

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HONORIFIC
SYSTEMS IN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA:
SHIFTS SINCE 1950**

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the honorification systems as proxies for the social distribution of power in the Korean peninsula. This serves as a great natural experiment to observe the process of language variation. The paucity of contact and significant political divergence between North and South Korea since 1950 has been closely mirrored in language use. Language variation in South Korea conforms to conventional theories of language variation. By contrast, the process of language variation in North Korea is unique as prescriptive norms are mandated by the government.

In this study, I have used the honorification systems of speech levels, subject honorifics and address terms as points of focus. I have used the prescriptive norms set before the division of the Korean peninsula in 1945 as a benchmark to test linguistic variation. In South Korea I have applied the methodology used by Labov (1972b) in New York City department stores. My data suggests that the establishment of a new consumer culture is changing the way that the honorification systems are used – increasing use of honorification systems towards consumers marks a strong shift towards deference or politeness.

On the contrary, the strict honorification systems in North Korea are focused on showing respect to the great leader. The evidence from my interviews with North Korean defectors shows that government-issued language rules regarding the verbal honorific marker *-si-* and the nominal suffix *-kkeyse* are perfectly observed in relation to the North Korean leader. The wide variety of address terms, including *tongmwu* and *tongci* (roughly ‘comrade’), systematically and methodically portray the hierarchical positions in relation to the political party. The speech levels in North Korea have maintained much of their integrity from pre-division Korea as displayed by the wide variety of speech levels, observed in my data.

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Note on Transcriptions

Romanisation of Korean

This study follows the Yale system of romanisation of Korean throughout the main body of text, data analysis, and example sentences. Familiar terms such as Seoul or Pyongyang have not been Romanised using the Yale system. The words or phrases transcribed in this way are italicised. Korean names are written as they appear in the publication or conventional anglicisation.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative case marker
COMP	complementiser
COND	conditional
DAT	dative case marker
DEC	declarative
DN	dependent noun
FUT	future tense
HON	honorific form
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative
LOC	locative
MOD	modality marker
NOM	nominative case marker
PAST	past tense
PL	plural
POS	possessive
PRE	present
PR	present progressive
Q	question
SL1	speech level 1
SL2	speech level 2
SL3	speech level 3
SL4	speech level 4
SL5	speech level 5
SL6	speech level 6
SP	specific marker
SUG	suggestive
TOP	topic marker
VOC	vocative

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university. All sources are acknowledged as references.

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine the relationship between power and honorifics in South and North Korea respectively. This study then takes a sociolinguistic approach to compare the paths of development. Traditionally in Korean, it is a linguistic convention for those in the inferior social category as to seniority and status to use honorific forms to show respect to those in the superior category. In recent years, however, there have been anomalies found in both Koreas. As social ‘inferiority’ and ‘superiority’ have been redefined, the use of honorifics has altered to reflect the change in this power dynamics.

In relation to the honorifics used in South Korea, I analyse my own interviews conducted at different businesses targeting consumers of different purchasing power. The data show that the employees use honorifics incorrectly according to prescriptive norms (what I call ‘overextension’ throughout the paper for the reasons in Chapter 3) and redundantly (‘overuse’) at luxury department stores, while the vendors at street markets often exhibit a lack of honorifics themselves. I explore the link between power and the degree of linguistic deference. My analysis shows that the higher the economic stake in a transaction, the higher the degree of honorifics used, to the point where the honorifics deviate significantly from prescriptive norms. Built around the mantra that ‘Customer is King’, the South Korean service sector reinforces linguistic obsequiousness. From the language variation ranging from overextension to overuse, I derive the leading value of the modern South Korean society: commercial expediency.

As to honorifics used in North Korea, I investigate from my own interviews with and role plays by North Korean defectors near London and Seoul. The data reveal a stark contrast with those from South Korea: overextension and overuse of honorifics are non-existent. In fact, the North Korean interviewees exhibited an opposite tendency, in which they often omitted the honorific marker *-si-* and the suffix *-kkeyse* due to linguistic changes that have occurred. It is striking that linguistic rules surrounding the language used for the leader are almost perfectly observed whereas use of honorification systems was not as evident to those with more traditional high social status (such as seniority), and we can see clear linguistic variation. I attribute this to the difference in the locus of power. Under the communist dictatorship and planned economy, power in North Korea is not regulated by a democratic government and a free market like in South Korea. The Workers’ Party of Korea (*Cosennotongtang*), the party in

charge for the past 70 years in North Korean and *de facto* the regime itself, mainly wields and distributes power. With every citizen dependent on the government's ration of resources, supplies, and opportunities (Lim: 2008), it is perhaps natural that the language also adapts to elevate the supreme leader above all, even if it involves linguistically subordinating, for example, the elderly. I conclude that the leading value in North Korea that has engendered this strand of variation in honorifics: ideological conformity.

Having identified how power is accrued through money in the South and in government in the North, I have thus far introduced how the changing power dynamics have manifested themselves through the different practices I observed in honorifics. I delve further into the implications of my findings. I observe that the abovementioned variations in the South and North are becoming the norms, if not already so. This point touches upon the chronic tension in Korean sociolinguistics between honorifics as a norm and honorifics as a strategy. According to J. B. Lee (2012: 333), the normative view sees honorifics as a rule that determines the grammatical well-formedness and circumstantial appropriateness of language. Failure to comply with this norm would result in idiomatically unusual expressions that are tactless or confusing. In comparison, the strategic view focusses on the functional side of honorifics. They become a linguistic means for the interlocutors to achieve their intentions, whether it be to implore, soothe, condescend, or intimidate. The variation in honorifics shown in my data analysis involves both views, which are distinct from each other and not mutually exclusive. This is discussed in later chapters of this thesis.

The aims and corresponding research questions for this thesis are as follows:

1. To examine how power is manifested in the use of honorifics in South and North Korea
 - (i) How are honorifics used in modern South and North Korea?
 - (ii) What are the similarities and differences in the development of honorifics in South and North Korea?
 - (iii) What are the determining factors that led to the observed variations?
2. To assess the implications and future of the current trends
 - (i) Are the current variations in honorifics individual instances of strategic employment or are they becoming a norm?
 - (ii) Has power justified prescriptively incorrect uses of honorifics?

To survey these questions and achieve the aims set out above, Chapter 2 introduces Korean language and reviews literature for relevant precedents and methodology. Chapter 3

introduces the essential linguistic elements of the Korean honorifics that are used throughout the paper. Chapter 4 provides a historical context before 1950, when there was a uniform pattern of honorific usage on the pre-division Korean peninsula. Chapter 5 investigates the data from South Korea, and Chapter 6 analyses the data gathered from North Korean defectors residing in the UK and South Korea. Chapter 7 analyses and compares the data gathered in both North and South Korea. Finally, Chapter 8 presents the conclusion and discussion for the thesis.

1.2 Previous Approaches

Being a distinctive component of the Korean language, honorifics have been thoroughly categorised and analysed on their own. However, few sociolinguistic studies have been conducted to locate the source of variation in honorifics – on where power lies in the South and North Korean societies. Even fewer studies then consider the North Korean honorifics and compare with the South Korean usage and development. In this section, I provide an overview of two main approaches taken previously: a linguistic comparison approach and a more comprehensive approach.

First, the linguistic comparison approach relies on a purely linguistic comparison of Korean spoken in South Korea and North Korea. Ko (1990) assesses the differences that have emerged in pronunciation, spelling, and grammar between South and North Korea. This model provides a thorough scrutiny of the linguistic status quo in both the South and the North but remains mostly silent on what social factors drove such divergence. Considering that honorifics are a linguistic manifestation of power (J. B. Lee 2012), I set out to investigate more than just phonology or syntax but the relationship between power dynamics and language.

Second, the more comprehensive approach focuses on the linguistic developments specific to the North. Cho *et al* (2002) first consider the governmental policy regulating the use of language, looking at the invention of the *Cwuchey* ideology (the North Korean variant of a Marxist ideology) and how it is deployed to spread and consolidation of the subjects' belief in its veracity¹. He argues that this has a functional purpose to consolidate the regime. King (2007) further details how language policies and language plans differ in North and South Korea.

¹ This is further expanded upon in Chapter 6.

To provide a balanced comparison and an objective account of divergence, I dedicate a significant portion of this thesis to the period prior to 1950. The pre-1950 honorification systems serve as an objective comparator in studying the diverging later developments.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The significance of this research is threefold. First, the Korean language is an ideal sample for probing the relationship between language variation and power distribution because of its honorifics. J. B. Lee (2012) characterises traditional Korean society as that of dichotomy and hierarchy where seniority and status are ultimate yardsticks. This distinguishes the old from the young, the strong from the weak, and the superior from the inferior. Lee suggests that honorifics originally arose to mirror this power disparity linguistically. The Korean honorifics are thus possibly the most explicit and accurate barometer of the power play among interlocutors.

Second, new honorific norms in the South and the North illustrate how even a grammatical error can be widely accepted in the expression of socially desired values. It is a good time to probe into this change that many scholars and authorities including the National Institute of the Korean Language in South Korea oppose. For instance, in the capitalist South, it is becoming commonplace for service employees to use honorifics excessively to show deference in an attempt to raise customer satisfaction. Due to the power of money, they end up serving their “respected customers” with “respected coffee”, thereby distorting the correct usage of honorifics to elevate not only the listener, but also objects. Meanwhile, the prioritised value in the North is the absolute political fidelity to the regime, and this has tailored the North Korean usage of honorifics. For example, a modern North Korean speaker would not elevate his grandfather despite his seniority, if the grandfather and the leader are mentioned in the same sentence, because honorifics should be used to differentiate the supreme leader.² These are all breaches of the prescriptive use of conventional honorifics, but the fact that they are becoming new linguistic norms indicates how the shift of power to money and ideology resulted in different language variation in the two Koreas.

Third, the merit of this thesis lies in the paucity of sociolinguistic literature delving into the North Korean usage of honorifics, not to mention its comparison with that of the South.

² This does not only apply to the grandfather but for other high-ranking people. The use of honorific marker *-si* is dropped for these high-ranking people when the leaders (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il, Kim Jung Un) and high ranking people appear in the same sentence.

Ko (1990) identifies the differences in pronunciation, spelling, and grammar, and Nam and Jung (1990) survey North Korean neologisms. King (2007) examines how national identity affects language in South and North Korea. However, these are general observations on the differences between the Korean spoken in North Korea and South Korea. I would therefore like to enrich the current debates by evaluating how the different kind of power and value drove the linguistic divergence on the Korean peninsula, witnessed best where the conventional honorifics are disrupted.

1.4 Overview of Methodology

The methodology was developed after examination of a variety of sociolinguistic variationist methodologies. As the honorification systems can act as an illuminator of how the power is distributed between interlocutors, I predicted that a revised version of Labov's (1966) methodology could yield some interesting results when looked at with a slightly different framework. Further, for North Korean data collection, I used a variety of methods to mitigate what Labov calls the 'observer's paradox' to induce a much more natural and vernacular language use through role plays, natural discussion between the interviewee and the interviewee's friends, TV football broadcasting commentary and drama series speech. The details of the methodologies for individual data collection are laid out in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.

1.4.1 Pre-Division Korean Data

For the pre-division Korean data, it must be acknowledged that there is a severe limitation of materials. From 1894 to 1910, no verbal records or transcription of speeches exist to show how honorifics were spoken in the royal court in relation to the king and officials, let alone in the daily lives of ordinary people. Amidst the scarcity, I turn to the official elementary textbook by Kang (1895) *Kwukminsohaktokpon*, the first Korean language textbook published during the *Cosen* dynasty in 1895. I focus on the part where King Sejong, the creator of the Korean alphabet, is invoked and observe that the highest honorifics are used. The same approach was taken to investigate honorifics in relation to the Japanese Emperor, who was the reigning monarch during the colonial period between 1910 and 1945. I analyse the audio transcripts from 1939 from the Kyengseong Broadcasting System. Drawn from such refined sources as a news broadcast and an official textbook, this may not be representative of the vernacular use

of honorifics. But these sources are sufficient to reveal the power dynamics at the time and the extent to which the deference was shown.

1.4.2 South Korean Data

The data was collected through fieldwork. I visited Seoul three times and collected data from employees in the sales industry, high street stores, department stores, marketplaces, and dermatology and plastic surgery clinics³. The data was collected through interviews and observations of their conversations. For the department stores research, I stratified the data based on the prices between stores.

1.4.2.1 Department Stores, High Street Stores and Street Market Data

The data collection methodology was inspired by Labov (1972b). He attempted to find the relationship between the pronunciation of /r/ by the store workers and the socio-economic level of the stratified department stores. I hypothesized that honorific variation would correspond to economic stratification of the department stores, similar to what Labov (1972b) found in his study. In the same way, I put the stores into three main categories: first, stores selling luxury branded goods in a department store (selling goods worth £1,500 or more); second, high-street stores (selling goods under £150); lastly, street markets (under £30). All prices of goods are in British pounds.

There was a clear difference in the use of honorification systems between the stores. For instance, in the first group there was an excessive use of address terms (especially address terms for the customer (such as *kokaeknim*)) and there was even honorific use overextended to products. The high-street stores used intimate speech levels strategically. They use the address term *enni* (with the literal meaning of elder sister) and speech level 2, the intimate speech level⁴, which creates a friendlier feeling for the customer. In the street markets the salespeople did not use honorifics, and instead they tried to attract attention through shouting and using the intimate style (intimate speech level 2).

³ I did not stratify the hospitals for the collection of data. I visited two major hospital dermatologists and plastic surgery clinics in South Korea to collect data.

⁴ A complete explanation of the Korean speech levels can be found in chapter 3.

1.4.2.2 Hospital Data

There were some difficulties in getting data between different hospitals as I needed the full cooperation of the hospital to collect data. However, I have managed to get full access to two of the biggest hospitals. I interviewed the receptionists and nurses in the hospitals and recorded conversations between patients and receptionists, nurses and doctors.

1.4.3 North Korean Data

I now introduce the methodology applied in the North Korean set of data. It should be acknowledged that the accessible resources for North Korean language use are meagre and that the interview and role play conducted involved 16 defectors.

1.4.3.1 Defector Interview and Role Play

A total of 16 interviews were conducted. A preliminary interview of 7 North Korean defectors was carried out in South Korea and the UK, 4 and 3 defectors respectively. They were asked questions regarding their thoughts on the differences in the use of the honorification system in North and South Korea. Using the answers from the preliminary results, 9 North Korean defectors living in Seoul were interviewed with a set structure of questions and conducted role play.

1.4.4. Comparative Data

In addition to the respective North Korean and South Korean data collection and analysis, I compare the North Korean and South Korean uses of honorifics in the same genre of medium. This facilitates even more comparison.

1.4.4.1 Football Game Broadcast

I compare the relationship between the commentators and the viewers by analysing both North and South Korean broadcasts that commented on the same football matches, to examine the application of honorifics in both countries.

1.4.4.2 Serial Broadcast Drama

Further examples of the use of honorification systems can also be found within Korean dramas. Thus, this section includes an analysis of hospital dramas and make comparisons between North Korean and South Korean shows. In order to find out the use of North Korean honorification I analysed a North Korean drama from YouTube (Episodes 1–4, 2004). The North Korean drama is titled *ttattushan wulicip* (Pyongyang Hospital).

1.5 Terminology

Before proceeding, I clarify some key terms appearing frequently within this paper. In this thesis, ‘power’ has the ordinary meaning of the word roughly synonymous with the terms ‘competence’, ‘control’, and ‘predominance’ in their ordinary meanings. Against the backdrop of sociolinguistics, the power referred to in this thesis would generally concern one’s economic or political competence. However, I do not restrict its scope to those aspects. Whatever its categorical source, power – or its lack – is something that arises from an asymmetrical allocation of socially desirable values like money or political influence. Power is this ‘something’ that creates a hierarchy in favour of its owner. ‘Language variation’ or simply ‘variation’ refers to the different forms or uses of language, whether it be among economic classes or between South and North Korea. Unless otherwise noted, instances of the word ‘variation’ or ‘language variation’ in this thesis refer to variation in honorifics. There are other terms that may need defining, but they are covered extensively in the upcoming chapters.

2. Korean Language and Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction to Korean language

The Korean people consists of a single ethnic group. Despite the division between South and North Korea, one language is used on both sides of the peninsula although there has been some linguistic divergence. King (2007: 202) states that ‘Korea’s remarkable linguistic and ethnic homogeneity’ can be traced back to the *Kolye* dynasty (918 A.D.–1392 A.D.), and perhaps even further back to the Unified *Sinla* kingdom (668 A.D.–935 A.D.), though the origins of Korean are debatable before the *Cosen* dynasty (1392 A.D.–1910 A.D.).

During the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), the Japanese government enforced Japanese as the official language used in schools and public institutions, and Korean was still used in daily communication among the Korean people. After the liberation from the Japanese occupation in 1945, the Korean Peninsula separated into two, South Korea and North Korea. Consequently, the Korean language developed differently under the two different regimes and the respective language policies. Before 1945, Seoul-based Korean was the standard form on the peninsula. After the division, in South Korea, the standard language continued to be based on the capital Seoul, called *phyocwune*. In North Korea, the standard language became based on Pyongyang, called *munhwae*. However, South and North Koreans can still communicate with each other and both use the same Korean alphabet *Hangul*. In this section, I introduce the basics of the Korean language, including Korean writing, phonology, structure and regional variation which will act as a basis to understand the honorific variation in the Korean peninsula.

2.2 Korean writing

In 1444, King Sejong, likely along with best literary scholars at the time, invented an easy and scientific Korean alphabet tailored to the sounds of the Korean language. *Hanja*, the Chinese characters used to read and write at the time, did not fit well with the spoken Korean language. The Korean alphabet, *Hangul*, was designed to solve this problem. Chinese was used by the educated and wealthy upper classes but it was difficult for normal people to learn Chinese characters. The invention of *Hangul* did not immediately trigger its adoption. In fact, it took much time and effort for the full replacement of *Hanja* to take place. According to K. M. Lee and Ramsey (2011: 287-288), four types of Korean writing existing previously in the middle

of the 19th century, ranging from *Hanmun*, Chinese characters used by the most elite, down to *Hangul*, the least prestigious and most fragmented form of Korean writing. K. M. Lee and Ramsey (2011: 288) further state that those in the middle class used either *idu* or *onhanmun*. According to King (2007: 204), the elite and powerful did not accept *Hangul* as an official and proper writing form, and continued to condescend *Hangul* although they used it themselves to communicate to children and women.

K. M. Lee and Ramsey (2011: 288) state that the *Hangul-only* movement's growth was especially prominent with the release of the newspaper *Tongnip sinmun*, written purely in *Hangul*, and was important in facilitating the rise of the advancing modern ideologies. *Hangul* began to appear in official documents of the government in 1894. Though according to H. M. Sohn (2013: 30), the Chinese alphabet continued to be used in newspapers and by the public until the *Hangul-only* policy was aggressively enforced by several means, such as elimination of *Hanja* from educational textbooks. However, many of the Chinese loan words remained. Currently in South Korean 65% of words are Sino-Korean⁵, stemming from Chinese words and only 30% of the words are purely Korean, and a further 5% are English loan words. This is not the case in North Korean. According to H. M. Sohn (2013: 31), the language policies were designed to align and enforce the ideological principles, by removing the foreign, 'contaminated' words which were seen by Kim Il Sung as unnationalistic and when possible replacing these words with native looking Sino-Korean words.

Hangul, considered one of the most scientific and creative alphabets, was invented to reflect the movement of the tongue, or the shape of the mouth or throat when the consonants' sound was spoken. The consonants' shapes are related to place and manner of articulation. For example: ㄱ invokes the back of the tongue to touch the mouth; ㅋ invokes the lips to change shape similar to this rectangular shape and ㆁ is where the throat opens.

From there, the basic characters build up to represent other sounds. An example is the character ㅋ which is based on character ㄱ, but with a line across, as it invokes the tongue to be in the same base position. The *Hangul* vowels ㆍ, ㅡ, ㅣ depict the sky or heaven represented as a circular point, the flat ground and man standing up, respectively. These elementary components are phonemic and can be grouped together to form the *Hangul* syllable.

The *Hangul* syllable can be separated into three blocks. There can be different complexities of syllables: ㄱㅏ = consonant + vowel, ㅏ = vowel, ㅏㅑ = consonant + vowel +

⁵ Sino-Korean words stem originally from Chinese loanwords adopted into Korean. Thus, they are called Sino-Korean.

consonant. In the last example, **ㅃ**, this is made up of three parts: initial consonant *chosong*, peak vowel *jungsong* and final consonant *jongsong*. These single syllables can join to form more complex words.

2.3 Korean Phonology

According to I. S. Lee and Ramsey (2000: 61), 19 consonants can be defined by place and manner of articulation, as shown in Table 1.1, from Shin et al. (2012). The place is indicated in the left-hand column and the manner is indicated across the top.

Table 2.1. Consonants from Shin et al. (2012: 57) with Yale Romanization

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop					
Lax	p	t		k	
Tense	p*	t*		k*	
Aspirated	p ^h	t ^h		k ^h	
Fricative					
Lax		s			h
Tense		s*			
Affricate					
Lax			tc		
Tense			tc*		
Aspirated			tc ^h		
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Liquid		l			

The lax series (*p, t, c, k, s*) are pronounced lightly, especially compared to the reinforced series, and the reinforced set shows the doubling of the lax series characters. Song (2005: 27-28) calls

the reinforced series ‘tensed stops’ which are voiceless. Kim and Duanmu (2004: 64) further state that comparing the phonetic differences between the lax series and the reinforced series in the initial position, they convey that reinforced series are higher in the following tone, stronger in intensity and the air pressure before release is greater, along with other differences⁶. There is also a related series of aspirate consonants p^h , t^h , c^h , k^h and h . There is only one consonant in the liquid series, l . This l has allophones of both [r] and [l]. According to K. M. Lee and Ramsey (2011: 293), l (as [l]) was not originally used at the beginning of Korean and Sino-Korean words but due to the ‘explosion’ English loan words, l has become more prominent at the beginning of words in South Korea.

The following are the ten Korean vowels with South Korean standard pronunciation with Yale Romanization, also from I. S. Lee and Ramsey (2000: 64).

Table 2.2. Vowels from I. S. Lee and Ramsey (2000: 64) with Yale Romanization

	Front		Mid	Back
	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
High	i	wi	u	wu
Mid	ey	oy	e	o
Low	ay		a	

There are also Korean 11 diphthongs ya , ye , yo , yu , yay , yey , wa , we , way , wey , and uy which are not included in the Table 1.2.

2.3.1 Comparing North Korean and South Korean phonology

In this section, I outline the main differences in North Korean phonology compared to South Korean phonology. An influential factor which led to the divergence in phonology between North and South Korea is the change in standard form. Before the division of North and South Korea, the standard form was based on Seoul. After the division, the standard form in the North became based on Pyongyang, which is based on the *phyengan* dialect (a map showing dialects can be found below). H. M. Sohn (1999: 81) notes that an interesting characteristic of the

⁶ Kim and Duanmu (2004: 64) find that compared to the Lax series, the Reinforced series has the following characteristics: VOT is stronger, glottal opening narrower, breathiness is less, voicing duration is shorter and airflow at release is smaller in the initial position.

Cultured Language, is that although it is based on the *phyengan* dialect, it adheres to the spelling practice of the Standard Language in the South with regards to palatalization. He further exemplifies this with the word ‘heaven and earth’, spelled *chenci* in both Standard and Cultured Language, although it is pronounced as *thyenti* in the Cultured Language in North Korea.

According to H. M. Sohn (1999: 80), the vowel harmony is strictly observed in the North Korean compared to South Korean, where there is a divergence in polysyllabic *p*-irregular predicates which are followed by an infinitive suffix *-e* or *-a* in South Korean Standard Language. Part a) of example 1 below shows the *w* and infinitive suffix pronounced as *we* irrespective of the following vowel and part b) of example 1 shows where vowel harmony is undisrupted in South Korean as in North Korean.

	South Korean	North Korean	
1a.	alumtaw-e	alumtaw-a	‘be beautiful and’
	komaw-e	komaw-a	‘be thankful and’
	kakkaw-ese	kakkaw-ase	‘be near, so’
	koylow-ess-ta	koylow-ass-ta	‘was distressing’
b.	tow-a	tow-a	‘help and’
	kwuw-e	kwuw-e	‘bake and’

(H. M. Sohn 1999: 80)

There is also divergence in pronunciation between North Korean and South Korean with respect to loanwords. H. M. Sohn (1999: 82) remarks that in general, South Korean pronunciation of these English loanwords has stayed more faithful to the English pronunciation whereas North Korean pronunciation seems to be influenced by the Russian or Japanese pronunciations of the loanwords.

2.4 Korean morphology and syntax

Korean is also an agglutinative language, so particles can be attached to verbs, adjectives, nouns and have a wide variety of functions such as indicating tense, sentence type, formality level and even the relationship between the speaker and the hearer through the honorification

systems. I. S. Lee and Ramsey (2000: 7) emphasize the astonishingly large number of verb endings impacting the meaning of that sentence from the perspective of a non-native. The following example can have a wide range of meanings when the endings attached to the verbs as well as post-positional markers change.

2. *ceyimsu-ka* *kimchi-lul* *mek-ess-ta*
 James -NOM kimchi-ACC eat-PAST-DEC
 ‘James ate kimchi.’

The *-ta* can be replaced with *-ni* and the sentence would turn into the question “Did James eat kimchi?”. When *-ta* is replaced by *-kwuna*, the sentence is a realisation by the speaker that James ate kimchi: “(I think) James ate kimchi”. The particles attached to the end of the nouns mark the noun’s grammatical role in the sentence. In this example, the *-ka* and *-lul* are the case marking particles attached to the nouns which express that James is the subject and kimchi is the object. The agglutination of the verb *to eat* can be seen where the past tense ending is attached to the stem *mek-*. Further suffixes mark different sentence types such as declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, propositives and can also indicate who is the hearer or referent by the honorific markers attached. Further, verbal endings can display the six different speech levels, and thus convey respect, solidarity or the difference in status between the speaker and listener. Referring to the above example, when *-ta* is replaced with *-ney*, the sentence has an element of surprise⁷ experienced by the speaker.

3. *ceyimsu-ka* *kimchi-lul* *mek-ess-ney*
 James-NOM kimchi-ACC eat-PAST-SL3
 ‘James ate kimchi.’ (surprised)

In Korean, the basic sentence order is SOV, compared to English SVO. According to H. M. Sohn (2013: 21) and many South Korean linguists, Korean originates from Altaic, which has influenced the sentence structure to be SOV. However, it is also important to note that in Korean, the sentence structure can be flexible, so does not necessarily have to follow the SOV structure as long as the predicate stays at the end of the sentence. Song (2005: 98-99) further

⁷ This is another example to show how a verb ending can impact the meaning of the sentence. The surprise element is not necessarily an honorific signalling status.

exemplifies that in Korean, the order of the sentence structure is not as important, due to the role marking particles such as *-ka* or *-lul*. Song gives the example ‘the boy loves the girl’ versus ‘the girl loves the boy’ where the ordering of the boy and girl is crucial to indicate who is the ‘lover’ and the ‘lovee’ in English. In Korean, however, the order is more flexible:

4a. *namcaai-ka* *yecaai-lul* *salangha-n-ta*
 boy-NOM girl-ACC love-PR-DEC
 ‘The boy loves the girl.’

b. *yecaai-lul* *namcaai-ka* *salangha-n-ta*
 girl-ACC boy-NOM love-PR-DEC
 ‘The boy loves the girl.’

(Song 2005: 98-99)

As shown, both sentences mean the same, though the order of the boy and the girl is different. The *-ka* and the *-lul* markers indicate who is being loved and who is loving in the two cases. Predicates are not marked for person, number or gender, but if the subject of the sentence is clearly implied within the context of the conversation, it can be omitted, as in the next example:

5. *ceyimsu-wa* *kimchi-lul* *mek-ess-ta*
 James-with kimchi-ACC eat-PAST
 ‘[I/he/she/they] ate kimchi with James.’

Like other languages (I. S. Lee and Ramsey 2000), Korean has different types of word formation. For example, *sonmok* which is made up of *son* and *mok* meaning “hand” and “neck” respectively, means “wrist”. Similarly, affixation of the word *aji* “baby” with the word *kang* ‘dog’ together to form the meaning “puppy”: *kangaji*.

2.5 Regional Variation: Dialects

Standard Korean has been based on Seoul’s dialect for over 500 years since the *Cosen* dynasty. In 1912, the Korean government officially announced that Seoul based Korean would be the standard form for the whole of Korea. In 1966, following the division in 1950 between the North and the South, North Korea officially announced that its standard language would be

based on Pyongyang, where the *phyengan* dialect is spoken. South Korea made no change to the standard language. King (2007: 202) refers to the “linguistic and ethnic homogeneity” of Korea, which means that both North and South Korea do not have linguistic or ethnic minorities. H. M. Sohn (2013: 26) states the Korean dialects, including North Korea can be divided into dialectal zones which often correspond with the administrative districts, and have been formed due to complex geographical, historical and political reasons. Below is a list of the common dialectal zones, split into seven different areas:

- 1) *hamkyeng*, the northern part of North Korea bordering with China
- 2) *phyengan* (including Pyongyang)
- 3) Central including *hwanghay*, *kyengki* and *kangwen*
- 4) *chwungcheng*
- 5) *cenla*
- 6) *kyengsang*
- 7) *ceycwu*, an island south of the Korean mainland

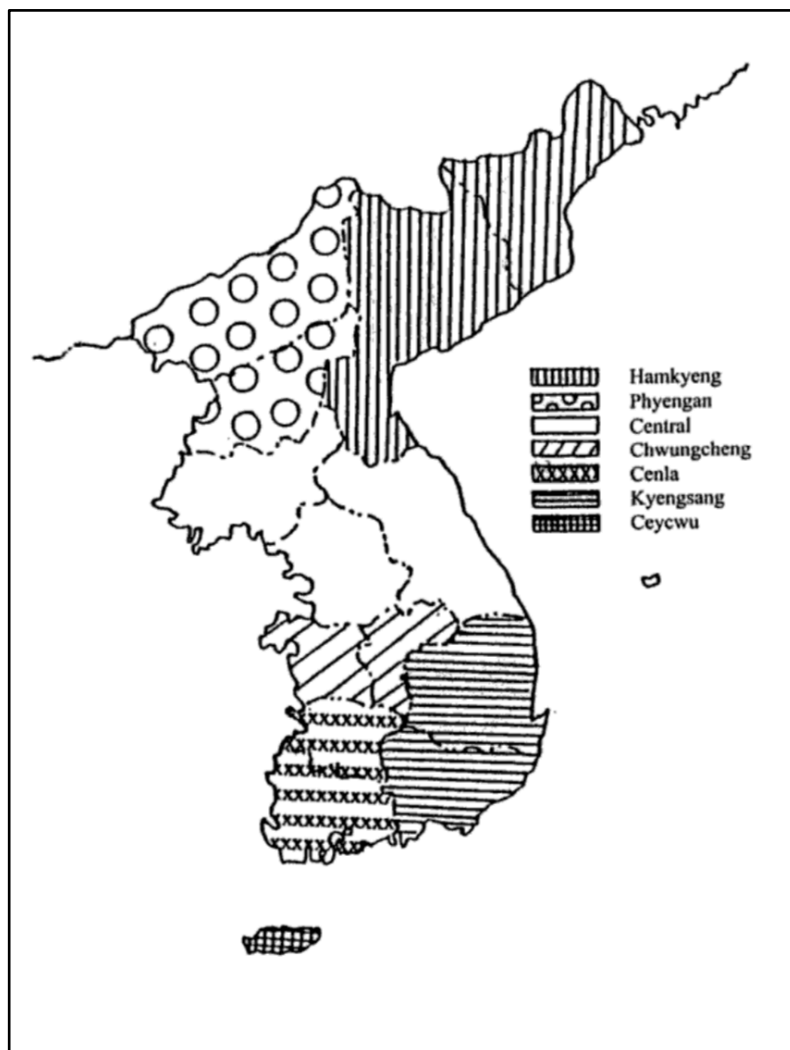


Figure 2.1. Map of Korean Dialects from H. M. Sohn (1999: 58)

As shown on the map, the dark line on the Northern part of Korea represents the border between North Korea and China. The Koreans living near the border of China also use the *hamkyeng* dialect or the *phyengan* dialect. As can be seen, *hamkyeng*, *phyengan* (including Pyongyang), *hwanghay* are mainly inside North Korea and *kyengki* (including Seoul), *kangwen*, *chwungcheng*, *cenla*, *kyengsang*, *ceycwu* are included in South Korea.

Each region has a different accent and intonation though there are no major issues communicating between dialects. However, due to the geographical separation of *ceycwu* from the other dialects, there are minor difficulties in communication. H. M. Sohn (2013: 42) notes that there is some variation in dialectal zones with regard to the exact set of consonants and vowels. However, use of honorification systems does not differ between dialects (except for the difference between North and South). However, different suffixes for speech levels depend on the dialect. For instance, the dialectal region *kyengsang* uses the *oiso* form and *ceycwu*

dialect uses *opseyey*, *osyeyo*, whereas the central and North dialectal regions do not. Here is an example from I. S. Lee (2005: 335) of how *phyengan* dialect (North) compares to the standard form in South Korea.

- 6a. etimey ka-si-neykka?
where go-HON-SL6-Q
'Where are you going?'
(*phyengan* dialect)

- b. etiey ka-si-pnikka?
where go-HON-SL6-Q
'Where are you going?'
(Seoul standard form)

As shown, the verbal endings are different *-neykka* in the North and *-pnikka* in the South, although they mean the same. The word 'where' is also slightly different as it is *etimey* in the North and *etiey* in the South.

In North Korea, the standard language form is based on Pyongyang and in South Korea the standard language form is based on Seoul. Therefore, in this research, I will focus on Seoul as this is the standard form in South Korea and *phyengan* dialect as it is the standard form in North Korea based on Pyongyang.

2.6 Literature Review

In this section, I review the landmark studies which will act as a foundational framework to understand honorifics in North and South Korea, and why differences in language have emerged between North and South Korea. This literature review explores the different theories that reference honorifics. I investigate politeness theory, accommodation theory, language and power, language planning and policy.

Many studies regarding Korean honorifics have referenced its interaction with notions of 'politeness'. The seminal work of universal politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1978) will be examined to understand where honorification systems lie with respect to the politeness theory in Korean and other East Asian languages. More specifically, Face Threatening Acts (also known as FTAs) where certain situations defined by Brown and Levinson cause a need

to deploy an FTA strategy will be explored in depth. Honorifics are used to ‘give deference’ and therefore have been established to be one way of displaying politeness. However, as other studies have shown, politeness is not only displayed strategically for a reward but must be explored within the context of relational work (Locher and Watts 2005). Honorifics also have other uses, especially strategic uses, as listed by J. B. Lee (2008, 2012). As mentioned by Lee, honorifics play a big role in the manipulation of or as a measure of social distance, where social distance incorporate both vertical and horizontal distances, where horizontal distance is the emotional distance between the speaker and the hearer and vertical distance is the difference in power between interlocutors.

Communicative behaviour in Korean, and in South East Asian languages such as Japanese, Javanese and Thai, is more strongly depicted and displayed using honorification systems.⁸ Therefore, by analysing honorifics use, one can explore communicative behaviour underlying language and thus explore how power distribution has changed in North and South Korea. There are marked differences in accommodation and communication strategies between South Korea and North Korea, and how convergence and divergence is used. Therefore, in this section, I will also review Giles and Ogay’s (2007) Communication Accommodation Theory. As mentioned with social norms and conducts regarding accommodation theory and politeness theory, there have been notable shifts over time in the use of the Korean language between South and North Korea.

In this section, I will explore how South and North Korea shifted in relation to the politeness theory and the accommodation theory. When comparing Korean and English, the difference in language is obvious in honorifics and address terms but comparing the same language, divergence between North and South Korea can be revealed by analysing language. The cultural and political divergence between South and North Korea can be seen clearly through the divergence in use of the address terms and honorification systems that are used in each country, despite the language being essentially the same.

I also examine the relationship between language and power and honorifics, more specifically the landmark study by Brown and Gilman (1960) on address terms. By analysing this relationship, I seek to reveal the underlying power and social structure shifts between South and North Korea. Finally, I compare the South and North Korean language policy and planning.

⁸ In other cultures, changing communicative behaviour happens more often through other means such as accent, pronunciation, slang or tone.

2.7 Introduction to Politeness Theory

When examining honorifics, it is important to first explore it in the context of Brown and Levinson's Universal Theory of Politeness (1978, 1987), one of the most influential and foundational theories regarding politeness. Therefore, this review will act as a foundation before delving into a comparative study of honorific systems of South Korea and North Korea.

Brown and Levinson's politeness theory primarily deals with Face Threatening Acts (known as FTA) and FTA strategies. This theory is based on Goffman's (1955) concept of 'face'. 'Face' is defined as "the public self-image that every member of society wants to claim for himself". Thus, all members of society define their own faces, in line with one's public self-image. The concept of 'face' is divided by Brown and Levinson (1978) into 'positive' and 'negative' face, where each person has both a positive and negative face and every member of society desires to maintain their own and others' faces when possible: positive face is the desire to be recognized and liked in society. On the other hand, the negative face is the want to preserve and maintain one's territory and freedom to act without being impeded. Brown and Levinson (1978) state that politeness is universal and it is assumed that negative and positive face can be perceived differently in different cultures.

An FTA can be described as any situation which arises that may threaten the speaker (S) or hearer's (H) face. These include but are not limited to a request, apology or expression of gratitude. Here are some of my own examples of how an FTA could threaten the positive or negative face either of the S or H based on Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory:

- S's negative face is threatened when S says to H "I owe you some money".

In this case, the S's freedom to do as they wish is threatened by acknowledging how S is indebted to the H.

- S's positive face is threatened when S says to H "I'm sorry I did wrong".

S admits to doing an action which damages S's positive, likeable image of S's self.

- H's negative face is threatened when S says to H "When are you free to talk?".

S is endangering H's freedom to do as H wishes, by requesting a commitment from H.

- H's positive face is threatened when S says to H "Could you be so kind as to do something for me?".

S emphasized H's positive face by affirming H's kindness and likeability when S asks for a favour from H.

FTA strategies can be summarized as the 5 different ways of going about a situation where the need to do an FTA arises. These are 1) bald on-record without redress, 2) on-record positive, 3) on-record negative, 4) off-record indirect and 5) avoid the FTA.

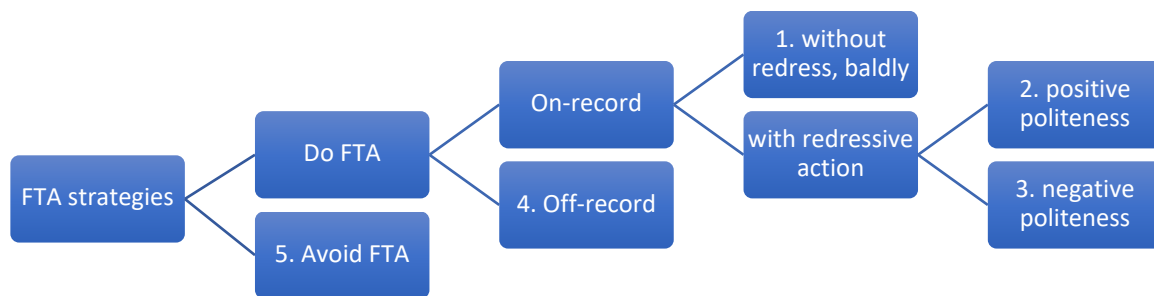


Figure 2.2. Brown and Levinson's FTA strategies

According to Brown and Levinson, if both parties (S and H) are at mutual risk of face vulnerability, and the likely outcome is that the S will seek to avoid the FTA or explore ways to minimize the threat. The choice of FTA strategy will depend on the 'weightiness' of the FTA. Where 'weightiness' or riskiness of the threat can be defined by the following formula:

$$W(x) = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R$$

Where:

- W = weightiness of the FTA
- D = distance between the H and S
- P = difference in power of H and S
- R = the rank of imposition of the culture

Equation 2.1. Brown and Levinson (1987: 320) computing the weightiness of an FTA

Depending on the how high W value is for FTA x, the likelier that the S will utilize a higher numbered strategy to minimize the risk. In the theory, Brown and Levinson state that strategy 4) includes giving deference, where giving deference encompasses the use of honorifics.

The following section will seek to analyse how far the politeness theory encompasses the Korean honorific systems and the literature surrounding the controversy of honorifics in

relation to the politeness theory framework. Where do honorification systems lie with respect to politeness theory?

2.8 Honorifics and Politeness Theory

There is much controversy surrounding the issue of whether the politeness theory is truly universal and can be applied directly to East Asian languages, especially Korean and Japanese. An important factor which fuels the debate is honorifics, as honorifics are mandatory in any utterance in Korean and in Japanese. As there are many similarities between the Japanese and Korean honorifics, I also examine the arguments on whether the politeness theory can be applied to Japanese honorifics in order to supplement the application of the theory to Korean honorifics. According to Brown and Levinson, the use of honorifics comes under “giving deference” by raising the hearer or where the speaker humbles themselves, or both. However, there are many examples which suggest that honorifics’ sole purpose is not necessarily for strategic face-saving purposes. I examine both sides of the argument, focusing on Fukada and Asato (2004), Ide (1989) and Matsumoto (1988) as well as range of the solutions presented on this issue. Finally, I also argue that honorifics use is mainly for relational and normative reasons (such as negotiating and understanding relationships and displaying intentions) as mentioned by Ide (1989), Matsumoto (1988), Locher and Watts (2005) and Hwang (1975) although it is very often used for face-saving purposes, especially in a business consumer relationship as I found in my research in South Korea. Subsequently, I explore how weightiness affects language use in customer to salesperson interaction in South Korea, the effect on honorifics use and how this reveals the power distribution in this relationship.

J. B. Lee (2008, 2012) summarizes the cases of honorifics use into two categories – normative use and strategic use. The latter can be likened to usage of honorifics in a FTA strategy and the former as mandatory use of honorifics as a social norm. J. B. Lee (2008, 2012) also enunciates that honorifics use is used mainly to negotiate power difference and emotional distance. He asserts that there are clear defined normative rules to how one should use honorifics in Korean. For example, different situations (such as the army, service at a church, company announcements, or between a group of friends at a bar) call for a re-prioritisation of what measure (of age, gender, kinship, solidarity or other power differences) is most important. For some situations, age may be most important. In others, such as in the workplace, one’s position in the company may be the crucial factor. Or for instance, within families, kinship may

play the most important role in negotiating relations. J. B. Lee (2008, 2012) maintains that for all the different cases, there are normative ways to communicate that one is expected to be aware of and follow in order to establish the different social metrics such as vertical and horizontal distances.

Similarly, Ide (1989) argues that “discernment and volition are both relevant in the universals of linguistic politeness” where the former can be likened to normative usage and the latter as the strategic usage, and characterizes the ‘universal’ aspect of Brown and Levinson’s politeness inadequate for Japanese. Matsumoto (1988) suggests that the honorific systems are a “relation-acknowledging device” which is used to show the relationships between people. This is similar to the argument of Locher and Watts (2005), who suggest a new framework of “relational work” which is the negotiation to establish the relationship between interlocutors. Matsumoto (1988) further argues that the concept of ‘face’ is different in Japanese, stating that the negative face “is far less potent as a dynamic of politeness”. The fundamental argument used by Ide (1989) and Matsumoto (1988, 1989) that contradicts Brown and Levinson is that honorifics are used in non-FTA situations. This is also the case in Korean, where honorifics must also be applied in non-FTA situations. The speaker must decide which speech level to use (shown in example 7a and 7b), depending on the listener.

- 7a. 3-nyen toy-ess-ta
 three-year be-PAST-SL1
 “It’s been 3 years.”
- b. 3-nyen toy-ess-eyo
 three-year be-PAST-SL5
 “It’s been 3 years.”

However, Fukada and Asato (2004) contradict the need for Ide’s (1989) suggestion of a ‘discernment’ politeness, stating that although it seems there is no need to use honorifics for face-saving purposes in some cases, using incorrect honorifics can damage the speaker’s face as he or she is using an incorrect grammar and seen as disrespecting the social rules. Fukada and Asato (2004) further express that the change in weightiness of an FTA can explain a situation like this, arguing that when a socially superior person is involved, the R value in the weightiness formula is higher, therefore, this immediately transforms a non-face threatening situation into an FTA due to the rank of imposition value, even if the referent is not present.

They formulate that there are situations where the use of honorifics by a socially superior person.

8. Tomoko-chan, hontooni mooshiwake nain desu kedo, konkai wa
 name-diminutive really no excuse-HON but this time TOP
 shukudai no marutsuke mo shite morae masen ka.
 homework GEN grading also do receive-POLITE-NEG-Q
 ‘Tomoko, I’m really sorry, but would you also grade homework for this lesson?’

(Fukada and Asato 2004)

In this example, this utterance by the teacher has strategic intentions to receive the help from the student, therefore this would be an example of a face-saving strategy. However, I argue that not all honorific use in negotiations of the relationships are strategic, and honorific systems are often used to follow the social norm and to negotiate the horizontal and vertical distances between the interlocutors. In economically incentivised environments, the face of the customer is most likely threatened. Thus, in this situation, politeness theory can be applied to examine how speech strategies are deployed in relation to my research done in South Korean department stores. For example, unusual and over polite speech occurs in the luxury brand store of Bottega Veneta when the sales people simultaneously greet the customer as the customer enters the store.

9. annyeng-ha-si-pnikka? pottekapeyneytta-i-pnida.
 how-do-HON-SL6 BottegaVeneta-is-SL6
 ‘How are you?’ This is Bottega Veneta.’

In this speech sample, Speech Level 6 is used. I identified this use across numerous luxury department stores in Korea. The use of FTA strategy number 4) off-record indirect in luxury stores was most common, where compliments on products were used to indirectly to imply that the customers should purchase the product. This starkly contrasted with the impolite and inappropriate language use in the street markets.

10. kunyang mak-sa
 just buy-SL2

‘Just buy it.’

This example uses FTA strategy number 1 – bald on-record, employing an imperative as well as informal speech level 2 to the customer. However, although this speech level is linguistically inappropriate as the customer has the higher status, this is generally considered appropriate behaviour as the economic power of the individual customer at the street market is fractional compared to the economic power of an individual customer in a luxury store.

I discuss why this is the case and how Equation 2.1 can be used to compute the weightiness of an FTA between a customer and salesperson in South Korea. Weightiness of an interaction between a salesperson and the customer can be better framed as $\frac{D + P + R}{(\text{total earning} \div \text{price of item})^2}$ when a salesperson is recommending the customer to purchase an item. In a luxury store, for example, let the value of $D + P + R = 10$ and the store’s monthly earning to be 1000. If an average price of an item is 500, the weightiness per interaction with a customer would equal $\frac{10}{(1000 \div 500)^2} = \frac{10}{4} = 2.5$. In the street market, let the total earning equal 100 and the average item be 5 and so the P value would be lower as the customer does not have as much economic power. Thus, the weightiness could be computed as $\frac{8}{(100 \div 5)^2} = \frac{8}{400} = 0.02$. These values are arbitrary. However, this equation exemplifies the larger trend of why the weightiness of an interaction between salesperson and customer increases dramatically when a small percentage of customers generate the majority of the profits in a store, which in turn is reflected in the language use of the salesperson. This further explains why the salesperson will opt for a higher number FTA strategy when recommending a customer to buy a product in a luxury store. In the street market, the profits generated per interaction are a fraction of those in luxury stores. Therefore, the weightiness in an FTA per customer is significantly lower, reducing the risk for the salesperson to use impolite language, as one customer does not impact overall profits. Thus, in a street market, the salesperson is not incentivised to maximize the chance of a single person making a purchase and take more risk to differentiate their sales pitch by shouting, bargaining and focusing on maximizing the number of customers that purchase an item. The following is an example of a salesperson bargaining with the customer at the street market in a seemingly impolite and inappropriate manner, and strategically recommending the customer to buy the product at a discounted rate.

