

Abstract

Literacy studies within both "autonomous" and "ideological" traditions, to use Street's (1984) terminology, have tended to focus on Western alphabet using societies and assume that literacy, however defined, is an all or nothing matter. Societies in which varieties and degrees of literacy are possible (indeed ordinary) have hitherto largely been ignored. Japan and South Korea are such cases, with separate but functionally interrelated writing systems, used for communicatively disparate purposes, differential mastery of which, consequently, has social and economic repercussions. In these and perhaps similar cases, literacy is, rather than discrete and unitary, always multiplicitous and variable. Different "literacies" entail different social and, some would argue (Unger, 1984 and 1987) cognitive consequences.

가운데 제9회 하계최고경영자세미나를 열었고, 같은 기간에 협회(회장 송인상)도 제주신라호텔에서 김영삼 민자당대표최고위원등 16명인사를 특별강연연사로 초청, 제16차 하계최고경영자세미나를 열었다. 또 전국경제인연합회(회장 유창순)도 지난 25일부터 28일까지 서귀포 KAL호텔에서 제4회 최고경영자세미나를 개최한 바 있으며, 한국개발연구원(KID, 회장 박충훈)도 오는 8월 1일부터 4일까지 제주신라호텔에서 KID 하계최고경영자심포지엄을 개최하고 있다.

또 한국인간개발연구원(원장 장만기)이 지난 21일 제주호텔신라에서 제11차 인간개발경영자세미나를 개최, 24일까지 강연등 각종 행사를 했으며 대한상공회의소(회장 김상하)도 지난 19일부터 22일까지 서귀포 KAL호텔에서 최고경영자세미나를 개설했다.

한편 제주도는 육성키로 하고, 산업의 중심지로 육성키로 하고, 최근 용태세확립에 주력하고 있는데 최근 몇년사이 각종 회의가 잇따라 열려 잠재력이 있음을 실증해 주고 있다. 지난해 상반기에는 1백1차례의 각종 회의가 유지돼 9천3백28명의 인사가 제주를 찾았고 올들어도 상반기중에 1백34차례에 걸쳐 세미나등 각종 행사가 열려 9천8백8명이 제주를 다녀갔다.

한국개발원이 낸 보고서에도 국내, 국제회의산업은 종합서비스산업으로 전제계적으로 빠른 속도로 성장하고 있으며, 특히 최근들어서는 관광지에서 휴양을 겸해 개최되고 있는 추세여서 제주지역은 회의 개최지로 충분한 잠재력을 갖고 있다고 분석했다.

Literacy Assessments in Polyscriptal Societies: Chinese Character Literacy in Korea and Japan

R.A. Brown

Higher levels of literacy are generally thought to be, if not prerequisites to national development, at least positively correlated with it. Since national development is assumed to be a good thing, many people, it appears, deduce from this that literacy qua literacy is invariably and necessarily good, and therefore that more literacy is better than less. High literacy levels become, in and of themselves, objects of national pride and sources of national prestige.¹

Japan, for example, is frequently praised for its ninety-nine percent literacy rate, which, if accurate, is indeed impressive, given the notoriously labyrinthine writing system used in that country. Not wishing to be outdone by their archnemeses, Koreans are increasingly claiming that they too, have equally, or almost equally, impressive levels of literacy.

The problem is that there are no reliable figures on literacy levels in either Japan or Korea. The ninety-nine percent literacy figure so often and guilelessly quoted (see for example Vogel, 1979:161) is provided by the Japanese Ministry of Education and represents nothing more than elementary school enrollments. But being enrolled in an elementary school is not the same as learning 1,500 to 3,200 *kanji*. The Ministry assumes that all who are enrolled will eventually go on to learn what they are supposed to. This, as Rohlen (1983) shows, does not always happen.

It is highly improbable that elementary school enrollments can serve as a valid measure of literacy in Japan. Incipient acquisition of literacy (literacy being defined minimally as the ability to read a newspaper with comprehension) begins at that time but is not complete until at least the ninth, but more probably, the twelfth grade (see below). Equating elementary school enrollment with literacy presupposes that: those who are enrolled actually attend, those who attend actually learn what they are taught and those who learn what they are taught retain what they have learned. It is far from obvious

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that all three conditions are met in fact, as DeFrancis, (1984:217) points out.

Korean literacy rates are frequently cited as ninety-eight percent *Korea Herald* (April 26, 1988); *Time* magazine (August, 1988); Yearn (1987:325); or even higher (Choi, 1989). These, following the Japanese example, probably also represent elementary school (*kukminhakyo*) enrollments (at best; however, the three concerned departments within the Korean Ministry of Education (*Daehakhaegongkwa*, *Changhakshil* and *Chundungkyoyukkwa*) all deny having any information on the subject (personal correspondence, June 13, 1989).

However, even if those levels could be reliably ascertained, little could be inferred from them because both literacy (what skills are required in order to be, or to be called, literate) and (what might be termed) "metaliteracy" (what one can do with those skills) are very different in Japan and Korea. "Korean literacy," however defined, is incommensurable with anything found in Japan, because, *inter alia*, the Korean and Japanese orthographic systems, though superficially similar, are used in very different ways.² Comparison are consequentially nugatory.

It should be noted that the notion of literacy itself (the ability to read and write) as commonly used in relation to Korean and especially Japanese, is unclear since "reading" and "writing" involve different kinds of skills and levels of capability in those countries, where "knowing" a character is a matter of degree. Writing a character (being able to reproduce it manually), pronouncing it, knowing the "meaning" it is likely to contribute to a novel word-formation and knowing the actual words it is in fact used to write, are different and independent abilities.

The concept of literacy is especially nebulous in Japan, where two distinct but intertwined writing systems are concomitantly used, actually two coextensive but functionally differentiated scripts, i.e., *hiragana* and *katakana*³ (Backhouse, 1984; Miller, 1967), along with morphosyllabic *kanji* (DeFrancis, 1984). One may be "literate" in one, two or all three scripts. One may be able to read and write, or merely read. In the case of *kanji*, where characters generally represent several morphemes, one may be familiar with all or merely some of them. Indeed, the Education Ministry counts as literate anyone who is able to handle in the most minimal sense any of the three

scripts⁴ (Sakamoto and Makita, 1973:444). Since virtually nothing is written in just one script, one could, by government criteria at least, be “literate,” yet be able to read almost nothing.

