

MINJU KIM

850 Columbia Ave
Claremont McKenna College
Claremont Colleges Consortium
Claremont, CA 91711
(909) 607-2503
mkim@cmc.edu

Professor of Korean
Department of Modern Languages and Literatures
Claremont McKenna College, The Claremont Colleges

2020 - present

PREVIOUS APPOINTMENTS

Associate Professor of Korean
Assistant Professor of Korean
Department of Modern Languages and Literatures
Claremont McKenna College

2010 - 2020

2003 - 2010

Visiting Professor (Remote Instruction)
Department of Korean Language and Literature
Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea

March - June, 2022

Research Professor (on-site, for sabbatical)
Department of Korean Language and Literature
Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea

January-June, 2025

PROFESSIONAL AND EDITORIAL POSITIONS

President (25th)
International Circle of Korean Linguistics

2024 - 2026

Editor-in-Chief

The Korean Language in America

2023 – present

Journal of the American Association of Teachers of Korean (AATK), published by Penn State University Press

Editorial Board Member

Korean Linguistics, Journal of the International Circle of Korean Linguistics, published by John Benjamins Publishing Company.

2024-present

Discourse and Cognition (담화와 인지), Journal of the Discourse and Cognitive Linguistics Society of Korea (담화 인지 언어학회)

2022-present

Studies in Linguistics (언어학 연구), Journal of the Joongwon Linguistic Society of Korea (한국 중원 언어학회) 2022-present

EDUCATION

University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)
Ph.D. in Korean Linguistics, Asian Languages and Cultures 2003
Dissertation: Discourse, Frequency, and the Emergence of Grammar: A Corpus-based Study of Grammaticalization in Korean.

Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea
M.A. in Korean Studies, Graduate School of International Studies 1995

Indiana University, Bloomington
M.A. course studies, East Asian Languages and Cultures 1994

Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea
B.A. in German Language and Literature 1993

FIELDS OF SPECIALIZATION

Grammaticalization, Pragmatics, Discourse-Functional Linguistics, Language Education, Language and Gender

PUBLICATIONS

BOOK

Kim, M. (2011). Grammaticalization in Korean: the Evolution of the Existential Verb, Saffron Korean Linguistics Series 5, Saffron Books: London. ISBN: 1872843921

JOURNAL ARTICLES & BOOK CHAPTERS

Kim, M. (Accept with minor revisions). "A Corpus-based Study on the Development of the Stance-Marking Functions of Korean Question Words," Linguistics.

Kim, M. & Lee, Y. (forthcoming). "Why Three 'Or's?': A Corpus-Based Analysis of KFL Learners' Errors in Korean Disjunctives," The Korean Language in America.

Kim, M. (forthcoming). "Functional Affinity between Conjunction and Disjunction: Historical Crossover from 'and' to 'or' in Korean," Journal of Historical Pragmatics, 27(2).

Kim, M. (forthcoming). "Two Opposite Implicatures of a Focus Particle: Korean Stance Markers with Focus *ya*," Studies in Language DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.24043.kim>

