

Dual Broadcasting and Diglossia in the Japanese Colonial Period*

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In April of 1933, the Kyōngsōng [Seoul] Broadcasting Station, first established in 1927, started dual language broadcasting. Most of the programs on Radio 1, broadcast in Japanese, were relayed from Japan and targeted an audience consisting of Korean elites and Japanese settlers in the colony. Radio 2, on the other hand, was broadcast in Korean, and listened to mostly by Koreans who could not understand Japanese at all. Although the main purpose of the Korean channel was to disseminate propaganda for the Japanese empire, radio broadcasting also played a major role as a medium through which ordinary Koreans produced, distributed, and consumed modern mass culture. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, some officials of the colonial government sought to curtail or eliminate Korean language broadcasting. However, it was the colonial government's recognition of the utility of Korean language broadcasting as a tool of propaganda and mobilization that guaranteed the channel's survival and even enabled its expansion during the Pacific Campaign. As a result, an auditory medium of national scale, which aspired to establishing "the highest standard for the Korean language," contributed to the creation of linguistic identity and norms. Korean broadcasts opened up new possibilities for the Korean language, considered only a dialect in the imperial linguistic hierarchy, and contributed to its development into the modern language of a

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nation.

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Introduction

The Kyōngsōng Broadcasting Station (hereafter, KBS) formally inaugurated regular broadcasting on February 16, 1927. Established in colonial Seoul, KBS's call sign of 'JODK' indicated its status as the fourth broadcasting station in the broadcasting network of the Japanese empire, Tokyo's JOAK being the first station, Osaka's JOBK the second, and Nagoya's JOCK the third. Imputed with the "delicate and important mission of harmonizing the people of Japan and Korea, broadening their mutual understanding and helping them overcome every obstacle to come into a closer friendship with each other,"¹ the broadcasting station was one of the modern institutions introduced by the colonial authority, which built infrastructure such as schools, railroads, and telegraph and postal services.

Unlike other institutions, however, as an auditory medium radio broadcasting faced distinct challenges of colonial diglossia from the beginning.² Japanese was used exclusively as the official language of communication in other media and institutions in the colony, like the railways, telegraph, and telephone, in spite of the fact that the majority of Koreans could not understand Japanese. Such exclusive use of Japanese could hardly be imagined for an auditory medium designed to reach a large audience, and the introduction of the Korean language in radio broadcasting was deemed inevitable. Consequently, radio broadcasting in the Korean language began

1. "Shadan hōjin Keijō Hōsōkyoku no kaikyokushiki," *Chōsa Jihō* (Feb. 1927): 27. The passage is part of a congratulatory message read by Ikuta Seizaburō 生田清三郎, director of the department of home affairs, on behalf of Saitō Makoto 齋藤實, the Governor-General of Korea.

2. Diglossia, derived from the French words 'diglossique,' 'diglossie' was originally defined by the socio-linguist Charles A. Ferguson as "two distinct varieties of the same language." Generally, however, it is also used to mean a language situation in which two or more language varieties are used by a single language community. Unlike the term 'bilingual,' which simply means "using two languages," diglossia refers to a situation where the two languages used in a society are in an asymmetric relation to each other, and is thus appropriate for the language situation in colonial Korea, where Japanese and Korean stood in hierarchical relation. See Charles A. Ferguson, "Diglossia," *Sociolinguistic Perspectives: Papers on Language in Society, 1959-1994*, ed. Thom Huebner (New York : Oxford University Press, 1996), 25-39 (With editorial comments; this chapter first appeared as an article in *Word* 15 (1959): 325-40).

from the initial stage of radio broadcasting and continued uninterruptedly until liberation. Based on the continuity of Korean language broadcasting, it has been argued that in spite of its introduction by the colonial authority, broadcasting during the colonial period should be recognized as part of the history of Korean broadcasting.³

In those days, broadcasting using both the language of the empire and that of the colony was very unusual. Most radio broadcasting stations in European colonies used the language of the empire, since broadcasting was intended for European settlers. For instance, broadcasting in French Algeria was targeted at audiences in urban centers and their vicinities, where French settlers were concentrated.⁴ In fact, in Dalian 大連, which the Japanese leased after the Russo-Japanese war, the Kwantung Leased Territory Broadcasting Station (with its call sign JQAK) used only Japanese during the early years of its broadcasting history. It had been established before KBS, but was targeted only at Japanese settlers in districts along the Southern Manchurian Railroad. By contrast, broadcasting in colonial Korea used a mixture of the empire's language and the colony's language from the beginning, due to the colonizer's policy of "harmonizing the people of Japan and Korea."

However, broadcasting in two languages was not as simple as it seemed. Under a diglossic language situation where Japanese and Korean coexisted but in hierarchical order, the status of a Korean language station, and even the very use of Korean as the broadcast language were questioned throughout the colonial period. The language of the colony, as transmitted through the imperial medium of radio, was multi-layered by nature. This article examines the broadcasting system during the colonial period, especially in relation to the issue of broadcast language, focusing on the various aspects of colonial radio broadcasting and the Korean language as a medium of broadcasting.

Mixed Broadcasting, Alternate-day Broadcasting and Separate Broadcasting

In preparation for the launch of KBS, the broadcasting station sent its staff to

3. Chŏng Chinsŏk et al., *Han'guk pangsong 80-nyŏn kŭ yŏksajŏk chomyŏng* (Seoul: Nanam, 2008).

4. Michael Robinson, "Broadcasting, Cultural Hegemony and Colonial Modernity in Korea, 1927-1945," in *Colonial modernity in Korea*, eds. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999). See footnote no. 2.

