

The picture of Dongmun Yuhae:
Lexicographic description and review
of its functions as a dictionary

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract <p>This thesis addresses the problem of situating Dongmun Yuhae, a Chinese-Korean-Manchu dictionary published by Joseon's Bureau of Interpreters in 1748, within the crisis of identity afflicting the Joseon Dynasty. To achieve this, it is proposed that an analysis concerning a dictionary focuses on its inherent nature as a lexicographic tool, through a lexicographic description and review of its functions. Understanding Dongmun Yuhae's functions ensures that the dictionary is not analysed according to its individual parts in separation from each other, but rather according to its whole design to produce a more comprehensive representation.</p> <p>The analysis mainly compares the functions of Dongmun Yuhae that have been explicitly stated in the postface of Dongmun Yuhae (Manchu vocabulary consultation) and the presumed function described by other research (vernacular Chinese consultation). Based on the results of macrostructural, microstructural and mediostuctural analysis, Dongmun Yuhae is proven to be designed to fully support the consultation of Manchu vocabulary for its target users, students and interpreters of the Bureau of Interpreters. Against the crisis of identity of Joseon, Dongmun Yuhae reveals the diplomatic function of Manchu and its importance in Joseon's search for legitimacy as the last bastion of Confucian cultures and value.</p> <p>Historical sources support the description and review of Dongmun Yuhae's main function and shows that despite the crisis of identity and need for Joseon's court and intellectuals to prove to be the deserving heir of Ming's legacy, Joseon court still needed to maintain diplomatic relationship with Qing Dynasty. DMYH was one of the many steps taken to augment its cultural identity. To sum up, the cultural and political crisis of identities and linguistic situations are reflected in DMYH's design and functions.</p>			
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*This thesis is dedicated to all my teachers and
most of all, to my father, the greatest advocate of my education.*

Conventions

Citation style

The style of citation and references primarily follow the rules set by the American Psychological Association (APA).

For the ease of reference, except for works by more than one author, fully Korean and Chinese names of single authors are cited in full in text and in the list of references.

Romanisation

Hangeul romanisation follows the Revised Romanisation of Korean method, except for names which have been romanised by the authors themselves or widely accepted romanisations of proper names or titles.

Chinese romanisation follows the Hanyu Pinyin method.

Manchu romanisation generally follows the Möllendorff's method.

Abbreviations

When there is further clarity needed, the following abbreviations are used:

Kor. : Korean

Ch. : Chinese

CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	Dongmun Yuhae 同文類解	1
1.2	Previous research	4
1.2.1	Linguistics	4
1.2.2	History	5
1.2.3	Lexicography	6
1.3	Definition, problem statement and research questions	7
1.4	Scope and outline	8
2	BACKGROUND	9
2.1	The makers	9
2.1.1	Bureau of Interpreters	9
2.1.2	Lexicography	9
2.1.3	Printing	12
	Commercialisation	13
2.2	The users	15
2.2.1	Student interpreters	15
2.2.2	Interpreters at the Bureau	16
2.2.3	Interpreters and the <i>lantou</i>	19
2.3	Joseon's identity crisis	20
2.3.1	Definition	21
2.3.2	Ming versus Qing	22
2.3.3	Civilised versus barbarian	23
2.3.4	Dynamics between Chinese, Korean and Manchu	25
	Vernacular Korean and literary Chinese	25
	Manchu and Chinese	27
2.4	Discussions	32
3	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS	34
3.1	Lexicography	34
3.1.1	Dictionary structure	36
3.2	Nielsen's general framework for reviewing dictionaries	37
3.3	Adopted Framework	39

4	DESCRIPTION & REVIEW	41
4.1	Physical properties and design	41
4.2	Surface features	43
4.2.1	Macrostructure	43
	Table of contents.....	43
	Wordlist.....	44
	Grammar (Eorokhae).....	46
	Postface	46
	List of contributors	47
4.2.2	Microstructure.....	47
	Lemma zone.....	48
	Equivalent zone.....	49
	Data zone	51
	Separator signs.....	54
4.2.3	Mediostructure	54
4.3	Summary.....	58
4.4	Search-related information costs.....	58
4.5	Underlying features	60
5	DISCUSSIONS	63
5.1	Dongmun Yuhae and Joseon's identity crisis.....	63
5.2	Limitations of research	65
5.3	Recommendation	66
6	CONCLUSIONS	67
	List of References	69
	Appendices	76
	Appendix A.....	76
	Appendix B.....	79

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1. Front cover of volume 1 of Dongmun Yuhae stored at the Kyujanggak Institute</i>	2
Figure 2. Front cover (left) and the last available page (right) of Dongmun Yuhae ..	2
Figure 3. Image of pages from category titled ‘Counting’. Copyrights by Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University.....	42
Figure 4. Table of contents of DMYH from both volumes	44
Figure 5. One page of the list of contributors.....	47
Figure 6. One page from the category of Sky Beasts, Volume 2 of DMYH.....	49
Figure 7. Entry on page 34 of volume 1	56

List of Tables

Table 1. Pairs of conversational books and dictionaries (Yurn Gyudong, 2016).....	11
Table 2. Names and functions of woodblocks (Ok Young Jung, 2013).....	13
Table 3. The lexical fields in DMYH.....	45
Table 4. Microstructure	48
Table 5. Types of equivalent zone	50
Table 6. Types of data zone.....	54
Table 7. Possible cross-references data zone and Eorokhae	56
Table 8. Summary of frequency of data in DMYH	58

1 INTRODUCTION

Most would agree that the word ‘dictionary’ conjures the image of an object used in a tame and scholarly activity of (some might say, intense) perusal in a quiet library. But even at first glance, *Dongmun Yuhae* seems to contradict that assumption. This dictionary was published in 1748 (24 years into King Yeongjo’s reign) and contains Chinese, Korean, and Manchu vocabularies which are categorised according to general themes. Its trilingual content and interesting structure suggests that there are more than just lexicographical choices put into ink by the publisher. It is anyway, the first extant work published in Joseon to have Manchu transcription using *hangeul*.

Something so foreign, such as another language, to be adapted and read in a native writing system indicates an important meeting point of two different groups of people. It is even more curious when the transcribed vocabularies are of the language spoken by the reigning power, using a novel writing system of the smaller nation.

With the basic rule of foreign affairs for Joseon being *Sadae Gyorin* (事大交鄰) "submission to the great and maintaining friendly relations with neighbours", Joseon had to bow down to Qing while harbouring loyalty to the fallen Ming, Joseon was essentially having an identity crisis. Joseon’s struggle is well captured in history, but how can we situate a lexicographical work such as *Dongmun Yuhae* within this crisis of identity?

1.1 *Dongmun Yuhae* 同文類解

Dongmun Yuhae is an extant two-volume dictionary consisting of Chinese, Korean and Manchu vocabularies compiled principally by Hyeong Mun Hang, a teacher at the Bureau of Interpreters during the Joseon Dynasty. The 140-page dictionary has 4,797 entries, which are classified thematically according to 55 categories. The categories consist of themes such as astronomy, geography, insects,

and vegetables. The first volume has 26 thematic categories while the second volume has 29 categories. Currently, one full set of the dictionary is stored at the Institute of Kyujanggak for Korean Studies, Seoul National University. Figure 1 shows the front cover of the copy at Kyujanggak.



Figure 1. Front cover of volume 1 of Dongmun Yuhae stored at the Kyujanggak Institute

There is also an incomplete set, consisting only of the first volume, stored in the Ogura Library at the University of Tokyo. It is in bad condition based on Figure 2.



Figure 2. Front cover (left) and the last available page (right) of Dongmun Yuhae

In this thesis, I have opted to use the full set stored at the Kyujanggak archives through its online archive material viewer. The set is complete, with both the first and second volume photographed in high quality and it was simple to access and save them as XML Paper Specification (XPS) files, and then converted to Portable Document Format (PDF) files for easier consultation.

Dongmun Yuhae (hereafter abbreviated as DMYH) was used as a textbook for *cheongeo yeokgwan* (淸語譯官), the diplomats who were also responsible for Manchu language translation and interpretation at the Bureau of Interpreters. According to the postface of DMYH's second volume, written by An Myeong Yeol (安命說), before the publication of DMYH, a booklet of Manchu vocabularies, titled Dongmun Yujib, was used for the study of Manchu language.

But due to the many errors present in the booklet, it was detrimental to the students. He wrote that many people who were studying Manchu made mistakes because of this booklet. It was in use for more than 100 years before Hyeon Mun Hang started the process of compiling DMYH.

The process of compilation took six years. The main source of Manchu vocabulary in DMYH is a thesaurus published by the Qing court in 1708. The 1708 thesaurus bears similarities with DMYH in terms of the spelling of Manchu words (Seong, 1999). Other publications were also used as reference in the compilation of DMYH. According to Söderblom Saarela (2017), they include:

1. Da Qing quanshu (1683, 1713)
2. Man-Han tongwen quanshu (1690)
3. Xinke Qingshu quanji (1699 and undated)
4. Man-Han tonwen leiji (Unknown)
5. Man-Han leishu (1700, 1701, 1706)
6. Tongwen guanghai quanshu (1693, 1700, 1702)
7. Qingwen beikao (1722)
8. Yin Han Qingwen jian (1735)

1.2 Previous research

Research on DMYH is mainly done in two different fields, either history or linguistics. Between these two areas, there have been various terms used to refer to DMYH, namely wordbook, classificatory glossary and thesaurus. All these terms are helpful in understanding how DMYH is viewed. But as the main approach in this thesis is a lexicographic one, I call it a dictionary, a more general and inclusive term widely accepted in lexicography.

1.2.1 Linguistics

Previous research is not focused on the dictionary's structure as a whole. In the field of linguistics, DMYH has been treated as a source of linguistic data. Kim Dong So (1982) indexed the Manchu and Korean vocabularies. Kim Hyeong Soo (1995) has compared Mongolian and Manchu using the Joseon Dynasty dictionaries, including DMYH. Jo Geonsang (1968, 1971) studied the method of transcription, phonology, and morphology of Korean in DMYH. Kim Seonghye (1993) compared the transcription method, morphology, and vocabulary between DMYH and Mongeo Yuhae (a Mongolian dictionary) and found that both dictionaries contain almost identical vocabularies. Han Hyeongjo (2002) examined the word formation in DMYH. Osterkamp (2012) studied the use of the Korean writing system for transcribing foreign languages during the Joseon Dynasty such as Japanese, Mongolian and Manchu and his materials included DMYH.

As has been shown above, one aspect of DMYH that attracts a lot of interests from linguists is the transcription of Manchu vocabulary using *hangeul*. Ko Dongho (2012)¹ synthesised previous studies regarding the transcription method and has outlined several characteristics of the transcription method in materials published by the Bureau of Interpreters. Specifically, for DMYH, the transcription consists of *hangeul* only (as opposed to some other works with a combination of *hangeul* and Manchu). In DMYH, diacritical marks are used to differentiate the sounds represented by the *hangeul* letters, depending on the intended sound. The diacritical marks used in DMYH are circles and right-angle brackets (Ko Dongho, 2012). He also

¹ In his paper, Ko (2012) resorts to the terms 'writing' and 'letters' as a simpler way to describe the elements in both transcription and transliteration.

concludes that for the *hangeul* letters without any diacritical marks, the relationships between *hangeul* and Manchu letters “are best understood in terms of letter-to-letter correspondence” (p. 76). He elaborates that even though the Manchu script is a syllabic script, the number of correspondences becomes too high if he had analysed the relationship based on syllables.²

1.2.2 History

In the field of history, DMYH has been analysed according to individual components of the dictionary, which is a similar trend seen in linguistics. But the following research papers go beyond the data and relate it to the history of Joseon. Osterkamp (2012) comments that DMYH was influenced by Chinese because Chinese is at the top of the hierarchy of each specific entry, followed by Korean and then Manchu. He also adds that the Chinese direction of writing (from top to bottom) is retained. He describes the content as “Manchu-oriented,” but does not elaborate further how this conclusion is obtained.

Söderblom Saarela (2017) uses DMYH as one of the many proofs for a narrative of subversion of the Manchu language by the Joseon scholars. Particularly in DMYH, the Joseon scholars subverts the original intention of a Qing court’s publication to promote Manchu by adapting it to learn vernacular written Chinese and new Mandarin pronunciations. The spelling of Manchu words follow the monolingual Manchu thesaurus published by Qing in 1708. Despite staying faithful to the Manchu spelling of its source, the following aspects of DMYH are signs of the subversion:

- The Chinese headwords were of written literary and vernacular Chinese;
- even though most Qing sources put Manchu at the top of each entry, DMYH has Chinese on top;
- the grammar section of DMYH refers to vernacular Chinese and Korean grammar too (apart from Manchu grammar);
- Chinese studies scholars’ names are put first and listed more than Manchu studies scholars’ names in the list of contributors.

² The various functions of diacritical marks and the correspondences are elaborated extensively in Ko (2012) and the topic is not pursued further in this thesis as it is not the main focus.

Kim and Shin (2015) studied the overall process of acceptance of Manchu language by the Joseon court and intellectuals. They conclude that despite the hostile interactions between Joseon and the Manchus, especially during the first invasion in 1627 and the second one in 1636, a Manchu language studies tradition was fully established by the Joseon court. DMYH is considered as part of this intellectual pursuit, which include the translation of Jurchen studies books into the Manchu language, publication of many Manchu learning materials and training of Manchu language interpreters at the Bureau of Interpreters (司譯院).

Kim and Shin (2015) also observe that the acceptance among the intellectuals had a dual characteristic. On one side, their attitude can be summed up as “worshipping the Ming, rejecting the Qing” (崇明排清), but they were still interested in Manchu language through publications in Manchu language. This sentiment echoes the subversive attitude noted by Söderblom Saarela (2017) but also confirms Osterkamp’s (2012) comment on the Manchu-oriented content of DMYH.

