

Theoretical Basis of Translating the *Chosŏnwangjosillok*

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Abstract

The *Chosŏnwangjosillok* (Annals of Chosŏn Dynasty; *Sillok*) not only contains the history of our ancestors, but also covers a broad spectrum of different fields, ranging from diplomatic relations with neighboring countries and economic issues such as taxation and land, to natural sciences such as astronomy and meteorology. The value of the *Sillok* as a historical record is already well recognized even outside of Korea. Unfortunately, the *Sillok* was written in hanmun, thus translation is inevitable. This thesis is indeed about the translation process of the *Sillok*, explaining, using concrete examples, various principles and careful considerations that need to be adhered to during translation.

The first principle in translating the *Sillok* is keeping to the original as much as possible. However, there are some problems inherent within the *Sillok*. There are many parts that only experts of that field can understand, such as science or music. Furthermore, the fact that, due to conflict between different political factions, revised annals exist also has to be taken into consideration. The next principle is that the *Sillok* must be translated using pure Korean and standard Korean language rules. Rather than mechanically transliterating the texts by simply adding Korean postpositional particles to hancha and hanmun-style expressions, the translator must be able to maintain characteristics of the original text, at the same time allowing people of the modern era to read and understand it. But one must also remain vigilant to make sure that the translation does not excessively modernize the text, thereby diluting the meaning of historical sentences. Translation is a process of rendering a text in a language different from the original. In order to be able to translate accurately, the translator has to have sufficient understanding of the original language. The major difference between Korean hanmun and Chinese hanmun is that the former contains idu. Although hanmun originally came from China, it changed according to Korean circumstances,

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leading to the development of Korean-style hanmun. It adapted to Korean culture but could also easily combine with Chinese hanmun. In regard to the use of idu, hancha words that are unique to Korean hanmun are particularly important. These characteristics are all reflected in the *Sillok*. Therefore, how to properly translate Korean-style hanmun sentences is very important in the translation process. This thesis explains these characteristics using concrete examples like names of places and people.

Various methodologies are required in translating a national heritage such as the *Chosŏnwangjosillok* to befit the modern era while maintaining its uniqueness. The most important thing is not to damage the original. The paper looks into various considerations that must be made in order to render a good translation, in order to contribute to future attempts to translate the *Sillok*.

Keywords: *Chosŏnwangjosillok*, translation, heritage, Idu, Korean language

1. Basic Principles of Translating the *Sillok*

One of the basic principles translators adhered to during the translation of the *Chosŏnwangjosillok* (Annals of Chosŏn Dynasty; hereunder *Sillok*) was keeping to the original as much as possible. This was, in fact, an issue related to the contents of the *Sillok*.

The *Sillok* is a record of the history of a feudal state - in other words, the history of a dynasty, the center of which is the king of the feudal state. Therefore, the *Sillok* is inevitably filled with feudal confucian ideas and propagation of those ideas, and idolization and excessive glorification of the king. It also reflects a subservient attitude towards powerful states, sometimes inaccurately depicts historical facts, and contains groundless superstitions and unscientific contents. These characteristics, however, are the results of the limited perspective historians and compilers of that era had, and are thus unavoidable aspects of historical books compiled under feudalism.

In terms of the content, some parts of the *Sillok* are quite difficult for non-experts of the relevant field to translate. It also possesses a certain compilation style. It is well known that the *Sillok* is a record of history in chronological order. However, what is special is the fact that it also contains annalistic and biographical aspects as well. The *Sechongsillok* is a major case in point. At the time of compilation, there was a lot of discussion on how *Sechongsillok* should be

compiled, and the writers eventually concluded that they would compile it in chronological order but would also insert parts that were encyclopedic (*chi*; 志), typical of an annalistic and biographical historiography. Thus, the *Sechongsillok* came to be comprised of 36 volumes including the Oryeŭi, Akbo, Chirichi and Ch'ilchŏngsan. The Oryeŭi elaborates rituals of the feudal state, Akbo contains music used during assemblies and ancestral rituals, Chirichi is a comprehensive atlas of the 8 provinces and Ch'ilchŏngsan explains the calendar system. Each of these volumes constitute the yechi, akchi, chirichi and the ryŏkchi, respectively, in annalistic and biographical historiography.

Among these volumes, there are those that are extremely difficult for non-specialists to translate, like the Ch'ilchŏngsan.

Also, the annals of some kings have revised or supplementary versions attached to the original. The *Sŏnchosillok*, *Hyŏnchongsillok*, *Sukchongsillok* and *Kyŏngchongsillok* all have additional documents that revised the original - *Sŏnchosuchŏngsillok*, *Hyŏnchongkaesusillok*, *Sukchongsillokpokwŏlchŏng'o* and *Kyŏngchongsuchŏngsillok* respectively. *Sŏnchosuchŏngsillok*, *Hyŏnchongkaesusillok* and *Kyŏngchongsuchŏngsillok* are separate volumes whereas the *Sukchongsillokpokwŏlchŏng'o* is an annex to the original. *Hyŏnchongkaesusillok* has more volumes than the original *Hyŏnchongsillok*.

The reason why the *Sillok* contains so many revisions and supplements was because of the intense political debates that took place within the feudal ruling class.

The *Sŏnchosillok* was originally compiled by the Puk'inpa faction, but after the Sŏinpa faction took over the regime, a revised annal was compiled because of allegations that the original compilers had deleted the records of historians, fabricated a groundless depiction of history and covered up debates to glorify the Puk'inpa.