- Kim, M. (2026). "From Demonstrative to Conjunct: Grammaticalization of the Korean Conjunct *ku-kes-to* 'on top of that'," Journal of Pragmatics 261, 197-211.
- Kim, M. (2025). "Secondary Grammaticalization and Subjectification: A Case Study of Korean Conditional, Concessive, and Deontic Modal *eya*," Journal of Pragmatics 238, 86-100.
- Kim, M. & Nam, Y. (2024). "A Study of English-Speaking Korean Learners' Acquisition of the Postposition *to* 'also'," The Korean Language in America 27(1):30-66.
- Kim, M. (2024). "Development of the Korean Proximal Demonstrative into an Affective Stance Marker," Journal of Pragmatics 224, 1-19. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2023). "Between Honorifics and Non-Honorifics: A Study of the Korean Semi-honorific Style and a Comparison with Japanese," Discourse Studies 25(5), 664-691. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2022). "Performing Gender in Korean: Language, Gender, and Social Change," In S. Cho and J. Whitman (eds.), The Cambridge Handbook of Korean Linguistics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 24, 689-716.
- Kim, M. (2022). "Intersubjectivity, Stance, and Korean General Extenders," Journal of Pragmatics 193, 253-268. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2021). "The Story of Two Connectives: Korean *tunci* 'or' and *kena* 'or'", Discourse Studies 23:4, 497-518. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2021). "Development of the Korean Connective *ultheyntey* into a Final Particle of Wishing and Worrying," Journal of Pragmatics, 173, 51-65. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2020). "From Connective Construction to Final Particle: The Emergence of the Korean Disapproval Marker *hakonun*," Linguistics, 58:6, 1581-1607. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2020). "Korean General Extenders *tunci ha* and *kena ha* 'or something': Approximation, Hedging, and Pejorative Stance in Cross-linguistic Comparison," Pragmatics (Journal of the International Pragmatics Association), 30:4, 560-588. [link](#)
- Kim, M. & Strauss, S. (2018). "Emergent Multiplicities of Self- and Other-Construction in Korean Workplace-Based Television Dramas" co-authored with Susan Strauss, Journal of Pragmatics, 137, 19-36. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2018). "From Connective to Final Particle: Korean *tunci* 'or' and Cross-Linguistic Comparisons," Journal of Pragmatics, 135, 24-38. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2018). "When topic meets 'And': Development of conditional and prohibitive constructions in Korean," Discourse and Cognition (Journal of the Discourse and Cognitive Linguistic

- Society of Korea), 25:1, 1-30.
- Kim, M. (2015). "Women's Talk, Mothers' Work: Korean Mothers' Address Terms, Solidarity, and Power," Discourse Studies, 17:5, 551-582. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2015). "From Choice to Counter-Expectation: Semantic-Pragmatic Connections of the Korean Disjunctive, Concessive, and Scalar Focus Particle *-na*," Journal of Pragmatics, 80, 1-21. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2011). "The Historical Development of the Korean Suffix *-key*," In H. Sohn, H. Cook, W. O'Grady, L. Serafim, and S. Cheon (eds.), Japanese Korean Linguistics, 19, 435-448, Center for the Study of Language and Information/ Stanford University. ISBN (Paperback): 9781575866185/ ISBN(Cloth):9781575866192 / ISBN (Electronic): 9781575866482
- Kim, M. (2010). "The Historical Development of Korean *siph-* "To Think" into Markers of Desire, Inference, and Similarity," Journal of Pragmatics, 42:4, 1000-1016. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2010). "한국어 시상 구문의 문법화 [The Grammaticalization of Korean Tense-aspect Markers]," In S. Chung and C. Lee (eds.), 한국어 연구의 새 지평 [New Horizon of Korean Linguistics], Seoul: Taehaksa, 151-184.
- Kim, M. (2010). "On the Two Korean Sequential Connectives *-kose* and *-konase*," In R. Fouser (ed.), Contemporary Korean Linguistics: International Perspectives, Seoul: Taehaksa, 149-170.
- Kim, M. (2009). "The Intersection of the Perfective and Imperfective Domains: A Corpus-Based Study of the Grammaticalization of Korean Aspectual Markers," Studies in Language, 33:1, 175-214. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2008). "On the Semantic Derogation of Terms for Women in Korean, with Parallel Developments in Chinese and Japanese," Korean Studies, University of Hawaii Press, 32, 148-176. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2008). "A Corpus-based Study of the Grammaticalization of 'Take' in Korean: Focusing on the Developmental Paths into Instrumental, Sequential, and Causal Functions," Korean Journal of Linguistics, 33:3, 387-420. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2008). "The Emergence of the Korean Modal *-keyss-*: From Causative to Epistemic and Volitive Modal," Discourse and Cognition (Journal of the Discourse and Cognitive Linguistic Society of Korea), 15:2, 1-27. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (2008). "The Diachronic Development of the Korean Existential Verb *iss-*," Korean Linguistics, 14, 91-111. [link](#)

