

**SOAS-AKS**  
**Working Papers in Korean Studies**

*No. 23*

**The Function of *T'ŭrot'ŭ* in *Akkŭk***

Jihae Gu

<http://www.soas.ac.uk/japankorea/research/soas-aks-papers>



## The Function of *T'ŭrot'ŭ* in *Akkŭk*

Jihae Gu (Royal Holloway, University of London)

© 2012

### Introduction

This paper looks at the function of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in *Akkŭk*. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* is 'a South Korean sentimental love song style performed with an abundance of vocal inflections' (Son 2006) and *Akkŭk*, (also commonly referred to as *Kagŭk*), is 'a form of music theatre that integrates music, drama and dance' (Park 1960) that evolved from interlude shows (known as *makkangŭk*) in the 1920s. *Akkŭk* is similar in form to jukebox musicals, in that it incorporates previously released *t'ŭrot'ŭ* to provide musical numbers. *T'ŭrot'ŭ* has simple but very powerful melodies that couple to dramatic lyrics that, as a totality, continues to fascinate audiences. The *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs chosen for *Akkŭk* productions often determine the plot and theme of the theatrical performance. However, the use of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* is also key to the production of a particular atmosphere in *Akkŭk* that is known as *shinp'a*. *Shinp'a*, literally means 'new wave', but in common parlance refers to an extreme emotional state of sympathy that provokes tears, ecstasy and anger. In *Akkŭk* there is a well-known and amusing catchphrase, that 'without tears, you cannot watch this theatre'.

This paper first explores how *t'ŭrot'ŭ* brings out *shinp'a*, and second discusses the influence of *t'ŭrot'ŭ* upon the narrative structure of *Akkŭk* using as a case study '*Ulgonumnun Paktalchae (Crossing the Teary Hill of Paktalchae)*'. Finally, I examine the reception of *Akkŭk* and *t'ŭrot'ŭ*. *Akkŭk* originally reflected the hardships suffered by Korea in the twentieth century. Today, it has two discrete audiences: whilst *akkŭk* tends to be ignored by the younger generation, it provides the older generation, who experienced the upheavals of modernity at first hand, with a collective sense of sympathy through its evocation of *shinp'a*. This sympathy evokes in Korean audiences a relational and collective experiential emotion known as *chŏng* (정, 情). Through the study of its evolving audience, this paper considers the status of *Akkŭk* in varying socio-historical contexts.

### The significance of a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* theme song in *Akkŭk*

*Akkŭk* tends to utilize a particular *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song as a theme, giving to it significant roles. First, the title of a specific *Akkŭk* is usually identical with the *t'ŭrot'ŭ* song, and, further, the theme and plot are also derived from the chosen *t'ŭrot'ŭ*'s lyrics. The principle importance and usefulness of choosing a *t'ŭrot'ŭ* theme song is because the songs tend to be based on well-known stories, myths or fairytales relating to specific

Korean geographical locations such as high mountains, deep valleys or wide rivers. In the theatrical *Ulgonumnun Paktalchae*, dating from 1997, the *t'ūrot'ū* theme song is *Ulgonumnun Paktalchae*, written in 1948. The song is based on a well-known myth concerning the tragic love story of Paktal and Kūmbong that is set in the Paktalchae pass. The pass has 99 sections as it winds through Chundung Mountain in North Ch'ungch'ōng Province of today's South Korea:

My love is crying while passing through Chundung Mountain  
The water gauze *chōgori* (short coat) gets wet from heavy rain  
Every valley and mountain where big spiders build their cobwebs  
I cry and shout until my heart is burnt.

My lover who left me in a deep mountain where an owl cries  
Please pray to Sōnghwangnim to promise the day of your return  
Holding acorn jelly at your waist  
Kūmbong cries desperately in Paktal pass.

Paktal pass, the sky valley, passing through the tear valley  
To throw a piece of rock, I turn down the farewell road  
Every valley and mountain where bellflowers bloom  
I call Gumbong, yet the mountain echoes, lonely.