In the case of *Hyŏnchongsillok*, the Sŏinpa, after taking over the regime from the Nam'inpa faction, decided to compile the revised *Kaesusillok* because the former believed that original compilers were deceitful and treacherous. The Sŏinpa also criticized that the original was careless in its depiction of history and made incorrect assessment of certain persons.

The *Sukchongsillok* started to be compiled by the Noronpa faction, but just before the historiographers finished, political circumstances abruptly changed, leading to the ouster of the original compilers. The Soronpa faction, which took over, requested a revision, resulting in the addition of the *Pokwŏlchŏng'o*.

The *Kyŏngchongsillok* was compiled by the Soronpa, but then the Noronpa, who later took over, compiled a revision - the *Suchŏngsillok* - saying that the original historiographers had completely fabricated the part about Yŏngcho being designated as the Crown Prince.

These revisions and supplements were the results of each political faction ambitiously trying to compile historical records that benefited their interests, enough for government officials even from the relevant era to deplore, "The poison of the ruling faction affects even the annals of the previous regime."

What complicates matters further is the fact that revised and supplementary annals co-exist along side the original. For example, *Koryŏsa* was compiled after a few revisions but the records before the changes were all destroyed, leaving only the later documents. However, in the case of *Sillok*, the original documents all co-exist along side the revisions and the supplements because people thought at that time that historical annals were of great value and thus should not be destroyed once they have been compiled. Also, it seems that both sets of documents, each containing the positions and biases of relevant factions, were preserved under expectations that following generations would re-evaluate the political debates.

Whatever the reason, the fact that both the original and the supplementary annals co-exist requires that translators maintain a certain perspective and make reasonable judgement.

The fact that the *Sillok* is a record of history consistently centered on the monarch of a feudal dynasty, that, as a result of a certain compilation format, there are encyclopedic (chi; 志) aspects that are difficult to understand, and that, for some regimes, there are two sets of records all inevitably lead to differing opinion among *Sillok* translators on how to deal with these issues.

In other words, there were greatly diverging opinion among translators on whether the *Sillok* should be translated as closely to the original text as possible, or whether some sentences should be omitted.

The Great Leader Kim Il Sŏng, after gaining an insight into such circumstances, put forth the principle that the original text should be followed as closely as possible during translation.

This principle entailed that the contents of the *Sillok* be rendered as they were, without adding or omitting anything and was one of the basic principles that could shed light on the road to firmly guaranteeing the authenticity and scientific value when translating Korean classics in general and historical documents in particular.

In fact, during the prior stage of translation, there were tendencies on the part of the translators to simply omit parts of the *Sillok* they disagreed with or to process expressions in ways that went over the limits allowed to translators of these types of documents.

All in all, critically inheriting and developing national cultural heritage, in particular the heritage of classics, should not be about omitting certain parts or scholars interpreting facts according to one's own subjective tastes but a process of looking at the work as it is, critically and correctly interpreting what is wrong, and historically providing evidence against depictions that are distorted and untrue and thereby proving their falsehood. Above-mentioned translation issues arose because proper stance and attitude had not been established - stance and attitude that even heritages that are progressive and people-oriented must be dealt with within class and socio-historical boundaries.

Furthermore, translating historical records needs to be regarded in relation to the use and the users of the translated material, in the sense that the users approach it from a critical attitude and perspective, firmly based on principles of class-centeredness and historicism. In short, the above mentioned tendencies appeared because of the lack of awareness that translation should be able to guarantee scientificness, authenticity and objectivity of historical records and should focus on wholly preserving, without damaging, their integrity.

Such biases can appear in the form of various deficiencies in the process of translation, damaging the historical value of the original. Therefore, they should be well guarded against.

The principle of closely following the original when translating a text reflected most precisely the fundamental reason behind translation in general and was in

line with the need to render historical records as accurately as possible. The principle was also one of the most fundamental principles when translating national classics, as it reflected the most legitimate form of scientific analysis into the contents and compilation format of the *Sillok*.

With the principle of exact translation firmly established, various tendencies and biases that appeared during the translation of the *Sillok* could be overcome and the translation project pushed ahead smoothly.

Another fundamental principle when translating the *Sillok* was translating it into Korean that could be read and understood by future generations. This principle of translating the *Sillok* in a way that could be read and understood by future generations meant that pure Korean, not based on Chinese characters, should be used as much as possible and the contents should be translated clearly using standard Korean language rules. It entailed overcoming the innate deficiencies commonly found in translated versions of national classics and was thus a fundamental principle that highlighted a way of guaranteeing people-orientedness and living energy of translated texts.

One important bias that can arise when translating national classics, in regard to use of target language, the act of is simply repeating difficult hancha or hanmun (Chinese characters) style expressions or merely transliterating the hancha or hanmun, neither one of which conform to standard Korean language rules. For example, difficult hancha or hanmun words and expressions are rendered as they are, or sentence structures that are unique to hanmun are mechanically transliterated into Korean. Another bias is making the text so modern that the texts' essential features as historical records are damaged.

These biases come from the lack of understanding of the basic demands and objectives behind translating national classics, lack of perspective and stance in trying to use standard Korean most familiar to the people, negligence of the duty endowed upon translators to process expressions to a certain level and the inability to materialize the demand that the principles of historicism and modernness be both adhered to.

In particular, vigilance is required in the sense that, because hancha-based words had penetrated deeply into our language since the past, it has become all the more

easy for newly created unfamiliar hancha words, let alone existing ones, to make their way even further into our language.

