

Palacký University Olomouc  
General Linguistics and Theory of Communication

**Grammatical Expressions of Politeness  
in Czech and Korean:  
Tykání and Vykání in Korean**

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Ph.D. Dissertation

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## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that I have written this dissertation by myself. I have listed all the literature and sources used in the text.

Date: April 26, 2021

Signature:

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## **Abstract in English**

### Grammatical Expressions of Politeness in Czech and Korean: Tykání and Vykání in Korean

This dissertation is a contrastive study of grammatical and lexical expressions of Czech and Korean politeness. It focuses primarily on *vykání* and *tykání* in contemporary Czech, and *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal* in contemporary Korean. It aims to provide linguistic and cultural insights into the polite register in Czech and Korean, concentrating on speech styles (levels) of politeness.

The comparison consists of five parts: the development of speech styles in each country, general usage of Czech and Korean speech styles, avoiding choosing between a polite or casual speech style, offering shifts to a casual speech styles, and translating Czech and Korean regarding speech styles. By describing, juxtaposing, and comparing their systems in each section, it discerns (1) the common historical background of polite and casual speech styles, (2) key factors differentiating the Czech and Korean speech styles, (3) translation equivalence between Czech and Korean speech styles, and (4) how Koreans understand a Czech system of speech style based on a Korean system.

The linguistic comparison reveals several findings. First, solidarity and non-authoritarianism have become more important in both languages, reflecting social changes from the collapse of social ranks in the past. Second, the findings show the role of power semantics, the different relationship between a pronominal and verbal system, and a distinct concept of who has priority in offering speech styles. Third, Czech speech styles cannot be automatically changed to Korean speech styles in translation (*vykání* to *jon-daes-mal*, *tykání* to *ban-mal*), although they share a similar concept. Lastly, grammatical politeness in Czech has several specifics to understand when comparing it to the Korean system (e.g., using the first-person plural pronoun to avoid choosing *vykání* or *tykání*).

**Keywords:** Honorifics; Linguistic comparison; Polite speech styles; Polite speech levels; T/V distinction

## Abstract in Czech

Gramatické formy při vyjadřování zdvořilosti v češtině a korejštině: Tykání a vykání v korejštině

Disertační práce má podobu kontrastivní studie gramatických a lexikálních forem vyjadřujících zdvořilost v češtině a korejštině. Zaměřuje se především na vykání a tykání v současné češtině a na formy jon-daes-mal a ban-mal v současné korejštině. Účelem výzkumu je poskytnout čtenáři lingvistické a obecně kulturní poznatky o zdvořilém vyjadřování v obou jazycích.

Práce se skládá z pěti částí s následujícím obsahem: 1/ vývoj forem zdvořilého vyjadřování v České republice a v Koreji, 2/ využívání těchto forem v současném jazyce, 3/ komunikační a jazykový kontext při vyhýbání se výběru mezi zdvořilým (formálním) nebo neformálním stylem, 4/ komunikační a jazykový kontext při nabízení přesunu k neformálnímu stylům mezi komunikanty a 5/ překladové ekvivalenty mezi češtinou a korejštinou zahrnující prostředky zdvořilého vyjadřování. V rámci těchto částí práce identifikuje mezi korejštinou a češtinou následující průřezová témata: (1) společné historické pozadí zdvořilých a neformálních forem komunikace, (2) klíčové faktory odlišující české a korejské formy vyjadřující zdvořilost, (3) překladová ekvivalence mezi českými a korejskými formami vyjadřujícími zdvořilost, a (4) vnímání českého systému forem vyjadřujících zdvořilost mluvčími korejštiny vzhledem k analogickým prostředkům vyjadřování zdvořilosti v korejském jazykovém systému.

Srovnání vyjadřování zdvořilosti v korejštině a češtině nám odhaluje několik poznatků: a/ solidarita a antiautoritářství se u mluvčích obou jazyků staly a stávají podstatnými při volbě prostředků vyjadřování zdvořilosti, což odráží sociální změny způsobené předešlými politickými a hospodářskými proměnami společnosti; b/ i současné způsoby vyjadřování zdvořilosti reflektují nerovnocenné role v sociálním dialogu, což v kontrastivní analýze obou jazyků odráží odlišný vztah mezi pronominálním a verbálním systémem a s tím související odlišné zdvořilostní distinkce obou forem, a to vzhledem k tomu, jak vyjadřují, kdo má přednost při nabízení tykání; c/ automatická výměna mezi českými a korejskými způsoby vyjadřování (z vykání do jon-daes-mal, z tykání do ban-mal)

není vždy možná, ačkoliv obě formy sdílejí podobný zdvořilostní obsah; d/ čeština disponuje oproti korejštině několika specifiky vyjadřování zdvořilosti, která zahrnují další části jazykového systému (např. vyhýbání se vykání použitím první osoby plurálu: my).

**Klíčová slova:** Honorifika; Komparace; Tykání; Vykání; Zdvořilostní systém

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## Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative case
DAT	Dative case
GEN	Genitive case
LOC	Locative case
NOM	Nominative case
VOC	Vocative case
1PL	First person plural
2PL	Second person plural
2SG	Second person singular
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
A	Adverb
DEPN	Dependent noun
DPRON	Demonstrative pronoun
INF	Infinitive
MODV	Modal verb
N	Noun
PREP	Preposition
PRONA	Pronominal adverb
V	Verb
VN	Verbal noun
BAN	<i>Ban-mal</i>
JON	<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>
TY	<i>Tykání</i>
VY	<i>Vykání</i>

## 1 Introduction

Both the Czech and Korean languages have polite and casual speech styles: *vykání* and *tykání* in contemporary Czech, and *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal* in contemporary Korean. The fact that these languages are not even in the same language family raises questions about how their polite speech systems have developed and how these systems function in reflecting their different linguistic features and cultures to convey politeness.

To discuss this topic, each Czech and Korean system of polite and casual styles of speech will be introduced. Then, both systems will be theoretically and practically compared to answer the research questions posed in the next section.

### 1.1 Research questions and goals

The research questions of this study are as follows:

- (1) What is the common historical background of polite and casual speech styles in Czech and Korean?
- (2) What are the key factors differentiating the usage of Czech speech styles and Korean speech styles?
- (3) Do Czech polite (*vykání*) and casual (*tykání*) speech styles have translation equivalence with Korean polite (*jon-daes-mal*) and casual (*ban-mal*) speech styles?
- (4) How are the Czech speech styles *vykání* and *tykání* understood by Koreans?

The first question is about what Czech and Korean have in common regarding the development of their systems. This study will explore each country's history for a socio-cultural link between Czech and Korean despite their genetic distance.

The second question will focus on a linguistic comparison of the two systems. Differences between the two are expected to have resulted not only from different linguistic features but also different cultural features.

The third question requires a practical process to compare Czech and Korean translations. Official public translations of each language show how each society tends to interpret the other language's system.

The last question comprehensively covers the value of the comparison work. The comparison undertaken in this study will provide a wide-ranging understanding of the issues investigated. Therefore, the first three questions will naturally lead to the answer to this fourth question.

By investigating the answers to these questions, the ultimate goal of this study is to provide insights into the languages and cultures of the Czech Republic and the Republic of Korea, with a focus on linguistic politeness.<sup>1</sup>

## **1.2 Methodology**

According to Krzeszowski (1990, 10), contrastive linguistics is a field of linguistics that compares two or more languages that are genetically or typologically distant by applying a linguistic theory to their descriptions. Therefore, this study takes a contrastive approach in comparing two genetically and typologically different languages, Czech and Korean.

The Czech language is a Slavic language in the same family as Polish, Russian, Slovak, and so on (Mareš 2014, 32). In contrast, the Korean language is an isolated language (ibid., 33). In the past, the Altaic hypothesis, which classified the Korean language in the Altaic language family, dominated, with considerable early contributions from G.J. Ramstedt (1928; 1949). However, this hypothesis has been invalidated because of a lack of solid evidence, and further investigation is still required to determine the genetic affiliation of the Korean language.<sup>2</sup> As for language typology, the Czech language is inflectional, while the Korean language is agglutinative. As an inflectional language, Czech morpheme carries multiple features, such as tense and number, unlike Korean

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<sup>1</sup> Although the Korean language is spoken in both North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) and South Korea, this dissertation does not cover honorifics in North Korea.

<sup>2</sup> For further discussion on genetic affiliation of the Korean language, see Gi-ho Choi (1992) and Bang-han Kim (1995).

morpheme. For example, *dělal* (“did” in Czech) is composed of *dělat* (stem; “to do”) and *-l* (past tense, singular, and male). In contrast, *gasseo*, “went” in Korean, comprises three morphemes where each has the following meaning: *ga* (stem; “to go”), *-ss-* (past tense), *-eo* (casual speech style).

Krzeszowski (1990, 35) defines three steps for classical contrastive analysis:

- (1) description
- (2) juxtaposition
- (3) comparison

As a contrastive study of Czech and Korean with a focus on the polite register, this study follows these steps above. First, it describes each system and then juxtaposes them in a certain frame (focusing on chronological order, pragmatical functions and rules, and morphological constructure) to compare the systems. In doing so, this study highlights the similarities and dissimilarities between the two systems. Linguistic and cultural notes on interpretations are provided as well. The descriptions utilize not only theoretical explanations but also practical examples, such as original text from signs in Korea, transcribed data from verbal sources in the Sejong Corpus (Korean language), and dialogue from video materials such as TV programs and movies.

