

# Conceptualization of the Individual as a Modern Subject in Korea: *Analysis of Co-occurrence Relations\**

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## Abstract

*This article examines the conceptual development of gaein (individual) as a modern subject in Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It utilizes both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to analyze two different corpora: academic journal corpus (1896-1909) and Gaebyeok (Genesis) corpus (1920-1926). For this purpose, it focuses on the co-occurrence relations of gaein and other concepts, and builds a list of words that were frequently used near gaein in sentences. In addition, we have investigated in what context and for what reason the co-occurrences changed, and to what degree. By doing this, we found that the co-occurring rate of gaein with “state,” “law,” and “people,” decreased after the annexation of Korea by Japan, whereas the co-occurring rate with “society,” “nation,” “organization,” and “freedom” increased. We were able to conclude that while gaein was considered a member of a state in the enlightenment period, it developed into an economic and sociocultural subject in the 1920s.*

**Keywords:** *gaein* (individual), concept, conceptual history, modern subject, corpus, co-occurrence

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## Introduction: A Corpus Linguistic Approach to Conceptual History Research

This study aims to examine the historical development of the concept of *gaein* (individual) as a modern subject, which was emphasized when traditional Korean society became modernized. The advent of new concepts not only means changes in vocabulary but also fundamental shifts of social systems and worldviews. Social structures and value systems changed extensively during the period of transition between the premodern and modern world. This also indicates the transition from traditional concepts to modern concepts. Koselleck (1996, 69)<sup>1</sup> referred to this underlying change of traditional concepts and symbol systems as “the linguistic revolution.”

It is not easy to fully explain the complex formation of the concept of *gaein*, and it requires in-depth studies from many different angles. Previous studies, including J. Park (2004), Lee and Yang (2006), and S. Kim (2009), examined the conceptual history of *gaein*. First, J. Park traced the historical development of the concept of *gaein* and raised the following questions: What were the implications of *gaein* as a subject of modern society? Which Korean term was the most influential to the conceptual development of *gaein*, among *inmin* (people), *simin* (citizen), and *bureujua* (bourgeois)? Can *gaein* in Korea be an independent, but public, being? Second, Lee and Yang focused more on *gaein* as a concept in relation to other modern concepts, such as *gukga* (state). Finally, S. Kim (2009) analyzed how intellectuals understood the Western concept of the individual through traditional Korean concepts such as *in* 人 (human), *min* 民 (people), *baekseong* 百姓 (people), *ilsin* 一身 (person), etc.

Most existing studies on conceptual history in Korea were done using qualitative methods. This study, however, attempts to implement both quantitative and qualitative methods. In particular, we ana-

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1. Koselleck (1996, 69) added the linguistic revolution to the events that contributed to the launch of the modern era, along with the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution.

lyze the co-occurrence relation of *gaein* and other related concepts in sentences. Co-occurrence relation means the relation of a specific word to other words, which frequently appear together in sentences. If the word is often used with a certain group of words in sentences, it means that they have stronger semantic relations than words that are not often used together. The co-occurrence relation denotes various semantic connections between concepts. They can be conflicting or complementary. Therefore, it is risky to draw conclusions on the correlation of concepts using only the numeric results of co-occurrence analysis. In other words, it is essential to explore the usages and the contexts in which the concepts in question were used together.

Most previous studies on the development of modern concepts include more than two concept words that influenced each other's development. Yet, the criteria used to determine the lists of related concepts and how we measure the degree of influence has not been thoroughly discussed. Thus, we intended to overcome these limits and provide a new methodology for examining the influences between concepts by using empirical evidence. For this purpose, we analyzed the relational aspects of *gaein* and its co-occurring words, which are observed in corpora. A corpus is a collection of machine-readable authentic texts (including transcripts of spoken data), which is sampled to be representative of a particular language or language variety according to McEnery, Xiao, and Tono (2006, 5). To analyze the co-occurrence relations of *gaein*, we used two different corpora: academic journal corpus (hereafter, AJC) and *Gaebyeok* corpus (hereafter, GBC).<sup>2</sup>

AJC consists of six academic journals published between 1896 and 1909, including *Daejoseon dongnip hyeophoe hoebo* (Bulletin of the Independence Club of Great Joseon; hereafter, DD) (1896-1897), *Daehan jaganghoe wolbo* (Monthly of the Korea Self-Strengthening Society; hereafter, DJ) (1906-1907), *Seou* (Western Friends Review; hereafter, SU) (1906-1908), *Daehan yuhaksaenghoe hakbo* (Journal of

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2. We used a Synthesized Korean Data Processor, SynKDP, for extracting usages and analyzing the co-occurrence rate. See So (2002) for details of this program.

the Association of Korean Students in Japan; hereafter, DY) (1907), *Giho heunghakhoe wolbo* (Monthly of the Giho Society for the Promotion of Learning; hereafter, GH) (1908-1909), and *Daedong hakhoe wolbo* (Monthly of the Korea Educational Association; hereafter, DH) (1908-1909). These academic journals published articles written by well-known intellectuals during the enlightenment period. Academic groups in that period can be divided into three groups, all of which are included in our corpus: the first group consisted of Korean intellectuals who were studying in Tokyo (DY), the second group was composed of Korean intellectuals who were staying in Korea (DD, DJ, DH), and the third group was made up of Korean intellectuals who were staying in Seoul at the time but originally from a certain regional area (SU, GH). The size of AJC is 358,000 *eojeol*.<sup>3</sup>