This principle also accurately addressed the insufficiencies shown by existing translations of old books in Korea. Translated versions of old books in Korea contained many hanmun-style translations or transliterations. This trend continued even after liberation, and the translated texts have been unable to be used by the people. Old classics written in Korean or books that have been translated, without exception, all transliterate hancha into Korean characters, perhaps with Korean grammatical markers. This kind of translation method has been passed on throughout history and exerted huge influence even after liberation. Even in works translated by us scholars, difficult hancha words were used rather than pure Korean, so it was difficult for people to read those works let alone understand them, and as a result, these works did not get the appreciation they should have received.

These biases that appear in translations of Korean classics prevent the present day populace from understanding these texts, or conversely, the translations so modernized the texts that their true taste get lost.

In this regard, the principle that texts need to be translated in a way that allows future generations to easily read and understand them was another fundamental rule that had to be adhered to during the process of translating classics, and one that was based on the analysis of *Sillok*'s literary style and limitations of existing hanmun-style translations or transliterations.

Having established this principle of readability and understandability, the translated version of the *Sillok* can now truly be possessed and enjoyed by the people and become an invaluable national treasure to be passed on for many generations in the future.

With these fundamental principles in translating the *Sillok* firmly established, the translation project could proceed without any kind of bias and be completed successfully. The translated version has now become a trustworthy book, scientific and faithful to the original, with the ability to maintain its value and vitality for many generations in the future. It has become something that can be owned and enjoyed by the people as a precious treasure of the entire nation.

2. Explanation on Elements of Korean-Style Hanmun

Translation is a process of rendering a text in a language different from the original. In order to be able to translate accurately, the translator has to base him or herself on sufficient understanding of the original language.

Hanmun is a language and has its own linguistic composition and rules. Unlike other languages based on vowels and consonants, hanmun is comprised of tens of thousands of characters, each with its own meaning. Also, one character can have multiple meanings and can also be a word in and of itself. Therefore, it is necessary to have sufficient knowledge on the sounds and meanings of the tens of thousands of characters as well as deep understanding of words and sentence structures.

In this regard, a good translation of original hanmun does not require special skills - rather, the basic requirement is that the translator have proper linguistic knowledge. In other words, translating original hanmun does not necessarily follow a special methodology.

The problem, rather, is that our national classics quite often have rather unique hanmun elements embedded within original hanmun. This particular style, encompassing all areas including characters, words and sentences, is an additional burden upon the shoulders of translators working on national classics.

The Great Leader has taught us that our national classics tend to be written in a unique form of hanmun, different from the hanmun used by the people in China or India. This unique form includes the use of hanmun with idu mixed into it, making the texts very difficult to read, and thus, such Korean-style hanmun is very difficult to translate.

Korean hanmun was formed under the strong influence of the spoken language, in the process of using hanmun as a written language for long periods after our ancestors adopted it.

The fundamental characteristic of Korean-style hanmun is that it uses Chinese characters in a unique way - known as idu.

Just like any other language, hanmun has its own set of rules and system governing all aspects of the language, from characters to words and sentences.

Therefore, all countries or ethnic groups that use hanmun as its written language must follow a certain linguistic system and a set of rules.

However, hanmun is not constrained only by its own linguistic rules. It inevitably goes through a process of being supplemented and changed in various ways due to the reaction from the endemic spoken language. The language of a country is bound to go through various transformations due to internal developments across a long period of time. Such changes become more likely when a country uses the language of another country, and even more so, when that language is used only as a script.

Our ancestors, in using hanmun as a written language, made many changes and additions to it. Sometimes, new characters and words would be created, or new sounds or meanings given to existing characters. Also, some hancha sounds were subordinated under the Korean phonology, making them constantly change. Some hanmun sentences were transformed to fit Korean sentence structures, and Koreans developed their own way of reading sentences. All of this led to the formation of Korean hanmun and came to be reflected in our national classics. In short, the basic characteristics of Korean hanmun are that it mixes in idu and that it contains various elements that are used only in Korea.

The first and foremost characteristic of Korean hanmun was that it contained idu. Idu was a special form or system of writing Korean by borrowing the sounds and meanings of hancha or making new characters altogether, developed during the process of our ancestors using hanmun as a written language.

Idu appeared in Korea a long time ago, forming a unique and a systematic Korean writing system consisting of various uses of idu including idu characters, idu words, idu t'o (grammatical markers) and idu sentences during the prolonged period idu was used.

However, idu was a system inseparable from hanmun and was very closely related to it, and thus had many elements enabling it to easily become merged into original hanmun. Aside from newly created idu characters, there were also characters that were based on already existing hancha, simply borrowing the sounds and meanings to write Korean. When necessary, idu sounds and idu meanings supplemented original hancha. In the case of newly created idu

characters, they were formed based on the composition method of original hancha, and even in the case of idu characters that were formed as the patch'im (final consonant) of a chǒng'ŭmcha (Korean characters introduced in *Hunminchǒng'ŭm*), they were all constructed based on the hancha, except for a handful of cases. In short, idu characters, in principle, took on the appearance of hancha.

Even in the case of idu words, characters that formed the words were mostly hancha or idu characters in the form of hancha.

In case of sentences, most were written in hanmun, however, the word order followed the idu style - in other words, they followed the Korean sentence structure or contained idu t'ŏ, unlike original hanmun sentences.

For these reasons, idu easily infiltrated into original hanmun and naturally merged into it. That led to the development in Korea of Korean hanmun, or hanmun with idu.

Another characteristic of Korean hanmun was that some hanmun elements used solely in Korea made their way into original hanmun.

There were certain characters newly created in Korea, similar to hancha or words that followed the format of original hancha words. These characters and words were different from ordinary hancha characters or words in the sense they were used only in Korean classics. Furthermore, they were different also from idu in that they did not have strong idu features.

