An Evolution of Korean Literary Translation through its Paratexts (1951-2000)

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Literary translation from Korean into English has developed in many ways since the first tentative translations of folk stories carried by missionaries in the early twentieth century. The difficulties of translation might be similar now to those early times, but the selection, subvention, publishing and marketing processes have changed, and with them, the way those topics are tackled by translators and other agents in the translational paratexts. This study locates and classifies the references to translation and the translation process found in the paratexts of literary translations from Korean into English distributed in the American market from 1950 to 2000. The most-commonly approached topics are defined bottom-up, and the importance placed in the resulting categories (technical decisions, untranslatability, free versus literal translation, quality of the output, process of translation, social role of translations, and representation of translation) is organized chronologically. By looking into the change of approaches to translation and the translation profession, an overview of the Korean into English literary translation field is provided. This overview is considered in relation to the change of the profile of the translators, the internationalization of the Republic of Korea, and the growing commercial aim of translated work.

KEYWORDS: Korean literature; sociology of translation; professionalization; paratexts.

1. Translation in Korea

Due to different circumstances, Korea did not enter in direct contact with Western powers until the twentieth century, at least not in the same degree Japan and China had. First, a series of weak kings in the nineteenth century had left the peninsula in a weak trading situation, encouraged by the waning of Chinese power and growing interest of Japan. Also, royal counselors favoring isolation had made the presence of foreigners illegal in the country, sentencing to death those who arrived via China. When the situation might have changed, as a friendship treaty with the United States had been signed, Korea became part of Japan and the country remained occupied until the end of the Second World War.

Even within this context, translation into Korean had already played an important part in the modernization of the country and its literature, often through a second language, usually Chinese or Japanese (see Hyun 1992 for an analysis of translation into Korean in the break of the twentieth century). Translation into English also began to

happen with the landing of the first missionaries during Japanese colonization, but became increasingly important after the end of the wars. To a great extent, the Korean translation context developed with the emergence of the Republic of Korea, first as an independent nation and then as a world power.

In a first stage, the translation of literary works was possible thanks to subsidies and UNESCO investment administered by the Republic of Korea (Hyun 1992; [name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process 2008). As the country did not have a solid translation infrastructure, it was translators – often working as editors as well – who ended up making the main decisions regarding selection of works, translation strategies, and presentation. Publishers were often contacted directly by translators, based on personal connections, and offered works that had already been published partially in literary journals. In a second stage, subsidies decreased – or shifted to investment in publication and distribution – and agency moved towards the publishers, who began to actively hire some translators. Step by step, translators devoted more of their time to translation activities, publications were more accurate, and they reached wider distribution networks. In other words, a more professional Korean literature in translation reached the United States, trying to find a slot in its publishing and distribution system. Within this context of growing professionalization, the image of translation presented by the agents involved in the literary translation process can help provide an overview of the evolution of the Korean into English literary field.

Paratexts were used in order to evaluate this image of translation. Paratexts are more flexible and versatile than body texts, and they thus function like "an instrument of adaptation" (Genette 1997, 408). Hence, they would reflect the changes. The use of paratexts as a methodological tool has been supported as a way to define if a certain volume is a translation (Pym 1997, 62–5) or, as is our case, to reflect the concept of translation carried by the agents (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2000) and to provide information on the translation phenomena (Kung 2013). In any case, paratexts must be looked at within a wider sociocultural contexts (Kovala 1998). The versatility of paratexts and their link to the translation process have encouraged studies on different translation exchanges: Kos 2011 on French-Turkish exchanges; Kung 2013 on Taiwan-US flows; Pellat 2013 on Chinese-English translations, among others.

In this research, paratexts give voice to the agents involved. Next, the methodology of the study will be studied, the results presented and analyzed.

2. Methodology and scope of this research

First, all the literary translations from Korean into English published or distributed in the United States were catalogued in two stages: from 1951 to 1975 and from 1976 to 2000. These periods were chosen for comparative purposes, as the first stage is dominated by the Korean War, post-war and Cold War while the second stage comprises the development of Korea as an Asian tiger. Four main sources were consulted: the *Index Translationum* (UNESCO 1957/2000), the *Korean Literary Translation Database* (LTI Korea), *English Translations of Korean Literature Published before 2001* (An 2008) and the librar51y of the University of Yonsei. Then, all the paratexts were extracted. For this research, paratexts include covers, flaps, acknowledgements and forewords, prefaces, post faces and introductions, translators' notes, and biographies, that is, what is understood within Genette's terminology as "peritexts".