GBC is composed of the magazine *Gaebyeok* (1920-1926), published in the colonial period. The size of GBC is 2,700,000 *eojeol*. As M. Park (2003, 264) points out, the features of modern society clearly emerged in the 1920s, including the advance of individualism. For this reason, it is crucial to examine one of the most popular magazines of the 1920s. *Gaebyeok* was a general consumer magazine; thus, it attracted both intellectuals with various interest for knowledge, and the general public (Choi 2008). In contrast, the academic journals included in AJC only targeted intellectuals. By comparing the concept of *gaein* in AJC with that in GBC, this article aims to explore how the concept was disseminated.

We compare the results from two different corpora consisting of texts from different periods in order to track the semantic changes of the concepts through the changes in the list of co-occurring concepts. Corpus linguistics scholars such as Biber (1993) and Gries (2001) discuss that the selective meaning of words in a sentence tends to depend on its co-occurring vocabulary words when a word has sever-

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3. *Eojeol* is a unit that can be used independently and consists of a lexical component and a grammatical component, such as a word and a particle. The unit to count corpus size in English is the number of words it includes, but it is *eojeol* in Korean, which is classified as an agglutinative language.

al different meanings. Thus, we can examine the meaning of a word by analyzing its co-occurrence. In addition, when a word gains a new meaning, this directly affects its co-occurring vocabulary. This idea is also valid in the study of conceptual history, as most previous studies on the development of modern concepts include more than two concept words that influenced each other's development. Therefore, analyzing a word's meaning with respect to its co-occurring words is indispensable to uncovering its conceptual development.

The discussion below proceeds in two parts. The next chapter summarizes the translation process of the concept of the individual from Western languages into Japanese, and its subsequent introduction into Korean. Then, the following chapter discusses the conceptual development of *gaein* as a modern subject in Korea, using quantitative data from the corpus analysis.

### Introduction of *Gaein* through Translation

As with most modern concepts, the lexical history of the term *gaein* implies broader world history, not just the history of one country. The modern usage of the Korean word *gaein* originated from Japanese word *kojin* 個人. This term in Japanese was coined as it was translated from the English word "individual," the German *individuum*, or the French *individu*. These Western terms originated from *individuum* in Latin, which in turn was a translated term for the Greek *atomon* (Takayuki and Masahide 2003, 109).

The Korean word *gaein* consists of two Chinese characters, 個 and 人, as in the Japanese *kojin*. However, *gae* and *in* are Korean pronunciations of the Chinese characters 個 and 人, respectively. It is true that Korea imported the term from Japan, but the conceptual development of *gaein* has been quite different from the conceptual development of *kojin* in Japan. In order to understand the origin of the term *gaein* in Korea, it is also essential to know how *kojin* was coined in Japan. This section, therefore, summarizes the process of translation in Japan and illustrates how the term *kojin* emerged and was incorporated into

the Japanese language.<sup>4</sup>

There was no existing concept of the modern individual in nineteenth-century East Asia when Japanese intellectuals first encountered the Western term “individual.” Therefore, finding an appropriate translation was not an easy task. In the mid- to late nineteenth century, “individual” was translated into many different expressions in Japanese: *ittai* 一體, *ichibutsu* 一物, *hitori* 獨, *ikkonozinmin* 一個ノ人民, *hitobito* 人々, etc. (Takayuki and Masahide 2003, 109). Eventually, *kojin* became the accepted translation for “individual.” In order to examine this complex process, we need to focus on Fukuzawa Yukichi’s works as well as English-Chinese dictionaries that were widely used among Meiji intellectuals. Fukuzawa first adopted the vernacular word *hito* 人, which meant person, as a translation for “individual.” However, this was not very successful, as *hito* could not express the modern concept of an individual. Fukuzawa had no choice but to adopt the Sino-Japanese expression *doku ikkojin* 獨一個人 (an independent single individual) to translate “individual” into Japanese in his 1875 book *Bunmeiron no gairyaku* 文明論之概略 (An Outline of a Theory of Civilization), although he was initially opposed to using Sino-Japanese words for translation. This still did not express the exact meaning of Western notion of the individual, but using Chinese characters gave the impression of a highly sophisticated concept. This is pointed out by Akira Yanabu (1982), who wrote that *doku ikkojin* appeared when Fukuzawa’s principles of using Japanese vernacular words in translation faced their fundamental limitation.