Measuring Korean literacy is considerably less problematic,⁵ primarily because *hanja* (Chinese characters) are no longer extensively used in mass communication print media. Moreover, even when they are used, they are used in a less integrated (“mixed”), and more consistent, hence more predictable fashion: only nouns are written in *hanja*, and nouns of a limited sort, under certain conditions; with few exceptions, each graph has exactly one pronunciation (see Kim[a], 1987:334-6; Kim [b], 1987:334-5; Grant, 1982:338 for lists of these exceptions). *Hanja* and *hangul* are not combined within the same lexical unit, as *kanji* and *kana* are in Japanese, to distinguish different words. In contrast, Japanese *kanji* are used to write most verb and adjective stems, most nouns and many adverbs. In addition, most *kanji* have multiple pronunciations and meanings, many of them completely arbitrary (Horodeck, 1987:81; Paradis et al, 1984:1-18). (Sixty percent of the *jooyoo kanji* have both Sino-Japanese and native Japanese readings; thirty-eight percent have monosyllabic Chinese based *on*-readings only; two percent have native Japanese *kun*-readings only: see Backhouse, 1984:223.) Unlike Japanese *kanji*, individual *hanja* do not represent different morphemes.

Uses of Literacy

In Japan, reading material and documents of the most mundane sort, such as bank books, rail pass applications, registration forms (of which there are many), menus, racing forms, scandal sheets, flyers promoting illicit services, comic books, sports news, movie subtitles, not to mention magazines and newspapers (see figures 1, 3, 5 and 7), all contain *kanji*, varying only, across vocabulary items, by the estimated age of the target readership. All presuppose a recognition knowledge of, if not the 1,945 *jooyoo* and 166 supplemental “name” *kanji*, much less the 3,213 that actually occur in print (Horodeck, 1987:76), at least 1,500 of them (which suffice to read almost anything that will ever appear in Japanese print). With the exception of telegrams, no variety of text is systematically written in other than the normal *kanji kanamajiribun* style, with *kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana* each performing their usual grammatical and lexical function (see Backhouse, 1984:219-228 for a brief introduction).

Figure 2.

Page from the Seoul telephone directory. No listing comprises Chinese characters (*hanja*).

공 509-6	976 7253	국립 410	313 6637	미옥자	농림 96-19	546 7041	
백 179-14	495 3224	국립 2153	233 1857	국립 150-22	684 1772	미옥진	555 9365
마영남		국립 2-66	752 5731	국립 419-2	393 2783	마은경	
도림 186	843 6460	신라 84-25	873 0724	국립 223-10	417 5923	대영 336-21	816 0563
신정 327	645 0077	마영재		국립 30-10	717 3079	마은서	
마영남		창흥 397-1	904 7690	국립 477	963 7094	창흥 660-14	742 8465
국립 235-1	467 1828	마영조		국립 351-1	698 9758	마은식	
마영덕		국립 392-13	577 5713	마옥향		창흥 744-8	906 7228
영봉로 94-290	677 3113	마영준		창흥 67-17	393 2123	마은진	
마영도		국립 629-53	978 6557	마옥화		창흥 250-9	963 3069
일원 666-6	573 9473	국립 45-9	444 4711	마옥환		마은불	
마영득		국립 45-9	446 5422	마옥환		창흥 1180-24	908 4054
가차 478	403 7509	국립 69-2	684 6071	마옥희		마은화	
마영라		국립 316	567 5895	국립 3-1351-183	235 0931	대영 770	591 1543
미이 318-5	989 8072	국립 278-33	965 7587	국립 342-2	302 5674	마은희	
마영록		국립 301-238	904 0903	국립 2-54	715 5880	창흥 7	545 4055
영남 397-21	333 5053	국립 345-15	292 8663	마은빈		마은국	
마영록		국립 152-26	462 1554	국립 1009-82	804 4895	창흥 1189	918 6719
국립 72-20	742 7152	국립 152-26	464 1844	마은선		마은진	
마영민		국립 199-4	355 9809	국립 233-3	233 7326	국립 1-395-2	232 2775
신라 11787	832 0747	국립 114-11	495 1873	국립 40-279	236 4336	창흥 2-340-2	797 5525
신라 360-5	847 4944	국립 452	394 8503	마은희		창흥 652-12	904 4984
마영배		국립 328-1	417 1347	마은희		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 252-111	452 0534	마영채		마은희		창흥 652-12	904 4984
영미 159-12	417 7422	국립 617	478 1765	마은희		창흥 652-12	904 4984
마영백		신라 17-2	415 0469	마은희		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 6-16	232 2660	마영철		창흥 34-7	307 2400	창흥 652-12	904 4984
마영범		국립 317-11	980 5896	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
도림 536	567 2040	국립 317-11	890 5896	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 102-508	900 4804	국립 35-1	716 1768	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 6-299-3	267 8539	국립 306-3	332 9346	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 6-299-3	274 1192	국립 100-6	232 2315	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
마영복		국립 131-241	649 2811	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
가차 142-1	422 1223	국립 129-1006	294 7266	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 762-8	292 2121	국립 954-17	605 3569	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 762-4	292 8545	국립 912-1	982 7012	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 3-134	923 8866	국립 912-1	982 7012	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 206-4	266 6841	국립 912-1	982 7012	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 206-4	277 1442	국립 129-551	293 0880	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 228	742 8829	국립 129-551	293 0880	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 562	686 8554	국립 129-551	293 0880	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
마영분		국립 83	555 5329	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
신라 236-336	252 7211	국립 83	555 5329	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
마영성		국립 72-20	384 9515	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 430-205	577 7356	국립 72-20	384 9515	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
마영수		국립 106-16	432 5082	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 78	574 9925	국립 106-16	432 5082	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 74-27	535 6080	국립 106-16	432 5082	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 1-404	232 5559	국립 106-16	432 5082	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 310	566 0225	국립 106-16	432 5082	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 45-70	922 4765	국립 106-16	432 5082	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 954-8	333 9257	국립 106-16	432 5082	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 545-54	302 0879	국립 106-16	432 5082	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 1190-3	694 9387	국립 106-16	432 5082	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
마영숙		국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 37-5 181	856 8839	국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 6-1206	542 0920	국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 701-1302	484 2469	국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 546-6	605 8421	국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 153-21	977 4718	국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 656-9	905 9536	국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 106-114	387 8926	국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 225-54	446 5462	국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
국립 167-14	305 5247	국립 112-3	446 5100	마은기		창흥 652-12	904 4984
마영순		국립 174-23	972 3162	국립 1-339	236 2904	창흥 94-76	884 3598
국립 272-4	685 5902	국립 174-23	972 3162	마은기		마은순	
국립 37-20	313 1069	국립 174-23	972 3162	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 21-238	779 2591
국립 453-31	332 2113	국립 174-23	972 3162	국립 233-3	236 2904	마은영	
국립 533-12	808 3881	국립 174-23	972 3162	국립 233-3	236 2904	신규 35	546 6085
국립 417-1	697 4096	국립 174-23	972 3162	국립 233-3	236 2904	마은일	
국립 454-79	718 0283	국립 174-23	972 3162	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 308-05	738 6641
국립 2-91-8	712 5110	국립 174-23	972 3162	국립 233-3	236 2904	마은국	
국립 552-68	949 5098	국립 174-23	972 3162	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 423-10	493 2921
국립 5-79-2	265 0648	국립 174-23	972 3162	국립 233-3	236 2904	마은진	
마영식		국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 224-10	387 7216
국립 762-8	292 8686	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	국립 1-358-72	989 0027
국립 762-8	292 8737	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	마은도	
국립 762-8	294 8855	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	국립 1-703-31	980 6688
국립 762-8	294 9886	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	마은서	
국립 459-14	491 4458	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 2-331	95 6132
국립 119-28	234 8041	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	마은영	
국립 566	483 9840	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	국립 103-40	981 8334
국립 131	332 1344	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 35-4	302 0006
국립 731-6	924 2323	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	마은진	
국립 27-9	248 1963	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 2-331	302 0006
국립 33-101	332 9339	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	마은진	
국립 56-6	305 2985	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 2-331	302 0006
마영신		국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 2-331	302 0006
국립 20-5	423 8267	국립 414-14	473 3252	국립 233-3	236 2904	창흥 2-331	302 0006

