

Music in *Kyoul yonga*: the piano and borderless musical modernity

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Introduction

The 15th Chopin International Piano Competition in October 2005 saw again the dominance of young Asian pianists: four Japanese, three South Koreans and a Hong Kong Chinese were among the twelve finalists. This reflects the prominence of piano in contemporary Korean culture, and the sense of striving for international recognition in piano performance.

The 1870s to the 1920s were the heyday of the piano in Western musical culture, and the Western powers took pianos with them wherever they set up colonial outposts (Parakilas 1999: 283–4). The piano was first taken to Japan in the 1820s in the first wave of ‘piano imperialism’ (Parakilas 1999: 304). From the 1870s, the importance of the piano in Western culture started to become apparent to the Japanese, and was soon *de rigueur* in the education system, but not till the 1890s did it become an important part of public life.

Max Weber wrote that it ‘is the peculiar nature of the piano to be a middle-class instrument’ (quoted and discussed in Kraus 1989, 9 ff.). The piano was developed in Europe as a domestic machine (even as a middle-class piece of furniture) and was a product of the industrial age. If for European society the consumption of both elite and popular music by possessing a piano for domestic use became a status symbol (similar to the automobile in later decades), for non-Western countries that underwent (or were threatened with) domination by European powers, the piano also functioned as a symbol of international modernity, which gave access to a world where (Western) cultural knowledge and expertise was highly valued. The rise of the piano as a middle-class European cultural form has functioned as a bridge to international cultural acceptance and membership in a borderless musical modernity.

Parakilas and Atsuko Hirai outline the acceptance of Western music, in particular the piano, in late 19th-century Japan, arguing that the piano has been a symbol of modernity, for the individual and for the nation (Parakilas 1999: 303–316). The piano is ‘the Western instrument par excellence’: it is industrial and mechanical; capable of harmony so that it functions like an orchestra in itself; it can accompany song; its tonal intervals

are fixed at the Western 12-note chromatic scale; and it can produce gradations in sound level, and expressive variety through both touch and pedals.

Western music entered Korea in the 1880s with missionary activity, and the impact was strengthened by Japanese influence, especially through the education system in the colonial period. Whether imposed or willingly embraced, many Koreans studied music in Japan, and continued to pursue excellence in Western music after liberation in 1945, in the process contributing to the marginalisation and devaluing of indigenous music.

Efficient new methodologies for teaching piano and violin were developed in Japan to satisfy the demand for Western music by the new middle classes. Suzuki Shin'ichi's violin method (which was applied to other instruments, such as piano) was followed by the Yamaha group method of teaching piano and keyboard as a way of increasing sales for the Yamaha Piano and Organ Company (founded 1897). Conservatoriums and music colleges were set up, and in the post-war period the proliferation of universities for training teachers catered for the demand of Western music education.

What is striking about music in East Asia today is how Korea, China and other countries have followed the lead taken by Japan. Western classical music is privileged above all other high cultural forms and, like sport, provides an arena for international competition and display of national pride. It is not entirely clear why Western music has become such an important part of contemporary culture in these countries. However, the television drama series *Winter sonata* provides a glimpse into this music culture in contemporary South Korea.

This paper argues that the narrative of the piano as a symbol of musical modernity is central to the Korean television drama series *Winter sonata* both as a plot device and as a pervasive element of the soundtrack. It also suggests the significance of the drama for Japan–Korea relations.

The Winter sonata phenomenon in Japan

Winter sonata was aired four times in 21 months (Hayashi 2005: 8–9). First broadcast in a dubbed Japanese version on NHK's BS2 in 2003, the screening on NHK's general channel from April to August 2004 started the phenomenon. It was re-broadcast by popular demand in intensive format at the end of 2004 with the uncut original Korean-language soundtrack. By May 2004, signs of a massive fad appeared. From this

point, *Winter sonata* (*Fuyu no sonata* or *Fuyusona*) was discussed in every media outlet and on every lip; blogs appeared; NHK's Korean-language course used snippets from the drama every week as teaching material and Korean-language courses in general experienced a large increase in students; tourism to Korea soared; and the sale of tie-in products took off (magazines, DVDs, polaris necklaces and so on). The phenomenon caused a flurry of attention in the academic world, too: it was addressed in a volume of scholarly essays published as early as November that year (Mouri 2004), in conference panels and journals around the world, and in an extensive analysis of the predominantly female audience (Hayashi 2005). This phenomenon was part of an Asia-wide Korean Wave (*hallyu*, or *hanryū*), referring to the popularity of Korean cinema, popular music and television dramas, but the Japanese response to *Winter sonata* stood out for its intensity and scale.