First, original photos of signs in Korea, taken from 2020 to 2021, are attached in Appendix. These signs and pictures are used in Chapter 3.4 in the discussion of evasion of choice between polite and casual speech styles. Second, the study utilizes the *Sejong mal-mung-chi* (Sejong Corpus), which is freely accessible online from an official website (<https://ithub.korean.go.kr/user/corpus/corpusSearchManager.do>) run by the National Institute of Korean Language. This corpus is a noteworthy product of their “21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Project,” which was launched in 1998 and developed for 10 years.<sup>3</sup> It contains texts from written and spoken sources (transcribed texts). Some example sentences in Chapter 3 are extracted from their transcribed spoken sources. Lastly, transcribed original dialogues from Czech and Korean video materials are utilized in Chapters 3 and 4. To capture authentic Czech speech, dialogue from a few episodes of a cooking reality show,

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<sup>3</sup> Details of the project are provided in Hansaem Kim (2006).

*Kuchařská pohotovost* (“Cooking Emergency”; translation mine), broadcast on Czech Television, is used. In contrast, Korean speech is analyzed by using a travel documentary, *Backpack Travels* (2015), broadcast on KBS 1TV, and a movie, *Parasite* (2019), directed by Joon-ho Bong. Although they are Korean materials, some parts of the documentary show dialogue from native Czech speakers with Korean subtitles, and the movie includes official Czech subtitles as well. Therefore, these materials were selected to analyze how Czech and Korean translations are realized to reflect cultural understanding of polite speech styles in Chapter 4.

### 1.2.1 Comparability of Czech and Korean in terms of politeness

This cross-cultural comparison of politeness is based on the concept of universal politeness, using the notions of power and solidarity suggested by Brown and Gilman (1960). These two notions are further described in Chapter 3. According to universal politeness, both Czech and Korean systems of linguistic politeness can be compared and explained by power and solidarity semantics.

However, consideration of comparability must precede a comparison of two languages. Despite a genetic distance between the Czech and Korean languages, these languages have a few features in common in terms of politeness. In Czech, Kraus (1996) shows examples of politeness in two contexts: speaking and writing. In speaking, politeness is expressed by greeting, using proper terms of address, choosing an appropriate pronoun (e.g., second person singular *ty* or second person plural *vy*), or using conditional sentences or questions. In writing, politeness is related to using a capital letter for the second person pronoun (e.g., *Vy*, instead of *vy*), titles, writing intelligible text and so on.

In Korean, Young-soon Park (2007, 108) states that politeness opposes the economy of the Korean language, as it does in other languages, so an interlocuter needs to put more effort into his or her sentence to make it more polite. For example, changing an imperative to an interrogative sentence, affixing the honorific *-si-* to a verb or adjective, using the honorific titles *ssi* or *nim* to terms of address, and using polite vocabulary (for example, both *ja-da* and *ju-mu-si-da* mean “to sleep,” but the latter is more polite) are ways of

conveying politeness. However, Park mentions that the main linguistic device to convey politeness is a deference system, by which she means the whole system of Korean honorifics, including polite speech styles that use different honorific verbal endings.

As discussed above, both languages have a speech style (a style using *ty* or *vy* in Czech, and a style using different honorific endings in Korean) to convey politeness. For such features, Pečený (2011) compared languages from three groups: (1) English, (2) Russian, Slovak, German and Polish, (3) Spanish, Chinese, Japanese and Korean. Since the Czech language belonged to the second group, comparison of Czech and Korean can be separately described as in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Comparison of Czech and Korean adapted from Pečený (2011, 285)

Language	Distinction between <i>tykání</i> and <i>vykání</i>	Form
Czech	Yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Different forms (e.g., second-person plural pronouns, past participle)</li> </ul>
Korean	Yes (more)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Different forms</li> <li>• Different (complicated) systems</li> </ul>

*Note:* Translation mine.

James (2014, 168) states that “comparability does not presuppose absolute identity, but merely a degree of shared similarity.” As they share some linguistic features, as described in Table 1, Czech and Korean systems of polite speech styles are appropriate for comparison.

### 1.3 Overview

In Chapter 2, previous studies on contrastive linguistics are reviewed. In detail, the topic of language comparisons of Czech and Korean is studied as well. Next, the literature on politeness research is reviewed. In this review, universal politeness, the meaning of



grammatical expressions of politeness, and previous research on politeness conducted by Czech and Korean linguists are discussed.

In Chapter 3, Czech and Korean systems are compared. After confirming key concepts used in this dissertation, the comparison begins with the development of speech styles of politeness in Czech and Korean. It then compares general usage and evasion and shifts in speech styles. In each sub-chapter, both Czech and Korean systems are described and then compared.

In Chapter 4, translations of each other's systems are compared. The Czech system translated to Korean is discussed by using scripts from the Korean TV program *Backpack Travels* (2015), where Czech native speakers converse. The Korean system translated to Czech is discussed by using scripts from the Korean movie *Parasite* (2019), where a few different relationships are depicted (a boss and a subordinate, a son and his father, and a teacher and his student).

In Chapter 5, answers to the research questions mentioned in Chapter 1.1 are provided. Answers are based on the findings of the comparison work presented in Chapters 3 and 4.

In Chapter 6, a comprehensive summary and limitations of this dissertation are presented. Considering such limitations, future work that would require further understanding of the systems of polite speech styles is discussed as well.

Lastly, appendix has three photos of Korean public signs.

## **2 Literature review**

This chapter aims to review relevant past studies and establish a background for this dissertation. Chapter 2.1 begins by providing several definitions and purposes of contrastive linguistics. It then shows the development of language comparison between the Czech and Korean languages. Following this discussion, Chapter 2.2 revisits several theories of politeness and defines the meaning of the grammatical expression of politeness.

## 2.1 Contrastive linguistics

Contrastive linguistics is concerned with language comparison, primarily focusing on how two (or more) languages are different. Jackson (1976, 1) defines it as a sub-field of linguistics, “which is concerned with the comparison of (usually) two language descriptions, or descriptions of equivalent subsystems of languages”; it aims to determine the differences between two languages. By comparing them, each language in question can be explained and understood better from various angles. Buren (1981, 84) asserts that the final goal of contrastive linguistics is “explanatory power.”

Other names for this field are contrastive studies, crosslinguistic studies, and contrastive analysis (hereafter CA). Although CA can sometimes refer to a method of analysis as well, it is used as an interchangeable term with contrastive linguistics here. For example, James (2014, 3) refers CA to a “hybrid linguistic enterprise.” While he searches for CA’s position in linguistics, he illustrates three dimensions of linguistics (Table 2) as follows:

**Table 2.** Characteristics of CA based on the description of James (2014, 1–3)

Dimensions	Explanation	Shared concerns with CA
First dimension (refer to Sampson 1975)	(1) Generalist: Concerning the universal phenomenon of human language	Universality of a language
	(2) Particularist: Concerning individual languages	Focusing on the differences among individual languages
Second dimension	(1) Immanence: Research on one language alone, searching for the inherent traits of that language	Inherent traits of a language

(refer to Ellis 1966)	(2) Comparison: Research comparing and grouping languages (e.g., synthetic and analytic languages)	Language comparison
Third dimension (refer to De Saussure 1959)	(1) Diachronic: Research related to the evolution of the language, which is concerned with the language's genetic family	Interlingual diachronic study
	(2) Synchronic: Research related to the static aspects and present-day characteristics of a language	Language comparison without considering genetic relations

As shown in Table 2, CA has some aspects of various linguistic dimensions, and it is not at the extreme of any of those dimensions (James 2014, 2). Therefore, major findings in this dissertation from comparing Czech and Korean would also have mixed dimensions.

In terms of the first dimension, which involved two approaches suggested by Sampson (1975), CA is interested in the universality of a language to prove its comparability to another, but its focus is on the languages' differences rather than their similarities. Second, CA is interested in immanent traits of a language when comparing two languages. However, it is not concerned with typological classification, which makes it difficult to equate it to comparativists' works in the second dimension. In terms of the third dimension, CA is not particularly interested in the evolution of language history, but it also does not have a completely synchronic approach, that is, dealing with only the static side aspects. For example, CA is concerned with "interlingual diachronic study" (James 2014, 4), studying how a monolingual person acquires a foreign language (L2) and how their L1 and L2 evolve. In this case, James states that CA is close to a diachronic study in the meaning of ontogeny, which is slightly different in De Saussure's sense.

After discussing all three dimensions, James (2014, 5) states one more additional dimension: "pure" and "applied" linguistics. He takes the view of Corder (1973) regarding this type of linguistics, which shows that they are not exclusive. CA exists in both areas: it is a minor enterprise in pure linguistics, while it is a major concern of applied linguistics.

As contrastive linguistics conducts research on two different languages, it cannot be detached from the field of teaching foreign languages. Including Lado's (1957) considerable contribution to this field with his Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, contrastive linguistic research with a pedagogical orientation has hitherto been commonly carried out. Contrastive studies focusing on the Czech language and the Korean language began with a pedagogical purpose as well. This will be further described in Chapter 2.1.1.

### 2.1.1 Language comparison of Czech and Korean

The history of language comparison of Czech and Korean is short because of their short history of academic exchange between these two countries. As an academic program in a university, a Korean studies program was first begun at Charles University in Czech Republic in 1950. However, they mainly interacted with North Korea at that time. In South Korea, Czech studies began in Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (HUFS) in 1988.<sup>4</sup> As such, there was only one school in each country originally, but now Palacký University Olomouc provides degree programs related to Korean studies in Czech Republic as well. On the other hand, HUFS is still the only Korean university with Czech studies as a major, although Koreans can find Czech courses at private institutes.

While Koreans learn Czech and Czechs learn Korean, it would be natural to expect that teachers and students have naturally compared two language for their own sake. Therefore, contrastive analysis focusing on Czech and Korean can be found in several fields of linguistics, although this crosslinguistic topic is less popular than studies focused on one language individually.