The lyrics are a condensed version of the *Akkūk* production's main story, providing the background, location and theme. The *Akkūk* production expands its plot from the lyrics. Audiences are generally able to understand an theme and plot before they actually see the show, and it is common for audiences to choose a particular *Akkūk* because of their familiarity with the *t'ūrot'ū* song. If an audiences loves the *t'ūrot'ū* song, there is no doubt they will love the show as a whole. Consequently, *Akkūk* are marketed by focusing on the title of a *t'ūrot'ū* song. The tradition began in the 1930s when a number of record companies were keen to capitalize on the potential for lucrative crossovers between different mediums, although the genre was found in a nascent form in the 1920s as a performance during scene changes, *makkanggūk*. Theatre facilities were rudimentary at that time, so directors kept their audience from being bored during lengthy scene changes by adding musical distractions. In these interludes, actors would perform a short story, usually a comedy, incorporating music and dance. The idea can also be traced back to shaman rituals known as *kut* that typically consisted of twelve scenes (*kōri*) performed by a shaman (*mudang*) and accompanying musicians (*aksa*). *Kut* involve theatrical elements such as singing, dancing and dialogue. Each scene has a different theme, and the shaman attempts to generate a dramatic atmosphere for their audience before or after the actual ritual event, thereby creating a kind of prologue or epilogue.

Interval performances became increasingly popular and finally became performances in their own right, as *Akkūk*. Early *Akkūk* consisted of various elements: singing, *mandam* (stand-up comedy), dancing, comedy (slapstick comedy), and brief storytelling. As more music recording companies entered the Korean market in the 1930s (such as Victor, Columbia, and O.K. Records), they needed to

advertise musicians, so supported *Akkük* with the supply of singers and hit songs. Accordingly, many popular singers of the period were also popular *Akkük* performers. Indeed, from the very beginning, singers' hit songs were often the title songs of *Akkük* productions. In addition to *t'ürot'ü* theme songs, *Akkük* might use a series of popular *t'ürot'ü* songs in the style of a jukebox musical.

Additional *t'ürot'ü* songs in *Akkük* enhance the main theme song's mood. Unlike the musical numbers in Western musicals, *t'ürot'ü* in *Akkük* does not develop the story or integrate with the plot, but serves only to indicate the character's emotion in a certain situation. Because of this emotional specificity, except for a couple of ensemble songs, each song is presented by just one character. The songs are not limited to a certain quantity or chosen by title. Some can be freely changed or replaced if another song contains the right emotion. Hence, many well-known *t'ürot'ü* songs were used in different *Akkük*. For instance, in the original script of *Ulgonumnun Paktalchae* by the Gagyo Theatre Company, there were 31 musical numbers. According to the script, some, including *Pinaerinün Komo Pass*, were considered exchangeable with others, like *Monye Kit'a* [guitar] (Kim Sangyöl 1999: 274). Similarly, the programme of a different production of *Ulgonumnun Paktalchae* by Gagyo has 19 musical numbers, many of which had changed from those originally given in the script. A revival in 2010 contained only 16 songs, many of which had changed, but the script had not changed from the original production (except for cutting some minor scenes). A song is normally sung after a scene finishes or after an important event occurs. When the latter, the lighting is darkened to highlight the character that is going to sing. This allows the actor's melodramatic mood to be more effectively conveyed. Whilst the actor sings, there is no dancing except for one or two sequences in a particular cabaret scene or during scene changes. Consequently, the audience concentrates on a particular actor and their singing. After the song finishes, the lights go up. Note that, traditionally, Korean music has focused on the importance of listening, so there is no culture of singing together. However, *Akkük* differs from this cultural norm by offering audiences the chance to sing *t'ürot'ü* together, rather than remain just passive listeners.