In other words, the issue of whether to conclude newly formed characters and words as idu characters and words leaves room for debate because the criteria of whether a character or word is idu or not lies not on whether it was newly formed or not, but on how much idu features are in it.

In the case of words, it is evident that not all words are idu, but in the case of individual characters, there is a need for deeper research.

The important aspect here, is the hancha words unique to Korea. All hancha characters that formed uniquely Korean hancha words were all original characters and followed the same original composition rules. The only distinguishing aspect was that Korean hancha words were not registered in dictionaries of other countries and that they were used only in Korean classics. This was why such characteristics were considered unique to Korean hanmun.

In conclusion, Korean hanmun was unique in that it primarily consisted of hanmun with idu features, and that it had hancha words used only in Korea.

The *Sillok* also uses Korean hanmun. Therefore, in discussing how best to translate the *Sillok*, the central issue cannot be but the ways to view and explain characters, words and sentences that constitute Korean hanmun and ways to best render them in the translation process.

a) Characters

In general, a character or a letter has a shape and a sound, and in the case of a logogram, like a hancha, it also has a meaning. Our ancestors, for a long time, used hancha as their writing system, creating new characters or adding new sounds and meanings to existing hancha in the process.

Hancha is originally logographic and has various ways of forming a character. However, any country that uses it as its own writing system can create new characters to satisfy its linguistic needs while at the same time conforming to the general rules of hancha formation. Or a country can create characters based on how its own letters or characters are used, or even supplement existing hancha with new sounds and meanings while abiding to the general principles of hancha usage.

When our ancestors introduced the hancha as Korea's writing system, they adopted the shape and meaning of characters as they were, but the sound was adjusted to form a certain correlation to Korean phonology. However, in the process of actually using hancha, new characters were made, and new sounds and meanings were added when needed.

There were two different methods to creating new characters. One was following the general principle of hancha formation, and the other was adapting it to the principle of chŏng'ŭmcha usage - in other words, using certain characters as the patch'im to existing hancha.

Hancha, depending on the composition structure, can be divided into pictographs (sanghyŏng; 象形), ideographs (chisa; 指事), compound ideographs (會意; hoe'ui) and phono-semantic compounds (hyŏngsŏng; 形聲), and according to the usage,

into derivative cognates (chŏnchu; 轉注) and phonetic loan characters (kach'a; 假借). These categories, as is widely known, were referred to as the Six Writings (yuksŏ; 六書).

Our ancestors basically followed the hancha formation rules when creating new characters.

Characters newly created according to the general hancha formation rules seemed structurally not at all different from original hancha. Therefore, unless one uses a dictionary to compare and verify each character, it is difficult to determine whether that character is an original character or a newly created one.

These types of new characters were mostly compounds consisting of a sound and a meaning - in other words, they were phono-semantic compounds.

The *Sillok* contains some of these newly formed characters, among which are ones whose sound and meaning had already been identified and also those that appear for the first time in the *Sillok*. In the case of the latter, the characters had to be identified and explained in the process of translating the *Sillok*.

The character 德 appeared for the first time in the *Sillok*, and there had not been any previous research on its pronunciation and meaning. However, the place name 黃水德, which appears in *Sŏnchosillok*, was written as 黃水德 in *Chŏngchosillok*. Also, books such as *Paektusanyurok*, *Kokŭmsŏkrim* and *Aŏnkakpi* referred to the flat ridges of a mountain as 德. Therefore, one can conclude that 德 was a newly formed character, pronounced tŏg with the meaning of Tŏg or Tŏki, the name of a place.

In *Ochuyŏnmunchangchŏnsanko*, in an explanatory note regarding the word 燕伏苗, yŏnpokmyŏ is explained to be myŏ (旃) in a dialect, which is the root of an inula flower (sŏnbokhwa; 旋覆花). The same book also contains an explanatory note calling 旋菴 the root of inula (pronounced 'me'). The *Mulmyŏngko* also refers to 旋菴 as the root of 'me'. In conclusion, 燕伏, 旋覆 and 旋菴 can be interpreted to all mean the same thing - the inula flower. The character can be pronounced as myŏ and the meaning is an inula flower ('me').

The character 嚙 also appeared for the first time in the *Sillok*, and at the time was not registered in the hancha dictionary. However, the *Hyŏnchongsillok* and the *Hyŏnchongkaesusillok* contains useful texts that helped determine the meaning

of this character. The *Hyŏnchongsillok* describes a situation where a tiger bit and killed 25 state-owned horses and called it the 𪔵殺, and the *Hyŏnchongkaesusillok* refers to the same situation as 咬殺. Thus, one can deduce that the sound of this character takes after the character 覽 and is pronounced ram, and the meaning ‘to be bitten by a tiger’.

Among newly created characters, there are those which were formed by adding other characters as the patch'im of existing hancha, in accordance to principle of chŏng'ŭmcha usage. The main features of these characters are their structure and the phonograph, and they follow principle of chŏng'ŭmcha usage.

According to the *Hunminchŏng'ŭmhaerye*, a patch'im is added underneath the vowel that makes the middle sound, and as patch'im, only 8 (ㄱ, ㅋ, ㆁ, ㆁ, ㆁ, ㆁ, ㆁ, ㆁ) out of the 14 consonants should be used because the 8 consonants are viewed as those that can express all final consonant sounds. However, in reality, the patch'im of ㆁ and ㆁ has the same pronunciation, so in fact, only 7 final consonants are used as patch'im.