For example, the first Czech-Korean dictionary, which was attached to his Korean textbook, was written by a Czech, Pultr (1954); this was eventually followed by several more dictionaries published later. There is also a dictionary with a special focus on

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<sup>4</sup> This time gap can be explained by circumstances relating to diplomatic relations at that time. The Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia at the time) established diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) in 1948, but with the Republic of Korea (South Korea), they did not do so until 1990.

onomatopoeia and memetics (Ferklová 2015). In addition to dictionaries, Seo and Zemánek (2014) compared various expressions related to alcohol. Afterward, they also compared Czech and Korean expressions regarding food (rice for Korean, bread for Czech) in 2015.

In a field of phonology, Bytel et al. (1996) compared the phonological systems of the Czech, Slovak, and Korean languages to help Korean students majoring in the Slovak and Czech languages in Korea. On the other hand, Byeong-cherl Park (2005) and Eun-kyu Lee (2012a) focused only on Czechs. For example, Park (2005) suggested effective methods for Korean pronunciation training by comparing Czech and Korean phonemes, and Lee (2012a) analyzed how Czech students create errors in their writing due to their perception of Korean phonemes.

At the syntactic level, Bytel and Kwon (1997) searched for Korean equivalents for Czech adverbs for status, and Eun-hae Kim (2002) compared Czech and Korean aspect. Furthermore, In-chon Kim compared Czech and Korean with various focuses, such as word order (Kim 2003a) and syntactic typology of the binding domain (Kim 2003b) as well as the interference of Korean syntax (Kim 2013). The latter also includes an issue related to Korean students' understanding of Czech polite register (*tykání* and *vykání*).

When it comes to *tykání* and *vykání*, Mašín (2013) also noted that non-slavic language speakers showed a substantial problem in differentiating these two forms. As his data is based on Korean students, it shows that how this can be a problem for Korean people. In contrast, Korean polite speech styles, which is the main object to be compared in this dissertation, are not an easy topic for Czech students as well. Thus far, a small number of these have attempted to compare Czech and Korean politeness, including Mi Young Park's (2008) doctoral dissertation, but contrastive study of polite speech styles is still quite rare. In one study, Pečený (2011) briefly compared Czech *tykání* and *vykání* to linguistic politeness in several foreign languages, including Korean. Although Pečený's main interest was not the comparison of Czech and Korean, his discussion shows the potential for such a comparative analysis. Later, translations of Czech and Korean honorifics were first discussed in my master's thesis (Kwak 2017). This dissertation includes this issue about translations, but it concentrates more on *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal*.

## 2.2 Politeness research

As a type of socio-pragmatic research, politeness research began in the early 1970s (e.g., three maxims suggested by Lakoff<sup>5</sup>). Two major works in this field were then published: Leech (1983), who suggested the Politeness Principle (PP) with maxims,<sup>6</sup> and Brown and Levinson (1978; republished in 1987), who developed Goffman's (1955) face theory and introduced the concept of the Face-Threatening Act (FTA). Goffman (1955, 213) has defined "face" as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact," and Brown and Levinson have introduced "positive face" (which refers to a desire to be approved of by others) and "negative face" (related to non-imposition, non-distraction).

To borrow definitions of politeness from these prominent scholars, politeness can be understood as "strategic conflict avoidance" (Leech 1980, 109), and "a complex system for softening face threats" (Brown and Levinson 1987, 13).

Politeness research can be roughly divided into five groups (Watts 2003, 98). As Brown and Levinson's work has been heavily influential in politeness studies up to this point, the following categories have been applied for such research since 1987:

- (1) Work criticising aspects of Brown and Levinson's model
- (2) Empirical work on particular types of speech activity
- (3) Cross-cultural work
- (4) The application of politeness models
- (5) Sporadic attempts to suggest alternative lines of enquiry

(Watts 2003, 98)

One example in the first group is Ide (1989), who criticized Brown and Levinson's view as Eurocentric. In this sense, Gu (1990) also mentioned the Chinese notion of face against their universal view of face. As for the second category, it reflects that politeness research

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<sup>5</sup> Three maxims refer to (1) Don't impose, (2) Give options, and (3) Make (the addressee) feel good (Lakoff 1973, 298).

<sup>6</sup> This refers to (1) Tact Maxim, (2) Generosity Maxim, (3) Approbation Maxim, (4) Modesty Maxim, (5) Agreement Maxim, and (6) Sympathy Maxim (Leech, 1983, 132).

was strongly influenced by speech act theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), as Kádár and Haugh (2013, 22) state. In this second category, popular topics are speech acts of requesting, apologizing, complimenting, and thanking. The third category includes studies on different realizations of politeness in two or more cultures in general or again in speech acts (e.g., Blum-kulka et al. 1989 and Yli-Jokipii 1994). The fourth category primarily applies Brown and Levinson's model to areas such as cognitive psychology and language teaching. Finally, the fifth category includes works by Watts et al. (1992), Coupland et al. (1988), Eelen (2001), etc. Eelen (2001) distinguishes “(im)politeness1” and “(im)politeness2,” which are equal to “first-order (im)politeness” and “second-order (im)politeness” in Watts (2003). Politeness1 refers to interpretation of politeness by interlocutors, while Politeness2 indicates researchers' scientific interpretation in pragmatics and sociolinguistics.

### 2.2.1 Universal politeness

Universality in politeness means that “linguistic politeness can be systematically described across languages and cultures using the same underlying theoretical framework” (Kádár and Haugh 2013, 16). Within the notion of universal politeness, Brown and Levinson (1978; 1987) are concerned with universal notion of face and rationality, which have been criticized by linguists from other cultures such as Ide (1989) in Japan. By giving an example of *wakimae* (弁え, “discernment”) in Japanese, Ide argues that norms of the community prevail over individual rationality. Furthermore, Gu (1990) discusses the notion of face as *mianzi* (面子) in Chinese, which is not a psychological but rather a social system.

As such, the universal theory of politeness formerly counterposed the cultural uniqueness of politeness. However, Leech (2005) argues that those differences of interpretation do not demand a different theory of politeness for each culture. Even Chinese *lǐmào* (礼貌) and English “politeness” are not completely equal notions; they are related phenomena. In this sense, Leech (ibid., 28) does not believe that there is an East-West divide in politeness. Furthermore, Leech suggests a Grand Strategy of Politeness (GSP) as a broadscale framework providing a general explanation for politeness.

Grand Strategy of Politeness: in order to be polite, *S* expresses or implies meaning which place a high value on what pertains to *O* (*O*= other person[s], [mainly the addressee]) or place a low value on what pertains to *S* (*S*= self, speaker)

(Leech 2005, 12)

Politeness has both universal features and culturally specific features, although each linguist can emphasize them differently. As Barešová (2008, 27) states, linguists who suggest universality in politeness acknowledge that it can be “subject to cultural specifications” (Brown and Levinson 1987, 13), and linguists who stress individual cultural context also apply universal frameworks. Therefore, cross-cultural studies about politeness can be conducted to reveal the sociocultural agreement and variation of some notions in politeness as well as their realization.

### 2.2.2 Grammatical expression of politeness, polite speech style, and honorifics

When politeness is expressed in a language, we refer to it as linguistic politeness, and it can be encoded by lexicon or grammar. The first case refers to a word conveying politeness by its meaning (e.g., pronouns, polite vocabulary), while the second case indicates changing of the grammatical form of the word, generally in the case of verbs. The second case is what this dissertation refers to by grammatical expression of politeness. Other substitutable names are “polite speech style” and “polite speech level,” which are further described in Chapter 3.

However, these names were not common in the past. In Czech, research on polite speech styles was referred to as the study of the pronominal system or terms of address, and it used a specific word to refer to each speech style (e.g., *tykáání*, which uses the second person pronoun *ty*). In researches written in English, it is called T-form and V-form (altogether T/V distinction). These terms are based on two alphabetic symbols, T (*tu*) and V (*vos*), proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960, 254). In another case, *honorifika* (“honorific”) is sometimes used when Czech T/V distinction is mentioned (see Čermák 1994, Hirschová 2006 and Panevová 2009). Čermák (1994, 200) defines an honorific as a



linguistic device to express politeness and respect for the social status of the addressee. In Korean, the term honorifics has been actively used by many Korean linguists (e.g., subject honorifics, object honorifics and hearer honorifics). However, “speech level” or “speech style” began to be used to indicate hearer honorifics in many books and articles written in English (e.g., Martin 1964, Sohn 1983, Song 2005, and many others). Hence, now, “speech style” (interchangeable with “speech level”) is a familiar term when discussing Korean honorifics.

### 2.2.3 Previous research by Czech and Korean linguists

While there has been little research into contrastive analysis between Czech and Korean in terms of linguistic politeness, much has been written regarding the separate descriptions of each system.

Regarding Czech, one of the oldest studies accessible that discusses the Czech polite speech styles with respect to politeness is *Wykání a zdvořilost společenská Čechoslowanů* (“V-form and Social Politeness of Czechoslovaks”; translation mine) by Kampelík (1847), which shows how polite speech styles were used and should be used. Then there was an empirical study on the usage of T-form and V-form by “Czechoslovak” children (Čermák 1903). Later, a comprehensive explanation of all speech styles of politeness (*tykání, vykání, onkání, and onikání*) and their usage in the Czech language was provided by Eisner (1946, 223–229) as one of the early works. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, sociolinguistics gained more attention among Czech linguists,<sup>7</sup> and more books and articles discussing the notions of power and solidarity with T/V distinction, or politeness strategies within pragmatics, were released (Vachek 1986; Valková 2004; Nekvapil and Neustupný 2005). Brown and Levinson’s frame of positive and negative politeness was also used for “Common Czech” (*obecná čeština*) and “Standard Czech” (*spisovná čeština*) such as in Čmejrková (1996b) and Chejnová (2015). However, Chejnová (2015, 27) notes that this

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<sup>7</sup> See further details about Czech sociolinguistics in Starý (1993).

approach is related to the function of speech rather than a speaker's social status when discussing Common Czech and Standard Czech with positive and negative politeness.