In total, the catalogue comprises 25 volumes for the first stage and 141 volumes for the second stage. The paratexts of 21 volumes from the first period and 75 from the second period were located and have been studied, giving a total of 96 volumes studied in this research.

3. Categories

As mentioned, peritexts were searched for references to the translator or to the translation. Then, references were organized bottom-up according to the discourses they presented giving as a result seven categories: process, quality, untranslatability, free-literal dichotomy, technical, general role of translations, and metaphors. Last, how many different references there were under each type of discourse and who had made that reference (either the translator or another agent in the process, like an editor, a literary critic, or a reviewer) was compiled and counted. Categories are not mutually exclusive, and therefore, one volume might have more than one type of reference.

References are classified as "process" when they referred to the editorial process, that is, who ordered the translation, how the translator was selected, if there were several corrections or if previous translations were included.

When an opinion is offered on the quality of the translation, it is labeled as "quality" and in which respects the opinion was negative or positive is marked.

A classical concern related to translation is also recurrent in the paratexs: "untranslatability". Those comments that assumed implicitly or explicitly the impossibility of translating from Korean into English are placed under this heading.

When comments in the peritexts refer to the difficulty of keeping the balance between literal and literary, or they have expressed a preference for faithfulness or readability, these remarks have been placed under the "free-literary" dichotomy.

"Technical" refers to statements on linguistic choices made by the translator on a regular basis because of different language systems (for example the type of Romanization, or the way of presenting the date).

The analysis also tracked comments on the general role of translation, regarding either its role in literature or its importance in the development of science ("general"), as well as metaphors representing translation or translators ("metaphors").

4. Results

4.1. General results

As stated in the methodology section, 21 volumes from the first period and 75 from the second period have been studied, giving a total of 96 peritexts. Of those, 59 refer to translation, 15 volumes from the first period and 44 from the second (see Appendix 1 for the list of volumes that included references to translation). Some volumes make more than one reference. In the first stage, there are 31 references to translation: 22 by the translator and 10 by others. In the second period, they add up to 51: 29 references by translators and 22 by others (see Table 1).

[Table 1 near here]

The different types of references have also been studied, giving the results shown in Table 2.

[Table 2 near here]

From the general numbers, we might extract the conclusion that translation is mentioned more often in the first stage and it is translators who mostly comment on it. On the other hand, translation loses space in the second stage and other agents like the publishers, literary critics, or editors are the ones who start to comment on translation. This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies, 2(3), pp. 224 - 234 on 2015, available online: http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/23306343.2015.1100780

While in the first stage two out of three comments were by translators, in the second stage only one out of two corresponds to a translator's statement. As Table 2 suggests, in the first stage translators were primarily concerned with the process, while other agents wanted to give their opinion on quality. In the second stage the same pattern is repeated: translators often offer their view of the editorial process while the quality is often commented on by others.

4.2. Process

While it is complimentary in other traditions to acknowledge the work of collaborators, within Korean societies it is essential and imperative. Therefore, it is not surprising that comments on the process of translation (who offered the job, who helped, who had translated parts before) become part of any peritext written by a translator and it is the most common type of reference found.

However, within the compliments to others, we can find a lot of information on how the translation came into being. Often they convey the idea that the translation happened out of random opportunities. For example, James S. Gale explains in his preface to *Korean Folk Tales: imps, ghosts and fairies* how he began his translation: "An old manuscript copy of Im Bang's stories came into the hands of the translator a year ago, and he gives them now to the Western world" (Gale 1963, vii). Comments like this, also highlight the role of the translator as the initiator of the process. If in the previous volume it is Gale who "gives them [the stories] now to the Western world", Lee also recognizes that "The idea of translating [this volume] had been on my mind for a long time" (1998, xix). Often we can feel that translators were amateurs, who somehow became involved in the translation of Korean literature out of personal (not professional) interest. All in all, translators seems to have been in charge of selecting what to translate.