ㄱ : chŏng'ŭmcha ㄱ

ㆁ : kukyŏlcha ㆁ (Transformed version of 𪔵, the radical of the character 隱)

ㆁ : hancha 乙

ㆁ : hancha 音

ㆁ : hancha 邑

ㆁ : hancha 叱

ㆁ : hancha 應

What is notable here is that for ㄱ, chŏng'ŭmcha ㄱ was used rather than a hancha, and for ㆁ, kukyŏlcha ㆁ instead of a hancha. For ㆁ, the hancha 應 was used, but a character that actually combined it as a patch'im has yet to be found. The *Sillok* contains many cases where the patch'im was separated from the relevant character and used like an independent character, before patch'im-combined characters appeared.

內隱 (nan)
 石乙 (tol)
 古音 (kom)
 古邑 (kob)
 者叱 (chat)
 加應 (kang)

In fact, there are quite a few characters which combine a chǒng'ümcha as patch'im in the *Sillok*, and for those characters that appeared for the first time in the *Sillok*, the translation process had to include a process of identifying those characters.

In the *Imwǒnsip'ryukchi*, 文鞭魚 is explained to be kŭri, and in the *Idup'yǒllam*, 方文里 and 加文刺 are said to be bangkŭri and tǒkŭre respectively, leading to the deduction that the character 文 was pronounced kŭl in all cases. In short, the sound of this character was kŭl, sometimes transformed to be pronounced kŭri.

Next, there were some characters whereby new sounds and meanings were added to existing hancha. They adopted the methodologies of the derivative cognates (chǒnchu) and the phonetic loan characters (gach'a) among the Six Writings.

The *Sillok* contains many characters with additional sounds and meanings, and the translation work included the process of clarifying their correct sounds and meanings based on supporting texts and material.

In original hancha, 庫 was a character pronounced ko to mean storage, but the new meaning of 'place' was added. 衿 was pronounced kŭm and referred to the collar of a clothing, but a person's 'share' of something was added to the meaning. 縛 was originally pronounced pak and meant 'to combine' or 'to tie', but a new meaning of a 'pockmarked face' was added. 鞞 was pronounced sab in original hancha and referred to children's shoes, but a new sound gib and a new meaning of 'silk shoes' were added. 洑 was pronounced pok and meant 'underground flow of water', but a new sound po and a new meaning of 'reservoir' were added. 干's pronunciation in original hancha was kan and meant a shield, but a new sound han, referring to a group of people with a certain job, was added.

Correctly identifying the sounds and meanings of characters that had been supplemented with new sounds and meanings was an important part of assuring accurate translation.

b) Words

Our ancestors, in using the hanmun as their writing script, developed and used words that were unique to Korean classics but nonetheless following the general rules of hancha word formation, and also used idu words, which were words created to write purely Korean words by borrowing hancha sounds and meanings.

- Words that were made with original hancha: 舉條, 免新, 知家, 私馬上京, 三丁一子
- Words that combined newly created characters: 獐皮, 嚙殺, 闕失, 田畚, 柶木
- Words that combined characters added with new meaning: 件記, 卜馬, 海藿, 枹戲

These different types of words required differing techniques to understand and translate them.

Words made with original hancha were related to various customs and institutions, so it was necessary for the translators to have prior knowledge about such customs and institutions. For example, 免新 referred to a custom whereby newly appointed officials bought meals or gave gifts to their seniors in order to be recognized and accepted as colleagues. This kind of custom first began in literature-related public offices, however, it later spread to other general offices and became a way of ripping off local officials and even servants.

私馬上京 was a form of punishment dealt out, depending on the severity of the crime, to officials seconded to the provinces under king's orders or to provincial and local officials, who had done wrong. They were not allowed to use official horses to make their journey to the capital city but instead had to pay for their own horses.

三丁一子 referred to the one son out of three sons of a hyangni, a particular position in local office, who would be exempt from having to take on the position after his father. The position of a hyangni was inherited, but due to the fact that the position entailed harsh work, if a hyangni had three sons, one son was exempt from the burden of having to inherit that position and instead was allowed to take on other jobs, apply for the chapkwa exam and become a state official. So it was a form of a benefit given to a hyangni. This kind of policy also applied to other inherited positions such as the sukun that required harsh work.

For words that include newly created characters, the translation process went smoothly if the sound and the meaning of the new character was already known, however, in some case, there were exceptions that the translators had to be cautious of. For example, in the case of 𣎵, this newly created character was read not according to the sound of the hancha 瓜, which symbolizes how it should be pronounced, but as oe, which is the same sound as its meaning.

In the case of words containing characters with added meaning, translators had to exert extra effort into identifying those characters, to correctly interpret the definitions that had been added. For example, the translation work took into careful consideration that, in regard to the word 件記, the character 件 was not read according to its original hancha pronunciation, but as pal (archaic word for pōl), which is the same sound as its hancha meaning.

Then there were words which were hancha renditions of words endemic to Korea. The words were created not based on the rules of original hancha word formation, but expressed Korean words by borrowing and transliterating those words with original hancha or with the sound and meaning of newly created characters. They were the most typical form of idu words and were used mostly for names of people, places and objects.

These transliterated words took on various forms - those that borrowed only the sounds of hancha or newly created characters, those that borrowed only the meanings of hancha or newly created characters, and those that combined the sounds and the meanings of hancha or newly created characters.