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4. The focus of this section is on the Japanese translation of the concept of the “individual” and its spread to Korea; however, the Japanese neologism *kojin* was also exported to China. Jin and Liu (2008, 49-50) explain that *geren* 介人, a Chinese word meaning “individual,” had been used for a long time in Chinese historical texts, but its meaning had been different from the contemporary meaning of *geren*. In addition, they argue that the new political term *geren* emerged after the modern concept of the individual had been imported from the West. The term *kojin* 個人 is the Japanese translation of the Western term “individual,” and its proper conceptual development in Japan had to start from scratch. However, China and Korea at least did not have to create new terms. Instead, Chinese and Koreans were able to use the Japanese translation of the term *kojin*.

*Doku ikkojin* was not, in fact, Fukuzawa's creation. This expression was found in English-Chinese dictionaries published by Western missionaries decades before Fukuzawa used it. Two early examples, from R. Morrison's *English-Chinese Dictionary*, published in 1822, and W. H. Medhurst's *English-Chinese Dictionary*, published in 1847, appear below (Figures 1 and 2).

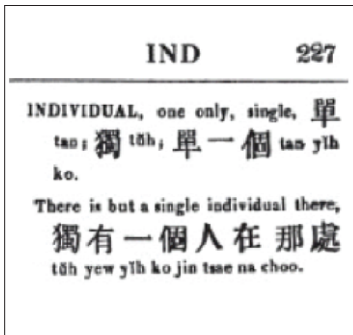


Figure 1. Entry for “Individual” in Morrison (1822)

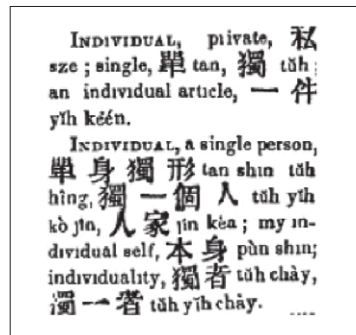


Figure 2. Entry for “Individual” in Medhurst (1848)

In 1884, Tetsujiro Inoue revised William Lobscheid's *An English and Chinese Dictionary* in Japan and defined the headword “individual” as *doku ikkojin*, following its two precedents (Lobscheid [1866-1869] 1884). Fukuzawa ended up adopting Western missionaries' Chinese translation when he was not able to find a Japanese vernacular term for “individual.” *Dokuikkojin* became *ikkojin* (one individual) by dropping *doku* (independent), and was later transformed into *kojin* by omitting *ik* (one). The earliest usages of *gaein* appeared in Korean texts from the 1890s, in the forms of *ilgaein* or *gaein*, corresponding to Japanese *ikkojin* and *kojin*, respectively.

It was in the 1890s that Korean texts began to show early usages of *gaein*. The first example appeared in *Daejoseon dongnip hyeophoe hoebo*, which was the journal published by the Independence Club. *Hwangseong sinmun* also contained several examples.<sup>5</sup> These Korean

5. The word *gaein* was not found in Korean dictionaries published in the 1890s, such

texts from the 1890s only used the linguistic form of *gaein* or *ilgaein* (one individual), and not *dogil gaein* (one independent individual). Whereas the linguistic expression for “individual” evolved from *doku ikkojin* to *ikkojin*, and then to *kojin* in Japanese, only the last two forms were used in Korea, and ended up as *gaein*.

### The Conceptual Development of *Gaein* as a Modern Subject

Various linguistic terms were used for certain concepts before the concept was finally connected to a specific word. The case of *gaein* was no exception. There were initially many different terms for the individual, such as *in* (person), *irin* (one person), *jagi* (self), etc. However, as time passed, the concept of the “individual” slowly became connected to the most effective and suitable linguistic form: *gaein*. When the concept “individual” was crystallized in the single term *gaein*, it finally attained the status of a basic concept (Koselleck 1996, 66). This section intends to investigate all meanings of the term *gaein* by tracing its conceptual development during the enlightenment and colonial periods in Korea.

Even after the term became fixed, the meaning of *gaein* was never static. Its meaning was rather diverse and complicated because it was one of the basic concepts. According to Koselleck (1996, 66), “[b]ecause they can be applied again and again, basic concepts accumulate long-term meanings that are not lost with every change in regime or social situation.” Therefore, it is not easy to scrutinize the historical development of such a basic concept as *gaein*. To reveal its conceptual shifts more inclusively and concretely, we will analyze co-occurrence relations of *gaein* with other concepts in sentences, as explained in the first section.

To analyze the co-occurrence of *gaein* in corpora, we made con-

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as the Korean-English dictionaries by H. G. Underwood or J. S. Gale. However, twentieth-century dictionaries used *gaein*, as in the English-Korean dictionary compiled by G. H. Jones in 1916. Jones’s dictionary used the word *gaein* in a definition of the entity, and also defined individualism as *gaeinjuui* (individualism); thus, we could assume that *gaein* entered the Korean lexicon before 1916.



cordance tables for the word *gaein* from our corpora, AJC and GBC, with five preceding and following *eojeol*, and then investigated the frequency of the co-occurring words. This methodology aims to build a list of words that were frequently used near *gaein*, under the hypothesis that proximity in terms of linguistic position reflects the interrelationship between words co-occurring with high frequency. Table 1 and Table 2 respectively illustrate the top ten words co-occurring with *gaein* in AJC and GBC.