### ***Shinp'a* in *t'ürot'ü***

The central theme of contemporary Korean musicals, their emphasis on sympathy and suffering, can be found to originate in *Akkük*; *Akkük* shaped the dramatic language for expressing the emotional state of *shinp'a*. There are two different approaches to the history of *shinp'a*: those who consider it derived from Japanese-influenced theatrical conventions and those who see it as a negotiation between Japanese theatre and Korean dramatic traditions.

The first approach considers *shinp'a* to be an imitation of Japanese melodramatic theatre of the period between 1890 and 1920. Scholars who support this view point out that the term derives from the Japanese '*shimpa*'. *Shimpa* originally developed with Sudo Sadanori (1867–1907) after the beginning of the Meiji restoration. It was

then introduced to Korea as *shinp'a* in the 1910s by the Korean elite.

*Shimpa* derived from a form of political theater designed to promote liberal political thought prior to the 1890 establishment of the first Japanese constitution and embodied emerging middle-class values parallel to the role melodrama played in France after the Revolution ... *Shimpa* marks a boundary between what later would become clearly delineated Western and Japanese traditions in both political organization and narrative representation (Nygren 2001: 287).

According to Myung In-Seo (2002), 'Sudo Sadanori believed theatre should be used as a means of political commodification against conservative Japanese political power'. Japanese artists established *shimpa* to adapt traditional *kabuki* theatre to the model of a new Westernized theatre. In doing so, they removed elements such as the *kabuki* style of acting and staging. The scene changes now occurred via a black-out, and Western styles of lighting were adopted. Japanese *shimpa* had various themes such as war, detective stories, political propaganda and domestic melodramas. As it declined, *shimpa* narrowed down to concentrate on melodramas and specifically targeted married women. It is argued that under Japanese colonial rule, Korean artists took the concept and renamed it as *shinp'a*. *Shinp'a* is only then supposed to have spread as wider popular culture, shaping literature and theatre with its new and modern ideas. However, Japanese *shimpa* and Korean *shinp'a* adopt fundamentally different approaches: *shimpa* attempted to shed the *kabuki* tradition while *shinp'a* wanted to build on *kabuki* tradition. *Shinp'agūk*, Korean theatre within the term, tried to imitate the *kabuki* style of acting, singing and staging. Hence, discussing *shinp'a* in its historical context, Lee Young-Mee (2008) defines it as follows: 'The nature of *shinp'a* can be considered a retrograde act of rebellion by an individual. Therefore, the nature of *shinp'a* is destined to be weakened and to disintegrate with the growth of a modern identity which can harmonize one's desires'. *Akkūk* thus provides the older generation with a collective sense of sympathy through *shinp'a*; audiences sing along and cry together, as they reflect on their own life experiences and recognize the difficult times they have faced. Because of this expression of sympathy, Lee Ho Geol (2006) states that *shimpa* implies tears: crying is stimulated by the collapse of family, the breakdown of the old class-system and by rampant social change in the course of modernization. Lee illustrates that *shinp'a* is divided into male and female forms, the division deriving from the different experiences of the genders in their confrontation with conflict and hardship. Female *shinp'a* depicts protagonists who accept their hardship as a necessary fate and who sacrifice themselves for the good of their family, but male *shimpa* portrays male characters who confront their fate by challenging it. *Shinp'a*, including *akkūk*, targeted middle and lower class audiences. With modernization, Korean Confucianism and the class-system based upon it collapsed. The pioneers of modern theatre, who had been members of the ruling class during the last years of the Chosŏn dynasty, desperately needed a new system to maintain the old class-system. Thus, *shinp'a* served as a medium through which to educate the people in

morality and social duty. This can explain how 'new wave' theatre attracted audiences so easily. As theatre, *shinp'a* serves as an overly-emotional dramaturgical device that aims to make the audience cry during performance. It incorporates elements such as grief, overtly melodramatic plots, exaggeration, domestic tragedies and defeatism.

