

Throughout both segments of the Knox tradition, Knox emerges as a man to be feared and avoided. It was said that Knox always slept alone in the lumber camps, although the general space- and money-saving practice was to have two to a bunk. The reason given was simple: No one wanted to sleep in the same bed with a man of Knox's evil reputation.

The localization of the Knox traditions and their present-day vitality appear related to two circumstances: first, that this region is a stable, long-settled rural area with no in-migration; and second, the great majority of the population belongs to conservative Protestant religions in which the devil has not as yet become an abstraction.

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Köngäs-Maranda, Elli (1932–1982)

Folklorist, anthropologist, and poet. Born and raised in a small village in northern Finland, Köngäs-Maranda earned a Ph.D. in folklore at Indiana University in 1963; her dissertation concerned Finnish American verbal traditions. From 1970 until her death, she taught in Canada, first at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, and thereafter at Laval University in Quebec. She also spent long periods conducting fieldwork among the Lau of Malaita in the Solomon Islands and as a guest lecturer at European universities. In 1978 she was elected a Fellow of the American Folklore Society, one of many honors that she received.

A recurrent theme in Köngäs-Maranda's work is folklore in the contexts of migration and exile. Another is women—as folklore carriers or as scholars. A third is structural analysis; throughout her career, Köngäs-Maranda attempted to locate constant structures among diverse folkloric expressions. While often rigorously formalized, her structural analyses also have poetic force. Several of them are devoted to riddles communicated among Lau women or among Finns in North America. Köngäs-Maranda believed that structural analysis was worth little if the materials were not situated in people's lives.

On many issues, Köngäs-Maranda was a pioneer, and folklorists have not always known how to evaluate her contributions. Yet, her theoretical insights and unusual career continue to capture imaginations, not least among women. The Women's Section of the American Folklore Society annually awards the Elli Köngäs-Maranda Prize for Contributions to the Study of Women and Folklore.

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Korean Americans

Immigrants from Korea and their descendants living in the United States. The first Korean immigrants arrived in Hawaii in 1903 to work on plantations. Because of immigration laws, few Koreans immigrated to the United States until 1965. After 1965 and the easing of immigration restrictions, a wave of Korean immigration began, and by 1977 more than 30,000 Koreans per year were immigrating to the United States. In the 1990s, Hawaii and California continue to have the largest concentration of Korean Americans, and Los Angeles and New York City are the urban centers that have the highest numbers of Korean American households. Among Korean Americans, immigrants who come to the United States as adults are referred to as "first generation," those who come during childhood as "one-point-five" generation, and those who were born in the United States as "second generation." Large numbers of second-generation Korean Americans are having children, and a significant "third generation" is quickly emerging.

In Los Angeles, the Korean American community is centered around Koreatown. While Korean Americans are not the main residents of this area, this section of the city has a remarkable concentration of Korean American-owned businesses that cater to a mainly Korean American clientele. The signage is written in the Korean alphabet (*hangul*), and the use of space is reminiscent of shopping areas in South Korea. The development of the "swap meet," an amalgamation of privately owned vending booths under one roof is remarkably similar to the Korean markets, the best known of which are *Namdaemun shijang* and *Tongdaemun shijang*, both in Seoul. Koreatown represents a reinterpretation of the traditional Korean business space into the American urban environment. The political associations, parties, and alliances of Koreatown are also reminiscent of neighborhood politics in the large Korean cities, suggesting that political culture among first- and one-point-five-generation Korean Americans is closely linked to that of South Korea.

Korean-language print and broadcast media help Korean Americans maintain a sense of common ethnic heritage and reinforce the use of the Korean language. Many second-generation Korean Americans have learned the Korean language since childhood. In Korean American households, one often hears first-generation parents speaking Korean to their second-generation children, who reply to their parents in English. Many Korean American children attend supplementary language classes on weekends to bolster their language skills. At the university level, there has been a significant increase in the



Transmitting a Korean tradition, Myung Chul Choi teaches a martial-arts class. Silver Spring, Maryland, 1982. Photo Lucy Long. American Folklife Center.

numbers of Korean American students in Korean language, literature, and culture courses.

Churches and other religiously affiliated organizations play a major role in the Korean American community. Many Korean Americans are members of various denominations of the Protestant Church; as in Korea, the church and church organizations are a main focus of social activity. The churches often provide support services for recent immigrants, offer both English- and Korean-language classes, and have various social groups, such as teen groups, senior citizens' groups, and study groups. These groups bolster the development of a church-centered Korean American identity.

Shamanism, one of the best-known elements of Korean religious expression, can also be found in the Korean American communities. Primarily women, shamans often hold rituals to ensure good luck, to help ease the way for a departed spirit, and to discover the cause of chronic illnesses. Elements of shamanism have also carried over into some evangelical Protestant churches with the emergence of the "deaconess," who holds prayer sessions in individual households. Household rituals, designed to placate various spirits and directly linked to Korean shamanism, are practiced by some first-generation Korean Americans. Fortune-telling, geomancy, and matchmaking are also actively practiced by some members of the Korean American communities.