- Kim, M. (2008). "A Corpus-based Study of the Grammaticalization of the Korean Connectives *mye* and *myense*: From Simultaneous to Quotative to Hearsay Evidential," In M. Hudson, P. Sells, and S. Jun (eds.), Japanese Korean Linguistics, 13, 335-345, Center for the Study of Language and Information/ Stanford University. ISBN (Paperback): 1575865173 (9781575865188)
- Kim, M. (2002). "On the Emergence of Korean Concessive *myense*: Focusing on the Grammaticalization of *se*," In N. Akatsuka and S. Strauss (eds.), Japanese Korean Linguistics, 10, 265-278, Center for the Study of Language and Information/Stanford University. ISBN(Paperback): 1575863421 (9781575863429)
- Kim, M. (2000). "What You Did Not Learn in the Classroom but What You Will Hear Frequently in Real Conversations," In S. Sohn (ed.), The Korean Language in America, (Journal of the American Association of Teachers of Korean), 5, 317-329,. [link](#)
- Kim, M. (1999). "Cross-Adaptation of Language between Different Genders: The Case of Korean Kinship Terms *Hyeng* and *Enni*," In S. Wertheim, A. Bailey, and M. Corston-Oliver (eds.), Engendering Communication: Proceedings of the Fifth Berkeley Women and Language Conference, 271-283, Berkeley Women and Language Group/ University of California, Berkeley.

BOOK REVIEW

- M. Kim. (2000). Institute of Language Education of Ewha Women's University, Pathfinder in Korean in Korean Studies 24, 206-207. [link](#)

PRESENTATIONS

INVITED LECTURES

- 2026 "Functional Affinity between Conjunction and Disjunction: Historical Crossover in Korean," Keynote speaker at the thirty third Japanese Korean Linguistics Conference, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
- 2025 "Grammaticalization in Korean," at the eleventh BrainKorea21 (BK21) Distinguished Global Scholar Invited Lecture, Dept of Korean Language Education, Seoul National University, S. Korea
- 2025 "Focus Particle *ya* and Grammaticalization," at the Institute of Language and Information Studies, Yonsei University, S. Korea
- 2025 "Korean Studies in the U.S." at the Global Leaders College, Yonsei University, S. Korea

- 2025 “Effective Korean Grammar Instruction for U.S. College Students,” at the forty second Conference of the Korean Grammar Education Circle, Yonsei University, S. Korea.
- 2025 “How to Publish: Navigating Submission Procedures and Heeding Codes of Ethics in Journal Publications and Conference Presentations,” at the thirtieth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean, University of Hawaii at Manoa
- 2024 Panel Participant “Korean Pedagogical Grammar,” at Rutgers KFL Pedagogical Grammar Workshop, Rutgers University, New Jersey.
- 2024 “Special Professional Workshop for Young Professionals/Graduate Students: How to Write Abstracts and Articles for Academic Journals,” at the twenty ninth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean, Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2024 “Claiming Common Ground: The Function of the Scalar Focus *Ya* in Negotiation,” UCLA-CMC Joint Conference, New Perspectives on Korean Language and Linguistics, UCLA
- 2023 “Combining Usage-Based Analysis and Grammaticalization in the Study of Two Korean Disjunctive Connectives,” Asian Perspectives on Functional Linguistics, Dept of Asian Languages and Cultures, UCLA
- 2022 “Korean Language and Gender,” Korean Studies Research Hub, Monash University, Australia
- 2021 “The Story of Two Connectives: Korean *tunci* ‘or’ and *kena* ‘or,’” Korean Linguistics Workshop, State University of New York at Buffalo
- 2021 “Korean Language and Gender” East Asian Linguistics Project, Monash University, Australia
- 2018 Alumni Panel, at the seventieth anniversary of the Asian Languages and Cultures Department, University of California, Los Angeles
- 2015 “AATK College Curriculum Development Project: From blueprint to construction,” (panel chair), At the twentieth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean Annual Conference, Monterey
- 2010 “On the Historical Development of Korean *-(i)na*,” At the Workshop on Korean Historical Linguistics, with a Special Focus on *Kugyel* Materials,” University of British Columbia, Canada
- 2008 “On Competing Approaches to the Study of Language and Gender,” Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu
- 2008 “Women’s Talk and Mothers’ Work,” Center for Korean Studies, University of California, Los Angeles