1.2.3 Lexicography

There has only been one piece of research on DMYH from the lexicographic perspective, but it is still does not analyse DMYH according to its functions. Kim and Kim (2014) studied the feasibility of using DMYH as a source to produce a dictionary for Manchu. They focused on the connections of the headwords in terms of morphology and semantics. The ultimate objective of their research is to show that the contents, particularly the derivational relationship among words and patterns of collocations contribute to a better understanding of Manchu vocabulary.

Overall, the previous research on DMYH or relating to DMYH focus on individual components or study the components in separation from each other. While collectively, studies from these three different fields form a rich body of knowledge on DMYH and are the precursors to this thesis, this dictionary’s whole structure remains to be clarified lexicographically. It is therefore important to address this gap to further explain how DMYH can be contextualised in Joseon’s crisis of identity.

1.3 Definition, problem statement and research questions

To answer the main question, first of all, we have to return to the form of the object of this enquiry, the dictionary. A layperson may see it as a book of words and their definitions. Samuel Johnson defines the word 'dictionary' in his famous 1755 English dictionary as such:

“A book containing the words of any language in alphabetical order, with explanations of their meaning; lexicon; a vocabulary; a word-book.”

His definition is typical; it describes the content and structure of a thing. While this may be helpful for the user of his work in 18th century London, it only describes one dimension of dictionaries and does not offer a comprehensive definition.

Now, dictionaries are seen as more than just compilations of words and meanings. For centuries across the world, dictionaries have been produced in many different structures and for various purposes. Hence, now we have more types of dictionaries to account for in a definition. Modern day lexicography is now more inclusive about what a dictionary is.

The prevailing way of analysing a dictionary is by focusing on its lexicographic functions. This growing school of thought was started by Kromann et al. (1984) and were followed and expanded by Bergenholtz and Tarp (2002) and Tarp (2008). According to this school of thought, Nielsen (2013) defines a dictionary as:

“...a lexicographic tool that is made up of a number of distinct sections whose common function is to provide answers to users, so they can solve particular types of problem.”

Therefore, DMYH can be defined as a lexicographic tool consisting of distinct sections whose common function is to provide answers to users. Such an ontological position is important in finding the method to contextualise DMYH in the history of Joseon's crisis of identity.

DMYH was designed to learn Manchu translation and presumably learn vernacular Chinese and new Mandarin pronunciations. But DMYH has not been studied as a whole functional tool, but rather in parts. So, the way the above functions are fulfilled have yet to be explained.

In response to this problem, my thesis proposes the use of a lexicographic framework to describe and analyse DMYH's functions from a more comprehensive view. It is hoped that the method of lexicographic review can provide a clearer picture of how the makers of DMYH consolidated these functions and all the three languages' vocabularies within one dictionary. The following are the research questions of this thesis:

1. What do the overall lexicographic components of DMYH look like?
2. How are the functions of DMYH fulfilled by its components?

The answers will fill the research gap and will help in understanding the relationship between DMYH and Joseon's crisis of identity.

1.4 Scope and outline

The scope of this thesis includes DMYH's lexicographic structure, DMYH's makers and users, Korea-China relations and finally the dictionary's position within Joseon's crisis of identity. This background information is in the next chapter, Chapter 2. The theoretical frameworks and adoption in this research are explained in Chapter 3. Chapter 3 is followed by the application of lexicographic review on DMYH in Chapter 4. I describe and analyse the surface and underlying features of DMYH. This thesis, however, **does not go deeper into the linguistic aspects of the contents of DMYH**. Rather, I will draw information from previous linguistic research only when needed to supplement the structural description and review. For the parts of structure and content that have not been studied, I make my own observations. The review is then discussed in Chapter 5 against the historical background. It is in this chapter where the main question will be answered. Lastly, the conclusions are in Chapter 6.

2 BACKGROUND

This chapter provides the background information related to DMYH, its users, the makers and some aspects of Joseon's crisis of identity.

2.1 The makers

The publisher of DMYH is the Bureau of Interpreters, but to fully understand the contributing environment which supported the publishing of DMYH, I also describe the activities of lexicography in Korea and China and the printing technologies available to Joseon.

2.1.1 Bureau of Interpreters

The Bureau of Interpreters (司譯院) was established in 1393 during the reign of King Taejo. Its primary function was to provide training for translators and interpreters for the Joseon court. During the Goryeo dynasty, this governmental body was called Tongmungwan (通文館). The Bureau's buildings were located in the western part of Hanseong (King, 1987).

One of the most famous figures from the Bureau is Shin Kye Am. He was an interpreter and scholar of Manchu trained at the Bureau. He was born in 1600 and mastered the Manchu language because he frequently went on trips with envoys to China. He passed the entrance exams for Manchu interpreters in 1619. He is also credited with for converting all Jurchen textbooks and manuals into the new Manchu script (King, 1987).

2.1.2 Lexicography

According to Yurn Gyudong (2016), most of the dictionaries for foreign languages in Joseon were made during late 17th and 18th centuries. In this period, the movement of Practical Learning (實學) was in full bloom and it led to a tendency to collect language data. So, proverbs, etymologies, dialects, idioms etc were

collected and then published. The dictionaries published by the Bureau of Interpreters for the study and research of foreign languages are called *yeokhakseo* (譯學書), which means ‘translation glossaries’.

Most of these dictionaries have the word *yuhae* (類解) in their names. *Yuhae* means ‘classification and explanation according to the category of meaning’. Therefore, they are called ‘classificatory glossaries’ (Yurn Gyudong, 2016). So, classificatory glossaries are essentially translation wordbooks containing foreign language and Korean vocabularies, classified according to meaning such as body, time and weather, geography etc.

The materials for learn Manchu that exist until today were all published during Kings Yeongjo and Jeongjo’s reigns (Yurn Gyudong, 2016). The Bureau of Interpreters’ Manchu learning books can be divided mainly into three types:

- conversational materials for learning communication
- readers for learning writing
- dictionaries for searching for vocabulary

The glossaries were based on everyday life and societal life, so all the necessary words needed can be found in these glossaries. These glossaries can be compared to noun wordbooks because both of these wordbook types have meaning-based classifications and a collection of various vocabularies. Yurn Gyudong (2016) notes that the difference is that noun wordbooks are devoted to names of things needed in language usage. Noun wordbooks are also different from classificatory glossaries because the meaning-based classifications are more detailed and technical.

Contrastingly, the words included in classificatory glossaries are basic vocabularies and general vocabularies from semantic categories that need to be acquired first for the sake of learning a language (Yurn Gyudong, 2016). Basic vocabularies are the most minimum words needed for basic communication while general vocabularies are the ones which have high frequencies of usage in a language and needed for daily conversations.

The reason for classificatory glossaries’ mainly prioritising basic and general vocabularies is the nature of these glossaries; they are foreign language study books

(Yurn Gyudong, 2016). When we first learn a new language, we need to study basic and general vocabularies first. If we broadly divide foreign language study materials, one category would be conversational books, and another is dictionaries. In the case of DMYH, it is a dictionary for learning Manchu. Foreign language study materials during the Joseon Dynasty were usually paired together to be conversational books and glossaries. The table below shows the pairs:

Dictionaries	Conversational books
Yeokeo Yuhae (譯語類解) Chinese and Korean dictionary	Nogeoldae
Dongmun Yuhae (同文類解) Chinese, Korean and Manchu dictionary	Cheongeo Nogeoldae
Mongeo Yuhae (蒙語類解) Chinese, Korean and Mongolian dictionary	Mongeo Nogeoldae
Wae-eo Yuhae(倭語類解) Chinese, Korean and Japanese dictionary	Cheobhae Shineo
Hwaeo Yucho (華語類抄) Chinese and Korean dictionary	Hwaeumgye Mongeonhae
Bangeon Yuseok (方言類釋) Chinese, Korean, Manchu, Mongolian and Japanese dictionary	N/A

Table 1. Pairs of conversational books and dictionaries (Yurn Gyudong, 2016)

According to Lee (1994), many thematic and categorical dictionaries were published in Joseon. One example is the Hyang-ak Kugeoppang (Emergency Remedies of Folk Medicine). This was published during the 13th century and has entries of medicines in Chinese characters and also their Korean names. Other books also followed this system: Hyangyak Jaechwi Wollyong (1431), Hyangyak Jipsongpang (1433), Chonga Kubeoppang (16th century) and Tongwi Pogam (1613).

There were also dictionaries of grains like Keumyang Chamnok which was published by Kang Heui-maeng. It lists names of grains written in Idu characters, *hangeul* and annotations. Before DMYH was made, there was a dictionary titled Dongmun Yujib. In 1691, the Manchu interpreters, Yi Hae, O Sang Chae and Jeong Man Je published Dongmun Yujib (mentioned in Chapter 1) using their own money (Song Ki-joong, 2001).

2.1.3 Printing

DMYH was printed using the method of woodblock printing. According to Ok Young Jung (2013) woodblock printing originates from the need to publish Buddhist texts. Later on, other usages have been found for it, including publishing philosophical materials, academic books, essays and others. Spotless Pure Light Dharani Sutra (無垢淨光大陀羅尼經) is the world's oldest extant woodblock print. It was found in the stupa, the Seokgatap, in the Gyeongju city of South Korea.

Ok Young Jung (2013) outlines all the steps in woodblock printing. The first step of woodblock printing is writing calligraphy on paper. A master would write on the paper, which is then put on a wooden plate. The calligraphy side of the paper meets the wooden plate and through the back of the paper, the letters can be seen. A chiseller starts the process of engraving the plate to make a woodblock. This is the woodblock on which ink is applied to print a book. The woodblock with applied ink is pressed on top of paper and rubbed to make the impression.

Each woodblock has two handles on each end, which can also serve to protect the plates. Besides the handles, a woodblock also consists of a plate face and centre. Woodblocks can be categorised according to their functions:

Name	Function
<i>chaekpan</i>	for printing the main contents
<i>seopan</i>	for printing calligraphy practice pages
<i>neunghwapan</i>	for printing illustrations of book covers
<i>inchagongchaekpan</i>	for printing notebooks
<i>sijeonjipan</i>	for printing letters
<i>dopan</i>	for printing diagrams

Table 2. Names and functions of woodblocks (Ok Young Jung, 2013).

The source of material used in making the wooden plates were jujube, pear, sputum, prunus and white birch trees. These trees were chosen because the wood is hardy and has a dense grain. The lumber board was soaked in sea water or steamed with salted water so that grain is softer. This ensured that the process of chiselling was easier.

The process of woodblock printing required many long processes of engraving wooden plates and printing using the engraved plates. So, to print even one copy of a book, the time needed was long and the cost was high. The process of making each wooden plate was also an arduous task. However, Ok Young Jung (2013) notes that a woodblock print in Joseon had “a clear goal of publication” (p. 36). This was because it was proofread and checked if it was accurate. Each wooden print had to be edited, complete with its determined letter size. Woodblock printing also allowed for reprinting more copies for a long period of time, given that paper supply was available. So, a reprinted copy should have had a consistent style of writing.

Commercialisation

According to Sohn (1959), during the Joseon Dynasty, printing was mostly done by movable metal types. But xylography, or woodblock printing was also being developed. An office located outside the court for wood block printing existed as part of the royal foundry. This method was more commonly used by local offices and schools and for illustrated books. Both methods were used because there was a lack

of paper and labour at the beginning. There was not enough budget for the publication of various titles or for multiple copies. And because commercialisation of book printing was seen as a negative activity in the eyes of Confucianists, book selling was not approved.

According to *The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* (68, 2b), one minister of King Sejong (1419-1450) suggested for the printing of 10,000 copies of books published then. With the sale of those copies, using the movable type, it can help finance the production of paper. But King Sejong prohibited the sale. He also made levies on the provinces for paper to try to solve the lack of paper. This obstacle on entrepreneurship according to Confucianism prevented the development of typography, Confucianism itself, and spread of knowledge.

But Sohn (1959) claims King Sejong still contributed to typography with the improvement of cast-type printing. He discovered that the 1403 font types were not efficient because of the wax used for placing the types. During printing, the types needed to stay in place. They used wax, but for King Sejong it was not efficient enough. So, in 1420, with King Sejong's order, a new type was cast. This did not need any wax while printing. Bamboo strips and paper replaced wax by locking the types in place.

During the 16th century, the movable type printing method was used for news of activities done by the government and announcements of appointment and removal of officers. Printing of the governmental news became commercialised, and King Sejong once again tried to adhere to the principles of Confucianism. He made an edict to prohibit it.

The paper problem continued with the other kings of Joseon. They had to distribute books that were printed using metal type to the local officials. And then these officials recarved the books into woodblocks. Therefore, xylography was more commonly used in the local offices and schools.

According to Sohn (1959), the quality of Korean paper was so superior that it was mistaken for silk. But, the paper supply was affected by the Manchu invasions. There were levies on paper by the Manchus which were high. Koreans were forced to make papers thinner for printing. Manchu's demand of paper was mainly not for

printing but for wrapping the dead. Printing using thinner paper continued even after the Manchus demanded less paper. The quality of ink made by the Koreans was improved by adding high quality oil. But fish oil addition deteriorated the quality of Korean ink.

There was also influence of Korean typography on China. This happened during the Qing Dynasty when the Kangxi Emperor requested some literary works which were printed by Korean scholars. These works were presented to the emperor according to the records of King Sukjong in The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (53, 20a). Sohn (1959) conjectures that this stimulated the practice of typography in China. Another more concrete proof is that a text called “Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature” was published using the method of movable wooden type. This was done based on the recommendation by a court official of Korean descent for its cheaper cost.