Figure 3.
Japanese pay statement.
With the exception of two
words ("code" and the
name of the company
which has been elimi-
nated), every word is
written with *kanji*. No word
is written in *kana*, and only
one *kana* actually appears.

[illegible]

Figure 5.
Japanese saving account
passbook. *Kanji* are copiously
used, in the normal mixed
fashion.

定期預金記帳方法のご案内

- ・この通帳への記帳は次により行ないます。おわかりにくい点は当店窓口へご照会ください。
- ・この通帳にお預りした定期預金には、それぞれ「お預り番号」を表示して記帳します。
お支払いのさいは、その預金の「お預り番号」を表示して記帳します。
- ・ご継続の場合は、ご継続前の定期預金の「お預り番号」を引続き表示してご継続後の定期預金のみを記帳します。
- ・2年定期預金の中間払利息で作成する中間利息定期預金は、もとの2年定期預金と同じ「お預り番号」を表示して記帳します。
- ・2年定期預金と中間利息定期預金を自動的にご継続する場合は、それぞれのお利息を含めた合計金額により記帳します。
- また、両方の定期預金を同時にお支払いする場合は、元金の合計金額により記帳します。
- ・ご継続(お支払い)の場合、ご継続前(お支払前)の定期預金には、ご継続済(お支払済)の表示は行ないません。

Figure 4.
Korean pay statement.
Every word is written in
hangul. No hanja are used.

※금 호 : 224 A 13-2

※입금계좌번호 : 1990. 7

지	금	이	직 위 금 여	직 무 수 당	초과강의료	잔 구 비
	409950		74500	0	0	795400
금	금	량	비			개
내	50000		0			1329850
역	잔금수당()	상	여			총 개
		484450				1814300

공	갑	근	세	세	생	출	연	금	주	민	세	방	위	세	교	직	원	회	비
	67230		0		5040		6720		2000										
제	교	원	공	제	회	연	금	공	제	금	가	분	금	의	료	보	금		
내	0		43270		93480		0		14120										
역	재	형	서	속	노	조	사	무	비			공	제	액	개	자	원	지	급
	0		0									231860		1582440					

Figure 6.
Korean saving account
passbook. No hanja are used.

자 유 저 축 예 금 약 관

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2. 예금은 현금 이외에 당행이 인정하는 수표·어음으로도 예입하실 수 있습니다. 이 예금은 현금으로 바꾸어진 후에 지급에 용하겠으며 만일 부도될 때에는 그 예금은 취소하겠습니다.
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4. 이 통장 또는 제출하신 인장을 분실하신 때 또는 개별·개인·주소 변경을 하셨을 때에는 신속히 당행에 통지하여 주십시오. 신고하시기 전에 발생한 손해에 대하여는 당행은 책임을 지지 아니 합니다.
5. 이자는 매년 4 회·당행소정의 이율을 적용하여 선입선출 방식에 의거 계산합니다.
6. 이 예금은 실명의 1 인 1 계좌에 한하여 허용하며 중복계좌로 판명되었을 때는 최초 개설계좌를 제외한 나머지 계좌는 보통예금으로 처리됩니다.
7. 이 예금의 예치한도는 2,000만원 입니다. 다만 이자원가로 인한 초과액은 예외로 합니다.
8. 이 예금은 매매·양도·질권의 대상으로 할 수 없습니다.
9. 은라인으로 타점에서 무통장 입금시킨 수표나 어음등이 부도되었을 때에는 무통장입금표 소지인에게 부도실문을 반환하고 해당예금을 취소하겠습니다.

Figure 7.
Typical magazine style
Japanese newspaper (kanji
throughout).