- 2006 “Grammaticalization in Korean,” At the pre-conference meeting of the sixteenth Japanese Korean Linguistics Conference, Kyoto University, Japan

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- 2026 “Why Three ‘Or’s?: A Corpus-Based Analysis of KFL Learners’ Errors in Korean Disjunctives,” with Younghyun Lee, at the thirty first Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean, Ohio State University, Columbus.
- 2025 “Reassessing Subjectification and Intersubjectification,” at the nineteenth International Pragmatics Conference, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia. (panel organizer)
- 2025 “A Corpus-Based Study of the Korean Scalar Additive Conjunct *ku-kes-to*,” at the thirtieth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean, University of Hawaii at Manoa
- 2024 “Grammaticalization of Two Opposite Discourse Functions of *ki-ya* and *ki-nun*,” at the thirty first Japanese Korean Linguistics Conference, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia
- 2024 “Discourse Functions of the Korean Focus Particle *ya*,” at the twenty ninth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean, Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2024 “On the Stance-Marking Functions of the Korean Proximal Demonstrative,” at the tenth International Conference on Intercultural Pragmatics and Communication (INPRA), University of Pisa, Pisa, Italy.
- 2023 “Indexing Modest Respect in Korean,” At the fourteenth Symposium on Politeness, Universidade da Madeira, Madeira, Portugal
- 2023 “Development of the Korean Proximal Demonstrative into a Focus Marker,” with Tae Yeon Kim at the twenty third Conference of International Circle of Korean Linguistics, Palacký University Olomouc, Olomouc, Czech Republic
- 2023 “A Hybridized Hearer-Honorific Style in Korean,” at the twenty eighth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean, University of Pennsylvania
- 2023 “English-Speaking Korean Learners’ Acquisition of the Postposition *to* ‘also’,” with Yong-Hyun Nam, at the twenty eighth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean, University of Pennsylvania
- 2022 “A Corpus-Based Study of Korean General Extenders,” At the fourth International Conference for World Korean Linguistics, Korea University, Seoul, S. Korea
- 2022 “Intersubjectivity and Korean general extender *-ko kulay* ‘and stuff,’” At the twenty fifth

International Symposium on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, Greece

- 2022 “Discourse-Pragmatic Functions of the Korean General Extender ‘and stuff,’” At the ninth International Conference on Intercultural Pragmatics and Communication, The University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia
- 2021 “Usage-based Analysis of Korean *Tunci* ‘or’ and *Kena* ‘or,’” At the twenty second International Conference of Korean Linguistics, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan
- 2021 “Connectives and Interactional Functions: A Cross-linguistic Analysis,” At the seventeenth International Pragmatics Conference, Zürich University of Applied Sciences, Winterthur, Switzerland, (panel organizer)
- 2021 “From Connective to Final Particle: On the development of Korean *ultheyntey* into a marker of wish and worry,” At the seventeenth International Pragmatics Conference, Zürich University of Applied Sciences, Winterthur, Switzerland
- 2021 “Korean General Extenders ‘and stuff’ and ‘or something,’” at the thirteenth meeting of the International Conference on Im/Politeness, University of Basel, Switzerland
- 2018 “From Connective Construction to Final Particle: The Emergence of the Korean Disapproval Marker *hakonun*,” At the twenty-sixth Japanese Korean Linguistics Conference, University of California, Los Angeles
- 2018 “Korean Disjunctive Generalizers or Something: From Polite Hedging to Negative Stance Marking with Cross-linguistic Comparisons,” At the eleventh International Conference on Im/Politeness, University of Valencia, Spain
- 2017 “Korean *tunci* and English “or” at the Turn-Final Position,” At the twentieth International Conference of Korean Linguistics, University of Helsinki, Finland
- 2016 “Honorifics and Linguistic Indexicality at Korean Workplaces,” At the third International Conference of the American Pragmatics Association, Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2016 “Discourse Functions of English *or*: Beyond Choices,” At the fifteenth International Conference on Language and Social Psychology, University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand
- 2015 “Linguistic Indexicality at Korean Workplaces,” with Susan Strauss, At the twentieth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean Annual Conference, Monterey
- 2015 “First and Second Order Indexicality: Honorifics, Deference, and (Im)politeness in Five Languages,” with Susan Strauss, Parastou Feiz, and Maliheh Eshghavy, At the fourteenth