As can be seen in Table 1 and Table 2, the most frequently co-occurring words in each corpus were different: “state” (*gukga* 國家) in

Table 1. Top 10 Words Co-occurring with Gaein in AJC

No.	Words	Frequency	%
1	<i>gukga</i> 國家 (state)	127	22.2
2	<i>sahoe</i> 社會 (society)	50	8.7
3	<i>beomnyul</i> 法律 (law)	41	7.2
4	<i>gungmin</i> 國民 (nationals)	35	6.1
5	<i>gwolli</i> 權利 (right)	29	5.1
6	<i>gyoyuk</i> 教育 (education)	24	4.2
7	<i>gajok</i> 家族 (family)	20	3.5
8	<i>jayu</i> 自由 (freedom)	19	3.3
9	<i>iik</i> 利益 (profit)	18	3.1
10	<i>uimu</i> 義務 (duty)	18	3.1

Table 2. Top 10 Words Co-occurring with Gaein in GBC

No.	Words	Frequency	%
1	<i>sahoe</i> 社會 (society)	430	19.1
2	<i>jayu</i> 自由 (freedom)	133	5.9
3	<i>minjok</i> 民族 (nation)	120	5.3
4	<i>danche</i> 團體 (organization)	109	4.8
5	<i>gukga</i> 國家 (state)	102	4.5
6	<i>gwolli</i> 權利 (right)	68	3
7	<i>sasang</i> 思想 (thought)	62	2.7
8	<i>ingyeok</i> 人格 (personality)	51	2.3
9	<i>gyeongje</i> 經濟 (economy)	50	2.2
10	<i>gajok</i> 家族 (family)	48	2.1

AJC and “society” (*sahoe* 社會) in GBC. Top-ranking words in both corpora accounted for 20 percent of all usages of *gaein*. In other words, if we have ten usages of *gaein*, the word “state” appears more than twice among the preceding or following five *eojeol* in AJC. On the other hand, in GBC the word “society” co-occurs with *gaein* almost twice for every ten usages of *gaein*. As for the collective group that an individual belonged to, it was once the state, but was replaced by society, as its co-occurrence with *gaein* rapidly increased, from 8.7 percent to 19.1 percent.

The replacement of top ranking words, “state” in Table 1 and “society” in Table 2, influenced the change of *gaein*’s relation with other concepts. As the co-occurring rate of *gaein* and “state” decreased, *gaein*’s correlation with other concepts closely related to the concept of the state also diminished. In addition, as the co-occurring rate of *gaein* and “society” increased, *gaein*’s co-occurrence with other concepts connected to the concept of society were also reinforced. Figure 3 clearly shows these tendencies. It demonstrates how the co-occurrence of *gaein* changed from the enlightenment period to the colonial period, by showing the result of subtraction between the values of co-occurring rates in AJC and GBC: value in GBC minus that in AJC. Thus, if the number is positive, then the bar is located over the x-axis; this means the co-occurring rate increased after the annexation of Korea by Japan. Conversely, if the number is negative, then the bar is located under the x-axis; this means the co-occurring rate decreased after the annexation. The alignment on the x-axis follows the degree of the gap between the co-occurring rates from two corpora.

Figure 3 illustrates that the co-occurrence of “state,” “law,” “people,” “education,” “profit,” “duty,” “right,” and “family” (Group 1) with *gaein* decreased, as the co-occurring rate of each concept with *gaein* was higher in AJC than in GBC. The co-occurrence of “society,” “nation,” “organization,” “freedom,” “economy,” “personality,” and “thought” (Group 2) with *gaein* increased, as the co-occurring rate of each concept with *gaein* was higher in GBC than in AJC. Analyzing the change in co-occurring rate reveals an important aspect of the con-

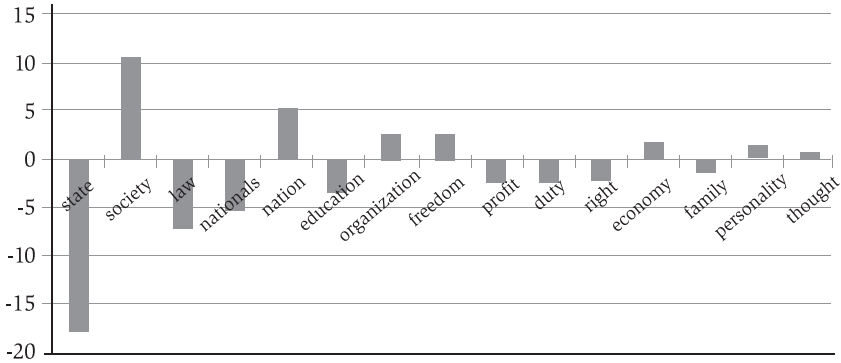


Figure 3. Change in Terms' Co-occurring Rate with *Gaein* after the Annexation of Korea by Japan

ceptual development of *gaein* in Korea. We will discuss the concepts in Group 1 and those in Group 2 in the following two sections.

