sei	1
Rim, Soo-il	1
Shin, Kyung-rim	1
Shin, Young-keol	1
Sin, Dong-shun	1
Song Ki-jo	1
Song, So-hui	1
Sonu, Hui	1
Yi, In-jik	1
Yi, Mi-rok	1
Yi, O-nyong	1
Yi, Pum-sun	1
Yun, Heung-gil	1
Yun, Seog-jung	1
Yun, Seon-do	1

Appendix 4: List of translated authors (compilations)

Authors /Volumes	
Hwang, Sun-won	14
Kim, Dong-ni	10
Choi, In-hoon	9
Han, Yong-un	9
Kim, So-wol	9
Park, Wan-suh	9
Yi, Sang	9
Yun, Tong-ju	9
Lee, Kwang-su	8
Pak, Mog-wol	8
Yi, Yuk-sa	8
Yun, Heung-gil	8
Cho, Byung-hwa	7
Cho, chi-hun	7
Kim, Seung-ok	7
Pak, Tu-jin	7
Seo, Jung-joo	7
Yi, Hyo-sok	7
Yi, Sang-hwa	7
Chae, Man-shik	6
Chu, Yo-han	6
Hyun, Chin-gon	6
Kang, Shin-jae	6
Kim, Choon-soo	6
Soh, Ki-won	6
Chong, Ji-yong	5
Hwang, Tong-gyu	5
Kim, Nam-jo	5
Kim, Soo-young	5
Kim, Yoo-jung	5
Lee, Mun-ku	5
Shin, Kyung-rim	5
Sohn, So-hee	5
Yi, Chong-jun	5
Yu, Chi-hwan	5
Chang, Man-yong	4
Cho, Se-hui	4
Choe, Nam-son	4
Choe, Yun	4
Chon, Kwang-yong	4
Chon, Pong-gon	4
Chong, Han-mo	4
Chong, Hyon-jong	4
Han, Moo-sook	4
Kang, Kyong-ae	4
Kim, Ki-rim	4
Kim, Kwang-kyun	4
Kim, Kwang-sop	4
Ku, Sang	4
Lee, Ho-chul	4
Oh, Jung-hee	4
Oh, Sang-won	4
Oh, Yong-su	4
Park, Yong-sook	4
Shin, Dong-jip	4
Sohn, Chang-sop	4
Sonu, Hui	4
Suh, Chong-in	4
Yi, Mun-yol	4
Baek, Sok	3
Chang, Yon-hak	3
Choe, Chong-hi	3
Choi, Il-nam	3
Choi, In-ho	3
Ha, Keun-chan	3
Hahn, Mahl-sook	3
Hwang, SoK-u	3
Kim, Chi-ha	3
Kim, Chong-mun	3
Kim, Jong-gil	3
Kim, Kwang-rim	3
Kim, Ok	3
Kim, Young-rang	3
Ko, Un	3
Lee, Sung-boo	3
Mo, Yun-suk	3
Na, To-hyang	3
Noh, Chon-myong	3
Park, In-hwan	3
Park, Jae-sam	3
Shin, Sok-jung	3
Sim, Hun	3
Yi, Chang-hee	3
Ahn, Soo-kil	2
Cho, Son-jak	2
Chung, Wan-yong	2
Chung, Yun-hee	2
Ham, Ha-un	2
Ham, Hye-ryon	2
Hong, Sa-yong	2
Hong, Yoon-sook	2
Hwang, Chi-u	2
Hwang, Geum-chan	2
Hwang, Suk-young	2
Jo, Jung-rae	2
Kang, Un-kyo	2
Kim, Hyon-sung	2
Kim, Tong-hwan	2
KIm, Tong-myong	2
Kim, Yeo-sop	2
Kim, Young-taek	2
Ko, Won	2
Kwon, Tae-ung	2
Lee, Hyung-ki	2
Mun, Tok-su	2
Nam, Chung-hyun	2
Oh, Sang-sun	2
Park, Chong-hwa	2
Park, Kyung-young	2
Park, Yeong-chol	2
Park, Yeong-jeon	2
Pyeon, Young-ro	2
Shin, Kyung-suk	2
Shin, Sok-cho	2
Shin, Tong-yop	2
Shyn, Sang-ung	2
Song, Ki-jo	2
Yi, Pyong-gi	2
Yi, Un-sang	2
Yom, Sang-sop	2
Yu, Chae-yong	2