This drama of 20 episodes is a story of unrequited 'pure' love. It portrays the enduring power of the memory of first love. The overarching theme is memory: remembering and forgetting, regaining memories or knowledge (of first love, of the effaced past, of the father) and the deliberate erasure and recovery of memory.

A symbolic reading of the story is possible at the national level: modernity (especially in a country like South Korea whose modernisation was extremely rapid and recent) demands a break with the dark past. In the drama, this is represented through the theme of shadows: the unhappy and resentful main character lives in a 'shadow-land' but is given a new identity and a new memory, with no past to weigh him down. The shadow-land is replaced with a new bright present, represented through the power of snow, which creates a space where there are no shadows. Snow is a separate world of brightness: pure, cold, clean and cleansing. The snow scenes are the visual and emotional heart of the drama, achieving the effacement of landscape (and symbolically of memory, the past). As he gradually regains his memory, the shadowy boy loses his bright confidence and regains some of the insecurity of the old Junsang, but at the same time gains emotional depth and maturity. Part of the bodily memory is the memory of how to play the piano. The evocative power of music acts as a trigger for the recovery of memory.

He begins to seek to know who his father is, as Junsang had done. His mother, who has an international career as a concert pianist, has made every effort to leave the past behind as she performs on the international stage. However, the love triangle of the

parents' generation starts to emerge and cast a shadow on the love triangle of the present. The theme of seeking out the father can be interpreted at the national level as an effort to recover the past and face up to it. These powerful themes of facing the past have surely played a subliminal part in the drama's profound appeal to certain sectors of audiences in Japan, whose present problematic relation with Korea is haunted by the troubled past and Japan's unwillingness to fully face up to it.

The causes of *Winter sonata*'s popularity in Japan have been debated widely. Hayashi points out the appeal for middle-aged women of a pure love story and nostalgia for lost values, the particular masculinity of the lead male character, and the favourable modern image of Korea. Another appeal is its musical score (Hambleton 2005), which supports the thematic development of memory subtly and effectively. This television series is remarkable for the prominence of the piano—as a plot device (part of the narrative) and as music. That is, piano music features as part of the story and is also a salient element in the soundtrack.

Film music theory and television drama

As with most Korean and Japanese film music, this score consists of fully naturalised Western music, under the influence of the classical Hollywood film score style. Film music, while Western, is not experienced as 'other', but as local, yet modern, cultural expression.

The differences between film and a television series are many, so the theories of film music may have some limitations. The sheer length of playing time over 20 episodes gives scope for extensive use of music, while the episodic nature encourages thematic reinforcement and repetition by establishing familiarity and hence has greater affective impact. The theme songs are played at least once each episode. This falls in between the use of music in kabuki, whose store of melodies in the *geza* off-stage repertoire use repetition over a whole repertoire, not a single play (Tokita & Hughes 2006), and the use of music in the standard feature film of two hours or so. Whereas in kabuki the whole genre has a common repertoire of *geza* or off-stage music, television dramas have unique compositions that create the sonic world of the drama: theme songs and short instrumental pieces set the mood of key scenes. Such soundtracks also often call on songs and instrumental pieces from the shared consumer culture of popular music. With repeated exposure, the listener-viewer develops conditioned responses, predictable emotions, as familiarity with the musical themes grows. Even insipid or trite music

grows on the listener with repeated exposure: how much more so with emotionally powerful music such as much of the *Winter sonata* soundtrack?

Music operates as an integral part of a film text. In *Unheard melodies*, her seminal research about film music, Claudia Gorbman (1987) argues that film music is essentially 'inaudible'. This is most suggestive for the investigation of how music functions in this television series, which has a composite and complex score, using a combination of original music and pre-existing music.

