CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

This study has aimed at investigating the circumstances of cultural loss, addition, and adaptation in rural North Korea under Communism and at understanding the processes of change. Our discussion began with a short account of traditional Korea, chiefly the culture of Yi Korea (1392-1910). The traditional social organization was based primarily upon kinship, and a high degree of integration was maintained among kin groups. This solidarity among kinsmen and the accompanying exclusiveness of lineages served as a divisive force, however, so that close national unity did not exist.

Chinese Confucianism, chiefly Neo-Confucianism, was the principal ideological aid by means of which the ruling class of Yi Korea governed the people, and Confucian cultural elements permeated every aspect of Korean culture. The influence of Confucianism, however, was ultimately disruptive. "Ethical generalists," scholars and officials who were well equipped with knowledge of Confucianism, held the highest prestige and were esteemed over technical and professional specialists. For lack of support from the Confucian scholar-officials in power, technological innovations were improperly rewarded and consequently died out. Manual labor was looked down upon and manual laborers were constantly exploited by the ruling class. Little social mobility existed, and, for the ordinary citizen, little incentive or opportunity existed to boost economic production beyond the subsistence level. Various traits of the culture of Yi Korea may thus be described as being self-destructive, of which the most important were the subordination of the economy to the interests of politics, the lack of support for technology, the yangban's distaste for manual labor, and the poverty and otherwise miserable conditions of life of the majority of the population. Exploitation by the Japanese then followed until 1945. At that time, the lower class in Korea had experienced centuries of hardship. Against this background, the Communist "revolution" took place.

Soon after the Communists gained control in the Soviet-occupied northern half of Korea, they took a major step toward revitalizing the economy, land reform. The formerly privileged class then became social outcasts and the formerly poor rose above them, participating enthusiastically in the waves of "socialist construction." Past misery served as a major source of revolutionary zeal in the development of the national economy.

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The land reform, however, was merely a first step in the reorganization of rural society. After the Korean War, the cooperativizing of the rural economy began as a second major step, and this reform was completed in 1958. Private ownership of the major means of economic production was thereby abolished. Although lands were supposedly put under the cooperative ownership of the members of cooperative farms, the farm workers became *de facto* landless proletarians. The cooperative farms were now giant corporations of the state, which handled all important aspects of the rural economy including distribution and exchange. Households were no longer independent units of production except in their cultivation of small kitchen plots and other minor side activities such as collecting organic fertilizers and raising domestic animals.

The establishment of the cooperative farms opened the door for further agricultural development. It made possible the introduction of modern technology to solve the problem of a shortage of arable land and—a matter of much greater economic importance at the time—the problem of a shortage of farm labor that had become acute because of deaths during the Korean War and the demands for labor by industry. If the land had remained under private ownership and the old boundary ridges between fields had been retained, the introduction of modern technology could not easily have materialized. The so-called "four technological revolutions"—the development of elaborate irrigation and drainage systems, the mechanization of farm labor, electrification, and "chemicalization," or the increased use of agricultural chemicals—were the next technological innovations of importance.

From all available evidence, North Korea appears to have made substantial progress in carrying out its "rural technological revolution" by means of mobilizing all potential resources—technological, material, and human. Technological innovations are highly valued and, through the various propaganda channels, are quickly transmitted to all rural areas. Each cooperative farm functions as an experiment station with regard to activities of production, and rural North Korea as a whole operates as a giant laboratory for agricultural development. No time is wasted in the general adoption of anything that proves to be advantageous in increasing production. Similarly, no time is wasted in dropping elements that prove to be disadvantageous.

Added to the technological innovations was a partly psychological campaign to stimulate production, which has been a notable feature of rural North Korean life since the late 1950s. This campaign entails the use of all available labor and means of production. An essential part of the campaign is the promoting of motivation to excel in work, as individuals and, especially, as members of groups. Farmers who demonstrate unusual merit or make innovative contributions are awarded titles of honor. Collective
innovations are encouraged by honoring counties and cooperative farms for outstanding achievements of this kind. When organizational units of the cooperative farms exceed their production quotas, members of the units are rewarded by preferential treatment in the distribution of crops. These and most other material rewards are only for organizational units as a whole, however, and not for individuals who excel. The conduct of the production stimulation campaign strongly suggests that its underlying theme is a philosophy of free will expressed in the goal of building a model world. The farmers seem to believe that they can control their destiny and that the future of their society is determined by their own will. This philosophy, which did not exist among the peasants of traditional Korea, seems to have been effectively utilized as an ideological tool in gaining the cooperation of the people.

As the preceding paragraphs already indicate, the social organization of North Korea has undergone many changes that are congruent with changes in its economic conditions. Certain social customs and institutions were allowed to remain, however, provided that they did not conflict with Communist goals. For example, various customs relating to marriage have survived, although modifications and simplifications are evident in them. The traditional organization of kin clearly interfered with the goals of Communism and great changes were accordingly made. These may be summarized in the statement that kinship—both kin groups and the interpersonal relations among specific categories of kin—generally holds much less importance today than formerly in North Korean social organization and in daily life.

The family has lost many of its traditional roles, but it is regarded as vitally important as the basic unit or “cell” of the society. The abolition of private ownership of the principal means of production and associated customs of inheritance has altered familial functions and relationships. Large extended families appear to be rare, and relationships among family members are more egalitarian than they formerly were. The male household head is no longer the chief organizer of agricultural production and is instead a member of the farm, without special distinction because of his status in his household. Early child care is mostly a responsibility of parents, but such public facilities as nurseries and kindergartens now play major roles in the socialization of children. Filial piety, which had long been the dominant value in familial relations, continues to be a virtue, but only when it coincides with the common interests of the people. Love, cooperation, and mutual understanding are now greatly emphasized as desirable traits among members of a family. Adoption is no longer used as means of continuing family lines, since familial continuity has ceased to be a matter of organizational or economic importance, but childless couples sometimes adopt children. Although not truly common, illegitimacy is no disgrace, and
illegitimate children and orphans are well cared for as special children of the state.

A son is still more highly desired than a daughter since males are of somewhat greater economic value and sons often continue to follow the old custom of caring for aged parents. In general, however, the social status of females has risen greatly, in large part because of their importance as active participants in economic and political activities. The change in the relative social positions of males and females has been accompanied by a trend toward much greater freedom of association between unrelated males and females. Love affairs are reported to be common among unmarried people.