- Words that borrowed only the hancha sounds

加里尔 karima
 古介 kokae
 把子 pacha
 雪馬 ssŏlmae
 小時郎 soesŭrangi
 阿只 aki

- Words that borrowed only the sound of the hancha's meaning

日耕

日 [meaning: nal (day) / sound: il] + 耕 [meaning: kal (to plow) / sound: kyŏng]
 = nalkali (tool sharpener)

回鞭

回 [meaning: dol (to circle) / sound: hoe] + 鞭 [meaning: ch'ae (whip) / sound: pyŏn] = dorich'ae (or dorikkae) (flail)

※ 鞭 sound: ch'ae / meaning: whip (*Hunmongchahoe*)

耒 sound: ka / meaning: dorich'ae (*Hunmongchahoe*)

斗落

斗 [meaning: mal (unit of measurement) / sound: du] + 落 [(meaning: chil (to fall) / sound: rag] = machigi (unit of measuring parcels of farmland)

※ 落 sound: dil / meaning: to fall (*Hunmongchahoe*)

水鐵

水 [meaning: mul (water) / sound: su] + 鐵 [meaning: soe (metal) / sound: ch'ŏl]
 = musoe (cast iron)

開金

開 [meaning: yŏl (to open) / sound: kae] + 金 [meaning: soe (metal) / sound: kŭm]
 = yŏlsoe (key)

- Words that combine both sound and meaning of hancha

鬼麥

鬼 [sound: gwi] + 麥 [meaning: mil (wheat) / sound: maeg] = gwimil (oat)

都里鞭

都 [sound: do] + 里 [sound: ri] + 鞭 [meaning: ch'ae (whip) / sound: pyŏn]
= dorich'ae or dorikkae (flail)

資作木

資 [sound: cha] + 作 [sound: chak] + 木 [meaning: namu (tree) / sound: mog]
= chachaknamu (birch)

只火

只 [sound: ki] + 火 [meaning: pul (fire) / sound: hwa] = kipul (bran)

※ 多 [sound: ta] + 多 [sound: ta] + 只 [sound: ki] = dadaki (type of rice)
(*Kŭmyangchamnok*)

牛阿之

牛 [meaning: so (cow) / sound: wu] + 阿 [sound: a] + 之 [sound: chi] = soachi
(modern form: songachi) (calf)

Translators had to be extra careful when dealing with endemic Korean words that were written by borrowing either the pronunciation or the meaning of the hancha or the sound, especially in cases where there were several versions of the same word. For example, in the case of names, the name of one person could be rendered as both 小斤伊 and 者斤伊, another 於于同 or 於乙字同, and another 破回 or 岩回. If these homophonic names are not translated properly, then one person can be mistaken to be two. Therefore, in the case of 小斤伊 and 者斤伊, the 小 must be read according to the sound of the meaning of the hancha and 者斤 according to the pronunciation of the hancha to get chakŭni, and in the case of 於于同 and 於乙字同, the character 於 must be read according to the sound

of the meaning of the hancha while 于同 and 字同 according to the pronunciation of the hancha to get nŭludong. Likewise, for 破回 and 岩回, the character 岩 had to be read according to the sound of the meaning, and 破 according to the pronunciation of the character to come up with the word pawŭ.

Such phenomena appeared quite frequently in case of place names.

The same place was expressed in different ways - for example, 鳥嶺 and 草岾, 皮島 and 椴島, 牛山, 所山 and 所伊山, 蘆洞 and 磨乙骨, and 孫石項, 孫芑項 and 孫梁項. If these names are not interpreted properly, then one place can be mistaken to be two or even three.

In the case of 鳥嶺 and 草岾, the character 鳥 was pronounced sae, a bird, and 草 also sae, but in this case a plant. Both 嶺 and 岾 were pronounced jae and meant a hill. So if both characters are read according to the sound of the meaning of the hancha, then we get Saejae, the name of a place.

※ 木賊 東草(soksae) (*Hyangyakchipsŏngbang*)

※ 嶺 meaning: jae (hill) / sound: ryŏng (*Hunmongchahoe*)

岾 sound: jae (*Ochuyŏnmunchangchŏnsanko*)

In the case of 皮島 and 椴島, 椴 meant p'i (linden tree) and 皮 was pronounced p'i. 椴 was read according to the sound of the meaning of the hancha while 皮 according to the pronunciation of hancha, to get the two versions of one place called p'isŏm.

The 牛 in 牛山 was read according to the sound of the meaning of the character and 所 in 所山 according to the pronunciation. So there were three versions of a place name - pronounced either sosan or soesan.

For 蘆洞 and 磨乙骨, the characters 蘆, 洞 and 磨 were all read according to the sounds of the meaning of the characters and 骨 according to the pronunciation, to get a place name of kalgol.

※ 蘆 sound: kal (*Hunmongchahoe*)

洞 meaning: gol (village) / sound: dong (*Ahakpyŏn*)

Also, in 孫石項, 孫芑項 and 孫梁項, 孫 was read according to the hancha sound while 石 and 項 according to the meaning. If 芑 is read according to idu pronunciation, then the single place name of Sondolmok can be found.

※ 梁 meaning: dol (stone) / sound: ryang (*Hunmongchahoe*)

芑 sound : dol (*Ochuyōnmunchangchōnsanko*)

項 meaning: mok (item) (*Hunmongchahoe*)

This kind of complexity arises from the fact that there was no single unified linguistic set of rules that governed which hanmun sentences should be translated and read according to the sounds of the meanings and which ones according to their pronunciation of relevant characters, and also due to the fact that, as a result of the policy enforcing all place names to be rendered in hancha, several hancha versions of one name appeared, leading to confusion when having to read those place names.

Caution was needed also when reading some words.