2.2 The users

2.2.1 Student interpreters

According to Jeong Seung Hye (2002), in 1393 during the second year of King Taejo’s reign, the Bureau of Interpreters started training students in Korean language and then in Mongolian, Japanese and Jurchen. Student interpreters were called *saengdo*, or recruits. Every month they had to sit for regular exams once or twice. Every three months there was what is equivalent to today’s final exam, which was called *wonsi* (院試).

The subjects for the exams were of the necessary materials like the relevant languages’ textbooks, Confucian classics, Gyeongguk Daejeon. To become official interpreters, the students had to pass the *yeokkwa* civil service examination. This was an exam that was held once every three years. The method for sitting for a *yeokkwa* exam was mainly through writing expositions on classical Confucian texts (講書), translation (譯語), and foreign language writing (寫字).

The most important primary source for the interpreters from 1599-1632 are examination rosters by the Bureau. Yeokkwa Pangmok had exams from 1489-1891 and Swangwen Kwapang goes until 1880. According to King (1987), eleven individuals passed the Jurchen examinations between 1599 and 1632. The source Yekkwan Pangmok has information for *cheonghak* (Manchu studies) but there is no information about the activities and the location of work of the interpreters.

The interpreters were also not important enough to be included in the Dictionary of Korean Biography (Hanguk Inmyeong Daesajeon). Other than Shin Kye Am, is it difficult to find information on interpreters who were working in the branch bureaus in the border garrisons.

It is not clear exactly how the students carry out dictionary consultation, even though it would be useful for this research. According to Lee (2013), Mongolian and Manchu language *yeokhakseo* did not have any printed books with movable type printing. There were only woodblock printed-materials for these two languages. One possible reason is that the form of writing system for these two languages, which needed to be written in a continuous way, caused confusion for the printers and decision was made to make the printing process easier (Lee Seon Hee, 2013). Casting metal type for these languages was confusing, so the easier method was using woodblock printing.

Lee Seon Hee (2013) also conjectures that there is a possibility of *yeokhakseo* being privately owned by the diplomats for their own descendants who might one day become interpreters too, but in reality *yeokhakseo* was considered public material to be used at the Bureau itself. Even then, because they used woodblock printing, students could have been given money to buy it or print it on their own.

2.2.2 Interpreters at the Bureau

The interpreters hired by the Joseon court were basically diplomat who did interpretation for the king and his ministers whenever there were foreign envoys in Joseon. Even after getting appointment as a diplomat by passing Yeokkwa, the diplomats' abilities were continuously being tested through *chwijae* (取才, a test for selecting technician officials) and *kogang* (考講, oral classics examination). Exams

like *baegang* (背講, oral test), *imgang* (臨講, book reading test in front of the teacher), and *saja* (copying diplomatic documents test) were also held, so this can be understood that spoken and written language were all tested (Kim Nam Hui, 2012). In the exams, in addition to the Four Books (四書), the test also used practical contents of conversational texts such as *Nogeoldae* and *Park-tongsa*. Not all diplomats could receive stipend, so through the result of all the examination and tests, promotion or sinecure posts with salary were given.

An embassy's composition of people depended on the duties of the party (Kim Seonmin, 2017). Leading members comprised of court officials like the chief ambassador, vice ambassador, and the attendant secretary. Only members of the royal family or high officials can be appointed as the chief ambassador, which was the representative of the Joseon king to the emperor of the Qing Dynasty. The vice ambassador was responsible for the office work and the secretary managed the affairs of embassy (like smuggling regulations).

All discussion and communication were done through written memorials. This was where the interpreters came in. Their role was to deal with the practical matters. There was a chief interpreter who managed the missions (like transactions with merchants and important discussions with the Qing officials). So, the officials from the Joseon court were only representatives but the interpreters were the ones who did the work of the embassy (Kim Seonmin, 2017).

Public trades were made through the envoys sent on the order from Joseon, and the diplomats were dispatched as part of the envoy, acting as interpreters. They carried out *sahaeng* (diplomatic journeys) to Japan and China and other countries as interpreters and act as hosts when other countries' envoys come. Roles of diplomats on *sahaeng* included carrying out the overall journey matters, interpreting for that process, sending diplomatic documents and being in charge of governmental trades, procuring buffalo horns for making arrows and medicine, conducting consumer goods trade for the royal family and the elite, and taking information needed by the Joseon for technology acquisition (Kim Nam Hui, 2012).

According to Kim Seonmin (2017), the people in tribute missions had official rights to trade, called *ppalppo*. During the Qing Dynasty, the carrying limit for

Korean embassies was 80 *keon* (Ch. *jin*) of ginseng or its equivalent value in silver or other goods. The Korean term *ppalppo* specifically came from the meaning 'eight bundles' which equals to 80 *keon*. Each bundle (Kor. *ppo*) equals to ten *keon*. The trading right was given to all embassy officials including the military guards. The interpreters prized this right more than the others because there was a problem with their salary.

The salary problem was due to the sheer number of interpreters hired and lack of fund because of the court's unwillingness to involve itself in commercial activities. The Bureau had an influx of interpreters when King Sukjong was in reign (1674-1720) because the *yeokkwa* examinations were held too many times to celebrate auspicious events (Kim Kyung-ran, 2014).

The government at that time had about 600 official interpreters even though they only needed 50-60 interpreters (Kim Kyung-ran, 2014). The government tried to solve this problem by rotating systematically between the interpreters. A single interpreter was forced to share and rotate duties and salaries. Even with this system, they could not get enough money to cover their living expenses.

So, the interpreters' position was an advantage for them to solve their salary problem. They engaged in both legal and illegal trade. But because of this, the interpreters involved in trade were called *sangyeok* (merchant interpreters). This term was slightly derogatory and was used by other government officials to degrade the interpreters especially because *sangyeok* were also involved in smuggling and secret trades. So, in the end, the government had to allow interpreters to bring a certain amount of goods to trade privately (Kim Kyung-ran, 2014).

Interpreters generally had a low status in Joseon. Wang Sixiang (2014) infers this based on a biography of a Joseon official and scholar Yi Seokhyeon (李石亨) (1415–1477). Those possessing linguistic knowledge were called 'tongue people' (舌人) and those who had classical education had high status. Yi was praised in the biography for his aristocratic pedigree but his choice of doing clerical work was related to the work of spoken language in a derogatory way.

In a preface of some poems written by court official Kang Huimaeng (姜希孟) (1424–1483), he described another scholar and praised him for loving “antiquity” and instructing him to educate himself while accompanying his uncle to Beijing. The praising of classical learning is juxtaposed in the same preface when Kang downgraded the court interpreters. He described the interpreters as those who do not understand when they observe the Ming Dynasty during their travels and that they were not able to learn from the civilisation there. The disregard for an interpreter’s skills is ironic since they were the ones who managed almost everything related to diplomatic journeys between Joseon and the Ming Dynasty (and later also with the Qing).

2.2.3 Interpreters and the *lantou*

There was a group, named *lantou* (欄頭), formed by merchants from Shengjing in the late 17th century. This group had a monopoly on transporting luggage for the Joseon embassy. They became very rich through their close relationship with the Qing officials in the Shengjing Boards of Rites and Revenue and also because the majority of the merchants had official posts in Shengjing (Kim Kyung-ran, 2014).

This group managed to use their power to manipulate the departure and trip dates of the Joseon embassies, forcing them to waste money overstaying many months. Gradually the embassy grew weary of the *lantou* monopoly and manipulation. However, the official interpreters helped influence the Joseon embassies to maintain their relationships with the *lantou* until a Korean official wrote that two of their own interpreters were also *lantou* merchants. It was only in 1723 that the *lantou* carter was abolished after a series of investigations which started with a request by the King Gyeongjong (reign 1720-24) to the Yongzheng emperor.

Since 1700, the relationship between Qing and Joseon continued to sour with problems regarding credit transactions between Joseon embassy officials with Qing merchants. It was so serious that any Joseon subjects were to be killed if they owed

money to Qing citizens. But it turned out that many accusations of debt were false (Kim Kyung-ran, 2014).

In 1724, after the *lantou* was gone, that the diplomatic tensions between Qing and Joseon became more serious. It was revealed that the *lantou* owed a lot of money to the Shengjing office and interestingly many Korean traders owed money to the *lantou*. After many failed attempts by the Joseon court to trace the Korean debtors at the order of the Qing court and to decapitate them if they were found, the Yongzheng emperor dismissed the case in 1728.

Soon, to solve the credit problem, Joseon court put the blame on private merchants and decided to allow only the embassy's interpreters to trade in Shengjing. So, all means of trade between Fenghuangcheng and Shengjing for the tribute embassy were barred. But soon this attempt by King Yeongjo failed because the embassy needed profit from the trade to prepare tribute gifts for the Qing emperor and to solve any problems encountered during the tribute missions.

Therefore, smuggling activities grew from Euiju to Fenghuangcheng and Shengjing. In 1754, the trade with the Qing was reallocated only for merchants who worked with the embassy going on tribute missions.

There were many cases involving stolen property over the years but there was one which involved a Korean interpreter, Yi Yunbang, in 1745. According to him, his silver was missing near a place called Shilihe. All of these cases could not be solved. But later, apparently it was revealed that some of the thefts were falsified after a witness who was bribed by Yi Yunbang revealed it to Qing officials (Kim Seonmin, 2017).

2.3 Joseon's identity crisis

After the Qing Dynasty came to power, Joseon was tormented by a crisis of identity of political and cultural natures. Pro-Ming sentiments were still very much alive while a group of pro-Qing supporters was growing. This crisis can also be characterised by the struggle of both Qing and Joseon's effort to claim themselves as the civilised one, as opposed to being called barbarian. Joseon's identity as a nation,

that has always been tied to its reverence of the classical Chinese, was reinforced by the arrival of the vernacular Korean in the public space during the Imjin War, and in the 18th century. It was into this linguistic typology, that the Manchu language suddenly entered and started finding its function and revealing its status through its usage by the Koreans.

2.3.1 Definition

To define the term 'identity' in this thesis, it is essential to refer to Haboush's usage of the term in her argument on the discourse of nation. She argues the discourse of nation in Korea started after the Imjin War and the invasions carried out by the Manchus. Against the Manchus, Joseon's identity was defined by culture and civilisation (Haboush, 2016). This argument is further supported with the use of the term 'cultural identity' in Haboush's (2001) discussion on the effect of the replacement of Ming Dynasty by the Qing Dynasty (which was the threatening of the Korean's cultural identity). And Haboush (2001) ties this identity to this event because it disturbed the Confucian world order. Continuing this line of thought, it is logical to include the dichotomy between the civilised versus the barbarian in this sphere of Joseon's cultural identity. This is proven true as Haboush (2001) also identifies the adherence of Korean scholars to a more orthodox ideology of Confucianism than China in the 15th century and frames this topic within culture. Furthermore, Haboush (2001, p. 22) emphasises that Joseon's "statehood continued to be defined by cultural identity" based on the fact that Koreans accepted the Confucianist standards of civilisation which puts China at the centre. More importantly, Joseon's cultural identity was apparently at odds with its own political identity. Continuing from the above quote, Haboush (2001) claims the political identity of Joseon was compromised because as a state, Joseon was a subordinate to the China. In sum, according to Haboush (2001, 2016), Joseon's identity as a state was mostly of a cultural nature rather than political.

To simplify, in this cultural identity, the following tensions existed:

- civilised versus barbarian

Within the political identity, the following dilemma existed:

- Ming versus Qing

Another type of duality that existed within Joseon's identity discourse was the diglossic linguistic space in which classical Chinese and vernacular Korean existed after the wars. It is interesting, then, to add the Manchu language into this mix. But did the Manchu language claim its spot as an equal amongst the two other languages? In Haboush's (2016) argument on discourse of nation, she has not shown any indication that the Manchu language warranted an examination in terms of its status or function. But in this thesis, to better provide a context of the identity crisis in which DMYH was published, the Manchu language is also analysed in this chapter along with Chinese and Korean. Since the diglossic situation is not recognised as a crisis of any type by Haboush (2016), but rather as a mutually-beneficial existence of two languages in the discourse of nation, I entitle this particular analysis, "Dynamics between Chinese, Korean and Manchu."

2.3.2 Ming versus Qing

The fall of the Ming Dynasty was marked with a ceremony and it was attended by the crown prince of Joseon, Yi Wang (1612-1645). The crown prince lived in Mukden when the Manchus took over Joseon and kidnapped Yi Wang and Yi Ho, his younger brother. Since 1637, a tributary relationship was started between the Qing Dynasty and Joseon. Previously the relationship was controlled by the Ming Dynasty, especially on the matters of governed relations. The Qing Dynasty continued this relationship by endorsing this arrangement.

According to Kim Seonmin (2017), a peace treaty was made in 1673 between the Qing and Joseon courts and it required royal embassies from Korea to go to China for the winter solstice celebration, the New Year's Day and the birthday of the emperor, and the annual tribute to Beijing. In 1645, the Qing capital was moved from Shengjing to Beijing. So, because of the longer journey from Hanseong to Beijing, the winter solstice embassy could be combined with other embassies. This combined trip was called the annual tribute or the regular embassy.

Haboush (2001) perfectly sums up Joseon's long-established need for recognition from the Ming Dynasty. Even though Joseon's king had the Mandate of Heaven to rule over Korea, this mandate, however, was legitimised by the Confucian world view. And China was at the centre of this order and Korea was in the periphery. So, an investiture (*komyeong*) that recognised the king of Korea given by China's Son of Heaven was important politically and symbolically.