Although the family in altered form survives as a social unit of importance, the traditional lineage system has disappeared. Seen as a major obstacle in the path of reaching goals of reform, lineages were strongly oppressed. The land reform took away lineage properties, and other means were also used to break up lineages. Lineage unity was destroyed in villages dominated by kin groups by relocating formerly influential families and by replacing them with families from other communities. Once children leave their native villages for advanced education or military service, they do not often return, since they are usually assigned to new localities when their schooling or military service has ended. Through these means, kin have become dispersed throughout the country and kinship plays no notable role in village affairs. Gatherings of large groups of kin, formerly common at weddings and for the many rites honoring ancestors, are no longer possible.

The Communist regime has undertaken no nationwide campaign against ancestor worship, but large gatherings for this purpose are strongly disapproved. Today, rites honoring ancestors have become opportunities for indoctrinating young people in Communist ideology and promoting revolutionary fervor. For the members of the formerly elite families whose ancestors are regarded as exploiters of the people, rites honoring ancestors are indications of a lack of revolutionary zeal; the majority of these people perform no religious services of this kind. All other activities of the formerly elite class are also overtly and covertly circumscribed.

Marked progress appears to have been made in improving formal education. All children receive ten years of education under the system called "universal compulsory ten-year senior middle school education." Technical education is firmly institutionalized as a part of compulsory education, so that young people are well prepared to begin work when their ten years of required education have ended. For young people showing special aptitudes and abilities, advanced training at high school and college levels is provided and is extensively used, so that the number of highly trained specialists in agronomy, medicine, and other fields has grown greatly. A program of adult education appears to have done much to eradicate illiteracy and to have brought the level of education of the many previously uneducated citizens at least to that of primary school graduates.
Teaching methods have also changed. Students are encouraged to participate actively in class discussions rather than merely to memorize and follow unquestioningly the instructions of their teachers. In the spirit of collectivism, emphasis in education is given to raising the level of knowledge of all rather than striving to achieve excellence of a few.

Education includes much indoctrination, among the techniques of which the most powerful appears to be the "positive use of hatred of the enemy." Enemies are found both at home and abroad, and they are often drawn from the nation's own cultural history. This technique of promoting hatred for the enemy clearly appears to be wittingly planned as a way of achieving unity and of validating the nation's path of revolution. Efforts have been made to preserve in memory the wounds and sufferings of the past inflicted by enemies, within or outside the nation, and these acts have similarly been a planned means of fostering patriotism and confidence in the existing system. In formal education, and in all other activities, self-sacrifice, comradeship, and working for the interests of one's group and the entire society are consistently glorified as ideal behavior.

Changes in religion have also been striking. Officially, religious freedom exists in North Korea, but in fact a systematic and vigorous campaign has been carried out against both organized religions and informal beliefs and practices of supernaturalism. In pre-Communist years, Christianity was stronger in northern than in southern Korea. Although some organized attempts to survive were made by Christian groups, their efforts soon ended in failure. The apparent incompatibility of Christianity and Communism, the confiscation of church properties during the land reform, and the de facto denial of religious freedom led most of the Christian population to flee to South Korea soon after North Korea became Communist. Their exodus essentially eliminated Christianity.

Buddhism did not present a difficult problem because it had been dominated by Confucianism and had never become deeply entrenched in Korean life. Properties of the Buddhist temples were confiscated and most of the temples were put to secular public use, as were the Christian churches. Some famous temples are preserved as "cultural treasures," and the monks attached to them have been allowed to remain as caretakers of what are now museum specimens.

Greater efforts were needed to eradicate deep-rooted folk beliefs and acts of supernaturalism. In the early stages of the campaign against religion, the facilities and paraphernalia of folk practitioners were often destroyed. Changing the attitudes of the people was difficult, however, and it has been brought about principally by displacing supernaturalism by non-supernaturalistic interpretations and procedures that have been seen to be more effective. These include the presence of specialists in modern medicine at each farm, the introduction of modern farm technology, and the general
increase of scientific knowledge that has come through the various education channels. These innovations have greatly weakened if not entirely obliterated supernaturalistic folk beliefs and customs.

Opposition to Confucianism was not explicitly a part of the campaign against religion, presumably because in Korea Confucianism was not an organized religion and it was not, in fact, regarded as a religion. It lacked religious edifices and, except for scholar-administrators, also lacked specialists. The rites of ancestral veneration in the home might be called corollaries of Confucianism, but these rites were not performed by priests. Nevertheless, wherever Confucian-derived values and customs appeared to stand in the way, they also were consciously changed, as is illustrated by our previous discussion of rites honoring ancestors. In other instances, Confucianism appears to have undergone change that was essentially unplanned.

The religion-like cult surrounding Kim Il-sung, the President of North Korea, appears to be in large part an unplanned outgrowth of Confucian values placed in a new context. After more than a quarter of a century as the supreme leader, Kim has become a father figure who appears to be literally worshipped and who is often referred to as "father," particularly by young people. I suggest that the rise of the Kim cult finds its roots in certain features of Korean Confucianism, that is, the emphasis formerly given to the father-son relationship as the supreme human virtue, associated ancestor worship, and the relative lack of importance of the relationship between ruler and subject.

Under Communism, the father-son relationship as well as other bonds of kinship were substantially weakened and the relationship between ruler and subject gained considerable strength. Our examination of trends of cultural change suggests that the Kim cult is comprehensible as an extension of the father-son relationship; that is, the cult is a syncretism that uses the old as a model for the new by extending the strongly affective aspect of the father-son relationship to the ruler-subject relationship, which, in Korea, had little or no emotional import. The chaos and the sense of personal deprivation that came as aftermaths of the Korean War and the many changes in ways of life appear to have paved the way for the rise of a messianic figure. In the closed society of North Korea people were left with no feasible alternative than to adjust to the changed conditions. For most people the changes represented improvement, a circumstance which led them to see their leader as the prime mover in the reforms aimed at the betterment of life. Such specific innovations as the abolition of the agricultural tax-in-kind, the establishment of the ten-year educational system, and free medical service have been interpreted in North Korea as the results of Kim's wise leadership. The new strength of the ruler-subject tie thus appears to be a projection of the father-son relationship in a new social context: principles
underlying the operation of the family and the lineage in traditional Korea are now applied on the national level, so that filial piety and ancestor worship survive in transmuted form in the "Kim cult."