Japan to collect data on broadcast programming and consulted the Government-General of Korea (hereafter, GGK) before it finalized the program schedule. The schedule was as follows: the morning program consisted of the weather forecast and business reports, which usually started with reading out the prices of basic commodities. Daytime entertainment programs were broadcast around lunchtime. The afternoon program consisted of business reports and public lectures given in Japanese that continued until 4 p.m. Children's programs were scheduled from 6 to 7 p.m. In the prime time from 7 to 9:30 p.m. lectures, music, public notices and the weather forecast were scheduled.⁵

The programming copied the programming of JOAK, except that it was "mixed broadcasting," using both Japanese and Korean. Programs like news, weather forecast, cooking, commodity prices and time signals were provided in both languages consecutively by Japanese and Korean announcers, whereas "various lectures"⁶ and business reports like "stocks and commodities" were reported only in Japanese. Perfect fluency in both languages was required of Korean announcers, who had to read from Japanese scripts and reports and translate them into Korean during live broadcast. Business reports were broadcast only in Japanese without having to be repeated in Korean, since the majority of the Korean audience of these programs were capable of understanding Japanese.⁷

Behind this "mixed programming" was the idea that the "mutual broadcasting of programs about ideas and arts will contribute to the harmony and cultural mixture of Japan and Korea."⁸ One Japanese program manager of KBS was very enthusiastic about offering a choice selection of ethnic Korean music to the Japanese audience.⁹ Programming under the unique system of mixed broadcasting required considerable deliberation to satisfy both Korean and Japanese audiences. The special broadcast of "100th Anniversary of Ibsen, the Great Playwright" on May 23, 1927 gives some insight into such efforts. Commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Norwegian

5. See the program schedule in *Chōsa jihō* (Feb. 1927): 45.

6. *Kakchong kangjwa* 各種講座: mostly lectures by professors from Keijō Imperial University or officials from the Government-General, on all kinds of topical subjects, ranging from politics and society to culture and history. The lectures were later bundled and published as "JODK kangyōnjip 講演集."

7. *Rajio no Nihon* 4, no. 6 (1927): 39.

8. Moriya Norio, "Keijō Hōsōkyoku sōritsu ni tsuite," *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 226 (1926): 78. The author Moriya Norio 守屋徳夫 had been the chairman of the founding committee of KBS.

9. *Rajio no Nihon* 4, no. 4 (1927): 69.

playwright Henrik Ibsen, the program consisted of lectures on his works and radio dramas based on his representative works, broadcast in a careful mixture of Japanese and Korean. The Korean novelist Sim Taesöp 沈大燮 (well known by his pen name Sim Hun 沈熏) gave a daytime lecture titled “The Life of Ibsen,” and Fujii Akio 藤井秋夫, a professor of Keijō Imperial University 京城帝國大學 gave the evening lecture “Ibsen, the Great Playwright.” The nighttime entertainment program consisted of two parts. First, the Korean “Radio-drama Association” (Radio dūrama yŏn’guhoe), organized by Ch’oe Sūngil 崔承一 and Yi Kyōngson 李慶孫, performed the third act of *A Doll’s House*. Then it was followed by *Ghosts*, performed in Japanese by Kinyōkai 金曜會 (Friday Club), a Japanese radio-drama association.

The “mixed broadcasting” created some controversy over the proportion of programs aired in each language. Initially, KBS wanted to schedule Japanese and Korean programs on the basis of a 3 to 1 ratio, reflecting the nationality proportion of the radio listeners. However, when it met with “strong opposition by all major Korean newspapers”¹⁰ it settled for a ratio of 3 to 2. The nighttime entertainment program was systematically divided into 5 sections, 3 of them assigned to Japanese programs and 2 to Korean programs. On the surface, KBS representatives advocated the principle of equal coverage of Japanese and Korean programs. According to some of them, programs like Korean music or *yadam* 野談 (historical romance) were intended only for a Korean audience, but Western music programs or sports could be enjoyed by Koreans as well, even if it was broadcast in Japanese.¹¹ In reality, however, most programs were provided in Japanese, with occasional Korean programs in between, such as daytime lecture series in Korean.

During the early stages, radio programs were organized intermittently, instead of continuously throughout the day. Daily airtime between the 9:30 a.m. morning weather forecast and daily sign-off at 9:30 p.m. was about six and a half hours, with only an hour or so assigned to programs using Korean

10. *Rajio no Nihon* 5, no. 1 (1927): 72. At the time of KBS’s launch, there were 1,023 Japanese and 254 Korean listeners, the proportion being roughly 4 to 1. In order to tune in, people had to register a receiver with the authorities and pay a monthly listening fee to the radio station. Thus statistics are based on the number of registered radio sets. Considering that many sets were perhaps not registered, the number of listeners was probably higher than what these statistics suggests. On the listening statistics after the establishment of KBS, see Seo Jaekil, “Ilche singminji sigi radio bangsong kwa ‘singminji kundaesōng,’” Chōng Chinsōk, et al., *Han’guk pangsong 80-nyōn, kũ yōksajōk chomyōng*, 237.

11. Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, ed., *Shōwa 6-nen rajio nenkan* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, 1931), 180. From here on this publication, the *Rajio nenkan* (radio yearbook, later NHK yearbook) will be cited as *Shōwa [year]-nen rajio nenkan*.

only. As a result, the Korean audience in the early period was comprised only of those who could understand Japanese, mostly merchants and industrialists, bankers/employees, and public officials.¹² Because one had to pay for the receiver and monthly listening fee, financial ability may have played a part in determining the audience base. More crucially, however, to most Koreans radio programs were simply an unknown quantity, something they gave little thought to or something they considered “not for us.”

Nevertheless, the Japanese audience had a lot of complaints. Technically, the radio waves transmitted from Japan could reach receivers in Korea, but only if the receiving sets had frequency tuning, and only in certain regions – and even then the signal was not very good. Thus Japanese listeners in Korea had no choice but to listen to the local station, where the performances often were deemed second-rate, incomparable to the top performers in Tokyo or Osaka, while paying a listening fee that was twice as high as that in *naichi* 内地 (the “home territory” as opposed to the colony). Their complaints about “mixed broadcasting” only grew, mainly because they had no choice but to listen to occasional broadcasts in Korean, which they did not understand at all and were completely uninterested in. One listener voiced the following complaint in a letter submitted to the Japanese Newspaper *Keijō Nippō*:

If radio broadcasting is dedicated to the cultivation of culture, it had better collect fees affordable to the general public. The current fee of two yen is too expensive. If this continues, ordinary people will never be able to benefit from radio broadcasting. It is utterly pointless for *naichi* people (Japanese) to listen to Korean broadcasts that they cannot understand. Why not introduce more programs that use Japanese and Korean separately and reduce the fee at once? I hereby plead with the likeminded fans.¹³

The situation was no less uncomfortable for Korean listeners. The KBS tried to find a way out of the low audience ratings that had continued since broadcasting began by conducting a postcard survey of audience preferences regarding programming.¹⁴ But complaints about broadcasting programming

12. According to the 1932 statistics, the Korean audience consisted predominantly of merchants and industrialists (51.8%), followed by bankers/employees (12.7%) and public officials (8.3%). This contrasts with the composition of the Japanese audience, of which public officials made up 30.4%, followed by merchants and industrialists (26.7%) and bankers/employees (20.2%). Kim Sŏngho, “Kyōngsŏng pangsong ūi sŏngjang kwajōng e kwanhan yŏn’gu,” (PhD diss., Kwangwoon University, 2007), 144.