Among many works from the 2000s, *O tykání a vykání* ("About T-form and V-form"; translation mine) by Patočka (2000) covers ways to use Czech speech styles in various complicated situations in detail. Furthermore, Betsch's (2000) systematic research on the development of addressing (polite speech styles) in Czech is noteworthy as very little has been done in this regard.

Korean politeness from a grammatical point of view was first introduced by a missionary, Ridel (1881), using a term *honorifique* ("honorific"). Ridel (1881, 99) illustrated the way in which Korean verbs changed their form grammatically. As Lee (2008, 10–11) states, missionaries including Ridel, Japanese linguists, and Korean linguists (particularly Hyeon-bae Choi 1937) provided representative works explaining the concept and grammar of Korean honorifics from the 1880s to 1930s. Lee (2008, 10) also mentions that studies from the 1940s focused on honorifics in the medieval Korean language, while studies from the 1970s concentrated instead on the modern Korean language. At the time, modern Korean was concerned primarily with terminology of honorifics, indicating a Korean honorific system,<sup>8</sup> a function (e.g., if a casual speech style is for "lowering" or "non-elevating" a listener), and classifications of polite speech styles. Furthermore, Korean linguists began to connect linguistic theories and concepts from abroad (e.g., power and solidarity) to the Korean language, such as in Hwang (1975) and Sohn (1983). In the 1990s, a larger variety of topics began to receive attention as well, for example, politeness strategies and the study of shifts of polite speech styles including the contribution of Jeongbok Lee (1996; 2012b).

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<sup>8</sup> Several terms were used by different scholars, such as 존비법 ("rules of elevating or lowering a listener"; translation mine), 대우법 ("rules of polite treatment"; translation mine), 높임법 ("rules of elevating a listener"; translation mine), or 경어법 ("rules of honorifics"; translation mine).

### 3 Comparison of a Czech and Korean systems

Chapter 3 presents a linguistic comparison of Czech and Korean speech styles of politeness. First, a few key concepts are defined in 3.1. Afterwards, the development of each system is traced in 3.2, and sections 3.3 to 3.5 show a few variations of speech styles, including the usage of terms of address, evasion, and shifts.

#### 3.1 Key concepts

The key concepts in this chapter are as follows:

- Speech styles (levels) of politeness

Webster's New World College Dictionary (2004) states that speech is "the general word for a discourse delivered to an audience." Its origin is *spæc* (*spræc*) from Old English and *speche* from Middle English. Style refers to a "way of using words to express thoughts," which is from the Latin *stilus*. Thus, speech style is defined as a way of using words during discourse.

When combined with politeness, it refers to speech styles which express politeness. As for this term, "style" is often interchangeable with "level." However, "level" is based on a horizontal plane that connotes a rank in a scale of value. The problem is that it is hard to clearly measure a degree of politeness in a scale, and different grammatical expressions of politeness are subtly linked together. Therefore, "style" is adopted in this dissertation.

- T/V distinction

As briefly introduced in 2.2.2, T and V refer to *tu* and *vos* in Latin, suggested by Brown and Gilman (1960, 254). Brown and Gilman demonstrate several examples in Indo-European languages: *tu* and *voi* in Italian (cf. *Lei*), *tu* and *vous* in French, *tú* and *vos* (cf. *usted*) in Spanish, *du* and *Ihr* (cf. *Sie*) in German, and *thou* and *ye* (cf. *you*) in English; in Czech, it refers to *ty* and *vy*. This whole system is referred to as

T/V distinction. Each item is called simply T or V, or T-form or V-form. When it is used in an explanatory way, T is used in an intimate, casual, or informal style, while V refers to polite or formal style. In this dissertation, both “T-form” and “(Czech) casual speech style” refer to *tykáni* (the speech style using *ty*), while both “V-form” and “(Czech) polite speech style” refer to *vykáni* (the speech style using *vy*).

- Power and solidarity

Power and solidarity semantics with the T/V distinction were introduced by Brown and Gilman (1960). While the power-based relation is asymmetrical and vertical, solidarity is known to be horizontal and symmetrical. Power semantics includes “physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army or within a family” (ibid., 255). In contrast, solidarity is concerned with like-mindedness, frequency of contacts, and objective similarities (ibid., 258).

These two dimensions have been utilized by many scholars with their own interpretations. For example, Bates and Benigni (1975, 272) specified “power, or status” and “solidarity, or intimacy” as the two dimensions. Paulston (1975) added intimacy–familiarity to solidarity. Jeongbok Lee (2012b, 272) interpreted the two semantics as power and distance, and variables of distance include sex and degree of intimacy. This intimacy is divided again into physical distance (time and space) and psychical distance (intimate, neutral, and far).

- *Jon-daes-mal* [*jon-daen-mal*] (존댓말)

Depending on the style of Romanization, the above word can be written as *jon-daes-mal* (Revised Romanization of Korean<sup>9</sup>), *chon-taes-mal* (McCune-Reishauer Romanization<sup>10</sup>), or *con-tays-mal* (Yale Romanization<sup>11</sup>). As Revised Romanization of Korean is the official system used by the South Korean government, it is applied in this dissertation.

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<sup>9</sup> Suggested by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of South Korea in 2000. Details are provided in their website ([https://www.korean.go.kr/front\\_eng/roman/roman\\_01.do](https://www.korean.go.kr/front_eng/roman/roman_01.do))

<sup>10</sup> Suggested by George M. McCune and Edwin O. Reischauer. See more details in McCune and Reischauer 1939.

<sup>11</sup> Suggested by Samuel E. Martin. See more details in Martin 1992.

The term *jon-dae* means “respect” or “deference,” and *mal* means “language.” These two words are compounded using an epenthetic consonant *-s-* between them, but it is pronounced as [*jon-daen-mal*]. The intention of this compounded word is to “elevate” the listener (show deference), according to the Standard Korean Language Dictionary. This word is often introduced as a polite, deferential, or honorific speech style. *Jon-daes-mal* includes two speech styles (*hab-syo-che* and *hae-yo-che*), which are further explained in 3.2.2.

- *Ban-mal* (반말)

The above word is transcribed as *ban-mal* in Revised Romanization of Korean and *pan-mal* in both McCune-Reishauer and Yale Romanization. *Ban* means “a half,” and *mal*, as mentioned above, means “language.” Therefore, sometimes it is called “half-talk” or “half-speech.”

*Ban-mal* is often introduced as a casual, familiar, or intimate speech style. Originally, it appeared to neutralize speech styles (Jeongbok Lee 2012b, 73) by not completely finishing the end of a sentence. Therefore, it was an equivocal style, which sometimes became an exception in discussing systems of polite speech styles (e.g, Hyun-bae Choi 1937). However, as Gwang-mo Ko (2001, 23) states, a dominant view of *ban-mal* is that it expresses a generally low level of politeness. Such an approach can be found in Ik-seop Lee (1974, 57) and Cheong-soo Suh (1984, 39). Considering such features, the Standard Korean Language Dictionary explains *ban-mal* as (1) a language that shows neither deference nor authority (i.e. neutral language) and (2) a language that shows authority over a person in a subordinate position (“lowers” the listener). In daily situations, (2) is how lay Koreans perceive the concept of *ban-mal* in general.

*Ban-mal* is another name of one (*hae-che*) of six Korean speech styles. However, this is a narrow concept because it usually includes two speech styles (*hae-che* and *hae-la-che*) that show non-respect in folk notions (Ji-soon Park 2016, 150). Details of these two speech styles are provided in 3.2.2.

## 3.2 Development of speech styles of politeness in Czech and Korean

This sub-chapter is concerned with the development of systems of speech styles in both Czech and Korean. Due to limited access to old literature, the history of the Czech system examined in 3.2.1 begins in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with great help from Betsch (2000). Chapter 3.2.2 shows a history of the Korean language from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and refers to the noteworthy work of Yang (2009).

### 3.2.1 Development of Czech speech styles

As Nekvapil and Neustupný (2005) have mentioned, the Czech language uses the pronominal and verbal systems to express politeness. Since pronouns and verbs should agree in Czech, studies on Czech speech styles are closely related to those on pronouns. Therefore, this chapter illustrates the Czech pronominal system from the point of Czech speech styles of politeness.

**Table 3.** Czech speech styles

Styles	Personal pronouns	Examples (English meaning)
<i>Tykání</i>	<i>Ty</i> (second-person singular)	<i>Pojď k nám</i> (Come to us).
<i>Vykání</i>	<i>Vy</i> (second-person plural)	<i>Přijďte k nám</i> (Come to us).
<i>Onkání</i>	<i>On</i> (third-person singular)	<i>Šel domů a trochu se vyspal</i> (Go home and sleep a bit).
<i>Onikání</i>	<i>Oni</i> (third-person plural)	<i>Oni jsou moc velký dobrák</i> (They are very good person*).

<i>Mykání</i>	<i>My</i> (first-person plural)	<i>My, Karel IV., král český, jsme se rozhodli takto</i> (We, Charles IV., a Czech king, decided like this).
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*Note:* Examples are from Sochrová (2009); translation mine.

\* It is grammatically incorrect in English, but reflects that the Czech sentence uses a singular noun (*dobrák*).

A speech style using the second-person singular pronoun (*ty*) is *tykání*. The other style using the plural second-person pronoun (*vy*) is referred to as *vykání*. *Tykání* is considered a casual style, while *vykání* is a polite style. In addition to the above two forms, the Czech system also has *onkání* and *onikání*, but most Czech people take them as non-contemporary forms.