Much evidence indicates that North Korea has achieved a high degree of sociocultural integration and homogeneity. Basing my statements upon data presented in this study, I conclude that what has developed in North Korea after a quarter of a century of Communism may be appropriately described as the emergence of a new and well-integrated family-state that, in certain respects, resembles Confucian society. Integration is achieved in important part by an ethic of loyalty to the nation's fatherly leader. The society as a whole resembles in some degree a giant family, modeled after the traditional family.

But unity does not depend solely upon this transmuted version of familism. Many other factors that I have discussed, such as the state monopoly of media of communication, isolation from other societies, and the use of the idea of enemies, generate ethnocentrism, nationalism, and unity. These ideas, ideals, and policies are all powerful in maintaining firm cultural and social boundaries. Modern North Korea is one of the most culturally isolated nations of the world. The conditions of life of most of its citizens are now greatly improved over those of the past, a circumstance that came about while the nation was isolated and which, therefore, does not foster any movement toward ending isolation. This account of North Korea's developments as a Communist nation has brought out the importance of the native culture in influencing trends of change. If North Korea continues to maintain its isolation, we may expect that future changes will continue to be strongly influenced by past conditions and that trends of change will represent principally the interaction of indigenously developed traits of culture. Isolation will never be complete, however, and at least some technological innovations will come from outside sources.
APPENDIX I

A CASE STUDY OF A MARRIAGE

Mr. Pak Young-ho (a pseudonym) was born in rural northwest Korea. He was drafted into the People’s Army at the age of twenty, while working in a textile factory in P'yongyang. After serving eight years as a private, he was made an officer in 1962. Like other common soldiers, he had no opportunity to visit his native home during his service as a private. Two years after becoming an officer he was granted a ten-day leave of absence to visit his home, where his mother lived with his elder brother’s family. Long before taking his leave, he had made up his mind to get married during the visit. A couple of months before taking leave, he wrote his elder brother, a middle school principal, requesting that he find a suitable woman for him. Soon his brother wrote back, describing a woman teacher of the school where the brother worked, and suggesting that Pak write her a proposal of marriage. Before writing to her, Pak received a letter from her simply containing an expression of good will, to which he replied by making a proposal. A few weeks later, Pak received a second letter from her, informing him that she was unable to marry him because she was considering marriage to another man, a statement which Pak’s brother later told him was not true. According to Pak’s brother, the actual reason for the refusal was probably the result of investigations conducted by the woman’s elder brother, who was a cadre member of high rank in the Provincial Party Committee. This man had thoroughly investigated Pak’s family background, and Pak’s brother believed that the family background of his own wife had adversely affected the attempted match. The wife in question (Pak’s sister-in-law) was the daughter of a former policeman during the Japanese occupation whose job was considered reactionary and anti-revolutionary by the Communists. Pak’s brother had already suffered in many ways because of his wife’s family background.

Soon after the incident, Pak’s brother found another candidate, a teacher at another school. He and the woman’s elder brother, a deputy principal of a middle school, had agreed to proceed with the marriage if both young people showed mutual interest in marrying after one or more meetings that were to be arranged. When Pak returned to his old home, the woman was out of town to attend a teachers’ training course; she returned on the third day of his ten-day leave. On the fourth day, Pak and his brother walked
about ten miles to the home of the woman's brother for a meeting with her. Pak found himself satisfied with her as his prospective wife, and she and her brother were also satisfied with him. Thereupon both sides agreed to go ahead with the wedding.

The next step was to get approval of the union from the County Party Committee. Every marriage must be screened by the Party to prevent possible "mismatches," especially regarding political aspects. The following day the two elder brothers went to the County Party Committee and asked the head of the Committee for approval of the marriage. The Committee disapproved on the grounds of the reactionary family background of Pak's brother, that is, the family background of Pak's sister-in-law. Pak was not questioned at all, since he was an army officer and a member of the Workers' Party. His brother now turned to the County Bureau of Education and talked with its chief, whom he knew in connection with his own profession. The chief was kind enough to volunteer to try to persuade the Party Committee head to give approval, asking, "Why should a man suffer because of his sister-in-law's negative family background, since his blood had never been mixed with hers?" The Bureau chief successfully persuaded the Party Committee head, and the latter called both of the elder brothers to give them official approval of the marriage. One day was spent in getting the approval. After setting the wedding date two days later by consultation with all concerned at the home of the bride-to-be, Pak's brother went back home to prepare for the wedding ceremony. Pak decided to spend the night with his prospective bride, an act which would certainly not have been approved by traditional standards. Today, however, when the wedding date has been set it is said not to be uncommon, or at least not a matter for criticism, for the prospective couple to have sexual intercourse.

The following day, preparations for the wedding ceremony began in both houses. A moderate amount of chickens, eggs, noodles made of corn, rice, and beans were purchased at the farm's shop. On his way to his brother's home, Pak dropped in at the homes of his three sisters, who lived in neighboring villages, to notify them of the wedding ceremony. Two sisters, both widows and older than Pak, arrived at his brother's home that evening. One elder sister brought a sack of rice with her as a wedding gift. The third sister arrived with her husband on the morning of the wedding, bringing a chicken with her.

On the morning of the wedding day, the groom and his brother left home for the ceremony at the home of the bride's brother. The ceremony was simple. The groom was in army uniform and the bride in native dress. The groom offered a full bow to each of the senior members of the bride's family and relatives. The new couple was served a ceremonial meal, usually called k'unsang, or "big table." When the groom was half-finished with a noodle dish from the table, the bride's brother intervened, telling him that he should
not finish the dish and, taking the dish from him, handed it to the bride to finish. This ceremonially partaking of food signifies that the couple is married. In the afternoon, the groom and his brother returned to the home of Pak's brother, taking with them the bride accompanied by her elder brother. When the party arrived at Pak's brother's home, all preparations for the second part of the wedding ceremony had been completed. Several teachers from the school where Pak's brother worked joined the group. Sitting around a ceremonial table in the living room, one of the teachers presided at the simple ceremony, which consisted of formally announcing the establishment of the union. All in attendance were then served a ceremonial meal. In the course of the festivities, the couple was asked to sing a duet and did so, after which the wedding party participated in singing and dancing for about an hour, which brought the ceremony to an end. The following day, the eighth day of his ten-day leave, Pak returned to his military camp, asking his wife to join him in a couple of months.
APPENDIX II

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The description of kin terms and kin behavior which follows was drawn largely from a North Korean text entitled *Kongsanjui Ryeidodok Kyoyang* (Text in Communist Ethics), published in 1964. Information derived from this book was checked and supplemented by our informants.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

1) **Lineal and collateral kin:** Lineal kin are always distinguished from collateral kin; that is, grandparents, parents, children, and grandchildren are distinguished from other kinsmen.