The words 立塵, 件記, 尺文, 紅箭門 and 魚箭, when read according to their original hancha pronunciation, should have been ipchōn, kōnki, ch'ōkmun, hongchōnmun and ōchōn respectively, however, according to evidential material, some of the characters that formed these words were read according to the sounds of the meaning of the hancha, so the correct pronunciation of these words were sōnchōn, palgi, chamun, hongsalmun and ōsal respectively.

Furthermore, the translators based their translation on scientific research that revealed that some of the hancha characters used to write originally Korean words needed to be read not according to their original hancha pronunciation but differently.

For example, the sound of the character 只 in 阿只, 波獨只 and 月者只 were chi, but the transformed version, ki, was more widely used. In *Yusōp'ilchi*, 役只 was read kyōkki and 惟只 as aki. So 只 was pronounced ki, an example of idu phonology. Also, in *Hyangyakchipsōngbang*, 遠志 was written also as 阿只草 and was read as akip'ul while *Kūmyangchamnok* referred to 多多只 as tataki and 白黔夫只 as white kōmbuki.

In short, the words 阿只, 波獨只 and 月老只 should be read as aki, p'adoki (paduk) and taroki (old version of doroki), all pure Korean words.

c) Sentences

In using hanmun as their writing system, our ancestors tried to converge the hanmun sentence structure to the Korean, leading to the emergence of idu sentences and hanmun sentences that were close to the Korean word order.

Such Korean hanmun sentences were quite unique in the sense they reflected idu characteristics in their word order and were different from general hanmun sentences.

Usually, in hanmun sentences, the word order and postpositional particles play important syntactic roles. Korean hanmun sentences were partially mixed into original hanmun sentences and thus, postpositional particles were used in Korean sentences as in original hanmun sentences.

However, there was a fundamental difference between original and Korean hanmun sentences, and that was the word order, which played an important syntactical role. Korean hanmun sentences deviate from the original hanmun syntax and follow the Korean word order - an important linguistic characteristic of Korean hanmun sentences. The biggest difference between the original and Korean hanmun sentences, in terms of their word order, was the position of the complement and the predicate in a sentence.

Originally, the position of sentence constituents in hanmun sentences and Korean sentences was the same in some cases but different in others. In principle, Korean sentences placed the subject in the beginning of the sentence, then came the complement and then the predicate. The adnominal came before the object and the adverb before the predicate.

However, in a hanmun sentence, the sentence began with the subject and then came the predicate. Next came the direct complement and then the indirect complement while the adnominal and the adverb, just like in Korean sentences, were placed before object and the predicate.

In short, in both hanmun and Korean sentences, the subject, the adnominal and

the adverb were positioned in the same place whereas the complement and the predicate in different places. Therefore, the position of the complement and the predicate were basic determinants that enabled one to differentiate between Korean and hanmun sentences. The positions of complements and predicates in original hanmun and Korean sentences are as follows.

Original hanmun sentence: predicate - direct complement - indirect complement
 Korean hanmun sentence: indirect complement - direct complement - predicate
 direct complement - indirect complement - predicate

Among Korean hanmun sentences, there were those whose sequence followed that of purely Korean sentences, and then there were hybrid sentences whose sequence followed both the original and the Korean word order. Once again, it was the position of the complement and the predicate that differentiated a purely Korean sentence from a hybrid sentence.

Sentence following purely Korean word order:
 indirect complement - direct complement - predicate
 direct complement - indirect complement - predicate
 Sentence following hybrid word order:
 direct complement - predicate - indirect complement

Sentences following purely Korean word order

Having a purely Korean word order meant that all of the sentence constituents that form a sentence were positioned in the same place as those in Korean. These sentences had a set place for the complement and the predicate, and depending on the position of the remaining constituents, could be divided into various different types.

- Sentences with the direct complement placed in front of the predicate
 Usually, in hanmun sentences, the direct complement came after the predicate.

However, in Korean hanmun sentences, the direct complement came before the predicate, as in Korean sentences. This characteristic was the biggest differentiator between Korean and original hanmun sentences.

(DC: direct complement, P: predicate)

諸邑諸鎮諸浦軍器 摘姦 (*Yechongsillok Volume 5*)

(DC) (P)

(Weapons in various villages, military camps and ports shall be checked.)

Comparison:

點檢 諸邑諸鎮諸浦軍器 (*Yechongsillok Volume 6*)

(P) (DC)

(Weapons in various villages, military camps and ports shall be checked.)

- Sentences with an indirect complement in front of the predicate

Generally, hanmun sentences placed the indirect complement, showing the location, place and the target, after the predicate. However, Korean hanmun sentences placed the indirect complement in front of the predicate, just as in purely Korean sentences, and this was an important difference between Korean and original hanmun sentences.

(IC: indirect complement, P: predicate)

鳳山等地 雨雹 (*Sukchongsillok Volume 5*)

(IC) (P)

(It hailed nearby Pongsan.)

Comparison:

雨雹 于碧潼 (*Sukchongsillok Volume 5*)

(P) (IC)

(It hailed in Pyŏgtong.)

- Sentences with both the direct and indirect complements in front of the

predicate

Generally, when a hanmun sentence had a direct complement and also an indirect complement that expressed a location, place or a target, then the direct complement came right after the predicate whereas the indirect complement is placed after the direct complement. However, Korean hanmun sentences had both the direct and the indirect complements all in front of the predicate, and sometimes, the two complements switched their order. This was another feature that distinguishes Korean and original hanmun sentences.

(DC: direct complement, IC: indirect complement, P: predicate)

米二百石 內需司 輸送 (*Kwanghaekunilki Volume 80*)

(DC) (IC) (P)

(200 sŏk of rice will be sent over to the palace treasury.)