Loyalty to Ming was also due to the help given to Joseon during the Japanese invasion in the 1590s. A large military contingent was sent from China and eventually saved Joseon from decimation. The feeling of gratitude strengthened the spiritual bond between Ming and Joseon, which further fortifies the regret that came when Ming was replaced by Qing on 6th of June 1644. The emperor of the Ming Dynasty died, and the Manchu military entered Beijing. It was at this point when the civilised Ming fell into the hands of the barbarian Qing.

The investiture created a dilemma when Qing was in rule. Joseon could not have discontinued its diplomatic relationship with Qing mostly because it needed the investiture. Haboush (2001) emphasises that the investiture symbolises the tributary status of Korea, peace and good will of the two countries' relationship, mutual protection, and a secure spot for Joseon within the hierarchy of an orderly universe. The idea of a universal reign was also sustained by the Qing Dynasty, through linguistic and military efforts and tributary relationships with other countries like Annam and Burma (Haboush, 2001). So, for Joseon to be the periphery, there needed to be a centre. When Ming fell, Qing filled the spot. Hence, the diplomatic relationship was inevitable, especially considering that the Joseon Dynasty was founded upon Confucian ideals.

2.3.3 Civilised versus barbarian

Ming was considered as the civilised country in the Confucian world view while other countries were considered barbarians. So, for Koreans, Ming was the benchmark for a civilised status and Joseon was supposed to achieve this standard. Haboush (2001) proves this through the *Songs of Flying Dragons*, songs of the royal house composed in the 15th century. These songs emphasise on Joseon's excelling China in terms of virtue, courage, modesty, generosity and trustworthiness.

These praises are signs of Joseon's desire to overtake Ming as an upholder of Confucian values. But the lines between which country was most civilised and which countries were barbarians were well defined and Joseon made efforts to become "Little China" (*so junghwa*). The government and the citizens of Joseon had anti-Manchu feelings which was not new as they had called the Manchus as barbarians within the civilised-barbarian dichotomy (*hwa-i*).

The government and people of Joseon were informed of the notion of civilised versus barbarian distinction (Kor. *Hwa-i ui cha-i*; Ch. *Hua-yi zhi bian*). A Korean officer, Choi Hyo Il, began activities opposing the Manchus in Uiju, Joseon during the first invasion of Joseon in 1627. He was also in Beijing when the Qing forces entered Beijing but did not want to shave his hair or prostrate in front of the Manchu prince. He supported the Ming by wearing a Ming-style robe and mourned at the tomb of Chongzhen. In the end, he died from hunger at the tomb.

The stability of the dichotomy between the civilised and the barbarian was threatened during the transition from Ming to Qing. What was considered the centre of the Confucian world order disappeared. Choi Hyo Il's opposition was celebrated by King Sukjong (reign 1674-1720) through a posthumously-awarded rank in 1715. Choi was considered a martyr even when Joseon was a subordinate country of the Qing Dynasty. Culturally, Joseon's identity was endangered, especially because a pro-Qing group was rising. Haboush (2001) claims that the effects of the rise set Joseon back a century, both politically and intellectually.

Ironically, while Joseon was showing various manifestations of detest against the barbarian Qing, Joseon was continuously used as a model of the subordinate country in the tributary (Ch. *fan*) system in Qing. Qing's role in the discourse of civilised versus barbarian adds another dimension in Joseon's crisis of identity.

Wang Yuanchong (2017) analysed the way the Qing handled the discourse by using the tributary relationship in which Joseon was the ultimate model of a subordinate state. While Joseon was handling its clash of identity, Qing was in the process of transforming its own label from barbarian to civilised through the Zongfan system. So, Joseon's relationship with Qing was mutually beneficial, as both countries strived to be more civilised than the other, but by using each other.

Joseon was special because it was considered as the model subordinate country. Joseon was *chaoxian shili* (Joseon model), because Joseon followed the correct steps as subordinate countries (Wang Yuanchong, 2017):

- receiving imperial investitures
- adopting regnal titles of Qing in calendar
- sending tributary emissaries to Qing.

The model that the Qing employed from 1644 to 1761 was done to achieve two major objectives:

- to make itself as the civilised one
- to convert Joseon and other countries as barbarians

Hence, even though Joseon considered itself as more civilised than Qing, it was participating in a discourse that rendered Joseon as a barbarian country.

2.3.4 Dynamics between Chinese, Korean and Manchu

Vernacular Korean and literary Chinese

In the discourse of nation as identified by Haboush (2016), the literary Chinese's function was matched by that of the vernacular Korean. There were two points of time when the vernacular Korean rose in status:

1. during the war with Japan and
2. during the reigns of Yeongjo (reign 1724-1776) and Cheongjo (reign 1776-1800).

Early in the war, Korea was excluded in the discussions for peace between China and Japan. So, what the Joseon government had to do was to turn to its people and tried uniting them using vernacular Korean. It was King Seonjo (reign 1567-1608) who spurred the usage of vernacular Korean when faced with the urgency to restore good will (Haboush, 2016). At first, the royal missives and edicts were written in classical Chinese. Even though they were read out loud in Korean, it did not achieve direct communication. To unite the people, the letter had to be inclusive of the common people.

Thus, King Seonjo ordered for the letter sent to Hwanghae to be translated into the Korean script. Another edict was also translated into the script later. But the real moment the vernacular Korean entered the public inscriptional space was when Seonjo made a reconfirmation that the Korean script was to be used to address the people (Haboush, 2016). For quite some time, *hangeul* and literary Chinese were used in missives and to Seonjo. It was the inclusivity that he wanted to achieve. It also excluded non-Koreans, especially when *hangeul* was used without the accompaniment of literary Chinese, such as one edict which was distributed in 1593. Its content was on the safety of the Koreans at the hands of the Japanese army.

Haboush (2016) characterises the *hangeul*-only edicts as tools to communicate only to the Koreans. This was important especially because there were many other communication tools that were used and circulated in Chinese and Japanese. Haboush conjectures that this could have prevented non-Koreans from being able to read Seonjo's emphatic appeals and reassurances to the Koreans. Thus, I would argue that *hangeul's* previously lower status and near-exclusive usage in the domestic sphere has transformed it into an ingenious tool for unity as a reaction to foreign danger.

For a long time, vernacular Korean and literary Chinese were utilised in complementary with each other. Haboush (2016) points out that there could have been a difference in terms of individual roles of a language in edicts with two languages, compared to edicts with only one language. But she emphasises the mutually reinforcing nature of Korean and Chinese even in edicts which had an original version and a translated version; each language delineated and strengthened the role of the other language "in the notion of ethnic exclusivity" (p. 117).

The usage of vernacular Korean in the public inscriptional space rose again during the reign of King Yeongjo. He released an edict in 1749 in which he announced the regency of Prince Sado (1736-1762). The edict also used *hangeul* to reach a wider audience of not only the *yangban*, but also the commoners. *Hangeul* was still used publicly during the reign of King Cheongjo, who sent out a royal pronouncement in 1783. It was distributed to the people who went through poor harvest in that year. All in all, six provinces received the pronouncement. Cheongjo

sent more of these pronouncements, which had literary Chinese and vernacular Korean, in the following years, exceeding Yeongjo (Haboush, 2009). But both had similar intentions; they wanted to show that they shared the “joy and sorrow” with the people (p. 21).

Manchu and Chinese

In Joseon, Manchu’s status has always been related to its value in diplomacy. Kim and Shin (2015) closely investigated the later Joseon’s acceptance of Manchu language and education during the Qing period. In 1667, *cheonghak* (study of Qing) officially replaced *yeojinhak* (study of Jurchen). Even though high-ranking officials were not trained, it was because only interpreters at the Bureau were required to have high levels of spoken Manchu skills.

However, there is little information from Korean sources about how exactly the Korean linguistic community changed from Jurchen to Manchu studies (King, 1987). The source Yekkwon Sangentamlok has some information covering from 1636 until 1692 (Hui, 1972). And there is a report called Kwanghaykwun Ilki with the date 1618 about the Koreans’ first dealing with Erdeni’s new script.

The Manchus discarded with the existing Jurchen writing and adopted the Mongolian writing system and used the Manchu script with dots and circles to represent the Manchu language. The change of writing system put Joseon in a difficult situation. This was because there were almost no people who had good command of the newly changed Manchu script and there were unclear aspects on the writing and communication already available due to the use of indirect translation method, which was through materials transcribed from Manchu to Korean (Kim & Shin, 2015).

As a method for the spread of Manchu language, the Bureau became the centre and study materials were compiled and published, and this was led by Shin Kye Am (申繼黯). Some early materials for learning Manchu include: Gunan, Geohwa, Sangseo, Palsea, and Soaron. Soon after, the Bureau realised the language of Manchu was not represented realistically in these materials. So, in 1684 (10th year of King Sukjong’s reign), more materials were published; Samyeok Chonghae (三譯總解),

Shinbeon Nogeoldae (新編老乞大), Palsea, and Soaron's manuscripts were compiled and used, then in 1703 (29th year of King Sukjong's reign) they were all completed and printed using woodblock printing. It was at this time that Shinbeon Nogeoldae's title was changed to Cheongeo Nogoldae (淸語老乞大).

Even though Manchu's status was considerably lower than that of Chinese, it was still pursued intellectually like other foreign languages. Education system was prepared for the training of Manchu interpreters and junior interpreters. The Manchu language was taught and learned in Joseon's foreign language education, which had three main methods (Jeong Seung Hye, 2002). The first is the dispatch of international students to the relevant country, the second, the invitation of native speakers, and lastly, the control of the use of the mother tongue.

Kim Seong Joo (2012) adds that there is another characteristic central to Joseon's foreign language education. It was common practice for early language education to be carried out by hereditary education. Sons of interpreters also became interpreters at the court. Some Japanese trainees entered the Bureau's school as early as in their early teens. Manchu language speakers were even sent out to reach officers (such as county officers and military affairs officers) in every county.

According to Song Ki-joong (2001), this widespread study of Manchu in Joseon was pioneered by an interpreter of Jurchen, Shin Kye Am. Around the time of the first invasion by the Manchus in 1627, he started to study this language. He learned the language and script by accompanying the missions going from Joseon to Shenyang for ten years. He revised and transcribed Jurchen textbooks into the new Manchu letters. The books were completed after the King of Joseon submitted formally to the Emperor of Manchu and seven years after the writing system of Manchu was stabilised in China. These were the books that were used by students for preparation of the *yeokkwa* examination.

The status of Manchu in Joseon was a stark contrast to its status in the Qing Dynasty. Even though the Manchu empire consisted of a variety of language speakers, it was built by the Manchu elite, hence Manchu's status was bolstered by the power held by the Manchu natives. So, to unite its subjects who were speakers

of Oirat, Eastern Turki, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese and others, the Qing court pushed for Manchu education through many means.

Manchu in the Qing Dynasty was of utmost importance because it was the imperial language and was used extensively for government administration (Crossley & Rawski, 1993). The imperial family's communications, worship in the court, expression of ideology, and addressing the bannermen and nobility were activities that needed the Manchu language.

Another usage of Manchu was as a political instrument. Any confidential political and military communications required Manchu (Crossley & Rawski, 1993). This included intelligence reports that came in the form of palace memorials. It was so secretive that they put the notation "Do not translate" just above the Manchu writing.

It was a policy for all bannermen and nobles to be literate in Manchu. Specifically, officials, clerks, soldiers and anyone who wanted to know more about this language were learning this language. At least in the capital of the dynasty and the northeast area, literate people were involved with this language in some way (Söderblom Saarela, 2014).

Commercial works were also important in advancing the Manchu language pedagogy after the Manchu power was established following the fall of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories (1673-1681). The commercial publications focused on teaching how to read and write Manchu characters. The method that was used was the aural-oral paradigm in teaching Manchu, which was similar to Chinese education (Söderblom Saarela, 2014).

The Qing court compiled lexicographical works consisting of multiple languages on the same page Söderblom Saarela (2017). These languages are the ones the citizens spoke. At the centre of course, was the Manchu language. Söderblom Saarela (2017) compares this arrangement with how the Manchu emperor and Beijing were "the center of administration and official culture" (p. 369).

There were other factors which helped make Manchu the primary language. In bilingual works, Manchu was the listed first in the table of contents and main body.

Based on the notes written by Qianlong, in the 1773 bilingual thesaurus of *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, “the Manchu language are placed at the head of every category, with Chinese characters matching the sound added on the side,” as cited in Söderblom Saarela (2017).

But the multilingual nature of the publications hindered the promotion of Manchu. There were translations and pronunciation glosses using Chinese characters for the Manchu language sounds that actually imparted some form of Chinese. So, the Kangxi emperor (1661-1722) made orders to publish *Mirror*, the first lexicographic and monolingual publication by the court for promoting Manchu. Since it is a monolingual work, it is conjectured that it was targeted towards Sinophone learners of Manchu (Söderblom Saarela, 2017). But when the Qianlong emperor came into reign, the promotion of Manchu by publishing monolingual works were abandoned.

Before *Mirror* appeared, other Manchu reference works were already published by Chinese and Manchu pedagogues. Most of these were bilingual. There were also other multilingual Manchu dictionaries that had no court involvement. And these too had Manchu as the primary language. One such dictionary was published in 1780, by Fugiyun, a bannerman of Mongolian descent who had official position. So, in the 18th century, most of the primary languages in court publications were Manchu. Two more thesauri were made by the court and both had Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese and Tibetan. Turki was included in one of these thesauri. And most importantly, Manchu was the primary language in all thesaurus (Söderblom Saarela, 2017).

As shown above, Manchu was promoted heavily by the Qing court. But it could not escape the use of Chinese in its promotion. It can also be argued that the court favoured Mandarin Chinese in a 1773 work, based on the vocabulary, syntax and pronunciations. It used grammatical particles from Mandarin. Manchu script was also used to transcribe Mandarin pronunciation. It used Chinese characters for Manchu transcription. According to the court bibliographers of Qianlong, they wrote that *Mirror* allowed the reader to “master Manchu through Chinese and Chinese through Manchu,” as cited in Söderblom Saarela (2017). So, reading the Manchu glosses would cause the reader to learn Mandarin.

