

Interrogating Trot, Situating the Boom: *New(tro)* Nostalgia, Old Songs, and National Identity Performance

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Abstract

Across 2019–2020 a number of South Korean TV competition shows branded their musical identity as “trot.” This term denotes a perceived genre of popular music considered normative to South Korea’s developmentalist decades and thereafter as the music of older generations, yet the surprise success of the TV shows seemingly indicated a younger uptake heralding a “trot boom.” However, in much of their choice of repertoire, the shows transgressed pre-existing expectations of the genre. The notion of a trot boom premised on a reified genre discourse is thus overly reductionist and fails to explain adequately the performed aesthetics and socio-musical phenomenon engendered by the shows.

This article problematizes the received narrative(s) of “trot,” while highlighting three alternative trans-genre elements and aesthetic trends that operate in close proximity to trot discourse: “old song” collections, *kug’ak* (traditional music) fusion, and a discourse of Korean vocal affect. It analyzes the repertoire and performances of three of the most noted trot-branded television series, and juxtaposes them with two further case studies: YouTube channel Chu Hyŏnmi TV and a sample of “old song” collections dating 1969–1989. It argues that all three cases variously intersect and diverge from reified trot, while simultaneously exhibiting their own interrelations collectively bound by performed retro and *newtro* aesthetics, and national identity discourse.

Keywords: trot, *kug’ak*, retro, *newtro*, South Korea, Korean popular music

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During 2019–2020 in South Korea a genre of popular music commonly referred to as “trot” appeared to experience a resurgent boom in popularity.¹ Scholarly and popular understandings of “trot” encompass both stylistic and socio-historical definitions that will be a topic in this paper. Common to both, a dominant conceptualization of trot is as a *diachronic genre-lineage*: one that began during the mid-twentieth century, anywhere between the 1920s and the 1960s, and that continues today. This understanding of trot is delineated in written treatments, such as histories of popular Korean music, where the narrative of trot is closely aligned with the trajectory of (South) Korea’s socio-historical development.

In terms of genre history, trot is understood as a formerly normative genre of popular music, with a heyday in the 1960s to the 1970s, that has been gradually marginalized through newer stylistic genres and generational change. On a popular level, trot has thus been associated in recent decades—at least, until the boom—variously as the music of older generations, and of provincialized, blue-collar settings. Reflective of this marginalized status, a more derogatory label for the same music is the onomatopoeic term, *ppongtchak*, that in repetition describes the standard 4/4 meter associated with the style. More positively, and in contrast to “trot,” that derives from English “foxtrot,” *ppongtchak* further gives expression to a perceived and sometimes essentialized Korean vernacularity of the genre.

The recent “trot boom” was led by several television audition-style shows that branded themselves with the label. Three archetypal series were: TV Chosun’s “Tomorrow[’s] Miss Trot” (*Naeil ūn misū t’ūrot* 내일은 미스트롯 2019.2.28–2019.5.2), that achieved initial surprise success; the follow-up “Tomorrow[’s] Mr. Trot” (*Naeil ūn misūt’ō t’ūrot* 내일은 미스터트롯 2020.1.2–2020.3.14), that was a media sensation; and MBC’s “I Am a Trot Singer” (*Nanūn t’ūrot’ū kasu-da* 나는 트로트 가수다 2020.2.5–2020.4.22), that represented mainstream appropriation. With *Tomorrow’s Miss Trot* having initiated the boom in 2019, the latter two shows coincided with the tumult of the COVID-19 pandemic and thus provided moments of national entertainment and catharsis.

The common conceptualization of trot as a diachronic lineage would naturally situate the boom as the most recent, current chapter of trot’s history. Due to trot’s association with South Korea’s contemporary history, such an explanation accords with the nation’s mainstream teleological narrative of socio-economic development, a narrative that, in its most sanitized form, is promoted by the political right. Indeed, TV Chosun (est. 2011) is operated by the pro-right media group led by *Chosun ilbo* (*Chosŏn ilbo*). The trot boom notably coincided with a change in political winds that saw the then incumbent Moon Jae-in administration hindered by a series of increasingly self-made scandals that damaged their claims

to represent social progressivism and lived experiences of common citizens. This alienated younger generations, and particularly catalyzed right-leaning tendencies among the male demographic. Against this context, reductionist explanations of the trot boom being a youth-infused revival of a lineage of music that is conceptualized as having been normative to South Korea's autocratic and developmentalist decades (1950s–1980s) would risk enabling, however implicitly, the notion of a trot renaissance to serve as cultural support for current political agendas of the resurgent, populist right.

This paper argues, however, that the shows' performed repertoires did not as closely align with pre-boom understandings of the genre as might be expected. Their temporal scope, for example, was principally focused on music of the 1980s to the 2010s rather than earlier decades. As the diachronic conceptualization of trot continues to the present, this alone would not be a problem. However, the stylistic representation of the shows' repertoires also clearly transgressed conventional stylistic boundaries of pre-boom "trot." Such transgressions were rarely problematized within the shows and did not draw public criticism. In fact, inclusion of originally non-trot style songs was likely a key factor in the shows' ability to capture middle-aged and younger viewers. For this audience, the past four decades are at once an object of personal nostalgia and aesthetic reimagination, and are less tied to the developmental experience. In this mode, rather than a narrowly-defined "trot" renaissance, I argue the shows' stylistic diversity to have more clearly aligned with a current and politically neutral trend for *pokko* "retro," and the Korean-coined *nyut'ūro*, or updated *newtro* aesthetics, trends that have had their temporal focus on the same recent decades.²

Parallel and converging with the television-led trot boom, meanwhile, has been "Chu Hyōnmi TV" (주현미TV), a YouTube-based project launched in November 2018 featuring a trio ensemble fronted by the singer Chu Hyōnmi (b.1961).³ The trio perform repertoire of principally mid-twentieth-century (c.1930–1960s) Korean popular songs. Historically, "trot" came into discursive usage as a genre label only from the late 1960s, however, in current genre-lineage conceptualizations, much of this same mid-twentieth-century repertoire is treated as early-period trot.⁴ Chu herself is regarded as a representative trot singer of recent decades; she further enjoys iconic status for a number of albums she recorded at the beginning of her career in the mid-1980s, in a format known as "medley." Cut parallel to her own early discography, these medleys comprised similar mid-twentieth-century repertoire sung over what was then an "updated" synthesizer-based accompaniment and pulsating rhythm that made them a ubiquitous soundtrack for such settings as long-distance driving and local markets.⁵ Through such pre-existing associations with trot and to lived experiences, Chu Hyōnmi

TV has both reinforced and benefitted from the perception of a trot boom originating from the aforementioned television shows.⁶ The project, however, initially avoided referring to trot. Rather, with a stated goal to record a thousand *yet norae* or “old songs,” Chu has situated it in a discourse of national heritage and curatorship. In its visual and performative aspects, however, Chu Hyönmi TV aligns with retro and *newtro* trends, as much as it does to traditionalism.

Stepping back, the idea of a trot boom invites us to (re)examine current significations of “trot.” The television shows’ apparent deviations from pre-boom understandings of trot, meanwhile, both enable and compel us to complicate explanations of the phenomenon—trot or otherwise—that the shows engendered. To this end, this study presents an alternative historicization of the boom that decentres the genre-lineage conceptualization of trot. The paper is divided into two parts. The first begins with an elaboration of the pre-existing modalities of “trot,” followed by a schematic summary of the received narrative of trot as a diachronic lineage. Rather than a full deconstruction, the article de-reifies this narrative by highlighting three genre-transcending phenomena that are typically omitted from the genre-centred narratives. These include: 1) a historical practice of popular singers recording mid-twentieth-century “old song” repertoire, 2) the emergence of a fusion genre style incorporating elements of traditional Korean performance that I characterize as being thematically evocative of “traditional Korea,” and 3) a trans-genre discourse of *Korean* vocal affect. Incorporating these explanations, the second part of this article presents analysis of the performances and repertoire of the three television shows and Chu Hyönmi TV. To these it adds a third repertoire for comparison: a sample of “old song” records, cut between 1969 and 1989, inclusive of Chu Hyönmi’s own medleys. Elaborated in the conclusion, this historicizing analysis reveals trilateral interrelations between each of the media, collectively yielding a de-reified, contextually “triangulated” explanation for the trot boom.

Modalities of trot

As a genre label, popular and scholarly notions of “trot” are variously fluid, contested, reified, performed, and lived. The *fluidity* of trot derives from it being regarded as simultaneously both a historical and a current-day genre that is assumed to have evolved and stylistically diversified over time, allowing for different stylistic qualities according to period. Trot has been *contested* principally in relation to a discourse that understands its commercial origination in the early 1930s to have occurred under conditions of Japanese cultural hegemony. The received understanding of trot, including stylistic change and disputes concerning

accusations of lingering pre-1945 Japanese influence, has been *reified* both in written histories of popular Korean music, and through popular, mnemonic identification of trot with a pantheon of both past and present star singers. While such reified narratives are historically focused, the intangible sound and practice of trot is *performatively constituted* through live performance and recordings. Meanwhile, although the elements contributing to a discernible sound of trot may be musicologically defined, and are delineated in music histories, most people know or perceive the sound of trot without reading such descriptions. Ultimately, the performance and consumption of trot is *socially constituted*; as noted above, it is closely tied to lived experience and normative social settings, from tour-bus karaoke to nationally broadcast media.

These various modalities of trot are bound by a discourse of national South Korean identity that operates through the association of trot's evolution with the trajectory of Korea's contemporary history. This history has occurred still fully within the lifespan of the now older stratum of living citizenry. A significant portion is similarly encompassed within the multi-decade careers of veteran singers, imbuing them with a status as *national* popular icons. Chief among them are first-generation icons Yi Mi-ja (b.1941), who debuted in 1959, and Nam Chin (b.1946) and Na Hun-a (b.1947), who debuted in the late 1960s; and second-generation singers T'ae Chin-a (b.1953), Kim Yŏn-ja (b.1959), Sŏl Un-do (b.1958), and Chu Hyŏnmi, who debuted in the 1970s–1980s. A third generation is represented by Chang Yun-jŏng (b.1980), who debuted from the turn of the millennium.

Narratives of trot as a diachronic genre

A defining characteristic of trot is that it is a historical genre grounded in Korea's twentieth-century experience. Thus, nearly all written treatments of trot begin with a diachronic narrative of trot's evolution. This narrative is most fully delineated in South Korean-authored survey histories of popular Korean music. In this section I provide a distillation of the narrative principally based on two examples authored by musicologists Yi Yŏng-mi (2006) and Chang Yu-jŏng and Sŏ Pyŏng-gi (2015).⁷

These histories narrate Korean popular music as a series of stylistic genres emerging and evolving over the course of the twentieth century. As chapters trace through the decades, they differentiate and juxtapose supposed genres of each period. Structurally, the narratives characterize each genre of a given period relative to one another across three continuums: innovative or conservative; foreign, localized, or indigenous; and through their lyrics, as either socially concerned or reflective of the given period, or unengaged entertainment.

As the longest-running strand, they narrate the evolution of trot over three broad periods. The first period is the late 1920s to the 1950s. They characterize trot during this period as innovative, foreign but successfully localized, and socially reflective of the times. Pre-1945, the narratives principally juxtapose “trot” with *sin minyo* (“new folk songs”), that they characterize as being more indigenous, conservative, and less reflective of the zeitgeist.⁸ In the 1950s, they narrate trot as now conservative but remaining socially reflective. Here they juxtapose trot with incoming ballroom-dance rhythms such as swing, boogie, and mambo.⁹

The second period is the 1960s–1970s. During this period the narratives treat trot as the normative mainstream genre juxtaposed to incoming styles, including: standard pop or easy listening, psychedelic rock, soul, folk, and disco. They describe trot as remaining socially reflective of the developmentalist 1960s, but narrate its social reflexivity waning in the 1970s and being displaced by that of incoming guitar-based folk.¹⁰ At this point, histories narrate trot musically fragmenting between a purely conservative strand, and another, associated with younger generation singers, that pursues innovative fusion with rock and soul. The third period is the 1980s onwards. During this time, narratives describe trot reviving itself through stylistic innovations and new singers but even as unengaged entertainment the genre is now commercially marginalized by rock and pop ballads and subsequently by electronic dance, hip hop, and indie.

Across this linear trajectory, the narratives describe trot as exchanging stylistic influences, and intermittently absorbing or fusing with other genres. They begin by acknowledging trot to have formed under the influence of the late 1920s and early 1930s Japanese music and “new drama” (*shingeki*) movements. Subsequent intersections occur as follows: in the 1950s trot adopts dance rhythms and the greater tonality of American standard pop; during the 1960s and 1970s trot absorbs *sin minyo*; in the mid-to-late 1970s trot fuses with soul and rock to create the subgenre “trot *gogo*,” and during the 1980s and 1990s trot adopts elements from pop ballads, as well as new electronic dance and techno rhythms.