韓国人は今こう考える

「総体的難局」の原因はなにに(1)

今週から好評であった「韓国人は今こう考える」の連載を再開する。この連載は韓国の新聞に掲載された世論調査の結果を新聞の解説記事そのままに翻訳して紹介していくというものである。

激動する韓国の中で韓国人のびとが今、何をどう考えているかを見ていただきたい。

今回は「東亜日報」五月八日付けに掲載された世論調査(済州島を除く全国一六〇〇名の電話アンケート)の結果を紹介する。

民自党の発足後も不動産の暴騰、労使紛争の頻発と盧泰愚政権にはいいところはまったくなかった。その前日に行なわれた「時局收拾の特別談話」で盧泰愚大統領はその事態を「総体的難局」と表現せざるをえなかったほどである。

詳しくは今後の調査結果を見ていただきたいが、盧泰愚大統領が「とてもよくやっている」とみる人はわずか一％、つまり百人に一人でしかなく、「よくやっている方だ」という人を加えても九％に満たない。

また、与野党三党が連合して「民自党」を発足させ、国会の議席も三分の二以上を占めるにいたっているにもかかわらず、その支持率がわずか三・九％でしかなく、野党の平民政党、あるいは党首の去った仮称・民主党のそれよりも低い数字という何とも悔憤たる結果となった。

こうしたことは発足早々、与党である民自党が大きな壁に直面していることを伺わせるが、だからといってそうした野党勢力の支持率もけつて高くはな

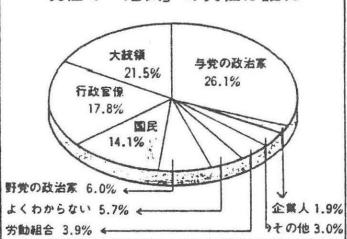
く、人びとは「総体的危機」の中で頼るべき物(者)のない極めて不安な状況に置かれているようである。

以下の文章は例によって「東亜日報」の解説記事を進める限り直訳した。(編集部)

●総体的難局の責任は誰に

今回の世論調査ではまず韓国がいかなる「総体的難局」に直面しているようになったその責任が主に誰にあるかという質問を試みた。その回答をみると

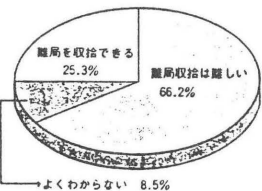
現在の「危機」の責任は誰に



年齢が高くなればなるほど「大統領」(五〇代は二八・四％、二〇代が二〇・〇％)の責任を多く指摘している。その一方、若い層であればあるほど「与党の政治家」(二〇代が三一・六％、五〇代が一四・八％)にその責任があると答えている。

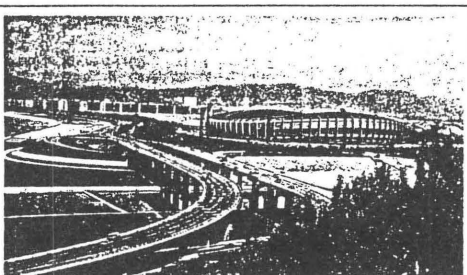
●大統領特別談話の効果はあるか
また盧泰愚大統領の時局收拾特別談話(五月七日)の発表後、それによって「総体的難局」と指摘されるであろうかということについては若い層であればあるほど否定的な反応が多かつ

盧大統領の特別談話の効果



た(二〇代が七四・一％、三〇代が六九・〇％、四〇代が五九・七％、五〇代が四八・七％)。
一般的に既得権層ということのできる経営管理専門職の従事者までも一〇名中の七名以上がやはり時局收拾は難しいと答えており(七三・四％)、その難局の收拾が非常に困難であると分析している。

このような難局に対処するためには「政府が強力に法を執行しなければならぬ」という意見がもっとも多かった(四一・二％)が、これは政府の民生治安体制の確立、法の厳正な執行を望む国民の声であるとみることができよう。



濟州, 會議-세미나 開催地로 各광

올들어 전국규모이상 각종회의 134차례

제주지역에서는 피서철을 맞아 전국 규모의 회의, 세미나등 각종 행사가 잇따라 열려 국내외 국제회의 개최지로서 밝은 전망을 보여주고 있다.

관련업체에 따르면 최근 몇년사이 이지역에서 각종 국내외회의가 계속 열려 회의 개최지로서의 잠재력을 발휘하고 있다는 것이다.

7월들어 이지역에서 계획되고 있거나 이미 개최된 전국 규모 이상의 회의를 보면 한국공업표준협회(회장 김선종)가 지난 24일부터 27일까지 서귀포 프린스호텔에서 조순 전부총리, 박용도 공업진흥청장등이 참석한 가운데 제9회 하계최고경영자세미나를 열었고, 같은 기간에 한국농림협회(회장 송인상)도 제주신라호텔에서 김영삼 총리당대최고고위위원등 저명인사를 특별강연연사로 초청, 제16차 하계최고경영자 세미나를 열었다.

또 전국경제인연합회(회장 유장순)도 지난 25일부터 28일까지 서귀포 KAL 호텔에서 제4회 최고경영자세미나를 개최한 바 있으며, 한국개발연구원(KID, 회장 박승훈)도 오는 8월 1일부터 4일까지 제주신라호텔에서 KID 하계최고경영자심포지엄을 개최하고 있다.

또 한국인간개발연구원(원장 장만기)이 지난 21일 제주호텔신라에서 제11차 인간개발경영자세미나를 개최, 24일까지 강연등 각종 행사를 했으며 대한상공회의소(회장 김상하)도 지난 19일부터 22일까지 서귀포

휴양지로 각광을 받고 있는데다 회의 시설도 훌륭해 전국 규모나 국제회의를 치르는데 불편이 없기 때문이다.

제주도내에는 현재 30개 관광숙박업소 가운데 25개소가 각종 회의를 연수 있는 큰 회의실을 갖추고 있고

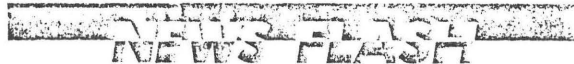


제주그랜드관광호텔, 하얏트호텔, 제주신라호텔등은 국제회의를 연수 있는 5개 국어 동시통역시설과 세계규모의 회의실을 갖추고 있다.

한편 제주도는 이 지역을 국제회의 산업의 중심지로 육성키로 하고, 수용태세확립에 주력하고 있는데 최근 몇년사이 각종 회의가 잇따라 열려 잠재력이 있음을 실증해 주고 있다.