11.	akassi-nun	elkwul-i	yeyppu-nikka na-lang	kathi
	lady-TOP	looking-NOM	good-because I-and	together
	sal-myen	kongcca-ntey	cip-ey ka-myen	ochen-wen
	live-if	free-CON	home-LOC go-if	5,000 won

‘Young lady you are looking good. If you live with me it’s free,
but if you go home its 5000 won.’

Fukada and Asato (2004) also note the importance of a more hierarchical societal structure (often described as a more vertical society) having an impact on the weightiness of an FTA. For example, Japanese society is more vertical than American society where the social hierarchy has more power levels and a wider range of power levels and social statuses. They state that because of this vertical society, the values for D (distance) and P (power) are markedly higher (and more variable) than they would be in a Western society. Hijirida and Sohn (1986) expand upon this argument, where they argue that power has a much more varying and defined degree in Korean and Japanese than in English shown using honorifics and address terms to a markedly higher degree.

According to Hijirida and Sohn (1986: 371, 373), comparing the tables of English address terms versus Korean address terms show that there are twice as many address terms in Korean.

Table 2.3. From Hijirida and Sohn (1986: 371, 373) for Korean address terms versus American English address terms

K TERMS	EXAMPLES
Title sequence (PT + HTa)	taythonglyeng-kakha 'His Excellency President'
Title sequence (PT/KT/GT + HTb)	sacang-nim 'co. president,' halapenim 'grandfather,' sensayng-nim 'sir'
Full name or family name & title sequence (LN (+ FFN) + PT/GT + HTb)	Kim (Yongswu) kwacang-nim 'Div. Chief Kim (Yongswu),' Kim (Yongswu) sensayng-nim 'Mr. Kim (Yongswu)'
Title alone (PT/KT/GT)	chakwan 'vice-minister,' emeni 'mother,' pwin 'madam'
Full or family name & title (LN (+ FFN) + PT/GT)	Kim (Yongswu) kwacang 'Div. Chief Kim,' Kim (Yongswu) sensayng 'Mr. Kim (Yongswu)
Dr. + LN	Dr. Kim
Full name & title (LN + FFN + HTc)	Kim Yongswu-ssi
Family name & title (LN + HTc)	Kim-ssi
Miss/Mr./Mrs. + LN	Miss Yang, Mr. Kim, Mrs. Lee
Full given name & title (FFN + HTc)	Yongswu-ssi
Full or family name & title (LN (+ FFN) + HTd)	Kim (Yongswu)-kwun 'Mr. Kim Yongswu,' Kim (Swunhi)- yang 'Miss Kim'
Full given name & title (FFN + HTd)	Yongswu-kwun 'Mr. Yongswu,' Swunhi-yang 'Miss Swunhi'
Full given name & intimate vocative (i)	Homin-i, Yongswu
Full given name & plain vocative (y)a	Homin-a, Yongswu-ya

E TERMS	EXAMPLES
Title sequence (HT + PT)	Mr. President, Mr. Cahirman, Mr. Secretary
Title alone (PT, KT, GT, HT)	Professor, Father, Colonel, Doctor, mother, grandfather, sir, ma'am, mister, miss
Title and last name (PT + LN; HT + LN)	President Reagan, Dr. Smith, Mrs. Anderson, Mr. Nixon
Last name alone (LN)	Reagan, Smith, Anderson
Full first name (FFN)	Robert, Samuel, Eveline
Nickname (Nn)	Bob, Sam, Eve
Affectionate nickname (ANn)	Bobbie, Sammy, Evie

Hijirida and Sohn (1986) claim that there are numerous different variables which impact the use of honorifics. Comparably, Leech (2005) also remarks the significance of the difference in P and D values between Eastern and Western cultures impacts the weightiness of an FTA. The increased variability of the weightiness explains the differences in honorifics use and how sensitive weightiness is in Korean culture in comparison to Western culture.

To summarize, honorifics use can be predicted by the politeness theory framework and face-saving strategies, especially in cases where there the speaker is incentivised to gain something desired or as demonstrated, in the case where financial rewards are at stake, though this is not to say that all honorifics use fits well into politeness theory as an important part of honorifics is the negotiation of relations and the determination of the vertical and horizontal distances.

2.9 Communication and Accommodation Theory

Many researchers have focused and examined extensively the relationship between politeness and honorifics. Although this is crucial, it is also important to examine the relationship between accommodation, more specifically Communication and Accommodation Theory (also known as CAT) and Korean honorifics, as well as how this relationship varies between South and North Korea.

CAT as set out in Giles and Ogay (2007) states that people converge or diverge to portray the social distance between people in an interaction. Changing one's "communicative behaviour" can take form in many ways, including dress, speech, slang, body language and tone to portray accommodation or the lack of accommodation. Thus, it is important to note that one can be both generally convergent (or accommodating) and linguistically divergent. Giles and Ogay (2007) state that linguistically, convergence is an attempt by the S to match the speaking style of the H to seem closer with the H and appear as if they are a part of the same social group. Giles and Ogay state that divergence, on the other hand, is the attempt of the S to distinguish his or herself from the H, emphasizing the difference between S and H and consequently showing the distance between the two participants. In Korean, linguistic divergence is often a form of accommodation and a sign of respect, where someone who is of lower position and social status will accommodate the listener by diverging linguistically. As honorifics are used to display any differences in power or social status, divergence in honorifics can be used to show the non-reciprocal nature of the power difference between the S and the

H. This is especially the case for when there is a greater difference in status and position. For example, in South Korea, if the chairman of a company invites employees for dinner the employees will likely “overaccommodate” the chairman by diverging significantly in terms of honorifics though they will converge by matching the chairman’s formality level, mood and speech rate.

With respect to the motivations behind convergence and divergence (Giles and Ogay, 2007) in South Korea, the sense of the collective identity is more important than the individual identity, where the latter is more often used to portray status differences between the S and H. Therefore, convergence is displayed by converging towards the same speech level, whereas divergence is displayed by the difference in speech level between the S or H, often diverging from the most basic speech level of *panmal* (the most casual form of honorifics).

On a high level, honorifics in North Korea are used as a tool to reify the people’s accommodation towards the government. This means linguistically diverging from the leader using honorific systems. Portraying divergence between each other in NK through honorifics is reserved for displaying the difference of the distance between the S and H as to how close they are to the leader (or their position in government). Similarly, convergence is designed to show uniformity of the North Korean people, emphasizing that every individual is a part of a greater group of people conforming to the same ideology. By diverging from the leader, the distance between the leader and the people increases, emphasizing the concept of a god-like figure. The asymmetrical aspect is displayed using respectful address terms, speech level 6 and subject honorifics used by North Korean people towards the leader.

An example of convergence with each other is found in frequent ‘confession’ meetings where ‘comrades’ meet and publicly criticize and report other comrades’ divergent behaviour – which includes any signs of rebellious behaviour towards the regime. This will be followed by a chant of approval by other comrades to reaffirm and condemn this behaviour, and can be followed by arrests thereafter. These meetings are designed to reinstate loyalty and impersonalize each other through linguistic convergence and reinstate the interlocutors’ position in relation to the regime and ideology. In these confession meetings, the use of honorifics is formal, and participants are expected to converge linguistically with this speech level and to use appropriate address terms such as ‘comrade’.

In South Korea, however, CAT can be used to predict a wider variety of honorific usage, especially with regards to economic rewards. There may be situation where a salesperson uses honorifics to differentiate and show the superior status of the customer, but accommodates by converging strategically and temporarily in order to decrease the distance between the S and

the H and increase intimacy between the two. In the case of a professor making a formal announcement to students, divergence is used to differentiate the professor from the students and mark the formal aspect of the announcement. When a professor wishes to accommodate to a student, he or she may use a higher speech level to show respect towards a student. Similarly, if the professor seeks to diverge by showing the difference in power in an interaction between the professor and the student, the professor would use a lower speech level to emphasize this difference.

2.10 Language and Power

2.10.1 Value of D (Horizontal Power)

When exploring honorifics, two factors are always mentioned. These factors are horizontal power and vertical power. Within the context of politeness Brown and Levinson incorporate values of 'D' (horizontal power) and 'P' (vertical power) when calculating the weightiness of an FTA.

Where $W(x) = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R$ according to Equation 2.1 of the politeness theory, the values of P and R are mainly determined by society in an FTA situation. In South Korea, it is often seen that the speech level is lowered strategically in an economically incentivised environment. By appropriately reducing D at certain points in a conversation, a customer at a store may feel closer with the salesperson as if the salesperson was more like a friend advising and recommending products for the customer. In this case, the value of D in the equation of weightiness is lowered so that the customer may feel more welcomed or closer, which may in turn fulfil the economic desire of the salesperson. After having spoken to and evaluated the customer, the store worker may use a lower numbered FTA strategy by varying the weightiness of the threat. Although this strategy executed by the store worker may be riskier, the payoff may be greater given the context of a situation. An example may be a member of staff at a clothes shop speaking to a customer as follows.

The conversation starts off with salesperson greeting the customer with speech level 5. During the interaction, when the store worker is making a recommendation, she temporarily lowers her use of honorifics to appear closer with the customer using speech level 2. In this instance, we see that D can be subtly varied and manipulated to increase the chances of a greater financial reward as the customer to salesperson relationship develops. This is used in

conjunction with an address term, more specifically a kinship term, for example *enni* (meaning older sister), to emphasize the reduction in the D.

2.10.2 Value of P (Vertical Power)

Power is defined by Brown and Levinson as the relative, asymmetric social dimension where the source of power may be material and/or metaphysical control. Brown and Gilman (1960) define power as a relative, non-reciprocal social dimension which can be shown through language. Different forms of power are more important on different sides of the Korean peninsula: metaphysical control (politically driven or political power) in North Korea, and primarily material or economic South Korea.

In languages that have honorific markers, the use of honorifics gives more insight into the power dynamic between S and H. The values of P have a wider and more in-depth scale, reflecting the vertical and horizontal societal structure depicted by Leech (2005). This means that honorifics accurately pinpoint and depict the power of both H and S and emphasize the difference in power between H and S. By analysing and looking closely at which speech levels or honorifics are used we can determine and define the power dynamics between the S and the H, and how this differs between North Korea and South Korea.

2.10.3 Honorifics and Address Terms

The use of the honorification systems is obligatory in speech in Korean. The use of address terms is a subset of honorifics in Korean to clearly define the relative position of the interlocutors. For example, the word ‘brother’ cannot be used without differentiating between older brother and younger brother. According to Hijirida and Sohn (1986) age is the most important factor in Korean when using address terms, compared to group-membership in Japanese or intimacy in American English. Brown and Gilman (1960) point out that if solidarity is the focus (like in English), two twin brothers are addressed by the same term. To contrast this, even twin brothers are considered asymmetrical in Korean in terms of age and one would call the other using the kinship address term *hyeng*, meaning ‘older brother’ even if they were born seconds apart.

Address terms indicate the difference in social status and in power in both South Korea and North Korea. As Brown and Gilman (1960) note, English also used to have multiple second person pronouns which are found in other European languages such as German and French –

where they have two terms for ‘you’ – French *tu* and *vous* originating from the Latin *tu* and *vos*. Although address terms are a subset of honorifics, address terms indicate vertical and horizontal distance, while honorifics indicate power and solidarity. Address terms in South Korea can also be used “incorrectly” to decrease the distance between the S and H in example given in section above – where the salesperson addresses the customer as *enni* meaning ‘older sister’ to portray this intimacy. This divergence in the use of address terms reflects the changes in society in North Korea and South Korea, where the rigidity of the hierarchy has reduced in South Korea but not in North Korea.

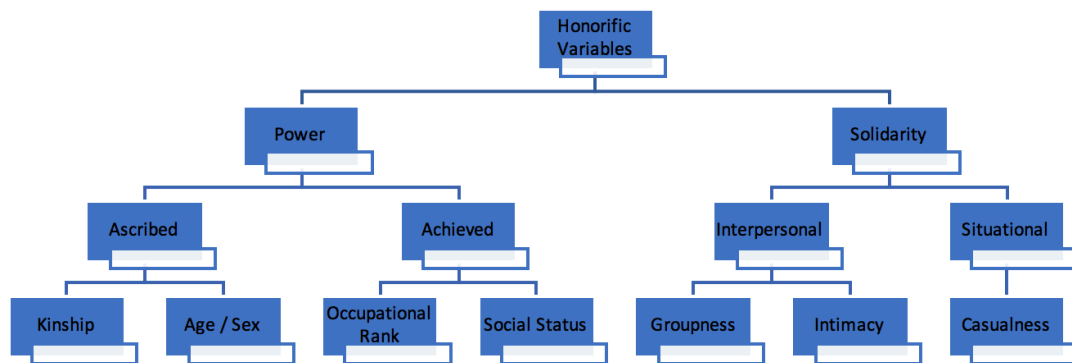


Figure 2.3. Honorific Variables from Hijirida and Sohn (1986: 368)

Referring to Hijirida and Sohn’s diagram of honorific variables (Figure 2.3), the main variables which affect the use of honorifics are separated into power and solidarity, where power further branches out to ‘ascribed’ and ‘achieved’ power. The ‘achieved power’ variable has diverged between North Korea and South Korea. Emergence of the increased usage of address terms such as ‘cell secretary’ or ‘comrade’ in North Korea compared to a significant decrease or decrease of the use of these terms in South Korea is an example of this. Further examples of this can be found in Chapter 7 in this thesis. The differences in the honorification systems between North Korea and South Korea given in this thesis will show the shift in socio-linguistic norms since the 1950s and give a clearer insight in the differences in social distance and power within the respective societies.

2.11 Language policy and planning

Language planning can be defined as “all conscious efforts that aim at changing the linguistic behaviour of a speech community” (Deumert, 2009: 371) and language policy can be defined as “the general linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process” (Deumert, 2009: 371).

South and North Korea have different language policies and planning under different governments. This has led to the inevitable divergence in language in the Korean peninsula. King (2007: 18) articulates that linguistic divergence, caused by the post liberation differences in language policies and the effectiveness of implementing those policies, is most noticeable in the lexicon and the divergence in orthography. He also notes that this facilitates the perception of North Korean as aggressive, robotic and vulgar from the point of the South Koreans, whereas South Korean is viewed as feminine and contaminated with foreign words by North Koreans. In this section, I will examine how the language policies and planning of North and South Korea have been shaped and implemented differently since the division.

2.11.1 Language policy and planning before division in Korean peninsula

In 1894, at the time of the *Kavo Reform*⁹, the written Korean language, or *Hangul*, was used in official government documents of the Korean peninsula following modernization, though it was not used on the wider scale. However, as Japan invaded and subsequently colonized Korea in 1910, the official language was altered to Japanese until Korea achieved liberation in 1945. During this time, all government documents were written in Japanese, and all schools were taught in Japanese.

In 1912, Japanese government established Korean orthography guide called *enmwun chelcapep* meaning ‘phonemic orthography’. However, Korean linguists created their own association called the *Hangul Hakhoi*¹⁰ as the Korean linguists thought the Japanese *enmwun chelcapep* of Korean orthography was not accurate enough. In this association, they studied the Korean language, and as a result, planned to unify Korean orthography which eventually materialized in 1933. However, this was not spread to the Korean people actively during the

⁹ The Kavo Reform led by the middle class was a proposal to the government of a modernizing reform from 1894 to 1896.

¹⁰ The Korean Language Society was founded in 1908 to research Korean and created a unified form of Korean by Korean scholars.

Japanese colonial period. Nevertheless, even under the Japanese government's policy which prohibited the use of Korean as an official language, Korean was preserved through its study, use and development by such Korean linguists, journalists and educators.

2.11.2 Language policy and planning in North Korea

After the Korean civil war, two governments emerged with two different fundamental ideologies – the North based on communism and the South based on capitalism. The North Korean government has been driving a strong language policy in North Korea, in order to establish itself as an independent nation. Nam and Jung (1990) note that North Korea's language policies can be divided into two periods that they have called the *Cosen period*, dating from 1950-1965, and *Munhwae period*, dating from 1966 to present. The *Cosen period* was the traditional Korean language continuously used before 1950. Since 1966, North Korea designated the standard language as *Munhwae* – based on the Pyongyang dialect by the instruction of Kim Il-Sung. According to *Hyentay Cosenmal Sacen*, the Modern Korean dictionary (1981: 1007), *Munhwae* is defined as the speech style used by the working class centred in Pyongyang and should be used according to their class and lifestyle, and also based on Kim Il-Sung's ideology.

Ko (1990) states that the North Korean government strongly enforced language policies and the government's influence was also utilized in changing and implementing language norms. Ha (1993) also emphasizes the effectiveness and coerciveness of the North Korean government to implement and distribute language policies. The language policies were introduced to the people of North Korea through various publications that outlined rules regarding pronunciation, vocabulary and structure.

According to *North Korean Language Policy* (1992), an introductory book to North Korean language policy examined and researched by the National Institute of the Korean Language in South Korea, since 1966's Cultural Language Movement, Kim Il-Sung's proclamations have formed the foundation to the standard of language policy; even the vocabulary used by Kim Il-Sung is set apart as vocabulary of a higher calibre, and furthermore the names of towns and public structures were unrestrictedly altered to his preference. For instance, he changed the name of a town in the north to *saypyelkwun*, meaning 'star province', a metaphor for the fiery resistance and bravery the people showed in the face of Japanese invasion. Kim Il-Sung proclaimed that a military force in North Hampyong Province was

burning with a fiery passion during the first revolutionary struggle against the Japanese colonisation.

Under the guidance of Kim Il-Sung, the North Korean government published a book on how to pronounce, communicate and talk based on the standard dialect of Pyongyang, called *Cosenmal kyupemcip* (Cosen Official Language Rule Book) by the North Korean government (1988). The North Korean government recognized language as a tool for the communism revolution and aimed to spread it to its people through its *cwuchey ideology* based on Marxist communist. In order to implement a strong language policy, the North Korean government made the rule book *Cosenmal kyupemcip* in 1966 and revised *Cosenmal kyupemcip* in 1988. This book in particular implemented new rules for the language which further empowered and idolized Kim Il-Sung. This book presented a new way of using the language of Kim Il-sung in accordance with the *cwuchey theory* and focused on Kim Il-Sung's worship. Furthermore, in addition to empowering Kim Il-Sung, the language was also used to reinforce communist values through the creation of new words and expressions related to the communist revolution.

On the topic of honorification systems use, the North Korean government provide a guide to daily North Korean language use in the book *cosenmalyeycelpep* by T. S. Kim (1983) which explains how North Koreans should use honorification systems appropriately and correctly.

2.11.3 Language policy and planning in South Korea

The language policy of South Korea is the government's established standard forms and several language policies. Ha (1993) notes the South Korean government's indecisiveness on language policies, which may explain why South Koreans accept language variation more naturally. These language policies are not implemented aggressively, compared to the North Korean government. The official designation of the standard language in Korea was in 1933 when the *hankul hakhoy* (Korean Language Society) made the *hankul macchwumpep ceycengan* (Unified Korean Spelling Plan). The principle in selecting standard Korean was that "standard Korean is generally used in Seoul, which is currently used in middle-class society".

In South Korea, there were several policies under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. In 1972, the Romanization of Korean place names took place. Also, around that time, the Ministry of Education set a basic curriculum for middle and high school students to learn Chinese characters at school. The Ministry of Education started working on revised spelling and pronunciation systems in 1970 and published it in 1988. There was much

discussion in South Korea about using *Hangul* and Chinese characters. According to H. M. Sohn (2013) in 1948, the Korean Language Society presented its opinion not to use all Chinese characters which passed the National Assembly. However, the policy failed in practice when they tried to change state documents and signs on the streets in 1956 and 1957. Chinese characters were still used in the daily lives of people, such as in newspapers.

Since 1970, the government led the policy for *Hangul*, which was successfully been implemented. The schools decided to teach in *Hangul* in its entirety and teach Chinese characters as a foreign language. All state-related official documents, scientific and technological terms and government publications were transformed to be written in *Hangul*. *Hanja*, the Chinese characters, became replaced by *Hangul* fully in the 1980s with a new generation educated mainly on *Hangul*. This was helped by the development of computers in the 1990's.

In 1991, the Korean government established *kwuklip kwukewen* (the National Institute of the Korean language) to carry out projects and research activities to improve the language use of the Korean people in their daily lives. *Kwuklip kwukewen* corrects the incorrect grammar rules and distributes the correct grammar rules, standard words, and Romanization rules. *Kwuklip kwukewen* supports the correct use of Korean language by publishing the *phyocwun kwuke taysacen* (Standard Korean Dictionary). Moreover, from 1998 to 2007, a corpus was built to computerize 200 million Korean words and to build a Korean language resource. To spread the correct use of Korean, for example, the National Institute of the Korean language created a public relations video to correct the use of incorrect grammar on the Internet and wrote a book *Korean Language Etiquette* to present and promote how to use Korean properly in daily life.

In South Korea, these language policies are not implemented by the government and they encourage South Koreans to participate voluntarily, which some believe is not effective in producing results. H. M. Sohn (2013) and I. S. Lee (2005) claim that young Koreans have used and abused words borrowed from English since the 1960s and currently use many English words in South Korea. For North Korean defectors who have escaped and moved to South Korea, they have many difficulties with these English loanwords which have become interwoven into the fabric of everyday South Korean language.

The divergence between South and North Korean language is a result of the differences in enforcement of the language policies and planning by the respective governments. North Korean language policies have been successfully directed to be centred around the leader and his *cwuchey* ideology based on the Marxist revolution ideology (Ha 1993). South Korean

language policies have described a standard language and mandated corrections as the language of South Korea has developed to involve English loanwords or incorrect address terms in economically incentivised situations. The language policies and planning after the civil war led to this divergence between the languages on the Korean peninsula.

3. The Korean Honorification Systems

3.1 Introduction

Thus far I discussed that honorifics can be used as a barometer to measure the degree of language variation in South and North Korea. Within the broader honorific systems, however, there are three key elements on which I wish to anchor my data analysis. They are: (i) subject honorifics, (ii) address terms, and (iii) speech levels. It is essential to clarify these linguistic concepts first, for they clearly show significant variation and are thus explicit indices of the impact of power on language. In this chapter, I introduce the rules of the Korean honorification systems which serve as a basis for the rest of the thesis, followed by an introduction to what I call ‘overuse’ and ‘overextension’ in South Korea. All the examples used for demonstration are in the standard language, based in Seoul, as the basic rules of the honorification systems are much the same for North and South Korea. Any discrepancies to this generalization are mentioned below.

3.2 Main Components of the Korean Honorifics

3.2.1 Subject Honorifics

One of the ways to convey deference is through subject honorifics. In Korean honorifics mark the verb with an honorific marker *-si-*, which is used to elevate the subject of the verb, so I simply refer to it as the ‘subject honorifics’. To identify where and how language variation occurs, it is necessary to elaborate on the concept of the honorific marker *-si-* and provide examples from usage.

First, the ‘pre-final ending’ (honorific marker) is one part of the system of Korean verb endings. I. S. Lee and Ramsey (2000: 173) explain that the pre-final endings go after the verb stem like any other ending, yet come before the final endings, hence the oxymoronic term ‘pre-final ending’. This can be formulated as follows: verb stem – pre-final ending – final ending. Pre-final endings mark tense, aspect, modality, and subject honorifics. Final endings mark the speech level.

Second, focussing on subject honorifics, we need look at the honorific marker *-si-* and also the marker on the subject *-kkeyse*. The following examples, inspired by Brown (2011: 31), demonstrate how they (boldface) are used.

1. hoycangnim-**kkeyse** hoyuysil-ey
 chairman-HON meeting room-LOC
 ka-**si**-n-ta
 go-HON-PR-DEC
 ‘The chairman is going to the meeting room.’

2. kyoswunim-**kkeyse** cip-ey
 professor-HON home-LOC
 ka-**si**-n-ta
 go-HON-PR-DEC
 ‘The professor is going home.’

3. chinkwu-ka hakkyo-ey
 friend-NOM school-LOC
 ka-n-ta
 go-PR-DEC
 ‘My friend is going to school.’

The marker *-si-* on the verb canonically expresses the relationship between the speaker and the elevated subject of the sentence. Honorifics are standardly used only towards social superiors, based on social categories. In example 1, *-si-* is used to indicate a degree of respect towards the chairman. The subject honorific *-kkeyse* can also replace the subject particle *-i/-ka* to further show respect towards the chairman. In example 2, *-kkeyse*, and *-si-* express the speaker’s respect towards the professor, as the professor has a higher social rank than the speaker. In contrast, example 3 omits *-si-* because a friend need not receive hierarchical respect. The data from South and North Korea show how the usage of *-si-* has changed in the later sections of this thesis.

In North Korea, according to H. B. Lee (1990: 78), the honorification system can be distinguished into 3 categories: high style, equal style and low style – categories used to refer to a superior, an equal and an inferior person. For the purpose of simplification, I propose addressing this system with speech levels 1 to 6 from here on.

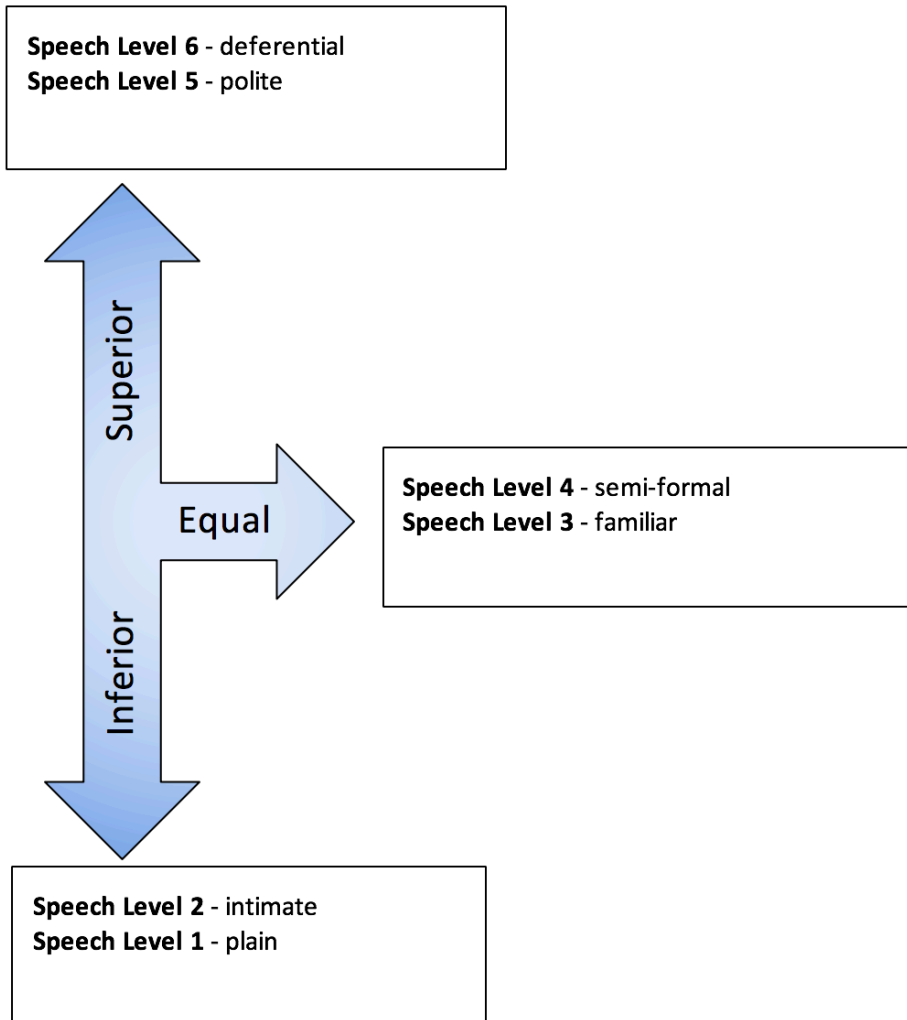


Figure 3.1. Adapted from Cho et al. (2002), categorization of the speech levels.

The speech level systems are essentially the same in South Korea. However, there are minor discrepancies in framing or categorization of these speech levels when scholars explain the speech level systems in South Korean. Ultimately, though, they divide into the same 6 speech levels in both South Korean and North Korean.

3.2.2 Address Terms

Hijirida and Sohn (1986: 369) state that Korean has ‘rich systems of hierarchical personal pronouns’ and contrasting with English ‘you’, Korean does not allow for a socially inferior person to address a superior using *ne* (lowest form of ‘you’). Thus, there are various other address terms for this purpose, more specifically the honorific suffix *-nim*. According to J. B. Lee (2012), *-nim* is spreading in South Korea and used in North Korea for their leader. In Chapters 5 and 6, I will explore the differences in the use of *-nim* in South Korea and North Korea. Extensive 2nd person pronouns do exist in Korean, as given by C. K. Kim (2009: 2089), though according to C. K. Kim (2009: 2097), ‘we’ is used predominantly in place of ‘you’ in Korean compared to English. The honorific suffix *-nim*, is a prominent way to mark a noun when addressing someone with respect. Akin to the English salutations ‘sir’ or ‘madam’, *-nim* elevates the listener’s social status and conveys a sense of deference. I. S. Lee and Ramsey (2000: 230) provide the examples below, from unelevated to elevated:

Father: *apeci* → *ape-**nim***

Mother: *emeni* → *eme-**nim***

Honourable minister: *cangkwan* → *cangkwan-**nim***

Honourable mayor: *sicang* → *sicang-**nim***

Respected university dean: *hakcang* → *hakcang-**nim***

Respected teacher: *sensayng* → *sensayng-**nim***

Respected doctor (PhD): *paksa* → *paksa-**nim***

For instance, it would be considered impolite and odd to native ears for a student to address his teacher as *sensayng* (meaning ‘teacher’), omitting the suffix *-nim*. For this reason, the usage of *-nim* in certain address terms is so widespread that a noun with the suffix *-nim* as a whole would be considered a word on its own. However, one thing to note about *-nim* is that, according to I. S. Lee and Ramsey (2000: 231), it should be used only ‘to form appellations for

people who hold those titles'. We later see how address terms with suffix *-nim* is used in South Korea and North Korea.

Apart from *-nim*, another set of common address terms in Korean derives from kinship terms. Developed in pairs – one for men and another for women – according to the gender of the speaker, these kinship terms are used among family members to address one another. For example, for a little girl to address her older sister, the address term is *enni*, while for a little boy for his older sister, it is *nwuna*. According to Y. S. Park (2007: 167), this familial address system extends to people in intimate relationships or friendships, but my data have also captured the overspill of the kinship terms into commercial contexts as did J. B. Lee (2012: 117). This is another instance of language variation that this thesis explores.

3.2.3 Speech Levels

Finally, there are six different speech levels in modern Korean. The speech levels allow the speaker to moderate the degree of deference and emotional distance by inflecting verbs. This may appear similar to the subject honorific using *-si-*. However, the difference is that while *-si-* elevates the referent of the subject, the speech levels calibrate the formality in relation to the addressee. For example, if a Korean speaker wants to tell his younger brother that their mother is ill, the speaker would use *-si-* to elevate the referent (their mother) but would end his sentence with a lower speech level, considering the status of the listener (his younger brother). Hence there are two systems operating at the same time. The six speech levels are as follows.

Table 3.1. Adapted from Brown (2011: 23), my categorization of the Korean Speech Levels

Speech level (In the order of the least formal to the most formal)		Verb ending	Example “to go”: ka-ta
1	SL1 - Speech Level 1 (plain)	-(nu)nta	ka-nta
2	SL2 - Speech Level 2 (intimate)	-a/e	ka
3	SL3 - Speech Level 3 (familiar)	-ney	ka-ney
4	SL4 - Speech Level 4 (semi-formal)	-(s)o	ka-o
5	SL5 - Speech Level 5 (polite)	-a/eyo	kayo
6	SL6 - Speech Level 6 (deferential)	-(su)pnita	ka-pnita

Language variation in the South and North has occurred in different patterns. In the South, the speech levels have simplified dramatically in the 20th century according to Suh (1978) and Y. S. Park (1978, 2004). Suh (1978) argues further that the intimate (level 2) and polite (level 5) speech levels are mostly used in the South. On the other hand, the deferential (level 6) level is known to be also frequently used in public settings in North Korea. Also, in North Korea, there are a wider variety of speech levels used in general. I provide an example on how to interpret Table 3.1, with the verb ‘to go’ (*ka-ta*). If the speaker would like to speak in speech level 6, the deferential level, he would first take citation form *ka-ta*, drop the verb ending *ta* and then attach the deferential ending *-(su)pnita*. The result *ka-pnita* would then sound deferential to another Korean speaker engaging in the conversation. Similarly, levels 2 and 5 also achieve their intended level of formality when correctly inflected. Note that they undergo an unusual inflection that directly interacts with the verb stem, no hyphen is used to demarcate the verb stem from the verb ending in the example above (levels 2 and 5). Just to visualise this irregular inflection, however, I could also write: *ka-a* and *ka-a-yo*. Throughout this thesis, I focus on the intimate (level 2), polite (level 5), and deferential (level 6) speech levels to illustrate the language variation.

3.3 The Use of Honorification Systems

The use of the honorification systems leads to a consideration of competing explanations of norm or strategy. It is worth questioning whether the variations in all three elements are employed as occasional strategies or are becoming a permanent social norm. After discussing this, I dissect the three elements – subject honorifics, address terms, and speech levels – according to two dimensions. Vertically, honorifics may indicate the disparity in power. Horizontally used, however, these three elements may also show emotional proximity or distance between the interlocutors, instead of hierarchy. I then elaborate on the overextension and overuse of honorifics as a misuse becoming widespread in both Koreas for different reasons.

3.3.1 Norm vs. Strategy

J. B. Lee (2012: 333) proposes that honorifics as a norm are a set of rules shared among the members of a language community, while honorifics as a strategy are individual instances of language use to achieve the speaker's intention. For there to be coherent fabric of society, each string of interpersonal relationships must be arranged in an orderly manner. In Korean society, order and stability are achieved by the normative usage of honorifics, taking the interlocutors' age, sex, and status into account. In contrast, the strategic usage of honorifics involves linguistic deference that does not necessarily comply with the norm but is used by the interlocutors to achieve their specific goals. J. B. Lee (2012: 335) devises five subcategories of the strategic view of honorifics:

- i. Polite beneficiary strategy: the speaker's using honorifics to the listener to shows deference and gratitude for the benefit he has obtained or intends to obtain from the listener.
- ii. Resolution of incongruent status strategy: the interlocutors of conflicting statuses (e.g. A being older than B but B being of a higher professional

rank than A) moderating their use of honorifics to establish a stable order between them.

- iii. Status revelation strategy: the speaker of higher age or status deliberately revealing his superior position to the listener to influence the listener's attitude or conduct.
- iv. Identity alteration strategy: the speaker belonging to two or more status categories (e.g. being an employee and a middle-aged man) switches from one identity to another to place himself in an advantageous position.
- v. Distance control strategy: the interlocutors' controlling their honorifics to extend or reduce the emotional distance among themselves.

The use of honorifics in the form of what I call 'overextension' and 'overuse' began as a strategic use of honorifics in South Korea. In example 5 (see 3.3.4 below) of an employee serving 'respected coffee' in South Korea, to his 'respected customer', elevating the coffee is "incorrect" usage but could be seen as the employee's attempt to show linguistic deference in an individual case. He would be using the polite beneficiary strategy to sell coffee. All this may have begun as a strategy, but it is now becoming the norm. Many ordinary people are unaware of the currently widespread misuses and even feel not well-served when treated with the correct honorifics (with no "overextension"). Can something grammatically incorrect even be considered a strategic usage? Is this a misuse of language to be criticised or an evolution that should be respected? Whether it is desirable or not, and strategic or normative, one thing to note is that all instances of honorifics involve both strategic functions and normative functions in their explanation. The customer's financial power to access the employee's service establishes the customer in a stronger position than the employee under the normative view, and this goes hand in hand with the strategic approach by the employee to obtain what the employee desires: money. The inseparability of the normative and strategic aspects is also captured in the actual application of honorifics.

3.3.2 Verticality and Power

One of the two dimensions of Korean honorifics is verticality. Traditionally, honorifics have maintained social stability through hierarchy. It is especially in this vertical dimension where the power dynamics become explicit. In South Korea, democratisation and the free market have driven the society more toward the modern Western values of equality, free speech, and non-hierarchical casualness. These values brought about a wider distribution of power and thus the verticality of honorifics has been weakened. The simplification of the honorific systems is linguistic evidence of democracy, as well as the widespread use of the *hayyo* style (speech level 5). The exception is the service sector, where the highest speech levels and subject honorifics are excessively used.

In North Korea, the vertical aspect is still prominent in public life. The citizens are constantly ingrained with the ideology of rigid hierarchy within the Workers' Party and their functions within the society as a 'cell' as they call it. The verticality thus helps visualise where power lies and to what people should show deference.

3.3.3 Horizontality and Distance

The other aspect of honorifics is horizontality. This concerns the emotional distance and solidarity among the interlocutors. As much as honorifics were traditionally used to establish a hierarchy, there have always been intimate and affectionate relationships in which formalities would be dropped. In such circumstances, the lower form or the lack of honorifics is not considered impolite but friendly. Even in North Korea, speech at level 5 or 2 is common in communications in private daily lives, according to the defectors interviewed in this study. What sets the North Korean use of honorifics apart from the South Korean counterpart is that the public sphere takes a significant portion of the North Koreans' lives and the split between one's public self and private self must be strictly maintained. In South Korea, the opposite tendency has been happening. With the weakened hierarchy, expressions of solidarity and intimacy are valued for a deeper emotional connection in communications. This has both rhetorical effects on the listeners and efficiency in transmitting information because level 5 is phonologically economical and removes a potential communication barrier that might arise as a result of the age or status disparity. For example, it is now commonplace for announcers in

South Korean news broadcasts to use level 5 in reporting. This way, the viewers more intimately connected without necessarily feeling as if they were being treated with less respect. In this view, honorifics are just as much about the emotional distance on a horizontal plane as they are about verticality and hierarchy.

3.3.4 Overextension

I introduce a common error in the use of honorifics; what I call ‘overextension’. Overextension can be defined as the grammatically incorrect application of honorification to an object. This problem usually takes the form of honorific marker *-si-*. Let us consider the following examples from the National Institute of Korean Language (2011) (*kwuklipkwukewen*):

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 4. | khopi
coffee | nao-ass-supnita
come out-PAST-SL6 (DEFERENTIAL) |
| | ‘Your coffee is ready.’ | |
| | (Accepted prescriptive use, deferential but not honorific.) | |
| | | |
| 5. | khopi
coffee | nao- si -ess-supnita
come out-HON-PAST-SL6 (DEFERENTIAL) |
| | ‘Your coffee (HON) is ready.’ = Your (respectable) coffee is ready. | |
| | (Overextension of honorific form.) | |

Example 4 exhibits the correct usage of honorifics. It does not have the honorific marker *-si-*, which would mark respect for the subject of the verb, which is coffee. We can also see that the speaker has already elevated the listener by using the deferential ending *-supnita*. *-si-* in example 5 is superfluous and semantically absurd, for it describes the coffee as respectable and admirable.

Recently, this misuse has become widely spread in South Korea, especially in the service sector where the employees, out of competition among different businesses, end up providing servitude instead of service through overextension. Between normative and strategic usages, this example would fall under the strategic usage. The employees clearly engage in the polite

beneficiary strategy to obtain profits from the customer. Between verticality/power and horizontality/distance, the employee's lowering himself in relation to a cup of coffee places this on the vertical dimension. This misuse has become so common in South Korea that many South Koreans are unaware that this use is abnormal. In North Korea, as the data reveals, the overextension of honorifics to objects is not found, likely due to the lack of development of the service industry.

3.3.5 Overuse

Another interesting, widespread phenomenon in South Korea is what I call 'overuse' of honorifics. Overuse can be defined as the frequent use of honorific marker *-si-* in a sentence. According to J. B. Lee (2012), overuse is rising in South Korea especially prevalent in the service sector, where *-si-* is used with every predicate in a sentence. He further states that overuse is for strategic economic gain and *-si-* is used not to elevate the status of the subject being referred to, but rather the listener to further show deference. Example 6 is an excerpt from data collected from a high-end medical clinic in Seoul.

6. kulehkey	siswul-i	khu- si -n	liphuthing-i	ani- si -myen
so	surgery-NOM	big-HON-MOD	lifting-NOM	is not-HON-if
kulehkey	manhinun	an-o- si -lke-eyyo.		
so	many	not-come-HON-FUT-SL5		

“If your surgery is not a large lift, you do not need come [our medical clinic] so many times.”

This is an example of overuse, where *-si-* is used 3 times in one sentence. In this example, we see overuse in conjunction with overextension where the 'surgery' and 'lifting' are increased in status. Ko and Kwu (2008) and Y. S. Park (2004: 124) argue that overuse is too much and suggest that people should be guided towards non-excessive use of *-si-*. The reason for overuse of *-si-* is to further elevate the referent or listener, similar to the purpose of overextension.

Having consulted the National Institute of Korean Language (*kwuklip kwukewen*), overuse is a grey area which cannot be considered as incorrect, as it depends on the context

and situation. However, in most cases, they suggest replacing a sentence with overuse with a more ‘natural expression’ by removing any extra *-si-* which does not come at the end. Thus, in this thesis, I do not categorize overuse as correct nor incorrect, but simply define overuse to explore trends of power in the Korean peninsula.

Overuse is not exclusively present in South Korea. As shown in the example 7, in a sentence where the North Korean leader is being referred to, overuse also exists.

7. widaeha-**si-n** ebei-suleong-nim-**i-si-ye**
 great-HON-MOD father-leader-HON-VOC-HON-COP
 budi mansumugang-ha-si-psiyo
 please long life-do-HON-SL6
 “Great leader live a long life.”
 (*Cosenmalyeycelpep* North Korean government.)

Interestingly, where overuse is happening mostly in the service sector environment in South Korea and often in conjunction with overextension; in North Korea, overuse is elevating status of the leader. In this example, *-si-* is used 2 times in this short, single sentence to emphasize the greatness and the supremacy of the leader. *iyē* is a vocative particle only used in holy texts, the bible and poetry in South Korea but honorific marker *-si-* is added to *iyē* to form *-i-si-ye* which is further evidence of the advancement of the leader. The use of honorific suffix *-nim* adds to the godliness of the leader in this excerpt from the North Korean language policy. Speech level 6 is also used in this example. All of these characteristics add to the effect of the divine and great leader. Overuse and overextension will be analysed further in the data chapters.

4. Pre-Division Korea

4.1 Introduction

I review the essentials of pre-division Korean honorification systems in this chapter in order to evaluate the language variation in the Korean peninsula. As there are not many remaining sources from this period and as this area has vast scope and requires deep exploration on its own, I introduce the basic required knowledge of pre-division Korean, reviewing the works of Korean scholars who have researched this area. The most important characteristic of pre-division Korea is that there was a unified language as there was one country. Thus, there was the same honorification system in use in the South and the North. First, I provide the historical context, introduction to social class, overview of the speech levels and the methodology. This will be followed by a section on address terms, subject honorifics and the key developments in speech levels.

4.2 Historical Context

For this research, there are three important periods leading up to the year 1950. According to C. S. Hong (2000), the first period known as *kayhwaki* (reform period) was from 1894-1910. The second segment is the Japanese colonial period from 1910-1945, and the third from 1945-1950, during which Korea was liberated and then divided. The development of honorifics is traced according to these time segments (Table 4.1). The three definitive periods were most significant in determining changes to the honorification systems.

Table 4.1. Three Notable Periods of Social Change Before 1950 from C. S. Hong (2000)

First period	1894 - 1910	kayhwaki (social reforms)
Second period	1910 - 1945	Japanese colonial rule
Third period	1945 - 1950	Liberation followed by division

4.3 Introduction to the Class systems

It is also crucial to understand the class system at the time. To modernise the country, the *Kapo* Reform of 1894 officially abolished the class system. However, social attitudes did not change immediately. Korea, or the *Cosen* dynasty then, predominantly resembled a feudal society during the first period (1894-1910). There were five classes (as shown in Figure 4.1).

1. *King*
2. *Yangpan* (aristocratic class)
3. *Cwungin* (intermediary class)
4. *Phyengmin* (commoner class)
5. *Chenmin* (low class)

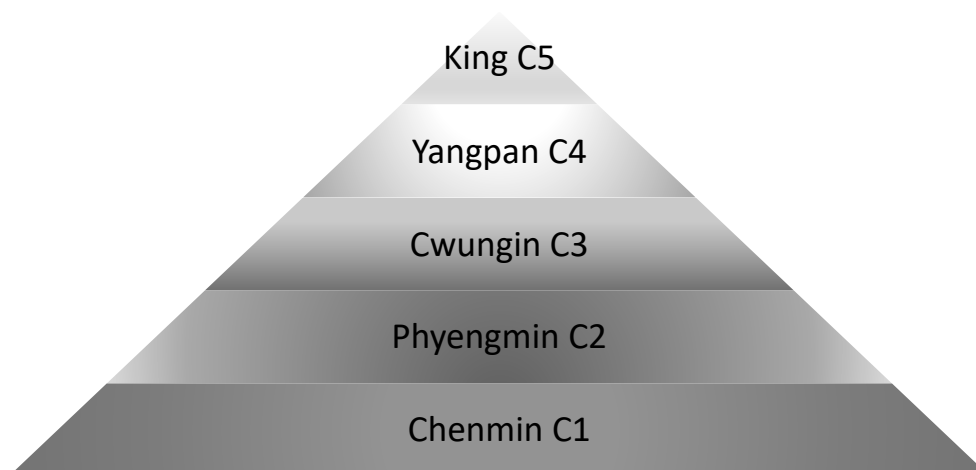


Figure 4.1. My labelling, C5 to C1, of Korea's social class system during *kayhwaki*

I have labelled the class levels with labels C5 down to C1 for simplification, where C5 is the highest status and C1 is the lowest status. *Yangpans*, C4, were aristocrats who owned land and were often high-ranking government positions. *Cwungins*, C3, were bureaucrats and skilled technicians. *Phyengmins*, C2, consisted of peasants, labourers, merchants, fishermen, and some craftsmen. *Chenmins*, C1, were servants. Just as English second-person plural ‘thou’ was used instead of ‘you’, which used to connote respect in feudal England, when the addressee was of a higher origin than the addressor (Kerswill 2009: 358), the class system of the *Cosen*

dynasty also stratified the language. J. B. Lee (2012) claims that honorifics arose as a linguistic counterpart of the strict class divide manifested in many other aspects of the society such as the colour-coded scheme of the government officials' robes. This led to the three kinds of honorific elements: subject honorifics, address terms, and speech levels.