In addition to these diffusionary exchanges of influence, music histories further complicate the genre-boundary of trot through their treatment of three particular singers: Nam Chin, Sin Chung-hyŏn (b.1938), and Cho Yong-p'il (b.1950). The narratives characterize Nam as one of the “golden-age” trot singers of the 1960s and 1970s, contrasting his urban style to that of commercial rival, Na Hun-a. While describing Na's style and repertoire as quintessential to trot, in the case of Nam, the histories highlight that he also recorded in American-influenced styles distinct from trot.¹¹ They nevertheless do not associate Nam with fusion styles. In

their treatment of Sin Chung-hyŏn, the histories rightly describe him as the leading exponent of standard and psychedelic rock, but crucially characterize the breadth of his music as further exhibiting an indigenous Korean aspect that overlaps with similar elements that they attribute to trot.¹² The narratives similarly characterize Cho Yong-p'il, the leading pop star of the 1980s and 1990s, as a genre-transcending artist, and highlight his early regenerative impact on trot that occurred with his 1976 hit, *Torawayo Pusan hang e* (“Come back, to Pusan harbor”).¹³ The narratives characterize both Sin and Cho as artists who successfully synthesized foreign and indigenous styles, where “foreign” refers to rock and pop, and “indigenous” to trot and traditional Korean music, *kug'ak*.

In treating trot as a traceable and distinct genre, the narratives rely on several musicological descriptors, the relative emphasis of which change according to period. They initially highlight two elements. First, a 2/4 or 4/4 meter that identifies trot as foreign and distinguishes it from compound rhythms of indigenous Korean music that were rendered into *sin minyo* as 3/4 meter.¹⁴ Second is usage of the five-note pentatonic scale in both major and minor modes, but particularly the minor.¹⁵ For the 1950s the narratives juxtapose pentatonic-based melodies with incoming heptatonic scales of American pop.¹⁶ From the 1960s, however, they narrate trot gradually adopting similar major and minor tonality.¹⁷ Hereafter pentatonic scales remain a key identifier of conservative or “traditional” trot, but with the tonal distinction between trot and standard pop increasingly blurred, the narratives switch to emphasize a new identifier of trot: the *ch'angbŏp* or “vocal technique” characterized by wide vibrato and emotional intensity.¹⁸ From the 1980s they narrate “trot” as adopting faster rhythms and a preference for major modes, but hereafter they principally discuss the genre in social terms.¹⁹

From the above summary of the received narrative of trot, we may note three associative functions. First, their portrayal of trot as the first and longest-running genre of commercially recorded popular music enables socio-historical associations to be made between the trajectory of trot and contemporary (South) Korean history. Second, accepting the premise of a distinct trot lineage, the moments of intersection and fusion serve to blur strict stylistic boundaries. Third, a changing emphasis of musicological descriptors through time limits their valency in fixing trot as a specific musical style but has left current discursive emphasis on vocal technique. In the following section, I offer alternative historicization to these insights that will better serve to understand the content of the current trot boom.

De-reifying the narrative: old songs, *kug'ak* fusion, and Korean voice

In this section I elaborate on the three aforementioned factors that inform my analysis of the recent trot boom: recordings of “old song” collections, songs evocative of traditional Korea, and vocal affect. Although diverse in their constitutions, I contend that all three evoke aspects of Korean national identity discourse. It is at their intersection that the recent trot boom may be best situated.

New Recordings of Mid-Twentieth-Century “Old Songs”

A topic overlooked by music histories, from the late 1960s onward contemporary popular singers began releasing newly recorded collections of preexisting older songs, chiefly comprising repertoire of the 1930s to the 1950s, but later extending to the 1960s. Clearly marketing them through the discourse of nostalgia, the titles of such albums usually contained terms indicating their focus on old songs. This term is most often *yet nora*, but there also occur in the titles *hüllökan nora* “songs that have flowed away [with time],” and *küriun nora* “nostalgic songs.” During the 1970s such albums were most often recorded by singers including Yi Mi-ja, Na Hun-a, and Paek Söl-hüi, whose own established repertoire would go on to constitute “golden-age” trot.

In the mid-1980s, the same “old song” repertoire was recorded in the new medley format in which the transition between songs occurred without a break. Beginning with Chu Hyönmi and Kim Chun-gyu’s *Ssang ssang p’at’i* (1984), the medley albums eschewed the “old song” branding, and typically included the word *p’at’i* (“party”) in their titles. Although medleys are distinct in form, I argue the act of recording and re-popularizing the same “old song” repertoire reinforced an associative sense of continuity between the emergent “trot” signers of the 1980s and the preceding “golden age” singers who had recorded this same repertoire. Further, the association of these two generations of singers, whose careers occurred within the period of a “trot” genre identity, with the mid-twentieth-century “old song” repertoire, has enabled the projection of “trot” identity onto the preceding decades of the 1930s to the 1950s.

In addition to the medley phenomenon, from 1979 and through the 1980s, the same “old song” repertoire was also recorded by singers whose own music was stylistically associated with guitar-based rock, then the antithesis to normative trot and easy listening. The earliest of this demographic had debuted as a part of the youth culture movement of the early 1970s but in the middle of the decade many became subject to recording and performance bans imposed by the Park Chung-hee regime under the *ad hoc* pretext of marijuana smoking.²⁰

The post-Park return of several of these singers saw them record collections of the “old song” repertoire. Two notable examples are albums released by Kim Chông-ho (1952–1985) and Cho Yong-p’il in 1981 and 1984, respectively. While the musical arrangements remained orthodox, such albums were distinguished by the singers’ social identities and their rock and ballad-inflected vocal aesthetics. These aspects blurred the genre-boundary of the “old song” repertoire beyond the confines of trot and medley-associated performers. Although premised on mid-twentieth-century songs, their recording of the “old song” repertoire further expanded associative intersections of trot and rock.

Evoking Traditional Korea: Kug’ak Fusion

From the early 1980s, several of this same demographic, including both Kim Chông-ho and Cho Yong-p’il, also participated in a musical trend experimenting with incorporating elements from traditional Korean music, *kug’ak*, and storytelling performance, *p’ansori*, into rock and ballad formats. In its evocation of “traditional Korea,” this trend bears analogy to *sin minyo*, however, it was also influenced by the left-leaning *minjung* movement, which on the cultural front called for rediscovery and reclamation of a subaltern, ethno-national identity defined in opposition to American cultural hegemony. Parallel to a resurgent interest in authentic traditional performance arts that spread among student activists, musicians innovated a style that today may be best termed “*kug’ak* fusion.” This combined vocal techniques imitative of Korean *minyo* folk song and *p’ansori* together with a synthesizer-based texture analogous in ambience to the contemporary Celtic new-age music exemplified by Irish band, Clannad. Cho Yong-p’il’s own comeback included two archetypal *kug’ak* fusion tracks, *Kan’yangnok* and a rendition of the *minyo*, *Han obaengnyôn* (“Five hundred years”), that together with soft-rock and pop ballads elevated him to megastar status.²¹ In the 1990s, *kug’ak* fusion shifted from rock to softer pop-ballad inflections; in lyrics and sound, its evocation of traditional Korea has since lent itself to original soundtracks for both television dramas and musical theatre.

The case of Kim Chông-ho is aberrant to new-age fusion, because the aspect of traditional Korean performance he expressed was principally present in his voice.²² Kim had been born and raised in a family of *kug’ak* practitioners in the *p’ansori* heartland of South Chôlla province. Prior to his premature death from tuberculosis, Kim spoke of an ambition to turn more toward traditional music but this would not be realized. Nevertheless, during his initial debut as a singer in 1974, Kim became a sensation for his affective voice that distinguished him from other youth-culture singers. Heralding his comeback, Kim’s recording of the

“old song” repertoire exhibited a greater vocal intensity than heard in previous treatments. In albums of his own music that he went on to record at this time he applied this vocal intensity within a rock-ballad format most powerfully exemplified in the song, *Nim* (“My love” 1983);²⁴ a performance of *Nim* on *Mr Trot* is discussed below.

Voice of Korea: Vocal Affect

As noted, vocal technique is a popularly perceived characteristic of trot.²⁵ For male singers, the archetype of this voice is that of Na Hun-a, though earlier singers, mostly notably Pae Ho, exhibit similar aspects.²⁶ During the latter twentieth century, debates have flared over trot’s perceived homogeneity with Japanese *enka* (Pak 2006). Against this context, proponents for the indigenous Korean origins, or full localization, of trot have argued the trot *ch’angbōp* to constitute a uniquely Korean aspect; through its essentialized “Koreanness,” this aspect is necessarily regarded as equating to vocal techniques of *minyo* and *p’ansori*, a notion present in popular understanding of contemporary trot.²⁷ I argue that there are indeed shared elements in the vocal techniques, though some are the result of convergence and cultural transcoding rather than common origins. Two key elements include: the use of a wide vibrato that post-1945 has distinguished normative Korean song from incoming standard pop and easy listening; and *kkōngnūn sori* or “broken voice” that gives expression to emotional intensity. I contend that, what makes such abstract vocalizations uniquely “Korean” is how they are rendered through the phonetic system of the Korean language, and the specific emotive associations of the Korean language words they convey. Due to the presumption of homogeneity between trot and traditional music, any further vocal techniques of *minyo* and *p’ansori* may also be integrated into performance of repertoire regarded as trot, but due to the specific and long training required, they are not inherent to trot and are principally the preserve of those singers coming from a *kug’ak* background. This was notably the case of the winning contestant of *Miss Trot*, Song Ka-in (1986), who is a trained *p’ansori* performer.

The same basic elements of vibrato and broken voice additionally lend themselves to 1980s rock ballads, which naturally segue to *kug’ak* fusion. They are further transferable to acoustic guitar-based folk, exemplified in the affective vibrato present in iconic voice of singer-songwriter Kim Kwang-sōk, (1964–1996). In the case of women singers, analogous techniques typified by vibrato and huskiness have had a longer history of genre-transcendence, exemplified in the voices of Kim Ch’u-cha (b.1951) and Mun Chu-ran (b.1949). While Yi Mi-ja has a

legendary status, her vocal technique on certain songs was specifically subject to accusations of *waesaek* (“Japanese colour”).²⁸ For this reason her voice has remained less essentialized in performed national identity discourses than that of Na Hun-a.²⁹ In recent decades, vocal affect appealing to an essentialized Korean identity among women’s voices is more directly informed by singers trained in *minyŏ* and *p’ansori*, such as the *minyŏ* prodigy Song So-hŭi (b.1997), and Song Ka-in. It further converges with techniques of emotional expression employed by pop-ballad singers.³⁰

Musicological features of “trot”

Popular discourse emphasizes vocal affect as a defining feature of trot. However, precisely due to its perceived genre-transcending essentialism, vocal technique alone cannot serve to distinguish an archetypal sound of “trot” from *kug’ak* or other stylistic genres. In order to identify songs that are typically perceived as belonging to the “trot” genre, I highlight four elements that, I argue, to lay listeners (including myself) function as heuristic signifiers of “trot.” First is clear foregrounding of a 2/4 or 4/4 meter. This rhythm is particularly present in 1960s’ songs accused of sounding Japanese. Second are vocalizations of the melody between soft and harsh emotions. This distinguishes “trot” from easy listening, though converges with vocal techniques of rock and ballads. Third are interval leaps in the melodic line of a fourth or more that, again, distinguish “trot” from most incoming American styles, the melodies of which typically move incrementally.³¹

Fourth are decorative elaborations of the vocal melody played by accompanying instruments, both solo and ensemble.³² This feature is historically connoted by the Japanese term, “Koga melody” (古賀メロディー), that signifies a characteristic style of guitar accompaniment popularized in the early 1930s by guitarist and songwriter, Koga Masao (古賀政男 1904–1978). Musicologists consider Koga melody as formative to both Japanese *ryūkōka* (流行歌) and homologous Korean *yuhaengga*—reified “early trot”—of the 1930s onward.³³ Korean music discourse sometimes acknowledges Koga’s pre-war influence, but perhaps owing to the obvious Japanese association, it does not typically isolate this element as a descriptor of Korean trot. I contend such instrumental elaborations and interplay with the vocal line to constitute the most consistent heuristic feature for perceiving music as “trot” across time periods, including in the present.³⁴ In analyzing the question of style below, I take the clear presence of any one of these four elements as being sufficient to impute a feeling of a musical style commonly recognizable as “trot.”

Trot television shows: an analysis of repertoire and performance

TV Chosun's *Miss Trot* and *Mr Trot* shows were based on an audition format showcasing aspiring female and male singers, respectively. MBC's *I Am a Trot Singer*, meanwhile, was a relaunch of a two-part festival show (2011.9.12 and 2012.1.23) of the same name, and a spin-off from the long-running *I Am a Singer* (*Nanūn kasu-da*) series. The festival shows had originally featured established trot singers performing stylistically non-trot repertoire. The 2020 *Trot Singer* series, by contrast, featured a broader array of popular singers only some of whose identities and recordings would be classified as pre-boom "trot," but in this case the implication was that they would perform in a manner related to trot. In the original hangul orthography of the shows' titles, it is interesting to note that while *Trot Singer* used the standard spelling of *t'ūrot'ū* 트로트, that transparently belies the foreign origin of the word, the *Tomorrow* shows adopted a novel spelling, *t'ūrot* 트롯, that both visually and in pronunciation imbues a vernacularized pure-Korean aspect serving to distance the word from perceptions of foreign origin.