2) **Generation:** Persons of different generations are distinguished terminologically and, beyond general terms that mean kinfolk, no terms exist that embrace relatives of more than one generation. Korean names usually contain a character indicating one’s generational status in a lineage, which makes it easy to identify the generation of distant relatives.

3) **Age within a generation:** Differences in the ages of siblings and cousins are denoted by kin terms, as follows:

   **Male speaker:**
   - Elder brother—hyong, hyong-nim
   - Younger brother—tongsaeng, nam-dongsaeng (male tongsaeng), au
   - Elder sister—nuna, nui, nunim
   - Younger sister—nui, nui-dongsaeng, yo-dongsaeng (female tongsaeng)

   **Female speaker:**
   - Elder brother—opp’a
   - Younger brother—tongsaeng, nam-dongsaeng
   - Elder sister—on’ni, hyong-nim
   - Younger sister—yo-dongsaeng

   The term *nui* is exceptional; a man may use this term for either or both elder and younger sisters. Terms for cousins vary similarly.

4) **Seniority of connecting persons:** Terms denoting ego’s father’s brothers and their wives indicate the age relationship of the father and his brothers.
Father's brothers and their wives:

Father's elder brother—kun-aboji (big father), kun-abonim, paekbu(-nim)
Father's elder brother's wife—kun-omoni (big mother), kun-omonim, paekmo(-nim)
Father's younger brother—chagun-aboji (small father), sukbu, sam-ch'on
Father's younger brother's wife—chagun-omoni (small mother), suk-mo, chagun-omonim

No analogous terms of reference are used for consanguineal and affinal kin of similar relationship, such as father's sister, mother's brother and mother's sister. The use of distinguishing terms only for father's brothers and their wives reflects the custom of patrilocal residence, which makes father's brothers and their wives members of a male ego's residential group. The age of affinal relatives concerned (father's brother's wives) is irrelevant to the kin terms for them. The terms used for father's brother's wives are determined by the relative ages of the male kin concerned. For example, father's elder brother's wife may be younger than ego's own mother, but the former is addressed as kun-omoni (big mother) regardless of her age.

5) Sex of relative: A few terms are applied to both sexes, for example, tongsaeng means younger brother or sister; chok'a, nephew or niece; and sa-ch'on means cousin of either sex (especially father's brother's children). Prefixes and suffixes that indicate sex are often used. Some examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tongsaeng</td>
<td>nam-dongsaeng</td>
<td>younger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yo-dongsaeng</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chok'a</td>
<td>chok'a</td>
<td>nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chok'a-tt'al</td>
<td>niece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-ch'on</td>
<td>sa-ch'on-hyong</td>
<td>FaBrSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa-ch'on-nam-dongsaeng</td>
<td>FaBrSo, but older than ego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa-ch'on-nui</td>
<td>FaBrDa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa-ch'on-yo-dongsaeng</td>
<td>FaBrDa, but younger than ego</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Otherwise, kin terms are all specific in indicating sex. (Note: Fa: father, Br: brother, So: son, Da: daughter.)

6) Sex of speaker: The sex of the speaker is denoted in terms for siblings and cousins but not for collateral kin of ascending generations. As we have seen earlier, male and female speakers use different sets of terms to refer to brothers and to sisters, with the exceptions of the terms tongsaeng or nam-dongsaeng (younger brother) and yo-dongsaeng (younger sister) which are used by speakers of either sex.

7) Sex of the connecting relative: We are concerned here with collateral relatives of the first ascending generation, related through father or mother, and their children. The distinction between father's brother and his
children (paternal uncle and cousin) and mother's brother and his children (maternal uncle and cousin) are discussed under heading 8. Mother’s sister and father's sister are terminologically distinguished, as are their children, by the prefixes indicated in italics in the following table. The terms are:

**Paternal relatives**
- aunt: ko-mo (FaSi)
- uncle: ko-mo-bu (FaSiHu)
- male speaker's cousin:
  - kojong-(sa-ch'on-)hyong (FaSiSo)*
  - kojong-(sa-ch'on-)dongsaeng (FaSiSo)**
  - kojong-(sa-ch'on-)nuna (FaSiDa)*
  - kojong-(sa-ch'on-)nui (FaSiDa)**
- female speaker's cousin:
  - kojong-(sa-ch'on-)opp'a (FaSiSo)*
  - kojong-(sa-ch'on-)(nam-)dongsaeng (FaSiSo)**
  - kojong-(sa-ch'on-)onni (FaSiDa)*
  - kojong-(sa-ch'on-)dongsaeng (FaSiDa)**

**Maternal relatives**
- aunt: i-mo (MoSi)
- uncle: i-mo-bu (MoSiHu)
- male speaker's cousin:
  - ijong-(sa-ch'on-)hyong (MoSiSo)*
  - ijong-(sa-ch'on-)dongsaeng (MoSiSo)**
  - ijong-(sa-ch'on-)nuna (MoSiDa)*
  - ijong-(sa-ch'on-)nui (MoSiDa)**
- female speaker's cousin:
  - ijong-(sa-ch'on-)opp'a (MoSiSo)*
  - ijong-(sa-ch'on-)(nam-)dongsaeng (MoSiSo)**
  - ijong-(sa-ch'on-)onni (MoSiDa)*
  - ijong-(sa-ch'on-)dongsaeng (MoSiDa)**

(Note: Fa: father, Mo: mother, Br: brother, Si: sister, Hu: husband, So: son, Da: daughter, *elder than the speaker, **younger than the speaker.)

Thus, the Korean scheme of classifying relatives of the first ascending generation may be labeled a "bifurcate collateral system." Lineal relatives are distinguished from collateral relatives, and the maternal relatives are distinguished from the paternal counterparts. Korean kinship terminology also distinguished children of the sisters and brothers of the parents, that is, cousins. Four types of cousins are distinguished by the addition of prefixes (in italics) to the terms for siblings.

**First cousins**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of cousin</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) FaBr's children</td>
<td>sa-ch'on-</td>
<td>(sibling terms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) FaSi's children</td>
<td>kojong-(sa-ch'on-)</td>
<td>(sibling terms)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8) Distinctions between paternal and maternal relatives: Except relatives related through parents' sisters, maternal and paternal relatives are distinguished by the prefix *oe*, literally meaning "outside," before the terms for maternal kin; otherwise the terms are almost identical. This custom also reflects the custom of patrilocal residence; as members of ego's own residential group, paternal relatives compose a "we-group," and maternal relatives (mother's patrilineage) are an "outside group." Following are some of the terms for paternal and maternal relatives of the same degree of relationship. (To draw attention to the fact that the two sets of kinship terms are identical except for the prefix *oe-*, the prefix is italicized.)