4.4 Overview of Speech Levels

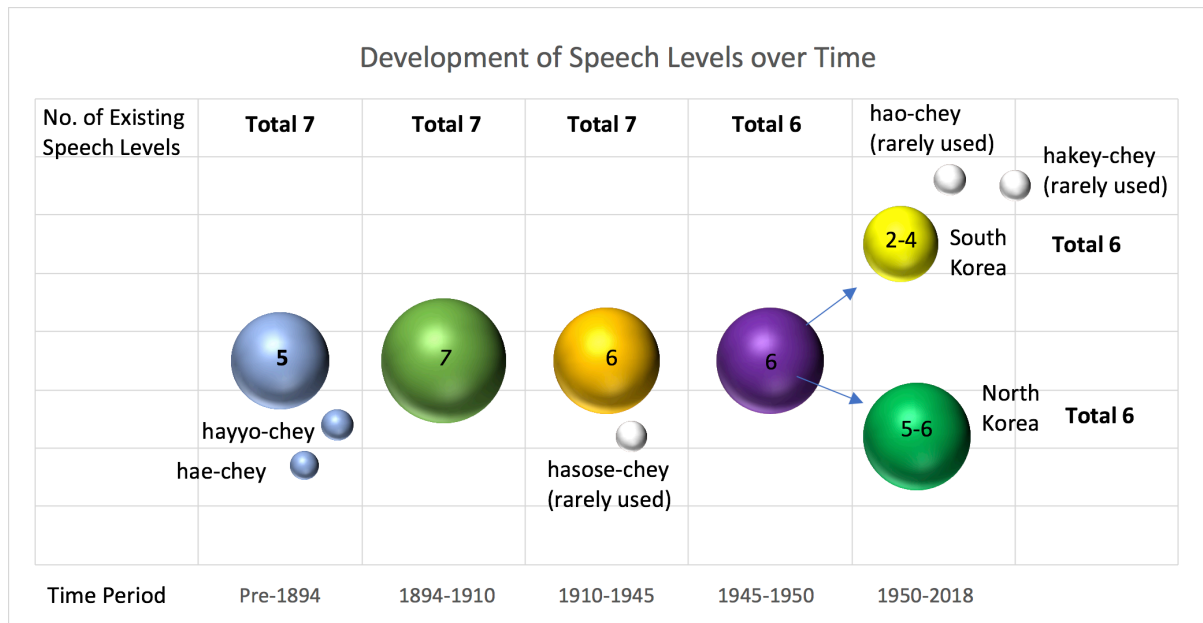


Figure 4.2. Visual Representation of the Speech Levels over Time

The graph above shows a visual representation of the development of speech levels. The size of the bubbles represents the number of speech levels that are mainly used during the time. Pre-1800 Korean consisted of 5 speech levels (*hasose-chey*, *hapsyo-chey*, *hao-chey*, *hakey-chey*, and *hayla-chey*). Around 1800, *hae-chey* appeared and around 1840, the *hayyo-chey* speech level appeared, represented by the two small bubbles in the pre-1894 period. The emergence of these two speech levels is a matter of much academic controversy. There are varying opinions on when the two speech levels were formed and which social groups used these newly developed forms. Some, like Y. G. Ko (1974), argue *hayyo-chey* (level 4) began to emerge through the use of level 4 by women or children.

Thus, in 1894-1910 shows a larger bubble, representing the 7 speech levels in existence. In this period, H. P. Choy (1937: 262-269) states that the four most commonly used levels of speech were *hapsyo-chey*, *hao-chey*, *hakey-chey* and *hayla-chey*. These four speech levels were established before the 19th Century and continued to be used. In addition, *hasose-chey* (level

7) existed which is only used in contemporary modern Korean in the Bible, to pray and in poems and before 1910, in the palace, when the subordinates spoke to the king and aristocratic, where *hasose-chey* (level 7) was used for the king and aristocrats.

During the Japanese colonization, the main speech levels used reduced to 6 as after the reduction of strict social stratification, *hasose-chey* (level 7) declined in use (K. W. Lee 1998: 100). The six speech levels were consolidated in the period of 1945-1950. Post-1950, the yellow bubble represents South Korea where 6 levels exist but mainly 2-4 speech levels are used. Y. S. Park (2004) argues 4 and Suh (1984) argues mainly 2 are used, *hayyo-chey* and *hae-chey*. The green bubble represents North Korea where around 5-6 speech levels are mainly used.

4.5 Speech Levels and Social Class

Figure 4.3 below is a summary of how the forms were used between different social classes for the speech levels in the literature studied from this 1890-1910. The evidence shows that the speech levels group social classes into 3 main groups: the aristocrats, the middle class, and the low class. There were more than 3 different classes, however, and more variations of verbal endings when a speaker showed respect to a listener. The arrows represent verbal endings used in interactions; for example, the *yangpan* aristocrats would use verbal ending speech level 1 (*hayla-chey*) when speaking to the *chenmin* low class and the verbal ending speech level 3 (*hakey-chey*) when speaking to the middle class.

Despite the seeming complexity of the system, the speech levels were spoken to uphold the strict class divide, as the class differences were shown through either respectful speech (implying the listener was of a higher class), or authoritative speech (implying the listener was of a lower class).

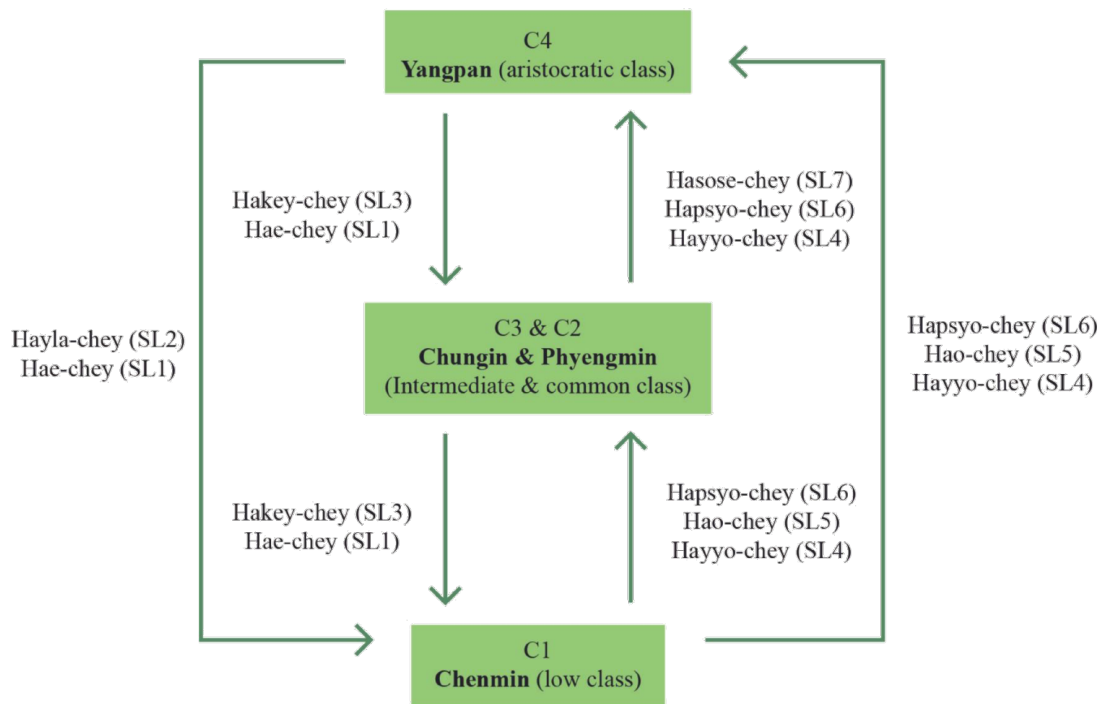


Figure 4.3. The reorganization of the use of speech levels by all social classes (K. W. Lee 1998: 128)

According to social class, different speech levels were used 1890-1910. In this period, social class was the defining factor in the use of speech levels.

4.6 Methodology

In each of the three periods I classify below, the types of resources available for analysis were shaped by contextual factors. Admittedly due to technological limitations, there are few audio records that capture daily speech, and even if there are some, they are insufficient to reflect a representative variety of use of honorifics. Instead, linguists have analysed novels, newspapers, and religious canons from this period.

K. W. Lee (1998: 16), in her book *Investigation into Early Twentieth Century Korean Honorification (choykunsey kwuke kyengepep yenkwu)*, creates a comprehensive data set of the use of speech levels before 1950. Novels in this period stylistically strove to mirror daily speech and contained a lot of dialogue between speakers. This serves as a decent proxy to understand the use of speech levels. Lee collected data on the 16 most popular novels in this period,

focusing on 8 novels and analysed the endings of all the verbs in these 8 novels. My research on speech levels is based on the Lee's data, other historical texts focusing mainly on novels published between 1880–1945, and excerpts that were published in newspapers around 1910–1945.

4.7 Address Terms

Second, of the three honorific components, we now move on to address terms. Similarly, the use of address terms was heavily shaped by contextual factors. Between 1890 and 1910, the feudal division of social classes meant that the use of address terms was strictly observed. As mentioned in Section 4.3, although the strict use of address terms was relaxed after 1910, it largely remained in place.

- C5 *Wang* (king)
- C4 *Yangpan* (aristocratic class)
- C3 *Cwungin* (intermediary class)
- C2 *Phyengmin* (commoner class)
- C1 *Chenmin* (servant class)

In this period, address terms were used between speaker and listener to address each other according to social stratification. The society reinforced their social statuses through the address terms. For example, the second person pronoun existed to solidify and clarify both the speaker and the listener's position in society, which meant various address terms were used instead of names, as would have been used previously. The higher class showed authority to lower class through the address terms. Also, the lower class showed their respect to higher class through the address terms.

The use of address terms is determined largely by five factors. All five factors need to be taken into account between the speaker and listener when the speaker and the hearer have no pre-established relationship.

Factors are listed in the order of decreasing importance.

$$y = f(x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4, x_5)$$

Where: y = the result of determining address term, and

x_1 = Social class

x_2 = Age

x_3 = Gender

x_4 = Social circumstance (formal, private)

x_5 = Marital status

The five factors (in decreasing importance: social class, age, gender, social circumstance and marital status) are the most important in determining which address terms are used when two interlocutors first meet. However, this does not apply when the interlocutors already have a pre-established relationship as emotional solidarity and intimacy are key when determining address terms when the speaker and hearer are already familiar with each other.

Based on the data from Wang (2005), Table 4.2 summarises how the different address terms were used by a speaker of the lowest rank C1 (servant class) to listeners of ranks C4 (aristocratic class). Even for a single level of social stratification C4 there were influences of different factors such as age, marital status and so on¹¹.

¹¹ According to K. W. Lee (1998: 55), there was some overlap in the use of address terms when referring to those in the social rank C3 (intermediary class) and C4 (aristocratic class). For instance, *manim* and *yengkammanim* were used for members of C3 and C4.

Table 4.2. The Use of Address Terms by *Chenmin* to *Cwungin* or *Yangpan* (Wang, 2005: 103-104)

Chenmin (C1) → Yangpan (C4)	
yengkammanim, nauli	Male aristocrat (with a government position)
saynnim	Male aristocrat (without a government position)
manim	Wife of the Male aristocrat
sepangnim, saysepangnim	Son of a married male aristocrat (after few years) Newly-wed son of a married male aristocrat
ayssi, sayassi	Wife of the son of a married aristocrat (after a few years) Newlywed wife of the son of a married aristocrat
teylyennim	Unmarried son of an aristocrat
cakunassi	Unmarried aristocrat's daughter
aka	Children of aristocrats (gender neutral)

Table 4.2 shows the address terms used by C1 (peasant) to C4 (aristocrat). As shown, there are a variety of address terms than the speaker could use depending on the status, age, gender and marital status of the aristocrat being addressed.

4.7.1 Examples of Address Terms

As there are no records of daily speech, I use examples of address terms collated by K. W. Lee (1998) through his analysis of historical novels. In example 1, the male servant (the low class: C1) speaks to an older woman married to a man from the *yangpan* (the aristocratic class: C4) addressing her as *manim*. The male servant also humbles himself by using the 1st person pronoun *soin* (humble form).

- | | | | |
|--------------|------|--------|---------------|
| 1. manim, | soin | pwulne | kyeysi-mniska |
| married lady | me | call | be-SL6 |

“Lady, did you call me?”

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Hongtohwa 1* (H. C. Lee 1910)

In example 2, the female servant (the low class: C1) speaks to a young *yangpan* (the aristocratic class: C4) lady. *Assi* is the address term for the wife of the son of an aristocrat.

2. assi mwues-ul ha-sipsyo?
lady what-ACC do-SL6
“Young lady (married), what are you doing?”

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Pinsangsel* (H. C. Lee 1908: 11)

In example 3, the female servant (the low class: C1) speaks to a *yangpan* (the aristocratic class: C4) lady. The female servant mentions *cakunassi* (an unmarried aristocrat’s daughter).

3. cakunassi-kkey hakkyo-eyse chyengchyepi wa-ssupnita.
young lady-HON school-LOC letter arrive-SL6
“I have got a letter about young lady from school.”

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Chwuwelsayk* (C. S. Choy 1912: 297)

In example 4, the female servant (low class: C1) speaks to a *yangpan* (an aristocrat C4) lady about the male owner (also an aristocrat C4)

4. lyengkammanim-key tul-yes-sye-yo
old owner-LOC give-PAST-HON-SL4
“I gave it to him (old owner)”

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Hongtohwa 2* (H. C, Lee 1911)

4.8 Subject Honorifics

One of the oldest elements in the honorification systems, the earliest usage of subject honorifics can be traced back to the Silla Kingdom (57 B.C-935 A.D) where honorific markers were used for the Buddha, according to J. B. Lee (2012). Subject honorifics can be defined as the application of honorific markers to raise the status of the referent of the subject of the sentence.

J. B. Lee (2012) argues that the design of honorification systems was for the purpose of elevating the authority, respect and belief in the minds of inferiors towards the superior; used for gods, kings and the supreme authorities' existence. The main developments of subject honorifics can also be broken down according to the three time periods. There were three different political regimes corresponding to the three periods and subsequently power was centred on three different political figures namely: the Korean king 1890–1910, the Japanese emperor 1910–45 and the Korean president 1945–50. I will investigate how the use of subject honorifics towards a socially superior person changed throughout these periods.

4.8.1 Development of Subject Honorifics: 1894–1910

Between 1894 and 1910, the king (C5) was at the centre of power, and the use of subject honorifics for the king (C5) was thus strictly observed. As there are no records of daily speech, I use the examples of subject honorifics for kings collated by K. C. Hwang (2000) through historical records.

In example 5, the honorific marker *-keysye* is used. According to K. C. Hwang (2000: 155), this *-keysye* is the modern prototype of *-kkeyse*. Further, the use of the honorific marker *-si-* dates back to the mid-18th century, which in turn served as a prototype to the honorific marker *-sa*, is formed by fusing *-si-* and ending *-a*, is the prototype of the modern *-si*¹².

5. seycong¹taywang-**keysye** chukunhi nyeki-**sa** ...
king's name-HON pitiable to regard-HON
"King Sejong pitied his suffering subjects ..."

K. C. Hwang's (2000) example from *Kwukminsohaktokpon* (1895: 6)

As witnessed above, the modern nominal suffix used to mark subject honorifics *-kkeyse* developed from its archaic forms *-keysye* and *-keyusye*. It is also shown that *-si-* was combined with *-a* and became *-sa*. This sounds archaic and excessively deferential in modern Korean. However, one noteworthy point is that even with these archaic subject honorifics connoting a higher degree of deference, the language use was grammatically correct and precise. For example, the author of *Kwukminsohaktokpon* does not elevate *akwuk* (our country) out of

¹² Aside from *-sa*, there were other honorific markers that emerged from similar phenomenon such as *-sya*, *-sie*, *-sye*, *-se*.

indiscriminate use of subject honorifics. This draws a stark contrast with employees these days serving a cup of ‘respected coffee’ to their ‘respected customers’.

4.8.2 Use of Subject Honorifics: 1910–1945

1910 to 1945 is an interesting period from which there are actual examples of news broadcasts. The broadcasting technology was brought to colonial Korea by Imperial Japan in 1927, and the oldest surviving transcript that one can access dates from 30 October 1939. In its description of the Japanese Emperor’s activities, the broadcaster speaks using subject honorifics.

In example 6, the old-fashioned prefinal ending *-sio* or *-siop* is used. This marks the highest degree of deference, along with the nominal honorific suffix *-kkeyose*.

6. chenhwangphyeyha-**kkeyose**-nun ... kwungseng kenuli-**siop**-ko
 emperor-HON-TOP ... royal palace to roam-HON-and
 “His Majesty the Emperor ... strolled around the royal palace and ...”

tongilkwan-ey nap-**si**-e
 office name-LOC to appear-HON
 “appeared at *Tongilkwan* [a government office]”

cangkwan-eykey saalha-op-**si**-mye ...
 a minister-LOC to meet-HON-together ...
 “to meet the minister...”

(Kyengseong Broadcasting System 30 October 1939)

The transcript exhibits the use of the prefinal ending *-siop/-si-* in the verb. This honorific marker connotes the highest degree of respect, and its use was strictly observed in every verb in relation to the Emperor as in the example above. Martin (1954: 35) states that the honorific marker *-sio-* or *-siop-* is a status morpheme and that *-sop-* is an archaic morpheme of deference. *-sio-*, *-siop-*, and *-sop-* are now all considered archaic and rarely used in modern Korean. Their function is now replaced by *-si-*. Again, however, it should be noted that amidst the use of highest subject honorifics to show maximum deference, other referents (e.g. the minister) or objects (e.g. the royal palace) within the sentence are not erroneously elevated, unlike in the recent trend.

In examples 6 and 7 in all verbs, the honorific marker *-si-* was used each time. This demonstrates how strictly the use of subject honorifics was observed for the Japanese emperor between 1910 and 1945.

7. phyeyha-kkeyose-nun myechpeni-ko kukhi
 great emperor-HON-TOP many times-and very
 “The great emperor asked very appropriate questions many times.”

cekcelhao-**si**-n hamwun-ul nali-**si**-oko
 appropriate-HON-MOD inquiry-ACC ask-HON-TOP
 “(continued from above)”

cipangmi-ul senglyehao-**si**-ko, inca
 subjects-ACC encourage-HON-and kind
 “He encouraged his subjects from the country side”

kiphuo-**si**-n hamwun-ul hasahao-**si**-ess-nuntay
 deep-HON-MOD inquiry-ACC give-HON-PAST-as
 “The King gave kind and profound orders”

cwungey ohwu-ne-si-kyengey ipehao-**si**-ess-supnita.
 while 4PM-around sit-HON-PAST-SL6
 “While all the subjects were worried, around 4pm the King arrived.”
 (Kyengseong Broadcasting System 30 October 1939)

4.8.3 Use of Subject Honorifics: 1945–1950

After the liberation, the Japanese Emperor lost his political influence over the Korean peninsula, and the Republic of Korea was founded with Syngman Rhee as the first elected president in the South. I now turn to the subject honorifics used to describe the former President Rhee. The example below comes from the newspapers *Tonga Daily* and *Kyenghyang* on 20 August 1948.

In example 8, the use of nominal suffix *-kkeyse* and verbal *-siop* cannot be found in the description of the president. The ordinary nominal suffix *-un* is used to mark the president as the grammatical subject of the sentence, instead of the deferential counterpart *-kkeyse*. The prefinal ending *-siop/-si-* to elevate him in verbs is also absent.

8. isungman-taythonglyeng-**un** kicawauy hoykyen seksang ...
 name-president-TOP with reporters a meeting press
 han-pil yangkwukuy sangho pwuco-lul
 Philippines two countries mutual help-ACC
 kangcoha-ko taumkwa kathi malhay-ess-ta.
 to emphasise-and following like to say-PAST-SL1
 “President Rhee at the press conference emphasised the cooperation between Korea and the Philippines and said the following.”

In example 8 there is a position for a prefinal ending where honorific marker *-si-* would have been placed, had the reporter chosen to elevate Rhee. However, as if to reflect the new values like equality and democracy over authority and supremacy, it had become more natural to drop the subject honorifics even in relation to the head of state. This is a contrast from the language under the Japanese imperial rule.

In conclusion, there was a shift in the use of subject honorifics across these three periods. The use of subject honorifics for the king of *Cosen* and the Japanese Emperor was strictly observed, whereas after the liberation, the use was significantly diminished even as to the president. It is therefore remarkable how consumers are being served with the most deferential form of subject honorifics again, as if they were of royal status.

4.9 Key Developments in Speech Levels

4.9.1 Speech Level 1 (*hae-chey*: intimate style)

According to Y. M. Kwen (2009), *panmal* or ‘half-speech’, *hae-chey* (level 1) emerged around 1805. However, *hae-chey* (level 1) only really gained popularity from 1890 and this coincided with the start of the social movement to abolish social stratification. The distribution of power shifted to the middle class from 1890. The *cwungin* (middle class) got richer because of foreign trade and influence from western culture. The social power was shifted from top to middle. In

this period, the society faced many changes historically. After its emergence *hae-chey* (level 1), appeared in many different contexts. Moreover, *hae-chey* (level 1) gained popularity as it served as a flexible informal complement to *hayla-chey* (level 2) and *hakey-chey* (level 3) to fill in the changing power structure.

At the beginning of the 19th century, *hae-chey* verbal endings *-e*, *-ci* began to emerge. According to Y. M. Kwen (2009), *hae-chey* (level 1) was first found in the book *Hantjungmanlok* (1795-1805) in the beginning of the 19th century, a book written by the queen at the court. She wrote her private stories in the palace, which is very important for research as it includes many casual conversations. In example 9, the author explained a situation for readers that used *hae-chey* (level 1).

9. al-ko mwulasini ta ha-ci
 know-and ask all do-SL1
 “(someone) knows and asks therefore I must do”

Y. M. Kwen’s (2009) example from *Hantjungmanlok* (1795-1805: 196)

In example 10, the author also explained a hypothetical situation for readers that used *hae-chey* (level 1).

10. okchyukyeng-ul nilk-ko kongpwuha-myen kwisin-ul
 book’s name-ACC read-and study-if ghost-ACC
 pwulinta hani nilkepocya ha-si-e
 control do read do-HON-SL1

“If you study *okchyukyeng* you can control ghosts so have a read.”

Y. M. Kwen’s (2009) hypothetical example from *Hantjungmanlok* (1795-1805: 196)

Y. M. Kwen (2009) and S. H. Lee (2007) state that *hae-chey* (level 1) examples with the verbal ending *-ci* in the book *Namwenkosa* (1864) were discovered in many cases. In the middle of the 19th century, *hae-chey* (level 1) expanded in its use. In example 11, a government officer spoke to a farmer who used *hae-chey* (level 1). The government officer is of the aristocratic class and the farmer is from the common class, so he would have usually spoken in the *hakey-chey* (level 3). Example 12 is the hypothetical alternative sentence:

11. yokiyna halka ha-ko ancas-ci

have a bite eat do-and sit-SL1

“I would like to have a bite so I sat here.”

Y. M. Kwen’s (2009) example from *Namwenkosa* (1864)

12. yokiyna halka ha-ko ancas-ne

have a bite eat do-and sit-SL3

“I would like to have a bite so I sat here.”

[Hypothetical sentence]

The use of *hae-chey* (level 1) alternates with *hayla-chey* (level 2) and *hakey-chey* (level 3) easily. According to Y. M. Kwen (2009: 80) *hae-chey* can be used with *hayla-chey* (level 2) and *hakey-chey* (level 3) which are connected in formality. Ko (1974) and Suh (1984) state that the *hae-chey* (level 1) is less formal compared *hayla-chey* (level 2). *Hae-chey* can be used alongside other speech levels easily.

13. kawi cal ciun papi-ci i pap-un
very well cook rice-SL1 this rice-TOP
kos molaypap-ilocona i sang mulni-yela
like sand rice-COP this table put away-SL2

“... [this is how] rice is cooked very well, this rice seems like sand rice, put away this table.”

Y. M. Kwen’s (2009) example from *Namwenkosa* (1864)

Y. M. Kwen (2009: 80) argues that in the example above, verbal ending *-ci* is *hae-chey* (level 1) and verbal ending *-yela* is *hayla-chey* (level 2) is spoken in this period.

4.9.2 Consolidation of the *hae-chey* (level 1)

First period: 1890–1910

From this period, K. W. Lee (1998) studied the speech levels of the early 20th century Korean through novels 1906-1920. In this research, we can find various uses of *hae-chey* (level 1).

14. nam-uy casik-ul wihaya i kosayng-ul
 other-GEN son-ACC for this hardship-ACC

 ha-ko iss-nun kes-i nay-ka pyengsini-ci
 do-and be-TOP DN I-NOM idiot-SL1

“Struggling this much for another person’s child; I am an idiot.”

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Kwiuyseng* (I. C. Lee 1906)

In example 14, the speaker is an aristocratic wife who spoke to an old female servant; the aristocratic wife uses *hae-chey* (level 1) in the 1906 novel. K. W. Lee (1998: 50) states in *Kwiuyseng*, when the aristocratic wife spoke to old female servant, she used *hae-chey* (level 1) 12% of the time, *hayla-chey* (level 2) 6% and *hakey-chey* (level 3) 82% of the time. So in this result, *hae-chey* (level 1) is used more frequently than *hayla-chey* (level 2) 6%. From 1890 to 1910, *hae-chey* (level 1) was established as a recognized speech level.

Second period: 1910-1945

According to Y. H. Park (2000: 250) from 1910 to 1945, the informal speech level *hae-chey* (level 1) is included in the new verbal endings: *-ney*, *-ulsey*, *-tey*, *-key*, *-ulkel*. In this period, *hae-chey* expanded in use. The new verbal endings were included in *hae-chey* (level 1) and the same verbal ending also used *hayla-chey* (level 2) and *hakey-chey* (level 3), according to K. W. Lee (1998: 78) who researched the *moktanhwa* (1911) novel, which included some conversation between the aristocratic daughter and the female servant.

Table 4.3. The Use of Speech Levels by K. W Lee (1998: 78) by *Yangpan* (C4) to *Chenmin* (C1)

First period: 1890-1910		Second period: 1910-1945	
C4 → C1		C4 → C1	
hakey-chey	82%	hakey-chey	3%
hayla-chey	6%	hayla-chey	90%
hae-chey	12%	hae-chey	7%

As shown in Table 4.3, when the higher class people spoke to those of lower social stature, they often used any of *hayla-chey* (level 2), *hakey-chey* (level 3) and *hae-chey* (level 1). In addition, *hae-chey* (level 1) was used more often than the *hakey-chey*, further corroborating the hypothesis that *hae-chey* (level 1) became more prevalent in this period.

Below is an example of a *yangpan* (aristocratic class) daughter speaking to *chenmin* (low class, female servant) using *hae-chey* (level 1).

15. esye naka po-a
 quickly go out try-SL1
 “try to go out quickly”

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Moktanhwa* (Kim 1911)

Various verbal endings expanded between 1910 and 1945 compared to 1890-1910. The adoption of *hae-chey* (level 1) was fast. Y. H. Park (2000) and K. W. Lee (1998) state that *hae-chey* (level 1) is less formal compared to the *hayla-chey* (level 2). The reason for the wide adoption of *hae-chey* (level 1) may be because it can be freely used with *hayla-chey* (level 2) and *hakey-chey* (level 3).

Third period: 1945-1950

After the social stratification was abolished in 1910, *hae-chey* (level 1) became increasingly popular until 1950. As social differences persisted even after the legal abolition but there was no longer a clear indicator of social class, and *hae-chey* (level 1) served as a useful tool to accommodate the perceived differences. When people spoke in more formal and more public situations, they could use *hapsyo-chey* (level 6) and *hayla-chey* (level 2) and in the more informal and more private situations, they used *haeyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1). The use of *hapsyo-chey* (level 6) and *hayla-chey* (level 2) decreased relative to *haeyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) and this could be taken as a sign that power became less important than solidarity in many speech situations.

According to Y. H. Park (2000: 285), when the speaker wished to express his or her feelings and emotional nuance to someone in conversation, the verbal endings were a tool to convey these and the larger range of verbal endings enabled the speaker to convey more diverse feelings. He also argued that after *kayhwaki* (the reform period) the written texts attempted to mirror the speaking style, so verbal endings were absorbed into newspapers and broadcasting and novels and spread very quickly.

In this period, there was a wide range of various verbal endings with the *hae-chey* (level 1) that emerged and was adopted swiftly. This process was further catalysed by the increased use of the mass media such as radio broadcasting and newspapers that included serial novels.

4.9.3 The Emergence of Hayyo-chey (polite level: level 4)

From 1840, *hayyo-chey* (level 4) started to emerge from one of the Korean musical traditions, *chwonhyangcen*. There are two separate versions of the texts *Namwenkosa* where the use of speech levels was given differently in the very same sentence. Consider these examples:

16. chunhyangio	cwuk-eo	eccihaye	cwuk-eo
chunyang	die-semiformal	what can be done	die-SL5

“Chunyang is dying, what can we do she is dying.”

Y. M. Kwen’s (2009) example from *Namwenkosa* (1864)

17. chunhyangio	cwuk-eo	eccihaye	cwuk-eyo
chungyang	die-semiformal	what can be done	die-SL4

“Chunyang is dying, what can we do she is dying.”

Y. M. Kwen’s (2009) example from *Namwenkosa* (1864)

In example 16 the form *cwukeo* used belongs to the *hao-chey* (level 5); however, in example 17 the *cwukeyo* is from the *hayyo-chey* (level 4). Y. M. Kwen (2009: 81) argues that the more plausible one of the two is the *hayyo-chey* (level 4), when placed in the context of increased use of *hayyo-chey* (level 4) in the period.

Given the ambiguity over whether the *hao-chey* (level 5) or *hayyo-chey* (level 4) should be used it seems likely that *hayyo-chey* (level 4) emerged as a sub-branch of the *hao-chey* (level 5). H. P. Choy (1937) confirms this view. Moreover, Ko (1974) argues that housewives and women and children most widely adopted this speech level. As women and more specifically female servants of the *cwungin* (middle class) more often used this speech level, this growth in the use of the speech level is likely caused by the increased participation of women in education and other parts of public life. In this period, western books were translated into Korean where *hayyo-chey* (level 4) was used in the dialogues of those translations. This likely also had an influence on the spreading of the *hayyo-chey* (level 4) speech style in the Korean peninsula.

Another point of note is that many women attended the public education system. Many women could now read and write and many began to participate in society. In this period, social systems also changed, becoming much more modern. Notably there was a significant increase in the access to the media, such as newspapers and the broadcasting network. Another important reform under Japanese colonial rule was the proliferation of education, where now more of the poorer classes had access to education (the *Cosen* dynasty did not open the public education system to the people of lower classes C1 and C2.) Now they could access written forms of the media through education.

This increased access to both the media and education, and this is the likely cause in the rapid growth of the *hayyo-chey* (level 4). Since it was first recorded in the 1860’s its use jumped from 0 percent to 5 percent by the end of 1912, a non-trivial increase in roughly 60 years. Y. M. Kwen (2009: 91) argues that *hayyo-chey* (level 4) style started as the *eo*-ending and *eyo*-ending in addition are both used in some final endings like in the examples below.

18. enni-na	mek-eo
elder sister-SP	eat-SL4
“Elder sister, eat.”	

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Kumkwukhwa* (1914: 17)

19. ilen ttay papul mek-eyo
this circumstance rice eat-SL4

“In this circumstance, I eat rice.”

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Chwunseng* (1923: 93)

Popularization of *hayyo-chey*

According to J. B. Lee (2012), *hayyo-chey* (level 4) is shorter and simpler than other endings to pronounce and is made only of vowels and feels softer and less imposing compared to others. J. B. Lee (2012) states that due to the collapse of feudalism and strict hierarchy systems in the 1890’s, solidarity appeared as an increasingly important factor over power and authority. Due to the shift from feudalistic authority, *hayyo-chey* (level 4) felt less imposing and embodied the changes to South Korean society. This helped facilitate the spreading of *hayyo-chey* (level 4) as well as novels and other books which used *hayyo-chey* (level 4). Currently, *hayyo-chey* (level 4) is predominantly used.

4.10 Examples of All Speech Levels

This section exemplifies all of the speech levels used between the classes previous to the *Kapo* reform, from the highest (level 7) to the lowest (level 1) in the order *hasose-chey* (level 7), *hapsyo-chey* (level 6), *hao-chey* (level 5), *hayyo-chey* (level 4), *hakey-chey* (level 3), *hayla-chey* (level 2) and *hae-chey* (level 1).

Speech Level 7 (*hasose-chey*: higher deferential style)

A female servant (the low class: C1) would use speech level 7 towards a *yangpan*’s wife (the aristocratic class: C4).

20. onul nahusin aki-ka taytani swuksengha-oita
today give a birth baby-NOM very healthy-SL7

“The baby you gave birth to today is very healthy.”

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Hyeluyuwul* (I. C. Lee 1906)

Speech Level 6 (hapsyo-chey: deferential style)

This is *chenmin* (the low class: C1) speaking to *yangpan* (the aristocratic class: C4).

21. salang-ey sonnim o-si-ess-supnida
 reception-LOC guest visit-HON-PAST-SL6
 “The guest visited the reception.”
 K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Kwiuyseng* (I. C. Lee 1906)

Speech level 6 was commonly spoken by the servants (C1) to address someone in the higher *yangpan* class (the aristocratic class: C4).

Speech Level 5 (hao-chey: semiformal style)

K. W. Lee (1998: 43) asserts that speech level 5 (*hao-chey*) was used actively before the division of Korea. Between 1890 and 1910, when people met for the first time, they used speech level 5 (*hao-chey*: semiformal style) for demonstrating respect. The children would speak level 5 (*hao-chey*: semiformal style) to their parents. Speech level 5 (*hao-chey*) would be used between husband and wife.

In example 22, the sedan chair carrier (commoner class: C2) spoke speech level 5 (*hao-chey*) to a servant (C1). In this situation, they met each other for the first time.

22. chwunchen solkeytongn-ey hayngcha moy-si-ko
 name of city area’s name-LOC parade invite-HON-and
 wa-ss-o
 come-PAST-SL5
 “In *Chwunchen solkeytongney* (area’s name), a parade has arrived.”
 K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Hyeluwul* (I. C. Lee 1906)

In example 23, a seven-year-old girl child speaks to a doctor using speech level 5.

23. amuteylato ka-ko amukesul sikite-lato ha-keyss-so
 wherever go-CONJ whatever ask-and do-FUT-SL5
 “I will go wherever to do whatever you ask.”

K. W. Lee's (1998) example from *Hyeluyuwul* (I. C. Lee 1906)

Hao-chey is also employed when a younger person is showing respect to an elder and when children speak to their parents.

Speech Level 4 (hayyo-chey: polite style)

There is evidence of a female *chenmin* (servants: C1) addressing a female *yangpan* (the aristocratic class: C4) using the speech level 4 (*hayyo-chey*: polite style). Speech level 4 (*hayyo-chey*: polite style) was never used before the 19th century. In the beginning of the 20th century it was used only in a limited way. In example 24, the female servant (the low class: C1) spoke to a *yangpan* (the aristocratic class: C4) using speech level 4.

24. pyelsayngkak-ul ta hay po-yasssyeyo
 thinking-ACC all do try-PAST-SL4

“I thought about everything.”

K. W. Lee's (1998) example from *Pinsangsel* (H. C. Lee 1908)

In example 25, *cwungin* (the intermediary class: C3) spoke to a *yangpan* (the aristocratic class: C4) using speech level 4. According to K. W. Lee (1998: 61), between 1890 to 1910, *hayyo-chey* (level 4) was rarely used.

25. ecey pam il-ul al-ko nao-sy-es-nunci-yo
 yesterday night things-ACC know-and come-HON-PAST-SL4

“Did you come yesterday night due to what you heard?”

K. W. Lee's (1998) example from *Kwiuyseng* (I. C. Lee 1906)

Speech Level 3 (hakey-chey: familiar style)

Although *hayla-chey* (level 2) is most commonly used by *yangpan* (the aristocratic class) when speaking to someone who is a *chenmin* (the low class), *hakey-chey* (level 3) is used to address someone elderly in their respective class. In example 26, a *yangpan* (the aristocratic class: C4) spoke *hakey-chey* (level 3) to an old female servant (the low class: C1).

26. amuli sayngkakhayato molulilil-syey
 even think don't know-SL3
 "You will not know even if you think about it."
 K. W. Lee's (1998) example from *Hyeluylu* (I. C. Lee 1906)

Speech Level 2 (hayla-chey: plain style)

Speech level 2 (*hayla-chey*: plain style) is employed by someone in the society who has higher status or is more elderly relative to someone lower in status or younger. Even among the servants, the elderly servant would use the speech level 2 (*hayla-chey*: plain style) to a younger servant.

27. casonto aph-ey kutuk hali-la
 descendants front-LOC full will-SL2
 "Will be full of descendants"
 K. W. Lee's (1998) example from *Pinsangsel* (H. C. Lee 1908)

28. salaissul-sulok kosayng-i-la
 live-as struggle-COP-SL2
 "It is more of a struggle if you live."
 K. W. Lee's (1998) example from *Kwiuyseng* (I. C. Lee 1906)

Speech Level 1 (hae-chey: intimate style)

Speech level 1 (*hae-chey*: intimate style) began to emerge in the mid 19th century but with limited used and was used more actively by the mid-20th century. In example 29, a husband of *cwungin* (the intermediary class: C3) spoke *hae-chey* (level 1) to his wife (the intermediary class: C3).

29. cham nyongkkwum kkwu-ess-ci
 oh dragon dream-PAST-SL1
 "Oh, I dreamt of a dragon."
 K. W. Lee's (1998) example from *Kwiuyseng* (I. C. Lee 1906)

In the example below, a *yangpan* (the aristocratic class: C4) spoke *hae-chey* (level 1) to the old female servant (the low class: C1).

30. i kosayng-ul ha-ko iss-nu-n
 this hardship-ACC do-and be-PROG-MOD
 keki nay-ka pyengsini-ci
 DN I-NOM fool-SL1

“I am a fool to go through this hardship.”

K. W. Lee’s (1998) example from *Hyeluylu* (I. C. Lee 1906)

4.11 Conclusion

From 1894 to 1950, there have been changes of usage in the honorification systems. These reflect the dramatic changes that happened in Korean society during the time period. The most commonly used speech styles before 1900’s were *hapsyo-chey* (level 6), *hao-chey* (level 5), *hakey-chey* (level 3), *hayla-chey* (level 2).

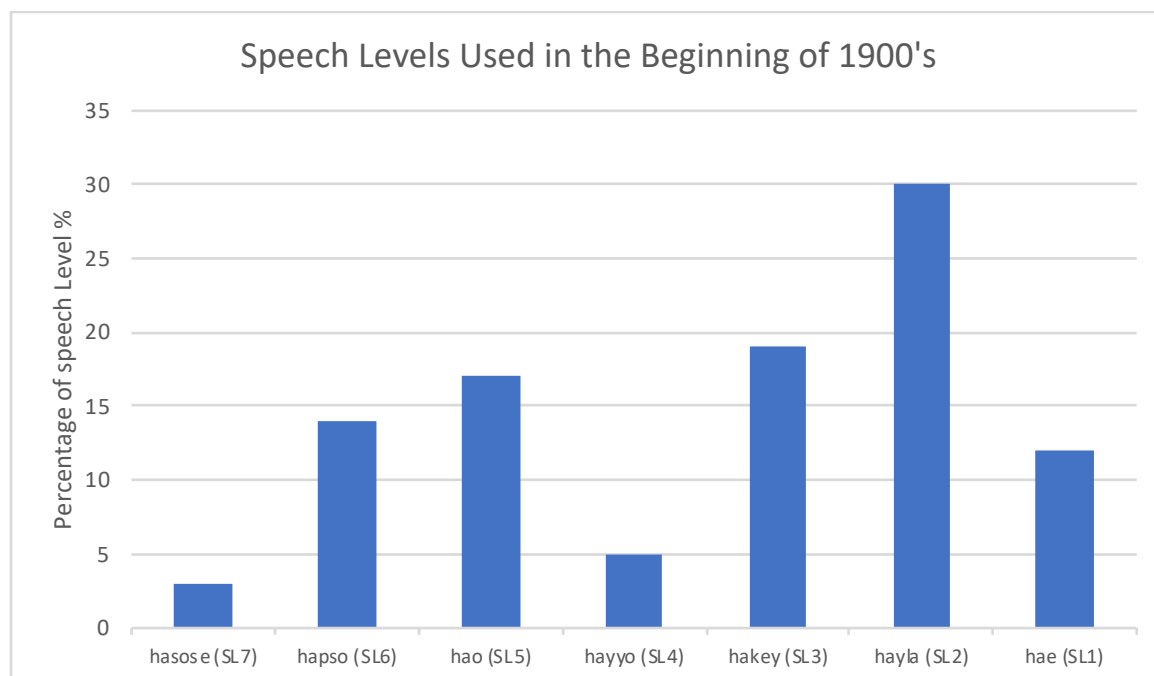


Figure 4.4. Speech Levels Used in the Beginning of 1900’s from J. B. Lee’s (2012: 120) example taken from K.W. Lee (1998).

As shown in Figure 4.4, in the beginning of 1900's, four levels are used most frequently and *hasose-chey* (level 7) has decreased in use significantly in relation to the other speech levels. Another very interesting pattern from the graph is the emergence *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1), smaller than the four main speech levels at the time, but establishing their place in the speech level systems (J. B. Lee 2012: 120).

The development following the informal emergence of *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) is crucial in understanding how language variation diverged between South Korea and North Korea. As Brown and Gilman (1960) state, the crucial factor in the choice between 'tu' and 'vous', has changed from power to solidarity in modern society. Similarly, in the development of the two Koreas, the shifts in speech levels are an important barometer to understand how values have developed.

In South Korea, two 'informal' speech levels have become the most frequently used and most important in comprehending the direction of the shifts in South Korean society. Currently, according to Suh (1984) and J. B. Lee (2012), *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) are being used predominantly in South Korea, and the use of the highest speech level *hasose-chey* (level 7) has almost disappeared. The emergence and widespread popularization of *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) is non-trivial. The reason for a dramatic shift from the main four level used in the graph above, to a growth spurt in *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) are the shifts in South Korean society. Suh (1984) and J. B. Lee (2012) view *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) as both informal and more flexible than the other speech levels. The *kayhwaki* (1894-1910), Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) and liberation followed by division (1945-1950) were three fundamental periods for modernization of the social stratification. This led to a need for less authoritative, imposing and formal speech levels. Thus, *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) mainly replaced the more formal versions *hapso-chey* (level 6) and *hayla-chey* (level 2), which were used most frequently before the 1800's.

The development of *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) is not the same in North Korea since the separation. Based on my analysis of *Enesayngwallon* by C. Y. Lee (2005), a guide published by the North Korean government on how to use Korean in daily lives, and according to the interviews with the North Korean defectors, *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) have not dwarfed the other speech levels as they have done in South Korea and the formal *hapso-chey* (level 6) still remains an important speech level in public life in North Korea. *hapso-chey* (level 6) positions itself as a main speech level in formal party meetings and in public situations such as in their jobs or in TV broadcasting. Detailed evidence

supporting these assertions on speech level use in North Korea is shown in Chapter 6, where I analyse a wide range of sources such as TV dramas, North Korean books and defector interviews. The analysis of speech levels used in North Korea is presented in section 6.5.3. Further, when the status of the interlocutors is the same or slightly different, *hao-chey* (level 5) still prevails as a common speech level whereas in South Korea, *hao-chey* (level 5) has reduced dramatically. All six speech levels *hao-chey*, *hakey-chey*, *hayla-chey*, *hayyo-chey*, *hae-chey* and *hapso-chey* are used in North Korea. This likely conveys that relationships between interlocutors are more accurately depicted and formality seems still an important factor determining which speech levels are used, as there is no evidence that the informal *hayyo-chey* (level 4) and *hae-chey* (level 1) are becoming the main speech levels used in North Korea.

Address terms were strictly and accurately determined by social stratification and class. Secondly, as shown in Table 4.2, age, gender, marital status and social circumstance also played a role in determining the address terms. Further, many address terms that existed for the purposes of feudalism such as *manim*, *soin*, and *nauli* no longer exist.

Subject honorific suffixes, such as *-keysye* and *-keyusye*, were initially observed for the King (1894–1910). However, *-keysye* and *-keyusye* developed into *-kkeyose* in 1910-45. This paved the path for the modern *-kkeyse*. Interestingly also during 1910-54, verbal *-si* and *-siop* were used for the Japanese emperor to show the highest degree of deference. In North Korea, the use of *-siop* is encouraged when referring to the leader. In South Korea, *-siop* has fallen out of use except in religion and in poems.

5. Data Analysis: South Korea

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present an exploration on how the economic development of South Korea has affected language, and how social change is interwoven and reflected in the use of honorification systems. Referring back to Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory on politeness and more specifically the weightiness formula (Equation 2.1), politeness theory appears to be a very accurate predictor of salespeople's behaviour in a reward-driven environment. Peculiar abnormalities in honorifics use have appeared and become accepted as the new social norm in the eyes of the consumers. I analyse how linguistic variation can act as a barometer to show where the underlying flow of power lies in modern South Korean society. Further, I explore how honorification systems can be used to operationalise the intentions and motivations of agents in a capital-driven system.

The main aspects of honorification systems noted in Chapter 2 are: honorification systems as measures of social norms and relational negotiation, and honorification systems for strategic use. This chapter will focus on how the use of honorification systems has been reinvented strategically in the service sector. J. B. Lee (2012) suggests that this phenomenon is due to the nature of the consumer public who are forever demanding greater satisfaction. To investigate these themes in a data-driven way, I recreated my version of Labov's (1966) landmark study on the relationship between the socio-economic level of department stores in New York and the pronunciation of /r/ by the salespeople.

My data suggests that the establishment of the new consumer culture is changing the way the honorification system is used, where increasing use of honorifics towards consumers marks a strong shift toward deference or politeness. This is manifest in significant disparity in the use of honorification systems in different stores.

5.2 Methodology

For the preliminary research in South Korea, I first observed the honorifics use in department stores. I visited various department stores in Seoul, including franchise department stores which were in different areas of Seoul (alike to Debenhams or John Lewis having different branches in London). The honorification systems used by shop assistants in luxury brands in

three different Hyundai department stores in Seoul were very similar. I initially visited the *Apkwuceng* branch (south Seoul), then the *Chenho* branch (east Seoul) and *Moktong* branch (west Seoul). This initial research suggested that there were hardly any differences across department stores in different areas within the luxury brand economic group. Thus, I examined if there were differences in honorification systems use between brands within a single department store and found there was little significant difference between stores within the department store, possibly due to similar customer service training within the department store.

Therefore, I observed many different consumer shops in Seoul mainly to search for large differences in price, and how this affected honorific use. I observed that the language used in high street stores, such as clothing stores in Gangnam, was significantly different to the language used in the luxury brands in department stores. Following this observation, I organised an in-depth field study of the differences in honorification systems use between luxury brands, high street and the street markets. Throughout the preliminary research and preparation for the main field study, I was inspired by Labov's (1972b) methodology as a framework for my field study.

I observed spontaneous interactions between the salespeople and the interviewer, a female aged in her mid-30's, acting as a customer. Each visit to a brand or shop lasted an average of 25 minutes. To make a reliable linguistic comparison between 3 stratified groups (luxury brands in department stores, high street brands and street markets), I attempted to keep the other variables as constant as possible, by keeping our appearance and behaviour consistent. The interviewer attempted to invoke similar types of phrases across the board, for example the greeting and the recommendation to buy a product in order to examine any patterns in honorification systems use between the economic categories of stores. In total, approximately 12 shops per category (for example, 12 luxury brand shops) were visited.

The stores were clearly stratified according to their consumer spending capacity: luxury stores selling goods valued on average £1,500 or more, middle level high-street stores selling goods under £150, and street markets under £30.

To provide some context to this study, I researched how socioeconomic stratification exists within the department stores in Seoul. A minority of customers contribute to most of the department stores' income. For example, last year, the top 1% of Lotte's customers contributed to 20% of revenues. Consumer targeting (or stratification) can be seen from the outside of the department stores, as they often have two separate buildings: one for luxury goods, the other for ordinary goods. The department stores have a complex membership system. Customers of Hyundai department stores have 7 levels of membership depending on their annual spending.

For instance, those who spend more than £45,802 are able to use a lounge and a separate parking service, and each group is assigned their own lounge. This highlights the extent to which the department stores go to provide special and targeted service for their high-spending customers.

Table 5.1. Spending Requirements of Card Membership

<i>Membership Type</i>	<i>Annual Spending Required</i>
<i>Upper Black Jasmine</i>	£572,527
<i>Black Jasmine</i>	£57,252
<i>Jasmine Blue</i>	£45,802
<i>Jasmine</i>	£22,901
<i>Platinum</i>	£10,000
<i>Gold</i>	No spending required, but checks on annual income and assets.