Despite the significations of the shows' titles, none of the three shows in question provided an explicit definition of trot. In the case of the *Tomorrow* shows, trot-specificity was connoted through several members of the judging panels being popularly known as established singers and composers of contemporary "trot" music. These included Chang Yun-jōng and composer Cho Yōng-su (b. 1976). Their pronouncements on the contestants' performances occasionally appealed to an unspoken premise of normative "trot." However, apart from these moments, and fully in the case of *I Am a Trot Singer*, I argue that the normative ideal of "trot" signified in the shows' titles was instead broadened and (re)defined through both the choice of songs that contestants performed, and the style and affect of each individual performance.

Temporal Representation

The collective repertoire from the three shows sampled for this study comprises 279 individual songs from a total of 316 performances.³⁵ Analysis of this repertoire by both decade and the originally recorded styles of the songs indicates that the shows' repertoires were informed more by discourses of nostalgia for recent decades than they were by the reified notion of a trot genre. Concerning temporal representation, all three shows' repertoires were dominated by songs of the past four decades (Table 1, left). Therein *Miss Trot* had a greater emphasis on the 2000s followed by the 2010s; *Mr Trot* was evenly spread across the 2000–2010s and 1980s, while *I Am a Trot Singer* had greatest representation of the 1980s

Table 1 Repertoire of TV shows (left) and Chu Hyönmi TV sample (right) by decade of songs' original release

Decade of songs' original release	Tomorrow's Miss Trot 2019	Tomorrow's Mr Trot 2020	I Am a Trot Singer 2020	Total	As a percentage of the shows' collective repertoires		Chu Hyönmi TV			
							As a percentage of Chu Hyönmi TV			
2010-2020	23	34	11	68	21.5%		3	2.27%	Chu Hyönmi originals (15 songs) 11.36%	
2000s	26	32	17	75	23.7%	79.7%	0	0%		
1990s	7	20	13	40	12.7%		1	0.76%	19.7%	
1980s	14	33	22	69	21.8%		13	9.85%		Other (11 songs) 8.33%
1970s	8	9	10	27	8.5%	15.8%	9	6.82%		
1960s	7	7	9	23	7.3%		29	21.97%		
1950s	1	2	6	9	2.8%		41	31.06%		
1940s	0	0	3	3	0.9%	4.3%	23	17.42%		80.30%
1930s	0	1	0	1	0.3%		10	7.58%		
Pre-1930	0	1	0	1	0.3%		2	1.52%		
Totals	86	139	91	316			132			

followed by the 2000s. Among these four decades, the 1990s was the least represented but was still the fourth most represented decade overall. Representation of songs originally dating prior to the 1980s dramatically decreased in reverse chronological order by decade. The supposed “golden-age” period of the 1960s and 1970s accounted for under 16% of the total repertoire, while the preceding mid-twentieth-century decades constituted under 5%. Such modest representation of earlier decades still supported the premise of trot as a diachronic tradition but it was far from a dominant feature.

Singer Representation

Certain singers are popularly associated with the trot genre and so the relative representation of their songs in the repertoire can serve as an indicator of concordance with pre-boom trot expectations. The sampled repertoire comprised songs originally recorded by 154 individual singers or groups. In terms of social classification, only around 40% to half of these singers would be typically associated as “trot singers,” whether historical or contemporary (Table 2). These trot singers were more likely than other singers or groups to be represented in the repertoire by two or more songs and consequently their songs represented between 63–72% of the shows’ collective repertoire.

Nam Chin and Na Hun-a topped the list of highest represented singers. However, despite their historical association with the late 1960s and 1970s era, they were principally represented by songs they have recorded in subsequent periods of their careers, that is, in the 1980s and after. Legendary singers, Pae Ho and Yi Mi-ja, whose oeuvres are more limited to the 1960s–1970s, were notably underrepresented. Matching the temporal emphasis of recent decades, the most represented singers after Nam and Na were rather singers whose careers flourished either in the 1980s or in the 2000s and 2010s. Songs of Chang Yun-jöng and Kim Yön-ja were dominant on *Miss Trot*, on which these two singers participated as judges, while on *Mr Trot*, songs by Söl Un-do and Chu Hyönmi contributed to the higher representation of the 1980s. Meanwhile, *I Am a Trot Singer* had a more even representation of singers after Na Hun-a, a circumstance reflecting the

Table 2 Associative genre identity of original singers from TV shows’ collective repertoire

Associative identification of original singers/groups	Out of 154 individual singers/groups	Number of songs of those singers out of total repertoire (316 songs)
Trot	61 (39.6%)	201 (63.6%)
Ambiguous	15 (9.7%)	25 (7.9%)
Not trot	78 (50.6%)	92 (29.1%)

show's broader eclecticism of repertoire. Table 3 shows a sample of singers whose originally recorded songs had highest representation in the collective repertoire together with a breakdown of their songs by decade.

Stylistic Representation

The question of stylistic representation of the collective repertoire concerns both the style of the songs as they were historically recorded by original singers, and the styles in which they were performed on the shows. Here I base stylistic appraisal on my own listening to the original recordings with attention to the aforementioned musicological features. The strict stylistic appraisal of any one song may be disputed but I contend my evaluations to be broadly commensurate with the contours of pre-boom genre expectations, both academic and popular.

Concerning the originally recorded style of songs across the collective repertoire, songs identifiable as unequivocal "trot," or possessing stylistic "trot" influence, accounted for less than half of the shows' repertoire (Table 4). Such underrepresentation occurred because there were stylistically "non-trot" songs even among those of singers popularly associated with trot. Notably, among the top three represented singers, Nam, Na, and Chang, less than half of their songs were stylistically definable as "trot" (Table 5).

In addition to this diversity occurring among the songs of singers popularly associated with trot, the shows' repertoires included songs by singers and bands that would not usually be classified as trot, whether associatively or stylistically. Examples of such representation from across all three shows includes performances of songs originally recorded by the following artists: the contemporary idol-pop girl groups, EXID and Orange Caramel, and singer PSY (Park Che-sang); 1980s' pop-ballad singers Yi Sŏn-hŭi and Chŏng Su-ra; rock and group-sound bands Songgolmae and San'ullim; and 1960s' girl-group act Pearl Sisters, whose songs were composed by rock guitarist Sin Chung-hyŏn. Exemplary of this diversity was the song, *Ŏnŭ 60 tae no pubu iyagi* ("Story of an elderly couple in their sixties" 1995), by acoustic guitar-based singer-songwriter Kim Kwang-sŏk that was performed both on *I Am a Trot Singer* and, most notably, as the final winning performance of *Mr Trot*.³⁶ The occurrence of such diversity among the original songs of the shows' repertoires demonstrates that the shows did not restrict their choice of repertoire to the pre-existing understanding of "trot." It indicates instead that in much of their song selection the shows conflated or expanded the definition of "trot" to include a broader stylistic swathe of repertoire principally dating from the last four decades.

Table 3 Highest represented original singers, and Pae Ho, with breakdown of their songs by decade

	Tomorrow's Miss Trot 2019	Tomorrow's Mr Trot 2020	I Am a Trot Singer 2020	Total	Repetitions of songs between shows	Representation of songs by decade (excluding repetitions)				
						1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
Nam Chin	6	11	3	20	5	1 (2)	1	1	3	4
Na Hun-a	3	10	5 (4) ³⁷	18	3	1	9 (6)	1	4	2
Chang Yun-jöng	11	1	1	13	1				8 (7)	5
Söl Un-do	0	10	1	11	1			2 (1)	5	2
Chu Hyönmí	2	7	1	10	1			6 (5)	2	1
Kim Yön-ja	5	3	2	10	3			3	2 (1)	4 (3)
Chin Söng	2	6	1	9	2				3 (2)	6 (5)
Pak Sang-chöl	2	4	2	8	4				7 (3)	1
Kim Su-hüi	2	3	2	7	0		1	3	2	1
Yi Mi-ja	1	1	4	6	2		3 (2)			
Cho Yong-p'il	0	3	2	5	1			5 (4)		
Chöe Chin-hüi	0	2	3	5	0			4	1	
Song Tae-kwan	1	1	3	5	1				2 (1)	2
Pak Hyön-bin	1	2	1	4	1				4 (3)	
Tae Chin-a	0	3	1	4	0			1	2	1
Pae Ho	0	2	0	2	0	2				

Table 4 Representation of songs among the TV shows' repertoire classifiable as trot, *sin minyo*, or ballad

	Tomorrow's Miss Trot 2019 (out of 86 songs)	Tomorrow's Mr Trot 2020 (out of 139 songs)	I Am a Trot Singer 2020 (out of 91 songs)	Total (excluding repetition)	As percentage of collective repertoire of 316 (279 individual) songs
Trot / <i>ppongchak</i>	34 (39.5%)	67 (48.2%)	43 (47.3%)	144 (116)	45.6% (41.6%)
<i>Sin minyo</i>	2 (2.3%)	7 (5.0%)	5 (5.5%)	14 (13)	4.4% (4.7%)
Ballad (rock / pop)	16 (18.6%)	22 (15.8%)	20 (22.0%)	58 (56)	18.4% (20.1%)

Table 5 Stylistic divisions of the original versions of the top six represented singers' songs

Singer	Total songs	Trot	Ballad	<i>Sin minyo</i>
		(Excluding repetition) [As a percentage of singer's represented repertoire]		
Nam Chin	20 (15)	9 (5) [45% (33.3%)]	5 [25%]	0
Na Hun-a	18 (14)	7 (5) [38.9% (35.7%)]	3 [16.7%]	0
Chang Yun-jöng	13 (12)	6 (5) [46.2% (41.7%)]	2 [15.4%]	0
Söl Un-do	11 (10)	8 (7) [72.7% (79%)]	0	0
Chu Hyönmí	10 (9)	7 (6) [70% (66.7%)]	0	2 [20%]
Kim Yöñ-ja	10 (7)	5 (3) [50% (42.9%)]	0	0

Performance Styles

Had the original stylistic diversity of the repertoire been maintained in the contestants' performances, there would have been little musical cohesion, or credibility in the shows' claims to "trot." The shows, however, successfully mitigated the risk of stylistic discordance through homogenizing strategies within their performances. In the context of the shows branding, this homogenization gave the impression that even non-trot songs were being adapted to stylistic trot conventions. I contend, however, that this homogenization of performance style was not purely a normativization to pre-boom trot, and nor was it restricted to the performances of the originally non-trot-associative repertoire. Rather, several performative elements, both musical and discursive, collectively worked to homogenize the stylistic affect of the performances. Elaborated below, these aspects were necessary not only to reduce perceived clashes between pre-existing reified genres, but just as importantly, to eliminate differences in sound and style

that occurred across the original repertoire due to its broad temporal representation. Such diachronic dissonance would have occurred even had the shows limited themselves to trot repertoire as defined in the pre-boom narratives. The resultant effect achieved was a collapsed temporality that felt both *timeless yet contemporary*. Rendered both aurally and visually, this effect drew on retro and *newtro* aesthetics that were key to the shows' success.

The strongest homogenizing impact on the performances was the employment of live studio orchestras to accompany the contestants' voices.³⁸ Most mainstream popular music styles of the past four decades in Korea have been based on synthesizers and digital production. This is true both for dance-based electropop (K-pop) and ballads, as well as for pre-boom trot. Rearrangement of this music for live orchestra thus involved de-digitalization, or *retrofication*, of the original sound. Such genre-defining textures as four-piece "group-sound" rock bands, and such period-defining textures as 1980s' synthesizer-infused music or 1990s' techno were all homogenized to the studio-orchestra sound. Synthesizers and electric guitars were still employed but their dominance in the overall texture was reduced and became principally decorative, alluding to the original style rather than being core to the music. The synthetic texture of 1980s' medleys, meanwhile, was entirely expunged thus eliminating a soundscape that has given trot its reputation of under-sophistication.

As a fixture of television broadcasting from the analogue era, both the visual aspect and sound of live studio orchestras lend themselves to the retro aesthetic while the contemporary studio setting and digital capture and broadcast ensures a *newtro* refinement. Nearly all normative popular Korean music through to the 1960s, and much through to the 1980s, was originally recorded with jazz orchestras. For the performances of repertoire dating to pre-1980s, the shows' employment of a live orchestra could thus readily lend an authentic texture. Here the homogenizing aspect was rather one of *newtro-fication*. This occurred less in the orchestration, than through combined affective impact both of crystal-clear digital capture, and through the situating of the pre-1980s' repertoire—itsself comprising diachronic and stylistic diversity—alongside the *retrofied* repertoire of recent decades. Thus, rather than a juxtaposition of earlier analogue and more recent synthesizer-based styles, the dual forces of *newtro* affect and retro aesthetics effectively homogenized the original diachronic diversity.