지난해 상반기에는 1백1차례의 각종 회의가 유치돼 9천3백28명의 인연사가 제주를 찾았고 올들어도 상반기중에 1백34차례에 걸쳐 세미나등 각종 행사가 열려 9천8백8명이 제주를 다녀갔다.

한국개발원이 낸 보고서에도 국내, 국제회의산업은 중상서비스산업으로 전세계적으로 빠른 속도로 성장하고 있으며, 특히 최근들어서는 관광지에 서 효용을 크게 제하고 있다.



◇한국관광공사는 지난 24일 상오 11시 16층 소회의실에서 미주지역 취금여행사와 특급호텔 관계자들이 참석한 가운데 업계간담회를 개최.

한편 관광공사는 지난 21일부터 24일까지 미국 뉴올리언스에서 개최된 '90 세계국제회의협회(IACVB) 연차 총회에도 참가한데 이어 7.28~8.6일까지 하와이 호놀룰루에서 열리는 하와이 한국특산물전에 부스를 설치하고 한국관광을 홍보.

◇대한항공은 사할린에 전세기를 운항, 지난 26일 상오 10시 사할린 동포 위문단등 60여명을 태우고 김포를 출발, 소련 유즈노 사할린스코프항에 하오 3시 30분 도착.

이 공연단은 사할린에 머물며 위문 공연을 한후 다시 전세기편을 이용해 8월 1일 7시 서울로 돌아온다.

◇제주新羅가 신봉부부들을 대상으로 허니문 패키지프로그램을 개발, 오는 8월 21일부터 내년 3월까지 판매. 사파이어, 에메랄드, 루비, 다이아몬드A, 다이아몬드B등 5종류의 허니

문패키지는 각각 아침이나 저녁식사를 포함하고 있으며, 1박2일에 10만8천원부터 3박4일까지 최고 68만5천원으로 다양한데, 그급송물차 서비스, 샴페인 및 와인 무료서비스 등이 따른다.

◇미국의 3대항공사인 아메리칸, 유나이티드, 델타 항공사가 89년도 미국 항공여객의 43%를 수송.

이들 3대사는 2000년대까지 미국 전체여객의 50%까지 수송할 것으로 항공업계에서는 전망하고 있는데, 그것은 현재 미국 전체항공사들이 새로 주문한 2천1백51대의 최신 제트여객기의 60%가 이들 3사에서 차지하고 있기 때문이다.

◇中国 水中心목공원이 8월 2일 북경북동부 교외에 오픈된다고.

중국 최초의 이 수중 용궁은 길이 1백48m, 폭 11m, 높이 6.5m의 터널과 약 2천㎡의 규모로 돼있다는 것. 따라서 이 수중공원은 중국인은 물론 외국인관광객의 주요 관광지가 될 것이라고 중국정부는 보고 있다고.

台灣, 對外 항공연계망 확충강화

2년내 國際航空社 4개사로 늘려

(台北 CNA=聯合) 대만 정부가 최근들어 보다 융통성있는 항공정책을 추진, 많은 나라들과의 항공연계망을 확충하는데 적극적으로 나섬에 따라 앞으로 수년뒤에는 대만의 하늘이 지금보다도 더욱 복잡해질 것으로 전망

이처럼 대폭적인 노선 확장이 가시화되고 있는 것은 대만 정부가 현재 항공협정을 맺고 있는 국가들과 상호간에 복수의 항공사를 취할 수 있도록 허용하는 방향으로 협정을 대체하려는 노력을 강화하고 있는 때문

← top

Figure 8.
Typical magazine style
Korean newspaper (hanja
only in headings).

Kana alone may be used when the intended readers are too young to have learned the *kanji* that would ordinarily be used. For example, in some train stations there are signs saying *yameyoo senro asobi* (don't play on the tracks), with all characters written in *hiragana* (i.e., やめようせんろあそび). Normally, this would be written using four *kanji*, with *kana* for the suffixes, since the character for *aso-bi* (i.e., 遊び) is taught in the third grade, the characters for *senro* (i.e., 線 and 路) in the fourth grade. Thus, anyone who has made it that far will know, or at least be expected to know, these characters. Yet the sign is written entirely in *hiragana*. Apparently, the railway authorities feel that those who are most likely to be tempted to play on train tracks are just those people who, by reason of youth, have not yet made it past the third grade.

Nevertheless, children are introduced to *kanji* as soon as they are able to read *hiragana*, sometimes sooner (Sakamoto, 1975:243-244). *Manga* (comics) serve this purpose well.⁶ *Furigana* are invariably appended, thereby redeeming the material as "educational" rather than merely entertaining. Sakamoto and Makita (1973:446-447) cite one study, done as early as 1954, to the effect that "children" (the number was not specified) could "read" (what that meant was not operationalized), even before their first year of elementary school, on average: 30 *hiragana*, 5.8 *katakana*, 5.4 *kanji* and 7.9 Arabic numerals. They conclude (somewhat redundantly) that "family concern for the reading of children greatly affects their reading ability at this stage."

In Korea, *hanja* are not widely used (see figures 2, 4, 6 and 8). This was not always so. According to Kim (1970:79): "... more than half the entire population today cannot manage more than the bare minimum number, say a thousand, of Chinese characters, while nearly all the significant reading material including newspapers and periodicals . . . is packed with what in the old days passed as 'real letters' or 'true scripts.'" Between 1957 and 1964 and again between 1970 and 1972 *hanja* were banned by government decree (Kim, 1978:247). Instruction in public schools was not resumed until 1974. *Hanja* have been taught as a required subject for middle and high school students since that time (see Brown, 1990).

Hanja appear without annotation in college textbooks and scholarly treatises, on the writer's assumption that potential

readers are or should be able to decipher them. But the great majority of mass circulation publications contain no, or very few, *hanja*. Magazines, as a rule, contain none. With one exception, newspapers use *hanja*, but relatively few, limited to names of well-known places, people, political groups or government agencies, and certain topical politico-economic and sociological concepts, such as *t'ongil* (unification) and *t'ugi* (land speculation). The proportion of *hanja* to total nouns varies according to subject, but is more or less consistent across papers. *Hanja* are used to underscore the importance of the topic under discussion; articles about more important topics contain more *hanja*, and the presence of more *hanja* implies that the topic is more important. *Hanja* are also used much more copiously when the topic is "traditional," or "cultural," as opposed to contemporary or popular (in roughly the way *kanji* and *katakana* are used in Japan to establish product images).