13. Kurisutaru Sei, “Fan no ryōbun, taishūteki de nai,” *Keijō Nippō*, Apr. 29, 1927.

14. *Rajio no Nihon* 4, no. 5 (1927): 75.

from both sides showed no sign of abating. Less than half a year after it began operations, KBS changed its broadcasting format. So-called “Japanese and Korean alternate-day broadcasting” (Nae-Sŏn kyŏg’il pangsong 内鮮 隔日放送) was adopted for the entertainment programs, scheduling Japanese-language broadcasts and Korean-language broadcasts on alternate days.¹⁵

From March 1929, two years after KBS’s launch, however, another change was implemented, this time from alternate-day broadcasting to “separate broadcasting.” A separate schedule was arranged for Korean-language entertainment programs after 9:45 p.m., after all the daily programs had been aired, “in order to remove the great inconveniences to the general Korean fans caused by the previous system of mixed broadcasting.”¹⁶ The decision was based on various considerations. As broadcasting stations in Japanese *naichi* began to install high-power transmitting stations,¹⁷ an increasing number of Japanese listeners in Korea could receive radio signals directly from Japan.¹⁸ Sometimes, interference from the Japanese radio signal affected the evening programs. Especially in the Pusan area, where radio waves from Kumamoto 熊本 or Hiroshima 広島 were strong enough to be heard through crystal sets, no one listened to the KBS anymore.¹⁹ Under such circumstances, KBS requested and received permission from the GGK to air Korean programs during nighttime, after all the *naichi* programs had ended. During the four years from March 1929 to the spring of 1933, Korean-language entertainment programs were aired only late at night.

From the autumn of 1929, direct broadcasts from Japanese *naichi* began to be relayed on a regular basis, further reducing the airtime of Korean-language programs. After KBS began relay broadcasting from Japan, the number of Japanese listeners grew, but the Korean listener base was further reduced.

15. See “Yŏnye pangsong sigan kubun: Nae-Sŏn yŏnye ttaro pangsong hae,” *Maeil sinbo*, July 13, 1927: “On the first day, Korean-language programs will be broadcast consecutively all day long, and Japanese-language programs will begin only after all the Korean programs have been aired. The next day, Japanese-language broadcasts will come first, until the news and announcements, and then Korean programs will begin. This will enormously benefit the audience.”

16. “JODK esŏ pangsong sigan taegaebyŏk,” *Maeil sinbo*, Feb. 27, 1929.

17. In anticipation of the coronation of the Japanese Shōwa Emperor in Nov. 1928, *Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai* 日本放送協會 (Japan Broadcasting Corporation, hereafter NHK) had constructed a nationwide broadcasting network connecting all of Japan, enabling simultaneous broadcasting across a wide area. See Takeyama Akiko, *Rajio no jidai: Rajio wa chanoma no shuyaku data* (Kyoto: Shisōsha, 2002), 116-120.

18. Radio broadcasts from Tokyo could be heard on inexpensive crystal sets from early 1928. “Tonggyŏng ŭi radio rŭl kwangsŏkki ro ch’ŏngch’wi,” *Maeil sinbo*, Mar. 25, 1928.

19. *Rajio no Nihon* 7, no. 4 (1928): 68.

There was a growing dissatisfaction with KBS among the Korean audience. The following passages are from an editorial in the Korean newspaper *Maeil sinbo*, which had persistently been voicing complaints about the imbalance between Japanese and Korean broadcasting programs:

Radio has not become widely used in Korean society, not because of Korea's inferior society and culture, or its weak economy, but because of the outrageous measures of broadcasting authorities. Let me ask the authorities of KBS, how many among the daily programs are directly related to Korean society? Only an hour of airtime throughout the day! Even that one hour starts only after 10 p.m. What is your excuse for this? It is true that Koreans today need to work day and night. However, to ask them to stay up late just to listen to the radio, isn't that just treating the listeners in a cold and contemptuous manner?²⁰

The above comments criticize radio programs for the poor coverage of social issues related to Korea and for scheduling Korean-language programs late at night. The KBS tried to soothe public discontent by defending the company's position. Having to rely on listening fees for its operation, it had no choice but to spend more airtime on Japanese programs.²¹ Despite the excuse, Korean listeners continued to complain that

Koreans pay the same amount of listening fee as the Japanese, yet their listening time is only a third of that of Japanese. For example, since entertainment programs start at 9:45 p.m. or 10:00 p.m., ordinary families can listen to only 30 minutes or so. Thirty minutes of rubbish just before bedtime is not worth the monthly fee of 1 won. This is an excessive waste of money.²²

Launched with the expectation of "contributing to the harmony and progress of both Japanese and Korean culture,"²³ mixed broadcasting brought about the exact opposite. The situation did not improve by the attempt to satisfy both listener groups by a separation of airtime. In the end, it seemed that a proper solution could only be reached by introducing "more programs that use

20. "Radio," *Maeil sinbo*, Aug. 8, 1929.

21. No Ch'angsŏng, "Chōsen to hōsō jigyo," *Chōsen jitsugyō kurabu* 9, no. 11 (1931): 16-17. No Ch'angsŏng 盧昌成 had been working at the engineering department of KBS from the start and came to occupy the highest ranking office among Korean broadcasters. He became the head of the Hamhŭng broadcasting station after the mid-1930s, and then head of the second broadcasting department (i.e. the department of Korean broadcasting) at KBS. After liberation he worked as head of the Seoul Central Broadcasting Corporation.

22. Yun Paengnam, "Radio munhwa wa ijung pangsong," *Maeil sinbo*, Jan. 8, 1933.

23. *Shōwa 6-nen rajio nenkan*, 180.

Japanese and Korean separately,” which had been repeatedly requested by both Japanese and Korean listeners since the launch of KBS. This led to the system of “dual broadcasting,” which had already been implemented by NHK since the spring of 1931.