*Onkání* uses the singular third-person pronoun *on* to address listeners. It is most often used between children and sometimes between young people when they do not want to use *tykání* nor *vykání* (Trávníček 1951, 1052). *Onikání* uses the plural third-person pronoun (*oni*), which is regarded as the most formal style. *Onikání* was influenced by the German word *sie*, which is a third-person pronoun (Čmejrková 1996a, 43). On this matter, Kretzenbacher et al. (2019, 125) state that *onikání* “fought against by linguistic purists in the Czech National Revival of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and, as a consequence, its use today is restricted to jocular or ironic use only.” They also found rare examples of *onikání* used in a non-ironic sense; however, it was emphasized again that *onikání* has “old-fashioned and humoristic connotations” (ibid., 133–134), which can be seen especially in Jewish jokes. As for the connection between Jewish jokes and *onikání*, Kretzenbacher et al. state that it is a reflection of Czechs’ ethno-linguistic attitudes. The Czechs regard *onikání* as German rather than pure Czech; moreover, it reflects “a traditional identification of Czech Jews with loyalty to German” (ibid., 134).

However, there is also *mykání*, which uses the plural first-person pronoun *my*. When it comes to Czech polite speech styles, this style is usually exempted, as it does not address the listener but rather replaces the single first-person pronoun (*já*) in certain situations. It has a few different functions. For example, it is used by royalty as the “royal we.” It can be also used by a writer as the “editorial we” or “author’s we,” which generally refers to both the reader and the author together. Sometimes a mother also uses this style with her baby,

which is called *mateřský plural*, “maternal plural.” It expresses solidarity between the mother and the baby (e.g., *my už chodíme*, “we are already walking”). This speech style can also function as a strategy to avoid using speech styles, which is further described in Chapter 3.4.1.

As for the history of Czech speech styles of politeness, due to the difficulty of getting written sources that predate the 14<sup>th</sup> century, this chapter deals with the history since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In that time, there was only a singular second-person pronoun, *ty* (Betsch 2000, 46). Afterwards, the plural second-person pronoun, *vy*, appeared in 1400s. As a polite style, *vykání* can be found in letters to kings or to the head of the church (ibid., 47–48). Then, an indirect nominal form for address, *pán* (“Mr.” or “sir”), is documented in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. This is largely replaced by the singular third-person pronoun *on* in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and completely replaced at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. *Pán* or *on* was placed between *oni* and *vy* in the hierarchical order of politeness (ibid., 169). In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *oni* arose due to the influence of the German language. Although *onikání* was still used in some dialects in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, its use began to recede during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Komárek 2012, 210).

**Table 4.** Development of Czech speech styles based on Betsch (2000) and Komárek (2012)

14c	15c	Late 16c	Middle 18c	20c
			<i>onikání</i>	
		(using a nominal form, <i>pán</i> )	<i>onkání</i>	
	<i>vykání</i>	<i>vykání</i>	<i>vykání</i>	<i>vykání</i>
<i>tykání</i>	<i>tykání</i>	<i>tykání</i>	<i>tykání</i>	<i>tykání</i>

### 3.2.2 Development of Korean speech styles

It is generally accepted that contemporary Korean has six speech styles of politeness. One early representative work suggesting these six styles is Ik-seop Lee (1974). This system is officially taught in schools in Korea, but issues related to re-identifying and re-categorizing speech styles to reflect their actual usage have consistently arisen.



In this chapter, the development of these six styles is not studied with personal pronouns, as it is in the Czech case in the previous chapter. To explain the difference, it should be noted that there is no agreement between a personal pronoun and a verb (and adjective) in Korean. For example, different subjects of sentences appear as follows:

(1) I like this.

<i>Na-neun</i> (나는)	<i>i-geos-eul</i> (이것을)	<i>joh-a-hae</i> (좋아해)
I-topic marker	This-object marker	Like-casual style ending; BAN

(2) You like this.

<i>Neo-neun</i> (너는)	<i>i-geos-eul</i> (이것을)	<i>joh-a-hae</i> (좋아해)
You-topic marker	This-object marker	Like-casual style ending; BAN

(3) He likes this.

<i>Geu-neun</i> (그는)	<i>i-geos-eul</i> (이것을)	<i>joh-a-hae</i> (좋아해)
He-topic marker	This-object marker	Like-casual style ending; BAN

(4) Students like this.

<i>Haksaengdeul-eun</i> (학생들은)	<i>i-geos-eul</i> (이것을)	<i>joh-a-hae</i> (좋아해)
Students-topic marker	This-object marker	Like-casual style ending; BAN

The verb “like” stays the same in (1), (2), (3) and (4). As speech styles are about changing the form of the verb and adjective in Korean, the use of personal pronouns has not been regarded as a criterion to categorize speech styles. However, certain terms of address (including personal pronouns) are used only for polite or casual speech. For example, the second-person pronoun *neo* (“you”) in (2) can be used only in casual speech. This matching of terms of address to speech styles is further discussed in 3.3.2.1.

Korean speech styles are named after the imperative form of the verb *ha-da* (“to do”) as in Table 5.

**Table 5.** Six speech styles in Korean adapted from Suh (1984, 39)

Speech styles	Function	Examples (English: “Do this.”)
(S1) <i>Hab-syo-che</i> (합쇼체)	Conveying politeness	<i>I-geos-eul ha-sib-si-o</i> (이것을 하십시오).
(S2) <i>Hae-yo-che</i> (해요체)	Conveying politeness	<i>I-geos-eul hae-yo</i> (이것을 해요).
(S3) <i>Ha-o-che</i> (하오체)	Conveying politeness	<i>I-geos-eul ha-o</i> (이것을 하오).
(S4) <i>Ha-ge-che</i> (하게체)	Not conveying politeness	<i>I-geos-eul ha-ge</i> (이것을 하게).
(S5) <i>Hae-che</i> (해체)	Not conveying politeness	<i>I-geos-eul hae</i> (이것을 해).
(S6) <i>Hae-la-che</i> (해라체)	Not conveying politeness	<i>I-geos-eul hae-la</i> (이것을 해라).

*Note:* Examples are created by Y. BK.

Table 5 shows that the name of each speech style is connected to the imperative verb form in each style. In their names, *che* (체) means ‘style’ in English. Therefore, (S1) *hab-syo-che* refers to a style using *hab-syo* (which is the same as *ha-sib-si-o*) in its imperative sentence.

Korean speech styles of politeness are observed in Old Korean, which mostly refers to the language of unified Silla (676–935). Although Korea had a history before unified Silla, the language of this era is used as the reference point because of (1) a limitation of accessible written data before this era and (2) the language of unified Silla was based on Middle Korean and developed into Modern Korean. However, the collected data is insufficient to reveal the whole system of the time. For instance, Taehwan Lee (2008) has observed the existence of *ha-syo-syeo-che* and a few other styles from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries as styles that convey politeness, but an entire system of speech styles is still difficult to identify. With respect to Korean alphabets, *hangeul* (*hangul*) was created in 1443, and it is reasonable to expect that more written sources and research from the 15<sup>th</sup> century are easier to access. Therefore, this chapter is concerned with the development of speech styles from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

**Table 6.** Development of Korean speech styles of politeness adapted from Yang (2009)

15c	16c	17c	18c	19c	20c	
(a) <i>Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>	(a) <i>Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>	(a) <i>Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>	(a) <i>Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>	(a) <i>Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>	(b) <i>Hab-syo-che</i>	Talking to a superior
				(c) <i>Hae-yo-che</i>	(c) <i>Hae-yo-che</i>	
			(d) <i>Ha-o-che</i>	(d) <i>Ha-o-che</i>	(d) <i>Ha-o-che</i>	
(e) <i>Ha-ya-sseyo-che</i>	(e) <i>Ha-ya-sseyo-che</i>	(f) <i>Ha-ne-che</i>	(f) <i>Ha-ne-che</i>	(g) <i>Ha-ge-che</i>	(g) <i>Ha-ge-che</i>	Talking to an inferior
	(f) <i>Ha-ne-che</i> (Middle 16c)					
(h) <i>Ni-che</i>	(h) <i>Ni-che</i>	(h) <i>Ni-che</i>	(h) <i>Ni-che</i>	(i) <i>Hae-che</i>	(i) <i>Hae-che</i>	
(j) <i>Ha-la-che</i>	(j) <i>Ha-la-che</i>	(j) <i>Ha-la-che</i>	(j) <i>Ha-la-che</i>	(j) <i>Ha-la-che</i>	(k) <i>Hae-la-che</i> *	

\* Yang (2009) used *ha-la-che*, but this table adopted a term, *hae-la-che*, which is widely used (e.g., Seong 1970; Suh 1984; Park 1995; Lee 2012b).

Table 6 has two dimensions:

- (1) timeline from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century
- (2) addressor and addressee

As for the second dimension, Korean speech styles have been developed old speech styles cannot be simply divided into polite and casual styles because some styles were used to show courtesy to subordinates, while others were used for superiors. Therefore, it is important in identifying the function of a certain speech style.

The colored parts refer to speech styles used by an inferior when he/she talks to his/her superior, which is an older person, a man,<sup>12</sup> or a person who has higher social status.

<sup>12</sup> Old literature shows that a wife used a polite speech style (d) with her husband, while he used (g) to her. This trend was observed even in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Suh 1980, 21). However, this asymmetrical usage of speech styles between couples is rare in the 21<sup>st</sup>

It includes (a) *ha-syo-syeo-che* (later [b] *hap-syo-che*), (c) *hae-yo-che* and (d) *ha-o-che*. The remaining styles are used by a superior to his/her inferior.

The politest style refers to (a, b), while the most casual style is (j, k). However, details of other styles' ranking by order of politeness are not discussed here because the positions slightly differ by scholars, and not every boundary is clear-cut. For example, Hwang (2002, 3) states that (f) is regarded as a style between (a) and (e), while Huh (1989, 287) finds it similar to (i). However, both interpretations accept that (f) was used by a superior to an inferior, particularly between family members (Yang 2009, 13). Therefore, this table is focused on addressing the more general idea of a superior–inferior relationship between interlocutors rather than defining levels of politeness.