In addition to pre-1980s popular music, studio orchestras further lend themselves to two contemporary ballad styles that have proliferated in the past two decades: soft-pop ballads recorded by mainstream commercial artists, often purposed as title music for television dramas, and ballads composed for live musical theatre, an industry that has enjoyed resurgent popularity in Korea.

Soft-pop ballads were represented among the shows' original repertoire (Table 4). Here they injected a contemporary, mainstream aspect. However, while ballads provide a vehicle for emotionally intensive vocal performances, the shape of melodies, as well as musical rhythm and textures are distinct from pre-boom trot. The voice, too, typically lacks the affective vibrato associable with trot or *kug'ak*. The backing texture of the orchestra was thus crucial in homogenizing the presence of pop ballads. Musical theatre, by contrast, was employed as a style for a small number of individual performances, the originally recorded styles having been diverse. Examples include *Kok yesa ūi chōt sarang* ("An acrobat's first love" 1978) on *Miss Trot*, *Ch'ang pakk ūi yōja* ("Woman outside the window" 1980) on *Mr Trot*, and *Mojōng* ("Maternal affection" 1970) on *Trot Singer*, performed by contestants Kim Na-hŭi, Sōn In-sōn, and Kim Yong-im, respectively.³⁹ Due to its current-day popularity, the aesthetics of musical theatre exhibited both retro and *newtro* elements that again made for "timeless yet contemporary" performances.

Aside from musical theatre, the shows' most aberrant or distinctive performance styles were those incorporating live *kug'ak* fusion elements and vocal technique. Across the shows, this style was most clearly adopted on seven performances (Table 6). In all seven cases, the original song had a stylistic aspect already evocative of "traditional Korea" for which they would be variously classifiable as *sin minyo* or *kug'ak* fusion. Rather than homogenizing these songs to the "timeless" studio-orchestra texture, to varying degrees the shows' performances instead maintained or even enhanced the "traditional" aspect. This performed discourse of "traditional Korea" was principally constituted through three elements: live *kug'ak* instruments; Korean *hanbok* costume for both female and male singers; and the singers variously imitating the vocal technique of *p'ansori* or *minyo* singing. The utilization of *kug'ak* instruments and the *hanbok* styling (adopted in four of the performances) are both elements present in the current-day practice of Korean tradition. I contend that in the context of the performances, *kug'ak* instruments and *hanbok* thus functioned as *newtro* modifications updating the songs to *present-day* expectations of traditional performance. In particular, foregrounding of live *kug'ak* instruments superseded the now dated synthesizer texture of *kug'ak* fusion that is present on the original versions of all but two of the songs (*Yōllaksōn* and *Nim*, and arguably less present on *Hŭngbo ka ki ka mak'hyō*).

From among the original versions of the seven songs, two songs were distinct from archetypal *sin minyo* or *kug'ak* fusion styles: Kim Chōng-ho's *Nim* (1983) and the song *Hŭngbo ka ki ka mak'hyō* ("Hŭngbo is flabbergasted!" 1995) by self-styled "*p'ansori* rap" group, Yukkanasu. Kim's original version of *Nim* is a slow rock ballad characterized by a vocal line of immense intensity. Inflected by his then chronic tuberculosis, Kim's vocalism imitated *p'ansori*. In particular, in

Table 6 Kug'ak fusion songs performed on TV shows

Song	Year	Singer / group	Original music	Original voice	Show	Contestant(s)	Show music	Show voice	Hanbok
<i>Hŭngbo-ga ki ka makhŏ</i> 흥보가 기가 막혀 "Hŭngbo is flabbergasted!"	1995	Yukkaksu 육각수	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion techno dance	<i>Chang-taryŏng</i> with power pop chorus	<i>Mr. Trot</i>	Kim Taesu Oh Saern Ok Chin-uk	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion dance rock	<i>Chang-taryŏng</i> inflected musical theatre	Yes
<i>Changmoksu</i> 장녹수 "Evergreen tree"	1995	Chŏn Mi-kyŏng	<i>Sin minyo</i> inflected <i>kug'ak</i> fusion ballad	<i>Kyŏnggi minyo</i> inflected power ballad	<i>Miss Trot</i>	Chŏng Mi-ae	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion pop ballad	Power ballad	No
<i>Ōmae</i> 어미 "Mother"	1993	Na Hun-a	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion	Lightly inflected	<i>I Am a Trot Singer</i>	Pak Sŏ-chin	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion	<i>Kug'ak</i> inflected theatrical pop	No
<i>Ch'ilgapsan</i> 칠갑산 "Mount Ch'ilgap"	1989 [1980]	Chu Pyŏngsŏn [Yun Sang-il]	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion [<i>Kug'ak</i> pastiche with strings and clarinet]	<i>Kug'ak</i> inflected soft rock ballad	<i>I Am a Trot Singer</i>	Pak Ku-yun	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion	<i>Kug'ak</i> inflected pop ballad	Yes
<i>Nim</i> 님 "My love"	1983	Kim Chŏng- ho	Slow rock ballad	<i>Pansori</i> inflected theatrical rock	<i>Mr. Trot</i>	Chang Min-ho	<i>Kug'ak</i> -rock fusion	<i>Pansori</i> inflected slow rock	Yes
<i>Han abaengnyŏn</i> 한오백년 "Five hundred years"	1980	Cho Yong- pil	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion	<i>Pansori</i> / <i>Kyŏnggi minyo</i> inflected ballad	<i>Mr. Trot</i>	Kang Tae-kwan	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion	<i>Pansori</i> / <i>Kyŏnggi minyo</i> inflected ballad	No
<i>Yŏllaksŏn</i> 연락선 "Ferry ship"	1975	Cho Mimi	<i>Sin minyo</i> ; jazz orchestra, no synthesizer	<i>Sin minyo</i>	<i>I Am a Trot Singer</i>	Kim Yong-im	<i>Kug'ak</i> fusion	<i>Kug'ak</i> inflected trot ballad	Yes

the opening drawn-out line to *Nim*, “*Kanda! Kanda!*” (“[My love] departs! [My love] departs!”), Kim emulated a well-known passage from the *p’ansori* classic, *Hŭngbo-ga* (Song of Hŭngbo), that begins, “*Kanan iya, Kanan iya*” (“Poverty! Poverty!”) and is sung in the slow *chin’yang* rhythm.⁴⁰ In the original recording of *Nim*, a soloing electric-guitar line interweaved with Kim’s voice. This at once imbued a classic-rock sound, though in melodic shape and function the guitar was also evocative of the Koga-melody style. In contrast to contemporary *kug’ak*-fusion, the recording did not employ synthesizer but added accompaniment with a live horn section, thus adding a jazz-orchestra aspect. In 1985 a more purely rock-ballad style interpretation of the song was recorded by singer Kim Hyŏn-sik (1958–1990) for the Kim Chŏng-ho commemorative album. By contrast, contestant Chang Min’s 2020 performance of *Nim* on *Mr Trot* rendered the song as a fuller *kug’ak*-rock fusion.⁴¹ This was achieved by foregrounding a solo *sogŭm* transverse flute and Chang’s imitative-*p’ansori* vocal performance over the original slow-rock tempo and soloing electric guitar. This performance was one of the few from across the shows not to employ jazz orchestra. In place of the original horns, the texture was filled out with a background synthesizer that was itself evocative of the 1980s’ *kug’ak* fusion, but less dominant. The *kug’ak* affect was visually rendered through Chang donning a translucent white, silk *hanbok* of clearly current-day *newtro* design, offset by side-parted hair, itself evocative of mid-twentieth-century styling.

Exemplified in the case of *Nim*, performative evocation of “traditional Korea” was most successful at substituting for the shows’ homogenized “trot” sound, when the original songs could be sung with a similar vocal intensity as believed to be shared across *p’ansori*, *minyo*, and trot. This was negatively demonstrated in the team performance of *Hŭngbo ka ki ka mak’hyŏ* (1995) on *Mr Trot*.⁴² While otherwise well-received, the performance failed to convince judge Cho Yŏng-su, who noted that although trot and *kug’ak* are intertwined styles, the performance lacked any “trot” aspect. *Hŭngbo ka ki ka mak’hyŏ* is originally aberrant from *kug’ak* fusion for its electric dance beat. More crucial, however, in both the original version and the *Mr Trot* performance, the “*p’ansori*-rap” vocal style employed is imitative not of the slower, intense passages of *p’ansori* that resonate with rock and trot affect, but of faster and more comedic *p’ansori* passages that can achieve speeds and word-rhythms analogous to rap. Aside from *p’ansori*, this fast *kug’ak* style is typified in the traditional itinerant performers’ song, *Chang t’arŏng*. I contend that what Cho expressed to be an absence of a “trot” aspect—a complaint that could have been equally leveled at the performances of *Nim* or *Han ōbaengnyŏn*—was in actuality an absence of the essentialized vocal affect transferable between *kug’ak*, rock, and trot.

The shows at once effected the boom, while variously transgressing and expanding reified genre boundaries. They nevertheless have not had a complete monopoly on performed understanding. A counterpoint is found in Chu Hyönmi TV.

Chu Hyönmi TV

Operated by Chu Hyönmi with her music director, Yi Pan-sök, the main content of Chu Hyönmi TV is a growing collection of newly recorded live performances of songs dating to past decades, broadly divided between pre-1980s covers and Chu Hyönmi's original catalogue of the 1980s onwards. In the first introductory video, Chu explained the channel's purpose as follows:

Through this channel, [I] will perform for you the songs, old songs (*yet norae*), that Korean people all love; at the same time, with a mind to protecting our traditional songs (*chönt'ong kayo*), [I] will strive to preserve and restore our songs that are being forgotten. Personally, I feel a truly great sense of loss, and that it is a shame that, with the passage of time, truly good old songs are disappearing from [collective] memory. With the voice of Chu Hyönmi, I will strive to sing for you those jewel-like songs that you loved of that [bygone] era, in as close as possible a manner to the original versions.⁴³

As expressed, Chu's motivations are focused on nostalgia and a sense of mission to preserve and revive a canon of "old songs." Organized as a single playlist and playlists by decade, within the channel the main terms used to refer to this repertoire are *yet kayo*, *yet norae*, and *chönt'ong kayo* (전통가요 "traditional song"). Chu avoids mention of "trot" or *ppongtchak*, and makes no explicit indication as to genre or musical style. The only clear characteristic we may deduce about the repertoire she was then planning to record is that the songs have been known within the living memory of her audience. However, the terms "old song" and "traditional song" that she employs both contain pertinent connotations. The former, *yet norae*, readily recalls the aforementioned practice of recording "old song" repertoire. "Traditional song," or *chönt'ong kayo*, meanwhile, although seemingly generic, is a specific term that was adopted in the early 2000s to refer to the same repertoire as is denoted by the term "trot" in the pre-boom reified narratives and popular parlance.⁴⁴ *Chönt'ong kayo* functions to overturn negative connotations of "trot" or *ppongtchak* while emphasizing a perceived lineage of twentieth-century popular music; qualified with "our" (*uri*) it further asserts relative autonomy from competing foreign genres.

Subsequent media features reinforce the equivalence between *yet norae*, *chönt'ong kayo*, and pre-boom understandings of "trot." An interview article with

the *Yösöng chosön* magazine of 12 June 2019 profiling Chu Hyönmi TV explicitly characterizes Chu as a “trot singer,” while in her quoted answers, Chu refers only to “old songs that have flowed away [with time]” (*hüllögan yet norae*).⁴⁵ However, in a subsequent in-depth interview for the EBS television channel in December 2020, Chu speaks of “trot” and *yet norae* as if a single concept that she juxtaposes with “idol” and “K-pop” music, characterizing these latter as being under the influence of recent Western styles.⁴⁶ Her willingness to use “trot” for expedience of communication is likely a reflection of the term’s restored respectability in light of the trot boom. In both interviews Chu states her desire that Chu Hyönmi TV serve as an archive and resource for singers to be able to study and learn “old songs” and that her goal is to record a thousand songs. We can thus understand Chu Hyönmi TV as a conscious curation project to document a perceived canon of “old songs” that would be popularly equatable to “trot.”

Before turning to analysis of the repertoire that will extend into discussion of the “old song” practice, let us first consider some affective aspects of the recorded performances that situate Chu Hyönmi TV in contemporary discourses of retro and *newtro*. Each performance is consistently recorded as a trio with Chu’s voice accompanied by accordion and acoustic guitar, played by Kim T’aeho and Yi Pansök, respectively. In its acoustic aspect and choice of instruments, the trio ensemble evokes a timeless, perhaps early-to-mid-twentieth-century era and place when electric instruments were not yet practical or favored. Although an acoustic guitar in particular can lend itself to later styles of music, such as strummed *minjung* folk or more recent “indie,” Yi plays with a jazzier, pre-rock fingerstyle evocative of the original Koga-melody style. Combined with the accordion, for songs of early decades, particularly pre-1945, the ensemble’s texture evokes an authentic aspect. For songs of later decades, the effect is increasingly one of timeless homogenization in style, which becomes particularly present in the renditions of Chu’s own 1980s catalogue and recent releases. Through the consistent and limited ensemble, the homogenization of textures across each performance is even more thorough than in the case of the competition shows’ studio orchestras. In particular, the absence of drums results in a relative de-emphasis of period- and genre-defining rhythms. This, in turn, allows for greater focus on the vocal melody together with Koga-style elaborations by the guitar and accordion.