The concept primarily informing this analysis of *Winter sonata* music is the distinction between diegetic and non-diegetic use of music. This concept, developed by Gorbman from narrative theory, is most helpful in understanding how music works in the narrative of film. For diegetic music, the 'source' of the music can be observed on screen, that is, a character listens to or plays music. By contrast, non-diegetic music is music that appears to come from outside the story world: it is often heard as background music and is usually added to the film post-production (Reay 2004: 12, 127).

Winter sonata makes extensive use of diegetic music; the characters hear it and the audience sees the source of the music on screen (or understands where it is coming from): these are piano scenes, radio broadcasts and background music in cafes, restaurants and bars.

There is also extensive use of non-diegetic music ('mood music'). The piano is conspicuously dominant in this background music and forms an important link between the diegetic and non-diegetic place given to piano music in the drama.

In the following analysis, research questions are posed: is the *Winter sonata* soundtrack 'inaudible'? Is music subordinate to narrative? How do the song lyrics add to or comment on the narrative, or do they just interrupt the narrative and defer action and dialogue? What is the affective role of music in this drama? How does the music indicate cultural modernity? How does it underline the themes of the drama? What extra textual meanings and intertextual meanings, or musical allusions, are to be found?

Piano as key plot device in Winter sonata

To begin, I will look at the piano as a key plot device: the narrative of the piano in this drama is interwoven with the narrative of modernity and of being integrated into a

global culture. Along with photographs and memorial rites, piano music is fully exploited to complement the narrative of the major theme of memory. This leads to many scenes of diegetic piano music.

[1] The first of these scenes is a high school music class (episode 1), which provides a snapshot of the East Asian music education system. All students have to learn and perform Schumann's *Träumerei*, practicing on a paper 'keyboard'. The humour of this serves as a foil for the delineation of the male lead, who appears quite inept but is hiding his ability.

[2] The scene of piano playing in the mellow sunlit auditorium is a key scene for the creation of the foundational love relationship, which could be said to have grown out of piano playing. The piano functions to bring the two lovers together. The new student turns out to be a brilliant pianist, as well as being brilliant at mathematics and sport. Not only does he play the set piece perfectly, he performs a new, unknown piece called *Choum (first time)*, a keyword in the drama. This non-classical piece subtly broadens the significance of piano music in the lives of young Koreans as a means of personal expression and freedom. The recurrence of this piece as a trigger for memory is a vital thread of continuity in the drama: it is played in the sunlit auditorium (episode 1); Junsang makes a tape for Christmas which Yujin listens to after his 'funeral' (episode 3); he buys her the CD before running away (episode 14); it is picked out on dusty old pianos (episode 17). It is always diegetic, not background music.

[3] Junsang's mother is a world-famous concert pianist, which gives the context of long years of discipline and devotion to piano music from which can emerge the more relaxed next generation who can feel piano music as a natural part of life. This tells a narrative of the fruition of a long period of sustained national effort in (Western) music education. It is a symbol of success and upper middle-class wealth. An ordinary girl (and unmarried mother) from a regional town, by dint of great discipline and effort, achieved this.

[4] When he loses his memory, and acquires a new identity, he no longer believes he can play the piano. However, piano playing was deeply internalised in him at a visceral level and he finds by accident that he can play—a symbol of a bodily memory of something imbibed at more than a superficial level. The evocative power of (piano) music as a trigger of memory is felt as a bodily function.

[5] His mother's frequent overseas concert tours, which take her in and out of the drama at crucial moments, create a broad context of a global circuit of musical activity, of validation by acceptance by a global audience, in which it is not clear whether Korea is at the periphery or centre. Her comings and goings (to America and Japan) are punctuated with a strong sense of mobility through airport scenes, airplanes, chauffeured cars, concert halls and radio interviews, but the other side of this movement suggests the idea of *escape* from the local setting to a glamorous international one, from the past to the future.

It is interesting to note that, while Mihi is the only character to speak English (a marker of being a global actor), she never actually performs on piano in the drama except for one chord (she is interrupted in her rehearsal studio by Jinwoo).