A typical newspaper article on a subject of moderate gravity will contain 260-340 monomorpheme noun tokens; of these, fifteen to twenty percent will be printed in *hanja*. The following articles concerning a proposal to develop two small cities on the outskirts of Seoul, appeared in the May 28, 1989 editions of all of the major Korean daily newspapers and they are typical in their character usage. One article, in the *Chosun Ilbo*, contains 262 single morpheme noun tokens of which thirty-eight (14.5 percent) are expressed in *hanja*, 44 percent occurring more than once; of the 106 multimorpheme nominal expressions, sixteen (15 percent) are written in *hanja*. Another, in the *Segye Ilbo*, contain 335 single morpheme noun tokens of which seventy (21 percent) are expressed in *hanja*, 43 percent occurring more than once; of the eighty-six multimorpheme nominal expressions, thirty (35 percent) are written in *hanja*. Those that appear most frequently, in both articles, represent the names of the two cities whose development is under consideration. Other newspapers (such as *Kukmin Ilbo*, *Seoul Shinmun* and *Hankuk Ilbo*) tend to more closely resemble the *Segye Ilbo*. (Table 1 contains a summary.)

Table 1

Hanja Use in Korean Newspapers

Newspaper	Single Morpheme Noun Token Totals	<i>Hanja</i> Use	Multiple Occurrence of <i>Hanja</i>	Multiple Morpheme Noun Token Totals	<i>Hanja</i> Use
<i>Chosen Ilbo</i>	262	14.5% (38)	44%	106	15% (16)
<i>Segye Ilbo</i>	335	21.0% (70)	43%	86	35% (30)

Even relatively uneducated people (those with nine or fewer years of schooling; as of 1985, 39.5 percent of the population, Korean Educational Development Institute, 1987:23), can read most of these *hanja*, since all that is required is an ability to recognize a few recurring characters in narrowly circumscribed topical domains. Since the graphs usually occur in combinations of two, three or four (individually representing morphemes, together forming a word), recognizing just one is frequently sufficient to identify the intended word, in turn making it possible to surmise the other characters. In the *Chosun Ilbo* article mentioned above, there are only two single-graph tokens, that is, two occurrences of (盧) (pronounced 'no'), the family name of the present president of South Korea, along with two occurrences of his full name, (盧泰愚), each time accompanied by *daetongnyong* (대통령) 'president,' written in *hangul*. The *Segye Ilbo* article contains four occurrences of the same graph, in addition to one occurrence of (校) (*kyo*), three occurrences of (市) (*shi*) and (洞) (*tong*) and two occurrences of (郡) (*kun*) and (邑) (*up*), all, in effect, bound morphemes. It might further be assumed that readers of particular articles will have suitable lexical resources on hand. For example, anyone interested enough in the problem of real estate speculation to read an article about it would certainly be familiar with the word "*t'ugi*." It also seems likely that they will be able to recognize two *hanja*—in that unique combination—used to write it, particularly when it is used in the context of a report on that very matter.

This conjecture can be tested rather simply by giving readers a *hanja* close test,⁸ deleting the relevant *hanja*, and asking the reader to supply an appropriate replacement word. And in fact, the results of just such an experiment conducted by this writer indicate that readers can often infer the missing words or adequate equivalents. To spell it out, *hanja*-illiterate readers are generally able to read with little loss of comprehension materials (newspapers, at least) that contain the customary number of ordinarily used *hanja* (see note 13). Table 2 shows the results of such a test using an article on the subject of education, containing fifteen deletions (two or more *hanja* forming a single word are counted as a single deletion). Thirty-six percent of the missing characters, or semantic equivalents, were correctly supplied by the test group as a whole (i.e., 51 subjects x 15 items; 275 correct out of 765 possible responses).

Table 2

Percentage of deleted characters inferred in cloze test with Chinese characters.

	A	Gloss	B	C	D	E	F	
	1	學位	diploma	90%	0%	8%	2%	90%
	2	大學	university	61	20	18	2	81
	3	履修	finish course	65	29	4	2	94
	4	歷史	history	0	0	65	35	0
	5	言語學	linguistics	0	0	59	41	0
	6	哲學	philosophy	2	0	49	49	2
	7	文學史	literary history	16	71	12	2	87
	8	語	language	67	4	22	8	71
	9	帝國	empire	27	0	69	4	27
A = target character(s) B = exact character(s) C = semantically equivalent characters D = incorrect characters E = no response F = total of B + C	10	自由人	liberal person	14	0	84	2	14
	11	大學	university	9	0	71	17	9
	12	物理學	physics	22	0	49	29	22
(See endnote 14 for remarks on category D.)	13	大學	university	22	0	51	27	22
	14	理學士	scientist	22	2	59	18	24
Subjects numbered fifty-one.	15	農學	agricultural science	0	0	41	59	0

A second similar but shorter test using a book review concerning the origins of the Korean War, containing nine deletions, is confirmatory (table 3). Here, sixty-eight percent of the deleted or equivalent characters (as above) were correctly supplied by the test group (54 subjects x 9 items; 329 correct out of 486 possible responses).

A third test concerning automobile exports yielded similar results: slightly more than fifty-two percent of the deleted or equivalent characters were correctly supplied (74 subjects x 24

Table 3

Percentage of deleted characters inferred in cloze test with Chinese characters.

	A	Gloss	B	C	D	E	F	
	1	冷戰	cold war	67%	0%	26%	7%	67%
	2	韓半島	Korean Peninsula	29	44	33	2	73
	3	要因	cause	50	39	9	2	89
	4	代價	cost	61	2	31	6	68
A = target character(s)	5	韓半島	Korean Peninsula	30	6	48	17	36
B = exact character(s)	6	南侵	invasion south	78	11	6	6	89
C = semantically equivalent characters	7	南韓	South Korea	76	2	18	4	78
D = incorrect characters	8	要因	cause	56	17	18	9	73
E = no response	9	韓半島	Korean Peninsula	17	41	31	11	58
F = total of B + C								
Subjects numbered fifty-four.								

items; out of 1,767 possible responses; 958 (54.2 percent) were correct (see table 4).