Therefore, Chinese and specifically Mandarin, became essential for the process of learning Manchu. The learning materials published by the Qing court spread to Korea and Japan, so readers had to know vernacular Chinese. Söderblom Saarela (2017) claims that this made it possible for Korean and Japanese scholars to use it according to their own purposes and unlike the original intention of these works' authors, hence subverting the Manchu language promotion.

This is an example of how valuable the Chinese language still was, even when another language was supposed to be the imperial language of the Qing court. The Chinese language's power was also unrivalled in Joseon. It was especially important because it was part of the policy of Sadae in its relationship with China ever since the Joseon Dynasty was founded (Chan, 2018). Its status was tied to its ability in increasing one's intellectual pedigree and to attain knowledge of Confucian values. Chinese was used in official documents, to communicate with the Ming court and it was also a social tool to differentiate the aristocrats from the common people.

The enthusiasm for the study of Chinese language can be illustrated by the School of Northern Learning. It was a school of thought that held the vernacular Chinese in high esteem, to the extent that they were willing to join the envoys and missions from Joseon to Qing China in order to practise spoken Chinese. One of the most prominent members of this small movement was Hong Taeyong (1731-1783). He was an elite member of society, hence his learning the Chinese vernacular was considered unusual for his status (Eggert, 2009). His trip to China with his uncle from 1765 to 1766 was bolstered by years of preparation in the language. This was motivated by the notion that "Korea should not sever itself from cultural developments in China" (p. 205). And this was the essence of the School of Northern Learning.

Another prominent figure in this school of thought was Bak Jega. (1750-1805). In one of his letters to Seo Sangsu, he wrote that his interest for contemporary Chinese culture came about spontaneously and was not motivated by either "xenophobic distrust" or "imitative enthusiasm" (Eggert, 2009, p. 206). He added that his character and dignity would not be compromised in that kind of Sinophilia. In a different letter to Li Tiaoyuan, a Chinese scholar, Bak Jega expressed

his admiration for Li, and the fact that Li had commented on Bak's book of poetry overwhelmed the author (as cited in Eggert, 2009).

2.4 Discussions

This chapter has illustrated an overview of the historical background regarding the makers of DMYH, the practice of lexicography in Joseon and printing. The Bureau of Interpreters was an established governmental body whose primary function was fulfilled by the flourishing lexicographic activity from Qing China. It was able to use the resources from the Qing court and other privately published works to produce materials for training its interpreters in foreign languages.

But, due to the Confucian values held strongly by the Joseon kings, the works of the Bureau did not achieve a wider circulation because of the limited commercialisation of books. In the case of DMYH, it is clear that the number of copies extant today suffered because of it. Paper shortage and complicated method of woodblock printing as opposed to movable type printing also did not provide a conducive environment for the spread of knowledge of Manchu (and Mongolian). This was because the Bureau never solved the problem of adapting movable type printing for the writing systems such that of Manchu and Mongolian. Nevertheless, woodblock printing was still the best option for printing DMYH.

The users of DMYH, the student interpreters and interpreters of the Bureau, were in a relatively complicated situation. Based on the extant number of copies of DMYH, it can be concluded that Manchu language students had to rely on using the dictionary at the Bureau, unless they had the means to make another copy. And then even after they became official interpreters, there was a salary problem which caused some of them to resort to smuggling and illegal trade.

This created a bad reputation for the interpreters, especially when many were also involved with the *lantou*, an opportunistic group of merchants who managed to snake their way into the envoys' activities. Interpreters were also called 'tongue people', a label which was meant to distinguish them from the other classically learned men. So, all in all, even when the interpreters held important jobs

in the process of Joseon's attaining investiture for its king to rule Joseon, they were marginalised, both socially and financially.

From a wider perspective, the interpreters' status' being low could be explained by the long-established dichotomy of civilised versus barbarian, which also fuelled the anti-Manchu (both the language and the ethnicity) sentiments in the Joseon court. It can be argued that one of the biggest desires of Joseon was to become the civilised one. Hence, it pursued every means possible; Joseon became a subordinate country in the *fan* system for both Ming and Qing dynasties and educated itself in the two respective languages of the dynasties, Chinese and Manchu.

If Qing's transformation of the civilised versus barbarian discourse is added into the equation, it is obvious that Korea's relationship with Qing was mutually beneficial, as both countries strived to be more civilised than the other, but by using each other. This means DMYH was part of two different processes done by two different countries which desired the ultimate civilised status. While DMYH was published by Joseon's Bureau of Interpreters, the Bureau used a source published by the Qing court. DMYH was then utilised as a tool to teach Manchu to the interpreters, who then participated and practically led Joseon's tribute missions to satisfy Joseon's subordinate country requirements for the sake of investiture and legitimacy. But to the Qing, the missions were part of the strategies for it to strengthen its civilised status. Culturally and politically, as much as Qing was important for Joseon, Joseon was also important for the Qing Dynasty.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The majority of existing research focus on different components of the dictionary. So, before arriving at the point where DMYH's position in the discourse of Joseon's identity crisis, DMYH has to be lexicographically described and reviewed. In this chapter, I explain the study of lexicography and the method of lexicographic review.

3.1 Lexicography

Svensén (2009) defines lexicography as:

(1) an activity which consists in observing, collecting, selecting, analysing and describing, in a dictionary, several lexical items (words, word elements and word combinations) belonging to one or more languages. In cases where two or more languages are involved simultaneously, the description takes on the nature of a comparison between the items that have been selected from the vocabularies of the languages in question. This part of the subject, the compilation of dictionaries, is called practical lexicography, or simply dictionary-making.

(2) Lexicography also includes the examination and development of theories. Concerning the compilation, characteristics, purposes and use of dictionaries. This part of the subject is generally called theoretical lexicography or metalexicography (pp. 2-3).

This field of study is relatively new and still developing. Although research on dictionaries have been done by scholars of various disciplines, a dispute regarding the philosophical and academic status of lexicography still exists (Tarp, 2010). There are two main opinions on this; one group considers lexicography as an independent scientific discipline and another group does not.

Some of the arguments against the status of lexicography as a legitimate science include:

- there is no theory at all for dictionary-making,
- theories can be developed within the framework of linguistics, and
- practical lexicography should be steered by theories of linguistics.

For Tarp (2010), although linguistics has greatly contributed to lexicography and metalexicography, a linguist is only one of the various other experts or specialists that contribute to this field of study. Examples of works that require other experts in the process of making a dictionary are historical dictionaries and science and art dictionaries (Tarp, 2010).

Lexicography involves more than just making decisions regarding the vocabulary, but also the design and structure of the dictionary based on the target users and topic. Hence, lexicography cannot be shared as a subdiscipline of other disciplines, even though it has many elements that overlap with other areas (Tarp, 2010). Tarp emphasises that treating it as its own subject field is the most logical way as it ensures that lexicographical works are studied and explained based on “what unites them and is common to all of them,” (p. 458).

And the uniting fact of lexicographical works is their nature as utility tools; dictionaries are produced to satisfy human needs in society. The needs are different according to culture and time (Tarp, 2010). Studying this need³ with the users and social situations in mind is the fundamental idea of the lexicographical function theory.

Lexicography includes not only dictionaries (in the strictest sense) but also encyclopaedias, lexica, thesauri, glossaries and many other reference works. These lexicographical works are considered as tools and are important in cultural and social development (Tarp, 2010). The factors that push lexicography to occur are namely religion, literature, education, and politics. In politics, governments use linguistics for diplomacy, pushing a certain ideology through linguistics and specifically dictionaries. Dictionary production also follows the functional roles of languages. In the case of Joseon’s DMYH, the roles of Chinese and Manchu can be

³ Tarp (2010) only refers to the lexicographical need (a type of information need), and not human needs irrelevant to and unsolvable by lexicography.

understood through the functions. Based on the history of Joseon's relationship with both Ming and Qing dynasties, the most likely roles for these languages were:

1. Manchu: as a diplomatic tool
2. Chinese: as a communicative and diplomatic tool

3.1.1 Dictionary structure

Usually, the structures of a dictionary can be divided into macrostructure and microstructure. **Macrostructure** is the list of entries included in the dictionary. Things that come under the macrostructure are all the components of a dictionary. **Microstructure**, on the other hand, is the structure of a specific entry in the dictionary. The arrangement of all entries makes up the **wordlist**, which in turn is a component that comes under macrostructure. Typically, the wordlist of a western language dictionary is ordered according to the alphabet. Another relevant structure is cross-referencing, or **mediostructure**. It is normally used to connect words that are semantically related.

In the microstructure of an entry, the data can be divided into several information types according to zones or fields and are consistent and standardised so that users can learn the layout (Nielsen, 2008). Navigation is easier the more users continuously use the same dictionary. As they get more familiar, the process of searching, reading and realising the relevance or value of the entry to their question becomes faster, and hence lowering the information costs⁴ of searching for a specific data.

An entry's microstructure can be analysed according to how the **search zones** are laid out. They could be vertical or horizontal. This structure is called a search zone structure. Based on a search exercise, we can determine the overall **search path**. In an entry, **signs** may also be used to indicate a search zone or type of information. Signs can be anything useful ranging from a dot, an arrow, to a blank space, or a circle, like in DMYH's entries.

⁴ This is discussed further in the next section.

3.2 Nielsen's general framework for reviewing dictionaries

I have chosen a framework outlined by Nielsen (2013) which provides a comprehensive and easy way to review dictionary in terms of its functions. In his article, he notes that the object of dictionary reviewing is the dictionary, but the traditional description of dictionaries is harmful as it describes it as only “books containing words and their definitions” or “works with words and their translations” (p. 146). Nielsen emphasises that this is dangerous because reviews made from such an ontological position are possibly limited in the scope. So, following this warning and making sure that DMYH's review is carried out from a wider but detailed ontological position is used when reviewing, DMYH should be considered as “a true object of analysis” (Nielsen, 2013, p. 146).

The review of DMYH also adheres to his suggestion in that it identifies the surface and underlying features of the dictionary. The surface features of a dictionary include all the components of a dictionary such as macrostructure, microstructure, and mediostructure. In Nielsen's framework, the three underlying features of dictionaries are:

1. Dictionaries are made to satisfy lexicographic functions(s).
2. Dictionaries contain lexicographic data selected to support the function(s) intended.
3. Lexicographic structures combine and link the data to support and fulfil the function(s).

Both types of features are to be identified in DMYH's design in Chapter 4.

Reviewing dictionaries can be done using three approaches. Nielsen suggests the following approaches:

- Lexicographic approach which analyses, describes and evaluates the practices and principles by the makers of a dictionary.
- Factual approach, which focuses on the semantic and encyclopaedic information contained in the dictionary by analysis, description and evaluation.

- Linguistic approach, which focuses on the language used by the dictionary linguistically.

I have chosen the lexicographic approach, in which the dictionary must be reviewed as a complex object that comprises of many sections and their relationships. I will describe DMYH in its whole to understand the way DMYH has been designed for both Chinese and Manchu vocabulary look-up process. Then I will analyse and evaluate the elucidated practices and principles adopted in DMYH against the context of Joseon's history surrounding DMYH.

Nielsen introduces the term information cost in a 2008 paper and defines it as the effort (ease or difficulty) that is associated with consulting a dictionary or other textual parts of a dictionary. There are two types of information costs. Information costs which are attributed to the activity of looking up an entry are called search-related information costs and are of a more quantitative nature. Related situations for these costs are cross-references, number of each activity to be done to finally find an entry etc. So, the higher the number of actions needed to be done to arrive at the targeted data/lemma, the higher the search-related information costs.

The information costs which are related to the ability of the user to understand the data in the dictionary are called comprehension-related information costs. This type of costs have a more qualitative nature. If the user can use the data presented in the dictionary and then interpret it to become valuable information and answer their question, the costs are reasonably low. But it also depends on the user's competence; the competence level, specifically of factual and linguistic ability, will account for the level of understanding of the data. The interaction between the user's ability and the presentation of data results in the levels of comprehension-related information costs.

So, if a dictionary was well designed, the information costs are low, whereas a badly designed dictionary accrues high levels of information costs. One factor that influences lexicographical information costs is the access route or structure to the data. An access structure is different according to different text genres, and hence different lexicographical components. A printed dictionary's central component is

the wordlist. At the end of a search exercise, what the dictionary user gets is usually an entry. In terms of the application, information costs can be applied onto the whole dictionary (Nielsen, 2008). So, from the wordlist, content, and the lemmata, the costs can be determined. But the costs cannot be applied onto irrelevant components of the dictionary such as:

- acknowledgements
- picture credits
- eulogistic forewards
- license agreements

Tarp (1998) explains that the above components are extra-lexicographical components and they are not relevant to dictionary usage and functions. Contrast these to the relevant components, called lexicographical components, which consist of:

- front matter: user guide, subject-field component, writing guide
- wordlist: entries, meanings, data
- back matter: appendices

Therefore, the front matter, wordlist and back matter of DMYH can be analysed to find the lexicographic costs according to the two functions, learning Chinese and Manchu. But, due to the qualitative nature of comprehension-related information costs and the near absence of target users which fit the profile of DMYH users (student interpreters who most likely are able to read literary Chinese and Korean), I have eliminated it from the review.

3.3 Adopted Framework

DMYH was created to support communication in a foreign language, particularly Manchu. But an additional function has been identified by Söderblom Saarela (2017), which is learning vernacular Chinese from the headwords of DMYH. Hence, these two functions are described and compared in the next chapter.