Table 5.1 shows the stratification of customer membership in the Hyundai department store, where each level implies correspondingly superior services and perks and a much more personalized shopping experience. For example, for those in a higher tier of spending than the Upper Black Jasmine tier, which is not officially published by Hyundai so is not in the Table 5.1, will be greeted personally by a high-ranking person in the Hyundai department store when the customer visits, along with access to private lounges and personal shopping assistants.

This background information further highlights the many layers of stratification within the high bracket of economic power. However, to capture a broader snapshot of the socioeconomic stratification, I defined the categories by the luxury stores, the high-street stores and the street markets and examined the differences of honorification systems use across these groups.

5.3 Limitations

The interviewer attempted to invoke similar types of phrases across the board, for example the greeting and the recommendation to buy a product. However, some utterances invoked were spontaneous, whereas others, such as the greetings were hard coded and consistent. Due to the spontaneous nature, not all the utterances spoken by the salespeople and the interviewer were kept constant throughout the investigation.

Although I kept the number of stores and the duration of visit for each between the socioeconomic groups similar, there was a noticeable tendency for more speech and longer sentences spoken in the luxury stores than the street markets. Therefore, the number of sentences per category differed.

As a result, I focus on a small body of data that help to qualitatively illuminate how the use of honorifics is diverging. Language variation may occur as a result of an individual store's speech policies. Further, the customer may impact on language use depending on gender, age, appearance, dress and so on. Although unlikely, there may also have been pre-established relationships between the clerk and the customer. These factors were not taken into consideration when conducting the research. There is a need for quantitative research conducted on a larger level. Nonetheless, clear patterns emerged in the data according to the stratification of the stores.

5.4 Analytical Framework

As mentioned in Chapter 3, I focused my analysis on three key elements of the honorification system: subject honorifics, address terms and speech levels. In the case of subject honorifics, the phenomenon of overuse and overextension is analysed. After examining the three key elements of honorification one by one, I compare the similarities and differences between the socioeconomic groups.

5.5 Data Presentation

For this study, I put the stores into three broad categories: first, department stores selling luxury branded goods (selling goods of £1,500 or more); second, high-street stores (selling products under £150); and lastly, street markets (selling items under £30). All prices are listed in British pounds.

5.5.1 Subject Honorifics

5.5.1.1 Subject Honorifics: luxury branded goods in department stores (£1,500 or more)

I visited 12 luxury brands across different department stores (Chanel, Gucci, Cartier, Prada, Christian Dior, Louis Vuitton, Mulberry, Michel Kors, Belmont, Bottega Venetta, Dolce &

Gabbana and Bulgari). Examples 1-4 below are typical of the way that subject honorifics are overextended to inanimate objects.

1. i khelle-ka cal ewulli-**s[i]**ey-yo
 this colour-NOM good match-HON-SL5
 “This colour is a good match.”

Example 1 is a snippet from a conversation that took place between a salesperson working for Chanel and a young customer. Although colour is not a person, the subject honorific marker *-si-* is used, violating the prescriptive norm. This implies it is used strategically. As it is unlikely that the salesperson is attempting to elevate the status of the concept of colour, she is more likely attempting to elevate the status of the listener. Example 2 also incorrectly has the honorific marker *-si-* when the subject is size and not a person.

2. opesaicu-ka hwelssin cal ewulli-**s[i]**ey-yo
 bigger size-NOM very good match-HON-SL5
 “The bigger size is very good match for you.”

The subject honorifics are also overextended in the next two examples.

3. sokacwuk-un kulenke sinkyengssu-**s[i]**-eyahayyo
 cow leather-TOP this factor take care of-HON-SL5
 “For cow leather, you have to be very careful.”

4. kemcung-i ceyil munanhakey
 black-NOM best match
 ha-**si**-l swu iss-nun-keeyyo.
 wear-HON-FUT DN can-PRE-SL5
 “Black is good match for you and you can wear it well.”

Examples 5-7 again show the overuse of honorifics in each utterance. Example 6 shows how the salesperson uses *-si-* four times, with every predicate, to imply that the customer should buy the product. This shows that the weightiness of this FTA situation is high, thus why the salesperson opts for a negative face saving strategy.

5. kokayk-nim-i celmu-si-ki ttaymuney
customer-HON-NOM young-HON-as because
tu-si-l swu issu-s[i]-eyo
match-HON-FUT can is(possible)-HON-SL5
“Customer, you are young so it can be a good match.”

6. kokayk-nim wenha-si-nta ha-si-myen
customer-HON want-HON-PRE do-HON-if
kwumay-lul hay-si-eto toy-s[i]-eyo
buy-ACC do-HON-CON can-HON-SL5
“If you want to buy it, buy it, it’s ok to buy it.”

7. khaycwuel-han yenchwul-un ikey nau-si-l ke
casual-as style-NOM this better-HON-FUT DN
kathu-si-n-tayyo?
seems-HON-PRE-SL5
“If you want casual style, don’t you think this is better than the others?”

In summary, in the Chanel store overextension occurred 6 times in 15 sentences. This kind of overuse and overextension is most commonly used in luxury brand stores with the most amount of socioeconomic power. The salespeople attempted to save the negative face of the customer by using conditionals and indirect suggestions, as opposed to the language used in the high street and street markets. It seems that the service sector, especially the luxury market, is spearheading the movement from *-si-* as a subject honorific to *-si-* as listener honorific to elevate the status of the listener.

5.5.1.2 Subject Honorifics: high-street stores (under £150)

Stores selling medium-priced products are generally accessible to many, including middle class young people. The subject honorifics are less overextended when compared to subject honorifics in the luxury brand stores. Examples 8 and 9 show that subject honorifics are overextended to objects in the high street stores.

8. il-inayey kyohwan-un kanungha-**si**-kwuyo
 2-within exchange-TOP possible-HON-SL5
 “The exchange will be possible.”
9. phointhu-ka issu-**s[i]**ey-yo?
 point-NOM be-HON-SL5
 “Do you have loyalty points for this store?”

Overextension does appear in the high-street stores but at a much lower frequency. Further, as shown by the examples above, overuse does not appear as *-si-* is only used once at the final verb of the sentence. As we will discuss in the data analysis (Chapter 7), the number of honorific markers used in the highstreet are less than the number of honorific markers used in the luxury stores.

5.5.1.3 Subject Honorifics: street markets (under £30)

In the case of street markets, I observed no overuse or overextension in the use of subject honorifics. Further, as shown by the examples in the following sections, the salespeople in the street markets were not incentivised to maximize the chances of a transactions of individual customers as this reflected in the language use. The use of imperatives, shouting, and even impolite bargaining was observed in the street markets. Interestingly, the behaviour of the salespeople differed slightly between the street market’s salespeople with physical stores and those without physical stores.

5.5.2 Address Terms

In this section, I examine the use of address terms in each category of store, and how address terms are used. To provide background on important address terms, I provide a short explanation on what the term *kokaeknim* means and why it has arised.

Kokaeknim, loosely translating to [respected] customer, is a variation from the prescriptive form as an address term, but it is used frequently in the high-end service sector in South Korea. According to the Korean National Language Institute, the *Kwuklip kwukewen* (2011), *kokaeknim* is an invented address term in the service sector and does not exist according to prescriptive norms. *-nim* should only be attached to status names or titles and therefore one

should use *sonnim* instead, as *kokaek* is not actually a title. As Brown (2011) states: “-nim is a honorific particle that attaches to titles and some kinship terms, rendering these deferential”. However, the address term *kokaeknim* has recently become so prevalent that the general public is not aware that this is an incorrect use.

I review the use of *kokaeknim*, as well as other address terms, in each of the categories to analyse which category it is being used and to what extent.

5.5.2.1 Address Terms: luxury branded goods in department stores (£1,500 or more)

When I visited the Cartier store (selling watches and jewellery), they used *kokaeknim* 16 times in 26 minutes 22 seconds. In the luxury stores, even when a salesperson is addressing children of ages of around 7 and 10, the use of *kokaeknim* was observed, although this is likely directed at the parents who yield the economic power.

- | | | |
|--|-----------------|--------------|
| 10. kokaek-nim, | hancungphanto | kokaek-nim |
| customer-HON | limited edition | customer-HON |
| cey-ka [...] | | |
| I-NOM [...] | | |
| “Customer, there are limited edition, Customer, I [...]” | | |

Example 10 shows a short speech snippet where the term *kokaeknim* is used twice. The humbling form of the first person pronoun *cey* is also observed in this example. The honorification systems contains a limited number of self-humbling expressions and humble forms. In example 10, the salesperson uses *cey*, a humbling expression. This humbling expression *cey* can be used when talking to people with superior status to show respect. Furthermore, older salespeople still used the address terms and the humbling form even though the customers were younger, which perhaps illustrates the erosion of the importance of traditional norms (such as seniority) and reflects a changing social trend. Much like the trend in subject honorifics, the salespeople are using address terms to control for the verticality (power difference) and emphasize further respect for the listener with high socioeconomic power.

5.5.2.2 Address Terms: high street stores (under £150)

High-street stores focus on providing a friendly and familiar atmosphere. There are many young customers around 18-35. As shown in example 11, salespeople used address terms such as *enni* (which has a literal meaning of ‘elder sister’ and often used between close friends) rather than *kokaeknim*. Again, it was interesting to note the extent to which the salespeople transgress the prescriptive norms: a salesperson, who was 10 years older, would address a customer as *enni*. A high street salesperson does not use the address term based on the prescriptive norms but rather based on polite beneficiary strategy. The address terms used in the high-street stores compared to the luxury stores showed that the salespeople in the high-street stores valued the negative face of the customer significantly less by reducing the emotional distance between the customer and the salesperson.

11. enni leykings-ey ipu-myen yeypp-eyo
sister leggings-LOC wear-if beautiful-SL5
“Sister, if you wear it with leggings, it will be beautiful.”

5.5.2.3 Address terms: street markets (under £30)

Again, in the street market the salespeople did not try to demonstrate deference linguistically. In the street market, typically *akassi*, which is an address term for a young unmarried woman, was used, as in example 12. *Akassi* expresses quite an equal relationship with the customer but without any friendly connotation and in contemporary South Korea can have a negative connotation. This lack of deference reflects the chaotic atmosphere of the street market, where the sellers use short phrases without honorifics to grab the attention of would-be customers.

12. akassi yo-kes-to yeypp-e
(young) girl this-DN-also beautiful-SL2
“Girl, this is also beautiful.”

Moreover, other address terms that involve kinship were observed. For instance, *nwuna* (older sister) is commonly used, as in 13-14. The examples below were taken from the recording from the (new village) *Saymaul* street market in *Camsil*, a district of Seoul. The salesperson was

around 40 and the ages of 5 female listeners varied from ages between 30 and 50. There was a mixture of ages but in all cases, he used *nwuna*.

13. mianhay **nwuna**
sorry older sister
“Sorry sister.”

14. hanato epse **nwuna** olttay sayaci
one not exist old sister come buy-SL2
“There aren’t any [products] left sister, you need to buy it when it is in stock.”

Again, seniority seemed to play little part in determining the use of the address term *nwuna*, which contrasts to the prescribed norms in South Korea outside the consumer environment. Even in cases where the listener was 10 years older or younger, the term *nwuna* was used towards all the five female customers at the stall.

To compare the results of all three different categories’ (luxury, high street and street market) use of address terms, one can observe different address terms are used in the different categories: [respected] customer (*kokaeknim*), older sister (*enni*) and young lady (*akassi*) in stores targeting customers from different socio-economic levels shows that these different address terms are used depending on the presumed background of the addressee.

This intricate subdivision within the stores is reflected linguistically. The most striking feature of the stores selling luxury goods was their excessive use of address terms (especially *kokaeknim*). Greetings were always used on entering the stores consistently across all twelve luxury stores, and always with honorifics. As described above, there was also overextended use of honorifics for objects such as products.

5.5.3 Speech Levels

5.5.3.1 Speech Levels: luxury branded goods in department stores (£1,500 or more)

In all 12 luxury brand stores (Chanel, Gucci, Cartier, Prada, Christian Dior, Louis Vuitton, Mulberry, Michel Kors, Belmont, Bottega Venetta, Dolce & Gabbana and Bulgari) the sales

people used welcome greetings for their customers followed by a chant of their brand name, and the formal speech level 6 for greetings was observed.

Further, in almost all the stores the salespeople had the very same greeting following the template shown in example 15a below. In 11 of the 12 stores they used the form in example 15a. The only store that did not follow this format was Chanel, where instead of speech level 6, speech level 5 was used. As shown in example 15c, even in that case where the sales person did not use speech level 6 for the greeting (*annyeng-ha-si-eyo*), speech level 6 is used for the store (*syaneyl-i-pnita*). It is likely that the salespeople are attempting to first demonstrate deference and then tune the emotional distance between themselves and the customers.

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| 15. a. | annyeng-ha- si -pnikka?
how-do-HON-SL6
“How are you?” | [store name]-i-pnita.
[store name]-is-SL6
“This is [store name].” |
| b. | annyeng-hi- si -pnikka?
how-do-HON-SL6
“How are you?” | pottekapeyneytta-i-pnida.
BottegaVeneta-is-SL6
“This is Bottega Veneta.” |
| c. | annyeng-ha- si -eyo?
how-do-HON-SL5
“How are you?” | syaneyl-i-pnita.
Chanel-is-SL6
“This is Chanel.” |

This uniformity likely stems in part from education which the salespeople receive. According to a representative of a high-end hospital, most luxury service sectors such as department stores, hotels and hospitals are all trained by dedicated customer service training companies. The salespeople are trained for “manners” including the use of learnt and repeated phrases, and polite language. This is a likely an important catalyst for language variation and the establishment of the new *de facto* linguistic norm in the service sector.

Furthermore, when customers finish their shopping, all of the salespeople in the store simultaneously say “thank you very much” and “goodbye” using speech level 5 and 6 to the customer as shown in example 16.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 16. kamsaha-pnita.
thank you-SL6 | annyenghi-ka- s[i] ey-yo.
Well-go-HON-SL5 |
|-------------------------------------|---|

“Thank you”.

“Go well.”

In most cases, during the conversation speech level 5, as in examples 18-20, was used, but in some cases speech level 6 was used such as in example 17.

17. malssum-tuli-keyss-supnita

saying(HON)-tell(HON)-FUT-SL6

“I will tell you.”

18. kokayk-nim, te isang naoci anha-yo.

customer-HON more any make not-SL5

“[Madam] the [product] has been discontinued.”

19. saicu hana issupnita.

size one have-SL5

“We have that size in stock.”

20. i ticaini macu-s[i]ey-yo

this design right-HON-SL5

“This design is right.”

According to J. B. Lee (2010: 241) the increased use of speech level 5 *hayyo* and the use of combined forms such as *ha-seyyo* (the combined form of honorific marker *-si-* and *hayyo*) has become far more prevalent in the period after 1945 in South Korea. According to J. B. Lee (2010: 241), even when the same speech level 5 is used, people feel more deference is expressed in the case where *-si-* is added to the predicate. Thus, as the economic importance of each customer is high in the luxury stores, the prevalence of *-si-* is essential to making the customer feel respected, thus making the form *s[i]ey-yo* far more common than unmarked *-yo*.

5.5.3.2 Speech Levels: high-street stores (under £150)

In the high-street stores, the main demographic of people visiting the stores is women in their 20s and the saleswomen tend to be in their 30s. High-street stores generally use *eseoseyo*

(‘welcome’) for greetings, and unlike the luxury brand stores, do not incorporate their brand name in their greetings.

The high-street showed the greatest variance in the use of speech levels. In the same conversation, the salesperson used both speech level 5 and speech level 2, as shown in examples 21, 23 and 25.

21. wentan-wun manscye po-si-ko mulken-un
texture-TOP touch look-HON-and product-TOP
po-s[i]-eyo.
look-HON-SL5
“Feel the texture and assess the product.”

In example 23 below, the salesperson uses speech level 2 for the customer. However, after that there is no overextension. Example 22 does not use any speech level and ends with a noun. This shows a more casual speech style compared to the luxury stores.

22. ikey pyenha-ten-tey koaynchanha omanphalchenwen
this comfortable-PAST-as okay 58,000-won
“It was very comfortable, okay, 58,000 won.”

23. ssakey phanun ke-ya
cheap sell DN-SL2
“This is cheap.”

24. kyuil-ka phanmay haketu-n-yo
same price-NOM sale do-PRE-SL5
“This is selling at the same price.”

5.5.3.3 Speech Levels: street market (under £30)

In the street markets the use of honorifics is different. Speech levels and address terms are very strategically used. The speech level 2 was frequently used. Some salespeople were impolite, and even imperatives were used (example 25). However, it was interesting to note there were differences in honorific use within the street market category; the salespeople with shops

tended to use honorifics more than those without a shop. There was a mixture of speech level 5 and speech level 2, though compared to the high-street, speech level 2 was used in favour of speech level 5.

25. kunang mak-sa
 just buy-SL2
 “Just buy it.”

26. miin-ila akassi-nun thukpyel taywu-lul hay
 beauty-as lady-TOP special treatment-ACC do
 cwunu-n-keya. ippunik-ka
 provide-PRE-SL2 beautiful-as
 “You are pretty so I will offer you a lower price.”

27. akassi-nun elkwul-i yeyppu-nikka na-lang kathi
 lady-TOP looking-NOM good-because I-and together
 sal-myen kongcca-ntey cip-ey ka-myen ochen-wen
 live-if free-CON home-LOC go-if 5,000 won
 “Young lady, you are looking good. If you live with me it’s free, but if you go home it’s 5000 won.”

28. akassi yo-kes-to yeypp-e
 young lady this-DN-also beautiful-SL2
 “Young lady, this is also beautiful.”

The salespeople in the street markets predominantly used speech level 2 (examples 25, 26 and 28), though compared to both the high street and the luxury stores, a wider variety of speech levels were used, as shown by the graphs in the following section. Further, the language of the salespeople was much more direct and short, which shows that weightiness or risk of damaging face was much lower in the street markets. Even impolite behaviour was shown through language use towards the customer, such as in example 25 or 27.

5.5.4 Summary of three key elements

Overall, there was a strong link between the potential economic impact of the customer on a store and the use of honorifics. More specifically, how much the average customer would contribute to the overall store's income was the best predictor of the behaviour of the salespeople.

In the case of subject honorifics, the phenomenon of overuse and overextension is particularly noteworthy. It seems that the function of the honorific marker *-si-* is shifting, from one that elevates the status of the subject, to instead one that elevates the status of the listener. This expansion of the functionality of honorific marker *-si-* can also be explained by J. B. Lee's (1998) polite beneficiary strategy.

A striking feature is how different address terms are used to convey different messages across the socioeconomic spectrum. For example, in high-end department stores, address terms are used to express deference towards the listener (controlling for verticality or power differences), whereas in high-street stores they are used to elicit a feeling of closeness (controlling for horizontality or emotional intimacy).

In the case of speech levels, all stores across the socioeconomic continuum used speech levels both for a polite beneficiary strategy and for a distance control strategy. However, the most interesting use of speech levels occurred in the high street, where the salesperson interchanged speech levels from speech level 5 down to speech level 2 and back.

5.6 Data analysis

Overall in this section, I took a random sample of 25 minutes' worth of recording in each category. Although the interactions during the recorded time were spontaneous, the data clearly demonstrates that for the same customer, different stores are using different strategies to manipulate honorification systems use for an economic gain.

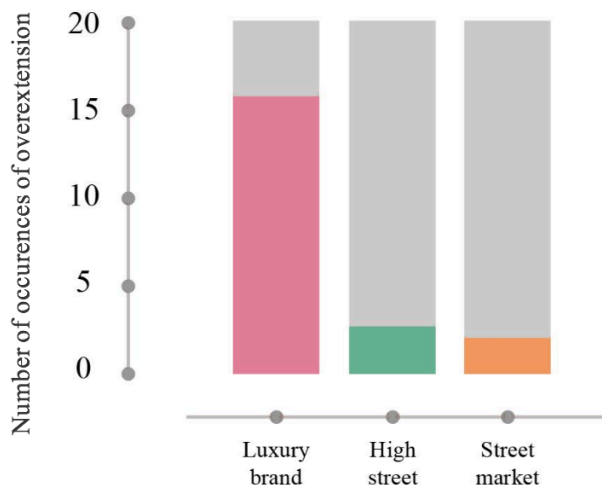


Figure 5.1. Occurrences of Overextension per Category

Figure 5.1 demonstrates that there is a decreasing trend in the overextension of honorifics from the luxury brand stores to the street markets. This aligned with the revised weightiness formula (Chapter 2) where the risk of offending the customer decreases dramatically across the categories due to the decreasing economic impact of an individual customer’s transaction. It is interesting to note that in luxury brand stores, the overextension is applied to commercial products. The fact that the salespeople will go as far as to use grammatically incorrect subject honorifics suggests that, at least in the service sector, they are deployed deliberately for commercial gain. Furthermore, the functionality of the honorific marker *-si-* is being expanded from the original application of honorific marker *-si-* to elevate the status of the subject.

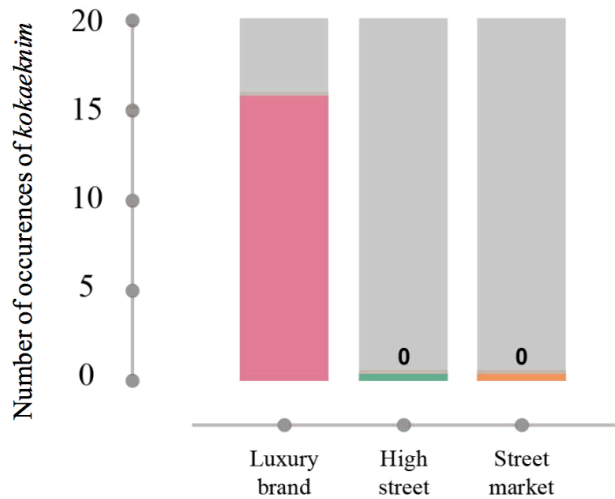


Figure 5.2. Number of times *kokaeknim* ('guest') was used

Figure 5.2 demonstrates that in the stores selling luxury goods there is excessive use of address term *kokaeknim* where even multiple uses of *kokaeknim* were observed in a single sentence. However, high street stores and street market shops do not use *kokaeknim*, as it is an unconventional address term and portrays the highest deference compared to address terms such as *enni* or *akassi*. The most striking feature of this graph is the excessive overuse of *kokaeknim* in stores selling luxury brands. The difference between luxury stores and the next category down is significant. This large difference highlights that the use of address terms has been reinvented strategically to specifically target those in the highest income bracket. This overuse of address terms is possibly the clearest linguistic manifestation of socioeconomic power being the determinant of language variation in South Korea. However, more research is needed to explore how *kokaeknim* relates to the economic power of the customer as *kokaeknim* may be used in other customer service sectors, as I observed in the high-end medical clinics.

The three figures above show that speech level 5 decreases corresponding to decrease in socioeconomic level and speech level 2 is predominantly used in street markets.

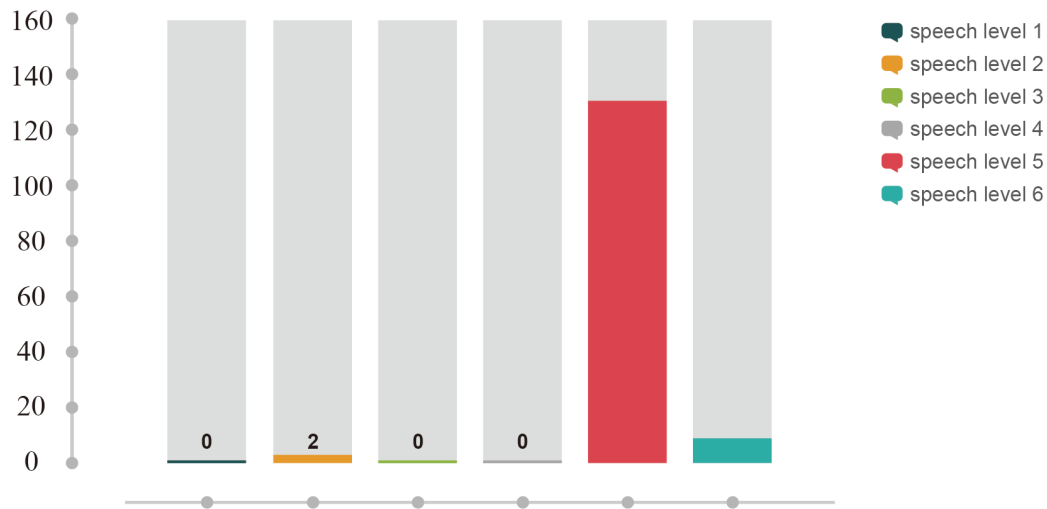


Figure 5.3. The use of speech levels in luxury stores

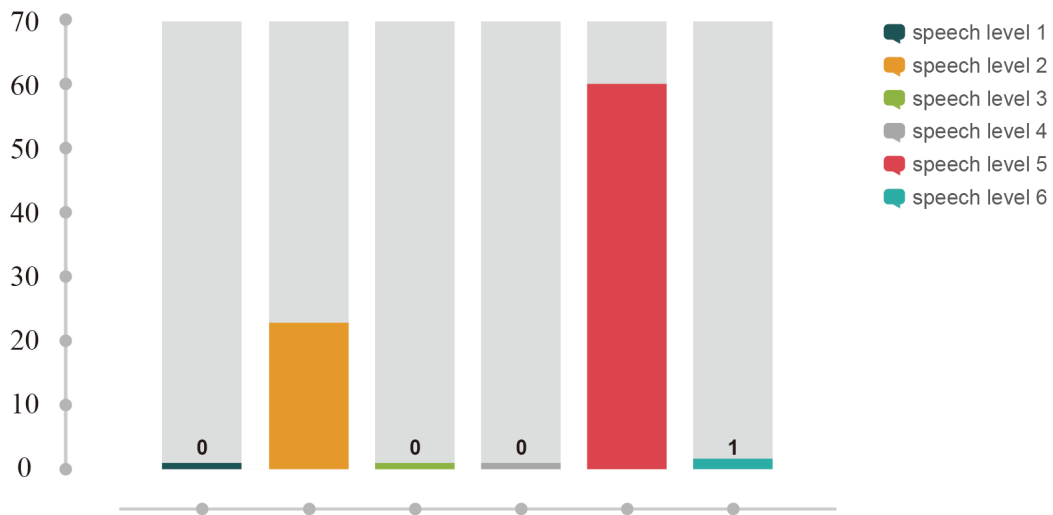


Figure 5.4. The use of speech levels in high-street stores

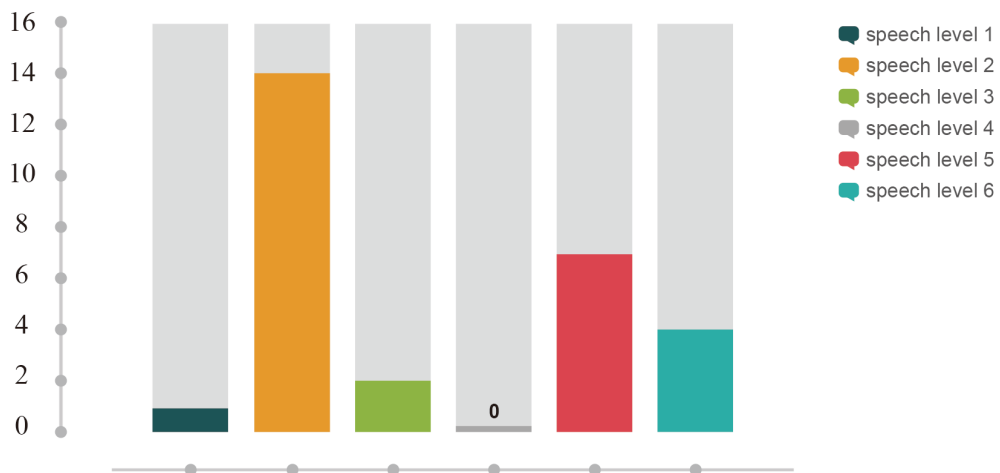


Figure 5.5. The use of speech levels in street markets

Figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 show the number of occurrences of each speech level in the three store categories (luxury, high street and street market). What is interesting from Figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 is that each store strategically selects the speech levels in the context of the target customers to boost sales. In high street stores, speech level 5 and speech level 2 are used instead of the speech level 6 to increase the chances of economic reward. This linguistic usage is to create a more friendly and welcoming environment compared to the luxury stores. Thus, the vertical distance (difference in power) is reduced and the horizontal distance is manipulated to increase emotional closeness. Unlike the luxury brands store where salespeople rely on a small number of clients who spend large amounts of money and thus have an asymmetric relationship, high street stores and street markets rely on a large volume of people who on the whole purchase the same amount therefore creating a more horizontal relationship. This is even more prominent in the street markets, where there is a great reduction in the vertical distance (power difference between the salesperson and the customer) and is best shown by one of the sellers stating, “If you want to buy, buy it. If not, go away.”

5.7 Conclusion

There are notably pronounced patterns in the use of honorification systems when comparing language use between the stratified store categories despite the limitations to this study. My South Korean data of subject honorifics, address terms and speech levels demonstrate that the excessive use of honorifics is influenced by socioeconomic class. There is a disproportionately large amount of overuse and overextension in the luxury stores compared to the high street and the street markets. Especially in the use of the honorific marker *-si-*, one can observe that this can be predicted by the revised weightiness formula derived from Brown and Levinson’s (1978) theory of politeness (as explored in Chapter 2, see in particular Equation 2.1).

Further, depending on the socioeconomic level of the target customers in the store category, different address terms were used. In the luxury stores, it was the excessive use of *kokaeknim*, a grammatically incorrect and recently spread address term which is used to display an extra layer of deference towards the customer. In the high street, common use of *enni* was observed, which suggests that the high street is focused on providing a more approachable and friendly environment as they usually target younger customers with less economic power than the luxury department stores. Lastly, both *nwuna* and *akassi* were observed in the street markets. Similar to the high street stores, the emphasis was not on formality or the preservation of the customer’s negative face but familiarity and the reduction in horizontal (emotional) distance.

The address term used according to the socio-economic levels of the customer suggested language variation is affected by economic power.

Lastly, the variation in speech levels also serves as supplementary evidence for my argument. The spread in the use of speech levels from the luxury stores to the high street to the street market illuminates the underlying socio-economic power distribution in the relationship between the salesperson and the customer. Speech level 5 was predominantly used in luxury stores with speech level 6 used for formal greetings. In the high street, there was an interchange between speech level 2 and 5, where level 5 was used the majority of the time to show deference and speech level 2 was used to increase emotional intimacy. Finally, the street markets showed the greatest variety in the use of speech levels, suggesting decreased risk in interactions between customer and salesperson. The spread of speech levels shifted down towards a predominant use of speech level 2 as well as even some use of speech level 1 (the most intimate speech level). Overall, the data shows a decrease in speech level 5 and an increase in speech level 2 going down the economically stratified categories of stores.

Language variation as demonstrated above is becoming the social norm in South Korea. On a high level, we can see that normative use of the honorification systems is being disrupted in favour of norms reflective of strategic incentives and rewards. This is especially the case for overextension which is grammatically incorrect but increasingly perceived as normal language use by salespeople in the eyes of the average South Korean consumer. Overuse is widespread also and is becoming more natural to hear in the consumer environment. Address terms show similar behaviour, where economic power is overriding the traditionally important variables such as age or status (in the case of *enni* or *nwuna* and *kokaeknim* respectively).

There is no firm evidence for exactly how this phenomenon started and spread. However, an important contributor appears to be the use of customer service training providers where the new prescriptive norms are set and practiced, in order for the sales staff to seem professional yet friendly towards the customers. The key principles such as ‘Customer is King’ and prescribed language rules and norms appear to be key factors in the distribution of language variation in the service sector. These language rules, though unofficial, appear to be an important factor in fuelling spreading the new prescriptive norm. In addition to this, I assume that the hypercompetitive consumer ecosystem may also contribute to the acceleration of distribution of these new prescribed norms in order to boost economic reward.

6. Data Analysis: North Korea

6.1 Introduction

King (2007: 218) claims that linguistic divergence in Korea to be significantly deeper and wider than the divergence between East and West Germany when Germany separated into two individual states, and argues that linguistic divergence in Korean is a result of the two radically different ideologies. To explore the change in the distribution of power in North Korea, I explore language variation as a proxy for how North Korean society has shifted. Language policy and planning is very centralised in the North Korean government, and thus, language policies are distributed according to the party's interest; to cultivate the utmost loyalty amongst the ordinary North Koreans. The government's pervasiveness through the control of education, media and the 'carrot and stick' methodology all contribute to shape the newly established language norms in the North Korea. This is what I call 'top down' language variation, where language is adjusted and distributed by the North Korean government and permeates the fabric of North Korean society to establish itself as the new norm.

In order to explore and measure how the North Korean language has diverged from the Korean spoken before the division, I focus on investigating the variation in the honorification systems. Thus, I investigate how what is generally called the 'prescriptive norm' has changed. The prescriptive norm can be defined as the guidelines on the correct rules for the use of language issued by the government. The prescriptive norms of language use have changed, and the emergence of new characteristics of North Korean language can be summarized in three main points. First, subject honorifics are focused on supreme elevation of the status of the leader. Secondly, I analyse address terms to measure how their use has diverged from the prescriptive norm and which address terms can be used as an indicator to reveal where power is concentrated. The important emergence of terms such as *tongmwu*, *tongci* (comrade), words from the communist lexicon, imply the extent to how the ideological principles are enforced. Further, I will also examine how the use of address terms is heavily influenced by party positions held in the North Korean political sphere. Thirdly, I explore the changes in the use of speech levels which have been led mainly according to the hierarchical social system.

Due to the restricted access to North Korea and the its political and economic isolation, so far there has been little research conducted on North Korean honorification systems. I hope that the presentation of this research will contribute to act as an impetus and drive further research to take place in this area.

6.2 Methodology

The main challenge associated with researching North Korean honorification systems stems from being unable to easily source natural speech¹³. Therefore, many efforts have focused on mitigating the lack of available resources. I leveraged three main categories of sources in my study of North Korean honorification systems. Namely:

1. Documents and texts
2. TV broadcasts
3. Interviews with North Korean defectors

Firstly, I investigated published books outlining the prescriptive use of language, including honorification systems. These are commissioned by the North Korean government and come in multiple forms. Etiquette brochures, textbooks published for foreigners to learn North Korean grammar and elementary text books for local North Koreans were studied. Furthermore, I accessed websites created by North Korean institutions. I also looked at novels published in North Korea and the contemporary North Korean dictionary published by Science Encyclopaedia Publisher. The documents and texts were analysed as a foundation to understand prescriptive norms of how North Koreans are taught to use honorification systems and to examine the examples of speech provided in these texts. The prescriptive norms provided were then compared with more natural language to evaluate the extent to which they were adhered to.

For example, I analysed *Enesaynghwallon* by C. Y. Lee (2005: 268-280), a guide published by the government on how to use Korean in daily lives, and examined how a server at a restaurant would use honorification systems towards the customer and vice versa. This was repeated in multiple situations, including a store, a hospital and a public meeting. In each situation, the context was accounted for to understand how this affects honorifics use, for instance, how two strangers speak to each other in a public meeting. The situational analysis of honorification systems was presented as a table.

Secondly, football broadcasting and TV advertisements were used to measure and benchmark the extent to which ordinary speech adheres to the prescriptive norm, as they

¹³ As I am a South Korean citizen I was unable to visit North Korea to conduct field work. However, being in the UK enabled to access more materials on North Korea freely, as in South Korea some of the materials on North Korea are censored due to security laws.

emulate a more vernacular way an ordinary North Korean would use honorification systems. Following the review of the research done by P. K. Sohn (2006), a sports presenter, on language comparison between North Korean and South Korean World Cup, I visited the South Korean broadcasting company SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) and managed to receive the full, original North Korean football broadcasting audio clip under the agreement it would be used for academic research purposes. Having converted the audio into transcript format, I broke down my analysis to focus on address terms, speech levels and subject honorifics. I measured the number of times any of these three categories were used in the transcript and if so, how were they used, for each sentence of the transcript. This was converted into data provided in table and graph format to illuminate the overall trends of how honorification systems were used. Using the same method, I examined advertisement of a new multiplex building (*haytandhwagwan*) opening TV broadcast.

Thirdly, I conducted interviews with North Korean defectors. I collected the data in two ways. I conducted preliminary interviews in Seoul and in the UK and conducted further interviews with North Korean defectors in Seoul. First, a preliminary interview of 7 North Korean defectors was carried out in South Korea and the UK, 4 and 3 defectors respectively. They were asked questions regarding their thoughts on the differences in the use of the honorification system in North and South Korea. Then, for the main interviews, I interviewed nine North Korean defectors in Seoul. I asked the same questions to all interviewees and interviewed each of them individually. They had all been living in different cities in North Korea. Interviewees were all older than 30, with 4 females and 5 males. The main interviews included a role play simulating a worker's party meeting. This role play was then analysed to understand the honorification systems use in this public, formal situation. In this chapter, the main interviews analysis focused on validating the prescriptive norm use in every day situations.

6.3 North Korean Social Stratification and Political Ideology

North Korean society has a very strict social stratification and profoundly hierarchical social structure not too dissimilar to the Indian caste system. According to the Ministry for Korean Unification in South Korea, North Korean people are divided into three main classes determined by the government. The first is the Special Group which constitutes roughly 1-2% of the population. The Special Group includes the family members of the North Korean leaders and the revolutionaries who supported the foundation of the North Korean state. They receive

the best privileges such as university entrance, the top employment positions, healthcare and usually live in Pyongyang. Secondly, the Core Group consisting of 28% of the population represents the most loyal members of the regime such as Worker's Party members; those in the Core Group are also given wide-ranging preferential treatment for resources and employment allocations. Third, the basic people, constituting 30-40% of the population, represent the ordinary members of the North Korean society such as the non-party members. The fourth group (also approximately 30-40% of the population) is divided into two groups: those under suspicion and those under watch. The group under suspicion consists of those who are likely to turn against the North Korean government in the case of collapse, or do not have the utmost loyalty towards the party. The group under watch can be described as those who rebel against the political party, or the family members of those who have left North Korea. The group on the watch list are usually assigned hard, manual labour. Social mobility is almost non-existent in between the social groups which means once one is born into a class, he or she remains in that class for life.

According to the defectors I interviewed, the government in North Korea organised society in a certain format to reign in tight control of society. For example, the North Korean government has formed tight social networks by area to manage the people. The head of each social network is a member of the Worker's Party. The Worker's Party members represent and manage each area, which is further divided into smaller areas to be managed. To monitor the local area, weekly meetings are held to reinforce the *chwuchey* ideology and supervise as well as manage those in the lower, larger groups. It also allows easy identification of those in 'suspicious' and 'to watch' groups. This social network is intended to deliver strong leadership from the leader to the people in a top-down, militaristic structure. In the preliminary interviews with the North Korean defectors in the UK, they noted the "oppressive" social structure as one of the reasons for their escape.

The social stratification in North Korea is not based on socioeconomic class at all but rather is based on political patronage. My interviews with defectors indicate that socioeconomic class is not an important factor when determining the use of honorification systems. As Lim (2008) explains, the North Korean economic system is not a market economy, based on capital gains through occupation, but a state-planned economy. This means that rationing, jobs, clothes and housing are all based on government position and goods are allocated accordingly, increasing the value in the position relative to the social classes and the Worker's Party. The North Korean defectors interviewed confirmed this.

Another crucial aspect is that civil society and the military are inseparable. Lim (2008) describes North Korean society as governed by ‘military-first politics’ established during the “Arduous March of 1995-1998 when the state suffered severe economic disaster”. The society is structured to reflect the structure of the military in the sense that it follows the same organisation principle: everywhere there is a clear line of command running from top to bottom. This military structure is reflected linguistically; for instance, a labourer (*notongca*) is instead called labour combatant (*notong censais*). This is further reflected by the fact the North Korea has the highest number of military officers per population in the world.

Political ideology is also an important factor in understanding the motivations controlling and driving language variation. The official ideology in North Korea is known as *Cwuchey*. According to S. C. Lee (1983: 316), *Cwuchey* ideology is a North Korean variant of Marxism created to deify the leader and cultivate utmost loyalty. It consists of two parts. First, the *Cwuchey* ideology places the people in a central role as the owners of everything, including the so-called revolution and development of their state (construction). Second, not dissimilar to the Holy Trinity, it states that people, party and leader are a unified whole, with the leader being in the centre as the owner of *Cwuchey*. In *Enesaynghwallon* by C. Y. Lee (2005), a North Korean guide to language use in daily life, language must be used to as a tool to uphold the *Cwuchey* ideology for the success of revolution and construction.

6.4 Analytical Framework

This section outlines in more detail how exactly each of the three aspects of the honorification systems are used according to the prescribed norms in North Korea. Subject honorifics, address terms, and speech levels are important tools in elevating the status of the listener and they indicate the social relationship between the speaker and hearer in the interaction.

Cosenmalyeycelpep by T. S. Kim (1983), *Enesaynghwallon* by C. Y. Lee (2005), *Cosenmwunpep* by Y. K. Kim (1989a) are language policies or prescriptive norms created by the North Korean government. These policies outline the correct use of language and how people should adhere and apply these rules in daily conversation. I review how the creation of these language policies led to language variation.

First, according to *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983), a subject honorific rule book designed to show how to convey extreme respect to the leaders (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il and Kim Jung Un), states that when you talk about North Korean leaders and another person in the same sentence, you must make the other person lower in all cases, even for those with a high social

status. For example, the honorific marker *-si-* and *-kkeyse* would normally be used for grandfather. However, when grandfather is mentioned together with the North Korean leaders, the honorific marker *-si-* and *-kkeyse* are omitted. Moreover, *-kkeyse* and *-kkey*, the highest honorific suffixes, must be employed for the North Korean leaders. *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983: 86) emphasises that the use of these honorifics is only reserved for the North Korean leaders. In addition, the prescriptive norm states that one must further add the honorific marker *-op/o* to *-si-* to further elevate the status of the North Korean leader. This is a phenomenon previously reserved for Kings, the Buddha or other Gods in the Korean peninsula before the division.

Secondly, concerning address terms, there has been an emergence of old address terms with new prescribed meanings in North Korea. *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983: 129) supports this and states that one must use superlatives and use *swulyeng-nim* to refer to the North Korean leaders. The term *swulyeng*, which was previously used to refer to the mayor of local villages or a group leader, was altered to *swulyeng-nim*, a renewed address term specifically for the leaders.

Thirdly, only speech level 6 should be used for the North Korean leaders. However, this speech level is also used for the superiors and people you have met for the first time and acquaintances. Example 1 is taken from one of my interviews.

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------|---------------------|
| 1. tongci | cemsimsiksa | ha-sy-ess-supnikka? |
| comrade | lunch | have-HON-PAST-SL6 |
- “Comrade, have you had a lunch?”

I interviewed 9 North Korean defectors and they would without fail use speech level 6 (*hapsyo-cey*) for the duration of the role-play from start to finish when participating in public life. In terms of the results of this role-play it was evident that the repetitive enforcement through such social meetings has educated the people of the North to strictly use speech level 6 (*hapsyo-chey*) in various public areas such as educational facilities or any other government related social meetings. In private situations, however, where the speaker and hearer are familiar with each other, speech level 6 is not commonly be used.

6.5 Data Presentation

6.5.1 Subject Honorifics

Cosenmalyeycelpep by T. S. Kim (1983) was published by the North Korean government to set out specific rules for the use of honorifics and other polite forms. The use of subject honorifics expresses respect for North Korean leaders, and different levels of language and lexical substitutions are employed in those contexts. According to *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983), there is a leader-specific honorification systems in North Korea as follows.

There are three important linguistic variations from the prescriptive norms which existed before the division. First, the use of *-si-* and *-kkesye-* in North Korea. Second, the use of *-siop-*. Third, the rule that precludes the use of honorifics to other subjects when mentioned alongside the leader in the same sentence.

Regarding the use of *-si-*, *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983) states that the subject honorific verbal suffix *-si-* must always be used if one is referring to the leader. In example 2a the honorific marker *-si-* is used.

Example 2b is a hypothetical alternative not using the honorific marker *-si-* for referring to the subject, while in example 2a it is used twice for the subject. Moreover, in example 2a *-nim* is (Hon+) and *i-si-ye*, the middle of *-iye-* (vocative particle) has the honorific marker *-si-*. I. S. Lee and Ramsey (2000: 159) state that *ye/iye* is the vocative particle only used in holy texts such as the bible and poetry in South Korea. Consequently, example 2a shows much more respect than example 2b.

2a. widaeha-**si**-n ebei-suleong-nim-**i-si-ye**
 great-HON-MOD father-leader-HON-VOC-HON
 budi mansumugang ha-sipsiyo
 please long life live do-SL6
 “Great leader live a long life.”
 (*Cosenmalyeycelpep* North Korean government official usage.)

2b. widaehan ebei-suleongi-ye budi
 great-MOD father-leader-VOC please
 mansumugang-ha-**si**-eyo

long life-live(HON)-HON-SL5

“Great leader live a long life.”

(Hypothetical alternative not following the North Korean prescriptive norm.)

When North Koreans refer to their leaders they must always express the utmost respect. For example:

- 3a. widaeha-**si**-n kimilsung-janggwun-**nim-kkesye**-nun
 great-HON-MOD Kim Il Sung-general-HON-HON-TOP
 “Great leader Kim Il-Sung”
 (*Cosenmalyeycelpep* North Korean government.)

- 3b. widaeha-n kimilsung-janggwun-un
 great-HON-MOD Kim Il Sung-general-TOP
 “Great leader Kim Il-Sung”
 (Hypothetical alternative not following the prescriptive norm.)

Example 3a above exemplifies the use of honorifics to address the leaders; honorific markers are always used. In addition, when they mention their leader in the subject of the sentence, North Koreans should use example 3a to express the utmost honour. The adjective *widaeha-si-n* (meaning ‘great’) is used to refer to Kim Il Sung. The fact that this is used in conjunction with *-si-* further elevates his status, as the adjective emphasizes his greatness. Although Kim Il Sung is not an actual general, this linguistic elevation of his status suggests that the rest of the population, at least figuratively speaking, is under his command. To emphasize his status further, the honorific suffix *-nim* is attached; *-nim* meaning ‘respected, esteemed’. Overall, this example demonstrates the extent to which the honorifics are used to the leader even in this small sentence.¹⁴ This is partly reflective of the skewed distribution of power towards the North Korean leader, as speakers attempt to manipulate their language to highlight his status. As a result, Example 3a shows the honorific marker *-si-* and *-nim* and the honorific particle *-kkesye* to reinforce North Korea’s social norm of emphasising the leader’s superior status. Example 3b is a hypothetical alternative not following the rules prescribed.

Through honorifics the leader is given god-like status. The honorific marker *-si-* for leaders is always applied and often overdone. In addition, referring back to example 3, *i-si-ye*,

¹⁴ In addition, Yeon and Brown (2011: 331) state *-n* is state/result modifier.

the middle of *-iye-* (vocative particle) has the honorific marker *-si-*. In example 3a, more specifically, honorifics for Kim Il Sung are overdone. The honorific particle *-kkesye* is added. Moreover, *-nun* is used together with *-kkesye*.¹⁵ The juxtaposition of the use of both *-kkeyse* and *-nun* compounds to emphasize Kim Il Sung, the subject. The use of both *-kkeyse* and *-nun* can be observed very frequently in all forms of media, such as textbooks, novels and in the role plays with the North Korean defectors.