Yu, Chin-o	2
Byeon, Yong-ro	1
Cho, Hae-il	1
Cho, Hyang	1
Cho, Pum-suk	1
Choe, Chae-hyong	1
Choe, Chae-so	1
Choe, Sang-gyu	1
Choe, Sung-bom	1
Chon, Sang-byong	1
Chon, Sang-guk	1
Chong, Ching-gyu	1
Chong, Hun	1
Chong, In-young	1
Chun, Young-tek	1
Chung, Bi-suk	1
Chung, Bi-suk	1
Chung, In-bo	1
Ham, Hyong-su	1
Ham, Tong-son	1
Heu, Young-ja	1
Hong, Yung-gi	1
Hwal, Yuk-sa	1
Hwang, So-gyong	1
Im, Chul-woo	1
Im, Ok-in	1
Jeong, Bi-seok	1
Kang, U-shik	1
Kim, Chi-hyang	1
Kim, Chin-sop	1
Kim, Chi-won	1
Kim, Chu-hyang	1
Kim, Chu-yong	1
Kim, Hu-ran	1
Kim, Hye-gyong	1
Kim, Hyong-won	1
Kim, I-sok	1
Kim, Ji-hyang	1
Kim, Jong-han	1
Kim, Jong-sam	1
Kim, Kwang-hyop	1
Kim, Kwang-shik	1
Kim, Kwan-kyu	1
Kim, Kyu-dong	1
Kim, Kyung-rin	1
Kim, Min-suk	1

Kim, Moon-soo	1
Kim, Pal-bong	1
Kim, Pil-gon	1
Kim, San-yong	1
Kim, Seung-on	1
Kim, Song-han	1
Kim, Won-il	1
Kim, Yang-shik	1
Kim, Yeo-cheong,	1
Kim, yeo-gyun	1
Kim, Yeong-hyeong	1
Kim, Yeon-jo	1
Kim, Yi-suk	1
Kim, Yong-ho	1
Kim, Yu-sang	1
Kong, Chi-yong	1
Kong, Song-ok	1
Kwang, Kum-chan	1
Kwon, Il-son	1
Kye, Yong-mun	1
Lee, Hae-in	1
Lee, Kun-bae	1
Moon, Dok-su	1
Mun, Sun-tae	1
No, Cha-yong	1
No, Cha-yong	1
Oh, Chang-shik	1
Oh, Il-to	1
Oh, In-moon	1
Oh, Jang-hwan	1
Oh, Sae-young	1
Oh, Tae-sok	1
Oh, Yong-jin	1
Oh, Yu-kwon	1
Pak, Si-jong	1
Pak, Tai-jin	1
Park, Bum-shin	1
Park, Han-shik	1
Park, Hi-jin	1
Park, Hwa-mok	1
Park, Je-chun	1
Park, Kyung-ni	1
Park, Nam-eu	1
Park, Nam-soo	1
Park, No-hae	1

Park, Par-yang	1
Park, Se-yong	1
Park, Song	1
Park, Sung-yong	1
Park, Tae-won	1
Park, Yong-hee	1
Park, Yong-ho	1
Pi, Cheon-deuk	1
Shin, Dong-jun	1
So, Yong-un	1
Song, Byong-su	1
Song, Sang-ok	1
Song, Young	1
Yang, Chu-dong	1
Yang, Song-u	1
Yi, Ha-yun	1
Yi, Ho-u	1
Yi, Hui-seung	1
Yi, Kang-haek	1
Yi, Keon-bae	1
Yi, Ki-Yeong	1
Yi, Kun-sam	1
Yi, O-ryeong	1
Yi, Pum-sun	1
Yi, Pyung-ju	1
Yi, Tae-guk	1
Yi, Tae-jun	1
Yi, Tong-ju	1
Yi, Yang-ha	1
Yi, Yuk-san	1
Yoo, Ick-chu	1
Yu, Choo-hyun	1
Yu, Heaon-jong	1
Yu, Jing-o	1
Yu, Kyung-hwan	1
Yu, U-hui	1
Yun, Hu-myong	1
Yun, Oh-yeong	1