These are the concepts applied to DMYH that I will use collectively as a framework to describe and review DMYH and later discuss it against Joseon's crisis of identity:

- i. DMYH is a lexicographical tool made for utility
- ii. DMYH has surface and underlying features
- iii. DMYH has certain search-related information costs, either high or low caused by the access structure, and could differ according to functions

While one reason for my choosing the lexicographic approach in a review of DMYH's functions is that such a study of any dictionary published in Joseon has been rare, the above concepts are applied primarily to ensure that the analysis focuses on DMYH as a dictionary. I see my task as proposing a new approach in the area of Korea's premodern dictionaries as logical and can be considered as the next step after a rich body of research focusing on each part of DMYH has been done.

4 DESCRIPTION & REVIEW

Describing the lexicographic design of DMYH explicates the choices made by the makers, creates a clearer profile of the intended user, and most importantly, allows for a review of the functions supported by DMYH.

4.1 Physical properties and design

DMYH was printed using woodblock printing technology. The full set consists of two volumes. The size of the dictionary is 35.0 by 23.6 cm and the inner frame is 25.8 by 19.3 cm (Yurn Gyudong, 2016). Each page has 10 long vertical spaces, each separated by thin lines. The entries are written top to bottom with the first entry's headword being Chinese, then followed by its Korean equivalent, and lastly its Manchu word. There are two rows of entries on each page. The subsequent entry after the first entry would be to the bottom, so the whole dictionary is read from right to left, but in a zigzag pattern. The best example that shows this order of reading the entries is from the category of Counting (算數). It shows that the numbers are listed in a zigzag pattern from right to left. See Figure 3 below.

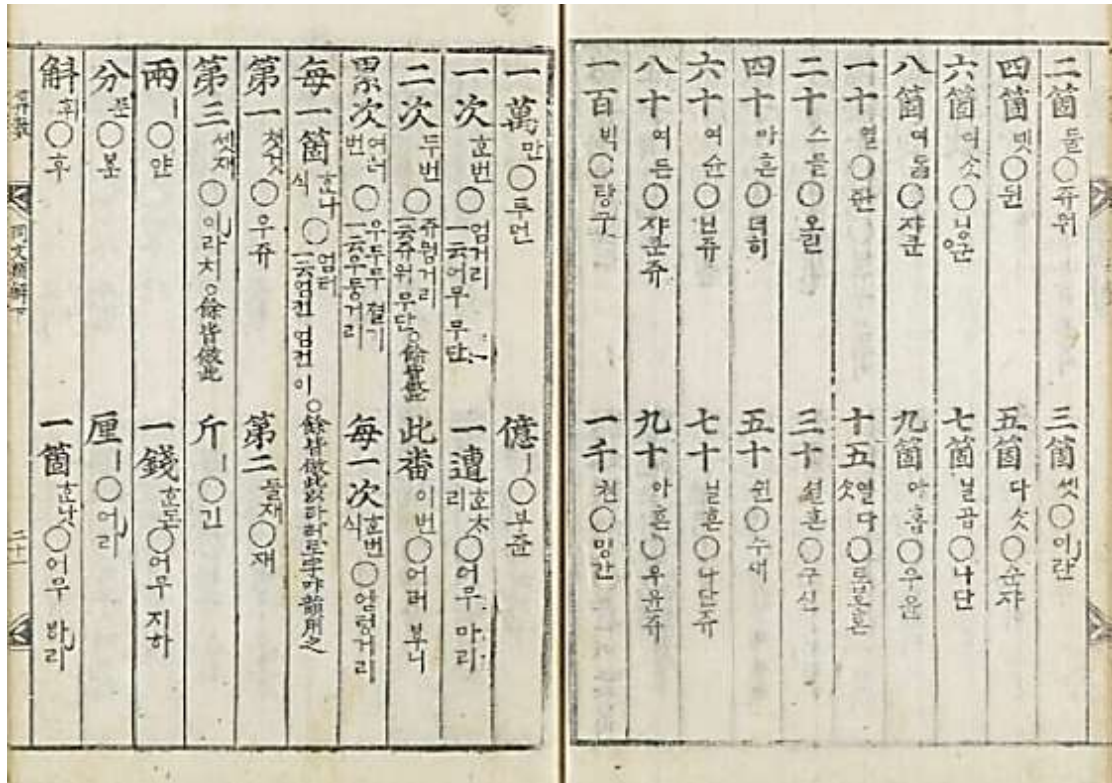


Figure 3. Image of pages from category titled 'Counting'. Copyrights by Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University.

Apart from the lexical arrangement, there are some decorations on the pages of the wordbook. On each page, there are two flower patterns called *eomi*, one above (*sangeomi*) and the other below (*haeomi*), both located at the edge of the pages. These are for decorative and functional purposes. Above the *sangeomi*, there is a category name. Below the *sangeomi*, there are the title of the dictionary and the volume number. Then, above the *haeomi*, the page number is written. As seen from the image above, the page number is only assigned to the left pages. Hence, a single page number refers to both pages on the left and right when the dictionary is opened. There are separate paginations for the table of contents, the wordlist, the grammar section, and the postface, but none for the two-page list of contributors. The ends of each volumes are marked by these:

- 同文類解上終 “End of volume 1 of DMYH”
- 同文類解下終 “End of volume 2 of DMYH”

There are three different writing systems in DMYH, namely Chinese, Korean *hangeul* and Manchu's own writing system. Chinese is used in every component of DMYH, while the Manchu writing system only appears in the grammar section (Eorokhae) to write the Manchu grammatical particles and affixes. Korean appears in almost all of the components. Note that the size of Chinese characters in the entries are always bigger than Korean and Manchu (see Figure 3). But there are 49 Chinese headwords written with a combination of both large and small characters probably due to lack of space.

4.2 Surface features

4.2.1 Macrostructure

Macrostructure is the arrangement of all the components of the dictionary. For DMYH, this includes the table of content, wordlist, grammar section, the postface/epilogue and the list of contributors. DMYH has what is considered as a complex macrostructure because it has more than two components.

Table of contents

Each volume of DMYH has its own table of contents. Each table is only of one page, containing only the category titles. There is no page number listed for each category. See Figure 4 below.

同文類解目錄					同文類解目錄							
上卷					下卷							
天文	時令	地理	人倫	雜語	水族	昆蟲	樹木	花草	田農	米穀	菜蔬	果品
人品	身體	容貌	氣息	戲玩	罵辱	飛禽	走獸	疾病	醫藥	喪葬	寺觀	
性情	言語	動靜	人事	買賣	爭訟	刑獄	國號	佃漁	器具	匠器	舟車	
宮室	官職	官府	城郭	鞍轡	算數	珍寶	布帛	服飾	禮度	樂器	孕產	梳洗
文學	武備	軍器	政事									
服飾	飲食											

Figure 4. Table of contents of DMYH from both volumes

The list of categories and its translations can be found in the appendix.

Wordlist

The wordlist in DMYH is arranged according to themes of the Chinese headwords like astronomy and body, and within each theme each entry is related semantically to the next entry (individual entry's structures are described in the next section, Microstructure). For instance, in the category *ingsan* (孕產), which is related to childbirth, vocabularies about pregnancy and birth are organised according to time and progression of events. In the category *yeonhwae* (宴會), which is related to hosting and having a party, which includes drinking, song and dance, the vocabularies are arranged according to the process of having a party, from inviting guests to seeing them off (Yurn Gyudong, 2016).

Yurn Gyudong has done much research on the semantics⁵ of classificatory glossaries and re-examined their categories in a 2016 article. According to him, the

⁵ Including semantics and specifically lexical fields here (even though the approach for reviewing is not a linguistic one) is due to the semantically structured wordlist.

arrangements are strategically ordered according to meaning. He concludes that the compilers at the Bureau of Interpreters “set up their own standards and classified the vocabularies accordingly”.

From a contemporary perspective, it may seem that the interpreter at the Bureau was primarily working only as translators while making these glossaries. But Yurn (2001) claims that based on the classification criteria of dictionaries published by The Bureau, they also served as linguists who studied languages and did language description work. Even within the same semantic domain, the details of each dictionary are different.

The method of classifying words was definitely inherited from the Chinese, but it was not copied blindly. The Bureau of Interpreters was trying to specify their own criteria and constantly updated the criteria. The difference becomes more striking and clearer by comparing Korean classificatory glossaries with Chinese classification glossaries (Yurn Gyudong, 1996).

As an example of the thematic system, the table below shows the lexical fields related to animals in DMYH:

Lexical fields				Themes	
Living things	Animals	Beasts	Land beasts	(49) 飛禽 <i>Sky beasts</i>	
				Crawling beasts	(50) 走獸 <i>Crawling beasts</i>
				Water beasts	(51) 水族 <i>Water animals</i>
			Insects	(52) 昆蟲 <i>Insects</i>	

Table 3. The lexical fields in DMYH

Yurn Gyudong (2001) designates 'living things' as the biggest field which contains 'animals' and also 'plants', ('plants' is not presented in the table above). 'Beasts' is another designated field while 'insects' corresponds directly to the name of a category in DMYH. Next, 'beasts' is divided into two more fields, namely the ones on the land and water. 'Water beasts' then corresponds directly to its own category and 'land beasts' is further divided into the 'sky beasts' and 'crawling beasts', each having their own categories. So, the criteria for the classifications in the dictionaries are not arbitrary but rather systematic (Yurn Gyudong, 2001).

Grammar (Eorokhae)

In the grammar section of DMYH, called Eorokhae (語錄解), more than fifty classes of suffixes and particles are given explanations, spread over 14 pages. Eorokhae also includes some explanation of how to read certain Manchu words. The Manchu suffixes and their variations are given meaning in Chinese and Korean along with examples of sentences. On each page of the grammar section, each Manchu suffix is transcribed in the Manchu writing system and is followed by explanations referring to Chinese and Korean grammar. Unlike the wordlist, the grammar section puts the Manchu language on top of Chinese and Korean explanations. The suffixes and particles, as indexed by Kim and Shin (2017) are listed in Appendix B.

Postface

The postface is printed in the second volume. In it, An Myeong Yeol wrote that there was a Manchu glossary/name of things, (and this possibly referred to Dongmun Yujib). He wrote that many people who were studying Manchu made mistakes because of this glossary. So, Hyeong Mun Hang referred to works from the Qing court and the whole process took 6 years. Overall, the postface just describes the lexicographic background of DMYH and offers no guide on how to use the dictionary. This is unlike modern dictionaries which often try to guide the users on how to use the dictionary and to teach the layout of the dictionary.

List of contributors

The list of contributors is the last component of DMYH and is printed at the end of the second volume. As noted by Söderblom Saarela (2017), the names of Chinese language scholars are put first and then followed by the names of Manchu language scholars. The number of Chinese language scholars' names exceed that of the Manchu language scholars. The figure below shows the first page of it:

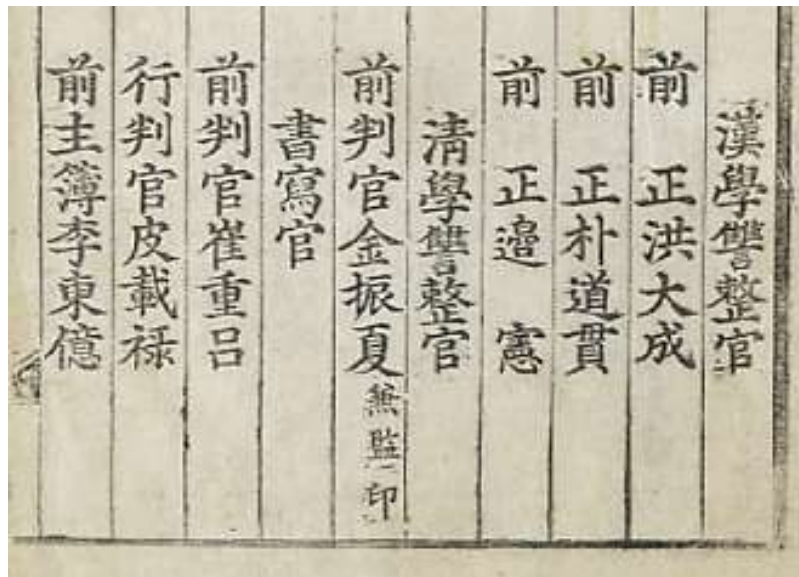


Figure 5. One page of the list of contributors

4.2.2 Microstructure

Microstructure is the internal structure of the entries. **Lemma** is the position in the dictionary structure where the entry starts. **Headword** is the form of a word or phrase chosen for lemma. Some headwords are marked typographically (e.g. bold, indentation, lines). The headword is a link between the macrostructure and microstructure.

Overall DMYH has a very simple vertical microstructure. Each entry generally has three search zones and one sign. The following table shows the structure of the search zones.

Microstructural elements	Example
Lemma zone	星
Equivalent zone	별
Separator sign	○
Data zone	우시하

Table 4. Microstructure

I refrain from labelling the zones according to the language which appears as above because quite often there are more than one language in a zone. So, the labels are based on the lexicographic functions. The lemma zone contains the headword, the equivalent zone often contains a translation equivalent, the data zone contains various types of data, and the separator sign separates the upper and lower zones. In the following sections, I describe and explain in the detail each of the element in the microstructure.