The reasons to choose one work or another, other than the quasi divine reception of materials, also hint at a non-professional translation scene. As mentioned, few seem to have happened under a publishers' request. Among the reasons argued for their selection we find degree of difficulty – "I have been obliged to exclude those poems, which fall, I suspect, within the category of the untranslatable" (Kim Jaihiun 1997, viii) – intelligibility for the final reader – "I have chosen poems free from Chinese allusion" (Kim Jonggil 1987, 11) – and its appearance in different list of possible translation – "*Trees on the Cliff* consistently ranked among the top choices" (Chang Wangrock 1980, 11). As the Fultons

somehow compile in the preface to *A Ready-made Life*, "We've selected stories on the basis of their appeal to us, their brevity (...) and their unavailability in English translation" (Fulton and Fulton 1998, viii). Incidentally, they also claim responsibility for the initiation of the translation.

The revision process is also mentioned, especially in the acknowledgements. Kevin O'Rourke thankfully accepts that he is "indebted to many Korean friends for help in interpreting the texts and shaping the translations", (O'Rourke 1995) disclosing the involvement of several people in the process. Bruce and Juchan Fulton reveal the participation of the author as "At the request of KCW, author of Almaden, we made some revisions in our initial English rendering of that story that depart from the original Korean" (Fulton and Fulton 1997, xvi).

The chronology of all these comments on the translation do not seem to hint at a real professionalization process in which publishers take an active role. According to the comments found both in the first and the second stage, translators seem to keep the agency of selecting the works, initiating the translation and doing the revision (either them or their colleagues).

4.3. Quality

Below quality there are references to good and bad translation. Comments on translation are usually negative when stated by translators, both in the first and second stage. That is, translators comment on their work to apologize for their mistakes, or to take the blame for them. They are often apologies for their really bad work. Brother Anthony thanks the corrector and states: "Whatever value these poems have as translations must be largely thanks to her, the errors being all my own." (An Sonjae 1989, xii). This is a contrast to, for example, a quote from Marshall R. Pihl's review of *Shadows of a Sound* published on the back cover of that book: "For those who want to sample modern Korean writing at its best, flawlessly translated into living English, this is the place to start!" (Pihl as quoted in Hwang 1990, back cover).

The results can be understood as a reflection of the role of translators and publishers. While translators tend to focus on the texts, publishers tend to focus on the business. It is not surprising that the main concern of publishers is to highlight the quality of their product, either by offering their view in forewords, prefaces, or publisher's notes or by selecting appropriate quotations from reviewers to be included on the covers. On

the other hand, it might be the case that translators think that paratexts are not the adequate place to boast about the quality of their work. Or it is simply a question of cultural etiquette: it should be noted that within Korean culture, humility is a highly respected values, so it would not be considered appropriate to comment too positively on one's own work. Actually, following Korean society's expectations, some disparaging remarks are to be found. That is case for example of Suh Ji-moon, who assures the reader how "I did not know at the time how poorly qualified I was for such a task, both in my understanding of literature and life and in my skill with the English language" (Suh 1998, xiii). Although such a display of negativity might surprise an American reader, it would not be the same for a Korean reader. All in all, as Ko Won sumarizes at the end of the foreword to *South Korean Poets of Resistance:* "It is the translator who ought to take the blame for defects" (Ko 1980, 4). And they do.

The stark increase of positive comments on quality by external agents in the second stage reflects a professionalization of the scenario. First, translators are not alone anymore. Second, they are not any longer presented as the experts. Third, there is a commercial value attached to the volumes, now, which these other agents try to encourage with their reviews of the translation.

4.4. Untranslatability

The idea that a lot is lost in translation and it is impossible to fully transmit the ideas of Korean literature it is also often reinforced in the paratexts.

In *Encounter*, the Korean Studies Professor Don Baker introduces the work warning the reader that "English translation cannot do justice to their rustic dialect" (Baker 1992, xiii), an opinion that the translator, Ok Young Kim Chang, apparently cannot defend by herself. Supposedly, they all hold the literary critic Yoh Suk-kee's opinion that "it is always a legitimate question, though, to what extent the characteristics of the original are carried over through translation" (Yoh 1983, ix) because as Yu Jongho assures, "part of the characteristic quality in Korean, necessary for an inside look into the knowledge and image Korean people have of the world has inevitably been lost through translation." (Yu 1983, xvii)

I believe stressing this argument implies an apology for any mistake – that is it relates to the humility of the translator stated before – but also a justification for any misunderstanding of the Korean culture that might arise. It distances the Other, by

claiming how different it is. Again, it is most commonly reminded by non-translators. This Othering discourse is often seen on the covers (see [name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process] forthcoming for an analysis of the image of Korea on the covers of Korean literature). Again, this can be considering a strategy of sales, a reflection on a reader that needs to be impressed, and therefore, the increase of these type of remarks by external agents (10% in the first stage to 20% in the second stage) supports the idea of a certain professionalization.