Visually, the videos’ *mise-en-scène* comprises elements that feel variously “timeless and current day.” Chu wears a variety of elegant current-day fashions, without visible logos or branding and sometimes with a retro aspect alluding to the period of the specific song. The two accompanists similarly wear unbranded shirts and sport hair styles and moustaches somewhat evocative of pre-1945 styling. Rather than authentic re-enactment of a given period, the combination of Chu’s

more contemporary feel with the musicians' retro styling—visually enhanced by their instruments—produces a sartorial effect reflecting current-day *newtro* fashion. In addition to the instruments, Chu's microphone is also visible. To date she has alternated between three microphones: initially between a current-day studio mic and a bottle-type tube mic, the latter marketed by companies today as a retro design. From October 2019 she introduced another retro-styled, chrome-plated microphone that is typically evocative of the 1950s. The trio recorded each performance, meanwhile, in a small space against a backdrop of bright monochrome color that imputes a period-less yet current-day feel. This pastel color scheme is carried over onto the YouTube channel itself. Similar to the competition shows, the overall production quality of the videos feels state-of-the-art to our current-day expectations. Each performance is captured with crystal-clear sound, and a picture quality indicative of high-end DSLR cameras. As viewers, we watch these performances through computers or smart devices that maintain the digital quality of sound and picture. In sum, the performances of stylistically homogenized "old songs" interspersed with Chu's newer repertoire, situated within a juxtaposition of analogue and retro styling, and the pastel colors and digital capture collectively contribute to Chu Hyönmi TV exhibiting a strong *newtro* affect.

In terms of repertoire, Chu Hyönmi TV differs to the competition shows in its focus on mid-twentieth-century songs. It consequently bears a greater similarity to the practice of recording "old song" collections. This is demonstrated through analysis of the first 132 performances uploaded between 26 November 2018 and 17 June 2020. Concerning temporal representation, some 92 (69.7%) of these songs date to between 1940 and 1969, with the 1950s being the most represented decade and 28 songs dating to pre-1945 (Table 1, right). Although the repertoire contains songs dating up to 2018, all fifteen songs dating from 1984 onwards are from Chu Hyönmi's own catalogue.⁴⁷ Excluding these songs, the temporal representation is squarely focused on decades prior to 1970. This temporal representation is the near mirror opposite to that of the competition shows, the only common feature being underrepresentation of songs from the 1970s. Nevertheless, thirteen of the 132 songs were also performed on the competition shows: nine on *I Am a Trot Singer*, three on *Mr Trot*, and just one—albeit that proved to be the winning final-round performance—on *Miss Trot*. A further similarity with the shows is that despite Chu Hyönmi TV's preference for earlier decades, the "golden-age" singers are largely neglected: from the sample Chu has recorded just two songs each for Pae Ho and Na Hun-a, and none for either Yi Mi-ja or Nam Chin. Given Yi Mi-ja's celebrated reputation as the most successful popular singer of the 1960s, and her close popular association with "trot," we may speculate that either copyright or respect for her status as a still-living icon are contributing factors.⁴⁸ The same

may apply to Na and Nam; their gender is unlikely a factor as the top represented singers of the 132 songs are also all male, but those who were active in the 1940s and 1950s.

The Chu Hyōnmi TV project not only curates a canon of “old songs” but asserts Chu Hyōnmi as a successor to this lineage. While focused on mid-twentieth-century songs, the project extends the temporal scope of “old songs” forwards to include Chu’s own repertoire of the mid-1980s. Since 2020, after the date of the analyzed sample, it has further included new material recorded in the same trio format from Chu’s then upcoming album release.⁴⁹ In the above EBS interview, Chu situates this new album in discourses of both retro and trot. First, upon Chu mentioning that the physical album may be released only as an LP record, the surprised interviewer suggests that not many people still own record players, to which Chu replies, “But recently there is again a retro (*ret’ūro*) sensibility,” implying that the main demand for a physical album will be from those who are practicing the trend of retro aesthetics.⁵⁰ In discussing the musical style of the new album she notes that on her previous album she had worked with younger composers recording songs of “a genre distinct from trot” but that in the current album she was *returning* to her own identity, that aims for a “traditional” (lit. “classical”) style arranged with a “current sensibility.”⁵¹ Chu thus characterizes her current work as returning to a style equated to trot from which she had temporally departed; through her mention of matching current sensibilities, she further situates her work in a performative discourse of updated tradition.

As demonstrated by the EBS interview, the “trot boom” triggered by the success of the competition shows clearly enabled Chu to adopt “trot” as a positive descriptor of her long-established musical identity. However, the emphasis of mid-twentieth-century repertoire on Chu Hyōnmi TV, and Chu’s discursive invocation of tradition clearly distinguishes Chu Hyōnmi TV from the competition shows’ own performed definitions of trot. Chu’s framing of mid-twentieth-century repertoire as a discourse of tradition and nostalgia is instead analogous and essentially a continuation of the earlier practice of recording “old song” collections.

Old songs: quantifying the canon

The sample of songs on which I base the following analysis of the “old songs” repertoire is drawn from 35 albums dating between 1969 and 1989.⁵² These albums contain 542 individual recordings from a collective repertoire comprised of 277 individual songs.⁵³ For analysis, I subdivide this sample into the following three categories: collections dating between 1969 and 1979; collections dating to the 1980s; and Chu Hyōnmi’s medley albums also of the 1980s (Table 7). Quantitative

Table 7 Albums sampled as “old song” collections

Singer(s) / groups	Year	Korean title	Keyword / English translation of keywords	Record company	Album code
various ⁵⁴	1969.11.30	홀리칸 그리운 한국Hits가요 / 타향살이	Cherished Korean hit songs that have flowed away with time	OK Taihei 오-케이-太平文芸部 オ-ケー-太平音響株式会社	LSK-2039
Choe Chông-ja	1973	최정자-옛노래앨범 제1집	Yet <i>norae</i>	Daihan Record Co. 大韓音響(株)	HL-3
Ūpang'ul chamae	1973.12.28	다시 불러본 옛노래 제2집	Yet <i>norae</i> sung again	Daihan Record Co.	KLS-82
Ūpang'ul chamae	1974.4.13	다시 불러본 옛노래 제3집	Yet <i>norae</i> sung again	Universal Record Company	KLS-83
Cho Yông-nam	1974.1.5	다시 부른 옛노래	Yet <i>norae</i> sung again	Jigu Records 地球레코드公社	JLS-120791
Hong Min	1974.4.10	옛노래에창곡집	Favourite <i>yet norae</i>	Oasis Records 오아시스레코드社	OL1507
Kim Chū-ja	1974.6.8	다시 불러보는 옛노래	Yet <i>norae</i> sung again	Universal Record Company	KLS-95
Ha Ch'un-hwa	19748.28	하춘화가 부르는 구리운 옛노래	Cherished <i>yet norae</i>	Jigu Records 지구레코드공사	JLS-120898
Na Hun-a	1976.11.1	20곡 나훈아 다시 부른 옛노래	Yet <i>norae</i> sung again	Oasis Records	OL1853
various ⁵⁵	1976.2.10	다정한 옛노래: 홀리칸 가요 씨리즈 Vol.1	Affectionate <i>yet norae</i> : songs flowed away with time	Daihan Record 대한음반제작소	SLD-1023
Kūm kwa ün (Two Ace)	1976.5.15	금과-은 옛노래 모음	Yet <i>norae</i>	Universal Record Co.	K-APPLE-821
Yi Sōng-ae	1976.6.12	이성애의 열창 옛노래 20 Vol. 1	Yet <i>norae</i>	Jigu Records지구레코드공사	JLS-1201116
Paek Sōl-hūi & Yi Mi-ja	1976.6.1	백설희와 이미자 옛노래 20 Vol.2	Yet <i>norae</i>	Jigu Records지구레코드공사	JLS-1201117

Cho Mi-mi	1976.8.17	조미미 다시 부른 옛노래 20곡	Yet <i>norae</i> sung again	Oasis Record Co. 오아시스레코드사	OL1832
Mun Chu-ran	1977.2.5	문주란의 정다운 옛노래 20곡집	Affectionate yet <i>norae</i>	Jigu Records Corp. 지구레코드공사	JLP-1070
Kim Hun	1977.5.25	옛노래 모음	Yet <i>norae</i>	Universal Record Co. 유니버어살레코드사	K-APPLE-839
Na Hun-a	1978.10.12	나훈아 다시 부른 옛노래	Yet <i>norae</i> sung again	오아시스레코드사 Oasis Record Co.	OL2067
Yi Mi-ja & Ha Ch'un-hwa	1979.2.16	열창: 이미지 하춘화 같이 부른 옛노래	Yet <i>norae</i> sung together	Jigu Records Corp. 지구레코드공사	JLS-1201428
Sawŏl-ga owŏl	1979.8.1	4월과 5월의 옛노래	Yet <i>norae</i>	HIT Record Co. 히트레코드사	HM10011
Yi Mi-ja & Paek Sŏl-hŭi	1979.10.1	그리운 노래 12집	Cherished songs	Seoul Record Co. 서울음반	SLP-7852
Pak Il-nam & Chŏng Hun-hŭi	19801.10	박일남 정춘희: 다시부른옛노래	Yet <i>norae</i> sung again	Oasis Record Co. 오아시스레코드사	OL2233
Paek Nan-a	1980.6.5	왕년의 톱가수 백남아가 부른 옛노래히트곡20	Hit Yet <i>norae</i>	Jigu Record Corp. 지구레코드	JLS-120 1552
Kim Chŏng-ho	1981.3.26	영혼을 노래하는 김정호	Kim Chŏng-ho singing [his] soul	Shinsegye Sound Ind Co. 新世界音響 工業株式会社	SIS-81117
Cho Yong-pil	1984.2.6	슈퍼스타 조용필 옛노래1집	Yet <i>norae</i>	Jigu Record Corp.	JLS-1201841
Cho Yong-pil	1984.3.9	슈퍼스타 조용필 옛노래2집	Yet <i>norae</i>	Jigu Record Corp.	JLS-1201842
Pak Il-nam & O Ki-taek	1984.9.30	박일남·오기택 옛노래 경창	Yet <i>norae</i>	Jigu Record Corp.	JLS-1201893
Chŏng Chong-t'aek	1986.5.20	다시부른 옛노래	Yet <i>norae</i> sung again	Oasis Record Co. 오아시스레코드사	OL-2703
Kim Chun-gyu	1986.3.29	쌍쌍파티 김준규 옛노래	Ssangsang party	Jigu Record Corp.	JLS-1201996
Na Hun-a	1989.8.10	홀리칸옛노래모음집	Yet <i>norae</i> that have flowed away with time	ASIA Record Co. 아세아레코드	ALS-1854

Table 7 (continued)

Singer(s) / groups	Year	Korean title	Keyword / English translation of keywords	Record company	Album code
Chu Hyönnmi & Kim Chun-gyu	1984.12.25	쌍쌍파티 1집	Ssangssang party 1	Oasis Record Co. 오아시스레코드사	ORC-1029 (OL-2616)
Chu Hyönnmi & Kim Chun-gyu	1985.1.25	쌍쌍파티 2집	Ssangssang party 2	Oasis Record Co.	ORC-1012 (OL-2617)
Chu Hyönnmi & Kim Chun-gyu	1985.3.25	쌍쌍파티 3집	Ssangssang party 3	Oasis Record Co.	ORC-1013
Chu Hyönnmi & Kim Chun-gyu	1985.6.5	쌍쌍파티 4집	Ssangssang party 4	Oasis Record Co.	ORC-1014
Chu Hyönnmi	1985.10.20	추원미 디스코 파티	Chu Hyönnmi disco party	TGR 태광음반(주)	AN-031
Chu Hyönnmi & Kim Chun-gyu	1985.11.15	쌍쌍파티 5집	Ssangssang party 5	Oasis Record Co.	ORC-1047

analysis of this significant-sized sample enables us to delineate the core repertoire of the “old songs” canon. This is the same canon that the reified narratives have equated to “early trot,” and that is also evoked by Chu Hyönmi.