平安道 木麥種一萬石 題給 (*Sechongsillok Volume 108*)

(IC) (DC) (P)

(10,000 sŏk of buckwheat seeds will separated and sent to P'yŏng'ando.)

In comparison:

輸送米三十項于鄭眉壽家 (*Yŏnsankunilki Volume 52*)

(30 sŏk of rice will be sent over to Chŏng Misu's house.)

Hybrid sentences

Hybrid sentences referred to sentences that followed both the original and Korean hanmun sentence sequences. In other words, some sentence constituents of an original hanmun sentence were placed according to the Korean word order. As was the case for pure Korean sentences, an important aspect in a hybrid sentence was the position of the complement and that of the predicate in the sentence. These sentences can be divided into various forms depending on the role of the constituents that followed the Korean word order inside the sentence.

- Sentences with individual words inserted according to the Korean word order

These sentences had individual words inserted according to the Korean word order into the original hanmun sentence and acted as a direct complement and an indirect complement.

米二十項輸送于鷹房 (*Yŏnsankunilki Volume 52*)

(20 sŏk of rice will be sent over to the palace falconry master.)

In this sentence, the direct complement and the predicate are placed according to the Korean word order while the indirect complement and the predicate according to the original hanmun syntax. This is an example of a hybrid sentence. A hybrid sentence can have either the direct or the indirect complement following the Korean word order, or can have both complements following the Korean sequence.

Example of ‘direct complement + predicate’:

胡椒二十石入內 (*Yŏnsankunilki Volume 52*)

(20 sŏm of pepper shall be brought into the Grand Palace.)

Example of ‘indirect complement + predicate’:

於南山種松栝 (*T’aechongsillok Volume 21*)

(Pine trees and pine nut trees shall be planted in Namsan.)

Example of ‘direct complement + indirect complement + predicate’:

弓子... 抹樓下埋置 (*Koahaekunilko Volume 1*)

(The bow... was hidden beneath the floor.)

Example of ‘indirect complement + direct complement + predicate’:

年過七十者紬木各一疋加給 (*Yŏngchongsillok Volume 109*)

(An additional 1 p’il of silk and 1 p’il of cotton shall be given to people who are over the age of 70.)

- Sentences with phrases following the Korean word order inserted into the sentence according to Korean word order

These sentences, unlike sentences with individual words inserted into original hanmun sentences according to the Korean word order, had phrases formed in the Korean word order and inserted into an original hanmun sentence as a constituent, in a position befitting to Korean word order. Depending on what kind of constituent these phrases of Korean word order played inside the sentence, these sentences could be divided into those where the phrase had been inserted as a subject phrase, as a direct complement phrase or as an indirect complement phrase.

Example of a sentence with a phrase acting as a subject:

天二青大中小并三百塊載船到泊於豆毛浦 (*Yönsankun Volume 54*)

(A ship carrying a total of 300 large, medium and small lumps of chöni blue pigment has docked at the Tumopo.)

Example of a sentence with a phrase acting as a direct complement:

病人救療唐藥難備 (*Sechongsillok Volume 23*)

(It is difficult to find effective medicine to cure the sick.)

Example of a sentence with a phrase acting as an indirect complement:

金豆仇里盖兒覓進人萬山給綿布五十四 (*Söngchongsillok Volume 4*)

(The person Mansan who finds the lid of the gold tukuri bowl shall be given 50 p'il of cotton.)

Some Korean hanmun sentences deviated from the rules of original hanmun. In original hanmun, characters like 有 and 無 were placed in front of the word that those two characters were related to. However, in Korean classics, there are many examples that went against this rule. For example, in *Munchongsillok*, the sentences “There is no ongsöng” and “There is no state warehouse” were written as 擁城無 and 國庫無 respectively, and the sentence “There is the East Gate” was written as 東門有.

Moreover, original hanmun sentences placed characters like 自 and 至 also in

front of the word they were related to, but in *Sŏnchosillok*, the phrase “From misi to sinsi” was written as 未時始申時至, and in *T’aechongsillok*, the phrase “was sent to Yodong” was written as 遼東至護送. In short, some hanmun sentences written in Korean classics may have followed original hanmun in terms of their structure, but nonetheless had various Korean hanmun features in them. Idu characters, idu words, endemic Korean words and idu t’o mentioned above were some examples.

The sounds and the meanings of these characters and words continuously evolved during the long periods of time they were written and used. They also took on regional differences, making their translation quite difficult. These factors, though they may not exert a large influence on the overall sentence structure, nevertheless act as obstacles in understanding the contents of the sentence. In particular, the issue of idu t’o, which is quite complex and vast, is a difficult one to tackle.

There have been many researches into the idu t’o, systemically unravelling the ways to read it and its function. However, at the time the idu t’o was actually being used, there was no consistent nationwide rule in regard to its use, leading to provincial differences and transformations over time. Furthermore, idu t’o is not something that can easily be interpreted according to modern linguistic rules and neither does it match the functions of grammatical markers in modern Korean.

Although the *Sillok* does not contain many sentences with idu t’o, some texts including the *Pipyŏnsatŭng’rok* and the *Sŭngchŏngwonilki* contain many idu t’o markers, signifying that a clear explanation of the idu t’o is very much needed.

This paper gave an overview on the theoretical basis and the methodology of translating the *Sillok*, focusing on Korean hanmun. All in all, in order to sufficiently study the Korean hanmun that was used in Korean classics and to be able to reflect it into the translation project, it is essential that not only hanmun, but also other related fields such as idu and archaic Korean language be understood comprehensively and that knowledge be well applied.