Second, according to *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983), the *-si-* is placed next to the *-op/o-* to show a politer expression for political leaders in North Korea. During the Japanese colonial time, the honorific marker *-si-op-* was used in news broadcasting to show the most respect to the Japanese Emperor. Martin (1954: 35) states that the honorific marker *-sio-* or *-siop-* can be considered as a status morpheme, and *-sop-* as an archaic, humble morpheme. The example below is from *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983), they state that the *-siop-* should be used to refer to the North Korean leaders to convey the most respect and give the following as an example.

4. harurado hansirado pyeonhi swi-**si-op**-gireul
 one day even just for a while peacefully rest-HON-HON-hope
 “Rest peacefully only if for a day.”

Thirdly, the examples 5 below shows how the honorific markers *-si-* and *-kkeyse* were used before the 1950’s and example 6 and 7 show how they are omitted for the grandfather when the North Korean leader is also mentioned in the same sentence. For instance, ordinarily, when referring to an elderly person such as the grandfather one would use the honorific *-kkeyse*:

5. uri halabeci-**kkeyse** malssumha-**si**-nunde
 our grandfather-HON say-HON-CON
 “Our grandfather says that”
 (Use of honorifics before 1950s in the Korean peninsula.)

However, when referring to the leader in the same sentence one needs to omit honorifics and lower their status for everyone else.

¹⁵ Yeon and Brown (2011: 191) state that topic particle *-nun* after *-kkesye* is “frequently overlooked”. One can often hear teachers, grandparents, etcetera, talked about without any use of *-kkeyse*; indeed, in informal conversation, overuse of *-kkeyse* may sound excessive

6. uri halabeci-ga iyagi ha-nunde
 our grandfather-NOM speak say-CON
 “Our grandfather says that”
 (Current use of honorifics in North Korea.)
7. kimilseng-canggun-**nim-kkeyse-n** ha-**si**-ess-dadende-yo
 Kim Il Sung-general-HON-HON-MOD do-HON-PAST-CON-SL5
 “General Kim Il-Sung did it.”
 (Current use of honorifics in North Korea given by T. S. Kim (1983))

Cosenmalyeycelpep by T. S. Kim (1983) states “If you have specific honorifics for the leader, you have to use them with the verb”. Table 6.1 is the summary of the special verb forms that should be used.

Table 6.1. Contrasting Honorific and Plain Form for Special Verbs

Honorific Form	Plain Form	Meaning
cwumu- si -ta	cata	sleep
kyey- si -ta	issta	stay
malssumha- si -ta	malhata	speak

This deliberate omission of honorifics when the leader is in a sentence seen in example 6 is a completely new phenomenon that has not existed before the 1950s and therefore shows the effectiveness of the language policies enforced by the North Korean government. The use of subject honorifics has diverged significantly since the division from the 1950s. The most prominent changes have been ones to deify the leader and introduce a degree of formality.

6.5.2 Address Terms

The shift in the use of address terms was largely imposed top-down. By defining new prescriptive norms, the address terms serve as a means to accord respect. I suspect that this enables the North Korean government to set clear boundaries in the minds of the North Koreans and reinforce the ideological principles. A general observation that can be made about

linguistic norms in North Korea is that they tend to involve militaristic language, and many address terms are devoted to furthering the cult of the leader. There are three important elements to note. First the use of *tongmwu* and *tongci*. Second, the epithets accorded the North Korean leaders and the definitional revisions made to those words. Lastly, the use of *inmin* is particularly notable.

Turning now to the use of *tongmwu* and *tongci*, both address terms can be thought of as the Korean equivalent of the word ‘comrade’. *Enesaynghwallon* by C. Y. Lee (2005: 237) states that when one is in a public setting, the use of other address terms such as *enni*, *hyengnim* (friendly terms meaning ‘older sister’ and ‘older brother’) is forbidden. Instead *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983: 69) and *Enesaynghwallon* (2005: 235) note that when referring to someone with similar social status and age, the term *tongmwu* should be used and the term *tongci* should be used to address someone in higher social status.

To illustrate this, I have created the following template which one is expected to follow based on the interviews with the North Korean defectors:

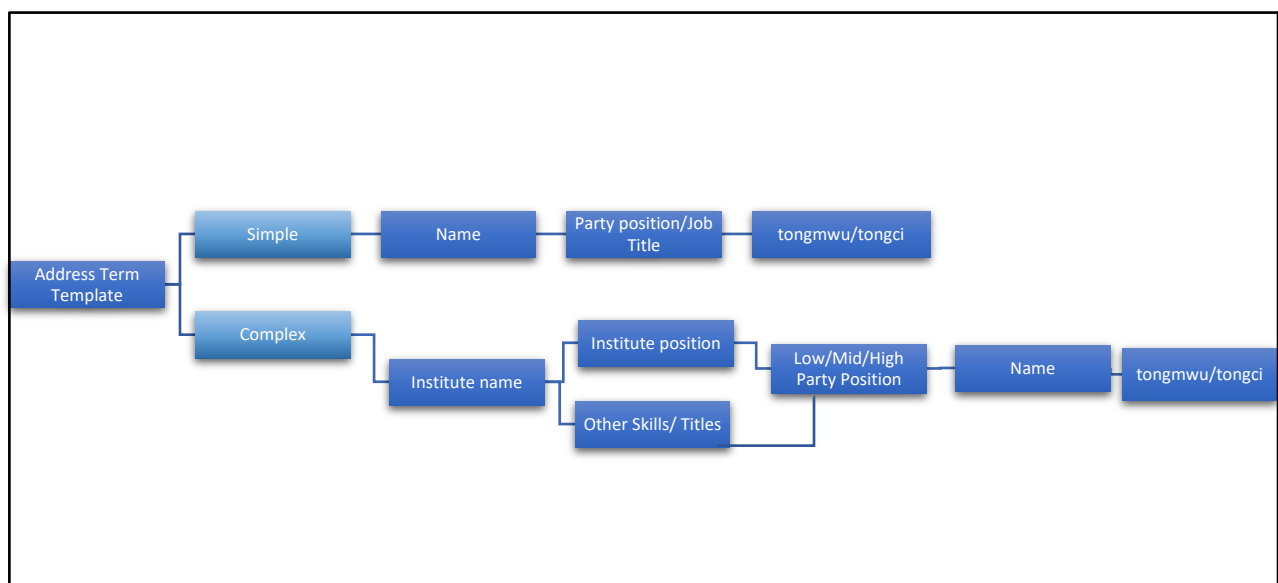


Figure 6.1. Template for addressing someone in North Korea (my own data based on interviews with defectors)

For instance, look at the following examples:

8. kyengmin kwukcang tongmwu

given name job/party position comrade
“Manager Kyeng Min comrade”
(correct use of *tongmwu*)

9. kyengmin
“Kyeng Min”
(incorrect use)

10. kwukcang
“Manager”
(incorrect use)

Enesaynghwallon by C. Y. Lee (2005: 237) conveys that even amongst friends in social situations, one must follow this template and add the address term *tongmwu*, and states that one cannot call each other by name or position alone.

The importance of these social norms is twofold. Firstly, the word *tongmwu* constantly reminds the North Korean people of their social membership as proponents of the *Cwuchey* ideology. Second, the fact that party position or job title is very often referred to suggests that it holds significant social prestige.

Another interesting aspect of North Korean use of address terms is the agglutination of multiple address terms offloaded to the beginning of the sentence. This is an instance of the complex address term template shown in the Figure 6.1 above. An example of this is shown in example 11 from one of the North Korean interviewees in the role plays conducted when introducing the head of the hospital.

11. wencang-nim chokup-tang-pise kiswulpwuwi-wencang
hospital head-HON low-party-secretary technical-deputy-head
kyenglipwu-wencang wencang-nim-un...
accountancy-deputy-head head-HON-TOP
“The head of hospital party secretary technical deputy accountancy deputy head...”
(Taken from my interviews with North Korean defectors)

Example 11 is one of the examples of agglutination of address terms when introducing someone. Every single aspect of the referent’s position is mentioned at the very beginning of

the sentence including the position in relation to the political party. This appears also in the North Korean football broadcasting, when one of the commentators introduce the other commentator as “sports science research institute deputy professor doctor Lee Dong Kyu comrade”. The elaborate use of multiple address terms is unusual, and perhaps implies that one’s status in North Korean society is very important as this characteristic did not appear before the division in the Korean peninsula.

Furthermore, to further heighten the status of the leaders, new entries have been made to the dictionaries. North Korean leaders have been given epithets such as ‘the sun’ and ‘military general’, and subsequently the meaning for these words have been altered.

Table 6.2. North Korean Contemporary Dictionary Entries for ‘Sun’ and ‘Military General’ (*Hyentaycosenmalsacen* published by Science Encyclopaedia Publisher)

ROMANIZATION	MEANING	DEFINITION
THAYYANG	Sun	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One of the objects in the solar system 2. [A word that addresses the North Korean leaders] Shining a light on the path forward for the labour class and <i>inmin</i> public and leading them towards freedom, emancipation, independence and prosperity. Further bringing them boundless hope and happiness. A great leader that is revered by all people.
CANGKWUN	Military General	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One of the respected address terms used alongside the honourable leader’s name. The invincible and steel-like honourable military leader. The great military strategist, beloved and esteemed leader, <i>Kim Il Sung tongci</i> with infinite respect, admiration who is a legendary hero. 2. A military leader that leads with great military force. 3. A word that addresses a leader in certain countries. 4. A word that addresses a very strong person.

The changes in the North Korean dictionary reflects the top down sociolinguistic change. For instance, this is shown by the dictionary entry for ‘sun’ above, where its new meaning involves the ‘boundless hope and happiness’ and ‘freedom, emancipation, independence and prosperity’ found through the leader. The term *cangkwun* is now altered to portray the ‘great military strategist’ and ‘legendary hero’ Kim Il Sung comrade. These new definitions did not exist prior to the division of Korea and are a by-product of the effectiveness at which North Korean ideologies have been deployed and transmitted into the dictionary.

The third important point in the use of address terms to advance the North Korean political aim is in the use of the word *inmin* by *cosenesilyongmumpep* by T. C. Kim (2005). The North Korean scholar T. C. Kim (2005: 178) articulates that Kim Il Sung invented new words for his citizens. He successfully attempted to unify *inmin* (the communist version of ‘citizens’) with his ideology, and the *inmin* loyally accepted their leader’s mind-set. This manipulation of language reinforced by social hierarchy helps to cement this political purpose in the minds of the North Korean people and perpetuate the honorification system that supports their hierarchical system.

Aside from the use of address terms the North Korean prescriptive norm pushes for lexical substitution. Take the example of *senmwul*, which means a present or a gift. According to my interviews, the application of the word *senmwul* was altered to be reserved purely for the use of Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il and Kim Jung Un. So, only Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il, Kim Jung Un are the only ones who can give *senmwul* to another person. Thus, according to one of the interviewees, if ordinary people give a gift to each other, they would use the name of the item itself rather than the word *senmwul*. The excess use of linguistic lexical substitution, subject honorifics and reserving the word ‘gift’ highlights the extent to which the leader holds power.

6.5.3 Speech Levels

6.5.3.1 Speech Levels Use According to Prescriptive Norms in North Korea

When considering variation in speech levels in North Korea, one important factor to emphasize is the history preceding the separation. The dominant factor in determining the use of honorifics in pre-1945 Korea was social class. In North Korea, the establishment of the new social system based on party position drove language variation. The most important criteria for the use of

speech level changed to that of party position. This put party position above other factors of traditionally pertinent factors in selecting the use of honorifics such as seniority and job title, amongst others.

Many North Korean scholars have varying opinions on the development of the divisions of speech levels in the North Korean language. One widely held view is that there are three main speech levels (polite, equal, and low) and within these three levels are five to six sublevels. According to *Cosenesilyongmunpep* (2005: 141), the speech style of today can be categorized into three levels. First, the polite style is the style where the speaker seeks to respect the hearer. This style is employed towards people of higher social status or age. The equal speech level is used when communicating where both persons are on the similar level, or when both persons are of the similar age or social status. In such cases, some people tend to raise their language toward the other person of younger age to display greater respect.

Cosenmwunpep (1989a: 158-163) asserts that there are these three levels, polite, equal, and low, based on age and social status with six sublevels.

Table 6.3. Classification of Speech Levels in North Korea

Speech level (In the order of the least formal to the most formal)		Verb ending	
Low	SL1 - Speech Level 1	panmal-chey	-a/e
	SL2 - Speech Level 2	hayla-chey	-ta
Equal	SL3 - Speech Level 3	hakey-chey	-ney
	SL4 - Speech Level 4	hao-chey	-(s)o
Polite	SL5 - Speech Level 5	hayyo-chey	-a/eyo
	SL6 - Speech Level 6	hapsyo-chey	-(su)pnita

According to *Coseneliolonmwunpep hyengthaylon* by K. Y. Lee (1985: 79) “We have three levels ... suitable for the people engaged in the construction of a socialist country ... whereby we can respect seniors, express affection to juniors, and be friendly with colleagues and friends.”¹⁶ As can be seen in Table 6.3, North Korea’s speech levels can be categorized as three

¹⁶ Within the three levels K. Y. Lee (1985) demonstrated that there are six sublevels. Within this framework “speech level 1 (*panmal-chey*)” is not classified as a sublevel, however it is commonly used in books, broadcasting, and so on in North Korea.

general levels with each general level having two sublevels. North Korean scholars have slightly differing interpretations as to how to distinguish the sublevels. Most scholars appear to agree that six sublevels are used in normal conversation in North Korea.

6.5.3.2 Speech Level 6 Use in North Korea

Firstly, I investigate how speech level 6 is used to refer to the leader in North Korea. *Cosenmalyeycelpep* by T. S. Kim (1983) states “When you speak or write to Kim Il Sung, you use the politest form of the language speech level 6”.

12. widaeha-si-n ebei-suleong-nim-i-si-ye
 great-HON-MOD father-leader-HON-VOC-HON
 budi mansumugang ha-sipsiyo
 please long life do-SL6
 “Great leader live a long life.”

According to *Cosenmalyeycelpep* by T. S. Kim (1983) “If you have specific honorifics for the leader, you have to conjugate the verb accordingly.” The speech level 6 must be used for all North Korea’s great leaders, Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il, and Kim Jung Un. The honorific forms of the verb should purely be reserved for the great leaders. The North Korean honorification systems are influenced by the second of two government language policies. The second policy is a part of “Kim Il Sung’s self-reliance” or “*chwuchey*” ideology. (Lee 1983).

The North’s education system is designed to drill in this language policy from a very young age. In elementary school textbooks, the speech level used to address the leader is speech level 6 (*hapsyo-chey*) as in example 13.

13. yenghi-nun kongpu-lul te calhaye [...] maumtaciess-spnita.
 name-NOM study-ACC very harder decide-SL6
 “Youngee has decided to please the loving leader Kim Jung-II by studying harder.”
 (Elementary school first year Korean book 1985: 89)

14. wuli-eykey-nun [...] witayha-n canggunnim-kkese kyeysinta
 we-NOM-TOP great-MOD leader-HON stay(HON)
 “Beside us we have the world’s best commander of 100 fights 100 wins Kim Il-Sung.”

(7th April 2006 *Lotong* (Labour) newspaper)

Next, in the examples below 15-18, every sentence contains speech level 6 (*hapsyo-chey*). Interestingly, according to *Enesaynghwallon* by C. Y. Lee (2005: 260-279), people typically also use the politest speech style of speech level 6 (*hapsyo-chey*) when they make new acquaintances.

15. sillyeyha-pnita.

excuse me-SL6

“Excuse me.”

Enesaynghwallon by C. Y. Lee (2005: 279)

16. kwangpokkeli-ccok-ulo kaca-myen enucha-lul thaya ha-pnikka?

street name-direction-LOC go-if where-ACC ride do-SL6

“If I want to go to Kwangpokkeli (street name), where should I go?”

Enesaynghwallon by C. Y. Lee (2005: 279)

17. annyenghasi-pnikka?

hello-SL6

“Hello?”

Enesaynghwallon by C. Y. Lee (2005: 263)

18. yeki-ka kkuth-ipnikka?

this-NOM final destination-SL6

“Is this the final station?”

Enesaynghwallon by C. Y. Lee (2005: 263)

Example 16 shows the use of greetings that are commonly used in North Korea. Further, there are welcome greetings that are more formal in North Korea (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4. The Use of Greetings in North Korea

North Korean Greetings	Meaning	Speech Level
<i>Annyenghasipnikka</i>	Hello	6
<i>Eseosipsiyo</i>	Welcome	6

6.5.3.3 Speech Level Use for Similar Social Status

I investigate speech level use between two interlocutors of similar status, how it is commonly used and under what contexts. Before the division of Korean peninsula in 1945, speech level 4 (*hao-chey*) was broadly used.¹⁷ Today, in North Korea the use of speech level 4 (*hao-chey*) continues to be pervasive (examples 19 to 22):

19. swunhuy tongmwu-ka enceyna [...] swukohay-ss-so.
 swunhuy comrade-NOM always [...] thanks-PAST-SL4
 “Comrade Swunhuy is always first, thank you for your effort.”
 (*Enesaynghwallon* 2005: 213)

20. kusay cipan hyengphyenun ettehso?
 for family circumstance how-SL4
 “How is your family circumstance?”
 (*Enesaynghwallon* 2005: 213)

21. cellmun tongmu, komap-so towacwue-se.
 young comrade thanks-SL4 help-because
 “Young comrade, thank you for helping.”
 (*Enesaynghwallon* 2005: 229)

22. ili cwu-si-o. nay-ka com tuleta cwu-keyss-so.

¹⁷ The division of the country brought the decline of *hao-chey* in South Korea. According to South Korean scholar I. S. Lee (2005: 268) speech level 4 (*hao-chey*) has largely disappeared as it has authoritative and formal connotations.

here pass-HON-SL4 i-NOM a little carry help-FUT-SL4

“Please pass it here. I will help you carry it.”

(*Enesaynghwallon* 2005: 229)

Speech level 4 as shown in examples 19-22, is considered the ‘equal style’. However, it is used between two interlocutors with slightly differing statuses. In the case where the hearer is 5 years older than the speaker and they are relatively familiar with each other (such as one’s uncle), speech level 4 is used to show slight deference while still considered an equal level. Interestingly, speech level 4 is used instead of speech level 6 (used to show greater respect), which implies that in North Korea, one must be aware of not just higher status, but how much higher in status. This sensitivity to slight differences in status leading to the use of differing speech level conveys the fine lines of hierarchical structure and boundaries, recognizing even small differences in status.

Cosenmalyeycelpep (1983: 181) states that when the speaker has a higher social status than the listener, speech level 2 (*hayla-chey*) must be used. This is a linguistic variation from the pre-1945 prescriptive norm outlined in chapter 4. In North Korea speech level 2 (*hayla-chey*) is used more commonly than the speech level 1 (*hae-chey*), which is rarely used. Speech level 2 (*hayla-chey*) is stated as the lowest speech level that is commonly used.

Furthermore, the fact that speech level 6 (*hapsyo-chey*) is used more commonly instead of speech level 5 (*hayyo-chey*), demonstrates that North Korea has retained a more formal style of speech level. Overall, it seems that the use of speech levels in North Korea is quite reminiscent of the socially stratified Korea pre-1945.

6.5.3.4 Speech Level Use for Public and Private Settings

To see how the prescriptive norm of North Korea is used in a private setting, I have analysed examples given in *Enesaynghwallon* by C. Y. Lee (2005: 268-280) that is set in mundane, day to day environment. These examples are set to mimic language use in everyday situations. Tables 6.5 and 6.6 illustrate how speech levels are used in the service sector and public settings.

Table 6.5. My Analysis of *Enesaynghwallon* (2005: 268-280): The Use of Speech Levels in the North Korean Service Sector

Setting	Speaker	Listener	Use of Speech Level		Total No. of Sentences
			5	6	
Store	Salesperson	Customer	7	9	16
	Customer	Salesperson	1	7	8
Restaurant	Waiting Staff	Customer	4	9	12
	Customer	Waiting Staff	3	20	23
Hospital	Doctor	Patient	2	11	13
Total			23%	77%	72

Table 6.6. My Analysis of *Enesaynghwallon* (2005: 268-280): The Use of Speech Levels in Public Settings in North Korea

Setting	Speaker	Listener	Use of Speech Level		Total No. of Sentences
			5	6	
Public Meeting (non-party)	Stranger 1	Stranger 2	6	31	
Total			16%	84%	37

In public settings, the use of speech level 6 is almost perfectly observed; it is used 84% of the times. When referring to the leaders or during the worker's party, speech level 6 is used 100% of the time. However, speech level 6 was not employed consistently during conversations about daily lives.

Further to this analysis, Table 6.7 shows the questions 1-5 in role plays mentioned above. The following questions from the interviews with the North Korean defectors were used to validate how accurate *Enesaynghwallon's* (2005) speech level use is a representation of real speech. Questions 1, 4 and 5 are aimed to analyse public setting speech and questions 2 and 3 analyse private but still formal setting speech between party members outside of party meetings.

Table 6.7. Defector Interview Questionnaires

1.	When you are late for party meetings, how would you explain yourself to your seniors or the staff why you are late?
2.	How would you ask a party senior where they are going? (If the senior was older or if the senior was younger)
3.	How would you ask a party senior whether they have eaten yet? (If the senior was around 5 years older)
4.	How would you publicly criticize someone at party meetings?
5.	How would you publicly praise someone at party meetings?

6.6 Data Analysis

Having established the prescriptive norms set out by the North Korean government, in this section I explore the use of language in daily life.

6.6.1 Subject Honorifics

6.6.1.1 Multiplex Building (*Haytanghwagwan*) Advertisement Data

23a. **sonnim**-tul-un yelekaci pongsa-lul patu-l
 customers-PL-TOP many service-ACC get-MOD
 swu iss-ssupnita.
 DEP can-SL6
 “Customers can get various services.”
 (From North Korean YouTube advertisement)

23b. **sonnim**-tul-kkeyse-nun yelekaci pongsa-lul
 customers-PL-HON-TOP many service-ACC
 patu-si-l swu iss-ssupnita.
 get-HON-MOD DEP can-SL6
 “Customers can get various services.”

In example 23a, the North Korean interviewer introduces the workers to their facility. The subject is *sonnim* (customer), but subject honorification (*-kkeyse*, honorific marker *-si-* in the verb) is not used in his utterance showing how the customer is not elevated. They do not use subject honorifics for their consumers even in advertisements for a facility geared towards catering for consumers. When a member of *Haytanghwagwan* staff advertises the facility, he uses the subject honorifics *-nim*, *-kkesye*, *-nun* three times only for the leader, who has provided them with the facility, and not the *sonnim* (customer), in a three-minute conversation.

Moreover, when the subject is one of the great leaders (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il, or Kim Jung Un) in advertisements, the subject *sonnim* (customer) is not used. North Korean advertisements do not target consumers and instead are generally used to promote or publicize the activities of the leaders. Subject honorifics appear for the North Korean leader many times. The honorific marker *-si-* is overused many times in a single sentence. In North Korea, selling the leader's omnipotence is the most powerful factor.

6.6.1.2 Football Broadcasting Data

Table 6.8. Honorifics Used During Football Game Broadcasts in North Korea
Note: n = total number of sentences with full verb endings, excluding sentences without a full ending or those ending with a noun.

Type of Honorific	North Korean Broadcasting (n = 48)
Speech level	
5	0
6	40
Subject honorific <i>-si-</i>	
For Commentator	0
For Viewer	0
Address term for 'viewer'	
sichengcayelepwn	0
yelepwn	0

From the data in Table 6.8 on the North Korean football broadcasts (2002 and 2006), in the case of the subject honorifics *-si-* and *-kkeyse-* are not used for the viewers. Similarly, J. B. Lee (1997) points out the lack use of *-si-* for the viewers in his research on North Korean TV programs. In addition, speech level 6 is used exclusively in the broadcasts. It seems that in public and official occasions the speakers closely follow the prescriptive norm by only using the speech level 6. The same could be observed in the use of subject honorifics in the North Korean role play by the North Korean defectors interviewed.

24. witayhan swulyengnim-**kkeyse**-nun pwukhan cwumin-ul wihayse
 almighty leader-HON-TOP North Korean people-ACC for
 camto mos cwumu-**si**-ko papto cekkey tu-**si**-ko
 sleep unable sleep-HON-and meal a little eat-HON-and
 inmintul-ul wihayse hangsang paylye-hae
 the people-ACC for always care-do
 cwu-**si**-nta
 give-HON-DEC

“Almighty leader always cares for the North Korean people and as a consequence is unable to sleep, eats little and always cares for the North Korean people.”

(Taken from my interviews with North Korean defectors)

In example 24, *cwumusiko* is the honorific lexical substitution of *caho*. Korean includes a limited number of honorific lexical substitutions. *Tusiko* is also the honorific lexical substitution of *mekko*. The speakers used *cwumusiko*, *tusiko* and attached honorific marker *-si-* as well for the leader in order to accord further respect.

25. swulyengnim-kkeyse wuli-lul wihaye kekcenghay
 leader-HON us-ACC for worries
 cwu-**si**-ko paylyehay cwu-**si**-nuntey
 give-HON-and sacrifices give-HON-CON

“Leader always worries and sacrifices for us.”

(Taken from my interviews with North Korean defectors)

According to my North Korean interviews *paylye*, which means “sacrifice/consider”, can only be used for the leader. The following examples 26-30 are taken from the interviews I conducted with the North Korean defectors.

26. witayhan swulyengnim-**kkeyse** sengcin ceykangsoey
 almighty leader-HON Sung Jin steel mill
 senmwul-ul ponae cwu-**si**-ess-ta
 present-ACC send give-HON-PAST-DEC

“Almighty leader sent a present to the Sung Jin steel mill.”

(Taken from my interviews with North Korean defectors)

27. witayhan swulyeng kimilseng tongci-**kkeyse**-nun onulto
 almighty leader Kim Il-Sung comrade-HON-TOP today
 pipalam nwunpika wato inmintul kyetheyse hamkkey
 wind/rain snow even people besides with
 kyey-**si**-pnita
 are-HON-SL6

“Almighty leader Kim Il-Sung even today through wind, rain and snow is always with the North Korean people.”

(Taken from my interviews with North Korean defectors)

28. cehi halapeci choysungki-nun hangilmucangthwucayngsiki
 our grandfather Choi Sung Ki-TOP anti-Japanese resistance period
 nala-lul chacki wihay ilponnomtul-kwa ssawuta
 country-ACC recover in order to Japanese-and fight
 huisayng toy-ess-supnita
 sacrifice was-PAST-SL6

“Our grandfather Choi Sung Ki in the anti-Japanese resistance period in order to recover our country was sacrificed fighting the Japanese.”

(Taken from my interviews with North Korean defectors)

29. wuli halapeci-nun ilceyttay ilpon nom-ul
 our grandfather-NOM Japanese period Japan people-ACC

mullichyesstey

defeat-PAST-DEC

“Our grandfather during the Japanese colonial period defeated the Japanese.”

(Taken from my interviews with North Korean defectors)

30. siapeci-ka sonswuken-ul kinyem-ulo cwu-ess-ta
father-in-law-NOM handkerchief-ACC souvenir-as give-PAST-DEC

“Our father-in-law gave a handkerchief as a souvenir.”

(Taken from my interviews with North Korean defectors)

In the examples above, subject honorifics for the leader are accorded the highest respect with the subject honorific marker *-si-* and *-kkeyse* respectively (examples 26 and 27). In example 28, when the subject is their grandfather, the use of subject honorifics is dropped. Family elders are very revered members of the community in Korea. According to Hijirida and Sohn (1986: 365), age is the most important factor in Korean compared to Japanese and American English, and thus affects how honorification systems are used. Despite the importance of age, the honorific markers are omitted for elders when the leader is mentioned.

Similarly, the North Korean interviewee in example 30 does not use subject honorifics for her father-in-law. North Korean defectors said their North Korean leaders are akin to god or king. Honorifics are always used to accord the utmost respect for their leader. North Koreans have been educated to do this since nursery school, and subject honorifics are used in this way in all group meetings. With regards to the question at the beginning of this chapter (where I asked whether a person’s age, party position, or job was the most important factor for determining which honorific to use), in public conversation in North Korea, party position is the most important factor for determining the use of the honorification. It was striking that all the rules stated in *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983) were strictly adhered to by the North Korean defectors interviewed. As a result, North Korean subject honorifics demonstrate that the distribution of power lies in the leader and party position, as shown by the effectiveness at which the language policies are applied and strictly used by all of the North Korean defectors.

6.6.2 Address Terms

From the defector interviews the most commonly used address terms were *tongmwu* and *tongci*.

Table 6.9. Address Terms in North and South Korea

Term	North Korea	South Korea
Waiting staff in a restaurant	ceptaywen- tongmwu/tongci	congepwen
Doctor	pyengwen-sensayng	uysa sensayng
Nurse	kanhowen- tongmwu/tongci	kanhosa
Names in the workplace	Kim-tongmwu, Lee-tongci	Kim-kwacang, Lee-pwucang
Company president	cikcangcang- tongci	sacang-nim
Brother	oppa (used by girls when addressing their older brothers)	oppa (used by girls when addressing older men that they are close to, their partners, as well as their older brothers)
Junior	tongmwu	hyupay
Senior	tongci	senpay
Citizens	wuliinmin	kwukmin

As shown in Table 6.9, although this is a small sample of address terms, there are many cases where *tongmu* and *tongci* are added to other address terms such as waiter or waitress.

Wuliinmin is particularly fascinating address term. *Wuliinmin* loosely translates to “our people” or “us the people/citizens” with communist connotations. According to the Korean dictionary, *inmin* means ruler that dominates their citizens. In example 31, when I analysed the North Korean broadcasting, the multiplex building (*haytanghwagwan*) member of staff used *wuliinmin*. Inside North Korea, the concept of individuality is not strongly imprinted. According to C. K. Kim (2009: 2097), compared to English, Korean predominantly uses *wuli*

‘we’ instead of ‘you’ and this shows that Korea has a tendency towards a collectivistic or group mind-set as opposed to an individualistic one. This tendency is likely even further slanted towards collectivism in North Korea, where *wuliinmin* is used often in favour of *wuli*. Ting-Toomey (1999: 67) argues that a country that values individualism – and the “I” concept – has a loose social system and also values private life or the freedom to act unimpeded. Collectivism, on the other hand, is more concerned with “we” or in the case of North Korean society “our people”, so group networking is comparably more developed, oriented around teamwork and collective success of the society. In one of the role plays with the North Korean interviewees, the terms *inmin* and *wuliinmin* were used (interviewee NKMCHOY). North Koreans often use *wuliinmin* in preference over *wuli*, especially in relation to the political ideology as shown in example 31.

31. wenswu-nim-kkesye-nun [...]	inmin-tul-i [...]	wuliinmin-tul-i
leader-HON-HON-TOP	people-PLU-NOM	our subjects-PLU-NOM
“Great leader gave satisfaction for our people”		
(North Korean advertisement)		

32. cwupang	kupthangkisa	sinkyengil-ipnida
kitchen	engineer	Sin Kyeng Il-SL6
“I am kitchen engineer Sin Kyeng Il(name)”		
(North Korean advertisement)		

Further, in example 32, the sentence’s subject “I” is omitted. In the advertisement, the North Korean engineer does not use the expected *se*. According to *Enesayngwallon* by C. Y. Lee (2005: 178), the North Korean government states that *se*, I’s humble form for elevating the listener, encourages one to excessively lower oneself and reminiscent of the remains of the Japanese colonial period. However, this discouragement of excessive negative politeness towards the viewer may suggest that the focus on individualist achievements is not important. Thus, when the engineer introduces himself, he does not use humble form *se* for “I” to the consumer (listener).

6.6.3 Speech Levels

To examine the use of speech levels, data was gathered from the *Haytanghwakwan* advertisement.

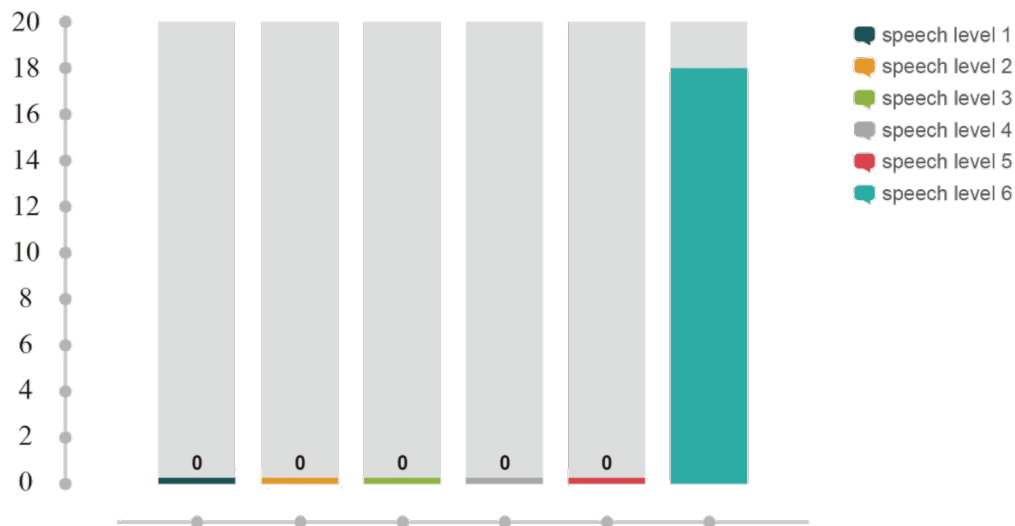


Figure 6.2. Speech levels used by the kitchen engineer in North Korea

As seen in Figure 6.2, the prescriptive norm is closely adhered to without the use of any other speech level than 6. When referring to the viewers, speech level 6 was also used 100% of the time:

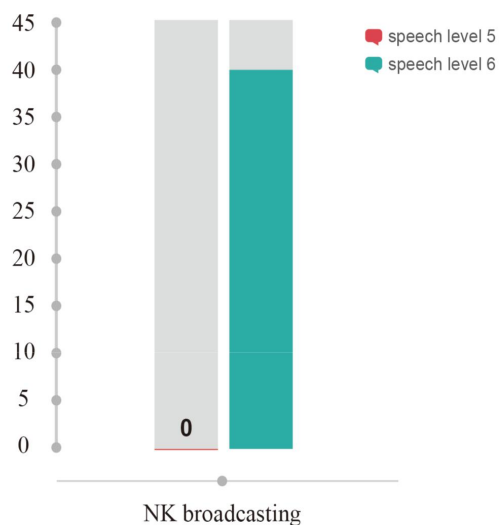


Figure 6.3. Speech levels used in a North Korean football broadcast

The same observations can be made from the interviews and role-play data. When simulating the party by the role play I conducted, it was clear that all the defectors clearly followed the prescribed norm. In the case of public occasions speech level 6 was used constantly when referring to the North Korean leaders without fail. In public meetings, conversation took place using speech level 6.

Moreover, the data I collected from the interview questions and role play (Table 6.7) also shows the use of speech level 6 100% of the time across all participants in public workers' party meetings. This data further shows that it is the social norm in North Korea to use speech level 6 in official or formal gatherings even if they are non-party related.

6.7 Conclusion

In North Korea, language is considered a potent instrument for the success of the North Korean regime and the sustenance of the revolutionary cause (*Cwuchey* ideology). This can be seen through the tightly controlled and manipulated language policies which are evident throughout language use with regard to three main points: the use of subject honorifics, address terms and speech levels. What is particularly noteworthy is the distortion of the prescriptive norm in honorification systems towards the leader. The honorification system use does not follow the pre-division prescriptive norm; this suggests that North Korean society portrays the leader not as a human figure but rather as a holy and divine entity. The three North Korean leaders are portrayed much like the biblical Holy Trinity and thus, the social norms for the use of honorifics seem not to apply. Linguistic extravagance can be observed in relation to the North Korean leader. For instance, excessive use of subject honorifics (*-kkeyse* and *-siop-*), a version of speech level 6 only used in holy texts and the bible, as well as dramatic address terms have a combined effect which paints a grand portrait of the leader. These prescriptive linguistic rules are adhered to in every medium in North Korea, including school textbooks, worker party meetings, novels, dramas, and TV news and other forms of entertainment. This pedestalling effect in the presentation of the leader can be observed, as the centre piece for the ideological revolutionary cause.

Secondly, let us consider the language variation, not in relation to the leader. Linguistic variation is pointing towards skewed power distribution which shows that power is very centralised in the political party. Address terms serve as the strongest piece of evidence out of the three components analysed, as they show that specific address terms have been created or

reinvented to have new meanings since pre-division Korea. These address terms serve as a mental model of a militaristic North Korea, with terms such as ‘comrade’ being used instead of ‘friend’ or kinship address terms. Regarding subject honorifics, although the prescriptive norm states to exclusively use *-kkeyse* towards the leader, the use of *-kkeyse* was observed towards high-party position holders in my interviews with the North Korean defectors. The highest speech levels are also observed towards those in the highest, elite cast, displaying extra deference and portraying the large vertical distance between the interlocutors. This shows that power lies within the political party, and one’s position inside the hierarchy.

Furthermore, we can observe how pervasive the North Korean government is in determining language use. Strict use of speech level 6 is observed in formal occasions as shown by the football broadcast commentary and the worker’s party role play meetings. The level of formality that ensues reflects how depersonalization acts in favour of the collective vision of the *Cwuchey* ideology. For instance, reporting one’s husband or wife’s divergent or rebellious behaviour is allowed if not encouraged. This is how the ‘carrot and stick’ methodology is applied. The threat of being reported is self-reinforced, and rewards are given when loyally reporting important information to the party.

Further, the speech levels are used effectively and dynamically, conveying even slight differences in status, suggesting a very vertically-sensitive society. This was also shown by the agglutination of the multiple address terms when introducing someone in a formal environment such as broadcasting or in party meetings. It also suggests that North Koreans must sensitively observe vertical distance and the relationship between the situation and the political cause.

In relation to the Communication Accommodation Theory of Giles and Ogay (2007), North Koreans are notably convergent towards the prescriptive norms. This can be seen in the formal government media sources such as football broadcasts and novels; but adherence to the prescriptive norms is also seen in the role plays with the North Korean defectors in the party meetings. This shows that North Koreans are behaviourally convergent in these formal meetings. Towards the leader, linguistic divergence can be observed to portray the North Korean leader as a superhuman and divine entity.

7. Data Comparison of South and North Korea

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents evidence which explores language variation in the Korean peninsula. Thus, this chapter is centered on the data, focusing on the collection, analysis and comparison of data from my North Korean and South Korean fieldwork. The goal of this section resonates profoundly with the goal of this overall thesis; to explore how language variation reflects the shifts in the power distribution and the relationship between the Korean honorification systems and power in the peninsula since the separation and isolation (in the case of North Korea) almost 70 years ago.

To attempt to present a fair comparison between North Korea and South Korea, I attempted to find data in similar settings. For example, by comparing the commentary of on the same football games and analysing TV dramas within the same hospital setting. Most importantly, I investigate my fieldwork from both North Korea and South Korea, consisting of role plays and extensive interviews with the North Korean defectors. Aligning with the rest of the thesis, my comparison is focused on the three topic areas; subject honorifics, speech levels and address terms for each area.

The preceding section outlines the limitations of North Korean data and following this, in section 7.3, I present the comparison and analysis of the football broadcasting commentary in South Korea and North Korea. This is followed by section 7.4 ‘Natural Speech’ where I analyse vernacular language use in a casual setting between 2 North Koreans and 2 South Koreans. Section 7.5 introduces the North Korean defectors and present a summary of the findings from the preliminary interviews. This is followed by section 7.6 which is a data breakdown and analysis of the principal interviews with the North Korean defectors. The following section 7.7 compares language use in North and South Korean TV dramas in hospitals. Section 7.8 and 7.9 focus on South Korean data, where the former presents data collected from two medical clinics and the latter is an overview of the findings from the retail industry data. Finally, section 7.10 is the conclusion for the comparison of the overall South and North Korean data analysis.

7.2 Methodology & Limitations

There are two main barriers in applying *ceteris paribus* conditions to this comparison. First, it is very difficult to capture North Korean people speaking in their daily lives. Secondly, given this constraint, it is difficult to gather similar examples of such speech to avoid selection bias for data comparison.

To mitigate this problem, I have recorded North Korean defectors speaking in more natural settings, such as conversing in New Malden, UK and sourcing speech from North Korean serial dramas. I have also looked at the language used in a North Korean advertisement for a recently opened multiplex facility and during a football game broadcast. The range of instances used for analysis should provide a fairly accurate representation of the language used in the daily lives of North Koreans. The South Korean data collected was intentionally chosen to mirror available North Korean sources of data. For example, a South Korean football broadcast was used to compare that of North Korea's football broadcast for the same football match (World Cup). Furthermore, in order to research real vernacular speech, I recorded and analysed the casual speech between two North Koreans and two South Koreans to further highlight the differences in use of speech levels and subject honorifics. This took place in the UK in New Malden, where both South and North Koreans live.

Examples from North Korea's hospital drama, 'Pyongyang Hospital', focused on scenes which highlight how honorification systems are used between characters with differing hierarchical positions (between chief doctor, senior doctor and nurse), and scenes which emulate private speech (between two close friends over drinks). Having converted audio to transcript format, these were analysed to form graphs of comparison of speech levels, as well as key examples which illuminate how address terms and subject honorifics were used. The South Korean hospital drama 'District Hospital' was analysed using the same method. This also examined similar situations where there was a difference in hierarchical positions between the interlocutors.

Furthermore, in order to compare speech in the drama and completely vernacular speech used in a real hospital, I visited two South Korean hospitals to investigate how honorification systems were used. I managed to obtain full access which allowed me to explore the speech not only used during opening hours, but also the speech training received before the hospitals opened for service. This allowed me to cross validate how similar honorification systems use is and thus benchmark how close the sampled sources are to real speech. This

investigation could not be done for North Korean hospitals. However, I hope to source real data from North Korean hospitals to compare with the existing data for my future research.

7.3. Football Broadcasting: Introduction

There are several advantages of using the football broadcast data as a point of comparison. In the case of live sports broadcasts, broadcasters must improvise without a script. Commentators speak spontaneously and thus makes this a relatively realistic sample. By analysing both North and South Korean broadcasts that commentated on the same game, I aimed to compare the application of honorifics in both countries.

I analysed 4 broadcasts in total for 2 football games. The South Korea vs. Italy game aired on 17th June 2002 in South Korea (South Korean Broadcasting Station “SBS”) and aired on 23rd June 2002 in North Korea (North Korean Broadcasting Station). The 2002 FIFA World Cup was widely televised and covered on both North and South Korean television. The second game analysed in this section is the South Korea vs. Togo game, aired on 13th June 2006 in South Korea (South Korean Broadcasting Station “SBS”) and on 17th June 2006 in North Korea (North Korean Broadcasting Station). The analysis of multiple elements of the honorification systems allows for a more comprehensive conclusion with regards to the reason for the use of certain language. Therefore, it is easy to identify the subtleties within the language used by the commentators and their implications

The methodology for comparing South Korean and North Korean football broadcasting was inspired by P. K. Sohn (2006), a TV presenter who previously analysed the commentary. However, this section analyse a broader spectrum of the Korean honorification systems in more detail covering the use of subject honorifics, speech levels and address terms to compare variation between South Korean and North Korean. I managed to obtain the original North Korean football audio clips from SBS in Seoul under the agreement they would be used for academic purposes.

7.3.1 Overview of data

Table 7.1. Honorifics Used During Football Broadcasts in North and South Korea

	<i>South Korean Broadcasting</i>	<i>North Korean Broadcasting</i>
<i>Total number of sentences</i>	n = 63	n = 48
<i>Type of honorific</i>		
<i>Speech level</i>		
5	26	0
6	34	40
<i>Incomplete sentences</i>	3	8
<i>Subject honorific -si-</i>		
<i>For Commentator</i>	1	0
<i>For Viewer</i>	8	0
<i>Address term for 'TV viewer'</i>		
<i>sichengcayelepwn</i>	1	0
<i>yelepwn</i>	1	0

Note: n = total number of sentences in the transcript

Table 7.1 shows an overview of the comparative data of South Korean broadcasting versus North Korean broadcasting. *N* represents the total number of sentences spoken. 3 sentences from South Korean broadcasting and 8 sentences from North Korean broadcasting did not have a full ending or ended with a noun. Therefore, the number of sentences of speech levels 5 and 6 do not add up to the total number of sentences given in the first row *n*. This is the case due to the nature of football broadcasting. In the spontaneous, often casual speech between the broadcasters, some sentences naturally do not have a noun ending or do not end at all. Table 7.1 shows the number of times which type of honorifics (speech levels, subject honorifics and address terms) were used out of all the sentences which were spoken during the broadcasts.

As shown, North Korean broadcasting uses speech level 6 consistently throughout the football games. South Korean broadcasting uses speech level 6 the majority of the time though the less formal speech level 5 is also used. We also see subject honorifics *-si-* used for both the commentator and more importantly the viewer in South Korean commentary, but none for either in the North Korean commentary. Address terms such as *sichengcayelepwn* and *yelepwn* are not observed in North Korean broadcasting. The following 3 sections present examples and analyse speech levels, subject honorifics and address terms in more detail.

7.3.1.1 Use of Speech Levels: North Korea

Consider the following examples:

Speaker: North Korean commentator

Listener: North Korean viewer

1. chwukkwu tayhoy-lul ha-keyss-supnita.
 football championship-ACC do-FUT-SL6.

“World football championships will be broadcasted.”

North Korean Broadcasting System (2002)

2. 2-tankyey 1-sen namcosen thim-kwa
 2-round 1-place South Korea team-and
 ithallia thim-uy kyengki-lul po-key-ssupnita
 Italy team-GEN game-ACC watch-HON-FUT-SL6

“For the second round, you will watch the game of the South Korean team in the first group and the Italian team.”

3. cenpancen pangkum sicak-to-yess-supnita
 first half of game now start-do-PAST-SL6

“The first half of the game has just started.”

4. ilehkeytoyse 11mithe kolchaki-ka senento-yess-supnita
 as a result 11 metre penalty kick-NOM announce-PAST-SL6

“As a result, an 11-metre penalty kick for the rule violation was announced.”

5. syus mwunciki-ka cal chyenayss-supnita.
 shoot goal keeper-NOM very block-SL6
 “Shoot! The Italian goalkeeper blocked it very well.”

In examples 6 and 7, the North Korean commentator is speaking to Dr. Lee, a professor at the Physical Training Science Agency. Below, in example 7, is Dr. Lee’s reply.

Speaker: North Korean commentator Listener: Dr. Lee

6. 2-tankyey kyengki-nun copyel kyengki-wanun talli
 2-round game-NOM group game-and differently
 sungca cen-ulo cinhayng-toyki ttaymwuney
 winner game-LOC process-do because
 chaykimcek-ulo hayya toynun ilen matangi
 efficiency-LOC do become the crucial
 ani-keyss-supnikka?
 be-FUT-SL6

“The players should play with more efficiency since these games decide who goes on to the next round, which is a group game. The second round game is crucial for both of these teams.”

Speaker: Dr. Lee Listener: North Korean commentator

7. ney kuleh-supnita
 yes agree-SL6
 “Yes, I agree with you.”

When examining the data concerning the pattern of speech and use of speech levels in the North Korean football broadcast, the most notable point is the strict use of speech level 6. Speech level 6 being used in public broadcasts is the norm in North Korea, simply due to the lack of need to use other speech levels to manipulate the relationship between the broadcaster and the audience.

7.3.1.2 Use of Speech Levels: South Korea

Consider the following examples of the use of speech levels between an announcer and commentator.

Speaker: South Korean announcer

Listener: South Korean commentator

8. wuli-thimuy ku thim selceng-ul tasi
 our-team this team establishment-ACC again
 hanpen phwuli hay-cwu-sey-yo.
 one more solve do-give-HON-SL5

“Please give us the details of our team one more time.”