#### *Gaein as a Member of a State*

The concept words in Group 1 all showed a decrease in their co-occurring rate with *gaein*. The most marked decrease was found in the use of the word “state,” and it seems that the change in the co-occurrence relation between *gaein* and “state” affected the change in all the words in Group 1. The following paragraphs will discuss the close tie of *gaein* with the state before Japan’s annexation of Korea, and how the other concepts in Group 1 can be explained with respect to *gaein* as a member of the state.

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, before Korea was colonized by Japan, Korean intellectuals were eager to carry out a modern state building project. In this process, the discourse on *gaein* mainly centered on one’s duty as a member of the state. For example, the Giho Society for the Promotion of Learning declared its goal to define the relation between *gaein* and the state in the first edition of its journal in 1908. That is, one of its editorials states that the main purpose of all academic society is to enlighten the

general public to understand the relation between the state and its people. In addition, the newspaper *Gongnip sinbo*, published in the United States, ran an editorial titled “The Success of *Gaein* is the Happiness of the State” (*Gongnip sinbo*, October 7, 1908). This editorial states that the inseparable relation between *gaein* and the state is widely known in the United States; however, it is a priority in Korea to publicize this relation and encourage people to function as members of the state.<sup>6</sup>

Why did these writers emphasize the importance of *gaein*’s relation with the state and make an effort to enlighten people about this? In traditional Joseon, the perception that one individual’s achievement is directly connected to the fate of the state was not prevalent. During this period, government administration was in the hands of bureaucrats, not commoners. However, Korean intellectuals in the early twentieth century realized that an individual action (e.g., smoking opium in one’s own front yard) could cause a tremendous crisis in the country, by watching the Opium War in China (*Gongnip sinbo*, September 30, 1908).

They also realized that an urgent priority was to enlighten commoners and transform them into members of the state. However, the modern state building project ended in failure as the Japanese empire colonized Korea. Accordingly, Korean intellectuals tended not to discuss *gaein* in relation to the state, as the state in colonial Korea meant the Japanese empire. The bar graph of “state” in Figure 3 above is the longest of all the bars in the chart, indicating the radical change of its relation with *gaein*.

The word “law” (*beop* 法) ranked second in Group 1, which means its co-occurring rate with *gaein* significantly decreased. J. Park

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6. During the 1900s, the discourse on the rights or freedom of the individual hardly appeared in newspapers or magazines in Korea. However, *Gongnip sinbo*, which was published in San Francisco by Korean immigrants in the 1900s, included articles about the rights and freedom of the individual. It was a couple of decades later that individuals’ rights and freedom became a crucial issue in the modern media in Korea. This suggests that the degree of the term’s conceptual development differed according to the geographical area of a text’s production.

(2004) has argued that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the concept of *gaein* necessarily involved notions of the statehood and the law in its development. During this period, the co-occurrence between *gaein* and “law” was formed in the context that an individual’s life and property must be legally protected. Law is the most fundamental part of the modern state; therefore, the relation between the word “state” and *gaein* diminished after Korea lost its sovereignty.

*Gaein*’s co-occurrence relation with “nationals of a state” (*gungmin* 國民) and “education” (*gyoyuk* 教育) also decreased, according to Figure 3. Education during the enlightenment period aimed to improve people. We can easily find many editorials in the modern media during the enlightenment period, which stressed educating commoners and making them function as good citizens working for the state. As it was put in the editorial of volume 6 of *Giho heung-hakhoe wolbo*, “now is not a period of educating *gaein*, but educating *gungmin*” (Yun 1909), *gaein* was highlighted as a member of a state.

The word “profit” (*iik* 利益) in Figure 3 also relates to seeing *gaein* as a member of a state. The co-occurrence of *gaein* and “profit” in AJC was mostly found either in the context that the role of modern law is to protect *gaein*’s profit or in the context that *gaein*’s profit should be ignored in favor of the public interests. Although the lexical meaning of “profit” relates to money, the context in which *gaein* and “profit” were used together was not actually economic, but rather political.

The “duty” (*uimu* 義務) and “right” (*gwolli* 權利) of *gaein* were popular topics in the enlightenment period. A duty was something that *gaein* should perform as a member of the state, and a right was something that the state’s law should protect for *gaein*. Therefore, the co-occurrences between *gaein* and “duty” and between *gaein* and “right” existed as an extension of *gaein*’s relation with the law and then the state.

With regard to rights, J. Park (2004) argues that discourses on *gaein* in the enlightenment period were not only limited to *gaein*’s status as a political subject, but also involved the issue of *gaein*’s proper-

ty rights. However, the usages of *gaein* appearing with “right” mainly described *gaein*’s legal right for their property to be protected. Therefore, even with *gaein*’s co-occurrence with its rights for possessions and also with the profit discussed above, its development as economic subject should wait until the social structure turned to capitalist economy system.

Finally, the changing notion of “family” (*gajok* 家族) during the modernization period was also closely related to *gaein*’s conceptual development. Although there was penetration of Western modern thoughts into Korea, many parts of the country still held traditional values. For example, in the 1900s, the modern separation between workplace and household was not yet initiated, as most Koreans were engaged in agriculture. Therefore, families still played an important role, which was later distributed to diverse groups in society. In ACJ, *gaein* was regarded as a member of family, which constitutes the state.