In making comparisons both among the three “old song” album subcategories and between those categories and the repertoire of the TV shows and Chu Hyönmi TV, we should consider two types of representation: frequency of occurrence across the total number of songs inclusive of repetition, and relative patterns of representation when counting the occurrence of individual songs only once within a given category. Comparing the total frequency reveals the most often recorded or performed songs. These songs constitute the core repertoire of the canon. Representation by individual songs, meanwhile, provides an overview of the total diversity and relation to period. For example, and to highlight a key characteristic of the total old songs’ repertoire, a relatively small number of pre-1945 songs have been recorded with highest frequency, placing these songs individually at the core of the “old song” canon. By contrast, the temporal bracket of the 1950s accounts both for the greatest frequency of songs organized by period, as well as the largest variety of individual songs. However, precisely because of this variety, relatively fewer individual songs dating to the 1950s occur with a frequency comparable to the most frequently occurring pre-1945 songs. Table 8 tabulates occurrence of songs by period across the subcategories and total repertoires. The key temporal divisions are pre-1945, the 1950s, and the 1960s.⁵⁶

The clearest characteristic of the “old song” repertoire across all three subcategories is the dominance of 1950s’ period songs: for the combined categories, the figure is around 36%, both for frequency including repetition and for the number of individual songs. The most insightful difference among the subcategories is thus relative representation of the pre-1945 and 1960s brackets. Across the 1969–1979 subcategory, frequency of total occurrence according to time period is evenly spread between pre-1945 (39%) and the 1950s (38%), while the category of the 1960s (15%) is less than half of either of these. However, by individual songs (excluding repetition), representation of the 1950s (40%) rises, while the pre-1945 bracket (26%) drops to a level closer to the 1960s (24%). In short, the collective repertoire by individual song comprised a similar number of songs of pre-1945 and the 1960s, however, the pre-1945 songs were recorded more often than those of the 1960s.

In the 1980s subcategory, the pattern of representation among the three main periods of pre-1945, 1950s, and 1960s is more even. Across the frequency of total occurrence, the representation of the 1960s (27.4%) has closed the gap with pre-1945 (29%), indicating that a greater number of specific songs of the 1960s were being recorded more often, and thus gaining a place in the canon.

Table 8 Temporal representation of “old song” collection repertoire by songs’ original release dates

	1969–1979 “old songs” 20 albums		1980s “old songs” 9 albums		Chu Hyönmi medleys 1980s 6 albums		All 1980s 15 albums		All categories 1969–1989 35 albums											
	Individual (154)	With repetition (282)	Individual (102)	With repetition (135)	Individual (118)	With repetition (125)	Individual (188)	With repetition (260)	Individual (277)	With repetition (542)										
Pre-1945	40	26.0%	111	39.4%	22	22.6%	39	28.9%	12	10.17%	14	11.1%	23	12.2%	53	20.38%	43	15.5%	164	30.3%
1945–1949	11	7.1%	19	6.7%	4	3.9%	4	3.0%	1	0.85%	1	0.8%	5	2.66%	5	1.92%	11	3.97%	24	4.43%
1950s	62	40.3%	107	37.6%	40	39.2%	47	34.8%	39	33.1%	43	34.4%	66	35.1%	90	34.6%	98	35.4%	196	36.2%
1960s	37	24.0%	42	14.9%	30	29.4%	37	27.4%	36	30.5%	37	29.6%	60	31.9%	74	28.5%	87	31.4%	116	21.4%
1970s	4	2.6%	4	1.4%	6	5.9%	8	5.9%	23	19.5%	23	18.4%	27	14.4%	31	11.9%	31	11.2%	35	6.46%
1980s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	5.93%	7	3.72%	7	3.72%	7	2.69%	7	2.53%	7	1.29%

Concerning representation by individual songs, the number of songs of the 1960s (29%) surpasses those of pre-1945 (23%). This indicates that by the 1980s, the period of the 1960s was emerging as a new source of recent “old-song” nostalgia.

The subcategory of Chu Hyönmi’s medley albums exhibits notably lower total representation of pre-1945 songs (11%) and higher representation both of the 1960s (28%) and also of the 1970s (14%) and 1980s (12%). Appearance of 1980s material is aberrant as it represents newly composed repertoire added into the mix. We should further bear in mind that in contrast to the preceding subcategories, Chu’s medley albums were less explicitly marketed as “old song” collections: a part of their success may, indeed, have been the repertoire’s wide temporal scope appealing to a wide listenership. Similar to the other categories, however, Chu’s medley repertoire remained clearly anchored in the 1950s and maintained representation of core pre-1945 songs.

In contrast to the modest overlap of nineteen songs between Chu Hyönmi TV and the TV shows, the overlap between Chu Hyönmi TV and the “old song” collections is considerably higher. Across the total collections (all three subcategories, comprising 277 songs), some 83 individual songs overlapped. This overlap accounted for 62% of the Chu Hyönmi TV and 30% of the collections by individual song. However, inclusive of repetition the overlap accounts for just under 49% of the collections’ total volume of songs (542). This indicates that in the first 132 songs, the Chu Hyönmi TV project has already covered close to half of the “old song” collections by total volume of song frequency.

In contrast to Chu Hyönmi TV, the overlap between the collections and the repertoire of the TV shows is relatively small. Despite the larger size of the TV shows’ collective repertoire than that of Chu Hyönmi TV, the number of individual songs that overlap is just 29. This figure accounts for just over 10% both of the shows’ repertoire and of the “old song” collections by individual song. Of the collections by total volume (inclusive of repetition) it rises to just 14%. The small overlap is principally due to the TV shows’ repertoire having a greater focus on songs of the 1980s onwards. Of the overlapping songs, just three date to the early 1980s, all occurring on the Chu medleys.⁵⁷ However, if we limit comparison of the TV shows’ repertoire to pre-1980s (59 individual songs), the remaining 26 songs that overlap now account for 44% of the shows’ pre-1980 repertoire. Of these, four date to the 1970s, while eight songs date to the 1960s and account for 40% of the total shows’ songs of the same decade (20 songs). For pre-1960, fourteen songs overlap and notably account for 100% of the shows’ pre-1960 repertoire. Thus, although numerically small, the representation of pre-1980s and especially pre-1960s repertoire on the TV shows closely aligns with the repertoire of the

Table 9 Overlap of repertoire between “old song” collections and Chu Hyönnmi TV (left), and TV shows (right)

	Overlap with Chu Hyönnmi TV 132 songs				Overlap with TV shows 279 individual; 316 with repetition						
	Total songs	Number of overlapping songs:		As % of category with repetition songs	As % of TV shows by individual songs	Number of overlapping songs:		As % of category with repetition songs			
		Individual songs	With repetition among the categories			Between categories and TV shows repertoire	With repetition among the TV shows repertoire				
1969-1979	154	54	146	35.1%	51.8%	16	17	5.7%	5.4%	10.4%	13.1%
Other 1980s	102	41	64	40.2%	47.4%	15	16	5.4%	5.1%	14.7%	16.3%
Chu medleys 1980s	118	48	54	40.7%	43.2%	18	21	6.5%	6.6%	15.3%	15.2%
All 1980s	188	69	118	36.7%	45.4%	27	31	9.7%	9.8%	14.4%	15.8%
All 1969-1980s	277	83	264	30.0%	48.7%	29	33	10.4%	10.4%	10.5%	14.4%

“old song” collections, indicating the shows to have rooted their repertoire in the “old song” canon.

As one way to encapsulate both internal and comparative features of the collections, Table 10 lists the top thirty-two most often recurring songs from the total of the “old song” repertoire, together with the occurrence of these songs across Chu Hyönmi TV and the TV shows. While each “old song” and medley album contains its own specific selection of songs, this list distils a sample that may be considered archetypal of the core repertoire corresponding to the currently perceived canon of “early trot,” as delineated in popular music histories. Each of these songs occurred between four and thirteen times across the collections; inclusive of repetition they account for 37.6% (204) of the total recordings. Seventeen songs date to pre-1945, and by frequency account for 62.3% (127 recordings) of the top thirty-two songs. By contrast fourteen of the thirty-two songs date between 1948 and 1959 and represent 35.8% (73) recordings. Only one song, an Yi Mi-ja hit, dates to the early 1960s. Of these top thirty-two most frequently occurring songs, 24 have also been recorded by Chu Hyönmi TV, while just seven were performed on the TV shows. Among the shows, only one of these latter seven songs, *Tanjang üi Miari kogae* (“Heartache at Miari Pass” 1956), was performed on *Miss Trot*, as the final performance by winning contestant, Song Ka-in.⁵⁸

Conclusion: triangulating trot

The above analysis has contextualized the content of the TV shows through comparison with Chu Hyönmi TV and earlier “old song” collections. The choice of comparison has been premised first, on relative relations of each of the three media to pre-existing notions of “trot,” typified by reified narratives, such as popular music histories, and second, on interrelations between the three media independent to the trot discourse.

To summarize, all three media have exhibited an imperfect relationship to reified and popular notions of “trot.” The TV shows positively invoked pre-existing discourses of “trot” through their usage of the term in their titles; their success engendered the notion of a “trot boom,” but in their choice of repertoire and performances, they deviated from pre-boom expectations. Chu Hyönmi TV is fronted by a singer popularly associated with trot, but the project itself has eschewed mention of the term. Across both the TV shows and Chu Hyönmi TV, repertoire of the popularly regarded “golden-age” trot singers of the 1960s and 1970s was underrepresented, thus distancing the two media from the diachronic centre and archetypes of reified trot. Chu Hyönmi TV and the earlier “old song” collections, meanwhile, manifest a common repertoire that today is regarded

Table 10 Top 32 most often recurring songs of "old song" sample, and their occurrence on Chu Hyŏnmi TV and TV shows

Title	Date	Composer	Original Singer	All 1969-1989	1969-1979	Other 1980s	Chu 1980s medleys	Chu Hyŏn- mi TV	Trot Singer	Miss Trot	Mr Trot
<i>Nunmul chŏjin Tuman'gang</i> 눈물 젖은 두만강 "The tear-drenched Tumen River"	1938	Yi Si-hu	Kim Chŏng-ku	13	9	2	2	1			
<i>Nagŭne sŏrum</i> 나그네 설움 "A traveller's sorrow"	1940	Yi Chae-ho	Paek Nyŏn-sŏl	12	8	3	1	1			
<i>Hwangsong yettŏ</i> 황성여터 "Site of the fortress ruins"	1932 (1928)	Chŏn Su-rin	Yi Aerisu	10	6	3	1	1			
<i>Aesu ū soyagok</i> 에수의 소야곡 "Serenade of grief"	1937	Pak Si-chŭn	Nam In-su	9	5	3	1	1			
<i>Mokpo ū nunmul</i> 목포의 눈물 "Tears of Mokpo"	1935	Son Mok-in	Yi Nan-yŏng	9	5	3	1	1			
<i>Tahyang sari</i> 타향살이 "Living in a foreign land"	1934	Son Mok-in	Ko Pok-su	9	7	2		1			
<i>Taeji ū hanggu</i> 대지의 항구 "Port on the continent"	1941	Yi Chae-ho	Paek Nyŏn-sŏl	9	5	4		1			
<i>Chŏngchŭn kobaek</i> 청춘고백 "Confession of youth"	1955	Pak Si-chŭn	Nam In-su	8	5	1	2				
<i>Pomnal ū kanda</i> 봄날은 간다 "Spring days pass"	1954	Pak Si-chŭn	Paek Sŏl-hŭi	8	6	2		1	1		
<i>Pŏnji ōnmŏn chumak</i> 변지 없는 주막 "A drinking place with no address"	1940	Yi Chae-ho	Paek Sŏl-hŭi	8	6	1	1	1			
<i>Kkum kkunŭn Paengmagang</i> 꿈꾸는 배마강 (alt. 추억의 배마강) Dreaming of Paekma River" (alt. Chuŏk ū Paengmagang "Memories of Paekma River")	1940	Im Kŭn-sik	Yi In-kwon	7	5	1	1	1			

<i>Taejŏn purŭsŭ</i> 대견 부르스 (alt. Taejŏn puru-su 대견부르스) "Taejŏn Blues"	1959	Kim Pu-hae	An Chŏng-ae	7	3	3	1	1	1
<i>Tanjang ūi Miari kogae</i> 단장의 미아리 고개 "Heartache at Miari Pass"	1956	Yi Chae-ho	Yi Hae-yŏn	7	5	1	1	1	1
<i>Tchak sarang</i> 짝사랑 "Unrequited love"	1937	Son Mok-in	Ko Pok-su	7	5	1	1		
<i>Pulhyŏja nŭn umnida</i> 불효자는 읍니다 "An unfilial child cries"	1940	Yi Chae-ho	Chin Pang-nam	6	3	2	1	1	
<i>Altŭrhan tangsin</i> 애타한 당신 "Precious you"	1936	Chŏn Su-rin	Hwang Kŭm-sim	5	3	2		1	
<i>Hongdo ya ulji mara</i> 홍도야 울지 마라 "Hongdo, don't cry!"	1939	Kim Chun-yŏng	Kim Yŏng-ch'un	5	3		2	1	1
<i>Hŭimang-ga</i> 희망가 "Song of hope"	1910s	anon.	anon.	5	4	1			1
<i>Mulbang'a tonŭn naeryŏk</i> 물방아 또는 내력 "inner power of the water mill"	1954	Yi Chae-ho	Pak Chae-hong	5	3	2		1	
<i>Pi naerinŭn Honamsŏn</i> 비 내리는 호남산 "The Honam rail line in the rain"	1956	Pak Ch'un-sŏk	Son In-ho	5	3	1	1	1	1
<i>Sŏnch'ang</i> 선장 "Ships captain"	1941	Yi Pong-nyong	Ko Un-bong	5	3	1	1	1	
<i>Ulgo nŏmmŭn Paktaljŏe</i> 울고 넘는 박달재 "Crossing Paktal Ridge in tears"	1950 (1948)	Kim Kyo-sŏng	Paek Chae-hong	5	3		2	1	
<i>Amerika Ch'ana taun</i> 아메리카 차이나타운 "American Chinatown"	1954	Pak Si-ch'un	Paek Sŏl-hŭi	4	3		1		