In contrast to the perspective of Japanese influence on *Akkūk*, the second historical perspective recognizes *shinp'a* as a traditional Korean dramatic concept. Lee Ho Geol claims that the equivalent of *shinp'a* was present in Korean literature before the 1910s. He argues (2005: 58) that a proto-*shinp'a* evolved from male literature on war and female literature on daily life. While it had different objects of conflict (community or society) when compared to *shinp'a* (family), and also did not have the intense expression of emotion, proto-*shinp'a* matches the modern counterpart in terms of character, style and plot. In this regard, *shinp'a* should not be looked upon as an imitation, or transplantation, of Japanese theatre. Rather, it was just named '*shinp'a*' as a result of the vagaries of socio-cultural circumstances. Here, '*shinp'a*' refers to a mode of representation in modern Korean narrative which has influenced many Korean popular arts and culture including television, film, literature and theatre. However, many Koreans, especially the young generation, regard *shinp'a* as an outdated and negative thing. And, contemporary *Akkūk* seems to use *shinp'a* for the sole purpose of nostalgia, and this accounts for the level of popularity it currently retains.

*Shinp'a* in *Akkūk* mostly relates to family. In traditional Korean Confucian thinking, the family is the central and initial position in one's life; life starts from and terminates with the family. In the traditional family, the mother and father sacrifice their lives for the sake of their children and their own parents (who had already devoted a whole lifetime to them). *Akkūk* embodies the Korean fundamental emotion towards the family, and starts with a dramatic staging of broken happiness, misery and discomfort in the family. *Akkūk* characters normally suffer from the absence or death of a family member. They face difficult hardships in life due to this. Sharing this, the enunciation of the word 'mother' during an *Akkūk* production always makes the audience cry. *Akkūk* harnesses Korean emotional sensibilities regarding these issues to increase the power of the plot and characters. Therefore, *shinp'a* posits a strong emotional link between *Akkūk* characters and audiences. All audience members sing together and cry together. In the end, after witnessing a lengthy expression of grief, the audience is encouraged to have hope and to fantasize that they can overcome the troubles of their own lives. Koreans share a culturally mediated social feeling of strong sympathy and *chōng* toward each other. They like to hear other people's stories, especially experiences of suffering. They sympathize with other people's hardship and share a bond of love or affiliation, *chōng*. The collective theatrical experience in *Akkūk* attracts the audience as it originates from this Korean cultural disposition towards sympathy and *chōng*.

T'ūrot'ū produces two different forms of *shinp'a* experience in *Akkūk* through emphasizing the dramatic structure and exposing a character's real feelings. First,

*t'ūrot'ū* provides a moment of climax that accentuates the power of the theatrical narrative. Take *Ulgonumnun Paktalchae*, for example. In the farewell scene between Kūmbong and Chunho, Kūmbong faces accumulated hardship. Dramatic incidents are disclosed; the secret love of the pair and Kūmbong's pregnancy are revealed, then Chunho's mother mistreats Kūmbong. Chunho decides to leave Kūmbong to finish his studies, and Kūmbong must survive Chunho's mother's ill-treatment and the absence of her beloved Chunho. The theatrical tension profoundly deepens Kūmbong's suffering, and when her hardship reaches its climax, she sings *Urūra Yōŭlp'unga* (*Cry a Hot Wind*):

I cannot cry even if I'm in desperate pain,  
I should send my lover a smile,  
Who would understand my sore love,  
Cry out a hot wind overnight.

The song gives the sadness and hurt, using a sentimental melody and dramatic lyrics. It summarizes the scene's main mood and story. When Kūmbong sadly sings this song the audience sympathizes with her, thereby establishing an extreme moment of *shinp'a*. Hence, the song shifts the scene to the climax of *shinp'a*.