Lemma zone

The lemma zone contains the lemma which is always constituted by a Chinese headword. The lemma has two main functions. Within the microstructure, it serves as the topic of an entry while within the macrostructure, it is the point where the listed entry is located. In DMYH's case, each lemma marks the beginning of an entry. The headword has a relationship with the category. The relationship is considered a hyponymous relationship because each headword comes under a

- Korean translation of the Chinese headword written in *hangeul* or *hanja* or a combination of both
- Vertical lines which correspond to the number of Chinese headword syllables
- When the nearest equivalent is not found, there are explanations informing that the Chinese headword is a generic word or honorific word for the translated Korean meaning

This table below shows examples of the types of equivalents:

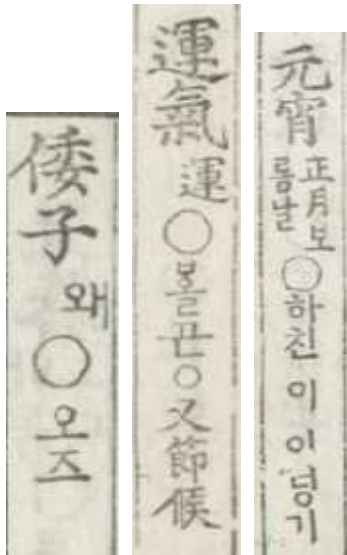

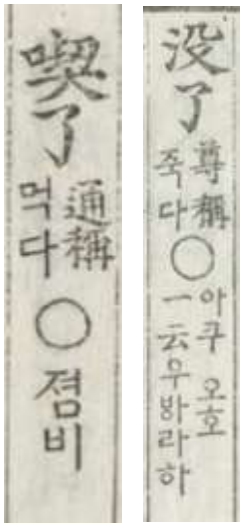
Equivalent zone		
Korean in <i>hangeul</i> or <i>hanja</i> or a combination of both	Vertical lines only or vertical lines with <i>hangeul</i>	Nearest equivalent zone (通稱 “generic word of...”/ 尊稱 “honorific word of...”)
		

Table 5. Types of equivalent zone

Obviously, each type of equivalent zone always refers to the Chinese headword for the meaning or the number of syllables. In the case of learning new vernacular Chinese or Mandarin vocabulary, the data useful for this would be the Korean

equivalents without any lines. Because if the Korean equivalents were replaced instead by lines corresponding to the number of Chinese syllables, it means the publisher assumed the dictionary user already knew the Chinese headword.

According to Yurn Gyudong (1996), 36 categories out of 55 in DMYH are basically identical to those in Yeokeyo Yuhae, a vernacular Chinese dictionary published in 1690. So, it seems that when the vernacular Chinese headwords from Yeokeyo Yuhae are identical in pronunciation to Korean, the publisher only provided the vertical lines.

Therefore, it is safe to assume that to learn new Chinese vocabulary, at least only the equivalent zones without the replacement lines are beneficial for this purpose. With a total of 998 out of 4,797 entries having vertical lines as replacement of the Korean translation, a DMYH user can use about 79% of the entries to learn new Mandarin vocabulary.

Data zone

The data zone is the most complicated among all the zones. It has many types and forms of data included, hence the name. The data zone's content can be divided into two: information and data device. The information includes:

- Manchu vocabulary
- Additional Manchu vocabulary
- Additional Korean or Chinese vocabulary

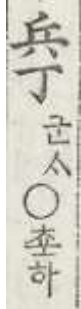

And then the data devices are as follows:

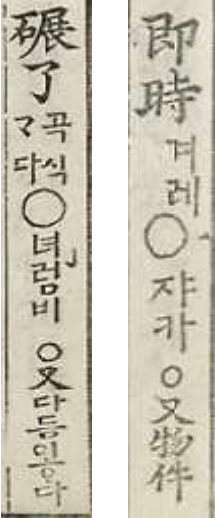
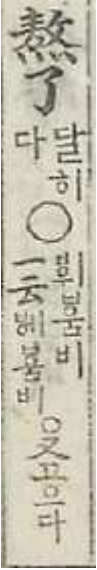

- 一云 (일운 “if said differently”)
- 又 (우 “also”)
- 或 (혹 “or”) / 或稱 (혹칭 “or called”)
- syntactical information devices:
 - 上必用 “needed at the top”,
 - 下必用 “needed at the bottom”,

- 用於句末 “for the end of the sentence”,
- 餘皆做此 “the rest are like this” (used for explaining numerals and measure words)

For the syntactical information devices, they indicate the syntactic position of the particle or suffix in relation to the Manchu vocabulary. “Needed at the top” means the particle or suffix is positioned before the Manchu word, “needed at the bottom” means the particle or suffix is placed after the Manchu word, “for the end of the sentence” means the particle or suffix is put at the end of the sentence, and “the rest are like this” is used to indicate that the whole series of numerals can be paired with any other Manchu word just like the Manchu entry.

Below is a table of examples of types of data zone:

Types of data zone	Example
<p>Typical data zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One Manchu vocabulary 	
<p>Synonym data zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One main Manchu vocabulary • 一云 with a second Manchu vocabulary 	

<p>Polysemy data zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manchu vocabulary • A small circle, 又 and additional Korean vocabulary • Kim and Kim (2014) explained that in the event that there is a Manchu polysemy (a word with multiple meanings), there is a smaller circle along with the character 又, followed by the second meaning. 	
<p>Synonym and polysemy data zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manchu vocabulary, • 一云 and Manchu vocabulary • A small circle, 又 and additional Korean or Chinese vocabulary 	
<p>Alternative data zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One main Manchu vocabulary • A small circle • 或 / 或稱 and a second Manchu vocabulary 	


<p>Syntax data zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manchu vocabulary “to meet, gather” • Second circle with Hanja • additional syntactical information using data devices like: 上必用, 下必用, 用於句末, 餘皆做此 	
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Table 6. Types of data zone

Separator signs

The first type of separator sign is a big circle between Korean and Manchu vocabulary in each entry and the size is consistent throughout the two volumes of DMYH. Each entry has one (see Figure 3 and Table 4) and can be understood in two ways. It could be that it separates:

- The lemma and equivalent zones from the data zone,
- or the equivalent zone from the data zone if the lemma zone is excluded.

But overall, both separation systems do exclude the data zone as its own area. Thus, it separates Manchu from Korean and Chinese.

The second type of separator sign is a smaller circle and it is used to indicate polysemy, alternative vocabulary, and syntactical information.

4.2.3 Mediostructure

Mediostructure is the system of cross-referencing in dictionaries. It is not explicitly signified in DMYH like other dictionaries with lexicographical signposts instructing the user to look up another word (like ‘see’ etc) but some of the data devices do provide more information that could prompt another dictionary look-up activity. At first glance, all the data devices can be considered as part of a mediostructure in the broadest sense. Unfortunately, the only possible

mediostucture available is between the data devices of 上必用 “needed at the top”, 下必用 “needed at the bottom”, and 用於句末 “for the end of the sentence” and the grammar section of DMYH. The extra data accompanying these devices are suffixes. Some of these suffixes are shown in the grammar section of DMYH, Eorokhae. The following table shows the connection between the mentioned devices and the ones available in the grammar component (Eorokhae):

No.	Information in the data zone	Volume and page	Mention in Eorokhae
1.	上必用더字 “ <i>de</i> needed at the top”	上 34	Yes
2.	下必用 니캐니字 “ <i>nikai/ni</i> needed at the bottom”	下 47	Yes
3.	애스 (circle) 用於句末 “ <i>aise</i> ⁶ : for the end of the sentence”	下 47	No
4.	下必用 니字 “ <i>ni</i> needed at the bottom”	下 48	Yes
5.	上必用이字 “ <i>i</i> needed at the top”	下 48	Yes
6.	下必用 바더字 “ <i>bade</i> needed at the bottom”	下 49	Yes
7.	下必用 비치버, 스머字 “ <i>bicibe/semi</i> needed at the bottom”	下 50	Yes
8.	下必用 라, 리, 로字 “ <i>ra, re, ro</i> needed at the bottom ⁷ ”	下 50	Yes
9.	下必用 치字 “ <i>ci</i> needed at the bottom”	下 50	Yes
10.	上必用 치字 “ <i>ci</i> needed at the top”	下 50	Yes

⁶ According to Li (2000), *aise* is a particle to convey probability.

⁷ These could also be rendered as *la, le, lo*, suffixes indicating motion and are explained in Eorokhae.

11.	上必用 叱字 “ci needed at the top”	下 59	Yes
12.	上必用 이字 “i needed at the top”	下 59	Yes
13.	上必用 叱字 “ci needed at the top”	下 61	Yes

Table 7. Possible cross-references data zone and Eorokhae

Out of thirteen extra information in the data zones, there are twelve possible mediostructural paths that could lead a user from an entry in the wordlist to the grammar section. This is very minimal and is only based on the similarity of Manchu language content between the entry and the grammar section. For example, in the data zone of the following figure, it is shown that the suffix *de* is needed at the top:



Figure 7. Entry on page 34 of volume 1

This means *de* is needed at the top of *amuran* if it is written from top to bottom. Syntactically, *de* is a particle that needs to come before the word *amuran*⁸.

There are, however, no signposts leading the user to consult the grammar section and the section is not even shown in the table of contents. I have only been able to draw these paths based on the similarities of content between the data zone and the grammar section. And to reemphasise, content is not the focus in this review. Hence, just based on the absence of any structural links between the wordlist (which contains the data zones) and Eorokhae (the grammar section), I would argue that the mediostructure in DMYH is weak and almost non-existent.

⁸ *amuran*: addicted

4.3 Summary

The following is a table on the frequency of the headword system, vocabularies and their special characteristics, as translated from Oh Min Seok (2017):

Frequency of DMYH headword/vocabulary		Special characteristics and frequency		
Chinese	4797	Small characters in the entry	49	
Korean	5098	通稱	51	
		尊稱	1	
		vertical lines	998	
		small circle	又	284
			或	17 (或稱: 2)
			餘皆倣此	8
上必用	6			
Manchu	5143	下必用	6	
		用於句末	1	
		一云	346	

Table 8. Summary of frequency of data in DMYH

4.4 Search-related information costs

To find the search-related information costs of learning new Chinese vocabulary and learning Manchu, I first show the basic steps taken in an activity of dictionary consultation using DMYH. To look up a word a typical DMYH user needs, these are the following steps based on the format of two volumes of DMYH:

1. Identify the word to be searched
2. Locate and choose the relevant theme in the table of contents, between two volumes
3. Search and locate the category title amongst the wordlist
4. Search the lemmata within the chosen category and choose the relevant entry

The above steps are general steps expected of a user based on how the macrostructures of DMYH's two volumes. Step 1 starts outside of the dictionary, step 2 is done in the table of contents of two volumes, and step 3 involves the use of the core content of DMYH (the wordlist). The third step requires some time for the user to search through the lemmata because DMYH unfortunately does not show the page number in the table of contents. Then, step 4 is the last part of the access path designed within the macrostructure. After the relevant entry has been chosen, the steps differ according to the desired word. If a user is searching for a Mandarin word or vernacular Chinese, these are the next steps:

5. Scan the type of equivalent zone and decide if the lemma zone contains relevant Chinese word or not based on the type of equivalent zone (whether it has vertical lines or not)
6. Read the lemma

On the other hand, a user searching for a Manchu word encountered, for example, in the Manchu conversational book, *Cheongeo Nogoldae*, would not be able to do the same. It is because the user would need to carry out step 1: identifying the word to be searched. But in this case the identification fails, because the word encountered in *Cheongeo Nogoldae* is most likely written in the Manchu script and transcribed in *hangeul*. Another hypothetical situation is if a user encounters a word in a spoken language situation. This could either be when speaking with a native Manchu speaker or any Manchu speaker. In this case, it is even more difficult for the user to conduct a dictionary consultation process without the help of a teacher. This shows that an interpreter-in-training at the Bureau of Interpreters would have had only one path of access to learn Manchu; a user of DMYH uses DMYH to learn translating from Chinese or Korean into Manchu.

Therefore, the steps taken for a typical user of DMYH are as follows:

1. Identify the Chinese/Korean word to be translated
2. Locate and choose the relevant theme in the table of contents, between two volumes
3. Search and locate the category title amongst the wordlist
4. Search the lemmata within the chosen category and choose the relevant entry based on the lemma zone and/or equivalent zone
5. Read the data zone for the Manchu translation
6. Repeat step 1 if there is extra information in the data zone which prompts a new look-up activity or reference to the grammar section

The search-related information costs for a Chinese headword is lower because the search process, at the very least ends, in the equivalent zone. Compare this to the search for a Manchu translation, which can extend the process temporally and create more steps if the data zone provides extra information.

While it is indeed somewhat easier and shorter of a process to consult DMYH for a Chinese headword instead of the Manchu translation, the end results of looking up an entry for a Chinese word can be considered a “failure” if the lemma and equivalent zones show that there is no new Chinese vocabulary to be learned (due to the vertical lines). It is more suitable to describe this particular function as a secondary one to the main function (Manchu translation).

The lexicographer’s choice to source the majority of the Chinese headword from Yeokeyo Yuhæ, however, should be scrutinised. It does give the user a chance to acquire knowledge of vernacular or contemporary Chinese, but not as much as Yeokeyo Yuhæ. This Chinese-Korean dictionary has *hangeul* transcriptions of the vernacular Chinese.

4.5 Underlying features

To recap, a dictionary has three underlying features:

1. It has been designed to fulfil one or more functions.

2. It contains data that have been selected because they help to fulfil its function(s).
3. It has structures that marshal its data into the task of fulfilling its function(s).

These have been transformed into questions specific for analysing the underlying features of DMYH:

1. What are the function(s) for which DMYH was designed?
2. What are the data contained to fulfil its functions?
3. What are the structures that marshal its data to fulfil the function(s)?

Based on the description of DMYH's overall design (macrostructure, microstructure and mediostructure), the functions of DMYH, according to the hierarchy, are as follows:

1. To learn Manchu words for translation
2. To learn new Chinese vocabulary

The first function is the primary one while the second function is secondary. This dictionary is for the Manchu interpreters trained at the Bureau of Interpreters for carrying out diplomatic activities such as translating the communication of embassies of the envoys to China, translating documents, and also trading in Manchu language to fund the tributes and gifts to the Qing emperor.