Analysis of the soundtrack music

A soundtrack consists of dialogue, sound effects and music, and varying attention is given to each element in different parts of a film (Reay 2004: 32–33). In *Winter sonata*, silence is also important, as are the sounds of breathing, a clock ticking, an ambulance siren, snow being trodden on, and environmental sounds such as birdsong and running water. The music is a combination of an original score and existing music, some arranged.

In both the official commercially released soundtrack CD and the sheet music collection of simple piano arrangements (Yedan Classics), many of the songs and interludes are missing, but both include pieces not used in the drama. The Korean and Japanese versions of the drama differ in some instances. For example, the music for the scene of the first bus trip to Namiseon is different, apparently for copyright reasons. My analysis is based on the soundtrack of the 2003 KBS six DVD and one CD set, with English subtitles.

Rich and extensive use is made of both diegetic and non-diegetic music, as summarised in Table 1.

Table 1 Diegetic and non-diegetic music in the *Fuyu no sonata* sound track

Diegetic music:	1 Piano piece <i>Choum</i> , song <i>Chebikot</i> . Schumann's <i>Träumerei</i> and others.
	2 Cafe and restaurant background music—about 50 well-known commercially popular songs.
Non-diegetic music:	1 Theme songs sung by Ryu: <i>Choum buto chigum kkaji</i> (title song), <i>My memory</i> , <i>Kude mani</i> , <i>Ichima</i> and <i>Ulchimarayo</i> ; <i>Chebikot</i> is used both diegetically and non-diegetically.
	2 About 30 melodies, which provide mood music in conventional Hollywood film music manner or like kabuki <i>geza</i> music.

Diegetic music

I distinguish two main categories of diegetic music in the drama: music performed (or played on a tape recorder etc.) by the characters and music perceived as played (usually electronically) in the background of a scene.

Diegetic music 1: the piano piece Choum and the song Chebikot

- The piano piece *Choum* (CD tracks 3 and 16)

As indicated above (plot device [2]), this short piano piece is a lynchpin of the drama. Clearly a Korean composition, but in contemporary Western style, it has a lilting rhythm and a haunting melody, and could be described as ‘cool’. It figures three times in Part One of the drama (school days): it is Junsang’s gift to Yujin, their shared private property and a symbol of their relationship: he played it for her in the school auditorium, offered her the record, then recorded it on tape as her Christmas present, which she received after his ‘death’. The sound of the piece as a memento or reminder is captured on tape for each of them. He listens to it after he starts to understand his past identity. In Part Two (ten years later), the piece recurs three times as a recording: in the school broadcast studio, just before Minhyung knocks and enters (episode 3); when Minhyung plays the old tape at his Chunchon house (episode 13); and on the CD that Minhyung left as a parting gift (episode 14). Further, there are two times when a few bars of the piece are fingered on an old piano (episodes 13 and 17).

While not the most impressive music of the soundtrack, it is the most important in that it demonstrates the centrality of the piano and piano music to the drama.

- The song *Chebikot (Violet)*, sung by Ryu (CD soundtrack 14; instrumental version track 17)

The accompaniment starts with piano, and is joined gradually by string orchestral backing, whose crisp staccato gives a delicate effect. Subsequent verses bring in the backing of a string orchestra but the piano is still the core. It seems to signal Yujin's engagement to Sanghyuk, as she listens to it on his program (episode 3): he broadcasts the song especially for her. However, later it is used for Yujin and Minhyung's relationship, forming the background music in the cafe where they meet after she gets back from Seoul (episode 8). It is next sung by the compere after the concert, perhaps with some irony, as the relationship he attempts to announce has already withered (episode 9). Subsequent uses of the song are non-diegetic: the introduction is used at the end of episode 16, and again in episode 17, and the complete song underscores the scene when Junsang and Yujin make a wish with a stone pile on top of the snowfield (episode 17). Here it provides an image of innocent, playful happiness.