Table 10 (continued)

Title	Date	Composer	Original Singer	All 1969-1989	1969-1979	Other 1980s	Chu 1980s medleys	Chu Hyön- mi TV	Trot Singer	Miss Trot	Mr Trot
<i>Hyönjö Simchöng</i> 효녀 심청 "Filial daughter Simchöng"	1957	Chön O-süng	Kim Yong-man	4	3		1				
<i>Ibyöl üi Pusan chönggöjong</i> 이별의 부산 정거장 "Parting at Pusan station"	1954	Pak Si-ch'un	Nam In-su	4	3		1	1	1		
<i>Kamgyök sidöae</i> 감격시대 "Age of emotion"	1939	Pak Si-ch'un	Nam In-su	4	4			1			
<i>Kkum sok üi sarang</i> 꿈속의 사랑 "Love within a dream"	1956	Son Sök-u (arranger) ⁵⁹	Hyön In	4	1	2	1				
<i>Na hana üi sarang</i> 나 하나 의 사랑 "My one love"	1955	Son Sök-u	Son Min-to	4	3	1					
<i>Na nün uröñne</i> 나는 울었네 "I cried"	1954	Pak Si-ch'un	Son In-ho	4	3		1	1			
<i>Nim ira purärikka</i> 넘어라 부르리까 (alt. Im... 임) "Should I call you My Love?"	1963	Na Hwa- rang	Yi Mi-cha	4	3		1				
<i>Pi naeri nün</i> Komo njöng 비 내리는 고모령 "Komo Pass in the rain"	1948	Pak Si-ch'un	Hyön In	4	3		1	1			
<i>San pälja mul</i> pälja 산팔자 물팔자 "Mountain fate and river fate"	1940	Yi Chae-ho	Paek Nyön-söl	4	3	1		1			

as “early trot,” however, dating to the mid-twentieth century, this repertoire predates the discursive genre-identity of trot that historically only emerged in the late 1960s. Finally, many of the “old song” collections were recorded by singers popularly associated with trot, including both “golden-age” singers and Chu Hyönmi, a circumstance that enables retrospective associations of normative mid-twentieth-century repertoire with “early trot;” however, such collections were also recorded by associatively non-trot singers and were thus not the preserve of trot-associated singers.

The three analyzed media exhibit the following series of interrelations. The television shows and Chu Hyönmi TV are contemporary, screen-based media that across 2019–2020 have been associated with the notion of a “trot boom.” In substance, both comprise performative rendering of retro and *newtro* aesthetics. Despite these similarities, they differ in the temporal focus of their performed repertoire, the TV shows having a relative focus on the recent four decades; Chu Hyönmi TV being focused on the mid-twentieth century. The temporal focus of Chu Hyönmi TV better aligns with the repertoire of the “old song” collections. These two media further share a common framing of nostalgia. However, they differ in their temporal distance and relationship to the same mid-twentieth-century repertoire, and while the collections were commercial releases, Chu Hyönmi TV treats this material as a canon of national heritage. At a cursory glance, the TV shows and “old song” collections may appear the least interconnected. Their repertoires differ in temporal focus and the TV shows mostly avoid explicit appeals to “old-song” nostalgia. However, the two possess a significant commonality in the relative temporal distance to their respective repertoires. Both employed principally younger-generation singers to reactivate material of recent past decades: for listeners of the “old song” collections released across the 1970s and 1980s the decades were those of the mid-twentieth century; for audiences of the TV shows, this period is the 1980s to 2010s. The shows and collections thus appealed to lived-memories and nostalgia of recent decades, two forces that singer Chu Hyönmi also embodies through her iconic association with 1980s medleys.

The reified notion of “trot” as a diachronic genre-lineage fails to accurately historicize or sufficiently explain the cultural phenomenon of 2019–2020. De-centering this teleological narrative are trans-genre forces, including the performative practice of contemporary retro and *newtro* aesthetics, and a discourse of national Korean identity, tied both to that of twentieth-century South Korea and an essentialized “traditional Korea.” This discourse of identity is itself performatively rendered through the mid-twentieth-century canon, *kug’ak* fusion, and Korean vocal affect. Finally, these trans-genre forces occupy a three-part series of temporal conceptualizations: 1) diachronic conceptualizations that span

not just trot, but the wider trajectory of normative South Korean popular music; 2) a performatively rendered *timeless yet contemporary* modality that collapses and homogenizes twentieth-century decades, intermittently interfusing them with evocations of “traditional Korea,” itself a twentieth-century construct; and 3) conceptualizations appealing to nostalgia of recent decades and lived-experience. I contend that, the success of the boom and the continued appeal for grouping music under the banner of “trot,” is precisely the ability of this term to signify the simultaneous operation of all three temporal aspects.

Notes

1. In addition to the editors and anonymous reviewers, I extend special thanks to colleagues Max Balhorn, Saeyoung Park, Barbara Wall, and Sixiang Wang for pertinent online discussion. In 2021, I presented my analysis of Chu Hyönmi TV at the Korean Screen Culture Conference 2021 hosted by the University of Tübingen, and as a special lecture hosted on site by Princess Galyani Vahana Institute of Music, organized in collaboration with Mahidol University and Silpakorn University as a part of the Northeast and Southeast Area Studies Network in Finland and Thailand (NSEANET) project funded by the Finnish National Agency for Education's Asia Programme 2020.
2. A portmanteau of “new” and “retro,” *nyut'üro* has two broad meanings. One denotes the present-day practice of directly consuming and engaging with past, or legacy content enabled through the uploading of such content to digital media platforms such as YouTube. Here, *newtro* differs from retro, with retro practice denoting the creation and consumption of new content that reenacts or takes inspiration from the past. For an informed discussion of *newtro* with an emphasis on this meaning, see Chu et al. (2020). The other meaning of *newtro* describes an aesthetic that synthesizes past and new elements in the present. This article principally adopts *newtro* for this latter meaning. Here, *newtro* provides better nuance to the reality of practices commonly referred to as retro or vintage trends as it absolves misplaced concern for historical accuracy or the mixing of periods, and foregrounds the connotation of *currentness* over nostalgia or reenactment.
3. YouTube, “Chu Hyönmi TV” (주현미TV). <https://www.youtube.com/c/%EC%A3%BC%ED%98%84%EB%AF%B8TV>.
4. This assertion is based on my own preliminary investigation of trot discourse in popular media of this period, and agrees with Kobayashi 2018:39. Both Yi Yöng-mi and Chang Yu-jöng similarly acknowledge that “trot” does not occur as a term pre-1945, Yi 2006:66n12 and 73n1, and Chang and Sö 2015:111. Chu Hyönmi has similarly observed that even into the 1980s, trot was one specific 2/4 rhythm rather than a broader genre, see Chu Hyönmi TV (주현미 TV). 2021. “Chu Hyönmi ü taldal hant'ok 2021 nyön 3 wöl” 주현미의 달달한톡 (2021년3월). YouTube video, 1:11:03 min., 24 March 2021. <https://youtu.be/k-9z8yRGtoE?t=2586,43:06> min.
5. On medley trot, see Son, Min-Jung, “Regulating and Negotiating in T'ürot'ü, a Korean Popular Song Style,” *Asian Music* 37.1 (2006): 51–74, p. 61 and 65–67; and Son, Min-Jung, “Highway Songs in South Korea.” In *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*, edited by Keith Howard (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2006), pp. 72–81.
6. Chu participated on *Mr Trot* (Episode 10, March 5, 2020) as a guest judge, and on another trot-branded show, SBS's *T'ürotsin i ttötta* 트롯신이 떴다 (2020.3.4–2020.9.9) as a full participant.

7. Another survey history available in Korea is Pak Ch'an-ho. *Han'guk kayosa* (*Han'guk kayosa 1* (Seoul: Tosō ch'ulp'an, 2009); and Pak Ch'an-ho. *Han'guk kayosa 2* (Seoul: Tosō ch'ulp'an), 2009, first authored in Japanese by Zainichi Korean Paku Chyanho (朴燦鎬 박·찬호) and translated into Korean. In contrast to the South Korea-authored surveys, it does not define trot as a genre, but largely treats corresponding songs as normative popular music, against which incoming stylistic genres are distinguished.
8. Yi Yōng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa* (Seoul: Minsok'wōn, 2006): 98; Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi. *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron* (Seoul: Sōng'andang, 2015): 106. On *sin minyo*, see Hilary Finchum-Sung, "New Folksongs: *Shin Minyo* of the 1930s." In *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*, edited by Keith Howard (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2006), pp. 10–20.
9. Yi Yōng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 154; Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi. *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron*, p. 198, 202.
10. Yi Yōng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 199, 239; Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi. *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron*, p. 243.
11. Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi, *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron*, p. 237.
12. Yi Yōng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 269; Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi. *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron*, p. 264.
13. Yi Yōng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 301; Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi. *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron*, p. 274.
14. Yi Yōng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 74; Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi. *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron*, p. 57, 106.
15. In the open scales of C major and A minor, the ascending major pentatonic corresponds to C-D-E-G-A, and the ascending minor pentatonic to A-B-C-E-F. Korean musicological discourse commonly refers to these pentatonic scales by the Japanese term *yonanuki* ("dropping fourth and seventh [notes]"); Yi 2006 uses *yonanuki*, but Chang and Sō, 2015, do not. Yi Yōng-mi. *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 73; Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi. *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron*, p. 113.
16. Yi Yōng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 143.
17. Yi Yōng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 189, 202.
18. Archetypes of this vocal style include Pae Ho, Yi Mi-ja, and especially Na Hun-a.
19. Yi Yōng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 324; Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi. *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron*, p. 412, 434.
20. Chang Yu-chōng and Sō Pyōng-gi, *Han'guk taejung ūm'aksa kaeron*, p. 252; Yi Yōng-mi. *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 277; Pak Ch'an-ho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*.
21. *Kan'yangnok* (lit. "Record of herding sheep") is the name given to a written account by scholar-official Kang Hang (姜沆 1567–1618) of his five-year experience as a prisoner of war in Japan, the title alluding to the biography of Han dynasty personage, Su Wu (蘇武 d.60 BCE). Cho's *Kan'yangnok* was composed as the theme music for an eponymous MBC dramatization that aired 9 September—26 December 1980. For a description of *Han obaengryōn*, see Michael Fuhr, "Voicing Body, Voicing Seoul: Vocalization, Body, and Ethnicity in Korean Popular Music." In *Vocal Music and Contemporary Identities: Unlimited Voices in East Asia and the West*, edited by Christian Utz and Frederick Lau, 267–284 (New York: Routledge, 2013): 272, and for both songs, Kim Ik-du, *Sang'at'ap esō pon kungmin kasu Cho Yongp'il ūi ūm'ak segye: chōnghan ūi norae, minjok ūi norae* (Seoul: P'yōngminsā, 2010): 138–143.
22. Chang Yu-jōng characterizes Kim's voice as "*ch'angbōp* drenched in melancholy" (Chang and Sō, 2015:261). Similar to the earlier example of Sin Chung-hyōn, some also argue that Kim's early compositions are based on indigenous musical elements, see: Ko Koeng-mu and Yi Chōng-guk *Myōnggok ūi t'ansaeng* (Changwon: Tosōch'ulp'an, 2018): 141, and comments from popular music critique Pak Sōng-sō and Chang Yu-jōng in the documentary, Kwangju MBC (광주 MBC), 2019. "♪ U~ saenggak ūi malayo chinan'gan ildŭl ūn ♪ Sim Ūn-gyōng i purŭn kŭ norae wōnjakcha | tasi purŭnŭn Kim Chōng-ho, hayan nabi (Kim Chōng-ho)"