**Paternal relatives**

- Grandfather: halaboji (FaFa)
- Grandmother: halmoni (FaMo)
- Uncle: paek-bu (FaElBr)
- Aunt: paek-mo (FaElBrWi)

**Male speaker's cousin:**
- sa-ch'on-hyong (FaBrSo)*
- sa-ch'on-dongsaeng (FaBrSo)**
- sa-ch'on-nuna (FaBrDa)*
- sa-ch'on-nui (FaBrDa)**

**Female speaker's cousin:**
- sa-ch'on-opp'a (FaBrSo)*
- sa-ch'on-dongsaeng (FaBrSo)**
- sa-ch'on-onni (FaBrDa)*
- sa-ch'on-yo-dongsaeng (FaBrDa)**

**Maternal relatives**

- Grandfather: *oe*-halaboji (MoFa)
- Grandmother: *oe*-halmoni (MoMo)
- Uncle: *oe*-suk-bu, or *oe*-samch'on (MoBr)
- Aunt: *oe*-suk-mo (MoBrWi)

**Male speaker's cousin:**
- *oe*-sa-ch'on-hyong (MoBrSo)*
- *oe*-sa-ch'on-dongsaeng (MoBrSo)**
- *oe*-sa-ch'on-nuna (MoBrDa)*
- *oe*-sa-ch'on-nui (MoBrDa)**

**Female speaker's cousin:**
- *oe*-sa-ch'on-opp'a (MoBrSo)*
oe-sa-ch'on-(nam-)dongsaeng (MoBrSo)**
oe-sa-ch'on-onni (MoBrDa)*
oe-sa-ch'on-yo-dongsaeng (MoBrDa)**

(Note: Fa: father, Mo: mother, Br: brother, Wi: wife, So: son, Da: daughter, El: elder [for example, FaElBr means “father's elder brother”], Yo: younger, *elder than the speaker, **younger than the speaker.)

In the preceding examples, only one term was selected for each kin relationship in the paternal and maternal lines. Other kin terms for these relationships also exist. For instance, father's father may be referred to as cho-bu; mother's father, as oe-cho-bu; father's mother, as cho-mo; mother's mother, oe-cho-mo; etc. Father's elder brother may be referred to as kun-aboji (big father) and father's younger brother as chagun-aboji (small father). The mother's elder and younger brothers are not distinguished by specific kin terms, however, but are referred to by the same term, oe-suk-bu or oe-samch'on. Their wives are called father's brother's wife and mother's brother's wife. These terms indicate, as we have earlier noted, that “we-group” (paternal relatives) are more complex and make use of one more component (age differences between father and his brother) than do terms for the “outside group” (maternal relatives).

The distinction between paternal and maternal relatives extends to the grandchildren of both male and female lines. Since daughters marry out and become members of other families or “outside groups,” the children of daughters are not members of the “we-group.”

**Grandchildren**

Son's children:  
SoSo—sonja  
SoDa—sonnyo

Daughter's children:  
DaSo—oe-sonja  
DaDa—oe-sonnyo

(Note: So: son; Da: daughter)

Today, it is said that in some families having only daughters, parents generally choose to live with a married daughter's family rather than adopt a son, either by moving into the daughter's home or by having her and her husband live with them. If this is done, the daughter's children may become de facto members of the “we-group” of the parents, even though they have different family names. Parents often refer to their maternal grandson and granddaughter as sonja and sonnyo, without adding the prefix, oe- (outside). If there is any reason to identify the exact relationship, they may refer to them as oe-sonja and oe-sonnyo. If it is necessary to distinguish the son's children from the daughter's children, the prefix ch'in-, meaning “of their own,” may be added: ch'in-sonja for the son's son and ch'in-sonnyo for the son's daughter.
9) The distinction of consanguineal and affinal kin: The affinal kin may be grouped into three categories: (1) relatives through one's wife, (2) relatives through one's husband, and (3) spouses of consanguineal relatives. In-laws are designated by the terms used by the speaker's spouse, with the prefix ch' o- (wife's) or si- (husband's). Regardless of the speaker's relative age, terms for affines in the first two categories reflect only the relationship of the speaker's spouse to the affines. Terms for affines are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affines related through wife</th>
<th>Affines related through husband</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WiGFa*:</td>
<td>HuGFa*:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'o-jobu</td>
<td>si-halaboji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiGMo**:</td>
<td>HuGMo**:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'o-jomo</td>
<td>si-halmoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiFa:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasi-aboji, chang-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiMo:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasi-omoni, chang-mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiFaBr:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'o-suk, ch'o-sam-ch' on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiFaBrWi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'o-sukmo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiBr:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'o-nam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiBrWi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'o-nam-daek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiElSi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'o-hyong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiYoSi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'o-je</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiSiHu:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiBrCh:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'o-joka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiBrCh:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si-joka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: GFa: grandfather, GMo: grandmother, Fa: father, Mo: mother, Wi: wife, Br: brother, Si: sister, El: elder [brother or sister], Yo: younger, Ch: children, *paternal grandfather, **paternal grandmother.)

Thus the term of reference for the affine related through wife or husband is generally composed of the prefixes ch' o- or si- and the term for the class of relative. Two kin terms are exceptional. The prefix ch' o- is not used for the wife's parents; instead the prefix kasi-, meaning "wife's," is used (kasi-aboji for wife's father and kasi-omoni for wife's mother). A husband may refer to his wife's father as chang-in, and wife's mother, chang-mo. The prefixes kasi- and chang- are not applied to other affines related through wife. The term tongso is used for the affinal relatives concerned when two persons of the same sex marry siblings of the same family, the wives of brothers and the husbands of sisters. A woman refers to her elder brother and younger brother by different terms, opp'a for the former and (nam-)dongsaeng for the latter, as previously indicated. Her husband, however, does not terminologically distinguish her elder brother from her younger brother. Instead, he calls his wife's brothers by the single term ch' o-nam, regardless of differences of age of his wife and her brothers. The wife of a wife's brother is referred to as ch' o-nam-daek (literally, wife's brother's house). The elder and younger sisters of
a woman's husband are similarly merged terminologically (si-nui). Thus, a man distinguishes between his elder and younger brothers and his wife uses separate terms for his brothers according to differences of age of her husband and his brothers, but a wife uses a single term for her husband's sisters. The following two kinship charts (figures 2 and 3) depict graphically the relationships and kin terms of affinal relatives related through husband and wife.