South Korean Broadcasting System

Speaker: South Korean commentator

Listener: South Korean announcer

9. hankwuk tayphyo-thim-un hwangsenhong
 Korean representative-team-NOM name
 senswu-taysin-ey ancenghwan-senswu-lul thwuipha-nun
 player-instead of-LOC name-player-ACC play-NOM
 kes-i nwun-ey ttuyko-yo.
 DN-NOM eyes-LOC obvious-SL5

“It looks like Ahn, Jung-Whan player is playing instead of Whang, Sung-Hong for the Korean team.”

In examples 8 and 9, the South Korean announcer speaks to a South Korean commentator using speech level 5.

In example 10, the subject ‘we’ is referring to the announcer and the viewer. In this sentence, it is notable that speech level 6 is used when the subject of the sentence is ‘us’ including the viewers.

Speaker: South Korean announcer

Listener: viewer

10. wuli-ka cikum sinmwunswussi-ka allyecwu-si-ntaylo
 we-NOM now name-NOM tell-HON-as
 thul-lul meli-ey iplyek-ul ha-si-ko kyengki-ey
 setting-ACC head-LOC remain-ACC do-HON-and play-LOC
 imhay cwu-si-myen kyengki-ka hankyel
 watch give-HON-as play-NOM more
 caymissu-si-lke-pnita.

interesting-HON-FUT-SL6

“If we remember what Mr. Shin, Moon-Su told us, this game will be easier and more interesting to watch.”

I found that speech level 6 was used 62% of the time and speech level 5 was used for the remaining 38% in South Korean football broadcasting. When the commentator and announcer spoke to the viewers they almost always used speech level 6. This is likely to respect and show deference towards the viewers. Interestingly, the commentator and announcer spoke to each other mostly using speech level 5. This perhaps suggests the closer relationship between the commentators or strategic use to make the viewers appear closer with the commentators, or both.

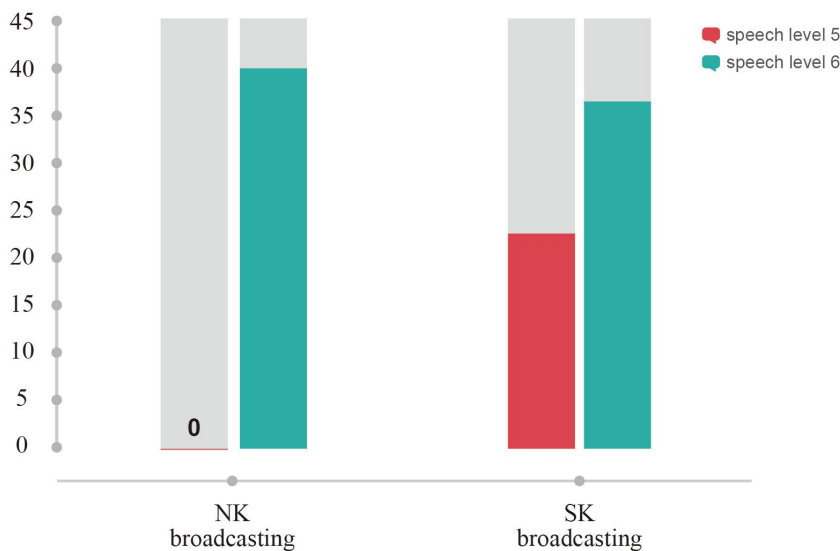


Figure 7.1. Speech levels in North and South Korean football broadcasting

Figure 7.1 shows the use of speech levels 5 and 6 in the North Korean football broadcasting and South Korean football broadcasting. Due to spontaneous live broadcasting, it

is more likely to reflect the ‘natural’ speech used in a formal setting in North Korea. As shown, speech level 6 is used consistently in North Korean commentary, whereas in South Korean commentary speech level 5 is intermittently used in this public setting.

7.3.1.3 Subject Honorifics: Comparative Analysis

Table 7.1 on page 136 illustrates out of the total number of sentences how many times the subject honorific marker *-si-* was uttered. Notably, in North Korea, the commentators did not refer to the viewers using the honorific marker *-si-* at all, contrasting to the South Korean broadcast. In the South Korean broadcast the viewer was referred to 8 times using the honorific marker *-si-*. Table 7.1 also states the number of times the co-commentator was referred to with honorific markers by the commentator (for example, when the announcer asks the commentator for their opinion on an aspect of the match). The commentator in the South Korean broadcast was addressed once with honorific marker *-si-*, but in the North Korean broadcast the co-commentator was not was not addressed at all with honorific marker *-si-*.

It is clear that the viewers are not at the centre of focus in the North Korean broadcasts. For instance, in the entire broadcast the viewers are referred to as the subject only twice. In these cases, where the subject was a viewer, the honorific marker *-si-* was not used in the North Korean broadcast.

Moreover, the North Korean commentator is the subject only once in the North Korean broadcast. When the subject was the commentator, the honorific marker *-si-* was not used in the North Korean broadcast. There is not enough data to draw any strong conclusions; however, it can be deduced that North Korean broadcasts are not focussed on the viewer since the honorific marker *-si-* is rarely used in North Korean broadcasting (example 11). The following is a comparative analysis of the football game broadcasting in the two countries:

11. onulun	namcosen-kwa	thoko-thim-uy
today	South Korea-COM	Togo-team-GEN
kyengki-lul	po-[-si-(is absent)] keyss-supnita.	
game-ACC	watch-FUT-SL6	

“Let’s watch today’s game between South Korea and Togo.”

North Korean Broadcasting System (2006)

12. onul **po-si-myense** yep-ey kkayci-l ketun
today watch-HON-as near-LOC fragile-DN DN
mili chiwe no-ko **po-si-nun-key**
before around put-and watch-HON-PRE-CON
coh-keyss-eyo.
like-FUT-SL5

“Please put aside anything fragile before you watch the football game.”

South Korean Broadcasting System

The interesting point in example 12 is that the South Korean reporter tells the viewers *po-si-nun-key* which shows how the reporter puts the honorific *-si-* in the verb; however, in example 13 (*po-keyss-supnita*), the North Korean reporter does not.

13. litongkyu tongmwuwa hamkkey **po-[-si-(is absent)]keyss-supnita**
name comrade and together watch-FUT-SL6

“Let’s watch it with Lee Dong-Kyu comrade.”

North Korean Broadcasting System (2006)

14. kong cwungsimuloman poci-ma-**si-ko**
ball centre watch not-HON-and
kong-i etilo kanunci kwaceng-ul
ball-NOM where go processing-ACC
culkey cwu-si-ki palapnita.
enjoy give-HON-Normalizar hope-SL6

“Please don’t be ball-focussed, but watch and enjoy where the ball is moving to.”

South Korean Broadcasting System (2006)

In example 14, the subject is the viewer who is honored within the verb *poci-ma-si-ko*. South Korean commentators often use subject honorifics toward the viewers. However, in example 13, North Korean commentators do not use the honorific marker *-si-*. As shown in example 13, there is no honorific *-si-* in the verb. In North Korean broadcasting, the commentators rarely made the viewers the subject of the sentence in only 4.2% of the sentences.

In the South Korean broadcast, the viewers were the subject of the sentence 11.1%, almost 3 times as much as in the North Korean broadcasting. The commentators were the subject of the sentence 9.5% of the time in South Korea compared to 2.1% of the time in North Korea almost a fifth of the percentage in South Korean broadcasting. Honorific marker *-si* was observed 15.9% of the sentences in South Korean. Contrastingly, the honorific marker *-si* was observed 0% in North Korean broadcasting. The subject honorific marker *-si* is used in South Korea to increase the respect towards the televiewers and to mark formality. In North Korean broadcasting, the commentators referred instead to the team, the match and other parts of the game rather than themselves and the viewers, and the status of the viewers was not the focus.

The differences in the subject honorifics seen through football broadcasting between South Korea and North Korea are clear. In the broadcasting of South Korea, the viewer is considered to be the most important, so the commentators apply subject honorifics toward the viewers. However, in the broadcasting of North Korea, the viewer is not considered as such.

7.3.1.4 Address Terms: Comparative Analysis

In South Korea, *sichengca yelepwun* and *yelepwun* are address terms.

15. sichengca yelepwun -tul-un	hitingkhu-kamtoki	toy-ko
viewers-PL-TOP	name-coach	become-and
incey	ku	yelepwun -kwa
now	the	process-ACC
kathi	ha-keyss-supnita.	viewers-and
together	enjoy-FUT-SL6	

“Viewers will become coach Hiddink and now will enjoy the process all together.”

In example 15 the address terms *sichengca yelepwun* and *yelepwun* are used by the South Korean commentators to address the viewers. This differs with the style of speech displayed by the North Korean commentators. A likely reason for this is that a more personal approach towards the viewers in the South would result in a higher viewer rate, and an increasing emphasis on solidarity over power.

Similarly, in example 16, the use of the personal first person pronoun *wuli* also ‘includes’ the viewers. *Wuli* can be translated as “we” or “us” and includes the viewers in the

speech alongside the commentator and announcer. This has the effect of creating a sense of unity amongst the viewers, as if the viewers themselves were together with the commentators in the booth.

16. onul **wuli**-nun teylphieylo senswu-ey
 today we-TOP Del Piero player-GEN
 “Today we have to give our attention to Del Piero.”

However, in example 17, the dynamics of the relationship of the three parties has changed. Taking a closer look at example 17 we see that the *wuli* used by the commentator only refers to himself and the audience, excluding the other commentator. This has the effect of bringing the viewers to his side when clarifying a point made by his counterpart, resulting in the viewers feeling a sense of camaraderie.

17. **wuli**-ka wuncenyensup-ul ha-ko tulekato
 we-NOM drivingpractice-ACC do-and enter
 kipun oyko uekacana-yo?
 basic memory enter-SL5?
 wuli-ka cikum sinmunswussi-ka allyecwu-si-ntaylo
 we-NOM now name -NOM tell-HON-as
 thul-ul meliey iplyek-ul ha-si-ko
 setting-ACC in advance remain-LOC do-HON-and
 kyengki-ey imhay cwu-si-myen
 play-LOC watch give-HON-as
 kyengki-ka hankyel caymitu-si-lkepnita.
 play-NOM more interesting-HON-SL6

“Driving practice is more helpful when we have basic information about driving. If we remember what Mr. Shin, Moon-Su told us, this game will be easier and more interesting to watch.”

Another use of *wuli* is seen in example 18. The commentators present the South Korean team, the viewers, and the commentators as one body, decreasing the emotional distance between the viewers and what they are watching. The commentators’ use of *wuli* is optional as commentators may use “the South Korean team”. The use of *wuli* adds to the collective, and

distance-reducing aura of the TV broadcast directed at the viewers when referring to the South Korean team as “our” team.

18. phyeanhakey wuli-ka 16kang-ey ollawass-supnita
safely we-NOM 16 quarter-LOC arrive-SL6
“We safely arrived at quarter finals.”

As shown in the examples above, address terms used in South Korean television broadcasts have implicit effects on the viewers. It could be argued that these address terms are used strategically, in order to attract viewers and garner their attention, allowing the viewers to be explicitly addressed. Contrastingly, in the North Korean football broadcasting, there was a noticeable lack of the address terms for the viewers. In fact, the address terms *sichengca yelepwun* and *yelepwun* were non-existent. There was also no evidence of the use of ‘we’ to refer to the commentators and the viewers in North Korean broadcasting.

7.3.1.5 Football Broadcasting Conclusion

The preceding sections analysed data collected from football match broadcasts on North Korean and South Korean television. During the South Korean broadcast, the commentators used a variety of honorific markers, whilst in the North Korean broadcast, there was no variation. This is most likely due to the importance that is placed on the viewers in South Korean television which has resulted in the various uses of honorific forms to appeal to them. However, in the broadcasting of North Korea, the viewer is not considered as such. These differences in the importance placed on viewers most likely stem from the fact that in South Korea there are three major broadcasting networks and numerous others cable television shows, compared to the single broadcasting network in North Korea.

In the case of the South Korean broadcast, the commentator speaks as though the viewer is in the box with them. Therefore, the language that is used in the South Korean broadcast is personal and reaches out to the viewers whilst also being respectful. This is achieved using all three parts of the honorification system – speech levels, subject honorifics and address terms. The shift in speech levels between level 5 and 6, the honorific marker *-si-* (shown in 7.3.1) and the address term *sichengcayelepwun* (viewers) are used to show respect, to lessen the perception of exclusion and to appeal to the viewers.

As shown above, in South Korean broadcasting the viewer is considered to be most important. In contrast, in North Korean broadcasting, the sentences are not focused on the viewer or the commentators nearly as much. This is shown by the number of sentences with the viewers or commentators being the subject of the sentences. In the cases that they are the subject of the sentence, the subject and address terms are often omitted. It appears as though in North Korean broadcasting, the focus is not on the experience of the viewers and the commentators experiencing and enjoying the game together, but as if the game itself is the main focus of the broadcast.

From an analysis of the same football match broadcast in North Korea and South Korea, it is clear that only South Korean broadcasters practice the use of subject honorifics and address terms. These elements of speech, along with the use of varied speech levels, seem to be used strategically to increase the sense of unity between the broadcasters and the viewers. In North Korean, football broadcasting, the focus was on the football game itself almost as if the commentators and viewers were observers concerned with the facts of the game. There was a consistent use of speech level 6 used in this formal setting, and *-si* was not used to show deference to the viewers. No address terms were observed relating to the viewers.

7.4 Natural Speech

According to the census by the Office for National Statistics (2013), there are 650 documented North Korean defectors in the UK. New Malden, which is in the UK, has the world's second largest North Korean defector population. This section will analyse the interactions between the North Korean defectors and South Korean immigrants and their choice or use of various elements of the honorification systems. In New Malden, I interviewed North Korean defectors and observed their natural speaking in daily lives. In a car garage, I recorded two South Korean and North Korean defectors about normal life in the UK. There were 4 people:

1. North Korean male defector 1 who has a car (referred to as NKM1),
2. North Korean male defector 2 who is a friend of NKM1, a chef working in New Malden (referred to as NKM2),

3. South Korean male 1 who works as a motor engineer in his motor service centre in New Malden (referred to as SKM1),
4. South Korean female 2 who is a private teacher of North Korean defector 1's children (referred to as SKF2).

Here is the context for this situation: NKM1 is with NKM2 together in New Malden. They picked up SKF2 but suddenly the car broke down, so they went to the service centre together. In this situation, NKM1 is the oldest person and, unlike the others, has already met the others before.

7.4.1 Natural Speech: Speech Levels

This section analyses and compares the speech levels used by the North Korean defectors and the South Korean immigrants. The conversations that were analysed were taken from real life situations and shows the differences between the four speakers who all have slightly different backgrounds, such as age, job, sex and nationality (i.e. South Korean and North Korean).

There are limitations with regards to extracting results from the data, as the data was collected in a restricted amount of time, which has had an impact on the final data. However, analysis of this data as qualitative data nevertheless provides a starting point in the comparison of the different honorific systems used by North and South Koreans.

1. NKM1: The eldest in the group, being in his late-forties, is on familiar terms with all the speakers. It was evident that he was quite close with NKM2 and was also an apparent regular customer of the South Korean motor engineer (SKM1). Due to his age, he stood in a higher social position compared to the rest of the speakers. With regards to his relationship with the teacher (SKF2), she is a private tutor for his children. Although in South Korea the teachers would usually be in a more respectful social position than the parents of their students, the dynamic between NKM1 and the SKF2 seemed to be fairly casual. This may have also been affected by her age and sex which influences her perceived social status.

2. NKM2: At the time, it was NKM2's first encounter with the South Korean teacher (SKF2). With regards to his relationship with the car centre owner, it seemed that they were on quite formal terms despite having been to the centre with NKM1 several times before.

3. SKM1: An acquaintance of NKM1, as they had met within the setting of the car centre previously. As mentioned previously, SKM1 only knows NKM2 on slightly formal terms. At the time of the recording, it was his first time meeting SKF2.

4. SKF2: Works as a private tutor for NKM1's children. At the time of the recording, it was her first time meeting NKM2 and SKM1.

In the interaction between NKM1, NKM2, SKM1 and SKF2, of which the data is shown in Figure 7.2 below, the social hierarchy within this particular group was as below:

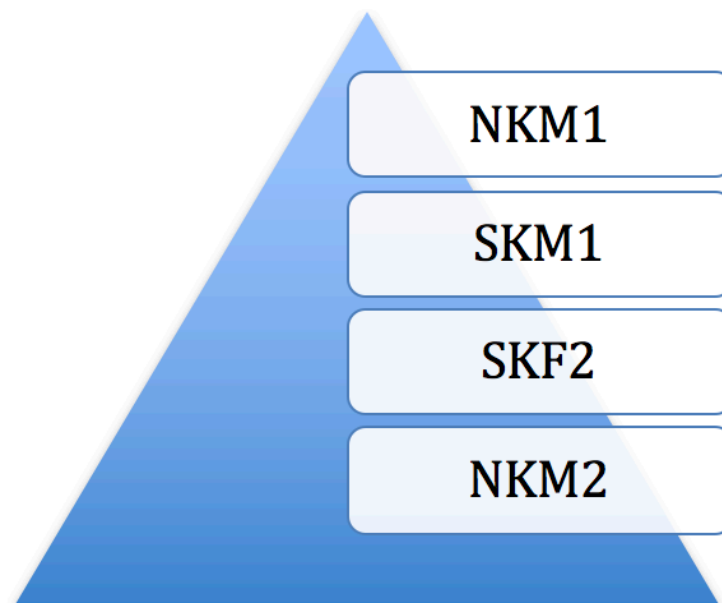


Figure 7.2. Social hierarchy pyramid

Figure 7.2 shows the social hierarchy, with NKM1 being the most socially superior in the group. Figure 7.3 below shows the use of speech levels in a natural discussion between NKM1, SKM1, SKF2 and NKM2. As such, it is evident that NKM1, who used speech level 2 the most frequently, had the highest social position or status within the group. This is unsurprising as in

North and South Korea, social position is generally determined in age-order, although this can shift in circumstances of a different nature such as business. This trend continues in the group, as SKM1 is the second oldest and, as shown in Figure 7.3, has the second most frequent use of speech level 2.

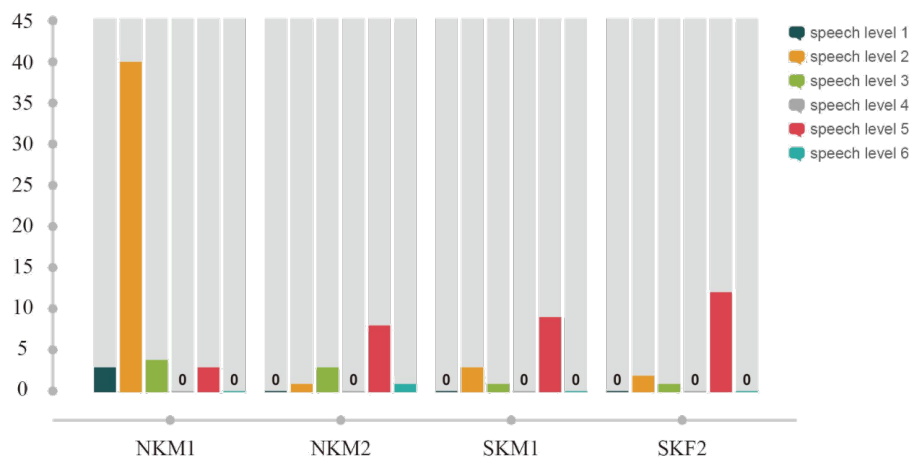


Figure 7.3. Use of speech levels in a discussion between North Koreans and South Koreans

In Figure 7.3, the data shows that the two North Korean defectors use four different speech levels, including speech level 6, at varying degrees. As shown, the very left of the graph represents NKM1, the most superior, thus using predominantly lower speech levels including speech level 1. NKM2, being the least superior in the group, uses higher speech levels including speech level 6. The South Koreans were recorded using only three of the same speech levels (speech levels 2, 3 and 5) with very similar patterns (same peaks and troughs) as shown by the speech level use for two sections on the right of the graph. This may imply that the North Korean defectors had been more accustomed to more rigid social norms where social hierarchy was strict and always considered, in contrast to in South Korea where the dynamics of social hierarchy are less clearly defined and change frequently depending on the situation.

Speaker: NKM1

Listener: SKM2

19. ecekkey ike cheykhū ta ha-yss-e
yesterday this check all do-PAST-SL2
“Yesterday I checked all this.”

Speaker: SKM1

Listener: NKM1

20. ney ikey they-ess-eyo
yes this burst-PAST-SL5
“Yes, this is burst.”

The pie charts in Figure 7.4 show the proportion of *-si-* use and the graphs show the use of the different speech levels. At the time of data collection, NKM2 was in his mid-thirties and had lived in South Korea for 9 years before coming to London. The result of the data collection showed that his speech patterns skewed towards the use of speech level 5, which is most likely a result of the influence of living in South Korea.

Speech levels and subject honorifics comparison for NKM1, NKM2, SKM1 and SKF2.

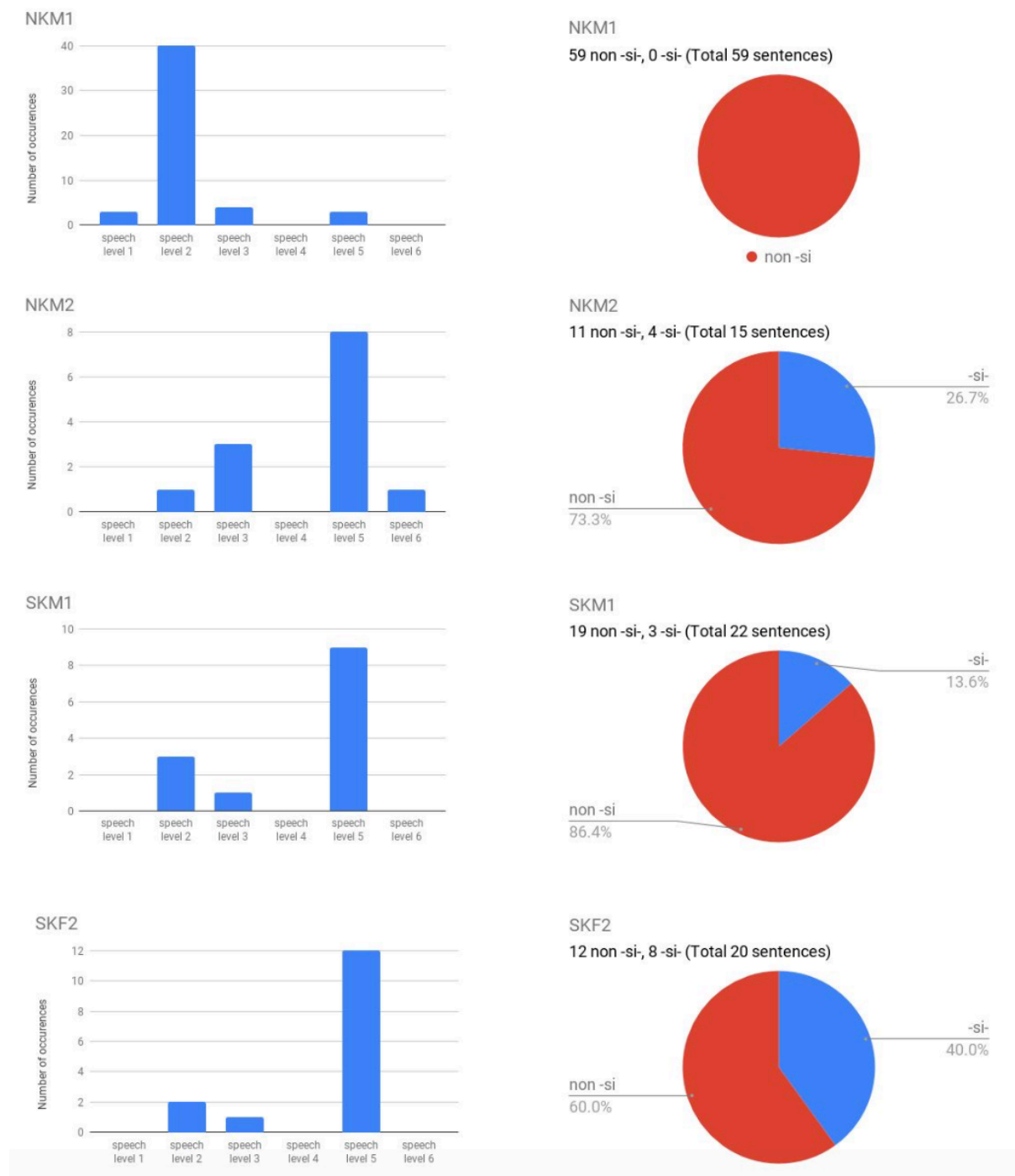


Figure 7.4. Comparative use of honorification systems

The second highest percentage of use was for speech level 3, for both NKM1 and NKM2. Speech level 3 is very rarely used by South Koreans and therefore it was interesting that the defectors had retained the use of this speech level, despite the fact that they showed some shifts in their use of speech levels after having lived in South Korea for some years. This

shift in speech levels displayed by the defectors is shown by the use of speech level 5 which was NKM2's most frequently used speech level (see the following examples).

Speaker: NKM2

Listener: NKM1

21. ne a kul-ay?
yes aha sure-SL2
“Aha is that right?”

Speaker: NKM1

Listener: NKM2

22. han 500 phawuntu tul-keyss-ney
about 500 pound spend-FUT-SL3
“It will cost about £500.”

NKM1 mainly used speech level 2. Moreover, he used level 3 that is the second most frequently used speech level. NKM2 is younger than NKM1 and he is meeting the others for the first time and they are about similar ages so he uses 61% of speech level 5. Speech level 3 was used 23% in defector 2's speaking. Because NKM1 and NKM2 are friends, we may assume that when NKM2s speak to NKM1, NKM2 used speech level 3. Both NKM1 and NKM2 used speech level 2 and NKM1 used speech level 1, 2 and 3 to address the social inferiors in the group.

7.4.2 Natural Speech: Subject Honorifics

Figure 7.5 below shows the use of subject honorifics in NKM1, NKM2, SKM1, SKF2. It is evident that SKF2 most frequently uses the honorific marker *-si-* and NKM1 did not use the honorific marker *-si-* at all.

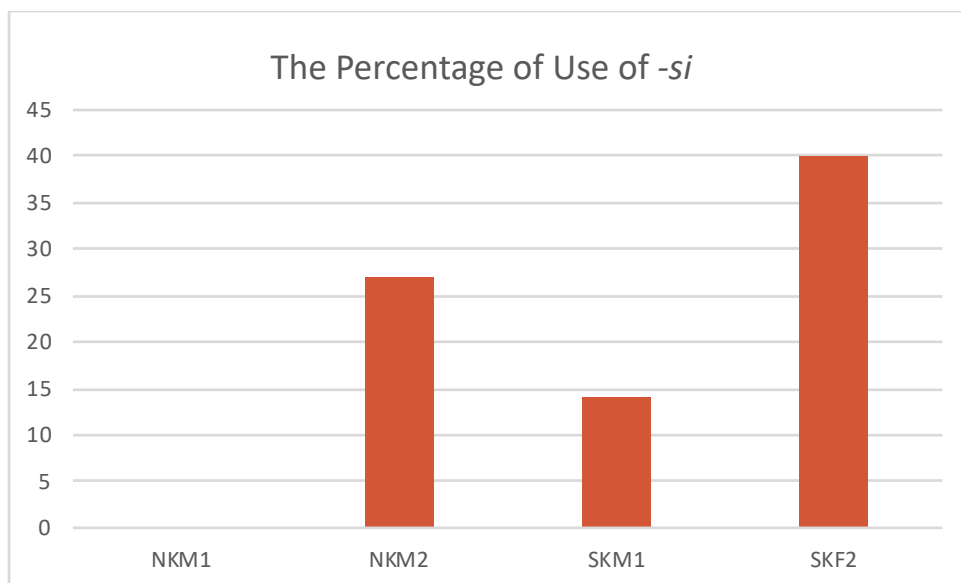


Figure 7.5. The Percentage of Use of *-si* of subject honorifics

As shown in Figure 7.5, SKF2 used honorific marker *-si-* in 40% of all of the sentences she spoke. On the other hand, only 27% of the NKM2’s speech contained this honorific marker *-si-*. Examples 23 and 24 below show the conversation between NKM2 and SKF2, within the setting of their first meeting. SKF2 is shown to use honorific marker *-si-* in her speech.

Speaker: SKF2

Listener: NKM2

23. olaytoy-sy-ess-eyo

o-si-nci?

long-HON-PAST-SL5

come-HON-CON

“Has it been long since you came here?”

Speaker: NKM2

Listener: SKF2

24. 3-nyen

tw-ayss-eyo

three-year

be-PAST-SL5

“I have been here for 3 years.”

7.4.3 Natural Speech: Comparative Analysis

The fact that NKM1 is the highest in social position within the group is shown clearly by the use, or rather the lack of use, of honorifics in his speech. As mentioned above, in South Korea, the position of a teacher would usually be one that is respected. Social norms in South Korea would imply that NKM1 may be obliged to use higher speech levels or subject honorifics. However, in this case, he does not, and this may be due to a shift in social norms or as a result of social influence from his North Korean background. From the data collected, NKM1 and NKM2 together have used speech levels 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 during the conversation. In contrast, SKM1 and SKF2 are shown to have used speech levels 2, 3, 5.

The use of speech level 1 by NKM1 is most likely due to his social position within the group as mentioned previously. Furthermore, the use of speech level 6 by NKM2 is most likely derived from the influence of his North Korean background where they use higher speech levels on average in comparison with South Koreans. It is notable that all four speakers have not used speech level 4. Speech level 4 is extremely rare in South Korean speech and is also not shown to be used by NKM1 and NKM2, possibly due to the limitations of the data collected.

7.4.4 Natural Speech: Conclusion

From the analysis of this data, it could be claimed that North Koreans and South Koreans assert and display their social positions of power in two different ways. North Koreans seem to display this with the use of varying speech levels, for example, when speaking to others of a lower status their speech levels become more casual. However, the speech levels that are used by North Koreans seem to be dynamic depending on the situation, as they are also used to show respect. With regards to South Koreans, they seem to be fairly consistent in their use of speech levels, and their display of power via language seems to stem from their use of the *-si-* subject honorific. Furthermore, *-si-* is also used as a sign of respect, which implies a more strategic use of language for benefit when compared to North Koreans.

7.5 Preliminary Interviews

According to the Korean Ministry of Unification (2017), there were a total of 30,490 North Korean defectors living in South Korea as of 2017. The graph below shows the number of North Korean defectors separated by age group and gender.

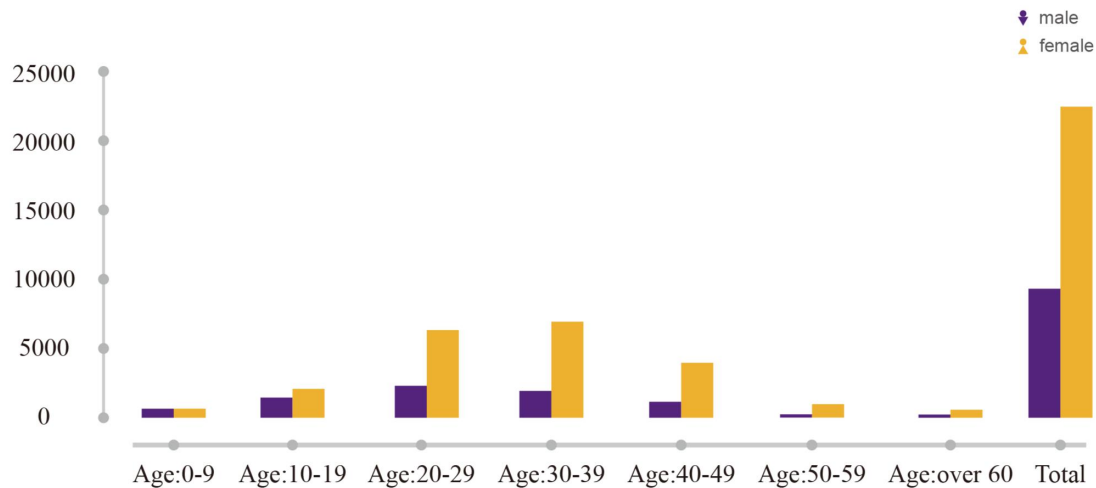


Figure 7.6. North Korean defectors in South Korea by gender and age

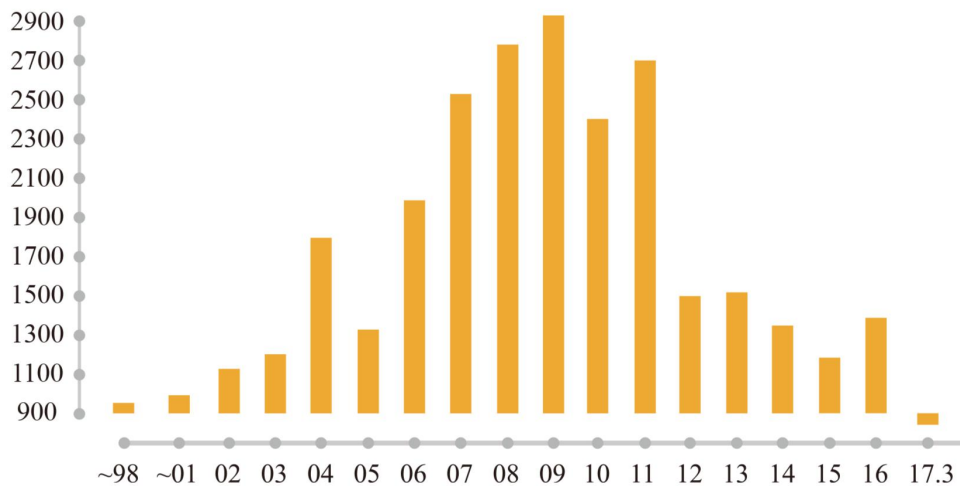


Figure 7.7. Number of North Korean defectors entering South Korea 1998-2017

Figure 7.7 shows the number of North Koreans defectors entering South Korea over the years 1998-2017. This should give an overview on North Korean defectors in South Korea. When North Korean defectors first arrive in South Korea, they are provided with support to help them adjust to their new lives. This may include financial and housing support. However,

they do not receive help when it comes to adjusting their behaviour, for example their speech patterns, to adapt to their new lives in South Korea. For this research, a total of 16 North Korean defectors were interviewed and these defectors took part in a role play. The defectors were selected from both New Malden, in the UK and Seoul, South Korea.

7.5.1 Preliminary Interviews: Methodology

The inspiration behind the interview came from the North Korean grammar textbook *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983). I wanted to confirm the use of prescriptive honorifics by eliciting them in a natural environment. Therefore, I asked for general topics of discussion and subject matters that were slightly tangential from the subject honorifics. A total of 16 North Korean defectors were interviewed. 13 were living in South Korea and 3 were living in the UK.

First, a preliminary interview of 7 North Korean defectors was carried out in South Korea and the UK, 4 and 3 defectors respectively. They were asked questions regarding their thoughts on the differences in the use of the honorification system in North and South Korea. In these preliminary interviews, 7 North Korean defectors were interviewed with a set structure of questions (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2. Interview Questions

Q1	What are your opinions on Kim Il Sung’s regime?
Q2	What are your opinions on Kim Jung Il’s regime?
Q3	How did you escape North Korea?
Q4	Who is the most important person in your life?
Q5	When you are late for political meetings, how would you explain yourself to your seniors or the staff on why you are late?
Q6	How would you ask a party senior where they are going? (This question was asked twice with the conditions of if the senior is older and if they are younger than the interviewee)
Q7	How would you ask a party senior whether they have eaten yet? (This question was asked with the condition that the party senior is around 5 years older than the interviewee)
Q8	How would you publicly criticise someone at party meetings or ‘comrade’ meetings?

Q9	How would you publicly praise someone at party meetings or ‘comrade’ meetings?
Q10	How would you call over the waiting staff at a restaurant?
Q11	How would you ask the age of someone who looks around the same age as you?
Q12	If you were looking for the political party centre, how would you ask someone for directions?

Attendance of ‘party meetings’ in North Korea is mandatory for North Korean citizens, who go once or twice a week at the very least. The meetings are held in the local town centre and have a very specific purpose. The reason for these meetings is to expose the North Koreans to propaganda and to have the citizens under regular surveillance.

7.5.2 Preliminary Interviews: Findings

A total of 7 North Koreans took part in the preliminary interviews: 4 North Korean defectors living in South Korea took part in preliminary interviews and followed by 3 North Korean refugees living in the UK. The interview questions focused on if they noticed any differences in the use of the honorific system between the two countries, and if so, what the main differences were. Thus, this section gives profiles of each of the interviewees and a summary of the main points of what each interviewee spoke about.

1. NKMCHOY Age: 64

Job: Food processing factory manager in North Korea

Lived in North Korea for 55 years, graduated from Kyung Sung University

NKMCHOY said that the main difference he noticed when he first came to South Korea was the frequent use of speech level 2, regardless of age. For example, children use speech level 2 to their parents and he felt that this was a big difference to the strict patterns of speech levels and use of the honorification system in North Korea. In North Korea, he recalled that speech level 6 was used mostly in formal settings and speech level 5 in less formal interactions. However, the more casual use of the honorification system used in South Korea initially gave

him the impression that South Koreans were not polite. He gave an example where in South Korea, speech level 6 *haysssupnikka?* is rarely used in comparison to the frequent use of speech level 5 *haysseyo?*. Another example of this contrast can be seen in examples 25 and 26. In example 25 a North Korean teacher is using speech level 6 to address the students. However, the South Korean teacher in example 26 uses speech level 5 when speaking to the students.

Speaker: North Korean teacher

Listener: North Korean student

25. kongpwu ha-yss-supnikka?
 study do-PAST-SL6
 “Have you studied?”

Speaker: South Korean teacher

Listener: South Korean student

26. kongpwu ha-yss-eyo?
 study do-PAST-SL5
 “Have you studied?”

Another interesting observation noted by the defector is that in North Korea in the work place, the boss uses speech level 6 towards a lower level colleague as seen in example 27. By contrast in South Korea, the boss uses speech level 5 towards a lower level colleague as seen in example 28.

Speaker: North Korean boss

Listener: North Korean employee

27. kulehkey hayse toy-keyss-supnikka?
 like that do-as do-FUT-SL6
 “Do you think you are doing it right?”

Speaker: South Korean boss

Listener: South Korean employee

28. kulehkey hayse toy-keyss-eyo?
 like that do-as do-FUT-SL5

“Do you think you are doing it right?”

2. **NKFHYEN** Age: 53

Job: Kim Il-Sung University philosophy professor

From: Pyongyang

Lived in North Korea for: 48 years

NKFHYEN said that when a higher speech level is used in North Korea, speech level 6 is commonly used instead of level 5 in South Korea. In North Korea, speech level 6 is used instead of speech level 5 at official gatherings or meetings.

3. **NKFPAK** Age: 43

Job: North Korean dance council member

Lived in North Korea for: 37 years

NKFPAK said that the honorific system in North Korea is more clearly defined and stricter compared to its use in South Korea. In fact, in North Korea they even categorized the *hayyo* style of speech level 5 as a ‘feminine’ pattern of speech.

Speaker: N. Korean female party member Listener: N. Korean female party member

29. i il-ul ha-seyyo.

this work-ACC do-SL5

“Do this work.”

According to NKFPK, in South Korea, there is no real way of knowing someone’s social position at a glance. However, in North Korea, everyone has a set socio-political status which defines where they stand in terms of their position in society, regardless of age or job.

Therefore, it can be argued that North Korea puts more emphasis on the hierarchical system when compared to South Korea.

30. ani-eyyo.

no thanks-SL5

“No thanks.”

During the interview, NKFPK also mentioned that she heard the phrase *ani-eyyo* meaning “no thanks” in speech level 5 used very frequently in South Korea. This further shows how common speech level 5 is in South Korean speech. NKFPK discussed the most common address terms that are used in North Korea as shown in Chapter 6 on Table 6.9.

Table 7.3. Address Terms for “Comrade” Used in North Korea

Address Term for “Comrade”	Use
(Name)- <i>tongmwu</i>	When speaking to someone of a similar or lower status.
(Name)- <i>tongci</i>	When speaking to a person of a higher socio-political status.

4. NKMCANG Age: 65

Job: Central broadcasting journalist

Graduated from Kim Il-Sung University, studied Philosophy

The address term *tongci* is used when speaking to a person of a higher socio-political status, whereas *tongmwu* is used when speaking to someone of a similar or lower status (*tongmwu* and *tongci* loosely translates to “comrade”). This is shown in Table 7.3. NKMCANG also mentioned that it is common for North Korean men to imitate South Korean speech patterns when talking to women they are interested in.

The following individuals took part in the preliminary interviews in the UK.

5. NKMKIMY Age: 42

Job: Factory manager

Lived in North Korea for: 40 years

North Korea, in contrast to South Korea, has an intricate hierarchy of socio-political positions and statuses within society. At the top of this hierarchical ladder reside past and present political leaders such as Kim Il-Sung, Kim Jung-Il and Kim Jung-Un. When addressing them, the North Korean people would strictly only use speech level 6 and display an exaggerated use of address terms and overuse of subject honorifics.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---------------|--|
| 31. | sekicang-tongci-kkeyse
position-commrade-HON | iyaki
talk | ha-keyss-supnita.
do-FUT-SL6 |
| | “The party manager will talk.” | | |
| 32. | sekicang-tongci-kkeyse
position-comrade-HON | iyaki
talk | ha- si -keyss-supnita.
do- HON -FUT-SL6 |
| | “The party manager will talk.”
[hypothetical correct example] | | |

Example 32 shows how someone of a high socio-political status should be addressed compared to example 31 from NKMKIMY’s role play. Their high position *sekicang* is first made clear, followed by the address term *tongci*. Furthermore, to confirm the referent’s importance, the *-kkeyse* subject honorific is used instead of the *-ka* nominative suffix. As it is an official political gathering, speech level 6 is strictly used and an individual’s status is only indicated by their use of *tongci* and *tongmwu* and the name of their position. A striking observation is that example 31 deviates from the prescriptive use before the 1950 division, as *-si-* is omitted from this example.

6. NKFLEE Age: 38

Job: Housewife

Lived in North Korea for: 35 years

In North Korea, the address terms *tongci* and *tongmwu* are most commonly used. However, in South Korea, there are various address terms that are used. For example, *sacang* and *samo* with the honorific *-nim* is used often in South Korean stores when the employees address customers who look above 40 years old. *Sacang-nim* is commonly used when addressing the CEO of a company or the owner of a shop, and consequently their wives are addressed as *samo-nim*. However, these terms spread to common use when addressing customers, which is not the case in North Korea. In North Korea, there is no need for an address term for a CEO. Furthermore, all married women are referred to as *pwuin* ('wife') instead of *samo-nim*.

7. **NKMKIMJ** Age: 21

Job: Motor engineer assistant

Lived in North Korea for: 17 years

As shown in example 33, North Koreans tend to use speech level 4 when speaking to someone who is around 5-10 years older than them if they have a particularly close relationship. NKMKIMJ further commented that he had never heard the use of speech level 4 in South Korea.

North Korean scholar C. Y. Lee (2005) states that the form *hao* and *haso* is used as "...the middle form of courtesy [...] when the speaker regards the person addressed as his equal." Moreover, according to the interviewees, often *hao* and *haso* is used to particularly close friends who are 5-10 years older. The following example shows the use of speech level 4 (*hao*).

33. pap mek-ess-so?
meal eat-PAST-SL4
"Have you eaten yet?"

As shown in examples 34-36, regarding employment status, there are two different address terms such as *tongmwu* and *sensayng*.

34. ipalsa-tongmwu
“barber-comrade”
35. yenkwusa-tongmwu
“researcher-comrade”
36. pyengwen-sensayng
“doctor-teacher”

7.6 Principal Interviews

This section will analyse the roleplays that were conducted with the 9 North Korean defectors living in Seoul. During the interview, questions 5-9 (see Table 7.4 below) were asked to gain a deeper understanding of the North Korean honorification systems that they had used in their daily lives when living in North Korea. These questions involved roleplays in the context of various scenarios, such as specific instances within political meetings (general meetings).

In total, there were 9 participants for the interview. They have all been assigned a code for convenience. Within the series of letters, it is shown where they come from, their initials, sex and age. The sex and age of the participants were included as these factors might have an impact on their speech levels or patterns when conversing with others. For example, 1. Choy Yengok, born 1966, Female is referred to as: N (North Korean), F (Female), C (Family name: Choy), Y (First name: Yengok), Age (51).

1. NFCY51: North Korean Female Choy Y 51

2. NMKS55: North Korean Male Kim S 55

3. NFHC44: North Korean Female Hong C 44

4. NFKI59: North Korean Female Kim I 59

5. NMKU56: North Korean Male Kim U 56
6. NMCH49: North Korean Male Choy H 49
7. NMCK35: North Korean Male Chang K 35
8. NMKH79: North Korean Male Kim H 79
9. NFLK73: North Korean Female Lee K 73

7.6.1 Principal Interviews: Speech Levels

Table 7.4. North Korean Interview Questions

Q5	5. When you are late for political meetings, how would you explain yourself to your seniors or the staff on why you are late?
Q6	6. How would you ask a party senior where they are going? (This question was asked twice with the conditions of if they are older and if they are younger than the interviewee)
Q7	7. How would you ask a party senior whether they have eaten yet? (This question was asked with the condition that the party senior is around 5 years older than the interviewee)
Q8	8. How would you tell publicly criticise someone at party meetings or ‘comrade’ meetings ?
Q9	9. How would you publicly praise someone at party meetings or ‘comrade’ meetings?

Table 7.4 shows the questions 5-9 regarding the roleplays mentioned above.

37. seypho-pise-tongci nuce-se mianha-pnita
 cell-secretary-comrade late-as sorry-SL6
 “Cell secretary comrade, sorry for my lateness.”

Political meetings or gatherings are held in groups and are called ‘cells’. In example 37, a cell member is apologising to the cell secretary for being late to a meeting, using speech level 6.

38. pise-tongci	eti	ka-si-pnikka?
secretary-comrade	where	go-HON-SL6

“Secretary comrade, where are you going?”

Example 38 shows an example of a question the cell member would ask if they were to ask where the cell secretary was going. This particular scenario specifies that the meeting was a coincidence and the question is asked just in passing. However, it is notable that even outside of official meetings, speech level 6 and the *-si-* subject honorific marker (*ka-si-pnikka*) is consistently used. This pattern of speech stays consistent regardless of the age of either party.

In the case of South Korea, although there are no cells or political party meetings, there are social meetings or gatherings that take place regularly. These meetings are ‘resident’ meetings where the residents of an apartment building gather on a regular basis to discuss local matters. A ‘representative’ would be chosen to lead these meetings and example 39 shows the type of speech the residents would use when addressing the representative. 3 South Korean people were asked how they would ask where the representative was going and all three of them responded that they would use speech level 5 (see example 39).

39. pancang-nim	eti	ka-se-yyo?
representative-HON	where	go-HON-SL5

“Representative, where are you going?”
(South Korean meeting in Seoul apartment)

As these residential meetings are not required by the government or officiated by any authority, they are considered to be somewhat casual or informal in South Korea. As such, the nature of these meetings is completely different to the cell meetings in North Korea, where the focus is on the leader, Kim Jung Un. Therefore, it is very rare to see the use of speech level 6 in the South Korean residents’ meetings.

The interview with NFKI59 provided insight on the phrase “thank you” and the implications that the different ways of saying it have. Examples 40 and 41 show two ways of

saying “thank you” in speech level 6. These two speech level 6 phrases *kamsahapnita* and *komapsupnita* are solely used when giving thanks to the leaders (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il and Kim Jung Un). The speech level 6 forms of saying ‘thank you’ are never used when expressing gratitude to other people in North Korea. Instead, speech level 4 (example 42) and speech level 1 (example 43) are used when speaking to others. Example 43 shows that when the listener is younger than the speaker, or the listener’s status is lower than the speaker, the speaker uses *komapta*.