International Pragmatics Conference, University of Antwerp, Belgium

- 2014 “AATK (American Association of Teachers of Korean) College Curriculum Development,” (panel presentation), At the nineteenth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean Conference, Boston University
- 2012 “Incorporating Korean Wave into the Learning of Korean History and Culture: How to Teach Korean Cinema and Culture Courses,” At the seventeenth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean Conference, Stanford University
- 2011 “Semantic Affinities among Topic, Contrast, and Disapproval: The Case of the Korean Marker *-nun*,” At the International Conference on Cognition, Conduct, and Communication, University of Lodz, Poland
- 2009 “The Historical Development of the Korean Suffix *-key*,” At the nineteenth Japanese Korean Linguistics Conference, University of Hawaii at Manoa
- 2008 “Grammaticalization, Analogy, and Analogically-oriented Grammaticalization: A Corpus-based Study of the Development of the Korean Existential Verb Construction *isi-e*,” At the fourth New Reflections on Grammaticalization Conference, University of Leuven, Belgium
- 2007 “The Historical Development of the Korean Modal Suffix *-keyss*,” At the seventeenth Japanese Korean Linguistics Conference, University of California, Los Angeles
- 2007 “On the Selection of *is-* over *isi-* in the Diachronic Development of the Korean Existential Verb *iss-*,” At the International Conference on Korean Language, Culture, and Society, City University of Hong Kong, China
- 2007 “New Use of Second-Person Pronoun *caki* among Female Speakers,” At the twelfth Annual Conference of the American Association of the Teachers of Korean Conference, University of Chicago
- 2006 “A Corpus-based Study of the Two Grammaticalizational Chains of Korean *siph-ta*,” At the sixteenth Japanese Korean Linguistics Conference, Kyoto University, Japan
- 2003 “A Corpus-based Study of the Grammaticalization of the Korean Connectives *mye* and *myense*: From Simultaneous to Quotative to Hearsay Evidential,” At the thirteenth Japanese Korean Linguistics Conference, Michigan State University, Ann Arbor
- 2000 “On the Emergence of Korean Concessive *myense*: Focusing on the Grammaticalization of *se*,” At the tenth Japanese Korean Linguistics Conference, University of California, Los Angeles
- 2000 “What You Did Not Learn in the Classroom but What You Will Hear Frequently in Real

Conversations,” At the fifth Annual Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Korean Conference, University of California, Los Angeles

1999 “Space, Text, and Discourse: Grammaticalization of Korean and Japanese Demonstratives,” At the second New Reflections on Grammaticalization Conference, Potsdam University, Germany

1998 “Cross-Adaptation of Language between Different Genders: The Case of Korean Kinship Terms *hyeng* and *enni*,” At the fifth Berkeley Women and Language Conference, University of California, Berkeley

RESEARCH FUNDING AND GRANTS

• Korea Foundation Field Research Grant	2025
• CMC Faculty Research Grant	2004, 2015-25
• CMC Gould Center Research Grant	2011, 2021-25
• CMC Berger Institute Funds for Research Assistant	2015
• CMC Keck Center Research Grant	2003-2009