Traditionally, the relationship of a man and his wife's sisters was one of marked avoidance, whereas his relationship with his wife's brothers was intimate and friendly. Intimacy with the wife's brothers, as opposed to formality and seniority, appears to be reflected in the use of the single term ch' o-nam. The relationship of a woman with her husband's sisters is also one of marked intimacy. She may behave toward them with a high degree of informality, even though traditionally the relationship between a woman and her husband's sisters, especially younger sisters, was frequently stressful. For example, a girl might play the role of "watchdog" for her brother's wife and report findings to her mother. A wife addresses her husband's elder and younger sisters by separate terms, but she need not distinguish them by terms...
of reference. Her relationship to her husband's elder brother differs, and she should treat him with respect. Her relationship with her husband's younger brothers is, however, informal. Since the difference in age between first and last children often formerly was nearly a generation, it was not uncommon for a married woman to assume a mother's role in her relationship with her younger brothers-in-law. Today, these behavioral patterns, it appears, have changed. The relationship between a man and his wife's sisters is intimate and friendly, and the relationships between sexes among close kinsmen are no longer ones of formality and avoidance. The kin terms, however, are unchanged.

Now let us examine the terms for the spouses of consanguineal relatives. Here we will not deal with maternal affines, since the reference terms for them are generally the same as for the paternal affines in corresponding relationship, except for the prefix, oe-(outside). Mother's sister, who is referred to as ko-mo, is the exception. The following table lists terms for the consanguineal relatives and their spouses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consanguineal relative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Terms for relative (in column A)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Terms for spouse of relative (in column A)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaElBr:</td>
<td>kun-aboji</td>
<td>kun-omoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaYoBr:</td>
<td>chagun-aboji</td>
<td>chagun-omoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaSi:</td>
<td>ko-mo</td>
<td>ko-mo-bu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Male speaker**

| ElBr: | hyong | hyong-su |
| YoBr: | au, tongsaeng | chae-su |
| ElSi: | nuna | mae-hyong, cha-hyong |
| YoSi: | nui | mae-bu |

**Female speaker**

| ElBr: | opp'a | olk'ae |
| YoBr: | (nam-)dongsaeng | olk'ae |
| ElSi: | onni | hyong-bu |
| YoSi: | (yo-)dongsaeng | chae-bu |
| So: | adol | myonuri |
| Da: | tt'al | sawi |
| GSo(grandson): | sonja | sonja-myonuri |
| GDa(grandaughter): | sonnyo | sonja-sawi |

Persons related to a speaker through marriage to consanguineal relatives of the speaker are referred to by terms composed of the terms for the speaker's consanguineal relatives plus a suffix indicating the speaker's status, i.e., husband, (-bu or -sawi) or wife (-su or -myonuri). For the father's brother's wife, however, the term for father's brother is modified by sex and role; that
is, the wife of father’s elder brother, *kun-aboji* or “big father,” is referred to by the term *kun-omoni* or “big mother.” Three additional terms for affinal kin in the preceding table are also exceptions to the general rule: *olk'ae* for the female speaker’s (elder or younger) brother’s wife, *myonuri* for daughter-in-law, and *sawi* for son-in-law.

10) **The degree of consanguineal relationship:** Most Korean terms of kinship were derived from China and as a system of classification, the entire complex of Korean terms is almost the same as the Chinese. One feature which seems to be a Korean invention is the distinguishing of degrees of consanguineal relationship. Such terms as *sam-ch'on, sa-ch'on, kojong-sa-ch'on,* and *ijong-sa-ch'on* are among examples already given in our discussion. As we see from these terms, there is a common morpheme, *-ch'on,* which is used as a suffix. This suffix is a single Chinese character, literally meaning “links,” even though the Chinese system of kinship terminology does not make use of the character *ch'on.* By the Korean scheme of classification, the number of “links” is used to account for the degree of genetic relationship. One’s genetic relationship to his/her parent is considered as one link. One does not have a direct or one-link genetic relationship with siblings, but is related to them only through parents, so that the relationship is of two links. In this way, any consanguineal relative may be designated by the number of *ch'on,* or links. Using the Romney-D’Andrade orthography (Romney and D’Andrade 1964), the way the number of links is accounted for in the kin relationship may be described as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Links</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>sam-ch'on</em></td>
<td>a + m + m - m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>sa-ch'on</em></td>
<td>a + m + m - m - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>o-ch'on</em></td>
<td>a + m + m + m - m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>o-ch'on</em></td>
<td>a + m + m + m - m - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>yuk-ch'on</em></td>
<td>a + m + m + m - m - m - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>ch'il-ch'on</em></td>
<td>a + m + m + m + m - m - m - m - a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>p'al-ch'on</em></td>
<td>a + m + m + m + m - m - m - m - m - a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: *a:* a person of either sex, *m:* a person of male sex, +: the parent link between persons, -: the child link between persons.)

As can be seen, the number of ascending (“+”) and descending (“-”) links indicates the consanguineal relationship between the central person and the relative in question, and is used as a kin term. This method of reckoning kinship may be applied to any consanguineal relative. Only eight relationships are actually in use as kin terms. One’s relationship to his father is of one link or one-*ch'on,* but he does not refer to him by the term, “one-*ch'on.*” The same is true in other relationships: one does not use the term, 2-
"ch'on", for one's siblings or grandfathers; his brother's children call him 3-"ch'on" or 3-links, but the reverse does not apply. Figure 4 may help to clarify the "ch'on" system. (The diagram of figure 4 is a revised version of a diagram I presented before a faculty-student colloquium of the Behavioral Science Graduate Program of Rice University on April 22, 1969. It should be noted, however, that a similar, but simplified, diagram has been presented by K.-K. Lee and Y. K. Harvey [1973:33].)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations removed</th>
<th>Number of links (ch'on)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+4 (Great-great-grandfather)</td>
<td>4---6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+3 (great-grandfather)</td>
<td>3---5---7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2 (grandfather)</td>
<td>2---4---6---8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1 (father)</td>
<td>1---3---5---7---9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 (ego's own generation)</td>
<td>Ego---2---4---6---8---10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1 (son)</td>
<td>1---3---5---7---9---11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2 (grandson)</td>
<td>2---4---6---8---10---12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3 (great-grandson)</td>
<td>3---5---7---9---11---13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Straight line indicates father-son relationship, and broken line indicates sibling relationship. Numbers indicate the degree of consanguineal relationship in terms of "number of links (or ch'on)." The circled numbers are in use as kin terms. +: ascending generation (i.e., +2) means the second ascending generation). -: descending generation (i.e., -2 means the second descending generation).