There are several notes for individual styles. First, (a) was historically regarded as the politest form. As shown in Table 6, it was succeeded by (b) in contemporary Korean.

Second, (c) was used to address superiors in family or social relationships (ibid., 19). Go (1974, 83) states that (c) was initially commonly used by children and women. However, it was in common usage by everyone after 1950 (Suh 1984, 75). In later research, Xu (2007, 88) also shows that (c) is overwhelmingly used between interlocutors.

Third, (d) has been used to address superiors. Yang (2009, 18) shows texts from old literature where a servant (to his young master) and a wife (to her husband) use this style. Yang (ibid.), in describing this style, explains that one view is that this style was succeeded by (f) or other style, *ha-o-i-da*.

Fourth, (e) is used by a superior to an inferior (e.g., a mother-in-law to her son-in-law or a princess to a beggar).<sup>13</sup> This style was later replaced by (f) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and became (g) (ibid., 15).

Fifth, identifying (h) as an independent style is controversial, but this style is worth including because it was used during this era and had unique characteristics. According to Yang (ibid., 11–12), this style was limited to use by an inferior to a superior as a form of *si-ni* (with an honorific suffix *si*). Later, *ni* itself was used by a superior to an inferior (e.g., by

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century. Consequently, Lee (2012b, 43–45) stated that sex will likely disappear as a factor of power.

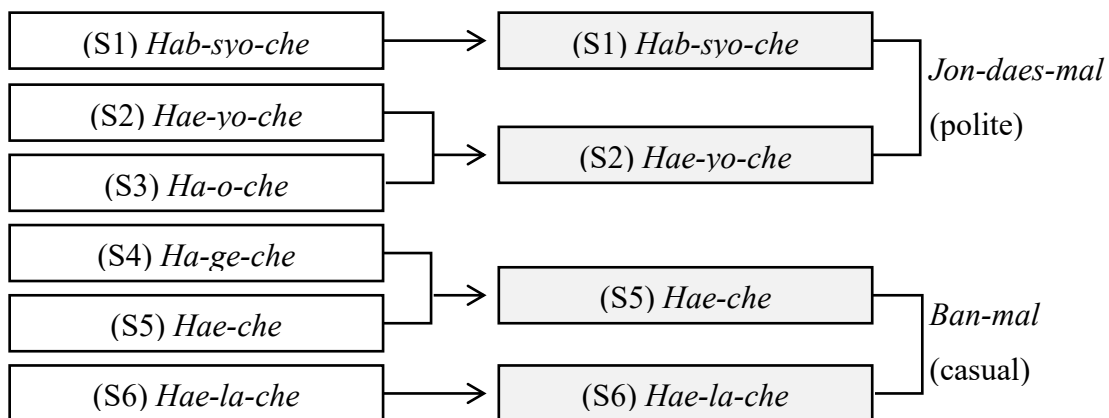
<sup>13</sup> Yang (2009, 11)

parents addressing their children or by a king addressing his concubine) after the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Sixth, another name for (i) is *ban-mal*, which is explained in 3.1. This style has succeeded from (c) *hae-yo-che* by omitting *yo*. *Hae-che* is generally used for inferiors but can also be used between interlocutors of the same rank.

Speech styles in the 20<sup>th</sup> century are the same as those described in Table 5: (S1) *hab-syo-che*, (S2) *hae-yo-che*, (S3) *ha-o-che*, (S4) *ha-ge-che*, (S5) *hae-che*, and (S6) *hae-la-che*. Thus far, the Korean system seems to be becoming richer. However, since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars have increasingly argued that a simplified system better reflects real usage of language. Young-soon Park’s (1976) statistical analysis of Koreans’ speech styles shows that usage of (S3) and (S4) became rare, while that of (S2) and (S5) gained in popularity. Suh (1979, 217) agrees that usage of (S3) and (S4) is declining; this trend has continued into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Lee (2012b, 121) states that (S3) has already been mostly replaced by (S2), and (S4) has been replaced by (S5) in the central dialect, but other dialects show a similar trend as well. Furthermore, Lee argues that (S1) is generally replaced by (S2) because the latter is shorter and sounds softer, although both styles will likely continue to co-exist (*ibid.*, 120–121). In this sense, there are four styles, the first two belonging to *jon-dase-mal* and the others to *ban-mal* (for this terminology, see key concepts in Chapter 3.1).

**Figure 1.** Changes in Korean speech styles (20c–21c)



Although (S3) and (S4) are not completely archaic styles but merely less used in contemporary Korean, the binary concept of *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal* does not tend to include (S3) and (S4). Therefore, it may be too early to delete these styles from the system of Korean polite speech. However, it is appropriate at this point to focus on this binary concept when it comes to contemporary Korean polite speech styles.

### 3.2.3 Comparison

A comparison of the development of speech styles in Czech and Korean is presented below.

**Table 7.** Development of speech styles in Czech and Korean based on Betsch (2000), Komárek (2012) and Yang (2009)

Czech speech styles	Time	Korean speech styles
<i>Tykání</i>	14c	(insufficient data)
<i>Tykání, Vykání</i>	15c	<i>Ha-la-che, Ni-che, Ha-ya-ssyeo-che, Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>
<i>Tykání, Vykání, (Pán)</i> (Late 16c)	16c	<i>Ha-la-che, Ni-che, Ha-ne-che</i> (Middle 16c), <i>Ha-ya-ssyeo-che, Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>
<i>Tykání, Vykání, (Pán)</i>	17c	<i>Ha-la-che, Ni-che, Ha-ne-che, Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>
<i>Tykání, Vykání, Onkání, Onikání</i> (Middle 18c)	18c	<i>Ha-la-che, Ni-che, Ha-ne-che, (S3) Ha-o-che, Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>
<i>Tykání, Vykání, Onkání, Onikání</i>	19c	<i>Ha-la-che, (S5) Hae-che, (S4) Ha-ge-che, (S3) Ha-o-che, (S2) Hae-yo-che, Ha-syo-syeo-che</i>

<i>Tykání, Vykání</i>	20c–21c	(S6) <i>Hae-la-che</i> , (S5) <i>Hae-che</i> ([S4] <i>Ha-ge-che</i> , [S3] <i>Ha-o-che</i> ), (S2) <i>Hae-yo-che</i> , (S1) <i>Hab-syo-che</i>
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The Czech language shows maximum four speech styles in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which include *onkání* and *onikání*, but these styles then became simplified in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast, the Korean language has established at most six types of speech styles since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, popular understanding employs a binary system, *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal*, which includes four actively used styles: (S1), (S2), (S5), and (S6). Therefore, both Czech and Korean systems of speech styles eventually became more simplified. However, this does not mean that people nowadays express politeness simplistically. Within the simplified system, interlocutors convey nuances in levels of politeness by using other devices, such as specific vocabulary and language manners.

Suh (1979, 217) observes that remarkable changes in Korean society after World War II resulted in simplified speech styles, noting growing attention to democratic values and a horizontal relationship based on the notion of human equality. Kim-Renaud (2001, 34) also states that, nowadays, people who want to be modern seem to be less conscious of power. Human equality seems to have influenced the usage of Czech speech styles as well. Daneš et al. (1957, 56) state that the rise of socialism spread T-form widely at the time, and more Czech people started to use T-form over the previously preferred V-form. Usage of T-form increased even after the fall of communism. Jurman (2001) and Nekvapil and Neustupný (2005) state that young Czechs, regardless of gender, tend to use T-form more than V-form when they first meet. Chejnová (2015) also observes the possibility of an increase in the use of symmetrical T-form in the future.

Lee (2012b, 119) mentions that the Korean language started to take on simplification, informality, intimacy, and non-authoritarianism during the transition to modern society, as other languages tend to do. In this sense, Czech and Korean languages seem to be following the same trajectory.

### 3.3 General usage of speech styles

Czechs and Koreans learn basic structures of speech styles and how to use them from the time they are young. This sub-chapter aims to introduce each system and contexts in which each style is used in 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. Then, in 3.3.3, similarities and differences between Czech and Korean systems are explored. This section also illustrates another aspect of speech style usage, indicating specific combinations of terms of address and speech styles (e.g., using V-form with an addressee's first name). Speech styles can be thus fractionized in both languages.

#### 3.3.1 Czech speech styles

The Czech language encodes politeness by changing the form of the verb to agree with the pronoun. Therefore, T-form and V-form are distinguished by personal pronouns and verb conjugation. Examples of each style, focused on conjugation, follow:

**Table 8.** Czech *tykání* and *vykání* adapted from Pečený (2011, 283)

Style	Pronoun	Verb	(Infinitive Czech form; English meaning)	Form
<i>Tykání</i>	2SG	<i>Bydlíš</i>	<i>(bydlet; to live)</i>	Present, indicative, active
		<i>Bydlel/a bys</i>	<i>(bydlet; to live)</i>	Present, conditional, active
		<i>Jsi přijat/a</i>	<i>(přijmout; to accept)</i>	Present, indicative, passive
		<i>Byl/a bys přijat/a</i>	<i>(přijmout; to accept)</i>	Present, conditional, passive
		<i>Bydlel/a jsi</i>	<i>(bydlet; to live)</i>	Preterit, indicative, active