Introduction of Dual Broadcasting and the Korean-only Broadcasting

Constant conflicts over program preference among listeners were not a problem confined to colonial Korea. Conflicts over radio programs among the Japanese audience had been a serious problem since the initial stages of broadcasting in Japan. For instance, in his speech titled “On the Broadcasting Program,” aired on JOBK on August 19, 1932, Hiroe Kyōjō 廣江恭造, the executive director of NHK’s Kansai branch, expressed his opinion on conflicting demands of listeners that bemused broadcasting staff:

Some listeners say “we don’t want market reports when there is a broadcast of a baseball game. JOBK favors business people and does not pay attention to our request.” On the other hand, some say “we are not happy with the fact that business reports are treated as a nuisance [that interferes] with baseball games. Economic issues determine national prosperity. As avid listeners of economic programs, we deserve more prudent attention.”²⁴

The system of dual broadcasting was invented in Japan for the purpose of accommodating such conflicting demands of the audience. However, the original purpose of dual broadcasting was to provide rich educational contents through educational broadcasting. Initially a semi-governmental organization, NHK had a lot of restrictions on profit-making. Since commercials were not allowed, the monthly listening fee was the major source of revenue. NHK had to assign entertainment programs to the prime time in order to attract more listeners. This invited criticism, mainly from intellectual circles, who claimed that it turned a tool of civilization into a vulgar tool of entertainment. The idea of dual broadcasting stemmed from the need to satisfy the demand for educational programs. Its main purpose was to strengthen the function of public education. For this reason, the stated purpose of NHK’s dual broadcasting was “to promote educational broadcasting focusing on subjects

24. NHK Hōsō Bunka Kenkyūjo, *20-seiki hōsōshi* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2001), 62-65.

required in general and vocational education of secondary levels.”²⁵ There were some conflicts between the Ministry of Communications and Postal Services (Teishinshō 逓信省) and the Ministry of Education and Culture (Munbushō 文部省), in the process of the latter’s attempt to participate in the broadcasting business through educational broadcasting. As a compromise, the Ministry of Communications and Postal Services continued to be in charge of overall supervision, but it collaborated closely with the Ministry of Education and Culture on educational broadcasting.²⁶ The main program of NHK Radio 2 therefore consisted of lectures, with occasional special broadcasts, such as sporting events, which did not fit in the regular timetable.

This system of dual broadcasting system was adopted in colonial Korea under a diglossic language situation in the form of simultaneous broadcasting in two languages on two channels: Japanese language broadcasting was assigned to Radio 1, and Korean language broadcasting to Radio 2. KBS had requested permission for dual broadcasting in February 1932, received approval from the GKK in May of that year, and launched dual broadcasting on April 26, 1933. KBS, whose name had been changed to *Chōsen Hōsō Kyōkai* 朝鮮放送協會 (Korea Broadcasting Association) from April 1932, regarded it as an “unprecedented renewal of the previous broadcasting system.”²⁷ In the early stage of dual broadcasting, radio calisthenics and business reports were aired only in Japanese on Radio 1, but other programs, such as news reports, educational and entertainment programs, were simultaneously aired on both channels in the respective languages.

Some entertainment programs were commonly aired on both channels, such as Western music programs, in which language played a relatively small part. Outdoor broadcast relays for sports used two microphones for Japanese and Korean announcers respectively.²⁸ Dual broadcasting greatly reduced the pressure on the broadcasting company, which had been walking a fine line trying to please the two groups of listeners. It was met with enthusiastic reactions from the listeners, who had had to spend half the airtime listening to languages they did not even understand. Yi Hyegu 李惠求, who served as a section head of KBS Radio 2 after the start of the Pacific Campaign, spoke about the enormous delight of Korean listeners when he recalled, “it was as if one was freed from the pressure of sharing a room with an unwanted

25. Ibid., 65.

26. Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, *Nihon hōsōshi* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1965), 170.

27. Chōsen Hōsō Kyōkai, *Shōwa 8-nendo hōkokusho* (Keijō: Chōsen Hōsō Kyōkai, 1934), 16.

28. *Shōwa 9-nen rajio nenkan*, 432.

roommate,”²⁹ and “tasting a bowl of glossy white rice after eating rice mixed with rocks.”³⁰

Yun Paengnam 尹白南, who had been newly recruited as the section head of Radio 2 in charge of Korean language broadcasts, interpreted the event in the context of the “completion of Korean-only broadcasting”:

The new broadcasting system about to be introduced by the KBS, is “dual broadcasting” in a technical sense, but it amounts to the completion of Korean-only broadcasting in substance. [...] The purpose is to satisfy all audiences by delivering perfection both in contents and airtime to Japanese-language broadcasting as well as Korean-language broadcasting. Such is the essence of JODK’s recent introduction of dual broadcasting. Its significance and effectiveness surpass that of dual broadcasting in Tokyo or Taiwan.³¹

Korean broadcasting authorities had high hopes for the dual broadcasting system. Yun expressed optimism that it would contribute to the creation of “family culture,” and No Ch’angsŏng, who had served as a member of the engineering department of KBS, expected radio to play an increasing role in promoting social education.³² These expectations were fulfilled to some degree. Following the start of “Korean-only broadcasting,” the number of Korean listeners grew rapidly, leading to the improvement of Korean programs. Right before the start of dual broadcasting, total airtime was only 9 hours and 10 minutes, of which the vast majority of airtime was reserved for programs in Japanese. This was extended to a total of 15 hours and 5 minutes, and broadcast time for Korean language programs was significantly increased to 6 hours and 20 minutes,³³ which amounted to an almost tenfold increase from the previous average airtime of 45 minutes.

As Korean language programs became richer in content as well, the need for new program managers and announcers increased accordingly. There was an urgent need for developing new broadcasting contents to fill in the increased airtime. This was relatively easy for Radio 1, the Japanese-language channel, since its programming and production could be modeled on Japanese *naichi* programs. In addition, many programs of Radio 1 were relayed from *naichi*, provided by the NHK free of charge. Except for the local news and lecture

29. Yi Hyegu, *Mandang munch’aerok* (Seoul: Han’guk kug’ak hakhoe, 1970), 8.

30. Ibid., 10.

31. Yun Paengnam, “Radio munhwa wa ijung pangsong,” *Maeil sinbo*, Jan. 8-10, 1933.

32. No Ch’angsŏng, “Chōsen to Hōsō Jigyō”

33. Chōsen Hōsō Kyōkai, *Shōwa 8-nendo hōkokusho*, 16.

series on Korea, most entertainment programs were directly relayed from Tokyo or Osaka. It even aired the “nationwide news,” which was a direct relay of the Japanese news program.