4.5. Free-literal dichotomy

If justifications on misunderstandings were often stated within the untranslatability paradigm by publishers and literary critics, translators center more on the free-literal dichotomy to explain their translation choices and the difficulties met in the translation process. So, this is a recurrent discourse tackled by translators. Kim Jaihiun points out that "[i]n order to convey each poet's imagery, I have tried to be faithful to the whole tonal texture rather to the literal translation of words" (J. H. Kim 1997, ix). As mentioned, translators had entered the trade out of personal interest mostly, and they were not necessarily experienced translators. However, one can see, that in their understanding of their work, they theorize about the possibilities of translation. Chung Chong-wha breaks the dichotomy in three on his analysis of *Modern Korean Literature*:

There can be many different levels of translation into a foreign language. At the lowest level there is the strict literal translation (...) then, there is the method of faithful restatement (...). And finally there is the transposition of the original in the freest idioms of the target language" (Chung 1995, xiv)

Being able to bridge differences, even within opposite possibilities work as a seal of quality: "Sung-II Lee captures the elegant simplicity and emotional complexity in translations that reflect the structure of the original while remaining true to the presentation of their imagery and ideas" (Lee Sung-II 1998, back cover). Again, the visibility of the most positive remarks is a sign of professionalization supporting the idea of the reader as a potential buyer.

4.6. Technical

In Korean-English translation there are several comments on the type of Romanization used, the presentation of Korean and Chinese proper names, the translation of public employment positions, or the outline of poems. For example, Steinberg notes in his preface that "Chinese names follow the same order as Korean" (Steinberg 1967, x). Also Hoyt in *Songs of the Dragons* that "Standard Romanization has been used throughout: McCune-Reischauer system for Korean" (Hoyt 1971, 6)

In the second stage these type of comments diminished. In 1986, a variant of McCune–Reischauer Romanization had been designated as the official transcription system by the Korean government. While not everybody would agree on that Romanization and the transcript system was once again modified in 2000, an official recommendation would explain the relative decline of these comments (24% in the first stage, 6% in the second stage). The establishment of an official Romanization is understood as statement for internationalization: it implies that there is a need (or the country feels there is a need) for an official and correct representation.

4.7. Role of translations and metaphors

As we saw, the reasons to start a translation were varied and so are the purpose of them. Most often there is a purpose to present Korea to the world. So Lee claims that he "undertook these translations in order to introduce this magnificent part of Korea's literary legacy to English readers" (Lee Sung-il 1998, xix). Chang Wang-rong claims a similar aim: "to bring modern Korean literature into the international scene" (1980, xi).

In some occasions, the purpose is more specific. *Black Crane* was compiled with the intention to "serve English-speaking students enrolled in Korean studies program and all who need translations of Korean literature, as well as those who wish to compare their own translations with the translations of fellow translators in order to find new and better ways of translating." (McCann 1982). Korean literature had entered American universities, creating another realm of potential readers.

On a related matter, one might accuse the translators in the first stage of disregarding the importance of translation by rarely commenting on its role or the meaning it has for them (through metaphors, for example), as the only two definitions of translation came from external agents. It is true that this allegoric approach happens more often in the second stage, where translation is "a living entity" (Lee Sung-il 1998, xix) or

"like giving birth to a child" (Poitras 1983, v), but it is even more interesting to see how it was first commented on by "outsiders," that is, by other agents, and in the second stage becomes part of the translators' discourse.

All in all, translators in both stages had an appreciation for Korean culture and often a good knowledge of their literature. Monetary payment does not seem to have been part of the equation at any point, but their aim seem to have been the desire to share Korean literature to foreign readers.