		<i>Byl/a jsi přijat/a</i>	( <i>přijmout</i> ; to accept)	Preterit, indicative, passive
		<i>Pracuj</i>	( <i>pracovat</i> ; to work)	Imperative
Vykání (one addressee)	2PL	<i>Bydlíte</i>	( <i>bydlet</i> ; to live)	Present, indicative, active
		<i>Bydlel/a byste</i>	( <i>bydlet</i> ; to live)	Present, conditional, active
		<i>Jste přijat/a</i>	( <i>přijmout</i> ; to accept)	Present, indicative, passive
		<i>Byl/a byste přijat/a</i>	( <i>přijmout</i> ; to accept)	Present, conditional, passive
		<i>Bydlel/a jste</i>	( <i>bydlet</i> ; to live)	Preterit, indicative, active
		<i>Byl/a jste přijat/a</i>	( <i>přijmout</i> ; to accept)	Preterit, indicative, passive
		<i>Pracujte</i>	( <i>pracovat</i> ; to work)	Imperative
Vykání (two or more addressee)	2PL	<i>Bydlíte</i>	( <i>bydlet</i> ; to live)	Present, indicative, active
		<i>Bydleli/y byste</i>	( <i>bydlet</i> ; to live)	Present, conditional, active
		<i>Jste přijati/y</i>	( <i>přijmout</i> ; to accept)	Present, indicative, passive
		<i>Byli/y byste přijati/y</i>	( <i>přijmout</i> ; to accept)	Present, conditional, passive
		<i>Bydleli/y jste</i>	( <i>bydlet</i> ; to live)	Preterit, indicative, active
		<i>Byli/y jste přijati/y</i>	( <i>přijmout</i> ; to accept)	Preterit, indicative, passive
		<i>Pracujte</i>	( <i>pracovat</i> ; to work)	Imperative

Table 8 shows how *tykání* and *vykání* are constructed differently. Since *vykání* uses the second-person plural pronoun, three contexts are possible: (1) addressing one person (a polite form of “you”), (2) addressing more than one person (a plural and polite form of “you”), (3) addressing more than one person (a plural and non-polite form of “you”). These usages look similar in the present tense, but they are differentiated with past particles. *Vykání* as a polite speech style refers to (1) and (2), which is not limited to plural addressees.

Czech speech styles of politeness are used mostly symmetrically, and Čmejrková (1996a, 43) refers to this usage as a feature of Czech democracy. Exceptional cases of using the same speech style mutually can include conversation between children and non-familiar adults, for instance. However, children used to use *vykání* with their parents and grandparents at home (ibid., 44). Čermák (1903) also shows that children used V-form with their parents, with a specific note that, for children in regions more influenced by German, T-form appeared more frequently, sometimes even dominantly. According to Čermák (ibid.), for example, in Postřekov, 93.3% of pupils (224 out of 240) used V-form with their fathers, and 93.75% of pupils (225 out of 240) used V-form with their mothers. Moreover, 89.27% of pupils (185 out of 205) in Svaté Pole used V-form with both parents. In contrast, in Mělník, 56.62% of pupils (265 out of 468) used T-form with their fathers and 60% (283 out of 471) of pupils used T-form with their mothers. However, using T-form with parents predominates nowadays. Further general situations using T-form and V-form are as follows:

**Table 9.** Situations that use *tykání* or *vykání*

Styles	Situations
<i>Tykání</i>	Talking to friends, students, colleagues of the same professional level and/or similar age, family, relatives, couples, people engaged in the same activity (e.g., people in hobby clubs or at gyms and pools and joggers in the park)
<i>Vykání</i>	Talking to unfamiliar people (strangers), students and professors at secondary schools and universities

*Note:* Various situations in the table refer to descriptions by Čmejrková (1996a), Patočka (2000), and Nekvapil and Neustupný (2005).

In the case of power variables, age, status, and gender play an influential role in Czech. Patočka (2000, 19) states that physical age undoubtedly has an influence. Moreover, according to the results of a survey conducted on university students, Jurman (2001) observes that Czech university students found it difficult to use T-form on a significantly older person.

However, solidarity is an important factor in the use of *tykání*. If interlocutors share the same or similar background, such as school, workplace, or hobby, using this casual speech style seems to be expected by Czechs. In cases where they have different statuses according to power semantics, solidarity can lead to *vykání* changing to *tykání* by mutual agreement.

Accordingly, both power and solidary semantics influence the decision of speech styles. However, solidarity is often a key of choosing speech styles. Brown and Gilman (1960, 280) state that, as Europeans increasingly value the ethics of solidarity, solidarity plays a more important role than power does in Czech.

### 3.3.1.1 Terms of address and speech styles

*Tykání* is used with an addressee's first name. This name can be a diminutive form, which is frequently used at home. For example, a diminutive form of *Tereza* is *Terka*. For *vykání*, *pane* for a man or *paní* for a woman is combined with an addressee's surname (e.g., *pane Nováku*, "Mr. Novák"). As for terms of address for females, besides *paní*, *slečno* is also used. *Slečno* refers to a young lady, and it is not mostly used with titles (e.g., *slečno učitelko*, "Miss. Teacher").<sup>14</sup> In contrast, *pane/paní* can be combined with titles (e.g., *pane doktore*, "Mr. Doctor"). Combinations of *pane/paní*, title, and surname are not as common (e.g., *Vážená paní doktorko Nováková*, "Dear Mrs. Doctor Nováková").<sup>15</sup>

However, there is a form that combines two styles. Pečený (2011, 283) shows that the combination of the first name and *vykání* is used between a teacher and a student at

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<sup>14</sup> Pečený (2011, 282)

<sup>15</sup> Reference is a website about the Czech language by Institute of the Czech Language, *internetová jazyková příručka* (<https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=850>).

some point, between a doctor and a nurse, between a customer and a hairdresser, and between non-blood family members. This is also commonly used between colleagues at work. Considering that the polite form *vykání* used to match a title with a family name, this mixed way (*vykání* with a first name) is regarded as something between *vykání* and *tykání*. When it is used by teachers to address students, it can demonstrate both the teachers' status (as adults) and solidarity (Nekvapil and Neustupný 2005, 251). It is also possible for this variation to be accompanied with *pane, paní*. Válková (2004, 107) states that “*Pane Pavle*” (Mr. + first name) with V-form will be between “*Pane LN*” (Mr. + last name) with V-form and “*Pavle*” with V-form. However, this form is not used as frequently as the combination of the first name and V-form.

Kinship terms can also be used as terms of address in Czech, although using the addressee's name is more common. Hence, these terms are generally used with *tykání*. Variations in speech styles using terms of address are as follows:

**Table 10.** Czech terms of address and speech styles

<i>Tykání</i>	(1) <i>Ty</i> (second-person singular pronoun)	<i>Co si myslíš, ty?</i> (“What do you think?”)
	(2) First name (in a vocative case)	<i>Jirko!</i> (“Jirka!”)
	(3) Diminutive form of the first name (in a vocative case)	<i>Ahoj, Pepíku.</i> (“Hi, Pepík.”) (Note: Josef → Pepa, Pepík)
	(4) Kinship term (in a vocative case)	<i>Maminko!</i> (“Mother!”)
<i>Vykání</i>	(5) <i>Vy</i> (second-person plural pronoun)	<i>Vy mi nic neříkejte.</i> (“Don’t tell me anything.”)
	(6) <i>Pane, paní</i> + surname (in a vocative case)	<i>Pane Součku!</i> (“Mr. Souček!”)

	(7) <i>Pane, paní</i> + academic title/function (in a vocative case)	<i>Pane doktore!</i> ("Mr. Doctor!")
	(8) <i>Slečno</i>	<i>Slečno, prosím vás...</i> ("Lady, excuse me...")
<i>Half- vykání</i>	(9) First name (in a vocative case) + <i>vykání</i>	<i>Jak se máte, Martine?</i> ("How are you, Martin?")
	(10) <i>Pane, paní</i> + First name (in a vocative case) + <i>vykání</i>	<i>Pane Pavle, můžete mi s tím autem pomocť?</i> ("Mr. Pavel, can you help me with this car?")

*Note:* Examples are from Patočka (2000, 67–94), Válková (2004, 107) and Pečený (2011, 281); translation mine.

### 3.3.2 Korean speech styles

Although modern Korean has six speech styles of politeness, Chapter 3.2.2 explains how these styles are simplified to a binary system: *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal*. This chapter is concerned with the simplified system, which features four styles in total.

**Table 11.** Korean speech styles adapted from Suh (1984, 39)

Styles		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	Propositive
		Infinitive verb form: <i>ha-da</i> and <i>ga-da</i> (English: "to do" and "to go")			
<i>Jon- daes- mal</i>	(S1) <i>Hab- syo-che</i>	<i>Hab-ni-da</i> <i>Gab-ni-da</i>	<i>Hab-ni-kka</i> <i>Gab-ni-kka</i>	<i>Ha-sib-si-o</i> <i>Ga-sib-si-o</i>	<i>Ha-sib-si-da</i> <i>Ga-sib-si-da</i>
	(S2) <i>Hae-yo- che</i>	<i>Hae-yo</i> <i>Ga-yo</i>	<i>Hae-yo</i> <i>Ga-yo</i>	<i>Hae-yo</i> <i>Ga-yo</i>	<i>Hae-yo</i> <i>Ga-yo</i>

<i>Ban-mal</i>	(S5) <i>Hae-che</i>	<i>Hae</i> <i>Ga</i>	<i>Hae</i> <i>Ga</i>	<i>Hae</i> <i>Ga</i>	<i>Hae</i> <i>Ga</i>
	(S6) <i>Hae-la-che</i>	<i>Han-da</i> <i>Gan-da</i>	<i>Ha-ni</i> <i>Ga-ni</i>	<i>Hae-la</i> <i>Ga-la</i>	<i>Ha-ja</i> <i>Ga-ja</i>

*Note:* Examples are created by Y. BK.

As illustrated in Table 11, differences in speech styles are visible when they are categorized as one of four forms: declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositive. Depending on the form, the ending of the verb is changed. It applies to the adjective as well, as Korean adjectives function like verbs in that they are inflected without a copula. Therefore, Korean adjectives are sometimes called descriptive verbs, while Korean verbs are action verbs.