This song is an example of how music is not used strictly in leitmotif fashion tied to a particular meaning, character or situation. The three verses are, however, structured around the phrases 'first time', 'next time' and 'last time' of meeting, thus tying in with a theme of the drama. Although the song sounds sweet and sentimental, it is bitter-sweet and holds a dark meaning, which is not consonant with the drama:

The first time I met you, you were a little girl with a violet in your hair.

You smiled and said to me: I want to fly far away, like a bird.

The next time I met you, you were thin, and your brow was furrowed and moist.

You smiled, and said to me: I cry at the slightest thing.

The last time I saw you, you were looking into the distance with peaceful eyes.

You smiled at me and said: I want to stay awake all night long.

Diegetic music 2: cafe, bar and restaurant background music

Extensive use of well-known popular songs, in the form of original commercial recordings, occurs mostly as background music in cafe, bar and restaurant scenes, such as *What can I do to make you happy* (episode 3), Don McLean's *Starry, starry night* (episode 6) and Simon and Garfunkel's *The sound of silence* (episode 15). There are nearly 50 such examples. Piano is often featured in this group of pieces, for example jazz piano pieces, but does not stand out particularly as a favoured instrument. These frequent scenes of shared eating and drinking create the settings for important

encounters. They seem also to reinforce the frequent admonishments to eat well, sleep well, work well, something of a mantra delivered to characters suffering emotionally to give them physical and emotional strength. The ubiquitous background music in these scenes creates an impression of a public music culture that is global and Western (only American songs and pieces seem to be used). In some scenes the music emanates from live piano performances in a bar, but usually they are commercial recordings. The selection of music for these scenes thematically matches the songs and pieces to the mood of the exchanges between characters. The song lyrics often seem to directly match the dramatic situation, but in most cases the lyrics are barely discernible. Extended scenes have three or more songs in the same setting, as the mood of the exchange changes (Sanghyuk and Yujin announce she will continue to work with Minhyung; Yujin gets drunk with Minhyung; engagement celebration spoiled by Minhyung; reunion with teacher). These songs appear as background music in a public space (that is, diegetically used), but are clearly added to the soundtrack in the post-production phase, as the song always commences at the beginning of a scene, which would be unlikely in real life. The viewer is expected to believe that the characters are also hearing these songs.

There is a multitude of other cases of diegetic music, such as *Träumerei* played clumsily as the set piece for music lessons in episode 1 and forming the prelude to the keynote piece, *Choum*. In episode 2, Junsang plays a few bars of the *Moonlight* sonata at home. A major source of diegetic music is the music played in Sanghyuk's classical music radio program and the live program he produced at the ski resort, as well as the radio club from high school days (such as when Yujin plays and dances to Abba's *Dancing Queen* in episode 1).

Non-diegetic music

There are two main categories of non-diegetic music: the six seductive songs sung by Ryu and the repertoire of approximately 30 melodies, which 'underscore' the drama at certain points.

Non-diegetic music 1: theme songs

Three songs in particular deserve attention: the title song *Choum buto chigum kkaji*, *My memory* and *Kude mani*. Piano provides the dominant accompaniment for all three songs, and features prominently in nearly all the variant instrumental settings. The

frequency with which these songs and instrumental versions are used in the soundtrack illustrates the importance of redundancy and repetition in this art form of serial television drama, and underlines the subliminal centrality of the piano. They also capitalise on the evocative power of the human voice, and specifically the vocal quality of the male singer Ryu, whose style is soft, intimate and emotional. Unlike the use of songs in opera or musicals, the lyrics of these three songs are not sung by the dramatic characters, nor are they even the direct expression of the characters' thoughts: they capture mood and emotions in a more anonymous way. Like the instrumental music, they can be applied to different characters at different times; for example, *Choum buto chigum kkaji* is used in situations featuring any of the three lovers in the fateful triangle. However, its use is restricted to this troubled relationship and its emotions.

The lyrics of the three main songs are central to the themes of the drama. Sometimes they are played in full for a scene or action sequence with no dialogue, often a transitional scene. The multiple instrumental versions are used as backing to dialogue, but the memory of the viewer–listener emotionally recalls the lyrics, and the effect of Ryu's voice. Table 2 summarises the songs, instrumental variations and frequency of use.