However, after *gaein* lost its strong connection to the state, the co-occurring rate of *gaein* and “family” also declined. This change reflected the social development that also produced new and powerful collective identities from the 1920s. As society became diversified, traditional family roles were to a great extent transferred to society, and *gaein* started to actively participate in various social activities. This change was also related to economic transformation. As *gaein* emerged as economic social subjects, the role of the traditional family as the only source of income had to go through fundamental transition.

### *Gaein as a Sociocultural Subject*<sup>7</sup>

The words in Group 2, including “society” (*sahoe* 社會), “nation” (*minjok* 民族), “organization” (*danche* 團體), “freedom” (*jayu* 自由), “economy” (*gyeongje* 經濟), “personality” (*ingyeok* 人格), and “thought”

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7. J. Park (2004) criticizes that previous studies tend to be biased in discussing *gaein* only as a political subject. She argues that *gaein* could also be considered an economic subject, even in the enlightenment period. Our study goes beyond the limit of the previous studies and examines broader aspects of *gaein*, including a socio-cultural subject.

(*sasang* 思想), all showed increases in their relations with *gaein* in the colonial period. As mentioned above, the relation between *gaein* and “society” became stronger as the association between *gaein* and the “state” became weaker. Similarly, the correlation between *gaein* and the “nation” got stronger as the relation between *gaein* and “people” got weaker. This section will discuss the development of *gaein* as a social and cultural subject in the 1920s by considering its relations with “society,” “nation,” and other concepts.

“Society” saw the most rapid change among the Group 2 words. The concept of society emerged in the 1890s, but it did not receive much attention. In the 1900s, as the concept of the state became increasingly elaborate, society was conceptualized as a base for constructing the state. It was after the March First Independence Movement of 1919 that the concept of society gradually expanded, as various social movements became invigorated (M. Park 2003, 267). This directly affected the development of the concept of *gaein*, as M. Park (2003, 270) mentions that society was not an independent being but a rational space with voluntary connection among individuals. In a nutshell, the social outlook changed from being state-centered to individual-centered. The inseparable relation between *gaein* and society in the 1920s also influenced the changing co-occurring rate of *gaein* with concepts such as “organization,” “freedom,” and “economy.”

“Nation” also increased considerably, as Figure 3 shows. Kwon’s (2007) argument on nation is helpful to better understand the conceptual history of *gaein*. Kwon points out that the concept of nation in colonial Korea developed culturally rather than politically, although the concept of nation implies its direct connection to the state. More interestingly, the concept of nation later developed to signify an entity that can exist independently of the state because the concept of state started to be directly related to the Japanese empire in colonial Korea. Especially from the 1920s, cultural nationalism flourished, and the concept of nation in colonial Korea should not be underestimated. The concept of *gaein* was also affected by this change, and *gaein* came to be conceptualized as a member of the nation, rather than a member of the state.

As discussed in the above two paragraphs, the notion of *gaein* in the 1920s was developed in the context of “society” as well as in the context of “nation.” Here, the relationship among *gaein*, society, and nation needs a more careful examination. The 1920s was the period when social space for voluntary association between autonomous individuals expanded, which entailed that social space for the individual as an active agent was unfolding. In this context, the ultimate goal for each individual in society was to develop the nation. That is, the relationship between the individual and society reflected the dynamic power relations in the real world, while the concept of “nation” existed as telos for each individual in social activities. This notion of “nation” as telos for each individual activity implied the potential politicization of social activities. In line with this, H. Kim (2004) argues that “we can call ‘nation’ when the society was organized politically and emotionally.” These triangular relationships among *gaein*, society, and nation also can explain the relation of organization with *gaein*, which will be discussed in the following paragraph.

Figure 3 also shows the increase of *gaein*’s co-occurrence with “organization.” GBC contained usages of organization, such as industrial, educational, religious, fostering, charity, entertainment, and athletic organizations. These organizations were described as key parts in the everyday life of the nation. It was noticeable that the relation between *gaein* and these organizations was formed on the basis of the nation. The thirteenth volume of *Gaebyeok* published an editorial that stated, “each *gaein* and each organization should seek its own prosperity, but also should cooperate with each other for its spiritual ideal, the Joseon nation.” After the March First Movement, various organizations sprang up in colonial Korea, and this added one more collective identity that *gaein* belonged to. The increasing frequency of “organization” in the list of words co-occurring with *gaein* also reflects the result of social differentiation, as the organizations in various social sectors played key roles in reinforcing the concept of society.

“Freedom” frequently co-occurred with *gaein* in both AJC and GBC. However, its relation with *gaein* was not exactly the same in



both corpora. First, the co-occurring rate increased from 3.3 percent to 5.9 percent. Second, the usages in AJC mostly discussed the political freedom of *gaein*, whereas those in GBC discussed economic freedom and cultural freedom in addition to political freedom. The political freedom of *gaein* in AJC was mainly mentioned in the context of the social contract theory.<sup>8</sup> However, the political freedom of *gaein* was discussed in a broader context in GBC, as shown in the examples, including the freedom of thought, will, publishing, and organizing. The context in which *gaein* was mentioned also had become diversified in GBC to include economic freedom, as we can see in examples like “free competition” and “free commerce.” Thus, the co-occurrence relation between *gaein* and “freedom” was also influenced by the increase of *gaein*’s co-occurrence with the word “economy,” which will be discussed in the following paragraph. In addition, the context of the freedom of *gaein* also extended to culture, and examples of the usages of *gaein* in GBC include the freedom of personality and invention.