Radio 2, however, the Korean-language channel, had to develop most of the broadcasting contents from scratch; it could not rely on preexisting programs, except for news programs supplied by the Japanese news agency. The special circumstances of colonial broadcasting thus challenged Korean broadcasters to produce radio programs on their own for Korean listeners. Interestingly, they were soon confronted with the same problem Japanese broadcasters had faced, namely how to satisfy the conflicting demands of listeners. Kim Chŏngjin 金井鎭, who succeeded Yun Paengnam as second section head of radio 2, noted with some exasperation in an article contributed to a journal that even within the same family there were differences, with older people preferring traditional songs and the younger generation preferring Western music or popular songs. Then there were the regional differences too: “there is a great difference in regional preference. For example, southern provinces prefer Ch’anggŭkcho 唱劇調 [i.e., p’ansori], while western provinces prefer Susimga 愁心歌 [Korean folk songs].”³⁴

One of the most significant features of the new Korean broadcasts under the dual broadcasting system was the development of a “Korean Language Course.” For two months starting from November 3, 1933, the program was scheduled three days a week (Monday, Wednesday and Friday) from 6:25 to 7 p.m. The program was pushed ahead enthusiastically by Kim Chŏngjin. The lecturer was Kwŏn Tŏkkyu 權惠奎, a teacher at Yangjŏng High School, who took it as his mission to disseminate the standard Korean language.³⁵ The Society for Korean Linguistics (Chosŏnŏ yŏn’guhoe 朝鮮語研究會; later, Chosŏnŏ hakhoe 朝鮮語學會) played a key role in establishing “a draft for a unified spelling system” (*match’umpŏp t’ongiran*), which was supposed to be reflected in school textbooks. However, its contents was not yet widely known even among intellectuals, let alone the general public, and thus the broadcast language course could play an important role in disseminating knowledge about the standard language. From the mid-1930s Japanese language courses began to be broadcast on the Korean broadcasting channel, as part of the drive to promote *kokugo jōyō* 國語常用 (Japanese monolingualism). In this respect, the significance of opening the “Korean Language Course” in the initial stages

34. Kim Chŏngjin, “Chōsenjin gawa no hōsō purō ni tsuite,” *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 316 (1934), 79.

35. “Kyōngsŏng pangsongguk hangŭl kangjwa,” *Chosŏn jungang ilbo*, Nov. 8, 1933.

of dual broadcasting is two-fold: first, it shows the relative autonomy of radio broadcasting. Second, it was part of the larger movement of standardizing the Korean language, which was one of the chief concerns of Korean intellectuals at that time.

According to recent studies on the subject,³⁶ the draft for the unified spelling system was the result of a bargain between the GGK and the Society for Korean Linguistics. On the one hand, the Education and Management Bureau (Gakumukyoku 學務局) of the GGK aimed at the practical purpose of publishing textbooks, while the Society for Korean Linguistics on the other hand wanted to establish a standard for modern Korean. The Korean language course on radio was the first attempt to establish a link between Korean language and national unity. Of course, the actual effect of the program is doubtful, considering that most radio listeners at that time were from the wealthy elite. Michael Robinson's discussion of the Korean language course on radio, finding its significance in serving the "agenda of standardizing the modern Korean vernacular and elevating its use in modern discourse"³⁷ is relevant in this regard. Unfortunately, however, the Korean radio language course did not last long, and it is hard to estimate its influence on the Korean intellectual community.

Another noticeable trend that developed around this time was a growing interest in Korean language as the medium of broadcasting among broadcasters. At first sight it would seem unrelated to the movement toward standardizing the Korean language, but from a phono-linguistic perspective, it is related. For example, in an article addressing listeners' concerns, Yi Sŏkhun 李石薰, a dramatist in charge of program schedule of Radio 2, raised questions about the terminology used in radio news since the beginning of dual broadcasting, through his reflections on a dialogue with Yi Kwangsu 李光洙

36. Mitsui Takashi, "Singminji ha Chosŏn esŏ ū ŏnŏ chibae," *Han-Il minjok munje yŏn'gu* 4 (2003); Yi Hyeryŏng, "Hangŭl undong kwa kŭndae midŏ," *Taedong munhwa yŏn'gu* 47 (2004); Yi Hyeryŏng, "Hangŭl undong kwa kŭndaeŏ ideologi," *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* 17 (2005); Mitsui Takashi, "Shokuminchi Chŏsen ni okeru gengo undŏ no tenkai to seikaku," *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 802 (2005).

37. Michael Robinson, "Broadcasting, Cultural Hegemony and Colonial Modernity in Korea, 1927-1945," 63. This chapter helped to formulate the working assumptions of this article, and while I find myself in agreement with Robinson's characterization of colonial radio broadcasts in Korea as a "counter-hegemonic space," in this article I wanted to focus more on the 'articulation' (in the sense of the "articulation of a linked but distinctive moment" as defined by Stuart Hall) of the Korean language purification campaign and colonial assimilation policies against the background of a diglossic language situation. For a general assessment of the characteristics of colonial radio broadcasts, see Seo Jaekil, "Ilche singminji sigi radio bangsong kwa 'singminji kŭndaesŏng,'" 219-262.

from the *Chosŏn ilbo*. In it he acknowledged the problem of word-for-word translation from Japanese, and urged both print journalists and broadcasters to pay more attention to their terminology.³⁸

Yun Paengnam for his part is known to have argued for his plan for a campaign to purify the Korean language at a discussion meeting organized by the journal *Yadam*. In the late 1930s, Sim Usŏp 沈友燮, appointed as the third section head of Radio 2 was very concerned about this issue and is known to have emphasized using proper Korean language to the announcers.³⁹ Yi Hyegu also constantly corrected the Korean pronunciation of young announcers. However, after the Sino-Japanese war broke out, there was increased political control of radio broadcasting, which had so far been driven by cultural as well as political motives. The pressure to use Japanese increased, further reducing the scope for the linguistic nationalism of Korean-language broadcasting.