DMYH's primary function can be further elaborated as the following:

- i. To learn Manchu vocabulary
- ii. To learn Manchu syntax
- iii. To learn Manchu pronunciation

The data that fulfil the primary functions are:

- Chinese thematic category title
- Chinese headwords
- Korean equivalent
- Manchu transcription
- Explanation of suffixes (in Eorokhae)

Contrastingly, the data that fulfil the secondary function are less than that of the primary function:

- Chinese thematic category title
- Chinese headwords
- Korean equivalent

Additionally, not all Chinese headwords represent vernacular words that were new for the target users but there is no research providing an exact list of all of them. The only clue within DMYH is the usage of vertical lines by the makers of DMYH, which show that around 21% of the Chinese headwords should have been known to the target users.

The structures that marshal the data for learning Manchu translation are as follows:

- Macrostructure (table of contents, wordlist, grammar)
- Microstructure (lemma zone, equivalent zone, data zone)
- Mediostructure (data zone and grammar section)

The structures that use the data for learning new Chinese words are as follows:

- Macrostructure (table of contents, wordlist)
- Microstructure (lemma zone, equivalent zone, data zone)

Overall, DMYH is a polyfunctional dictionary with primary and secondary functions. But the primary function is more well-supported. This can be understood in terms of quantity and quality. Quantity-wise, there are more components and data in DMYH that fulfil the function of learning Manchu vocabulary than the secondary function. Quality-wise, the data zone actually contains transcribed Manchu for the user to learn Manchu pronunciation, while the lemma zone only contains Chinese characters without any transcription guide for possible vernacular Chinese vocabulary.

5 DISCUSSIONS

5.1 Dongmun Yuhae and Joseon's identity crisis

From the perspective of modern lexicographic principles, there are many aspects in which DMYH lack. The most glaring weakness is the absence of page numbers in the table of contents. In both volumes, since only the themes are provided, a user who consults DMYH for the first few times would have to repeatedly flick through the pages to find the target headword. Unless the user customises the dictionary and adds page numbers in the table of contents or creates their own list of pages for each category, the search-related information costs are too high. DMYH does not contain a preface and a user guide like some modern dictionaries. As shown in the section Underlying Features, the beginning steps for searching for Manchu and Chinese words are similar and both are affected by the lack of page numbers in the table of contents.

The one redeeming quality of DMYH that might accelerate the consultation process is the thematic presentation of headwords. As each category is semantically related with the ones before and after, and each headword is related to the next headword, the user does not need to stray far from the target category once they find it. Each category has about 4 to 15 pages each. Therefore, the search-related information costs are reduced dramatically once the user reaches the correct category.

The thematic categorisation also partly solves the problem of the lack of mediostructure between each headword. Although not necessary, a typical dictionary now provides a rich mediostructure to encourage further consultation in the hopes of helping the user find the answer they are looking for.

In DMYH, the Chinese and Manchu languages are juxtaposed with Korean being in between these two languages in each entry. Lexicographically, this is just a logical choice by the dictionary compiler. But it has also been interpreted as a form of subversion (Söderblom Saarela, 2017). I would agree with this argument, but with a caveat. The order of language in DMYH's entries, the list of contributors and the

grammar section are indeed subverting the source material published by the Qing court, but it is only part of what DMYH is. Analysing this subversion from a lexicographical perspective, DMYH is a sum of all of its components and its main purpose (for the consultation of Manchu vocabulary) is fulfilled by the totality of the interrelationships between the components. Therefore, if there is a hypothetical spectrum of subversion level of the Manchu language and the preference for Chinese language, DMYH can be placed at the lower end.

Instead of relating DMYH to the subversive narrative of Manchu based on three components, it would be more apt to situate DMYH within Joseon's crisis of identity, specifically the cultural identity. DMYH was designed to fulfil the primary function of consulting for Manchu vocabulary. Based on the notion that lexicographic activity follows the need of a group of people (Tarp, 2011), in this case Joseon, it can be concluded **DMYH was one of the many steps taken to augment its cultural identity**. The dictionary was an important tool to train the interpreters who accompanied the tributary journeys from Joseon to the Qing court.

Although based on the lexicographic review, DMYH's design is simplistic, it does fulfil its primary function better than the secondary function. This primary function proves DMYH's real-world application and can be understood as part of Joseon's desire to gain legitimacy to protect its own nationhood and security. That legitimacy could only be gained by the continuance of an amiable diplomatic relationship with the Manchu-led Qing Dynasty.

The review of DMYH's functions also further emphasises the observation made by Kim and Shin (2015) that despite anti-Manchu sentiments within Joseon, a long-established interest in Manchu was not deterred. If the sentiment was any stronger to the extent that the Manchu language scholarship was intentionally sabotaged in any way, there would have not been a relatively well-designed dictionary to educate Joseon's interpreters. Instead they improved upon the Manchu dictionaries and after a few decades, Han Cheong Mun Gam (漢清文鑑) was made by the members of the Bureau to meet the increasing need of Manchu expertise (Song Ki-joong, 2001). It was published after 1772, while some other scholars estimate it to be about 1775 and 1779 or between 1780 and 1789. Thus, DMYH once again

highlights Manchu's diplomatic value despite its lower status compared to Chinese and Korean.

Ultimately, the answer to the main question posed in the introduction lies in the polyfunctional nature of DMYH. It depicts the state of crisis in which Joseon was. Culturally, it needed the Chinese language to maintain its Confucian identity, but as it has been shown, Manchu was crucial for its own protection as a country. While the Manchu language was practically used in the realm of politics and specifically diplomacy, its function did not compromise the cultural identity of Joseon. Chinese and Korean were still highly-regarded compared to Manchu, and at times were used side by side. Joseon's yearning for continuously receiving investitures and symbolically existing in the Confucian world order was in fact, in the bigger picture, satisfied by the use of the Manchu language. Simply put, **the cultural and political crisis of identities and linguistic situations within Joseon's crisis of identity are reflected in DMYH's design and functions.**

5.2 Limitations of research

There is a section of empty pages in the first volume of DMYH, filled with handwritten notes. The note's title can be loosely translated as: 'notes of various things.' I have not been able to analyse the contents. But generally, it contains repetitions of some contents of DMYH's entries. If this was included in the review, it would have provided a better example of how DMYH was used. But so far it has not been analysed at all in any research. A published compilation of DMYH scans and other Manchu works by Cheonhui University (1955) does not even include it. I have only found it in the scanned pictures stored at the Kyujanggak archives.

There is also no research on differentiating between the vernacular and classical Chinese vocabulary in DMYH. So, I have only estimated based on the vertical lines replacing Korean equivalents in the equivalent zone. It was done under the knowledge obtained from other research that the lines show that the Chinese headword coincides with the Korean vocabulary. So, in this thesis, I have refrained from giving an exact conclusion on the amount of content of vernacular Chinese

headwords. So, to circumvent this weakness, I could only focus on the relative usefulness of DMYH for both functions of learning vernacular Chinese and Chinese/Korean-to-Manchu translation based on the structures. However, this limitation does not alter the fact that DMYH's primary function is more well-supported than the secondary function.

I have used a very laxed lexicographical approach in which the main focus is using the framework outlined by Nielsen (2013). Anything beyond that requires a consolidation of many lexicographic concepts that have multiple names or labels. And even in lexicography, which is a relatively new and still developing field, it is considered a big task. Especially when reviewing a dictionary, there are not many guides that lists the practical ways to do it. But, while the approach in analysing DMYH is simple, it is also one of the contribution of this thesis. Since a lexicographic approach has not been used to review DMYH, this research should benefit other linguists and historians interested in DMYH and other dictionaries published in Joseon.

5.3 Recommendation

The main question has been answered and the relationship between DMYH and the crisis of identity happening in 18th century Joseon has been clarified. But, however illuminating it is, this thesis has only shown a theoretical and symbolic relationship between them. It is hoped that future research would build upon the conclusions obtained here and elaborate the usage of DMYH more realistically. Some issues that could be investigated include the number of possible users, method of dissemination of DMYH copies, and usage pattern.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The primary and secondary function of DMYH were determined and the dictionary's structures were proven to fulfil its functions for the target users. DMYH has proven to be a dictionary of complex features and tied with so many historical contexts that helped shape its making. The design and intended functions reflect the role of the related languages and their values as perceived by the makers. From a wider perspective, we can see that DMYH was part of a complex interplay between ideological advancements and the clashes between them. In short, the parts that make up DMYH are as complex as the network in which it was conceived during the 18th century. Contextualising DMYH against the backdrop of Joseon's crisis of identity, it has been shown that this dictionary was first and foremost a utility dictionary with the ultimate purpose of supporting Joseon's search for legitimacy and protection of its nation from the Qing court.

The conclusions were made based on results of the lexicographic review of the dictionary's whole structure and the interrelationships of each component, which explicated the primary and secondary functions of DMYH. This approach reveals the unifying benefits of lexicography. While it can stand alone as an independent discipline, its interdisciplinary nature shows the viability for it to study dictionaries within the context of another field, namely history and linguistics. It is an important link between the dictionary and other non-lexicographic fields of study, hence allowing this lexicographic tool to be analysed not only as a source of data, but also as cultural and historical object.

I end this thesis with a look at the final paragraph of Oscar Wilde's novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (p. 198) which aptly illustrates the perils of an identity crisis:

When they entered, they found hanging upon the wall a splendid portrait of their master as they had last seen him, in all the wonder of his exquisite youth and beauty. Lying on the floor was a dead man, in evening dress, with a knife in his heart. He was withered, wrinkled, and loathsome of visage. It was not till they had examined the rings that they recognized who it was.

Retrospectively, the Joseon Dynasty could have perished sooner, like Mister Dorian Gray, if it had not reconciled its identity crisis. Joseon accepted its dual nature to an extent and utilised the appropriate tools. And as much as Dongmun Yuhae was a lexicographic tool, it is also a cultural, political, and linguistic microcosm of the Joseon Dynasty in the 18th century. It is hoped that the potential of a dictionary to be viewed as a portrait of the past is realised in many more studies to come.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Themes in volume 1 of Dongmun Yuhae			
No.	Chinese	Korean	English
1.	天文	천문	astronomy
2.	時令	시령	time and seasons
3.	地理	지리	geography
4.	人倫	인륜	morality
5.	人品	인품	personality
6.	身體	신체	body
7.	容貌	용모	appearance
8.	氣息	기식	breathing
9.	性情	성정	temperament
10.	言語	언어	language
11.	動靜	동정	movements
12.	人事	인사	greetings
13.	宮室	궁실	royal palace
14.	官職	관직	public office
15.	官府	관부	government/authority
16.	城郭	성곽	castle/fortress
17.	文學	문학	culture

18.	武備	무비	armaments
19.	軍器	군기	military
20.	政事	정사	politics
21.	禮度	예도	etiquette
22.	樂器	악기	musical instruments
23.	孕産	잉산	pregnancy and birth
24.	梳洗	소세	haircare and beauty
25.	服飾	복식	clothing
26.	飲食	음식	food

Themes in volume 2 of Dongmun Yuhae			
No.	Chinese	Korean	English
1.	田農	전농	farming
2.	米穀	미곡	grains
3.	菜蔬	채소	vegetables
4.	果品	과품	fruits
5.	疾病	질병	sickness
6.	醫藥	의약	medicines
7.	喪葬	상장	business
8.	寺觀	사관	temple
9.	佃漁	전어	hunting and fishing
10.	器具	기구	tools

11.	匠器	장기	pottery
12.	舟車	주거	boats and wagons
13.	鞍轡	안비	saddles and reins
14.	算數	산수	counting (numbers)
15.	珍寶	진보	precious metals/stones
16.	布帛	포백	hemp and silk
17.	買賣	매매	trading
18.	爭訟	쟁송	disputes
19.	刑獄	형옥	punishment
20.	國號	국호	countries
21.	戲玩	희완	entertainment/games
22.	罵辱	매욕	scolding and swearing
23.	飛禽	비금	flying beasts
24.	走獸	주수	walking beasts
25.	水族	수족	water beasts
26.	昆蟲	곤충	insects
27.	樹木	수목	trees
28.	花草	화초	flowers
29.	雜語	잡어	miscellaneous

Appendix B

The following is a list of the grammatical elements explained in Eorokhae as indexed by Kim Ryang Jin and Shin Sang Hyun (2017):

- *be*
- *de*
- *i, ni*
- *ra, re, ro*
- *la, le, lo*
- *ka, ha, ke, he, ko, ho*
- *me*
- *fī*
- *bi*
- *bihe*
- *bihe bici*
- *bihebi*
- *ombi*
- *mbi*
- *o*
- *ci*
- *se*
- *ki*
- *kini*
- *bu*
- *mbu*
- *so, su, tu, nu, cina*
- *ša, še, šo, mi, ce, ja, je, jo*
- *ša, še, ta, da, te, de, do, tu, mi, je, niye, kiya, giya, kiye, hiya, hiye*
- *ca, ce, du, nu, co*
- *manggi*
- *ohode*
- *jakade*
- *na, ne, no, ji*
- *reo, roo*
- *mbio, bio*
- *rangge, rengge, rongge, kangge, hangge, hūngge, kengge, hengge*
- *rakū, kakū, hakū, kekū, hekū*
- *rahū, ayoo*
- *sa, se, si, ta, te*
- *ta, te, to*
- *kai*
- *kan, ken, hei, hai, hoi, pi, kon*
- *udu seme, udu bicibi, udu cibe*
- *hono bade*
- *tere anggala*
- *dere*
- *deri*
- *tala, tele, tolo*
- *gala, gele*
- *cuka, cuke*
- *tetendere*