Life-cycle rituals based on Korean traditions are commonly practiced by Korean Americans. Perhaps the most frequently performed of these rituals are the *baekil* ceremony 100

days after a child's birth and the *hwangap* (a celebration held on a person's sixtieth birthday, marking the completion of one full life cycle). Weddings in the Korean American community frequently combine elements from the "traditional" Korean wedding festival, such as dress, and the "Western" wedding ceremony. At times, two ceremonies are held, one Korean and one Western. Among calendrical festivals, Korean Americans are most likely to celebrate *Ch'useok* (the Harvest Moon festival), which is a chance for the extended family to gather. While in Korea, families travel to their *kohyang* (ancestral village) at *Ch'useok*, this is not possible for most Korean Americans. *Chesa* (ancestor-worship rituals) are usually performed during the celebration of *Ch'useok*. The celebration of *chesa* throughout the year is common among first-generation Korean Americans, but less so among the second generation.

Foodways are perhaps the most evident of the Korean American cultural expressions to non-Korean-Americans. One can find Korean restaurants in many American cities serving Korean barbecue (*bulgoki* or *kalbi*). *Kimchi* (pickled cabbage) is also available in most urban grocery stores, as are ramen noodles. In many urban areas, one finds Korean-cooking classes, often taught at community centers and often attended by one-point-five- and second-generation Korean Americans eager to learn how to prepare Korean foods. Foods used in ancestor-worship rituals, such as *tt'ok* (rice cake), are readily available in areas such as Koreatown.

Revolving credit associations, known as *kye*, are common in areas where the Korean American population is large. Mostly

popular among first-generation Korean Americans, these associations offer the members an opportunity to borrow money interest free from the other association members. Each member pays a certain amount into a general pot every month. Members then take turns borrowing the pooled financial resources of the group. In this manner, many recent Korean American immigrants are able to acquire the capital necessary to establish small businesses. Misunderstandings over the source of this capital have led to tensions in some urban areas between Korean Americans and other groups unaware of the *kye*.

In the late 20th century, as a significant population of second-generation Korean Americans reach adulthood, a burgeoning interest in both Korean culture and the expression of an independent Korean American culture has become evident. At universities, Korean American student associations are common. Besides Korean and Korean American history, these groups often study Korean culture, including expressions such as drumming (*pungmul*) and mask dance drama (*talch'um*). The riots in Los Angeles in 1992 resulted in massive losses among Korean American merchants. Many second-generation Korean Americans saw the riots as an attack on their community, with a resultant flowering of interest among Korean Americans on Korean and Korean American culture and identity.

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See also Korean War

Korean War

America's first military loss, often dubbed "the Forgotten War" by its veterans and historians. The Korean War barely influenced cultural traditions; thus, folklore of the war is minimal. Rather than preserve the war's heritage, most Americans preferred to cling to traditions from more glorious military precedents such as the World Wars. Military cadence chants, which refer to previous wars, often omit the Korean War, skipping from World War II to Vietnam.

The major popular-culture monument to the Korean War, the movie and television series entitled *M*A*S*H**, portrays many of the basic folklore themes and situations of the Korean War, such as Rosie's Bar and the interaction of Korean civilians and merchants with soldiers.

Not even officially a war—termed a police action by politicians—the Korean conflict was the first test in the chilling Cold War. Common soldiers suffered anger, frustration, and despair at the stalemate resulting from the containment tactics and no-win policy as political and military leadership disagreed about how to conduct the conflict. Feeling betrayed by their leaders and abandoned by Americans, soldiers in Korea established their own culture to cope with their situation.

In July 1950, novice American troops naively believed that the enemy would immediately retreat when it heard the United States was fighting. Instead, North Korean troops advanced, shocking soldiers who were not physically or emotionally prepared for combat. The Korean hills and the monsoon heat and humidity overwhelmed soldiers.

Soldiers in Korea sang lyrics describing their feelings about the military, the enemy, and service in Korea. One machine gunner's ditty revealed the gloom Korean soldiers felt: "The last time I saw Taejon it was not bright and gay. / Today I'm going to Taejon and blow the place away." Other songs eulogized comrades ("There Are No Fighter Pilots Down in Hell") and expressed frustration with commanders ("Give Me Operations"). The popular Korean War song "Itazuke Tower" resurfaced in the Vietnam War as "Phan Rang Tower."

Parodies of songs, such as the British Indian Army's "Bless 'Em All," revealed the comradeship of soldiers stuck in the cold and terror of Chosin Reservoir:

Bless 'em all, bless 'em all.
The Commies, the U.S. and all:
Those slant-eyed Chink soldiers
Struck Hagaru-ru
And now know the meaning of U.S.M.C.
But we're saying goodbye to them all.
We're Harry's police force on call.

Along the main line of resistance, rumors spread about the potential dangers of guerilla attacks, suicidal ambushes, fake surrenders, and enemy soldiers hiding in refugee columns. Soldiers repeated stories of "human wave" attacks by Chinese fanatics and of collaboration by American prisoners of war. Other rumors described the Communists' treatment of prisoners, whom gossip accurately portrayed as suffering cruel torture, interrogation, and brainwashing. United Nations soldiers also worried about Communist agents being purposefully captured as prisoners to spark prison riots. Other rumors concerned Communists taking over the U.S. government. Germ warfare, which the Communists claimed the allies were waging, joined the folk culture of the war through tall tales, cartoons of mutant insects, and displays, including a mouse rigged with a parachute by American prisoners. Rumors about impending peace were always rampant.

Korean soldiers created terminology to cope with their often miserable conditions. During the severe winters of sub-zero temperatures in the Korean hills, they joked about living in the "Ice Bowl." Faced by overwhelming forces, many troops fled under fire. The term "bugout" designated units who