“Economy” also came to be used more frequently with *gaein*, and affected the conceptual development of *gaein*. Only a few examples of *gaein* appeared with “economy” in AJC, and there was no strong semantic relation between the two words. Meanwhile, GBC displayed a strong conceptual connection between *gaein* and “economy,” as in the phrases like “discourse on individualistic economy,” “economic activity of an individual,” and “individual economy.” M. Park (2003, 271) states that an individualistic perspective was closely associated with meritocracy, which stressed competition, and that “merit” refers to modern bourgeois values such as modern knowledge, capacity to organize, entrepreneurial talents, and wealth. That is, the essence of meritocracy with individual bases lies in capitalist economic activities. *Gaein* in the 1920s, when Korea was moving toward capitalist devel-

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8. The social contract theory by Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, and others explains how a legitimate government could emerge from the state of nature. In this theory, individuals in the state of nature agree to define and limit the rights and duties of each, to better protect self-interest.

opment, had to learn the values of modern bourgeois society. During this process, *gaein*'s co-occurrence with "economy" increased. This increased co-occurrence between these two words was the key to the decreasing co-occurrence between *gaein* and "family."

Volume 59 of *Gaebyeok* printed an article asserting that the individualization of income was the reason for the breakdown of the traditional family system. In other words, an individual lifestyle prevailed as *gaein* became an economic subject that threatened the structure of the traditional family. The strong tie between *gaein* and the economy was perceived as a major factor that could even destabilize the fundamental structure of society.

"Personality" occurred with *gaein* in AJC, but co-occurred more frequently in GBC. AJC shows examples of *gaein* and "personality" together in two contexts: (1) education develops and cultivates *gaein*'s personality, and (2) each *gaein*'s personality contributes to a collective personality of the state. This can be understood as an extension of the view of *gaein* as a member of a state. Meanwhile, the tone of GBC changed to emphasize the dignity of *gaein*'s personality. Even when discussing *gaein* as a member of a state, GBC still maintains its emphasis on the dignity of personality, and this can be seen in the example from the second volume of *Gaebyeok*: "Originally, *gaein* is not the exclusive property of a family. It is a member of the state when it comes to the state, also a member of the society when it comes to the society, and a member of the world when it comes to the world. Therefore, the personality of *gaein* should be a joint standard for the family, state, society, and world. In this regard, we should not disrespect *gaein*'s personality infinitely."

The use of "thought" and *gaein* in each corpus was also different in terms of its semantic connection. AJC shows some examples of *gaein* appearing with "thought," but we can hardly find any semantic relations. Yet, GBC displays several examples, such as "thought of individual freedom," "individual-centered thought," "individualistic thought," and "thought of individual-centrism," which illustrate the conceptual development of *gaein* towards ideation and abstraction.

Koselleck's notion of "temporalization" can explain the higher

correlation between *gaein* and “-isms.” Koselleck (1985, 78) points out that “concepts no longer merely serve to define given states of affairs, they reach into the future.” That is, concepts not only capture the substantial experience but also extend into the future and create a neologism that reflected the wishes. Particularly, there were numerous neologisms containing “-isms,” such as “conservatism,” “liberalism,” or “socialism,” and they intensified the demand to determine what the concepts actually meant. During the 1920s in Korea, *gaein* developed to give birth to the concept of *gaeinjuui* (individualism),

Table 3. Top 11-20 Words Co-occurring with *Gaein* in *AJC*

No.	Words	Frequency	%
11	<i>dongnip</i> 獨立 (independence)	16	2.8
12	<i>gwollyeok</i> 權力 (power)	13	2.3
13	<i>jeonche</i> 全體 (whole)	13	2.3
14	<i>danche</i> 團體 (organization)	12	2.1
15	<i>sasang</i> 思想 (thought)	11	1.9
16	<i>munmyeong</i> 文明 (civilization)	9	1.6
17	<i>jaesan</i> 財產 (property)	9	1.6
18	<i>jisik</i> 知識 (knowledge)	8	1.4
19	<i>gonggwon</i> 公權 (civil rights)	7	1.2
20	<i>gonggong</i> 公共 (public), <i>dodeok</i> 道德 (morality)	6	1.0

Table 4. Top 11-20 Words Co-occurring with *Gaein* in *GBC*

No.	Words	Frequency	%
11	<i>gamjeong</i> 感情 (emotion)	47	2.1
12	<i>haengbok</i> 幸福 (happiness)	38	1.7
13	<i>jeongsin</i> 精神 (spirit)	37	1.6
14	<i>gyegeup</i> 階級 (class)	35	1.6
15	<i>yesul</i> 藝術 (art)	35	1.6
16	<i>dodeok</i> 道德 (morality)	33	1.5
17	<i>sahoejuui</i> 社會主義 (socialism)	33	1.5
18	<i>jonggyo</i> 宗教 (religion)	30	1.3
19	<i>gaeseong</i> 個性 (individuality)	25	1.1
20	<i>soyu</i> 所有 (possession)	25	1.1

also showing high co-occurrence with “thought.” This implies that the concept of *gaein* became more abstract, and reached into the wishes for the future.