Appendix 5: List of publishers

Publisher	*Volumes*	*Type*
Pace International Publishers	19	University
Cornell University East Asia Program	13	University
U Hawai'i Press	9	University
Kegan Paul International	8	Major
Larchwood	8	Independent
Asia Humanities Press	6	Independent - Asia
Heinemann Asia	5	Major
M E Sharpe	5	Specialized
Forest Books	4	Independent
Fremont	4	Unknown
Peperkon	4	Independent
Ronsdale Press	3	Independent
U California Press	3	University
White Pine	3	Independent
Columbia Univ	2	University
Crescent	2	Unknown
Dedalus Press	2	Specialized
Gateway Press	2	Self
Jay Street	2	Independent
One Mind Press	2	Specialized
Parallax Press	2	Specialized
Readers International	2	Independent
A writer's workshop	1	Self
Anvil Press	1	Independent
BoA	1	Self
Copper Canyon	1	Independent
Cross Cultural Communication	1	Self
F T Yoon Co	1	Self
Flinders University CRNLE series	1	University
Harvill Press	1	Major
Hollym Int	1	Independent - Korean
Human Rights Publishing	1	Specialized
Longwood Communication	1	Independent
Lynne Rienner	1	Specialized
Mercury House	1	Independent
Miller & Schnobrick	1	Independent
Moody Press	1	Specialized
Mosaic Press	1	Independent
Onyx	1	Unknown
Orbis Books	1	Specialized
Oxford Univ	1	University
Paek Mun-gyu	1	Unknown
Prairie Poet Books	1	Specialized
Princeton Univ	1	University
Soho	1	Independent
Soundprints	1	Specialized
Spindlewood	1	Independent
St Andrews Press	1	University
U Queensland Press	1	University
Wash	1	Specialized
Whys World Publications	1	Specialized
Women in Translation	1	Specialized
Writers Workshop	1	Self

Appendix 6: List of translators (solo works)

Translators	Solo works
Kim Joyce Jaihiun	6
Anthony Teague	5
Chun Kyung-ja	5
David R. McCann	5
Peter H. Lee	5
Kevin O'Rourke	4
An Jeonghyo	3
Chung Chonghwa	3
Hyun-jae Yee Sallee	3
Lee Dong-jin	3
Agnita Tennant	2
Kim Jong-gil	2
Kim Unsong	2
Ko Changsoo	2
Park Hyeonbong	2
Sol Sun-bong	2
Suh Ji-moon	2
Chang Wang-rok	1
Cho Oh-Kon	1
Choe-Wall Yang-hi	1
Choi Jin-Young	1
Choi Kyong-do	1
Daniel A. Kister	1
Edward W. Poitras	1
Genelly Y. Poitras	1
Germain Drogenbroodt	1
Hong Ki-Chang	1
JaHyun Kim Haboush	1
James Riordan	1
Julie Pickering	1
Kim Song Soon	1
Kim Uchang	1
Kim Yangsik	1
Ko Won	1
Korean Literary Trans	1
Lee Sung-il	1
Marshall R. Pihl	1
Ok Ku Kang Grosjean	1
Ok Young Kim Chang	1
Suzanne Crowder Han	1
Yu Young-nan	1
Yun Hyo-yun	1

Appendix 7: List of translators (short stories)

Translators of short stories†	
Suh Ji-moon	9
Sol Sun bong	9
Kim Chong-un	9
Marshall R.Pihl	6
Chung Chong-hwa	5
Kevin O'Rourke	4
Juchan Fulton	4
Choe Hae chun	4
Bruce Fulton	4
WE Skillend	3
Song Yo-in	3
Shin Hyun song	3
Mun Sang-duk	3
Martin J. Holman	3
Lee Sang-ok	3
Kim chong-chol	3
Edward W.Poitras	3
Edward D. Rockstein	3
Ahn JeongHyeo	3
Yi Yong-gol and Sister Janice Vere Hilburn	2
Yi Kyong-shik	2
Suh Ji-moon and James Wade	2
Stephen J. Epstein	2
Moon Hi-kyung	2
Kim Tae-yon	2
Kim Se-yong	2
Kim Kichung	2
Kim Hwa Ja	2
Kathryin Kisray	2
Chang Wang-Rok	2
Angela Chung	2
Adrian Buzo	2
Young Key Kim Renaud	1
Yi Yong-gol and Thomas Shroyer	1
Yi Tae-dong and Greggar Sletteland	1
Yi Po-ran	1
Yi Hyong-nam	1
Yi Chang-guk	1
T.O. Kim	1
Suh Jimoon and Stephen Epstein	1
Stephen W. Moore	1
Rim sooil	1
Richard Rutt	1
Peter H. Lee	1
Pak Kyu-so	1
Pak Hui-jin	1
Paek Sung-gil	1
O Chonghui	1
Norman Thorpe	1
Neil Hoyt	1
Morgan E. Clippinger	1
Lyndal Weiler	1
Koo Inhwan	1
Kim Yong-chol	1
Kim Uchang	1
Kim Song-hyon	1
Kim Dong-sung	1
John F. Holstein	1
Im Sung suk and Norman Thorpe	1
Hong Myong-hui	1
Heinz J. Fenkl	1
Hahn Moosook	1
Eugene Chung	1
Douglas A. Clark	1
David Brunette	1
Chong In-sop	1
Choi WS	1
Choe Yong	1
Choe chol-li	1
Cho O-gon	1
Brendan McHale	1
Bob Donaldson	1

†Team translations in italics.