Table 2 The principal songs and their instrumental variations in *Fuyu no sonata*

Song title	Versions	Times used
<i>Choum buto chigum kkaji</i> Title song for every episode	Song (CD track 1)	19
	Piano version (CD track 5)	25
<i>My memory</i>	Song (CD track 2)	19
	Violin version (CD track 6)	26
	Piano version (CD track 10)	
<i>Kude mani</i>	Song (+ syncopated harpsichord introduction) (CD track 4)	25
	Piano (+ syncopated harpsichord introduction) (CD track 9)	
	Piano throughout, non-syncopated (CD track 15)	
	<u>Other variants=combinations of above</u>	

	Syncopated harpsichord introduction→piano melody, harpsichord backing Violin melody throughout, piano backing, non-syncopated introduction	
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- *Choum buto chigum kkaji (From the beginning to now)* (CD track 1)

As the theme and title song for the drama, viewers get plenty of opportunity to become familiar with this beautiful song and its extended piano introduction. After the first verse, the piano accompaniment is joined by string orchestra and, progressively, by rhythm instruments. The song is first used as background music in the drama itself late in episode 2, when Junsang jumps out of the taxi to run and find Yujin in the snowy streets. It is used 19 times as background music (in addition to being the opening title music for each episode), and adds a sense of urgency and poignancy to scenes where one lover pursues the other, longing to find and meet; typically it is heard against a scene of running through the street or driving to find the other. It also forms the background music in the final scene and rounds off the whole drama. With piano being central to its instrumental timbre, it functions equally as a keynote for the theme and the action as the piano piece *Choum*, though it is non-diegetic.

The instrumental version is piano solo (CD track 5) and creates the same mood of longing and nostalgia, but functions more readily as a backing for dialogue. The song and the piano solo versions are used 44 times.

- *My memory* (CD track 2)

This song resonates directly with the drama's central theme of remembering and forgetting. As with *Choum buto chigum kkaji*, the piano dominates by bearing full responsibility for the introductory phrases and the main burden of the accompaniment in the verses; the support of the strings is occasional and light; rhythm backing is introduced towards the end of each verse. The song occurs 19 times, particularly for flashback scenes; for example, walking through the snowy grounds of the ski resort (episode 4) and recalling frolicking with Junsang in the snow and making the snowmen (episode 2). There are two instrumental versions: one for piano solo (CD track 10), the other for violin with piano accompaniment (CD track 6). The two versions are used a total of 26 times.

- *Kude mani (You alone)* (CD track 4)

This song is light and bouncy, almost playful, lacking the dark mood of loss and longing of the previous two songs. The introduction is particularly memorable with its syncopated solo harpsichord to which is gradually added light string support. The sung verses are accompanied by piano, with colouristic support from the harpsichord, and amplified by strings for some phrases. The song features prominently in a number of scenes, such as when the two students ask each other their favourite things (episode 2), and in the emblematic scene when Minhyung throws Yujin a snowball and tells her to break it to find the present of the polaris necklace (episode 10). It has the most variations in instrumental settings of all the songs: the all-piano version is slower and does not have the syncopated introduction of the harpsichord, so the mood is more elegiac and tinged with sadness. This is used with effect when Yujin leaves a telephone message of apology and regret to Sanghyuk and then walks in the snow by herself (episode 8). Including all the settings, *Kude mani* occurs 25 times.

Non-diegetic music 2: short instrumental pieces used for dramatic effect

Approximately 30 such melodies are used over the 20 episodes, some frequently, others only once. In many instances, there is fragmentary use of only the opening phrases; in some extended sequences, the whole piece or a melody may be repeated in the one sequence, according to the needs of the scene.

Many if not all of the melodies seem to be pre-existing compositions.

The instrumentation is exquisite—cello, oboe, guitar, vocalisation—but the vast majority of the melodies are for piano: mostly solo, some reinforced by orchestral backing as the theme develops. This salient feature supports the argument of this paper, that the piano is a major part of the narrative at all levels. Of the 30 melodies, 25 are for solo piano, or piano supported texturally by mainly string orchestra, or by vocalisation (melody 1): melody 7 is for guitar, melody 15 for harmonium and then strings, melody 23 for cello and piano, melody 8 has multiple versions, as discussed below, and melody 9 starts with four piano solo motifs, then the melody is picked up by the oboe.