Finally, we also examined the 11th to 20th most frequently co-occurring terms as shown in Table 3 and Table 4, and found that GBC noticeably included more concept words with regard to mind and culture. Among the list of GBC words, “emotion,” “happiness,” and “spirit” are related to the human mind, and are the basis of “individuality” and “art.” In contrast, the AJC word list contains none of these words. This suggests that the discourse on *gaein* in *Gaebyeok* paid much more attention to the human mind than the academic journals published during the enlightenment period in Korea

This section discussed *gaein*’s conceptual development by analyzing its co-occurrence with other concept words. Quantitative analysis of the co-occurrence of *gaein* provided empirical evidence of the dynamic shifts among concepts between the enlightenment period and the colonial period. We also examined which concept strengthened or weakened its connection with *gaein*, how great the degree of change was, and in what context this change happened. It was determined that over time, the concept of *gaein* expanded its boundaries from a member of a state to an economic, cultural, and social subject.

## Conclusion

The concept of individual did not exist in the medieval period, and the emergence of such concept was a hallmark of modernity. The concept of individual as a modern subject originated from the West and was imported to East Asia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This study examined how the concept of individual was accepted and transformed during the modernization period in Korea.

This article discussed that the notion of *gaein*, Korean equivalent for “individual,” mostly identified with people in the Korean enlightenment period, became more diverse in the 1920s. *Gaein* became a socioeconomic subject and an independent member of society by

internalizing bourgeois values in the 1920s. In the enlightenment period, the duty and freedom of the individual were also widely discussed in the contemporary media, but the main focus was on the legal protection of the individual. A social environment in which to discuss *gaein*'s freedom, rights, and profit was not yet established. The social space for *gaein* as a socioeconomic subject began to flourish during the 1920s, as capitalist economy developed, society became differentiated, and many organizations led social movements. This kind of change in real social environments led to the conceptual change of *gaein*, with a greater emphasis on socioeconomic aspects. With this change emerged new trendy ideas on individualism and individual-centered thought, which had an impact on society. Thus, the notion of *gaein* was not just a reflection of social reality, but also created new social change; the relationship between the concept and society is not a one-way but a two-way process.

The conceptual development of *gaein* in the 1920s was not restricted to the areas discussed above, but also spread to the cultural sphere. Of course, the political, social, and economic understandings of the individual were most common; however, we should not underestimate the development of *gaein* as a cultural subject. Cultural nationalism after the March First Movement was the key factor for various social changes, and also profoundly affected the notion of *gaein*. The new trend in the 1920s was to make reference to the character and emotion of the individual, which was not the case in the enlightenment period. For example, in GBC, *gaein* had high co-occurrence with cultural concepts such as "personality," "emotion," "happiness," "spirits," and "arts," though not as high as political, social, and economic concepts. This showed that the concept of *gaein* as a cultural subject manifested more in the 1920s than in the enlightenment period.

What differentiates this study from existing ones is that we analyze a huge amount of empirical data quantitatively, and investigate the conceptual development of *gaein* inductively through its co-occurring rate with other concepts. Some previous research also analyzes the frequency of certain concepts, but they simply show how many times they appeared in texts, and use the results to reproduce conven-

tional arguments. This research, on the other hand, does not use quantitative data to replicate deductive, preexisting arguments, but tried to come up with an inductive, alternative argument by employing the linguistic method of co-occurrence relations analysis. By doing so, we had more detailed empirical evidence with which to make a list of concepts closely related to the conceptual development of *gaein*. We were also able to numerically measure how influential each related concept was, so the relation among concepts was assessed much more clearly than in any other study. Additionally, we were able to prove that each concept did not develop separately but collectively. The rise and fall of a certain concept, such as the state or the nation, indicates the shift from one period to another, as whole groups of words changed.

Studies on conceptual history greatly improved during the last decade, and collective efforts by scholars and students in this area have been of value in explaining Korea's modernity. Approaches to explaining the development of modern concepts can employ perspectives of history, culture, politics, or law, but from start to finish, they mostly focus on linguistic expressions. However, conceptual history initially did not receive much attention from linguists; this was our first motivation for performing this research. In this article, we have tried to find out what linguistics can contribute to this growing field. This case study was done with two corpora, AJC and GBC, but the range of data in terms of genre and period can be much more diversified in future research. This article is the first attempt to build up various corpora that consist of essential texts for the study of conceptual history in Korea. As recent trends in Korean conceptual history show, there has been a transition from individual research to collective projects, and this study is only the beginning. In the future, we expect to see more versatile machine-readable data for sharing, and more mixed methods research.

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