5. Conclusions

In general terms, the comments offered by translators on translation in the first stage seem to indicate a hands-on approach that fits in perfectly with Korean expectations. That is, they are very practical and socially oriented: first, they acknowledge everyone who has intervened in the process, then they help the reading experience by stating their modus operandi (regarding technical items and later free or literary approaches), to later apologize for mistakes and finally they theorize about translation. The other agents in the first stage, who do not have a major presence, follow the opposite path: they mostly state the excellence of the work, and then they theorize about translation, leaving any practical comments to translators.

In the second stage, the pattern is very similar, with one important difference: there are fewer technical comments. With the normalization of Romanization and usage of Korean names, technical comments become less important and untranslatability and the free-literal dichotomy take its place. Again, the more theoretical part of translation is less commonly commented upon. The other agents primarily insist on quality, as in the first stage. However, this pattern becomes more relevant in the second stage as the comments by non-translators increase, while comments by translators decrease.

Comments on different aspects of translation point in several cases to highly motivated translators that enter the project of their choice out of a certain interest in Korean literature and a sincere desire to bring that knowledge to English speakers. In a first stage, those translators seem to be the only voices surrounding the text, while in the second stage, they give that voice to other agents of the literary process. This change of interlocutors produces more commercially-oriented discourses that highlight the quality of the works and the difficulties of translation. Also, interactions hint at a reutilization of texts and previously published work.

To a certain extent, while the first steps of the translation process still seem to be amateur – in the sense that it is translators who choose works, translate them, and present them to publishing houses aiming at personal fulfilment and divulgation of Korean culture – the distribution process seems to become adapted to market needs or at least volumes are presented aiming at a market: discourses on the overcome difficulty of translation and the high quality of the result take a prominent place on paratexts and especially on covers. That encouragement of the good quality of the works hint at a higher involvement of publishing houses and other professional agents.

All in all, there seems to be a growing professionalization in the later years of the Korean-English translation flow, but still encouraged by personal interest of motivation form translators.

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Appendix 1: Volumes with references to translation.