40. *kamsaha-pnita*
 thank you-SL6
 “Thank you.”

41. *komap-supnita*
 thank you-SL6
 “Thank you.”

42. *komapso*
 thank you-SL4
 “Thank you.”

43. *komapta*
 thank you-SL1
 “Thank you.”

The next question that was asked, question 10 (see Table 7.2), was ‘how would you call over the waiting staff at a restaurant?’. Out of the 9 participants, only 7 answered this question. From the 7 participants who answered this question, 2 responded with the use of speech level 4 (example 44) and the remaining 5 responded using speech level 5 (example 45).

44. *ceptaywen* *yeki* *swul* *kasstacwu-keyss-so*
 waiter here drink-ACC bring-FUT-SL4
 “Waiter, please bring me a drink.”

45. yeki	kwukpap	twu-kulut	cwu-sey-yo
here	rice soup	two-bowls	give-HON-SL5

“Give me two rice soups.”

During the interview with NFLK73, she added that when speaking to an acquaintance or someone who is their equal on the social hierarchy, they would use speech level 4 when asking informal questions. An example of this can be found in example 46, where speech level 4 is used to ask if someone has had lunch yet. In contrast, if North Koreans are speaking to someone they do not know, speech level 6 is used as can be seen in example 47.

46. cemsim	mek-ess-so?
lunch	eat-PAST-SL4

“Have you eaten lunch?”

47. cemsim	mek-ess-supnikka?
lunch	eat-PAST-SL6

“Have you eaten lunch?”

7.6.2 Speech Levels: Conclusion

The data collected using the questions in Table 7.4 shows the use of speech level 6 100% of the time across all participants. This data further shows that it is the social norm in North Korea to use speech level 6 in official or formal gatherings. In fact, the use of speech level 6 could be argued as more than just a social norm, perhaps more like a response engrained in their minds, as the use of the highest speech level was common across the board regardless of age or gender.

The interviews with the North Korean defectors provided insight on the speech levels used in varying situations. According to the defectors, during official meetings (such as cell meetings), North Koreans use speech level 6 when speaking to others, regardless of age, sex or position. Secondly, when they refer to the leaders of North Korea (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il, Kim Jung Un), speech level 6 is consistently used. Lastly, when speaking to others outside of formal, official party meetings about personal matters, they mostly use speech level 5 and occasionally speech level 4.

7.6.3 Principal Interviews: Subject Honorifics

Table 7.5. Defectors’ Interview Responses about Subject Honorifics

	Q6. How would you ask a party senior where they are going?	Q7. How would you ask a party senior whether they have eaten yet?
NFCY51	- <i>si</i> - use	- <i>si</i> - use
NMKS55	- <i>si</i> - use	- <i>si</i> - use
NFHC44	- <i>si</i> - use	- <i>si</i> - use
NFKI59	- <i>si</i> - use	- <i>si</i> - use
NMCH49	- <i>si</i> - use	- <i>si</i> - use
NMCK35	- <i>si</i> - use	- <i>si</i> - use

Table 7.5 shows the responses given when the North Korean defectors were asked ‘How would you ask a party senior where they are going?’ and ‘How would you ask a party senior whether they have eaten yet?’. The results show that when speaking to anyone who is higher on the social hierarchy, the *-si-* subject honorific marker is used which can also be seen in example 48.

48. *pise-tongci* *siksa* *ha-si-ess-supnikka?*
 secretary-comrade meal eat-HON-PAST-SL6
 “Secretary comrade, have you eaten yet?”

The next questions were concerned about the defectors’ opinions regarding the regime. They were asked ‘What are your opinions on Kim Il Sung’s regime?’ and ‘What are your opinions on Kim Jung Il’s regime?’. Furthermore, they were asked to show how the North Korean people would ‘worship’ or ‘praise’ the leaders. When they spoke, their speech pattern used *-kkeyse* and *-si-* subject honorifics for each subject and verb respectively such as in example 49. This showed that in the language they used to praise the leaders, they were expressing admiration and respect.

49. swulyeng-nim-kkeyse-nun manminuy chinemeni-si-pnita.
 leader-HON-HON-TOP all mother-HON-SL6
 “Leader is everyone’s mother.”

During the interviews, the North Korean defectors provided further insights into the differences in language used when addressing the leaders compared to when addressing ordinary people. Even within the vocabulary, there were words that were only used when speaking about the leaders. These words were primarily *paylye*, *unhyey*, *sichal*, *senmwul*, which are words for *consideration*, *grace*, *visit*, *gift* respectively. Although there are synonyms for these words, this particular set of vocabulary has slight nuances and connotations that are only reserved for the leaders in North Korean speech.

The interview data also pointed out that the subject honorific *-kkeyse* is mostly used when referring to the leaders and not when speaking about other ordinary people. Examples 50 and 51 show the responses of NFHC44 and what she would say within two different situations. The first, example 50, shows a statement referring to her grandmother. There is a notable lack of the use of *-kkeyse* and *-si-*, even though elders are respected in both North and South Korea. In example 51, however, when speaking about the ‘General’ (commonly used to refer to Kim Il Sung), both *-kkeyse* and *-si-* subject honorifics are used. This is not specifically the case for just the grandmother. According to the interviewee, other superiors mentioned in the same sentence as Kim Il Sung will also not have *-kkeyse* and *-si-* applied.

50. wuli halmeni-ka ppang cwu-ess-ta.
 our grandmother-NOM bread give-PAST-DEC
 “Our grandmother gave us some bread.”

51. cangkwun-nim-kkeyse senmwul-il cwu-sy-ess-nuntey
 general-HON-HON present-ACC give-HON-PAST-as
 “As general gave me a present”

7.6.4 Subject Honorifics: Conclusion

Subject honorifics are very concentrated towards North Korean leaders (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il, Kim Jung Un). Further, the use of subject honorifics towards elders is far less common compared to South Korean subject honorifics and pre-1950 Korean subject honorifics.

7.6.5 Principal Interviews: Address Terms

Table 7.6. Hierarchy Levels in the North Korean Labour Party and a South Korean Company


<i>Hierarchy Level</i>	<i>North Korean notong (labor) party</i>	<i>A typical South Korean company</i>
<i>Highest</i>	Party secretary	CEO
	Cell secretary	Director
	Working group supervisor	Board of directors
	Group leader	Department lead
	Manager	Section chief
	Vice-instructor	Deputy section chief
	<i>Lowest</i>	Instructor

Table 7.6 is an example of how positions would differ in the North Korean labour party and a typical South Korean company given as examples by one of the defector interviewees. As there are many differences in society between North and South Korea, the address terms that are used and the context they are used in vary widely between North and South Korea. In North Korea, all ‘jobs’ are assigned by the government, whereas in South Korea, job-finding and employment in general is extremely competitive. Due to the competitive nature of the workplace society in South Korea, address terms are used, firstly as a form of respect for the ‘seniors’ in higher positions and secondly, for strategic benefit. Address terms in North Korea are used mainly to convey one’s position in the context of the political party and serve as a reminder of the *cwuchey* ideology (shown by ‘comrade’ being attached to the job positions). This may be due to the individual’s position in relation to the party being seen or acknowledged as more important than the job that they do.

7.6.6 Address Terms: Conclusion

As shown, the address terms have developed according to the structure of society which have created a need for these address terms. In North Korea, party positions are exact and specific to show where the referent lies within the political system. Furthermore, the accurate application of *tongmwu* and *tongci* is shown without fail in public or formal situations. The party positions are focused, showing that people have high alertness and awareness of where people are in relation to the party, as that is where power is concentrated in North Korean society. Even in private circumstances, according to the interviewees, if the listener is younger but higher in party position, the speaker would use the appropriate address terms and show deference using a higher speech level. Between family, *tongmwu* and *tongci* is not used, though between friends, *tongmwu* and *tongci* may still be used.

In the South, all of these positions are company or business-related labels. Again, this is reflective of how South Korean society has developed into a capital centred society, revealing where the power lies. It appears that address terms illuminate how the structure of society has changed since the division in both Koreas, as new address terms emerge to fulfil the needs of the society. Further research may lead to interesting findings in relation to address terms use in conflicting situations in South and North Korea.

7.7 Drama Series

In all societies, doctors have a relatively high social status as it takes a significant amount of time to gain expertise to treat people. Also, the fact that the doctors are able to cure illness often means that they are highly regarded in both capitalist and communist societies. This makes doctors a great proxy for testing linguistic variation given their similar statuses. A degree of hierarchical or social flexibility is a necessary condition for politeness to be used strategically. Typically, it is the prescriptively ambiguous cases where the speaker can have a degree of freedom to choose the level of speech that she or he uses.

This is also shown in South Korea (Brown 2015) where in certain contexts the speaker has no choice in determining the level of speech, rather it is dictated by social norms. I will argue that in North Korea the primary factor determining the use of the honorification systems is the social norm. This is mainly due to their more rigid societal structure which reduces the scope to use the honorification systems flexibly. On the other hand, in South Korea the hierarchical flexibility allows the speaker to use the honorification systems more strategically.

Further examples of the use of honorification systems can also be found within Korean ‘dramas’. Thus, this section will include an analysis of hospital dramas and make comparisons between North Korean and South Korean shows.

7.7.1 North Korean Drama

In order to find out about the use of North Korean honorification systems, I analysed North Korean drama through YouTube¹⁸. The North Korean drama is titled *ttattushan wulicip* (Pyongyang Hospital). As it is a hospital drama, there are scenes where the dynamics between the doctors are also heavily influenced by their hierarchical status, and therefore shows further insight into the honorification system.

In this drama, there are some scenes with doctors and nurses. They are working same hospital so there is a hierarchical status. In ‘Pyongyang Hospital’, the primary characters are three doctors who have varying levels of seniority. There is the equivalent of a Chief and two attendants. Even between these two attendants, there exists a hierarchy due to one of them having worked at the hospital longer. For clarification purposes, they will be referred to as ‘senior’ and ‘junior’ doctors.

7.7.2 North Korean Dramas: Speech Levels

In this particular scene (examples 52-56), the chief doctor uses speech level 6 to the senior doctor who would be considered to be lower on the hierarchy. The senior doctor also responds using speech level 6. It is important to note that they use the same speech level despite differences in hierarchy.

Speaker: Chief doctor

Listener: Senior doctor, nurses

52. kwukupsil	hwancaka	mwusahi
emergency	patient	safely
haysan-ul	hayss-supnita.	
give birth-ACC do-SL6		
“The emergency patient has given birth safely.”		

¹⁸ The drama excerpt at the gynaecologist is from 2004 from *cosen cwungang theyllepicyen* (Cosen central broadcasting).

Speaker: Chief doctor

Listener: Senior doctor, nurses

53. kulem nayil saep-ul phochwi-ha-psita
then tomorrow project-ACC achieve-do-SL6
“Let’s finish the project tomorrow.”

Speaker: Chief doctor

Listener: Senior doctor

54. yenhuy-sensayng nayil hansikan tongan
name-teacher tomorrow 1 hour for
taysaepkwa-ey tongwentoy cwu-sey-yo.
office-LOC support do-HON-SL5
“Yenhuy, please support the work office for 1 hour tomorrow.”

Speaker: Senior doctor

Listener: Chief doctor

55. yey, cey-ka kwusil-ul mot
yes, I-NOM role-ACC not
hay-se kulehkey tw-ayss-nuntey
do-as so do-PAST-as
tomyen-un keuy tw-ayss-supnita.
plan-TOP almost finish-PAST-SL6
“Yes, I haven’t finished the role about our plan perfectly.”

Speaker: Nurse

Listener: Chief doctor

56. ney al-keyss-supnita.
yes sure-FUT-SL6
“Yes, sure.”

However, we can see from example 57, the chief doctor uses speech level 5 to the same senior doctor from the previous example. The reason for this seems to be a difference in setting.

Speaker: Chief doctor

Listener: Senior doctor

57. ya ppalli o-sey-yo.
aha quickly come-HON-SL5
“Please come quickly.”

yeki ancū-sey-yo.
here sit-HON-SL5
“Please sit here.”

The setting that is shown here is of a more casual nature. The chief is asking the senior doctor whether he has had lunch. From a comparison between the two sets of examples shown where both speech levels 5 and 6 were used in two different settings, it is clear that the situation or setting determines the level of speech used. In examples 52 and 53, the nature of the conversation is work-related as the chief is giving instructions to his staff and thus calls for the use of speech level 6. In example 54, however, the conversation is considered more personal and therefore speech level 5 is used. Although this comparison provides a valuable insight on the honorification systems used in North Korea, this seems to be more of a ‘pattern’ in the use of speech levels rather than a hard-and-fast rule.

The following examples show varying speech levels used in both professional and personal settings from scenes in ‘Pyongyang Hospital’. Figures 7.8 and 7.9 show data and the tendencies of speech levels that occur in situations that are a mix of both work-related and personal conversations. The nurses commonly used speech level 5, 63% of the time in total.

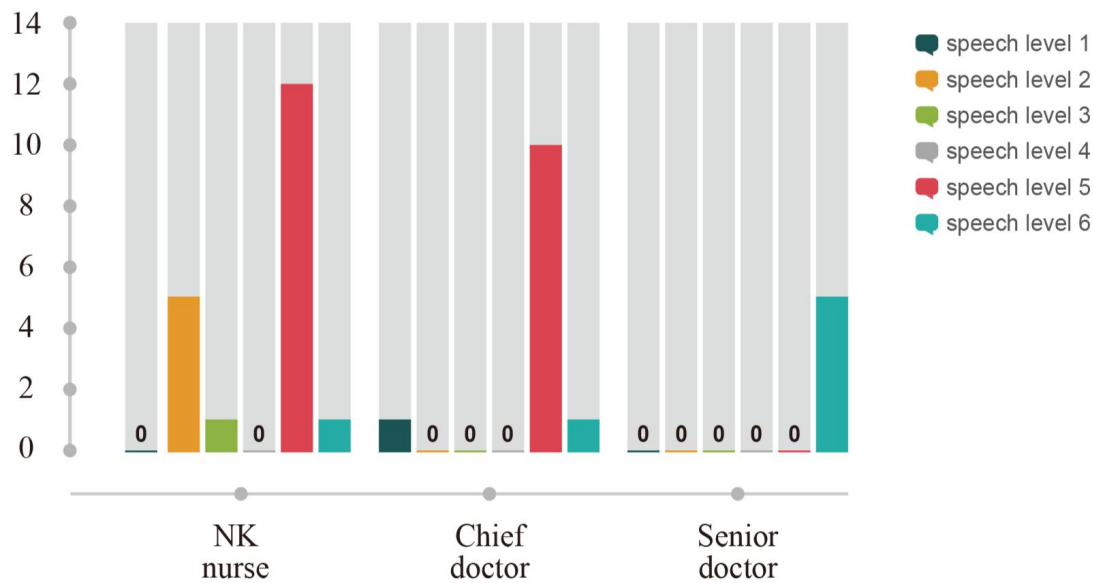


Figure 7.8. Speech levels used by hospital staff in ‘Pyongyang Hospital’

Perhaps due to the relatively small sample of data used, Figure 7.8 shows the senior doctor using speech level 6 much more than the chief doctor. The senior doctor’s speech mainly consisted of formal or public speech such as announcements or orders given to other staff. On the other hand, the chief doctor predominantly used speech level 5 as he spoke to nurses and other staff in a personal manner.

7.7.2.1 Speech Levels in Private: North Korean Drama

In Figure 7.9, the senior doctor meets his friend who is working as an engineer in the drama. They are the same age but they have different jobs. They commonly used speech level 4 and level 5 when speaking to each other.

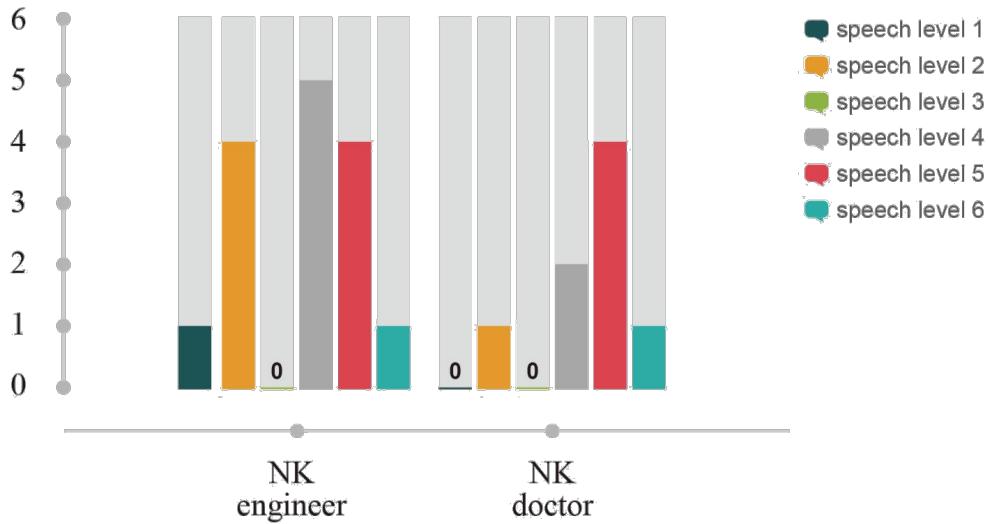


Figure 7.9. Speech levels used between the North Korean engineer and doctor

7.7.3 North Korean Commercial Analysis

This section analyses a North Korean reporting program. For context, this report describes a newly built multiplex building. A North Korean reporter visited the multiplex building and meets a kitchen engineer who introduces the multiplex building. Figure 7.10 presents speech levels used by the kitchen engineer (see also the discussion in Section 7.6.2).

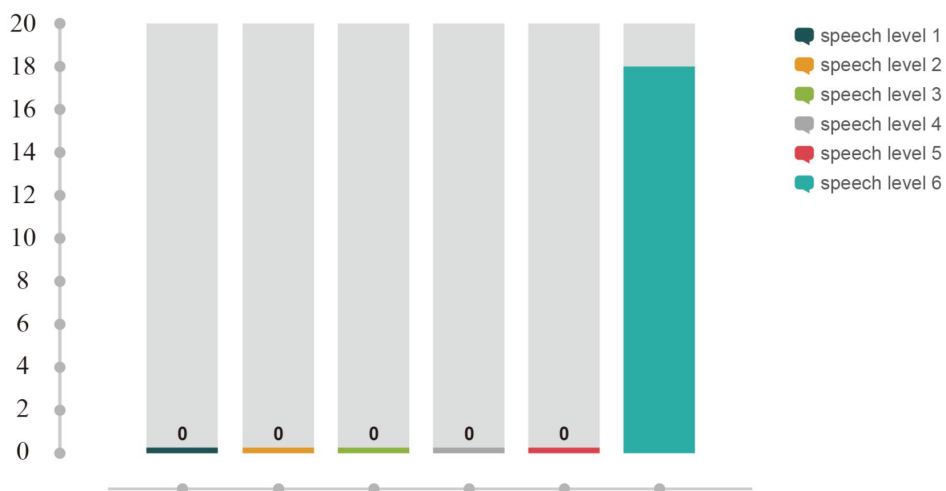


Figure 7.10. Speech levels used by the kitchen engineer

58. witayha- si -n	kimilseng	cangkwun-nim- kkeyse -nun	
great-HON-MOD	Kim Il-Sung	general-HON-HON-TOP	
sayngcenyey	haytanghwakwan-i	conghapcekin	
alive	building name-NOM	multiplex	
pongsa	kicilose	ppwunanila	nalauly
service	center	as	country-GEN
yoli	yangseng	kicilose	sentocekin
cook	education	centre	leader
yekhalul	alttay	tayhayse	manhun
role-ACC	when	about	much
kaluchimul	cwu- si -ess-supnita.		
advices-ACC	give-HON-PAST-SL6		

“Great leader Kim Il Sung gave so many things such as advice and many roles of *haytanghwakwan* (multiplex building name).”

In example 58, when the North Korean speaker mentioned Kim Il-Sung, he used subject honorifics *-kkeyse* and *-si-* for expressing their great leader. The kitchen engineer uses subject honorifics 77% of the time when speaking about the North Korean leader but uses them only 23% of the time for the reporter.

7.7.4 North and South Korean Dramas: Comparative Analysis

In the comparison of the honorification systems between North and South Korea, I analyse a South Korean hospital drama titled *conghappyengwen*. In this, the scenes include emergency patients undergoing operations and interactions between doctors and residents. When looking at the dynamics between characters there are a few notable differences between the two dramas, from the North and the South. Firstly, in the South Korean hospitals, the scale of the hospital was much larger with greater number of doctors and a more developed, systematic privatised structure. The wider variety of address terms such as ‘first year resident’ and ‘intern’ conveyed this. Secondly, perhaps derived from these levels, there is a more competitive aspect to the relationships between the characters. Therefore, this is another reason why the speech levels that are used by South Koreans within these social settings could be considered to be used for strategic benefit.

In example 59, this scene shows an emergency situation and the conversation that ensues between the chief doctor and a third-year resident. The attending doctor is shown to be using speech levels 1 and 2, whereas the third-year resident responds with speech level 6. This difference in speech levels highlights the difference in seniority and could be seen as a display of authority and power.

59. Chief doctor: oynccokulo pakkwun ken sensayng-in-ka
 leftside change DN doctor-SL2-Q
 “Is the change the left side?”

Resident: yey
 yes
 “Yes.”

Chief doctor: ese phothepul eyksuleyi hwakin hay
 Quickly portable X-ray check do-SL2-IMP
 “Quickly check the portable X-ray.”

In the emergency situation, the surgeon uses speech level 2 to the resident.

The speech levels that are used in the North Korean drama were shown to always be speech levels 5 or 6. This is the case even when the chief doctor is speaking to doctors who are of a lower hierarchical status. However, in contrast, in the South Korean drama, when senior doctors (surgeon chief doctor) speak to their juniors, they seemed to mostly use speech level 2.

This difference stems from the differences in social norms in both countries. In North Korea, they keep within the social norms of speech and have no apparent need to display their authority. However, in South Korea due to the strong competitive nature, it seems that language is a way to assert power over those who are hierarchically lower. The frequent use of this display of authority in this drama may also be exaggerated due to the hospital setting where mistakes could cost lives. On the other hand, in the setting of a North Korean hospital, this assertion of authority may be less obvious due to a lack of emphasis on the patients' welfare in comparison to South Korean hospitals.

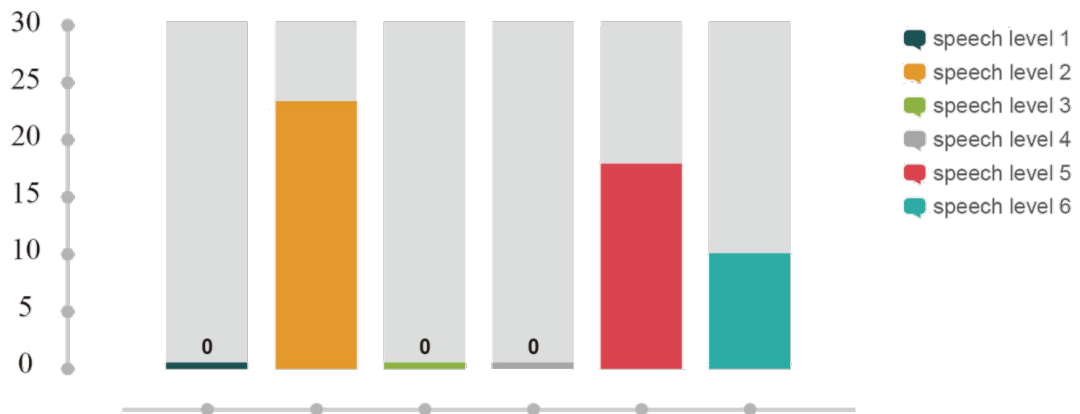


Figure 7.11. Total use of speech levels in the South Korean medical drama

Figure 7.11 highlights the overall use of speech levels in the South Korean medical drama. As shown, speech level 2 is used the most frequently, followed by speech level 5. Speech level 6 is also used, but speech levels 1, 3, and 4 were not observed at all throughout the drama.

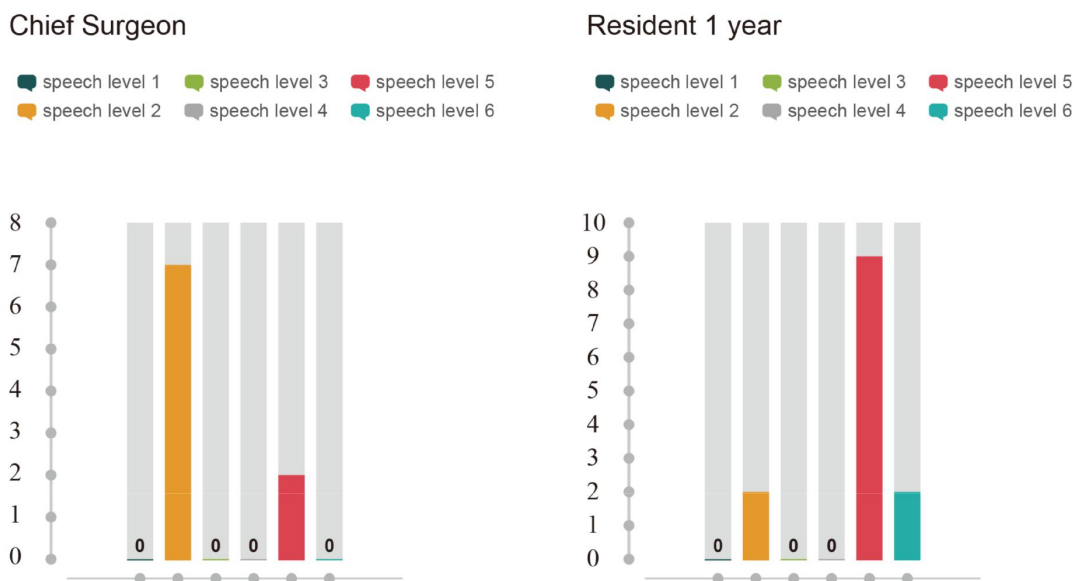


Figure 7.12. Speech levels used by South Korean chief surgeon and first year resident

Figure 7.12 show the use of speech levels in a hospital setting in South Korea to compare with the data presented on North Korean speech levels in section 7.7.2 in Figure 7.8 of a nurse, chief doctor and senior doctor’s speech in a North Korean hospital setting. This data supports the idea that speech levels in South Korean hospital setting drama predominantly used speech levels 2 and 5 whereas in North Korean hospital drama, there was a wider variety of speech levels (speech levels 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6) used depending on their respective positions.

7.8 Hospital Data: South Korea

The previous section covered the interactions between doctors, in terms of their speech patterns, in a South Korean hospital drama. However, in this section, the setting is within real hospitals in South Korea with the focus on interactions between doctors, patients and nurses. The honorification systems and speech levels that are used within these interactions, which have been recorded, have been analysed. Plastic surgery and dermatology departments were specially chosen for data collection as they are prominent in most hospitals in Korea and also have extremely competitive environments in terms of service. Therefore, a study and analysis of the honorification systems and speech patterns that are used in this setting could be representative of many other workplaces in South Korea.

This can be especially seen within a hospital setting in South Korea, where high-quality patient service is emphasised strongly. In departments such as plastic surgery and dermatology, this emphasis is even more obvious. Therefore, the data that has been collected from these departments shows the active and varied uses of honorification systems to manipulate relationship dynamics between the employees and patients.

7.8.1 Methodology

Data was collected from two medical group hospitals, Regen group and Ana group. In both medical group hospitals, the interactions between the receptionists and patients were recorded. In the Ana hospital, the conversation between a doctor and a patient was recorded. Both hospitals have good reputations in terms of the quality of service they provide.

In both hospitals, it should be noted that in the mornings before opening time, the nurses, receptionists and beauty consultants hold a short training and motivational session. This session included practising their greetings and displaying their resolve to provide quality patient service and care. These sessions seemed to be held every morning for around 30 minutes and only included the employees mentioned above who would have frequent contact with patients. The use of language plays a significantly role in fulfilling customer satisfaction. This is a good indicator to see what levels of honorifics consumers come to expect.

7.8.2 Regen

7.8.2.1 Regen: Speech Levels

Employees at specialised hospitals in South Korea, primarily beauty consultants, receptionists and nurses, use high speech levels 5 and 6 when speaking to patients. Figure 7.13 demonstrates that, except in cases of greeting and farewell where speech level 6 is used, speech level 5 is employed during conversation.

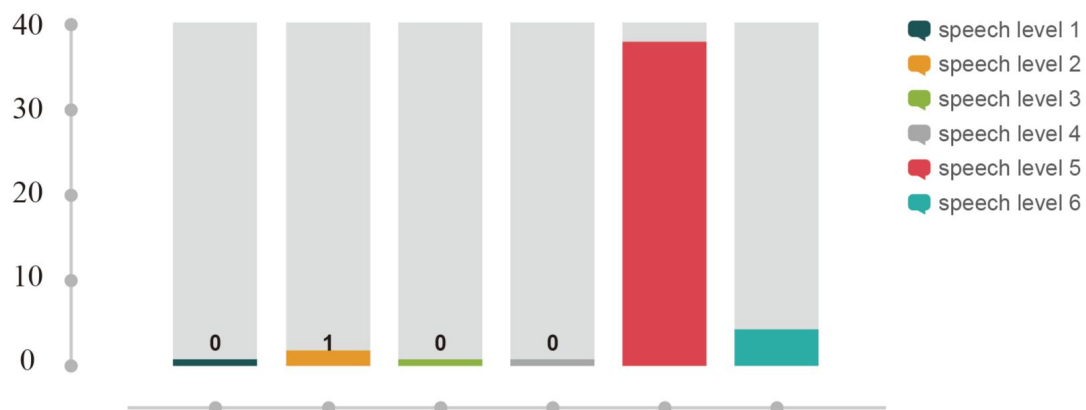


Figure 7.13. Use of speech levels in Regen

I. S. Lee (2005) claims that speech level 5 is the most common higher speech level used in South Korea. However, in Regen, the employees attend daily morning sessions that consist of training and motivation exercises. During this session, they are specifically trained to use speech level 6 when greeting patients. The use of speech level 6 when greeting patients has several effects.

Firstly, the patient is placed on a higher status in terms of the power relationship between them and the employee. Secondly, it provides a strong first impression which influences the patients' perception of the brand image of the hospital. Although speech level 6 is used to greet patients, further conversation typically leads to the use of speech level 5. This is due to speech level 6 having implications of creating distance between speakers. Therefore, the use of speech level 5 introduces a more personal element whilst maintaining the formality required when speaking to patients. As such, it can be argued that the reason for the use of speech levels 5 and 6 is strategic benefit.

J. B. Lee (2012: 24) states that the power dynamic between the speaker and listener is set within the rules of society and cannot be changed freely. For example, a young child would usually be expected to use formal speech, such as speech level 5 and 6, when speaking to adults. However, the distance of the relationship, between the speaker and listener, can be controlled between adults. This manipulation of the distance of relationships can be achieved by the honorification systems that are used during the interaction. In other words, power is given to the listener when the speaker is using speech level 5 or 6; however, the dynamics of the relationship itself can be controlled by the speaker. Active manipulation of the relationship dynamic is seen in the collected data, where the speaker uses speech level 6 at first to emphasise the power given to the listener and changes to speech level 5 in order to create a sense of closeness and familiarity with the patient. This has the effect of helping the patient to feel comfortable and welcome.

During the motivational exercises, part of the morning sessions, the employees recite several statements. These statements range from stating the objectives of Regen employees to showing their dedication to the care of patients. These statements are recited in speech level 6 and again the use of language could be seen to have a specific effect. By using speech level 6 here, the employees show respect towards one another, they show respect towards the hospital (their employer), they instigate pride in their work, and create a sense of unity. Furthermore, this may have been a strategic use of language for benefit by the employer, as the employer would have been the one to introduce this daily morning session and the statements to be recited, specifically in speech level 6.

When they enter the fifteen-story Regen medical tower in Seoul Gangnam, hospital patients go to the third-floor reception. The beauty consultants and receptionists use speech level 6 to patients and chant the greeting together, such as example 60.

60. salangha-pnida liceyn-ipnida

love-SL6 Regen-SL6

“We love you. This is Regen.”

annyengha-sipnikka?

hello-SL6

“Hello?”

7.8.2.2 Regen: Training Sessions

Example 61 shows the welcome greeting that is shouted out during the morning sessions. This is primarily to impress the patients with the high quality of service with the use of language and attitude. Repeating the greetings that they are required to use every morning resulted in the staff's ability to say these greetings automatically as soon as a new patient walked into the building. An analysis of the lines that are spoken showed that most were spoken in speech level 6 with the first greeting *annyengha-sipnika*, being spoken in speech level 6. Example 60 above also shows the use of speech level 6 even when referring to the name of the hospital.

61. pankap-supnida.
nice to meet-SL6
“Nice to meet you.”

Speech level 6 is also used in examples 62 and 63 when expressing gratitude and saying goodbye to the patient before they leave after they have received care.

62. kamsaha-pnida.
thank you-SL6
“Thank you.”

63. annyngghika-si-psiyo.
goodbye-HON-SL6
“Good bye.”

7.8.2.3 Regen: Motivation Sessions

Examples 64-67 below show the lines that are spoken out loud during the motivational part of the morning sessions. The lines that are spoken are statements that show a resolution to provide high quality patient service.

64. liceyninuy-kyeluy
Regen employee-objective
“Regenites' objective”

65. kokayk kamtong silhyen
 client fulfilling satisfaction
 “achieve customer satisfaction”

66. na-nun liceyninulose kokayk-ul cengseng-ul
 I-TOP Regen employee client-ACC ability-ACC
 tahay posalphil kes-ul tacimha-pnita.
 best take care of DN-ACC will-SL6
 “As a Regenite I will take care of my patients to the best of my ability.”

67. na-nun liceyninulose tonglyol-ul akkiko
 I-TOP Regen employee colleagues-ACC respect
 salangha-pnita.
 love-SL6
 “As a Regen employee I love and respect my colleagues.”

Examples 68 and 69 show the continuous self-reminders of an obligation to use polite or formal speech (speech level 6) when speaking with colleagues.

68. tonglyo-kanuy yeyuypemcel
 colleagues-between etiquette
 “etiquette between colleagues”

69. na-nun liceynin-ulose tonglyokanuy conchingel-ul
 I-TOP Regen employee-as colleagues honorifics-ACC
 sayongha-ko yeyuypemcelul cikhi-pnita.
 use-and etiquette-ACC uphold-SL6
 “As a Regenite I will use honorifics between colleagues and uphold etiquette.”

In examples 70 and 71, when declaring their self-realisation goals, the employees continue to use speech level 6.

70. caasilhyenmokphyo wanseng: na-nun liceynin-ulose
 self-realisation target I-TOP Regen employee-as
 capwusim-ul nukki-mye kamsaha-mye saynghwalha-pnita.
 pride-ACC take-and grateful-and will be-SL6
 “Self-realisation target: As a Regen employee I will be grateful for and take pride in my work.”

71. kokayk-kwa hanatoynun hwanca cwungsimuy cinlyo
 client-and together patient priorities care
 “service and care that prioritises the patient”

In examples 72 and 73, the employees state their responsibilities; also using speech level 6.

72. liceyninuy samyeng:
 Regen employee mission statement
 “A Regenite’s mission statement:”

73. hwancatul-eykey kamtong-ul cwukiwihay choysenul taha-pnita,
 patient-to heart-warming-ACC provide best do-SL6
 “I will provide heart-warming services to the patient.”

In example 74, the employees acknowledge the need for exceptional services to satisfy the patients and declare their resolve to try their best in giving these high quality services, again using speech level 6. Example 75 is a phrase chanted all together by the employees to boost morale.

74. chemtanuylyo sepisu-lul silhyenhamye kokayk
 advanced medical care service-ACC do client
 kamtong-ul silhyenhanun pyengweni toy-keyss-supnita.
 satisfaction-ACC ensure hospital will-FUT-SL6
 “During medical care I (the hospital) will ensure that the patient receives the best service possible.”

75. liceyn hwaithing
 Regen fighting
 “Regen fighting!”

The data above shows the continuous use of speech level 6 during the motivation and training session that takes place every morning.

In North Korea, speech level 6 is primarily used within political cell meetings or during broadcasts when speaking about the leaders (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il, Kim Jung Un). The use of speech level 6 in North Korea is most likely used to create a unified people and to acknowledge that the subject of their speech (the leaders) are regarded very highly and placed upon a pedestal. Further, speech level 6 is the most formal speech level and uniform use of speech level 6 implies convergence between people. In the South, the use of speech level 6 (rarely used in daily speech), when greeting clients or during their morning sessions, is particularly unusual. It may be due to a variety of reasons such as to instil a professional mind-set, to strengthen resolve and to create a sense of unity in the employees. Furthermore, perhaps quite similarly to the reasons for the use of speech level 6 in North Korea, in South Korean hospitals, the patients or the ‘clients’ are regarded highly and very much respected.

It could be argued that the daily conditioning and training of the employees originates from the expectation that the employees can deliver the best possible service to satisfy the clients. As such, economic or strategic benefit may be the key factors of why speech level 6 is used.

Therefore, it is notable that speech level 6 is used within the service sector. The employees at Regen, for example, are encouraged to use speech level 6 in order to portray a united setting and to show the highest level of respect to the clients to increase client satisfaction. After greeting the clients, further conversation between the employee and the client mostly involves the use of speech level 5 as shown in examples 76 and 77.

76. 14chung-ulo ollaka-si-myen toy-sey-yo.
 14th floor-LOC go-HON-if become-HON-SL5
 “If you go to the 14th floor.”

77. kathi ta thonghaphayse capa tulilsu issketun-yo.
 together total integrate schedule give is-SL5
 “I will schedule to integrate together.”

kulehkey hay tulilkkey-yo.
 like that do give-SL5
 “I will do that.”

In example 77, the Regen receptionist uses the honorific word *tulita* (‘give’) instead of the neutral form *cwuta*.

78. kulehkey siswul-i khu-si-n liphuthing-i ani-si-myen
 so surgery-NOM big-HON-MOD lifting-NOM is not-HON-if
 kulehkey manhinun an-o-si-lke-eyyo.
 so many not-come-HON-FUT-SL5
 “If the lifting is not a big operation, you do not need come [to the hospital] so many times.”

When looking at the overall data and the speech patterns used by the employees at Regen medical group, it could be argued that speech level 6 is used in order to catch the attention of the client and create a setting of professionalism. The speech pattern after the initial greeting shifts towards speech level 5 (as exemplified in example 78). This could be due to a number of reasons, but the main reason for this could be that the continuous use of speech level 6 may have negative effects when dealing with clients. Although speech level 6 does show a high degree of formality and respect, it also creates distance from the client. Therefore, a shift to the use of speech level 5 shows a level of friendliness and a more natural atmosphere within the professional setting created by the initial use of speech level 6.

7.8.2.4 Regen: Subject Honorifics

In high-end specialised services in South Korea, the subject honorifics used by the beauty consultants, receptionists and nurses are often overused and show overextension. The reason for this is most likely in their efforts to deliver a higher quality service, when compared to other hospitals. This behaviour in the use of subject honorifics was originally seen in luxury brand stores in South Korea. It has started to be adopted, whether intentionally or not, by big brand-name hospitals. As such, it is evident from this data that the overuse or overextension of subject honorifics is frequently for strategic benefits when speaking to clients. Examples 79 and 80 are clear cases of overextending honorifics.

79. 3 cwucengto-nun chungpwun-ha-si-l kes katha-yo.
 3 weeks-TOP enough-do-HON-FUT DN think-SL5
 “3 weeks should be enough.”

80. cehi-ka wenha-si-nun kosul yeiyak-ul
 we-NOM want-HON-TOP location reservation-ACC
 wenha-si-myen cehi-ka yeiyakto towatuliko hayyo.
 want-HON-if we-NOM reservation help do-SL5
 “If you would like us to make the reservation, we also help with booking.”

The speaker is the receptionist, who uses honorific *-si-* for the listener who is the customer. The receptionist does not consider the subject of the sentence and uses *-si-* to elevate the listener (the customer). In example 80, the receptionist used humble form *cehika* two times. *Cehika* is *wulika*'s humble form meaning ‘we’. When the subject of the sentence was ‘we’, they always opted to use the humble form although ‘we’ is usually omitted in the sentence and the receptionist could also use ‘I’. This emphasis on ‘we’ appeared to emphasize the collective team mind set and show further deference towards the listener.

There are two ways of asking for one’s name. Example 81 uses the honorific word, and example 82 uses a neutral word. *Sungham* is an honorific noun whose neutral form is *ilum*. In Regen, the receptionists and nurses always used the honorific word *sungham* when they asked their customer’s name. This is another example of showing deference towards the customer. Their reply also included the honorific particle *-nim* in the customer’s name.

81. sungham-i ettehkey toysicyo?
name(HON)-NOM how do-HON-SL5?

“What is your name?”

82. ilum-i ettehkey toysicyo?
name-NOM how do-HON-SL5?

“What is your name?”

(Hypothetical version of example 81 with the neutral form of the word name)

I do not have data for general or government hospitals, though I would expect there to be differences between the ‘high-end’ medical clinics provided by Regen and Ana compared to the government or regional hospitals. This would be an interesting area for future research.

7.8.2.5 Regen: Address Terms

During the motivational sessions that take place in Regen, the patients are referred to as ‘guests’ or ‘clients’. This shows an insight into how they perceive the patients who come to these clinics. Rather than the traditional relationship of hospital staff (i.e. doctors, nurses) and their patients, the dynamics of the relationships seem to have shifted more towards a service provider and client. This shift towards the latter dynamic seems to have become more frequent over the years, especially in high-end brands or organisations with an element of customer service, across South Korea. This can also be seen in the use of address terms. The honorific suffix *-nim*, instead of the more common *-ssi* used in everyday speech, is frequently used when speaking to the client, showing a strategic use of the honorific system. The use of the *-nim* honorific suffix is primarily to instil the feeling in patients that they are being respected and are being provided with high quality service. As a result, it could be argued that this particular honorific suffix attached to the address term is used specifically to boost sales. Within medical groups, the address term *-nim* is used at the end of the full name by the nurses or the receptionists when addressing the patients, as seen in examples 83 and 84.

83. cho-minceng-nim

FN-name-HON

“Miss Cho Minceng”

84. lee-yengsen-nim

FN-name-HON

“Miss Lee Yengsen”

Originally, the address term *wencang-nim* was used for the “chief doctor” in hospitals. However, recently there have been trends where a number of doctors would open a clinic together and each doctor would be addressed as *wencang-nim* shown in example 86, instead of the normal *uysa-sensayng-nim* used to address doctors in hospitals as seen in example 85. This new trend was noted in Regen, where all doctors were addressed as *wencang-nim*, even if they were not actually the ‘chief’ of a department.

85. uysa-sensayng-nim

doctor-teacher-HON

“doctor”

86. wencang-nim

chief-HON

“chief doctor”

Example 87 is another statement that is spoken out loud during the morning sessions at Regen. Within the statement, they refer to the patient as *kokayk* which is used as an address term. *Kokayk* means “client” or “guest” and is frequently used in high-end service sector and the term appears to be spreading elsewhere also. The usage of this address term *kokayk* in medical groups, especially in plastic surgery or dermatology departments, shows the attitude that the employees have towards the patients, as they are regarded as clients who require services more than patients who require just medical care. However, when speaking to the patients, the employees do not address them as “clients” but use their full names and the address term *-nim*, as in 83-84.

87. kokayk-kwa

hana

toynun

hwanca

cwungsimuy

client-and

together

become

patient

centric

“client-centric thinking become one with the patient”

7.8.3 Ana

Ana is also a group of hospitals, which specialise in dermatology. There are some branches in Seoul, Kyounggi Province, and in China. Currently, in Korea there are many plastic surgery hospitals and dermatology hospitals competing to provide their medical services. I went to an Ana hospital and met receptionists, nurses, and doctors. The employees at Ana, much like in Regen, went through a ‘training’ session every morning, although they did not do a ‘motivational’ session. Furthermore, in both Regen and Ana, the doctors did not take part in these morning sessions. The following sections analyse the speech patterns of the Ana receptionists and nurses, and the speech patterns of the doctors when speaking with patients.

7.8.3.1 Ana: Speech Levels

Ana employees also received training in the mornings and used speech level 6 when greeting patients.¹⁹ In addition, again similar to Regen, Ana employees started to use speech level 5 when conversing with the patient after the initial greeting. This gives further evidence that speech levels and speech patterns are used strategically in competitive industries in South Korea. When a patient goes to the hospital, the receptionists use greetings and farewells. They use speech level 6 for their patients. However, further conversations with the patients showed the use of speech level 5. Figure 7.14 shows the overall use of speech levels by employees in the Ana clinic.

¹⁹ It was found, upon further research into these morning sessions, there are business-to-business companies who consult with service providers (including hospitals, medical clinics, department stores, hotels etc.). These ‘service training’ companies are brought on by the executives of the service providers in order to provide speech, service etiquette and professional behaviour training sessions for their employees. The presence of these ‘service training’ companies indicates how important ‘service’ is regarded in South Korean culture.

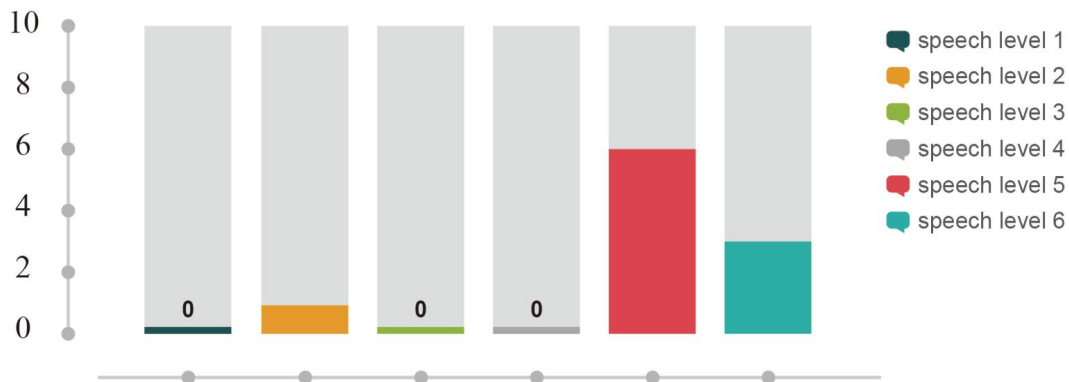


Figure 7.14. Use of speech levels in Ana

Examples 88-94 show the nurses and receptionists using speech level 6 when greeting the patients.

88. annyengha-si-pnikka?

hello-HON-SL6

“Hello.”

89. al-keyss-supnita.

understand-FUT-SL6

“Yes, I understand.”

90. kamsahapnida.

thank-SL6

“Thank you.”

91. annyenghika-sipsiyo

goodbye-SL6

“Goodbye.”

92. camkkanman anca-kyeisey-yo sungham-i pakmisen-nim toy-si-cyo?
 just a minute sit-HON-SL5 name-NOM name-HON is-HON-SL5

“Please sit down for a moment, is your name Park Mi Sun?”

93. pakmisen-nim iccok-ulo annayhay-tuli-keyss-supnida.
 Park Mi Sun-HON this direction-LOC guide-HON-FUT-SL6
 “Ms. Park Mi Sun please come here and we will direct you.”

94. sinkyeng ssui-si-nuntey issu-si-eyo?
 concern bother-HON-CON is-HON-SL5
 “Is there anything that is bothering you?”

Example 93 uses speech level 6. Examples 92 and 94 show speech level 5.