**Figure 4. Degrees of consanguineal relationship.**

In order to show the underlying principle of the "ch'on" system, we have included a range of consanguineal relatives in figure 4 that includes relatives for which such kin terms are not used. In many instances the number of links is combined with other kin terms specifying the status with reference to the speaker. The eight terms of the "ch'on" system are:

3 links: sam-ch'on  
father's younger brother
4 links: sa-ch'on-(sibling terms)  
first cousin*
4 links: sa-ch'on-halaboji  
grandfather's brother
5 links: o-ch'on-ajosi  
father's male cousin*
5 links: o-ch'on-joka  
male cousin's child
As the table shows, the term *sam-ch'on* (father's younger brother) is used without an added suffix. In other relationships, the terms indicating the number of links are combined with other terms specifying the status of the person identified. For example, *o-ch'on-ajosi* is a term designating father's male cousin. The suffix *-ajosi* means "uncle," and *o-ch'on* means five links. As designated in the kinship chart, relatives of *o-ch'on* relationship also include father's male cousin (FaFaBrSo) as well as FaFaFaBr, FaBrSoSo, BrSoSoSo, and so on. Combining the two terms, *o-ch'on* and *ajosi*, *o-ch'on-ajosi* specifically designates the speaker's father's male cousin, who is related to the speaker through the male line. For cousins (first, second, and third), however, the terms indicating the number of links (*sa-ch'on*, *yuk-ch'on*, and *p'al-ch'on*) may be used without an added suffix, if the identification of cousin's status is not necessary. Otherwise sibling terms based upon differences in sex and age are added to the terms indicating the number of links between the speaker and the cousin. For example, the term *yuk-ch'on-hyong* designates a male second cousin who is older than the male speaker, and the term *p'al-ch'on-opp'a* is a male third cousin who is older than the female speaker.

In this connection, the term *sa-ch'on* draws our special attention, since this is also applied to cousins other than paternal first cousins (father's brother's children). Since we have already noted the four kinds of first cousins in our discussion under heading 7, we will simply illustrate the relationship between speakers and their cousins by a kinship chart (figure 5).

*Figure 5. Four types of cousin.*

Among these four categories of first cousins, only father's brother's children are in fact of the ego's own lineage, or "we-group." Cousins of other categories are related to the speaker through 4 links (or *sa-ch'on*). They are distinguished from the father's brother's children, however, who are
members of the ego's own group, by terms specifying the connections by marriage: kojong-sa-ch'on for the father's sister's line, ijong-sa-ch'on for the mother's sister's line, and oe-sa-ch'on for the mother's brother's line. Like the term sa-ch'on, these terms are used either without an added suffix (i.e., oe-sa-ch'on for the mother's brother's children) or in a combination using sibling terms as suffixes, according to relationship between the speaker and the cousin based upon differences in sex and age.

It is not surprising that most of the traditional kin terms of reference are still in use in contemporary North Korea. The only change has been that the system of kinship terminology has been somewhat simplified. Uncommon terms or those used only among upper class people have gone out of use. No new terms have been added.

TERMS OF ADDRESS

Terms of address differ somewhat from terms of reference. One principle applies to all terms of address. Consanguineal relatives younger than the speaker are addressed by personal name; seniors are addressed by kin terms which are the same as those used in reference or are modifications of the terms of reference. Personal names may be used as a prefix for terms of reference, such as (Thomas)-ajosi, or "Uncle (Thomas)."

1) Grandparents' generation: All relatives of the grandparental generation are divided into two categories based upon sex: each of the male relatives of the second ascending generation is addressed by the same term as the speaker's own grandfather, halaboji, and the female relatives by the term for grandmother, halmoni. Maternal grandparents may or may not be distinguished from paternal grandparents by the prefix oe-; oe-halaboji or halaboji for the maternal grandfather.

2) Parents' generation: Unlike the grandparents' generation, parents are addressed differently from all other relatives of the same generation, using the terms of reference, aboji for father and omoni for mother. Father's brothers and their wives are also addressed by the terms used in reference: kun-aboji for father's elder brother and kun-omoni for his wife; chagun-aboji or sam-ch'on for father's younger brother and chagun-omoni for his wife. All other relatives of the parental generation are generally addressed either as ajosi (uncle) or ajumoni (aunt). They may also be addressed by such specific terms as ko-mo (FaSi), i-mo (MoSi), and oe-sam-ch'on (MoBr). Parents-in-law, whether wife's parents or husband's, are addressed by the same terms as one uses for one's own parents. A man may address his parents-in-law as changin-olun (WiFa) or changmo-nim (WiMo), but a woman should not distinguish her parents-in-law from her own parents in terms of address.
3) Ego's own generation: Consanguineal relatives of one's own generation older than oneself are addressed by terms used for siblings, ignoring exact relationships. Some of the terms of address may be combined with the suffix -nim, expressing respect: hyong-nim (male speaker's elder brother), nu-nim (male speaker's elder sister), and orabo-nim (female speaker's elder brother). Such prefixes as sa-ch'on- (father's brother's children), oe-sa-ch'on- (mother's brother's children), kojong-sa-ch'on- (father's sister's children), ijong-sa-ch'on- (mother's sister's children), yuk-ch'on- (paternal second cousin related through male line), and p'al-ch'on- (paternal third cousin related through male line) are not used in address. The affinal relatives of ego's own generation are generally addressed by specific terms, as the following table shows.

Terms of address for affinal relatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male speaker's</th>
<th>Female speaker's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ElBrWi:</td>
<td>hyongsu-nim, ajumoni, ajumo-nim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YoBrWi:</td>
<td>chaesu-nim, ajumoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ElSiHu:</td>
<td>mae-hyong, hyong-nim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YoSiSu:</td>
<td>mae-bu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the table shows, affinal relatives are addressed by terms which are slight modifications of the terms of reference for siblings. Some of the terms of address for affinal relatives of the same generation "violate" distinctions by generation; for example, the terms ajosi and ajae mean "uncle," and the terms ajumoni and ajumo-nim designate "aunt," and these are used to address a sister's husband and a brother's wife. The point of reference for the speakers in using these terms appears to be that of their children, to whom the relatives in question are of the age or generation of aunts and uncles.