The Fate of Korean Language Broadcasting during the War

With the start of dual broadcasting in 1933 under the coordination of the *Chōsen Hōsō Kyōkai* 朝鮮放送協會 (Korea Broadcasting Association, hereafter KBA), Korean language broadcasting entered a golden age.⁴⁰ However, airtime allowed for Korean language broadcasting was not always secured. When important relays from Japanese *naichi* coincided with an important local relay in colonial Korea, KBA's local relay in Japanese was often shunted from Radio 1 to Radio 2.⁴¹ Furthermore, intervention by the authorities in the GKG and the KBA became more conspicuous as the number of radio listeners increased and radio culture developed from an entirely new foreign culture to ordinary mass culture.

In the early days the KBA emphasized the balance between Japanese and Korean languages, and the importance of adequate coverage of entertainment, news and educational programs. Right after the beginning of dual broadcasting, it described its programming policy as considering audience preferences according to age, status and occupation. However, after Ugaki

38. Yi Sŏkhun, "Sinmun e taehan taejung ūi yogu," *Pyŏlgŏn'gon* 71 (1934): 19.

39. Yi Hyegu, *Mandang munch'aerok*, 28.

40. In the novels *Ch'ŏnbyŏn p'unnggyŏng* 川邊風景 (1936-37) by Pak T'aewon 朴泰遠 and *Ch'ŏnha taepyŏngch'un* 天下太平春 (1938, later *Taepyŏng ch'ŏnha* 太平天下) by Ch'ae Mansik 蔡萬植, both serialized in the journal *Chogwang* 朝光, published by Chosŏn ilbo, we find scenes of radio listeners in colonial Seoul enjoying *Yadam* and *P'ansori* broadcasts.

41. *Shōwa 12-nen rajio nenkan*, 255.

Kazushige 宇垣一成 was appointed Governor General in 1935, the emphasis in radio programming shifted to the three policies of the GGK: cultivation of mind (心田開發), agrarian improvement (農村振興), and women's education (婦女教育). As a result, religious sermons and scripture readings were regularly broadcast, and important public lectures in Japanese were translated and broadcast in Korean language.⁴² A National (i.e. Japanese) language course was broadcast on Radio 2.⁴³ Intervention was stepped up even for entertainment programs, which had been given relative autonomy in order to attract Korean listeners.⁴⁴

Following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the propaganda function of radio was strengthened, eroding the autonomy of Korean language broadcasting. On the grounds of complying with the national policy, some within Japanese *naichi* and the GGK made their cases for unified broadcasting, which would entail the consolidation of KBA into NHK.⁴⁵ According to an article in the *Chosŏn ilbo*,

Radio's role as a domestic propaganda machinery in times of peace should be reinforced in a national emergency, in addition to the important mission of external propaganda. To this end, local broadcasting networks should undergo realignment and expansion to strengthen overall broadcasting capacity. Under the present situation, a significant improvement of the Korean broadcasting system is inevitable. Hence, a national policy of unified broadcasting is called for.⁴⁶

Initially motivated by economic considerations, proponents of a unified broadcasting policy were envisioning the eventual absorption of Korean language broadcasting. The perception that Radio 2 was not fulfilling its duty as a state-run broadcasting station under a national emergency situation may have been a major factor.

Many Japanese were critical of Korean language broadcasts, since they did

42. *Shōwa 11-nen rajio nenkan*, 226.

43. For more details on this, see Ueda Takahito, "Shokuminchi Chōsen ni okeru rajio 'Kokugo kōza'," *Shokuminchi kyōikushi kenkyū nenpō* 5 (2002).

44. In Japan, the terms "entertainment" (*engei* 演藝) or "recreation" (*goraku* 娛樂), used in the earlier stages, were substituted by "comfort" (*ian* 慰安) in the mid-1930s. "Recreation" should no longer be seen as a wasteful enjoyment. We shall develop its inherent human and social function until it is filled with 'vitality'. Such redefinition stemmed from a deliberate strategy to re-evaluate the role of entertainment in broadcasting. Takeyama Akiko, "Ian hōsō," in Minami Hiroshi ed., *Kindai shomin seikatsu shi*, Vol. 8 (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1988), 508-509.

45. "Kokugo tōichi hōsō wa jikishōsō," *Chōsen tsūshin*, Nov. 30, 1937.

46. "Pangsong irwŏnhwa ron taedu, Chosŏn pangsong hyōphoe rūl Ilbon pangsong hyōphoe e hapch'e," *Chosŏn ilbo*, Sep. 22, 1938.

not understand the alien language of the Other and were not keen to be reminded of that fact when turning on their radio sets. Japanese listeners, who disliked Korean music under the mixed broadcasting system were critical of the separate Korean channel as well. From the beginning of dual broadcasting, there were voices disapproving of the contents of Korean language broadcasting, especially those of entertainment programs. After entering into a state of war, radio broadcasting was criticized for its inefficiency as an instrument of war, and for its failure to broadcast important national affairs. For example, in 1938, a reader of the *Keijō nippō* 京城日報 took issue with the broadcast programming of Radio 2, in a letter to the editor of the listeners' forum "Mudendai 無電台." The reader believed in the cardinal importance of relaying the great ceremony at the Yasukuni Shrine 靖國神社. Yet, only Radio 1 would suspend regular programming to relay the event, while Radio 2 went ahead with all the entertainment programs as if it was none of its business.⁴⁷ Trying to defend itself, the KBA invoked the difficulty of relaying due to linguistic and financial constraints for Radio 2. In addition, it called Radio 1 "the *naisen-ittai* 内鮮一體 (Japan and Korea are one) broadcasting channel," on the ground that a significant number of Koreans were listening to Radio 1. That is, Korean listeners who could understand Japanese were obtaining information from Radio 1.

After entering into a state of war, the defensive and explanatory attitude of the KBA turned into one of active advocacy of strengthening the role of Korean language broadcasts, rejecting the discussions on unified broadcasting and the abolition of Korean language broadcast. Especially, Haji Morisada 土師盛貞, then president of KBA, emphasized the vital necessity of Korean language broadcasting for the fulfillment of the national mission in a speech broadcast on JODK radio.⁴⁸ First, he argued, considering the fact that only 10% of Koreans could understand Japanese, 90% of Koreans would not benefit from the social educational function of radio if radio was broadcast only in Japanese. Second, the existence of Radio 2 facilitated, rather than contradicted, Japanese monolingualism. National language courses broadcast in Korean

47. "Mudendai," *Keijō nippō*, May 29, 1938.