These melodies are mellow, evocative and underscore dialogue and action in an engaging way. Like kabuki *geza aikata*, they signal mood and situation with musical cues. Television drama requires a lot of redundancy: it cannot be assumed that all viewers will watch all episodes. The melodies cannot be called leitmotifs, although a couple of themes have relatively fixed associations with a particular character or

situation. Rather, the themes are multivalent, and take on different meanings in different scenes. The association with the scene in which a musical theme first appears is carried into the next occurrence, creating a cumulative affective association.

Both themes and songs function as important bridging devices for transitions between scenes, sometimes bridging parallel or synchronous scenes which cut from one to the other, with the same music applied to both: for example, between Junsang in the car and Yujin waiting in the snowy street (episode 3).

I will now discuss some of the most frequently used themes which feature piano.

- Melody 1 *Shijak (Beginning)* (CD soundtrack 8)

Used ten times, this piano piece overlaid with syncopated vocalisation is used for the opening sequence as Yujin is running for the school bus (episode 1). It sounds carefree and cool. It occurs again for the snow play sequence (episode 2), for the inspection of the ski ground building site, when Junsang puts his coat on Yujin, and when she is taking photographs (episode 4). The cumulated impression is light-hearted, excited, enjoying snow and memories of snow.

- Melody 4 is a piano melody occurring 11 times for the discovery of old secrets. It has two distinct parts: the first anxious and breathless, like fluttering broken chords, the second slower and subdued, as if knocked over by some realisation. It first occurs when Junsang looks for old school magazines in the library to find his father's identity (1), and then when Jinwoo (his father) arrives at Yujin's home and is recognised by Junsang (episode 2).

- Melody 9 is used 18 times and has a specific meaning that gives it the character of a leitmotif, but not for a person: it accompanies the revelation of a secret in a much more dramatic way than melody 4. This extended melody holds great suggestive power for suspense and revelation and fits well with the theme of secrets and lies, their revelation and destructive power. It always signals a fateful revelation, such as recognising or matching photographs (episodes 1, 2, 17), tarot cards (episode 6) or the missing piece of a jigsaw puzzle (episode 4); also, when lost memory is suddenly recovered (Minhyung remembers putting on a shoe for Yujin, episode 14); and when 'facts' about Junsang's parentage are revealed (episodes 18–20).

- Melody 14, *Tears in your eyes* (score p. 4), a piano solo used 26 times, underlines the fact that tears are an unavoidable feature of this drama. As the title suggests, it expresses sadness, pain and heavy-heartedness sufficient to provoke tears. The sadness may be due to parting, or to the realisation of betrayal and deception (when Sanghyuk accuses Yujin of risking her life for Minhyung, episode 7), or the realisation that something is irretrievable, such as through death (Minhyung challenges Yujin in episode 8: ‘When will you stop remembering the dead?’).

- Melody 24, *Ajik do* (score p. 11–12), is an important melody introduced later in the drama and has an unbearable feeling of nostalgia and hopelessness. This piano piece, first introduced in episode 9 (Minhung asks Sanghyuk, ‘Did you talk to Junsang like this long ago?’), is used 13 times. It is further used when Minhyung walks out on Chelin and ends up outside Yujin’s place (episode 11) and when Minhyung enters the school auditorium and sees the piano, but still has not recalled the memory of that formative time (episode 13).

Finally, I will discuss some of the powerful non-diegetic melodies that do not focus on piano.