This leaves open the further possibility that even with major portions of the text missing, a good deal of "comprehension" can occur, based on inferences from real-world knowledge and "commonsense." Extracting (or constructing) meaning from texts is not, after all, algorithmic.⁹

(Precisely the same test could be done using Japanese subjects and texts; since this has not been done, we say nothing about the capacity of *kanji*-illiterate Japanese readers to read normal Japanese texts.)¹⁰

Table 4

Percentage of deleted characters inferred in cloze test with Chinese characters.

	A	Gloss	B	C	D	E	F
1	現代	hyundai	24%	0%	72%	1%	24%
2	現代	hyundai	66	0	31	3	66
3	韓國	Korea	80	0	16	4	80
4	現代	hyundai	92	0	8	0	92
5	現代	hyundai	96	0	4	0	96
6	自動車	car	7	91	3	0	7
7	立志	determination	40	0	35	25	40
8	現代	hyundai	96	1	3	0	97
9	說	public opinion	51	21	26	3	69
10	現代	hyundai	59	11	25	5	70
11	自動車	car	76	3	6	14	79
12	位相	status	16	0	69	16	16
13	現代	hyundai	85	3	8	4	88
14	自動車	car	75	1	12	11	76
15	精工	microengineering	76	4	9	11	80
16	北韓	North Korea	30	0	63	7	30
17	分架作業	subcontractor	8	1	82	8	8
18	現代	hyundai	97	0	0	3	97
19	現代	hyundai	93	1	3	3	94
20	自動車	car	74	4	12	10	78
21	美國市場	US market	26	4	40	30	30
22	苦戰	hard struggle	24	0	32	43	24
23	後繼	succession	0	54	18	28	54
24	內紛	internal trouble	0	23	49	29	23

A = target character(s)

B = exact character(s)

C = semantically equivalent characters

D = incorrect characters

E = no response

F = total of B + C

Subjects numbered seventy-four.

Even when *hanja* are not used within the text itself, they are often found in headlines, not, as is the case in Japan, because they save space (one *hangul* syllable group occupies the same space as one *hanja*), but (more probably) because they are visually “grabby” to borrow Mehrabian’s (1976:250) apt expression (see figure 8).

It is also widely believed, not entirely erroneously, that elided expressions are less ambiguous when written in Chinese characters. In Korea, as in Japan, multisyllabic compounds of both Sinic and Western origin are frequently clipped, by omitting certain segments. Thus, in Japanese, *tokubetsu koogekitai* (special attack group) becomes *tokkotai*, mass communication becomes *masukomi*, personal computer becomes *pasokon*, word processor becomes *wapuro*. In Korean, *motsaenggigeetaionani* (ugly person) becomes *motnani*, personal computer becomes *poskom*, mass communication becomes *meskom* (actually via Japanese), *Iwha yoja taehakkyo* (Ewha Women’s University) becomes *Idae*. This sort of process may in fact create homonyms which the Chinese characters can differentiate not (as most Japanese and many Koreans appear to believe) because they are inherently meaningful, but simply because they are graphically distinct. In the same way, prior to 1946, *kana* spellings were used to distinguish homonyms (Horodeck, 1987:60). But the decision to do this is not obligatory. The newspaper articles mentioned above contain essentially the same vocabulary, a good deal of it Sinic, hence potentially able to be written in *hanja*. In one, the *Hankyore Shinmun*, as a matter of editorial policy, no *hanja* are used.¹¹ Essentially the same vocabulary set is involved. The existence of such a paper is a telling argument against the indispensability of *hanja*. It would be highly farfetched to claim that publishers print and readers buy newspapers that can not be read, in the ordinary sense of that word.¹²

Impressionistically, such homonyms seem to create fewer cases of ambiguity in Korea than in Japan, perhaps because the less frequent, less variegated, and more structurally restricted use of *hanja* in Korea inhibits the proliferation of contextually undisambiguable homonyms. It may also be that these homonyms are less prevalent than is generally supposed. While there may be genuine cases of homonymic confusion, as Martin (1972:99) says, it is also true that they can be rather simply circumvented, given the lexical and syntactic resources any native or otherwise capable speaker will by definition have.

It is also worth remarking that, up until the relatively recent inundation of English into Japanese and especially Korean, these truncated expressions arose in connection with the Chinese characters, having invariably been constructed out of Chinese morphemes which were borrowed into Japanese (and Korean) along with the graphs used to write them. It was not the case that the characters were necessary to distinguish homonymic expressions, but rather that the characters allowed these particular juxtapositions of morphemes to serve any potentially communicative purpose in the first place. This may of course change in the future as greater numbers of English loans find their lexical niches in both countries, perhaps supplanting Chinese as major lexical donor (see Ishiwata, 1989:17-21). The same clipping processes occur with English loan compounds, sometimes with consequent homonymization, but without, obviously, *kanji* to disambiguate.

Conclusion

Proportionally fewer people in Korea than in Japan are Chinese character-literate, due to: different school enrollment rates and the different grade levels at which those characters are taught (for details, see Brown, 1990a). At the same time, Chinese characters are less necessary for reading in Korea than in Japan, but more necessary for demonstrating minimal levels of education in Japan than in Korea. In Korea, but not in Japan, full, meaningful and successful participation in society does not require Chinese character-literacy. Upward mobility may be associated with a knowledge of *hanja*, but only because that knowledge is a by-product of education, which is the *sine qua non* for social (and as a rule) economic advancement and, Koreans believe, for happiness as well (Shin, 1986). It is not a prerequisite to that education and advancement. Unlike Japan, admission to a good university does not hinge on knowing many Chinese characters; in Japan all of the questions about every subject, and the test instructions themselves, are written in the standard *kanji* and *kana* mixed style (*kanji kanamajiribun*); in Korea, *hanja* are essentially limited to a brief section specifically about *hanmun* (Chinese literature), and even here, they are multiple choice questions requiring only recognition; it is not required that anything be written in *hanja*. One can in principle enter the most prestigious Korean universities without being able to read or write a single Chinese character.¹³ This would be impossible in Japan.