If a speaker does not think it appropriate to address younger but adult relatives by their personal names, such as at times when they are addressed in the presence of children, they may be addressed by teknonymous terms, for example, "father of (name of child)" and "mother of (name of child)." A son-in-law may be addressed by his personal name, but a daughter-in-law is seldom so addressed; instead such terms as i-ae or aga (both meaning "child") are used to address her. It reminds us of the traditional Korean custom in which a married woman had hardly been identified by her personal name, but by her natal family name; in any genealogical record, a married-in woman was identified by her family of origin, without reference to her personal name which had gone out of use upon her marriage. As far as
family life is concerned, a married woman is still identified by her child's name (i.e., "mother of (name of her child)"), not by her personal name. In social life outside the family circle, however, women are identified by their personal names, which must be considered unprecedented in Korea.

TERMS OF ADDRESS AND REFERENCE OF SPOUSES

Terminology of address between husband and wife draws our special attention since the relationship had traditionally been one of mixed expression, with overt avoidance and covert affection. Such English expressions of endearment as "sweetheart," "honey," and "darling" were totally unknown to the Koreans, and traditional Korean kinship terminology includes no terms of address for use between husband and wife. Except for two terms of reference, *namp'yon* (husband) and *anhae* (wife), all terms used by spouses in addressing each other are, in fact, not kin terms at all. From the North Korean text referred to earlier (1964:149-150), we have been able to draw information on the terms now in use, which do not differ from those of pre-Communist times except for the addition of one term of reference.

Terms of reference and address between spouses

*Terms for husband:*

Terms of reference

(1) When the addressee is older than the speaker:

- ku-i (that man)
- cho-i (that man)
- ae-aboji (child's father)
- abi (father)
- pakk'at-salam (man of the outside, meaning a man in charge of external affairs)
- *namp'yon* (husband)
- (husband's name) + tongmu (comrade)

(2) When the addressee is of same age as, or younger than the speaker:

- agi-aboji (child's father)
- chuin (master)
- pakk'aeso (the outside)
- *ryonggam* ("the old man"; the term also means "your Excellency")
- (nephew or niece's name) + sam-ch'on (uncle)

Terms of address

- yobo (look; hello; hey)
- yobosaeyo (look; hello; hey)
- cho-jom-bosaeyo (Would you look at me?)
Terms for wife:
Terms of reference
(1) When the addressee is older than the speaker:
   ch'ō (wife)
   chib-salam (person in my house)
   ae-omi (child's mother)
   an-salam (person of the inside)
   (wife's name) + tongmu (comrade)
(2) When the addressee is of same age as, or younger than the speaker:
   ch'ō (wife)
   anhae (wife)
   chib-salam (person in my house)
   an-salam (person of the inside)
Terms of address
   yobo (look; hello; hey)
   na-jom-bo (look at me)
   na-jom-bobsida (look at me)

All of the terms and expressions described above are the same as those of traditional Korea, with one exception. Especially on formal or public occasions, today one may refer to a spouse by personal name and the suffixing term -tongmu or "comrade." Despite the changes in family life in connection with active participation in production activities by women, the husband is still referred to as "a man in charge of external affairs of the family" (pakk'at-salam, pakk'aeso, and chuin), and the wife as a "woman in charge of domestic affairs" (chib-salam and an-salam). One may refer to his wife as uli-manura (our wife) or uli-nyop'yonnae (our woman), but these two terms are today somewhat discouraged, since they are to some extent expressions demeaning to women. (The use of the pronoun "our" instead of "my" here may sound awkward to those who are not familiar with the Korean custom. Use of the possessive pronoun "my" has not been well developed in the Korean language.)

FORMALIZED AND INFORMAL FICTIVE KINSHIP

Some kin terms are often used in addressing and referring to people who are not relatives. The terms halaboji (grandfather), halmoni (grandmother), ajosi (uncle), and ajumoni (aunt) are widely used. The young address elders of their grandparents' age by the terms halaboji or halmoni and adults of their parents' age by the terms ajosi or ajumoni. These terms are generally considered to be expressions of respect. These kin terms may be used together with the personal name, or with the official title or position, such as
inmin-gundae (People's Army)-ajosi, anjonwon (security agent)-ajosi, or rodongja (laborer)-ajosi. Among young women, the term onni (female speaker's elder sister) is popular in addressing older female companions. Seniors address juniors by their personal names, and the latter address the former by personal names plus the term onni or by their statuses plus the term onni, i.e., Kyongsuk (name)-onni or panjang (work team head)-onni. Hwang and others (1960:240) report an unusual instance of fictive kinship in their study of Korea-China Friendship Cooperative Farm, a brotherhood relationship among adolescents. Fictive brotherhood and sisterhood is ancient in Korea and may involve two or several persons. Seniors in age assume roles of elder brothers or sisters (hyong-nim, "elder person") and juniors the roles of younger brothers or sisters (chagun-i, "younger one"). The relationship may apply between or among people of the same sex or of different sex. No formalized ritual is involved in entering into this relationship except an oath. The participants address each other as hyong-nim or chagun-i and maintain relations like those of brothers and sisters to which they have bound themselves by the oath. Under Communism, this relationship has been strongly criticized as a vestige of "feudalistic and bourgeois ideology." According to the report (ibid.), five members of the Korea-China Friendship Farm had been charged on the count that until recently they had maintained kyolui-hyongje kwangye (fictive brother relationship) which they had contracted in earlier times. It is interesting to note that the fact was revealed by members of their families.

In view of the strong attack that the North Korean Communists have undertaken against kajogiui, or "familism," the survival of the traditional custom of extending kin terms to non-kinsmen may be puzzling. There is no doubt that the regime has striven to remove the influence of kinship in matters that go beyond family life, and the use of kin terms for non-kinsmen is, of course, one of the familialistic elements to be found in social life. As we saw earlier in the cases of "People's Army uncle" (inmin-gundae-ajosi) and "security agent uncle" (anjonwon-ajosi), however, this custom turns out to be of positive value even under the changed social circumstance of Communism. The use of kin terms helps to bring non-kinsmen closer and maintain solidarity among them, and is thus in accord with the Communist effort to integrate the people into a national network with a common national goal. Consequently, no attempt to discourage the use of kin terms for non-kin other than for fictive brothers has been undertaken so far.
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