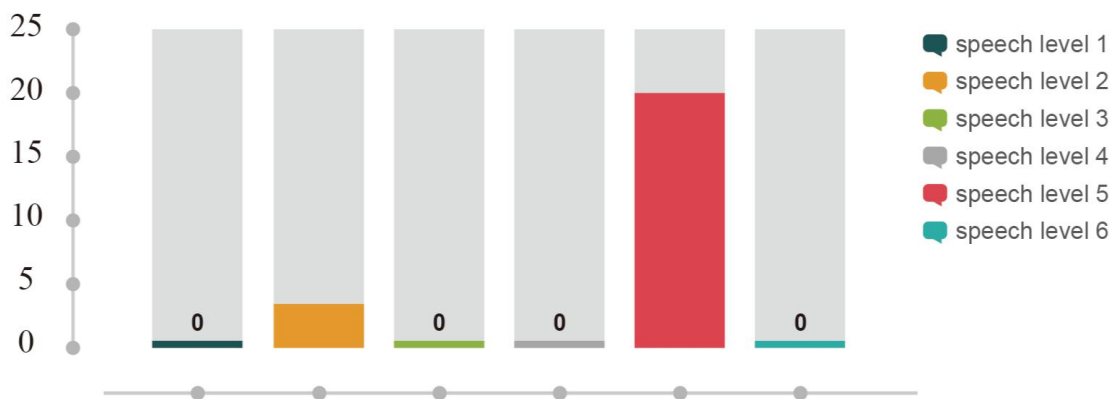


Figure 7.15. Use of speech levels in Ana from doctors to patients

Figure 7.15 shows the use of speech levels in Ana from doctors to patients. An analysis of the speech pattern used by doctors show that they use speech level 5 83.3% of the time and speech level 2 in the remaining 16.7%. Although speech level 5 is used for the majority of the observed conversations, the use of speech level 2 (the informal speech level) has interesting implications. It could be seen that the doctors regard themselves quite highly in both the professional and commercial setting in the overall socio-economic hierarchy. Furthermore, the doctors receive no service training and do not attend the motivational morning sessions. This implies that the doctors are considered separate from the service side of the clinic, and are not expected to show the utmost deference towards the patient. This also perhaps suggests that the doctors consider themselves socially superior and thus convey their power towards the patient, although more research needs to be done to explore this.

7.8.3.2 Ana: Subject Honorifics

The data shows that there is frequent overuse or overextensions of subject honorifics by the staff at the clinic when speaking to patients. Although the doctors are not trained towards providing service, they seem to occasionally overuse and overextend subject honorifics. This is most likely an influence of society where even though the grammar may be incorrect, overextension of subject honorifics is quite common in everyday speech. This further shows how the influence of ‘service’ and the strategic use of speech has permeated South Korean culture. From the Ana clinic, I recorded and analysed speech between a patient and doctor.

95. kuken saykso-lul mantunun ken anikin ha-ntey
that pigment-ACC make DN not do-SL2
“That does not make pigment.”

In example 95, there is no overextension honorific from doctor to patient. Example 96 shows a rare example of overextension of subject honorifics by the doctor towards the patient.

96. kukes ttaymunun ani-si-ko yelum-ilase
this because is not-HON-and summer-as
saykso-ka ollao-si-n kes kathu-si-nteyyo
pigment-NOM rise-HON-MOD DN seem-HON-SL5
“It is not because of that; it is summer now so the pigment seems to have risen.”

Further, in example 97, the doctor does not use overextended honorifics. The speech level used is 2. In the following sentence (example 98) the doctor used speech level 5.

97. saykso-nun kyewulccum-ey hanunkey nalkes
pigment-NOM winter-LOC do better
kathkin han-tey.
would is-SL2
“It would be better to get the pigment treatment around winter.”

98. caoysechatancey-man cal paluko-yo.
sunscreen-ACC just wear-SL5

“Just wear sunscreen often.”

In example 97, the doctor suggests directly to the patient and does not use subject honorifics. In that example, the doctor does not overextend or overuse her use of honorifics. I rarely found overextension of honorifics between doctor and patient. This contrasted to the nurses and receptionists who overused subject honorifics and overextended for their patients frequently.

7.8.3.3 Ana: Address Terms

The use of the honorific suffix *-nim* was also observed in Ana. Again, similar to Regen, this address term is used strategically to indicate high quality levels to the patients. In example 99, when the receptionists ask for a client’s name, they use the honorific noun *sungham* use instead of *ilum*. After the name, again, they attached *-nim* such as in example 100.

99. camkkanman anca-kyeisey-yo sungham-i
just a minute sit-HON-SL5 name-NOM
pakmisen-nim toy-si-cyo?
name-HON is-HON-SL5

“Please sit down for a moment, is your name Park Mi Sun?”

100. pakmisen-nim iccok-ulo annayhay-tuli-keyss-supnida.
Park Mi Sun-HON this direction-LOC guide-HON-FUT-SL6

“Ms. Park Mi Sun please come here and we will direct you.”

In conclusion, high-end clinics strategically use various aspects of speech and incorporate them into their services. These aspects of speech include the use of speech levels 5 and 6, overuse and overextension of honorifics, and the address term *-nim* after the patients’ names. These elements of speech listed above have varying effects on how the patient perceives the service that they are being provided. The importance that is placed in providing high quality customer or client service may have originated from the socio-economic state of the country, so much so that the speech levels and speech patterns that are used in South Korea when speaking to clients are parallel to those that are used by North Koreans when speaking about their leader.

7.9 Retail Industry Data: South Korea

The speech levels that are used in the retail industry in South Korea differ greatly depending on the type of area. The data was collected from the three main types of areas where consumers often go shopping. These three areas are luxury shopping brands, high street brands and street market products. 93% of the speech levels used by the employees in the luxury stores was speech level 5. In the high-street brand stores, the employees still used speech level 5 as the main speech level; however, the use of speech level 2 increased up to 27%.

In the street markets, 50% of the speech was speech level 2, whilst speech level 5 was only used 25% of the time. In this setting, the speech levels were significantly varied, as all speech levels (except for speech level 4) were used in their speech. This data provides further evidence to the claim that the speech levels in South Korea are used very much for strategic benefits in the retail industry in South Korea.

7.10 Data Analysis: Overall Conclusion

This chapter compared the analysis of North Korean and South Korean data. In the case of North Korea, and the initial question of whether the prescriptive norm issued by the government (outlined in *Cosenmalyeycelpep* by T. S. Kim (1983) and *Enesayngwallon* by C. Y. Lee (2005)) is adhered to by ordinary North Koreans, evidence strongly suggested that prescriptive norms are strictly adhered to especially in public or formal situations. ‘Public’ can be defined as in party meetings, jobs and TV broadcasting and likely most circumstances which are not very close and familial. In public settings, the party position was the main determinant of which address terms were to be used. The conclusion is that the prescriptive norm issued by the government is being used accordingly in the lives of ordinary North Koreans.

In private settings, the speech levels are used more dynamically and more widely, using speech levels that are hardly ever used in South Korea such as *hao-chey* and *hakey-chey*. Comparing speech levels 5 and 6, speech level 6 was predominantly used in North Korea and appeared to imply that formality remains important in North Korean society. The variety of speech levels used may suggest that the social hierarchy is much more straightforwardly respected and defined intricately, with speech levels even differentiating between slight differences in power and solidarity. Further, the special terms reserved for Kim Jung Un such as ‘gift’, ‘give’, ‘the sun’, ‘military general’, ‘sacrifice’ are used accordingly in novels,

educational textbooks and in all forms of government-controlled media, and this was also shown in the role plays with ordinary North Koreans, where the prescribed usage of these special terms was adhered to when discussing the North Korean leaders.

In South Korea, the language variation suggests that the service sector has flourished. The development of service- or customer-centric language use has emerged. Outside the product related stores (as explored in Chapter 5), even hospitals and medical clinic health providers showed similar patterns of linguistic rule bending to differentiate their services. The daily morning practice of ‘friendliness education’ and chants with the employees (section 7.7) was especially intriguing. It appears as though linguistic variation did not only emerge naturally but has also been put into the fabric of modern South Korean society through the use of professional customer service training companies, and as result of the hypercompetitive economic ecosystem in South Korea.

Furthermore, while increased vertical distance was important in elevating the status of the customer, solidarity or emotional closeness appeared increasingly significant to providing a good customer experience. In the TV broadcasts, both speech levels 6 and 5 were used, first to mark formality and deference, but then secondly to tune the horizontal distance between the viewers and the presenters. A similar pattern of this speech level variation appeared in luxury stores, and significantly more in high-street stores, which seems to suggest that emotional intimacy between the salesperson and the customer is also important in strategically increasing the chances of economic reward.

With regards to the hospital data, an interesting anomaly appeared. Although the nurses, receptionists, and other employees used respectful and elevating language for the customer, the doctors’ use of language was slightly different. Even some speech level 2 (semi-formal or ‘half speech’) was observed amongst speech level 5 use. This seemed to suggest that the doctors regard themselves as having a high status in society, even higher than the customers who pay for their services. The doctors would not lower or humble themselves towards the customer like everyone else in the clinic, but rather it may seem as if doctors were above the customer in terms of hierarchical status. This appeared to be a common, pre-established understanding in South Korean society, as customers expect a different relationship with a doctor as opposed to lower-ranking hospital staff.

Overall, comparing the North and South Korean football broadcasting particularly highlighted the language variation or cultural variation. It is intriguing that in North Korean TV, there is hardly any acknowledgement of the viewers, with subject honorifics not appearing when the viewers were the subject (though most of the time, they weren’t). This contrasted

significantly with the South Korean broadcasting, where the focus and attention was on engaging, respecting and developing a closer relationship with the viewers.

To summarise, following the separation of North and South Korea almost 70 years ago, the data analysis seems from this chapter to support the argument that language divergence reveals the underlying structural changes in society, where the power lies and how power is distributed.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this section is to present a summary of my findings. In the following section 8.2, I give an overview of my findings referring back to the goals given in my introduction. In section 8.2.1, I summarize how address terms have most prominently highlighted the power distribution. Then, I evaluate the data in section 8.3 which I further divide into 2 sections: South Korea and North Korea (sections 8.3.1 and 8.3.2 respectively). In section 8.4, I compare language variation in North Korea and South Korea. Finally, in section 8.5, I suggest what further research should be done.

Here is a brief summary of what was addressed in the previous seven chapters of this thesis. Chapter 1 introduced the goal of the thesis to examine the language variation and changes in honorification systems use in the Korean peninsula. Chapter 2 introduced the Korean language followed by the literature review focusing on Politeness Theory by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Accommodation Theory by Giles and Ogay (2007) and the Pronouns of Power and Solidarity by Brown and Gilman (1960). Chapter 3 introduced the Korean honorification systems. Chapter 4 focused on pre-division Korea and investigated the Korean language before divergence. Chapter 5 explored ‘overextension’ and ‘overuse’ in modern South Korea. Chapter 6 examined North Korean language variation and the relationship between language and government. Chapter 7 presented a detailed comparison of the South and North Korean data.

8.2 Overview of Findings

The aim of this thesis was to examine the relationship between power and honorifics in North and South Korea. As I mentioned in the beginning of this thesis, my goal was to explore how the traditional meaning of ‘inferiority’ and ‘superiority’ have changed in both Koreas and how that has impacted the honorification systems in the Korean peninsula. Thus, in this section, I will address the following questions from the beginning of the thesis and examine my findings in my research and data. This will be followed by a discussion and remarks on what the future might hold for further development of understanding language variation in the Korean peninsula.

The introduction of the objectives was outlined as followed:

1. To examine how power is manifested in the use of honorifics in South and North Korea

- (i) How are honorifics used in modern South and North Korea?
- (ii) What are the similarities and differences in the development of honorifics in South and North Korea?
- (iii) What are the determining factors that led to these variations?

2. To assess the implications and future of current trends

- (i) Are the current variations in honorifics individual instances of strategic employment or are they becoming a norm?
- (ii) Has power justified prescriptively incorrect use of honorifics?

In both Koreas, the root purpose of honorification systems remains much the same: to display deference to the speaker, honorifics as a social norm and for relational work in negotiating emotional distances and power difference. However, anomalies have risen in the use of honorifics in both Koreas. In South Korea, honorifics use reflect the fundamental social changes; the emergence of a new consumer culture. The use of honorific marker *-si-* decreases from the luxury store to the high street to the street market. The decrease corresponds with the reduced risk per interaction with a customer. Overextension and overuse of honorific marker *-si-* was observed in disproportionately more frequently in the luxury stores relative to the high street and the street markets. Startlingly, South Korean consumers have taken these incorrect overextensions and overuses on board as a norm in the consumer environment. The fundamental shift towards a capital driven society has created a seemingly deep rooted motivation for financial rewards, and in turn, seems to have created a universal understanding of economically driven behaviour of people. The cultural shift is closely related to the causes of divergence in the use of honorification systems. Suh (1978) and Y. S. Park (1978, 2004) state the overarching trend is one of simplification of speech levels in South Korea, and the data collected corresponds to this argument where mainly speech levels 2 and 5 are used. Further, the overuse and overextension of subject honorific marker *-si-* appears to be a side effect of the changes in South Korean society revolving around socio-economic power.

In North Korea, honorification systems have maintained much of the pre-division integrity and structure. For example, the speech levels *hao-chey* (level 4) and *hakey-chey* (level 3) remain used, where *hao-chey* (level 4) is used when the listener has slightly higher status

than the speaker. Speech level 6 is used in all formal settings. The speech levels appear to facilitate the accurate depiction of the power dynamics between interlocutors, and suggest that North Korean society remains structured and dynamic, conveying even slight differences in power between interlocutors. As one of the North Korean defectors stated, power is distributed effectively as in one large military organisation depending on position in relation to the political party, and there exists a clear organizational layout. Furthermore, the complexity and structure of the speech levels pre-1945's appear to maintain close ties with the modern North Korean speech levels use, as much of the speech levels use has been preserved. One of the important pieces of evidence for this is the use of subject honorific marker *-siop-* used for the Japanese emperor during the colonial period. Honorific marker *-siop-* is also used to display utmost respect and admiration towards the North Korean leader as shown in *Cosenmalyeycelpep* by T. S. Kim (1983). This suggests that there are similarities between modern North Korean use of honorification systems and pre-division honorification systems.

Honorification systems were traditionally designed to differentiate the 'superior' from the 'inferior' in Korea. In North Korea, the meaning of superior and inferior has been refashioned. The drop in subject honorifics *-si* and *-kkeyse* for superiors when the supreme leader is mentioned in the same sentence is an example of this linguistic dwarfing. Although the concept of respecting superiors remains, evidence in the language variation suggests that honorifics can now be used to differentiate between the 'inferior', 'superior' and the 'supreme'. This language use is emphasized as the prescriptive norm in the *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983). The concentration of power accrued by the North Korean Worker's Party can be seen through this absolute elevation of the leaders Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il and Kim Jung Un.

The determining factor which led to changes in honorifics use is ultimately down to how language policies are created to uphold the ideological principles and enable effective top down communication. The impressive efficiency of the distribution of these language policies also plays a critical role in the divergence of the use of honorification systems. Speech Level 6 continues to be used in the daily lives of North Koreans, especially in public situations and to portray deferential politeness, as the data suggests from both the football broadcasts, dramas and the interviews with the North Korean defectors. The graph below (Figure 8.1) shows the speech levels used in a discussion between two North Koreans (NKM1, NKM2) and two South Koreans (SKM1, SKF2). The order of social hierarchy was NKM1>SKM1>SKF2>NKM2 where NKM1 was the most superior in the group and NKM1, NKM2 and SKM1 are familiar with each other and SKF2 is the participant and observer.

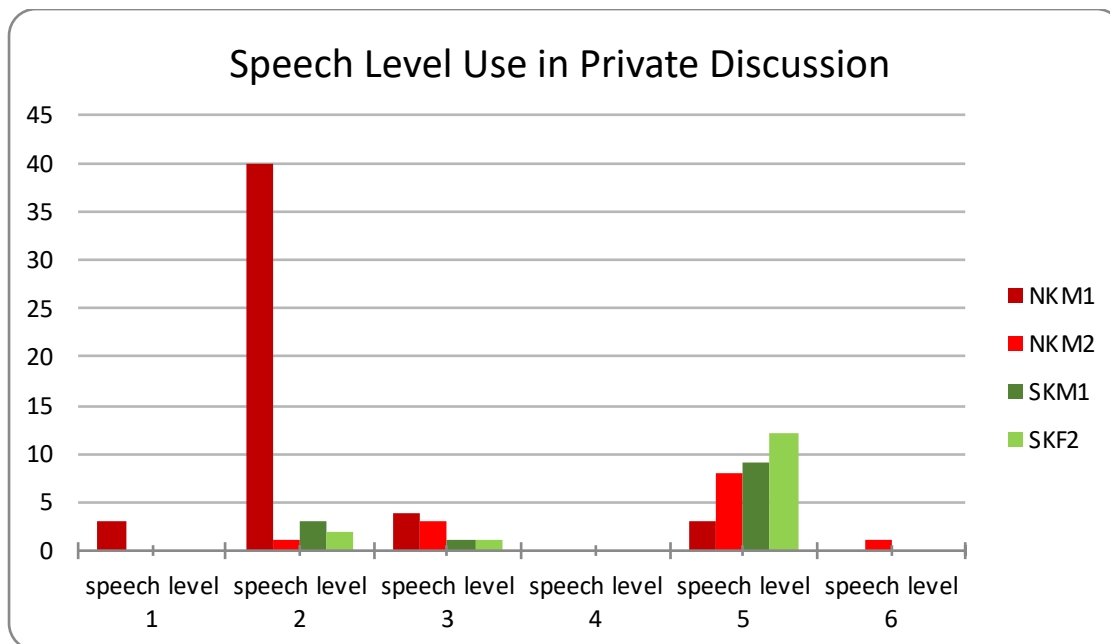


Figure 8.1. Speech Level Use in Private Discussion between North and South Koreans

As shown in Figure 8.1, SKM1 and SKF2 show a very similar pattern of speech level use using (3:1:9) and (2:1:12) respectively in the same speech levels (SL2:SL3:SL5). NKM1 and NKM2 had a wider variety of speech level use (3:40:4:3) in (SL1:SL2:SL3:SL5) and (1:3:8:1) in (SL2:SL3:SL5:SL6) respectively. This revealed the underlying social elements; where NKM1’s speech level shifted to the left (SL1) and NKM2’s speech level shifted to the right (SL6) revealing the underlying social hierarchy NKM1>SKM1>SKF2>NKM2. Overall, NKM1 and NKM2 used one more Speech Level than SKM1 and SKF2. The variety of speech level use in this private setting contrasted to the speech level use of North Korean interviewees in the role plays, simulating the Worker’s Party meetings, where formal SL6 was used 100% of the time.

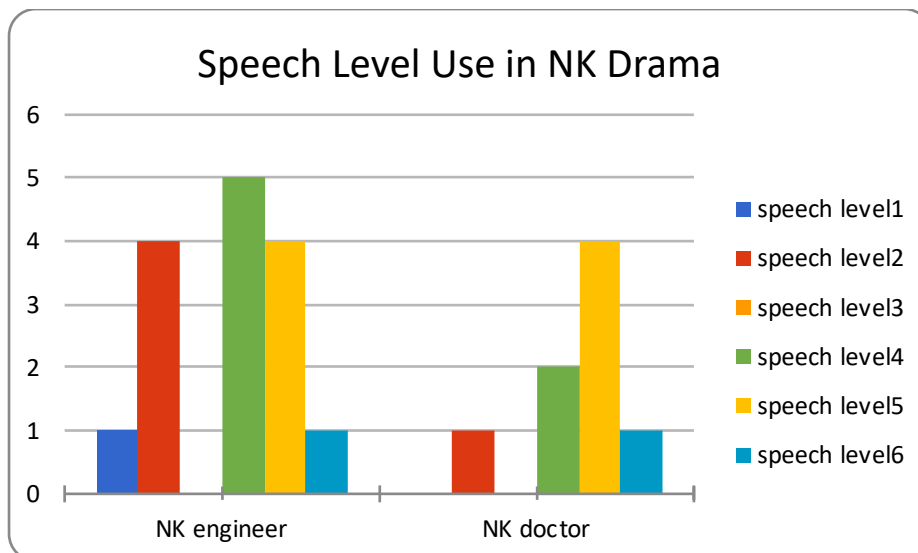


Figure 8.2. Speech Level Use in North Korean Drama

Figure 8.2 shows a private talk over drinks between two friends the same age. As shown by the distribution of speech levels, compared to South Korean, honorification systems are used much more dynamically. In this figure, 5 speech levels are used although this is a private, informal conversation dynamically showing a wider variety of speech levels than in South Korea, perhaps suggesting that North Korean society may be more hierarchical than South Korean society. Two North Korean defector interviewees, NKMCHOY and NKFPARK, experienced culture shock when they first arrived in South Korea. They particularly felt that social norms had collapsed due to the simplification of the honorification systems and correct use of language was not adhered to. For example, the use of the intimate speech level 2 by children to their parents. J. B. Lee (2012) states that the use of speech level 2 by children towards parents has increased. Further, the interviewees said how South Korean appeared feminine due to predominant use of speech level 5 (*hayyo chey*) style speech in preference over speech level 6 (*hapso chey*). One of the interviewees NKMKIMY stated that, in North Korea, speech level 5 (*hayyo-chey*) is used by men when they are speaking to women they are interested in, emphasizing how feminine and soft speech level 5 sounds to North Korean defectors.

8.2.1 Language and Power

As suggested by Brown and Gilman (1960), address terms are the pivotal diagnostic in uncovering where the power lies. Clear patterns emerge of how power has been distributed since the division of Korea. Before the division, address terms suggest that power is

concentrated in the aristocratic positions, for example; male aristocrat with a government position, wife of a male aristocrat, son of an aristocrat, newly wed son of an aristocrat, newly wed daughter of an aristocrat, children of an aristocrat, and so on.

Post-division North Korean address terms have moulded to reflect:

- 1) the *Cwuchey* ideology
- 2) elevation and utmost deference towards the leader
- 3) the concentration of power with the Worker's Party.

1) *tongmu* and *tongci*, meaning 'comrade' are suffixed to the party position (as shown in section 6.5.2). Almost all address terms relating to the party end with *tongmu* or *tongci*. In the North Korean football broadcasting, the commentator introduces the other commentator as follows:

- | | | | |
|--|----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. onulto | cheyyukkwahak | yenkwuso | pwukyosu |
| today | sports science | research institute | deputy professor |
| phaksa | litongkyu | tongmu-wa | hamkkey |
| doctor | name | comrade and | together |
| po-keyss-supnita | | | |
| watch-FUT-SL6 | | | |
| 'Today's game will be accompanied by sports science research institute | | | |
| deputy professor doctor Lee Dong Kyu comrade.' | | | |

Pre-final honorific marker *-si* is missing when the subject is the viewers. And instead of honorific suffix *-nim*, which would be used in South Korea, *-tongmu* (meaning comrade) is attached. Further, the agglutination of address terms prefixed before the *tongmu* or *tongci* term is particularly unusual from the perspective of a South Korean. This contrasts with South Korean address terms which do not have the ending 'comrade' to most of the high ranking address terms in South Korean society.

2) The term 'military general' or 'commander in chief' is used to revere and magnify the North Korean leader often in the phrasing 'the Great general Kim Jung Un' in conjunction with the honorific marker *-kkeyse*. This address term corresponds with the military uniform and short, militant styled hair of the North Korean leader. The official language rule book *Cosenmal yeycelpep* by T. S. Kim (1983) outlines in detail which address terms should be used. They include "respected and loved country leader", "great group leader", "wise general",

“respected and loved commander in chief” and “our father” to be used to aggrandize the North Korean leader. The use of these address terms was exhibited in my interviews with the North Korean defectors.

The address terms other than those to emphasize the significance of the leaders (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jung Il and Kim Jung Un), are those to systematically and accurately portray the positions in relation to the Worker’s Party. For example: party secretary, cell secretary, party manager and so on. As one interviewee articulated, the society revolves and is centred around the political party with the leader as the pinnacle of the political power.

In South Korea, the most notable changes in address terms point to two causes;

- 1) how financial power has become an important factor in increased power
- 2) how society has changed to embed elements of capitalism.

Regarding point 2, the rise of the concept of ‘companies’ are most prominent in this case, which starkly contrasts to North Korea. There have been many new address terms created or altered to address this need: address terms such as CEO, COO, manager, vice-president, chairman, secretary and so on show how South Korean culture has changed to become a part of the economy and the emergence of the capitalistic social structure since 1945. Regarding point 1, another peculiar aspect is the use of ‘incorrect’ address terms when the financial power of someone is very high. For example, at private golf clubs, or in private shopping contexts, or high-end restaurants, the terms CEO and CEO’s wife, *sacang-nim* and *samo-nim*, are used to address the customers. Although they may not literally be CEOs and CEO’s wives, these terms are used to display the financial power of these customers. This differs with the use of *pwuin* for all married women in North Korea, according to interviewee NFKLEE. Other than *sacang-nim* and *samo-nim*, a similar phenomenon is observed in my data with the term *kokaek-nim* (‘honorable guest’) as explored in section 5.4.2. This term is not grammatically correct, and the government attempted to inform the public of this through YouTube videos. However, the campaign was unsuccessful and the term prevails as the new norm in South Korean society.

Comparing the personal pronouns in South Korean and English texts²⁰, C. K. Kim (2009: 2097) summarizes that in English authors deploy the use of ‘you’ or ‘we’ to show the vertical or horizontal distance between the author and the reader. In South Korean, C. K. Kim (2009) suggests that there is no choice between the terms ‘you’ and ‘we’, as ‘we’ or *wuli* is

²⁰ C. K. Kim (2009) investigated personal pronouns in quality Korean and English newspapers namely *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian* from Britain, and *Cosenilbo* and *Dongailbo* from Korea.

predominantly used. J. B. Lee (2010: 205) states that the widespread use of the term *caki* meaning 'you' has only recently emerged. It could be argued that there is a shift from the 'biased sense of community' as mentioned by C. K. Kim (2009: 2097) to the individualistic mind set in South Korea, similar to the values of individualism in the West. Comparing the address terms for 'you' or 'we' between the two Koreas further highlights differences. The data supports the use of *tongmu* and *tongci* used to address 'you' in North Korea and *wuliinmin* for the term 'we' meaning 'us the citizens'. In all the role plays conducted, *tongmu* and *tongci* were used, and even in intimate situations, the use of *caki* did not appear. In South Korea, there are many levels of intimacy for the terms 'you' without having the militaristic connotation of comrade, or 'we' without connotations of a large nation driving towards a shared vision. This may suggest that the collectivistic mindset prevails in North Korea which corresponds to the army parades and entertainment shows, where the scale of the number of people acting in unison is impressively large relative to other countries. Brown and Gilman (1960) argue 'solidarity has largely won out over power' in Europe which thus was reflected in the simplification of the 'tu' and 'vous' use. As solidarity is a primary concern; 'vous' is now used to indicate emotional distance rather than power differences. The argument that address terms change with the social structure and the values that people hold applies clearly in the analysis of divergence in North and South Korea.

8.3 Discussion of Data

8.3.1 South Korea

The data collected from my fieldwork revealed some interesting patterns in line with the theory presented in the literature review. One of the most prominent characteristics was the disproportionate increase in the luxury department stores of the use of honorifics, extreme polite behaviour, often incorporating speech level 6 which is not used frequently in daily life, and finally the overuse of the address term *kokaeknim*, shown in Figure 8.3.

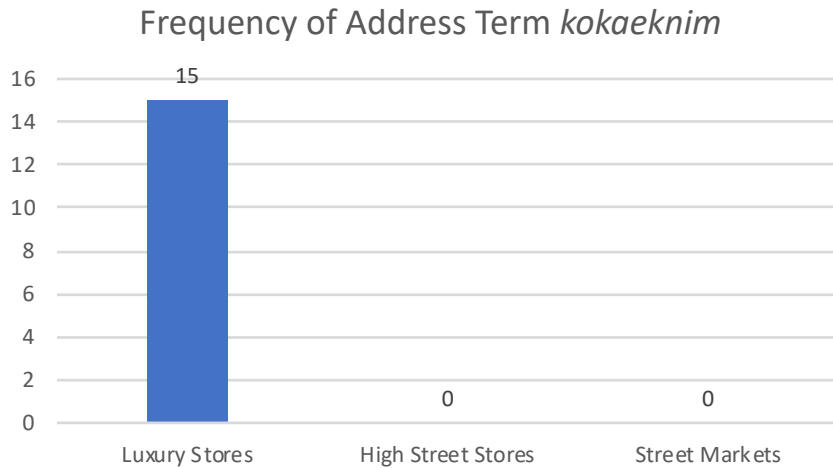


Figure 8.3. Frequency of Address Term *kokaeknim* by Category

Figure 8.4 below was generated using a modified version of the weightiness formula by Brown and Levinson (1987: 320) of $W = D + P + R$ where W is the computed weightiness, D is the distance between the speaker and the hearer, P is the power difference between hearer and speaker and R is the rank of imposition which depends on the culture. This equation was modified to calculate weightiness considering the fraction of which a transaction in a shop contributes to the total earning of the shop. This modified equation $\frac{D + P + R}{(\frac{\text{total earning of a store}}{\text{price of item}})^2}$ meant that the greater a single transaction impacts the earning of a shop, the greater the weightiness. For example, in a luxury shop, the weightiness would be greater than the street markets as the price of the item contributes more to the overall earning of the shop than in the street markets. Thus, individual customers or single transactions bear greater importance. This hypothesis was used to create a visualisation of the predicted weightiness in an interaction for against the fraction of $\frac{\text{total earning of a store}}{\text{price of item}}$ squared, to show how this equation would predict that weightiness decreases at n^2 rate, as the financial importance of a single transaction decreases.

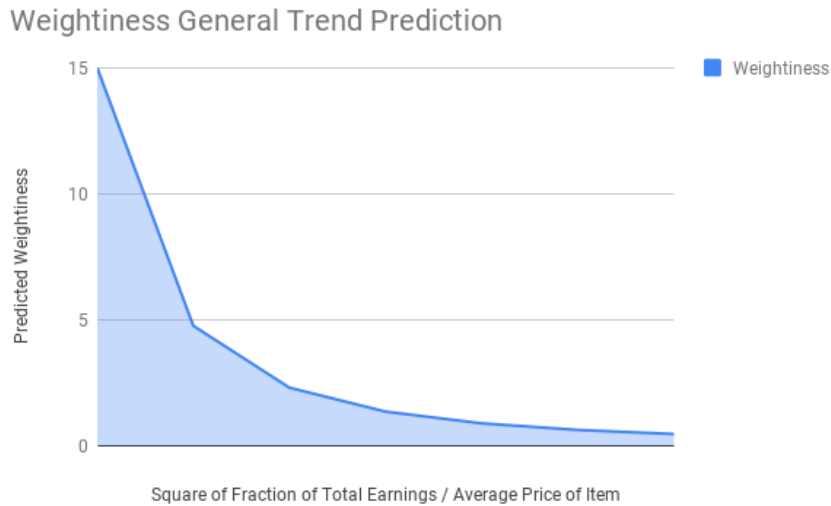


Figure 8.4. Weightiness prediction by Category according to Revised Weightiness Formula

Figure 8.4 shows the general hypothetical trend generated using my revised weightiness formula where the weightiness increases in proportion to the square of the fraction of the customer's purchase, out of the store's total income (Chapter 2). Relating to Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) notion of politeness, the weightiness formula when revised to account the customer's economic impact on a store predicted that as the weightiness of a salesperson to customer increased, the FTA strategy that the salesperson opted for also increased, to minimize the risk of offending the customer and maximize the chances of a financial reward. Comparing the data between the luxury department stores and street markets revealed the underlying difference that there is no incentive for the salesperson to maximize the chances of individual transactions in the street market. Therefore, this often led to impolite language and speech level use including imperatives, speech level 2 used across all street markets, and shouting. The use of speech levels in each category is shown in Figures 8.5, 8.6 and 8.7 and the comparative graph of all three categories' speech levels is shown in Figure 8.8.

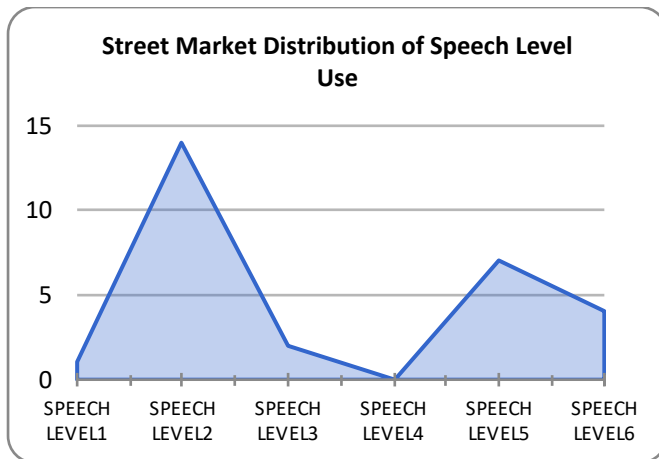


Figure 8.5. Street Markets Speech Levels

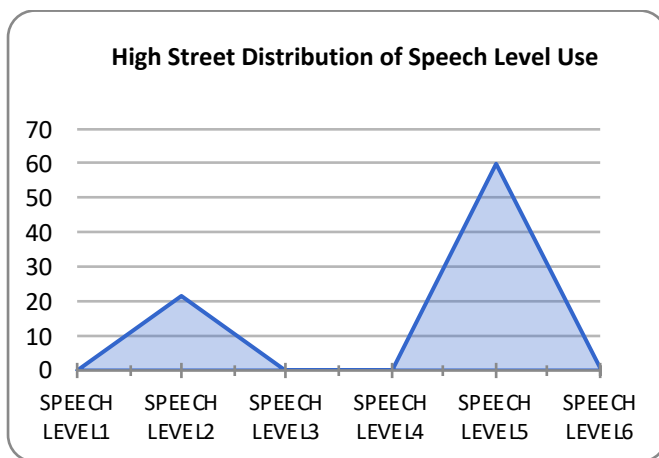


Figure 8.6. High Street Speech Levels

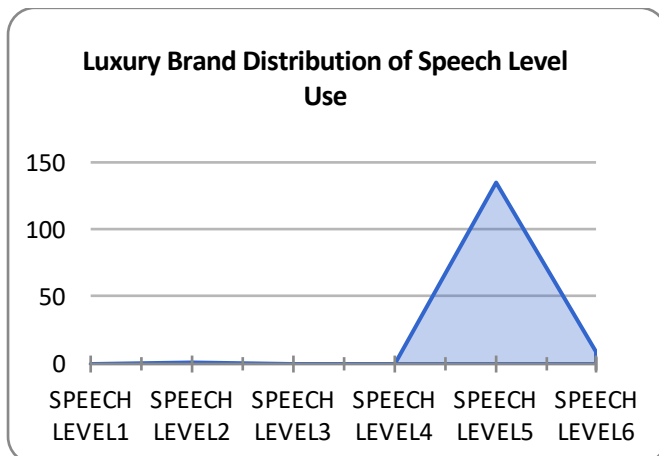


Figure 8.7. Luxury Brands Speech Levels

All three categories (luxury stores, the high street and the street markets) fit into the politeness model as they universally tried to maximize the overall financial reward, and in all three, the data shows that the salespeople recommended customers to buy the item discussed, therefore creating an FTA situation where salespeople strategize their use of language to achieve rewards.

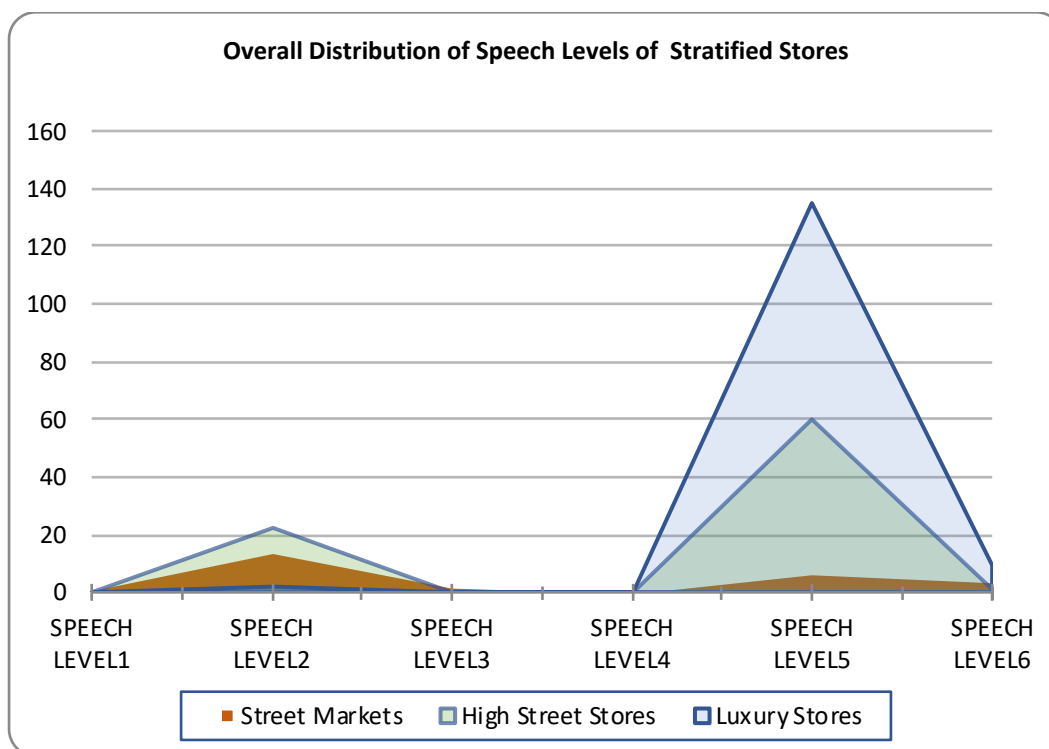


Figure 8.8. Overall Speech Levels Used in all 3 Categories

However, some interesting characteristics emerged from the high street store data. An interchanged use of both speech levels 5 and 2 was used to maximize the chance of rewards. Another interesting aspect from the high street stores was the manipulation of the emotional distance between the salesperson and the customer; address terms such as *enni* were used in conjunction with level 5 polite speech to decrease the perceived emotional closeness while still showing the elevated status of the customer. As the concentration of economic power increased for a customer, the salespeople seemed to value the negative face of the customer increasingly, making the luxury stores dramatically more risk adverse. However, in the street markets, the economic power of individual customers is very small and it is the overall number of customers rather than individual's purchase that will maximize reward. What is also a fascinating aspect of the unpredictable use of the speech levels and the variability of the emotional distance, is that as the weightiness is significantly less than in the luxury stores, salespeople can take more risk to increase the chances of a reward which is reflected, in turn, by their linguistic behaviour.

8.3.2 North Korea

In relation to the Communication and Accommodation Theory of Giles and Ogay (2007), we observe linguistic convergence and divergence for different reasons in South Korea and in North Korea. In North Korea, the language is divergent to differentiate the leader. By the use of speech level 6, (deferential speech level) along with *-kkeyse* and honorific marker *-si-*, which is exclusively used²¹ for when Kim Jung Un is the subject of the sentence, the leader is distinguished and elevated in status. The analysis of the news broadcasts also revealed this characteristic. In the football broadcast, there was a strong lack of accommodation by the commentators for the viewers. As shown in Figure 8.9, in the North Korean broadcasting, the when *-si-* is used, it is used mainly when referring to the leader. The lack of accommodation is striking comparing the North Korean broadcasts to South Korean broadcasts where the presenters ‘overaccommodate’ the viewers.

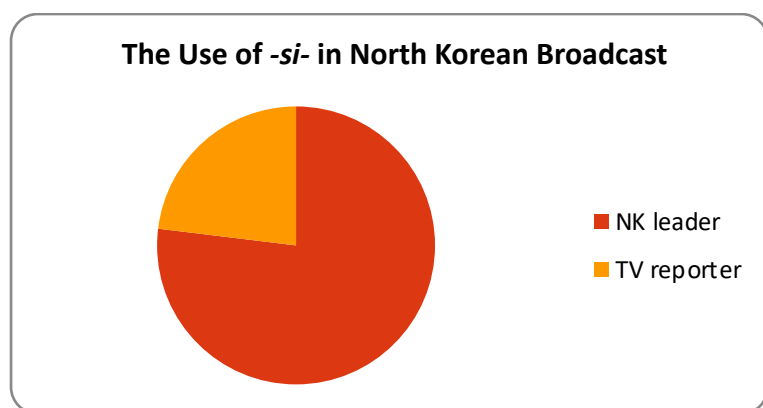


Figure 8.9. Proportion of *-si-* used in North Korean Broadcast

The distribution of the use of honorific marker *-si-* in the North Korean broadcast was key. *-si-* is predominantly reserved for the leader in North Korea (see Figure 8.9), which contrasts with South Korean broadcasting where the frequent use of *-si-* appears even when referring to another TV reporter. Additionally, *-si-* in South Korean broadcasting is used to address the audience, in conjunction with address term *sichengca yelepwun*, meaning ‘viewers’. North Korean broadcasters, however, do not address the viewers at all, and the use of the term *sichengca yelepwun* was non-existent. This highlights the crucial difference between North and

²¹ The official North Korean grammar rule book states that *-kkeyse* is for exclusive use for the leader. However, the interviews showed that people would also use *-kkeyse* for highly ranked party officials.

South Korea, in that the South Korean broadcasting companies compete to encourage viewers to watch their programs.

Also, in South Korean broadcasting, the interchange of both speech levels 5 and 6 (see Figure 8.10) is used strategically to control the emotional distance between the presenters and the viewers. Speech level 6 is used to display respect towards the viewer as well as mark the formal aspect of broadcasting, but speech level 5 is also used to decrease the horizontal (emotional) distance. In North Korean football broadcasting, speech level 6 is used uniformly throughout the broadcast (Figure 8.10).

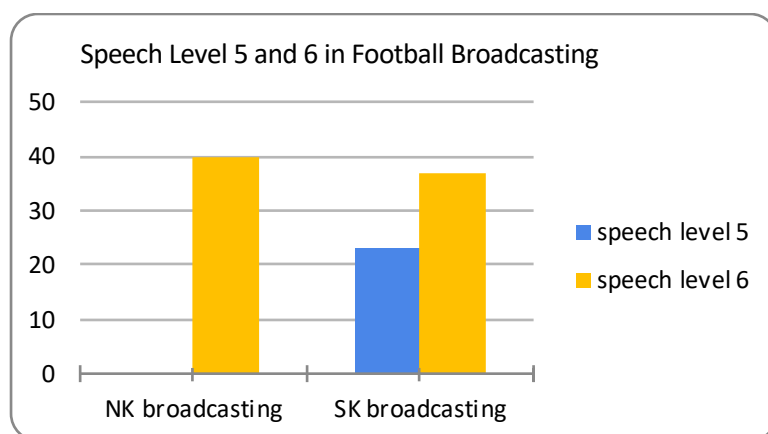


Figure 8.10. Speech Level 5 and 6 in Football Broadcasting

The divergence for the North Korean leader was further shown by the omission of the usual honorific markers for someone with a higher status such as one's grandfather, if Kim Jung Un was also mentioned in the same sentence. This notable divergence in language between Kim Jung Un and the rest is a vehicle to differentiate the leader as a god-like figure. Linguistic divergence occurred in other forms, one of which included the word *senmwul* or 'gift', which is only reserved to convey the situations where Kim Jung Un gives a gift to the citizens, emphasizing the asymmetric relationship between the leader and the rest. Another method of divergence was the given by the evolving dictionary. For example, the word *thayyang* meaning sun, has a secondary definition in North Korea; sun is used to refer to the leaders who 'shine a light on the path forward'. This is one of the examples of how the meaning of words in the dictionary has been altered to revere and revolve around the leader.

However, there was linguistic evidence of the leader converging with the people, portraying Kim Jung Un as the omnibenevolent leader. Address terms *swulyeng-nim* meaning 'leader of the group' and *cangkwun-nim* 'general' and the honorific suffix *-nim* are used to

refer to Kim Jung Un, and the term ‘comrade’ is used for normal North Koreans to imply that the leader and the ordinary people are in one large collective team. Other than the differentiation of the North Korean leader from the others, linguistic divergence did not occur at all in the frequent formal party-related meetings. The data collected from interviews indicated the same convergent language use by the North Korean defectors. Speech level 6 was used throughout the Worker’s Party meetings which suggested strict adherence to the social norm, especially for public situations. Frequent use of the suitable address terms *tongmu* and *tongci* was common across all interviews to refer to other participants in the cell.

8.4 Comparison and Discussion

As King (2007: 217) notes, Korean language has diverged “in two different directions in two different regimes with radically different political ideologies”. In North Korea, the militant and effective language planning by the North Korean government has facilitated the crucial language policy changes which act as a fundamental cornerstone for the preservation of the *Cwuchey* ideology. In South Korea, however, the government’s indecisiveness of language policies and their lack of success in the distribution and implementation of the policies has allowed the unplanned development of language. This thus explains the overextension and overuse in the South Korean honorification systems in the service sector. In North Korea, the language variation driven by the consumer culture is not prevalent. When asked whether the address term *kokaeknim* is used in North Korea, one interviewee said:

Interview data: North Korean Male CHOY (NKMCHOY)

“Of course *kokaeknim* does not exist! There are hardly any items to go around nowadays, so why would there be *kokaeknim*? There are not many shops and almost everything is provided by the government. The customer is not king. The person possessing the item is king!”

(English translation)

Modern North Korean language likewise reflects the social structure changes that have happened since the division. The concentration of power during Kim Il Sung’s reign has shaped the honorific systems dramatically, what King (2007: 214) describes as the standardization of ‘Kim Il Sung’s speech’. The main changes I have found through this research can be summarized as follows: firstly, subject honorifics focus on elevating the leader. Level 6 use is

shown in all formal situations which corresponded with the data collected. Secondly, address terms reflect the systematic social hierarchy, namely government positions and the militaristic aspect. A prominent example of this was the use of address terms *tongmu* and *tongci* in the everyday life of the North Koreans. From the data collected, it was striking that the language policies were strictly upheld in accordance with the *Cosenmalyeycelpep* (1983) and there was no deviance from the linguistic norms from all of the interviewees in the role plays conducted.

As mentioned in the introduction section of this thesis, the merit of this thesis lies in the comparative methodology of the examination of pre-1945 Korea, North Korea and South Korea. Extensive studies have been done on South Korean honorification systems alone. However, by examining the relationship between these three, rather than through the lens of a single time period and social structure, allows for further comparison of the honorification systems.

8.5 Further Research

What is fascinating about the South Korean data is that the use of honorifics can express the intentions of the speaker and the speaker's motivations. However, my department store research was done on a microscopic level and quantitatively further investigations must be undertaken in order to explore honorifics use on a broader scale. I expect that larger scale data collection and semi automatic systemic analysis will lead to further interesting patterns in honorification systems. It is my hope that further data can be collected and investigated to understand how honorific use is changing due to underlying cultural or power distribution shifts in South Korea.

Milroy and Milroy's (1997) theory on social networks, and how social circles create certain characteristics in language use depending on the tightness or looseness in a social circle could be used as a framework to further investigate language variation in North Korea. North Korea's use of close 'social networks' appears extremely effective in maintaining loyalty to the Worker's Party, and therefore must be an important tool in distributing language from the leader, down to the people. The system can be likened to human anatomy, where blood, or influence, flows from a single point through to each and every cell. The cell division system, with a leader and a subleader per cell, makes the organizational structure quite similar to the military. Self-governance inside social circles is a crucial part of the sustenance of the social structure as shown in the North Korean defectors' role play. These 'social networks' investigated on a microscopic level may yield some interesting insights on how the North

Korean social structure affects language variation and how honorific use is affected and enforced through the social groups created by the North Korean government.

Due to the limitations to access to North Korea as a South Korean citizen, the data on North Korean is sparse despite my best efforts to gain as much as possible. My hope is that my research will spark further studies to explore language variation and honorification systems in North Korea.

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