Like speech varieties, at least partially overlapping writing systems may coexist within the same sociolinguistic community. Japan and South Korea are two such cases. Measurements and assessments of literacy and generalizations therefrom that fail to take this into account will at best be dimly illuminating.

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Endnotes

- 1 See Cook-Gumperz (1986) and Street (1984) for discussion and criticism of the assumption that literacy equals progress.
- 2 In Korea, morphophonemic *hangul* are used, sometimes but not always in combination with 'Chinese characters,' collectively and individually referred to as *hanja*; in Japan, syllabic (actually, moraic—*kana* represent morae rather than syllables (Horodeck, 1987:29) *kana* are used in elaborate combination with the same Chinese characters, referred to, as above, as *kanji*.
- 3 Korean and Japanese do not have obligatory number marking on nouns. Therefore, we will throughout this paper use the following to denote both singular and plural, and on occasion, indeterminate forms; *kanji*, *kana*, *katakana*, *hiragana*, *furigana*, *okurigana*, *kanbun*, *hanja*, *hangul*, *hanmun*.
- 4 According to Sakamoto and Mikita "[in 1964] the Ministry of Education of Japan reported that the problem of illiteracy had been completely solved. By definition, an illiterate person in Japan is one who cannot read or write *kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana* at all." Obviously, no one who has attended even one year of elementary school is illiterate by this definition. In fact, according to one study, reported in Sakamoto (1975:240-241), ninety-one percent of four-year-old preschoolers are literate, in the sense that they could read at least a few characters (the average child could read fifty-three percent of the forty-six basic *hiragana*).
- 5 Assuming that elementary school enrollment correlates perfectly with literacy is patently implausible in Japan but less so in Korea because *hanja* are not widely used: it is more reasonable to suppose that children who are enrolled in (and attending) elementary school will soon be able to read and write anything that normal people of a given age are expected to be able to (or, to read anything that they can understand spoken and to write anything they can say). The reason is that the *hangul* system, while not as regular as most Koreans apparently believe, is nevertheless extremely easy to learn. (At least from the adult foreigner's point of view, *hangul* is far easier to learn and retain than Japanese *kana*; whether, or in what sense, *hangul* are easier for Korean children is a different question. An analysis of spelling errors made by matched samples of young Japanese and Korean school children would yield interesting data.) Of course, there are many more *kana* than *hangul*. There are forty-six basic *hiragana* and forty-six corresponding *katakana* graphs, plus two diacritics (*daku-on/ten*), and several basic spelling conventions (*choo-on*, *soku-on* and *yoo-on*). These form two structurally equivalent but functionally differentiated systems, each of which suffices to write all of the 102 morae of Japanese. In the *hangul* system, there are forty characters, twenty-one for vowels and nineteen for consonants. All were reputedly designed to be maximally memorable (see for example Yi, 1983:49), who says the *hangul* graphs are 'based on the appearance of the respective organs of speech involved in their articulations'. Whether or not this is historically correct, articulatorily related consonants are represented with visually related graphs, which serves a mnemonic purpose; in a lenis/fortis constrastive pair (of which there are five), for example, the first is taken as primary, the second written with the same graph doubled and halved in size (see Lukoff, 1982:xv-xxx). Note however, that these are not germinates. Thus, only nine graphs and two writing conventions serve to write the Korean consonants. Vowels and diphthongs are somewhat less transparent.

6 For example, two pages from a children's comic, (called *Nazo Nazo Champion Book*), contain the following characters:

食 *ta* (eat); 十 *juu* (ten); 年 *nen* (year); 前 *mæ* (before); 作 *tsuku* (make); 化 *ka* (change); 石 *seki* (rock); 大 *oo* (large); 氣 *ki* (spirit); 二 *ni* (two); 回 *kai* (times); 分 *bun* (part). All are among the 416 taught during the first three years of schooling, (according to Henshall, 1988, the 996 *kyoiku kanji* are taught in the following sequence: 76 in the first grade, 145 in the second grade, 195 per year in grades 3 through 5, and 190 in grade 6).

7 For instance, one market researcher with many years experience in Japan observes: '... the use of *katakana* or *kanji* instantly tells the Japanese consumer the nature of the product. Thus the drug may serve exactly the same symptoms—and at times even be constituted similarly—but if the name is in *katakana*, it originated from Western style laboratories. If the name is *kanji*, then it is a herbal remedy based on thousands of years of Oriental wisdom. The images generated for the two drugs are vastly different' (Fields, 1985:85).

8 'Cloze test' is actually a class of procedures for constructing tests through systematic deletions. See Williams (1970) or Cohen (1980) for nontechnical introductions.

9 Winograd and Flores (1986) offer a provocative view of textual meaning that draws heavily on the hermeneutic theory of Gadamer, Habermas and Heidegger.

10 A more comprehensive project concerning the readability of mixed script texts in Japanese and Korean, using cloze procedures, is currently in progress.

11 *Han Kyore* ambiguously means 'Korean people' and 'one people,' referring to Koreans on both sides of the Demilitarized Zone. In North Korea, of course, *hanja* have not been used since 1946 (see Brown, 1988).

12 It is possible, however, that some individuals may do precisely this, in order to keep up literate appearances. This is what Unger (1987:200), claims happened in Japan following the war.

13 The *hanmun* section of Korean college entrance examinations contain thirty-nine multiple choice questions and seven brief response questions. With infrequent exceptions, no *hanja* need be written. (For example, the 1988 examination includes one item requiring that a four morpheme phrase be written in *hanja*; the 1989 and 1990 examinations include none.) The latter seven are called "subjective" (*chugwanshik*), but in fact only one is, in the ordinary sense (the final question in the *hanmun* section of the 1990 entrance examination presents a five clause Chinese poem of thirty-one characters and asks the student to explain the underlined portion (of six characters) in Korean, i.e., *hangul* (*taum manjang ui mit'chul ch'inbubun ul urimal haesok hasio*).

14 Deletions 4, 5, 6 and 15, which no subject correctly inferred, respectively denote "history, linguistics, philosophy" and "agricultural science." In the text, these are simply listed as examples of academic disciplines; all subjects who ventured to do so, made plausible guesses, viz., of other academic disciplines such as sociology, English, home economics, physics, etc.

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