- 나 우~생각을 말아야 지난간 일들은, 심은경이 부른 그 노래 원작자 | 다시 부르는 김정호, 하얀나비 (김정호) (Kim Chông-ho's *Hayan nabi* sung again). YouTube video, 25:59 min–27:35 min., 14 March 2019. <https://youtu.be/3Lu1IjyB-TI>.
23. Ko Koeng-mu and Yi Chông-guk, *Myônggok ìi t'ansaeng*, p. 135.
 24. On *Nim*, see Ko Koeng-mu and Yi Chông-guk, *Myônggok ìi t'ansaeng*, p. 144.
 25. For Anglophone discussion of the essentialized Korean voice in popular song, see Michael Fuhr. “Voicing Body, Voicing Seoul: Vocalization, Body, and Ethnicity in Korean Popular Music.”
 26. On *Na*, see Son, Min-Jung, “The Politics of the Traditional Korean Popular Song Style *T'ürot'ü*” (PhD thesis). University of Texas at Austin, 2004, p. 45; Yi Yông-mi. *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 324; Chang Yu-chông and Sô Pyông-gi. *Han'guk taejung ìm'aksa kaeron*, p. 238.
 27. Similar observation is made by Michael Fuhr, “Voicing Body, Voicing Seoul: Vocalization, Body, and Ethnicity in Korean Popular Music,” p. 271. On vocal techniques and sound in *minyô* and *p'ansori*, respectively see Roald Maliangkay, *Broken Voices: Postcolonial Entanglements and the Preservation of Korea's Central Folksong Traditions* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017): 8 and Chan Park, *Voices From the Straw Mat: Toward an Ethnography of Korean Story Singing* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003): 190–201.
 28. For discussion of the *waesaek* accusations, Yi Yông-mi. *Han'guk taejung kayosa*, p. 208; Chang Yu-chông and Sô Pyông-gi, *Han'guk taejung ìm'aksa kaeron*, p. 219 and pp. 225–230.
 29. Michael Fuhr, “Voicing Body, Voicing Seoul: Vocalization, Body, and Ethnicity in Korean Popular Music,” p. 272, suggests Chu Hyônmi as the female singer who, alongside *Na*, has “established the vocal standard of the genre.”
 30. Corroborated by Michael Fuhr, “Voicing Body, Voicing Seoul: Vocalization, Body, and Ethnicity in Korean Popular Music,” p. 274.
 31. Leaps are similarly identified by Yano in the homologous context of Japanese popular song. See Christine Yano, *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002): 109.
 32. Yano terms this “conversation.” See Yano, *Tears of Longing*, p. 107.
 33. On *Koga* melody in Japan, see Kikuchi Kiyomaro, *Hyôden Koga Masao: Seishun yori eien ni* (Tokyo: Atena shobô, 2014), p. 152, and Yano, *Tears of Longing*, pp. 36–37. Although neither directly equate or reduce *Koga* melody to the “conversation” element, Kikuchi notes the similarity of traditional shamisen accompaniment in *dodoitsu* 都々逸 and *gidayû-bushi* 義太夫節 performance genres that *Koga* adapted to guitar and popular song. The shamisen accompaniment exhibits the same conversational aspect, and so I contend this to be a defining feature of *Koga* melody, but note that Yano does not directly equate the “conversation” with *Koga* melody. On *Koga*'s popularity in colonial Korea, see Pak Chin-su, “Tong Asia taejung ìm'ak kwa kûndae Ilbon ìi ‘Chosôn pum’,” *Asia munhwa yôn'gu* 29 (2013): 165–186, pp. 176–177, and Pak Ch'an-ho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p. 217 and 303. Both Yi Yông-mi (*Han'guk taejung kayosa*) and Chang Yu-chông and Sô Pyông-gi (*Han'guk taejung ìm'aksa kaeron*), however, assiduously avoid mention of *Koga Masao*'s influence.
 34. The feature of instrumental elaborations serves well to distinguish “trot” from contemporary Western popular genres. It should be noted, however, that they are not unique to Korea or Japan, but common to many non-Western popular music traditions.
 35. The sample was principally collated from the songs listed on the Korean language Wikipedia entries for each show: Wik'ipaek kwa 위키백과, 2019, “*Na nûn t'ürot'ü kasu-da* (나는 트로트 가수다).” https://ko.wikipedia.org/wiki/나는_트로트_가수다; Wik'ipaek kwa 위키백과. 2020. “*Naeil ün misü t'ürot* (내일은 미스트롯).” https://ko.wikipedia.org/wiki/내일은_미스트롯; and Wik'ipaek kwa 위키백과, 2020, “*Naeil ün misüt'ö t'ürot* (내일은 미스터트롯).” https://ko.wikipedia.org/wiki/내일은_미스터트롯.
 36. One song, *Ttaengböl* (“Wasp” 1987) originally recorded by Na Hun-a, was performed twice on *Trot Singer*.



37. See, T'ürot 869 (트롯869), 2020, "Hwansang üi hamoni Pak Ku-yun 'önü 60 tae no pubu iyagi' (featuring Ham Ch'un-ho) 1 #nanünt'ürot'ügasuda 1 EP.4 (환상의 하모니☆ 박규운 '어느 60대 노부부 이야기' [featuring 함춘호] 1 #나는트롯트가수다 1 EP.4. Fantasy harmony: Pak Ku-yun "A 60-year-old elderly couple's story" featuring Ham Ch'un-ho)." YouTube video, 5:19 min., 26 February 2020. <https://youtu.be/jkQywdwq988>; and TVCHOSUN, 2020, "Im Yöng-ung 'önü 60 tae no pubu iyagi' ♪ ch'öt sojöl e tching ≈ (naeil ün misüt'öt'ürot) 8 hoe 20200220' (임영웅 '어느 60대 노부부 이야기' ♪ 첫 소절에 정 ≈ [내일은 미스터트롯] 8 회 20200220 Im Yöng-ung 'A 60-year-old elderly couple's story.' From the first line, *tching*)." YouTube video, 5:40 min., 20 February 2020. <https://youtu.be/cKp4W5Iu95Q>.
38. The *Tomorrow* shows used prerecorded music for initial audition rounds but thereafter switched to live orchestras.
39. TVChosun, 2019, "Hüügünin esö kasu ro insaeng üi kôn mudae!★ Kim Na-hüi 'kog'yesa üi ch'öt sarang'♪ (naeil ün misüt'ürot) 10 hoe 20190502 (희극인에서 가수로 인생을 건 무대!★ 김나희 '곡에서의 첫사랑'♪ [내일은 미스터트롯] 10회 20190502)." YouTube video, 4:06 min., 2 May 2019. <https://youtu.be/zuXBgKjaSU8>. TVChosun, 2020, "Sin In-sön 'ch'angbak üi yöja' ♪ romio üi aejörhan chökgyu..☆ (naeil ün misüt'öt'ürot) 8 hoe 20200220 (신인선 '창밖의 여자' ♪ 로미오의 애절한 절규..☆ [내일은 미스터트롯] 8회 20200220)." YouTube video, 3:57 min., 20 February 2020. <https://youtu.be/asulCubwg3I>. T'ürot 869 (트롯869), 2020, "Nummulsaem chagükhanün mudae Kim Yong-im 'mojöng' π_π 1 #na nün t'ürot'ü kasuda (눈물샘 자극하는 무대 김용임 '모정' π_π 1 #나는트롯트가수다) 1 EP.3. YouTube video, 19 February 2020. <https://youtu.be/9IINpWB-Q30>.
40. Song Sun-söp, *Tongp'yönje Hüngbo-ga ch'angbon* (Kwangju: Unsan Song Sun-söp p'ansori yön'güwön, 2007): 67.
41. TVChosun, 2020, "※Sorüm※ mich'in hübinnyök e kwan'gaektül chöngjök... Chang Min-ho 'nim' ♪ (naeil ün misüt'öt'ürot) 6 hoe 20200206" ※소름※ 미친 흡입력에 관객들 정적... 장민호 '남' ♪ [내일은 미스터트롯] 6회 20200206. YouTube video, 4:27 min., 6 February 2020. <https://youtu.be/knHXConBPw>.
42. TVChosun, 2020. "Hathaeat'ae ha t'aesu 'Hüngboga kiga makhyö' ♪ k'ü~ chön'yul kü chach'e [naeil ün misüt'öt'ürot] 4 hoe 20200123 (hat해하태 하태수 '홍보가 기가막막' ♪ 크~ 전을 그 자체 [내일은 미스터트롯] 4회 20200123)." YouTube video, 4:50 min., 23 January 2020. <https://youtu.be/fA2iCXZJGKQ>.
43. "이 채널을 통해서 한국 사람들 모두가 사랑하는 노래를 들려 드리고, 아울러 우리 전통 가요를 지키는 마음으로 잊혀져가는 우리 노래를 보전하고 복원해 드리도록 합니다. 이제 시간이 많이 흘러서 정말 좋은 노래 옛노래가 기억 속에서 사라져가는 것이 개인적으로 참 많이 아쉽고 안타까운 마음이 들었어요. 그 시절 여러분이 사랑하셨던 그 주옥 같은 노래들을 저 주현미 목소리로 가장 원곡에 가깝게 불러 드려고 합니다." Chu Hyönmi TV (주현미 TV), 2018, "Chu Hyönmi TV insa mal (주현미TV 인사말 Chu Hyönmi TV introductory greetings)." YouTube video, 1:39 min., 26 November 2018. <https://youtu.be/j8RVdEDTjg8>.
44. Chang Yu-chöng and Sö Pyöng-gi, *Han'guk taejung üm'aksa kaeron*, pp. 416–417, and Chön Chi-yön, *T'ürot'ü wa Han'guk üm'ak üi wihan pyönmyöng* (Seongnam: Pukk'oria, 2016): 51, 127.
45. Im Ön-yöng, "T'ürot'ü üi p'umgyök Chu Hyönmi," *Yösöng Chosön*, 12 June 2019. https://woman.chosun.com/client/news/viw.asp?cate=C01&mcate=M1002&nNewsNumb=20190661420&fbclid=IwAR263KpdpcdbRdUq2fW4gtW-RmGmPPjZqkGNvZa01EjxDhM_p7tgSTj5dE. Paraphrasing the same above quotation, they surreptitiously replace *chönt'ong kayo* ("traditional songs") with *chöngt'ong kayo* ("orthodox songs"), another variant term that has been proposed in place of "trot."
46. EBS Culture (EBS 교양), 2020. "EBS ch'o taesök—chönt'ong kayo 100 nyön üi maek üi itta—Chu Hyönmi kasu_#002 (EBS 초대석 - 전통 가요 100년의 맥을 잇다 - 주현미 가수_#002 Ch'o Tae-sök: continuing the hundred-year lineage of traditional songs, Chu Hyönmi)." YouTube video, 24:30 min., 17 December 2010. <https://youtu.be/YzsXEkSpPXM>.



47. As the Chu Hyönmi TV project continues, the “golden age” singers will likely gain some representation but they have clearly not been prioritized. As of March 2022, from a total of 219 old song performances, the project has recorded 4 Pae Ho songs, 3 Na Hun-a, 2 Yi Mi-ja, and 1 Nam Chin. The first Nam Chin and Yi Mi-ja songs were the 205th and 210th recorded songs, respectively.
48. In this aspect, Chu’s discursive positioning and activities bear analogy to that of American jazz artist and advocate of “traditional” jazz, Wynton Marsalis.
49. EBSCulture (EBS 교양), 2020, 16:30 min, “그래도 요즈음 다시 레트로랄 감성이 있어.”
50. EBSCulture (EBS 교양), 2020, 17:33 min, “트로트를 벗어난 장르들 했어요. 30주년... 그래서 이번에는 다시 이제 내 정체성을 다시 불러서 요즈음 감각으로 편곡하고 좀 고전적으로 해서 발표를 하려고 했거든요.”
51. These albums were principally identified through the Naver database, “Han’guk taejung kayo aelbóm 11000 (한국대중가요앨범11000),” using keyword searches for *yet norae* 옛노래, *kürium norae* 그리운 노래, and Chu Hyönmi 주현미. Album information is based on the Naver listing and accompanying scanned album covers. The sample is non-exhaustive. In particular, as in the case of Kim Chöng-ho’s album (see Table 7), many collections may have been released without using *yet norae* in their titles.
52. For the sake of analysis, one medley song from the 1969–1979 category has been omitted.
53. Pae Ho, Nam In-su, Kim Chöng-gu, Yi Hwa-ja, Paek Nyön-söl, Son In-ho, and Pak Chöng-im.
54. Han Pok-nam, Hwang Küm-sim, Kim Chöng-gu, Ko Pok-su, Nam In-su, Hwang Chöng-ja, Pak Chae-ran, and Son In-ho.
55. I designate the interwar liberation period of 1945–1949 as its own period; this was a liminal period of music production and cannot easily be subsumed under adjacent time divisions. Arguably any of the songs of the early pre- and wartime 1950s might also be better merged with this liberation period bracket, but precise months and years of this period of music cannot be easily verified. Although the precise periodization and placing of some inter-period songs may be inexact, the patterns of representation by category are broad enough to be meaningful.
56. These two songs are *Ulgin wae ur’ö* (“Cry, why cry?” 1982) and *Iröbörin samsip nyön* (“Thirty years lost” 1983), first recorded by Na Hun-a and Söl Un-do, respectively.
57. TV Chosun, 2019, “Tokpaek üro kwan’gaektül maeryo sik’in Song Ka-in ‘Tanjung üi miari kogae’ ♪ (naeil ün misüt’ürot) 10 hoe 20190502 (독백으로 관객들 매료시킨 송가인 ‘단장의 미아리 고개’ ♪ [내일은 미스트롯] 10회 20190502).” YouTube video, 3:53 min., 2 May 2019. <https://youtu.be/XlirmcU0hxY>.
58. *Kkum sok üi sarang* was an arrangement of the Chinese song *Meng zhong ren* 夢中人 (“One in my dream” 1942) composed by Chen Gexin 陳歌辛.

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