Author	Year	Title	Translator			
v.a.	1953	Folk Tales from Korea	Zong In-sob			
Li Mirok	1956	The Yalu Flows: A Korean Childhood	H.A. Hammelman			
Anonymous	1959	Fragrance of Spring	Chai Hong Sim			
v.a.	1960	Voices of the Dawn: A Selection of Korean Poetry from the Sixth Century to the Present Day	Peter Hyun			
Im Pang; Yi Yuk	1963	Korean Folk Tales; Imps, Ghosts and Fairies.	James S. Gale			
v.a. Choe Pu	1964 1965	Anthology of Korean Poetry Diary: A Record of Drifting across the Sea	Peter H. Lee John Meskill			
v.a.	1965	The Ever White Mountain: Korean Lyrics in the Classical Sijo Form	Inez Kong Pai			
Lee O-young	1967	In this Earth and in That Wind, this is Korea	David I. Steinberg			
Chu Yohan et al	1969	Contemporary Korean Poetry	Ko Won			
v.a.	1970	The Orchid Door	John S. Grisgby			
Yi Saek	1971	The Bamboo Groove: An Introduction to Sijo	Richard Rutt			
v.a.	1974	Postwar Korean Short Stories: An Anthology	Kim Chong-un			
v.a.	1974	Poems from Korea: A Historical Anthology	Peter H. Lee			
Hwi, Seon-u et al	1974	Flowers of Fire: Twentieth Century Korean Stories	Peter H. Lee			
Kim Dongni Kim Jiha et al	1979 1980	Ulhwa the Shaman South-Korean Poets of Resistance	An Jeonghyo Ko Won			
Hwang, Sun- won	1980	The Stars and Other Korean Short Stories	Edward W. Poitras.			
Lady Hong	1980	Han Joong Nok: Reminiscences in Retirement	Bruce K. Grant. Kim Chin-man			
Hwang Sun- won	1980	Trees on the Cliff	Chang Wang-Rok.			
Mo, Yunsuk	1980	Wren's Elegy	Peter Hyun; Ko Chang soo			
Anonymous v.a.	1980 1980	The Silence of Love Meetings and Farewells	Peter H. Lee v.a.			
v.a.	1981	Anthology of Korean Literature from Early Times to the Nineteenth Century	Peter H. Lee			
v.a.	1982	Black Crane: An Anthology of Korean Literature	David R. McCann			
Han Malsook	1983	Hymn of the Spirit	Suzanne Crowder.			
Choe Chong- hui	1983	The Cry of the Harp and Other Korean Short Stories	Genell Y. Poitras			
Cho Ilnam et al	1983	The Cruel City and Other Korean Short Stories	Choe Yeong et al.			
O Yongjin et al	1983	Wedding Day and Other Korean Plays	Song Yo-in			
Lady Hong Seo Chong-ju v.a. Hye Cho	1985 1986 1987 1987	Memoirs of a Korean Queen Unforgettable Things: Poems Slow Chrysanthemums The Hye Cho's diary Memoirs of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India	Choe-Wall Yang-hi David R. McCann Kim Jong-Gil.			
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Author	Year	Title	Translator				
v.a.	1987	Classical Korean poems (sijo)	Kim Unsong et al				
Choe In-hoon	1988	A Grey Man	Chun Kyung-ja				
Son So-hui	1988	The Wind from the South	Suzanne Crowder Han , Kim Mi-za				
v.a.	1989	The Wind and the Waves	Lee Sung-Il.				
Ku Sang	1989	Wastelands of Fire	Anthony Teague				
Hwang Sun- won	1990	Shadows of a Sound	Holman, J.Martin				
An Jeong-hyo	1990	Silver Stallion: A Novel of Korea	An Jeonghyo				
v.a.	1990	Modern Korean Literature: An Anthology	Kim Kijung et al				
Han Musuk	1992	Encounter: A Novel of Nineteenth-century Korea	Ok Young Kim Chang				
Che Man-Sik	1993	Peace Under Heaven	Chun Kyung-Ja				
v.a.	1994	Classical Korean Poetry: More than 600 Verses since the 12th Century	Kim Jaihiun.				
Chon SangByong	1995	Back to Heaven	Anthony Teague; Kim Young-Moo				
Lee Kyubo	1995	Singing like a Cricket, Hooting like an Owl	Kevin O'Rourke. Anthony				
Yi Munyol	1995	The Poet	Teague;Jeong Jonghwa .				
v.a.	1995	Modern Korean Literature: An Anthology	Chung Chong wha				
Lady Hyong	1996	The memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng	JaHyun Kim Haboush				
Laay 11yong	1,,,0	The memons of Early Hyegyong	Choe Wolhee;				
v.a.	1997	Songs of the Kisaeng	Constantine				
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Hwang Sun-			Julie Pickering; Suh				
won	1997	The Descendants of Cain	Ji-moon.				
	400=	D 10 10 100 T	Anthony Teague;Kim				
Ko Un	1997	Beyond Self: 108 Korean Zen Poems	Young-Moo				
v.a	1997	Modern Korean Verse	Kim Jaihiun.				
	1007	Wf	Bruce Fulton;				
v.a.	1997	Wayfarer	Ju-Chan Fulton				
v.a.	1998	The Moonlit Pond	Lee Sung-Il.				
Kim Chun-su	1998	The Snow Falling on Chagall's Village	Kim Jong-gil.				
v.a.	1998	The Rainy Spell and Other Korean Stories	Suh Ji-moon.				
v.a.	1998	A Ready-Made Life	Bruce Fulton;				
v .a.	1//0	11 Itemy-muc Life	Kim Chong-un				
O Taeseok	1999	The Metacultural Theater of Oh T'ae-Sok	R. B. Graves; Kim Ahjeong				
Park Wanseo	1999	A Sketch of the Fading Sun	Hyun-jae Yee Sallee.				

Table 1. References to translation in the peritexts

	Volumes studied	Volumes with reference		Total nr. references		Stated by translators		Stated others	by
1951–1975	21	15 (759	32		22		10		
1976-2000	75	44 (599	%)	51		29		22	

Table 2. Types of references on translation written by Translator or Other

Discourse	Process		Quality±		Untrans		Free		Tech		Role		Metaphor	
Ву	T	0	Т	О	T	О	T	О	Т	О	T	О	Т	О
1951– 1975	7	0	2(2)	6	3	1	4	1	5	0	1	0	0	2
1976– 2000	15	2	3(2)	13(1)	8	5	10	0	5	2	1	3	3	0

[±]In parentheses, negative comments about the quality.