On the other hand, *t'ūrot'ū* functions to expose a character's real feelings. Before a character sings, he or she does not normally exhibit his or her true emotion. Female characters in particular hide their emotions, and the particular way of containing emotional expression relates to a traditional Korean term, *han*, a term encompassing the affliction of the mind or heart, struggle, and a deep emotional or spiritual pain, grudge, rancour, spite, lamentation, regret, and grief. Women have to endure every hardship and should not disclose their difficulty or struggle, but *t'ūrot'ū* allows her to blast out her true emotion through song. The song, though, is a monologue rather a conversation. As a result, audiences see two different emotions – inside and outside – in one character. They sympathise and understand the character's difficulty through watching the conflict between the character's externalizations of their inner state, and, in doing so, *shinp'a* increases towards its climax. For instance, in the farewell scene between Kūmbong and her mother, Kūmbong pretends to be brave and positive about her misery: she has been sold as a servant to Chunho's house in order to pay for her sick mother's treatment. When her mother cries out because of her daughter's difficult life, Kūmbong encourages her mother. But Kūmbong reveals how much sadness and difficulty she has in the song, *Monye Kit'a* (*Mother and Daughter Guitar*):

Clutching mom's hand, it seems so feeble  
Looking back, her face is full of tears  
Mother and daughter pass the guitar while crying....  
Melancholy sunset glow in the sky  
I go over the mountain with my bitter tears

These lyrics contrast with the emotional expressions Kūmbong made at the peak of *shinp'a* and provides the vital link needed for the audience to commune with her.



Accordingly, the audience and Gumbong both reach *shinp'a* through the song, and, thus, *t'ūrot'ū* brings *shinp'a* and its climax in *Akkūk*.

### The reception of *t'ūrot'ū* and *Akkūk*

*Akkūk* has been ignored by the young due to its poor reputation: it is typically presumed to have clichéd plots, old-fashioned *t'ūrot'ū* and extreme sentimentality, which does not attract younger theatre-goers. Younger audiences also have difficulty to get a chance to see *Akkūk*, as *Akkūk* is only occasionally staged during two seasons around Parents' Day (8 May) and lunar new year. At these times, a family will often treat their parents with *Akkūk*. Nonetheless, *Akkūk* still survives, and there are a handful of theatre companies like Gagyo who continue to produce it. To appeal to younger audiences, Gagyo sometimes refer to their productions with the Western term 'musical' instead of as '*akkūk*'. Park Jong Sang, the chair of Gagyo, explained to me that this was solely for marketing, since if a production was titled as a 'musical' it would attract a larger audience. Nevertheless, younger audience members, who are not familiar with old *t'ūrot'ū*, are still not attracted to the form. Similarly, *Akkūk*'s main cast are usually old actors who have been working in the theatre for a long time. They might be famous amongst old audiences but not amongst the young. Park admitted that 'it is hard to find a young actor who wants to train in *akkūk* performance. Therefore, the old actors have to take the role of young characters as well' (personal interview, 14 April 2011). This contrasts strongly to the circumstance of musicals, where the majority of the audience will be young women in their late twenties and early thirties. Therefore, musical theatre normally takes better-known young male actors, including idol stars. It seems hard to attract anyone to *Akkūk* with its music from earlier times and its aging actors.

The older generation is the major audience for *Akkūk*, but, and interestingly, their motivation for attending performances has changed due to historical circumstances and social experiences. When *Akkūk* boomed, in the period from the 1930s to the 1950s, it reflected then contemporary socio-cultural circumstances. During the Japanese annexation period (1910–1945), *Akkūk* proved popular with every generation. Under the Japanese colonial cultural policy, *Akkūk* could not deal with socio-political issues, so provided Koreans with entertainment and a form of imaginative escapism. Consequently, during this period *Akkūk* was presented not only in theatres but also at music concerts alongside popular music acts. The musical style of *t'ūrot'ū* was a synthesis of traditional Korean music and Japanese influenced music. *Shin minyo*, new styles of folksong, and especially *Kyōnggi minyo*, folksongs from the province surrounding Seoul, influenced *t'ūrot'ū* (Son 2009, Chang 2006). *T'ūrot'ū* used a vocal style similar to *Kyōnggi minyo* and, in the 1930s, used its rhythms and melodies. Its lyrics were from Korean literature and poetry such as *shijo*. Japanese *enka* also affected the development of *t'ūrot'ū*, although this remains controversial amongst Korean commentators, and *enka* melodic styles were often used. During the period of Japanese colonisation, popular *t'ūrot'ū* songs tended to

have gloomy melodies and sad lyrics, exhibiting a depressing view of colonial reality by concentrating on two themes – the loss of one's hometown and loss of one's lover. The overt imagery of hometown and lover covertly signified the loss of national sovereignty. Here are three examples:

Even though I know crying won't bring back love  
Tears soothe my heart tonight  
Looking upon the stars through the open window  
I wonder who would whisper to me (*Yesu ŭi soyagok/Serenade of Sorrow*  
(1937)).

Is this a farewell tear? Sorrow of Mokp'o  
If I knew my lover wouldn't come back, I would send my heart out there too  
(*Mokp'o ŭi nunmul/Tears of Mokp'o* (1935)).

I count how many years I've lived in a foreign land  
It is more than ten years since I left my hometown, my youth has gone  
(*Tahwang/Foreign Land* (1934)).

The three songs quoted above are from the most popular *t'ŭrot'ŭ* in the colonial period and among the songs most frequently used in *Akkŭk*. The second expresses a passive resistance toward reality, while the first and third express a deleterious state of depression. Passivity and depression stemmed from Japanese colonial cultural censorship over the long period of annexation. *Akkŭk* at that time had various themes, yet sad stories, and especially family and love tragedies, were very popular. Such sentiments were balanced by the fact that *Akkŭk* performances also entertained their audiences with comic songs (including *manyo*) and other comic elements. Although it attempted to avoid political issues to ensure its own survival, the colonial rulers regarded *Akkŭk* as a provocative form of theatre (Kim Hoyun 2009: 45) because it could stir up strong public sentiment.

During the Korean War and in the post-war period, *Akkŭk* remained popular. This was because it was utilized as a source of amusement for the army and because it encouraged the public as entertainment. Since the Korean War, *Akkŭk* has used hit songs already popular before its time of production, so *t'ŭrot'ŭ* songs were developed through adaptations of Western genres including Jazz, American pop and operetta. *Akkŭk* amused its audience by combining *t'ŭrot'ŭ* with dance, while its themes normally maintained the *shinp'a* style and dealt with family tragedies while embodying the contemporary social circumstances of war, division of the country, orphans, adoptions of children, and hunger.

*Akkŭk* began to decline in the 1960s due to three reasons: the 19 April citizen's revolution in 1960, the emergence of film and television, and the rise of all-female music theatre (*yŏsŏng kukkŭk*). Because of changing fashions and technologies, *Akkŭk* disappeared for close to twenty years, but was revived in 1993 by the theatre company Gagyo. Gagyo was established in 1965 by students of Chungang University in Seoul. Unlike other theatre companies, Gagyo was considered to be an elite

company as all its members were graduates of the theatre department at the university. Gagyo restored the most popular *shinp'a* style of *Akkūk* and its three components of story, *t'ūrot'ū* and strong audience participation. Gagyo determined that their major audience was an older generation who had been fans of *Akkūk* in the past, and attempted to arouse this audience's nostalgia for the past with classic *t'ūrot'ū* music and a repertory taken from well-known stories. The march of time has not been kind to *Akkūk*, though, and today it seems as if it is declining again; it has failed to innovate on its basic music, plot and staging components. Thus, Gagyo's new *Akkūk* productions tend to be underrated and regarded as a low form of entertainment from a bygone age. As the older generation passes away, the life of *Akkūk* is reaching its end. If it fails to attract a new audience, *Akkūk* will indeed enter a terminal decline.