- Melody 8, *Hayan yonin-deul* (*White lovers*, the theme music of a film of this name) (score p. 9), used 32 times, is perhaps the theme of Yujin and Junsang. This melody alone among the 30 or so background melodies has multiple instrumental versions. It is first used when they sit under a streetlight by a fountain after the fighting incident and talk about their fathers (this is the fast piano version) and, next, in the same episode, when they are on the bus by the open window, and then when they are on the boat to the island in the lake. It develops in this key scene into an electone setting and from the second phrase to a swinging, syncopated orchestral version, covered with jauntily syncopated vocalising (episode 1). Later in the same scene it comes as a guitar reprise. All these versions are used in the next major sequence by the lake, this time in the snow (episode 2). Once established as the keynote for their budding relationship, it is used effectively in scenes which take place years later: when Yujin catches sight of Minhyung on the Taehanno street (episode 3), when they are talking about the ‘house in the heart of the one you love’ at the snow ground site (the guitar version, episode 4), and so on.

- Melody 15 does not feature piano at all, but is a powerful though simple expression of

the joy of nature, of something tender and true. The opening phrase is a plain folk-like melody on a solo mouth organ, followed in subsequent verses by supporting guitar and strings. It is used when they are burning leaves and pretending the dead leaves are snow (episode 2); when Sanghyuk gives Yujin the engagement ring in the school yard (3); most impressively for the calm after the snowstorm (episode 8); and when they pray in the chapel (episode 16).

The use of vocalisation in melodies 1 and 18 as an element of the instrumentation highlights the importance of the texture of the human voice in the soundtrack. This is certainly not primarily the classically trained voice of Western opera, although a couple of songs are sung in this style in the radio broadcast and the concert at the ski ground. Nor is it a traditional Korean style of singing. Rather it is the voice of contemporary popular music, localised in Korean lyrics by Ryu's intimate style. The vocalisation in the instrumental melodies is similar in its soft, non-vibrato, intimate, into-the-microphone style. This is further evidence of the globalisation of Korean contemporary popular culture.

- Melody 18 (used nine times) again does not feature piano, but is one of the most powerful of the non-diegetic themes. It is first used to convey profound sadness: the sense of loss and emptiness after learning of Junsang's 'death', and then the informal funeral by the lake (episode 3). Its beautiful two-part structure features a fateful vocalising over string orchestra, then the second part lifts with oboe and other instruments to a major key suggesting hope, consolation and a way out of darkness (episode 15).

Cultural modernity

At times, the musical soundtrack is 'inaudible': that is, unobtrusive and subordinate to the dialogue. The analysis has shown, however, that at crucial parts of the drama music becomes a strong focus and takes centre stage. The songs come to the foreground in the many sequences where there is no dialogue, when the focus is on recalling past scenes, scenic beauty, and the movement of characters in search of each other. Music plays an integral part in the drama at every level: narrative, visual, auditory, thematic and dramatic continuity. The audience may not initially be fully aware of the music but, in an extended series like this, the cumulative effect of songs and melodies heard many times eventually draws attention to itself. The piano dominates quantitatively and qualitatively, by having most of the instrumental themes as solo pieces, or at least the

introductions and opening phrases.

The piano in this drama is not so much the modern bourgeois instrument, as represented by the music classroom and by Mihi's international career; it is, rather, the contemporary, popular, casual entertainment value of piano music, as represented by the cool, laid-back piece *Choum* and by the ubiquitous cosmopolitan background music in cafes. The effect of the harpsichord, too, post-dates the era of piano as a symbol of modernity, but is an application to popular musical expression from the high musical fashion of baroque music. Again, the final effect is that Korean contemporary musical culture is fully and seamlessly embedded in the global.

The music in this drama series shows that the West is no longer visible as 'other': Western music is internalised, localised, and has become an internal referent. No cultural divide is apparent between Korean and Western music. 'Music' means Western music; if indigenous music was to be referred to, it would have to be marked as national music (*kuk'ak*).

Japan, too, figures in the narrative as the place where one goes to be acknowledged professionally, but is barely visible as 'other'. Music functions in this drama as a cultural bridge between Korea and Japan, with piano as a common denominator in a shared modern high culture. A ubiquitous musical modernity of high culture occludes any perception of civilisational others. The (new) modern identity is formed within a consumer culture but it is consuming an eclectic range of music from classical to jazz to chanson. There are not two distinct spatial nodes of Europe and Asia, but a borderless high culture, accessible through air travel, study and work abroad, mobile telephones and cars, but also through the discipline of musical performance and educated musical appreciation.

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