48. The lecture was titled "Overview of the Broadcasting Business in Korea" (Chōsen no hōsō jigyō gaikan 朝鮮の放送事業概観) and broadcast on Saturday June 4, 1938, in the lecture section "Basic Information on Radio." It was aired on Radio 1 from 7:30 to 8:00 p.m. and on Radio 2 from 8:00 to 8:30 p.m. in a translation by Sim Usōp, the section head of Radio 2. The lecture was published in pamphlets titled *Radio and Korea* (Rajio to Chōsen ラジオと朝鮮) along with the script of the previous year's lecture, entitled "Emergency Situation and Radio" (Hijōji to Rajio 非常時とラジオ).

language provide “cultural stimuli” to Koreans who are living in an environment using only Korean, thereby enormously contributing to the dissemination of Japanese language. Finally, he noted that Korean language broadcasts were essential to counter the Chinese demagogic broadcasts in Korean transmitted from Nanjing 南京. As it was not possible to prevent people from tuning in to these broadcasts from China, he argued that “it is necessary to control the public mind by proper broadcasting so that it will not be disturbed by demagogic broadcasts in Korean.” For the same reason, Chinese language broadcasting was introduced in Taiwan, where radio broadcasts had been conducted in Japanese only, after the Sino-Japanese War broke out.⁴⁹

On these grounds, the expansion of Radio 2 was actively promoted, and lead to the strengthening of Korean language broadcasting through restructuring, the improvement of facilities, and an increase in Korean programs. First, in order to restructure the KBA organization, the second broadcasting section (i.e. Radio 2) was upgraded to a separate department – the second broadcasting department. Second, in order to increase the listener base, especially in provincial cities where there had been many problems in daytime broadcasting, small-scale stations were installed and dual broadcasting was expanded. In addition, ways to improve the supply of electricity were explored, to facilitate the sale of receivers. Finally, reform in Korean language programs and rationalization of Korean as broadcast language were proposed as specific plans for expanding Korean language broadcasts.

What is important here are the following two strategies for expanding Korean language broadcast. First, in order to improve programs and attract more listeners, the GGK took the initiative to conduct a “Korean listeners’ preference survey.” Four thousand questionnaires were distributed to Korean listeners in order to find out audience ratings and preference for each program segment: reports, educational programs, “comfort” programs, live broadcasting, and children’s programs. According to the survey result for the “comfort” programs, among the 2954 (74%) respondents, 37.2% (11,091 people) preferred Korean music, followed by 30.3% (9,034 people) preferring entertainment drama, 19.0% (5,659 people) Japanese music and entertainment drama, and 13.6% (4,057) Western music.⁵⁰ Even after the survey, Korean

49. Haji Morisada, “Chōsen no hōsō jigyō,” *Rajio to Chōsen* (Keijō: Chōsen Hōsō Kyōkai, 1938).

50. “Chōsenjin Chōshūsha wa nani o kikuka, Chōsen Sōtokufu teishinkyoku no chōsa,” *Hōsō* 9, no. 5 (1939): 17. It seems that the statistics, which reveal a larger number of respondents than the

listeners continuously wrote anonymous letters to request an improvement of worn-out programs. The broadcasting station accommodated the results and took measures such as buying records and musical instruments, and organizing an orchestra attached to the broadcasting station, for the music fans. It also increased the number of Korean music and radio drama broadcasts.⁵¹

Second, the idea of rationalizing Korean as a broadcast language came from the realization that “previous Korean broadcast language included so many literal translations and impractical words that the uneducated populace could hardly understand it.”⁵² According to another newspaper report of the time,

Korean language programs, especially those heard in Kyōngsōng [Seoul] and Pyongyang, have poor program contents, and use awkward Korean words, most of which are direct translations from Radio 1, in many cases incomprehensible to ordinary people and the intonation is offensive to the ear. There is high public demand for an overhaul of Radio 2. Now they are working hard to make fundamental improvements in the programs in order to make Korean language broadcasts solid in contents and pleasant to the ear.⁵³

The Korean language broadcasts in question referred mainly to news reports or weather forecast. In colonial radio broadcasting, there were no news reporters and radio news was in principle supplied by Japanese news agencies like *Dōmei Press* 同盟通信 or *Jiji Press* 時事通信. Time is always in short supply for news broadcasts, but in colonial broadcasting every news item had to go through GGK review before it could be broadcast. No time was left for announcers under the “mixed broadcasting” system to review the news scripts beforehand. In the studio, they had to start reporting the news in Korean right after Japanese announcers passed on the Japanese news scripts to them. In addition, they had to finish the reports in time for the relay broadcasting scheduled immediately following the news. According to Yi Hyegu, “Whether or not the audience understood was not an issue. What mattered was whether or not the

number of questionnaires, are the result of putting together multiple choices of each broadcasting program. Also, according to a report on this survey in the *Tonga ilbo*, which appears to be a tentative calculation, “among a total of 9,289 respondents, the number of music fans was the greatest by a clear margin (close to 5,300 people), followed by drama, politics/economy, comic talks and radio calisthenics. The least numbers of listeners preferred language courses for Japanese, Chinese and English.” “Rajio fan ūi sori, ōhak kangjiwa nūn chōngmal silko Chosōn ūmak i chosso,” *Tonga ilbo*, Mar. 2, 1939.

51. “Ch’ōnpyōn illyul ūi p’ ūro nūn silsso,” *Tonga ilbo*, May 20, 1939.

52. “Hansimhan radio Chosōnŏ,” *Tonga ilbo*, Dec. 14, 1938.

53. “Chei Pangsong hwakch’ung munje,” *Chosōn ilbo*, Feb. 14, 1938.

announcers could smoothly finish right on time without faltering.”⁵⁴ Weather forecasts were also broadcast under constant time pressure.