The function of *t'ūrot'ū* in *Akkūk* cannot be compared to that of the music in musicals or music theatre. *T'ūrot'ū* is the fundamental component of *Akkūk*, driving *Akkūk* from beginning to end, therefore, to rejuvenate *Akkūk* means to recreate *t'ūrot'ū* in such a way so as to attract a younger audience. If *t'ūrot'ū* is successfully recreated, *Akkūk* can evolve updated stories and themes. It is notable that *t'ūrot'ū* continues to be produced today and has indeed changed in significant ways; it no longer squeezes the audiences' tears of *shinp'a*. Therefore, to survive, *Akkūk* has to shift from the past to the present world, with the adoption of new *t'ūrot'ū*. In this way, *Akkūk* might have to be incorporate the songs of modern stars, such as Yi Paksa or Chang Yunjöng.

## References

- Pan Chaeshik, *Han'guk ugŭmsa* [History of Korean comedy]: *Chaedam, Mandam, K'omedi* (Seoul: Paekchungdang, 2004).
- Dissanayake, Wimal, ed., *Melodrama and Asian Cinema* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Shin, Gi-Wook and Michael Robinson, eds, *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999).
- Hogarth, Hyun-key Kim, *Korean Shamanism and Cultural Nationalism* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 1999).
- Chang Yujöng. *Taejung kayoro pon kundae ūi p'unggyöng: Oppanŭn p'unggak ch'angeya* [The scenery of modern Korea through popular song: brother is a streetsinger] (Seoul: Mikumin, 2006).
- Kim Hoyun, *Han'guk hyöndae Akkūk* [Study of Korean Modern *Akkūk*] (Seoul:

- Minsogwŏn, 2009).
- Kim Sangyŏl, *Pŏnji ōmnŭn chumak* [Inn without a number] (Seoul: Kim Sangyŏl sarang hyŏ, 1999).
- Lee, Young Mee, 'The reproduction and disintegration of the nature of Shin-pa in popular dramatic arts in the 1950s', *Korean Literature Studies* 34 (2008): 83–115.
- Lee, Ho Geol, 'What's the sinpasung: Structure, politics, history', *Image and Film Studies* 9 (2006): 179–214.
- Lee, Ho Geol, 'Liberalism and *shinpa*', *Korean Theatre Studies* 26 (2007): 305–49.
- Myung, In-Seo, 'Studies of Korean-Japanese Shinpa theatre and Western melodrama', *Journal of Korean Theatre Studies* 18 (2002): 5–48.
- Son Minjung, *T'ŭrot'ŭ ŭi chŏngchihak* [The politics of t'ŭrot'ŭ] (Seoul: Ŭmak segye, 2009).
- Son, Min-jung, 'Regulating and negotiating in t'ŭrot'ŭ, a Korean popular song', *Asian Music* 37/1 (Winter/Spring 2006): 51–74.
- Pak Nohong, *Pak Nohong ŭi taejung yionyesa*, 1 [Pak Nohong's history of Korean popular drama, 1], ed. by Kim Ŏgyŏng and Yu In'gyŏng (Seoul: Yŏn'gukkwa ing'an, 2008).
- Shin, Dong-Hun, 'A study on the aesthetic characteristics and the power of transmission of Korean folk drama – an example of the *Kŏrikut*, shaman drama of the East Coast', *Han'guk kubi munhakhoe* [Studies of Korean oral literature] 10 (2000): 117–58.
- Son, Chang-Hee, *The Paradigm of Process Philosophy and Metaphysics of Relatedness* (Lanham: University Press Of America, 2000).
- Yang, Seung-Goog, 'The aspects of correlation between Korean *shinpa*'s theatre in the 1910s and traditional performance', *Han'guk kŭk yesul yŏn'gu* [Korean theatre studies] 9 (1999): 47–68.
- Ulgonumnun Paktalchae* [Crossing the Teary Hill of Paktalchae], DVD (Seoul: Gagyo, 2010).

**Interviews**

Kang, Yong-Gul, 12 April 2011.

Kim, Ho-Yeon, 23 March 2011.

Park, Jong Sang, 14 April 2011.

Park, In-Hwan, 16 April 2011.