AWARDS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

• UCLA Center for Korean Studies Fellowship	2000-2001
• UCLA Graduate Division Research Mentor Fellowship	1999-2000
• UCLA Graduate Division Summer Research Mentor Fellowship	Summer, 1999
• UCLA Department of Asian Languages and Cultures Fellowship	1996-1999
• Yonsei Graduate School of International Studies Fellowship	1993, 1995
• Yonsei University Merit Fellowship	1990-1992

REFeree AND REVIEW WORK

Conference Abstract Referee

- Japanese Korean Linguistics, 2017 - present
- International Circle of Korean Linguistics, 2015 - present
- American Association of Teachers of Korean, 2013 – present

Book Manuscript, Book Proposal, and Book Chapter Review

- Cambridge University Press, John Benjamins, University of Hawaii Press, Brill, Saffron Korean Linguistics Series, Taehaksa, and more.

Journal Manuscript Review

- *Discourse and Cognition* (담화와 인지)
- *Discourse and Communication* (Sage)

- *Discourse Studies* (Sage)
- *Journal of Pragmatics* (Elsevier)
- *Journal of Politeness Research* (De Gruyter)
- *Korean Linguistics* (John Benjamins)
- *Language Sciences* (Elsevier)
- *Lingua* (Elsevier)
- *Linguistics* (De Gruyter)
- *Pragmatics* (John Benjamins)
- *Text & Talk* (De Gruyter)
- *The Korean Language in America* (Penn State University Press)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Co-Chair of Conference Organization Committee, 2024

- UCLA-Claremont McKenna College Joint Conference, “New Perspectives on Korean Language and Linguistics,” May 2024, UCLA

International Circle of Korean Linguistics, 2021-2023

- Executive Board Member

American Association of Teachers of Korean, 2013 – 2016

- Executive Board Member

Fulbright National Screening Committee, 2008, 2010, 2011

- Invited to serve on the national selection committee for Fulbright English Language Teaching Assistantships in Korea; Denver, Colorado, 2008, 2010, 2011

Standards for Korean Language Learning, 2010

- Served on the Board of Reviewers for the project of establishing the National Standards for Korean Language Learning, sponsored by ACTFL and the American Association of Teachers of Korean (AATK).

Critical Language Scholarship Program National Screening Committee, 2009, 2015

- Invited to serve on the selection committee for the Critical Language Scholarship Program at the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC) sponsored by the Department of State, Washington D.C.

Co-researcher on “Covid-19 Conversation Data” project, 2023-present

Conduct the Korean section of a data project comparing Covid-19 conversations spoken in six languages, directed by Prof. Iwasaki at UCLA

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Claremont McKenna College

Assistant, Associate, and Full Professor

Modern Languages and Literatures	2003-Present
Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea Korean Language and Literature	Visiting Professor March-June, 2022
University of California, Los Angeles Asian Languages and Cultures	Teaching Fellow 1996-1999, 2002
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN Intensive Summer Language Institute	Teaching Fellow Summer, 1997

COLLEGE SERVICE

Chair, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures	2015-2016
Program Coordinator of Asian Studies	2018-present
Advisor for 5-C Korean Students Association	2003-present
Admission and Financial Aid Committee	2016-present
National Awards Committee	2019-20
Appointment, Promotion, and Tenure Committee	2013-15, 2021-24
Field Investigation Subcommittee	2012, 2014, 2019
Teaching Resources Committee	2012-13
Off-Campus Study Committee	2004-5, 2007-9
Environmental Concerns Committee	2004-5, 2009-11
Athenaeum Advisory Committee	2005-6

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Association of Teachers of Korean
 International Circle of Korean Linguistics
 International Pragmatics Association
 The Discourse and Cognitive Linguistics Society of Korea
 The Joongwon Linguistic Society of Korea
 Academic Society of Kwukyel (Kwukyel Hakhoy/ Pre-alphabet Korean)
 Academic Society of Wooden Tablets (Mokkan Hakhoy/ Korean written on wooden tablets)

LANGUAGES

Spoken & written: Korean (native), English
 Written: Japanese, Classical Korean