Weather reports were a kind of acrobatics. First stenographic notes are taken of what the observatory staff says. Then you run into the studio, keep an eye on the Japanese notes, and move your lips while translation goes on in your head. In your head Japanese and Korean ‘went this way and that’ in a chaotic jumble, and sometimes nonsense sentences like “fair weather and cloudy day will come and go” (일기가 흐렀다리 개었다리 하겠습니다) slipped from my tongue.⁵⁵

Even after dual broadcasting began, the problem of “word-for-word translation” mentioned above continued. Literal translation was a problem in newspapers as well, but it had a more fundamental implication for radio, which was the only media that could deliver news to Koreans who could not read. From the point of view of broadcasting authorities, who put more emphasis on reports and educational broadcasting than entertainment,⁵⁶ the literal translation of national (i.e. Japanese) language was a serious problem. In order to provide solutions, first, a news commentary program was scheduled separately. Second, translations of books like *News Commentary* (*Nyūsu kaisetsu* ニュース解説) and *Current Affairs in Radio* (*Rajio jikyoku dokuhon* ラジオ時局讀本), published by NHK, were broadcast on radio.⁵⁷ Third, “since excellence in translation determines the effectiveness of news broadcasts, broadcasters strived to deliver smooth and easy translation.”⁵⁸ The colonial authority “eagerly pursued complete perfection of news broadcasts in light of its significance in broadcasting and its influence on public perception of the current situation.”⁵⁹ However, such purposes were turned into linguistic nationalism in the hands of Korean broadcasters under the slogan of the “Korean language purification campaign.”

Since the second broadcasting department within the KBS (Korean language department) was separated from the first department (national language department) in September last year, its internal organization was reinforced and its programs are being renovated. As was have seen from the purification campaign of popular songs, at present the “purification of the Korean language”

54. Yi Hyegu, *Mandang munch'aerok*, 7.

55. *Ibid.*, 6.

56. Haji Morisada, “Hijōji to Rajio,” *Rajio to Chōsen*, 4.

57. *Shōwa 15-nen rajio nenkan*, 307.

58. *Shōwa 16-nen rajio nenkan*, 342.

59. *Shōwa 15-nen rajio nenkan*, 307.

and the “dissemination” of proper language through radio are under consideration, based on the realization of the influence of Korean broadcasting on the use of Korean in general.

Almost eight years have passed since Korean language broadcasting was established as an autonomous division in 1933. However, the Korean language used by announcers and broadcasters in general has a lot of deficiencies in terms of nuance and even grammar. Complaints are pouring in from the listeners. Starting from within, a group of announcers began to study Korean language in the tentatively named Committee for Broadcasting Technology Research. Specific methods are still to be determined, but in general, there will be study meetings several times a month for self-criticism and lectures by invited language experts, with a view to using “proper and beautiful Korean language.” At the same time, efforts are going on to take on board criticism from researchers of Korean language so that the Korean broadcast language will set the highest standard for the Korean language.⁶⁰

The Society for Korean Linguistics applauded the attempts of the broadcasting station, as they regarded “improvement of language as a mark of cultural development.”⁶¹ This was how the “Korean language purification campaign” began, ironically under repressive circumstances that lead, for example, to the forced closure of the *Chosŏn ilbo* at this time. According to the personal testimony of someone involved in this movement, “we were resolutely determined to thoroughly study the Korean language, thereby diametrically opposing the GGK’s policies directed toward annihilation of the Korean language.”⁶² This shows how the colonized appropriated the intention of the colonizer through the Korean language purification campaign. Since then, Korean announcers continued to study Korean language and compiled materials right until the end of the war,⁶³ priding themselves in having “the only chance of using and studying the mother tongue, which was allowed only within *Maeil sinbo* 毎日申報 (later 毎日新報) and the broadcasting station.”⁶⁴

Conclusion

After entering into a state of war, Korean language broadcasting could exist

60. “Arūmdaun Chosŏnmal ŭl, Kyŏngsŏng pangsongguk chei pangsongbu esŏ sunhwa undong,” *Chosŏn ilbo*, Feb. 9, 1940.

61. “Si ŭi e tŭktang, Chosŏnŏ hakhoe ch’ŭk tam,” *Chosŏn ilbo*, Feb. 9, 1940.

62. Yi Hyŏn, “Maik’ŭ e ŭi hyangsu,” *Pangsŏng* (Oct. 1956): 57.

63. Cho Tonghun, “Ch’ŏngch’un ŭi myobi nŭn pangsongguk e,” *Pangsŏng* (Mar. 1957): 28.

64. Yi Tŏkkŭn, “Pangsŏng ŭn na ŭi Ch’ŏt sarang,” *Pangsŏng* (Dec. 1956): 87.

only as a means to conduct efficient wartime mobilization. Especially after the outbreak of the Pacific War, not only news and educational broadcasting, but also entertainment programs were filled with contents serving national policies, such as encouragement of output, collaboration in the rear and encouragement of conscription. The English term “announcer,” considered to be the enemy’s language, was even replaced with the Japanese word “hōsōin 放送員.” As a result, the identity of Korean as broadcast language was defined as an instrument of complete assimilation to Japanese imperialism, in denial of the national identity from which it originated. The Korean language was regarded as a necessary evil of a transitory nature that would gradually disappear as Japanese mono-lingualism was established.

As Marshall McLuhan said, “the medium is the message,”⁶⁵ thus regardless of the actual message of Korean radio broadcasting, the fact that Korean language radio programs were broadcast in colonial Korea every day for twenty years, with the aim of delivering “proper and easy Korean” deserves special attention. Print capitalism is said to have contributed to the rise of nationalism in Europe by creating the sense of belonging to the same ethnic linguistic community.⁶⁶ And radio is said to have had a certain influence on the “national unity” in America by changing the perception of time and space.⁶⁷ In this regard, the standardization of phonetic language by such a ubiquitous medium as radio can be said to have greatly contributed to establishing national identity in colonized Korea in the first half of the 20th century, when the modernization process had started.

As a medium characterized by speedy transmission, universality, and immediacy,⁶⁸ the role of radio broadcasting had been all the more emphasized by the colonial authority during the war. Korean language broadcasting underwent “expansion” and “renovation,” and in the process, innovation in “the referential function” was required of the Korean language, which otherwise would gradually die out as a dialect of the Empire. This was a process whereby an auditory medium of a national scale, aspiring to establish “the highest standard for the Korean language”⁶⁹ had contributed to the

65. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), chapter 1.

66. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), chapter 5.

67. Kang Hyöndu et al., *Hyöndae taejung munhwa ūi hyöngsöng* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1998) 106-110.

68. Haji Morisada, “Hijoji to Rajio,” *Rajio to Chösen*, 4.

69. “Arümdaun Chosönmal ūl, Kyöngsöng pangsongguk chei pangsongbu esö sunhwa undong,”

creation of linguistic identity and norms, opening up the possibility for Korean, only a dialect in the imperial linguistic hierarchy, to develop into the modern language of a nation.