General situations using Korean speech styles can be illustrated by all four sub-styles. However, this chapter focuses on general concepts based on the binary system. Each sub-style has subtle nuances in terms of formality (e.g., [S1] used to be regarded as formal polite speech, while [S2] is informal polite speech). However, the boundaries of formality are indistinct because so-called informal speech styles are simultaneously observed with formal speech styles (see Lee 2012b, 63). Therefore, Table 11 introduces two styles in a broader concept that focuses on whether or not politeness is conveyed.

**Table 12.** Situations that use *jon-daes-mal* or *ban-mal*

Styles	Situations
<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>	Talking to superiors (by subordinates), strangers, (parents)
<i>Ban-mal</i>	Talking to subordinates (by superiors), parents, children, siblings, students, close friends

*Note:* Situations are based on the description of Sohn (1999, 413–414) and Brown (2011, 25–30).

In Table 12, “superiors” includes elders. Therefore, a younger speaker will use *jon-daes-mal* with an elder, while the elder might use *ban-mal* with the younger person regardless of

their solidarity. Reciprocal *jon-daes-mal* is appropriate between non-solidarity adults, but non-reciprocal situations caused by power variables (e.g., one who holds more power using *ban-mal* while the other uses *jon-daes-mal*) still happen in real conversation (e.g., the conversation between a taxi driver using *jon-daes-mal* and a customer using *ban-mal* in Brown 2011, 27).

Both speech styles have been used with parents, but nowadays *ban-mal* is more common. Children formerly used *jon-daes-mal* with their parents once they were grown to show their respect. As Brown (2011, 27) noted, however, the use of *ban-mal* with parents has been expanded to express intimacy within a family. In Korean media, examples are easily found showing that some families use *ban-mal* with all family members, while some maintain a non-reciprocal speech style (a child using *jon-daes-mal* with parents, who in turn use *ban-mal* with the child). As for such trends, Hyangsook Kim (2014, 30) adds that daughters especially show a tendency to use *ban-mal* with their parents. Such tendency seems to be because daughters are more communicative with parents, so they show their solidarity more by using *ban-mal*.

In general situations, it can be easily observed that young Koreans use *jon-daes-mal* with their elders regardless of their solidarity. Thus, Young-soon Park (1995, 566–567) argues that solidarity cannot trump power in the Korean language. In power semantics, Brown (2011, 49) mentions age especially as “the most powerful and ideologically-invested factor in determining power differences” in Korean society. However, age was not always the most powerful factor. Yi (2004, 28) states that age was a less powerful element from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. During this era, social classes (scholarly, agricultural, industrial, and mercantile) and family hierarchy in the extended family were more important. Then, rigidity of social classes collapsed. Jin-sang Jeong (2000, 108) states that such a collapse was primarily due to standardization led by slummization as an aftermath of the Korean War (1950–1953). Family hierarchy has also weakened in modern Korean society. Thus, age remains a significant factor.

However, Kim-Renaud (2001, 28) argues that there has been a shift in Korean polite speech from a power-based parameter to formality and solidarity, which is characteristic of European-style politeness. Lee (2012b, 125) also mentions that usage of honorifics has changed from power-based to solidarity-based. Although superiors still tend to use *ban-mal*

with non-intimate subordinates, more people now feel uncomfortable with this usage and prefer communicating in *jon-daes-mal*. For example, according to a 2019 survey of 1,431 employees conducted by JobKorea,<sup>16</sup> 80.7% of the respondents stated that all people should mutually use *jon-daes-mal* at work irrespective of age and rank, although *ban-mal* may be used when two interlocutors are personally close (59.3% of the respondents allowed the use of *ban-mal* in such a situation). However, despite the strong preference for *jon-daes-mal*, 65% of employees stated that their superiors use *ban-mal* on them. The stronger preference for using *jon-daes-mal* shows that weakened power semantics in Korean does not lead only to extending the usage of *ban-mal* but also to encouraging people to use *jon-daes-mal* more with non-solidarity people.

### 3.3.2.1 Terms of address and speech styles

As for terms of address in Korean, personal pronouns are not often used, especially in polite speech where other nominal forms of address using several honorific titles (e.g., surname + title + *nim*, job title + *nim*, first name + *ssi*, etc.) are more actively used. Furthermore, kinship terms are frequently used in both casual and polite speech styles. Considering such features of the Korean language, Young-soon Park (1995, 566) illustrates that Korean terms of address are matched with six speech styles of politeness.

**Table 13.** Korean terms of address adapted from Park (1995, 566)

Styles	Terms of address
(S1) <i>Hab-syo-che</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kinship term + <i>nim</i> (honorific title)</li> <li>• Status/position + <i>nim</i> (honorific title)</li> </ul>
(S2) <i>Hae-yo-che</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kinship term</li> <li>• Surname + status/position + <i>nim</i> (honorific title)</li> <li>• Name + <i>ssi</i> (honorific title)</li> </ul>

<sup>16</sup> [https://www.jobkorea.co.kr/goodjob/tip/view?News\\_No=15861](https://www.jobkorea.co.kr/goodjob/tip/view?News_No=15861)



(S3) <i>Ha-o-che</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Surname + status/position</li> <li>• <i>Yeo-bo</i> (second person singular pronoun)</li> <li>• <i>Dang-sin</i> (second person singular pronoun)</li> </ul>
(S4) <i>Ha-ge-che</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Ja-ne</i> (second person singular pronoun)</li> <li>• <i>Yeo-bo-ge</i> (second person singular pronoun)</li> <li>• Surname + <i>yang/gun</i>*</li> </ul>
(S5) <i>Hae-che</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Name-<i>i</i> (vocative suffix)</li> <li>• Surname + <i>yang/gun</i></li> </ul>
(S6) <i>Hae-la-che</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Name-<i>a</i> (vocative suffix)</li> <li>• <i>Neo</i> (second person singular pronoun)</li> </ul>

\* In the original source (Park 1995, 566), it is written as *yang/yang*, which seems to be an error.

In Table 13, an honorific title *nim* can be a dependent noun or suffix depending on its usage. For example, *nim* in *seonsaeng-nim* (“teacher”) and *ha-neu-nim* (“God”) is a suffix, while *nim* in *Kim Min-su nim* (“Mr. Min-su Kim”) is a dependent noun. Another Korean honorific title is *ssi* in (S2). This title is used to convey politeness to a person who is at the same or lower level as an addresser. *Yang* and *gun* in (S4) and (S5) are also terms of address, but used by a superior to call a subordinate in a friendly way.

However, as discussed in 3.2.2, not all speech styles are actively used in contemporary Korean. Thus, there are differences in the usage of terms of address as well. For example, *ja-ne*, *yeo-bo-ge*, and *yang/gun* are not commonly used. However, surname and status/position (e.g., *Kim daeri*, “Assistant Manager Kim”), *yeo-bo*, and *dang-sin* are still in use with *jon-daes-mal* or *ban-mal*. *Yeo-bo* is used mainly between a married couple. Couples also use *dang-sin*, but this personal pronoun has more complicated functions; it has two opposite functions, conveying politeness or non-politeness. Hyeryong Kim (2018) shows that using *dang-sin* in a polite sense is observed mainly in written language, while it is mostly used without the intention of expressing politeness in spoken language. According to Kim (ibid., 31), using this pronoun in spoken language mostly happens between non-solidarity people, and sometimes it even implies rudeness. This pronoun is

generally used between interlocutors of the same status or when the speaker is of a higher status than the addressee.

Considering the binary system of speech styles in contemporary Korean, the system of terms of address needs to be reorganized. Currently, actively used terms of address matched with two styles, *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal*, are described below. A few new types that were not discussed in Young-soon Park (1995) are added.

**Table 14.** Korean terms of address and speech styles

<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>	(1) Surname + position + <i>nim</i>	김 선생님, 학생 좀 잘 타일러요. <i>Kim seonsaengnim, haksaeung jom jal tailleoyo.</i> ("Teacher Kim, persuade a student well.")
	(2) Position + <i>nim</i>	근데 선생님, 그거 알아요? <i>Geunde seonsaengnim geugeo aseyo?</i> ("Teacher, do you know that?")
	(3) Full name/first name + <i>nim</i>	박 철희 님, 일어나십시오. <i>Bak cheolhui nim, ireonasipsio.</i> ("Mr. Cheolhui Bak, please wake up.")
	(4) Kinship term + <i>nim</i>	아버님, 저녁 진지 드셨어요? <i>Abeonim, jeonyeok jinji deusyeosseoyo?</i> ("Father[-in-law], did you have dinner?")
	(5) Kinship term	할머니, 이제 그만 우세요. <i>Halmeoni, ije geuman useyo.</i> ("Grandmother, stop crying now.")
	(6) Full name/first name + <i>ssi</i>	수정 씨, 시집 가고 싶어요? <i>Sujeong ssi, sijip gago sipeoyo?</i> ("Ms. Sujeong, do you want to get married?")
	(7) <i>Yeo-bo</i>	여보, 오늘 어머니 오실 거예요. <i>Yeobo, oneul eomeoni osil geoyeyo.</i> ("Honey, mother will come today.")
	(8) <i>Dang-sin</i>	당신도 고만 (그만) 좀 하세요. <i>Dangsindo goman (geuman) jom haseyo.</i> ("You should stop it, too.")

<i>Ban-mal</i>	(9) First name + a/ya/-i	철수야, 학교 가자. <i>Cheolsuya, hakgyo gaja.</i> ("Cheolsu, let's go to school.")
	(10) Surname + position	김 사장! 잘 나가는 스웨터로 몇 벌 뽑아 봐. <i>Kim sajang! Jal naganeun seuweteoro myeot beol ppoba bwa.</i> ("CEO Kim! Pull out a couple of popular sweaters.")
	(11) Kinship term	엄마, 애는 왜 달라? <i>Eomma, yaeneun wae dalla?</i> ("Mom, why is this different?")
	(12) <i>Yeo-bo</i>	여보, 전화는 용건만 간단히 해야지. <i>Yeobo, jeonhwaneun yonggeonman gandanh haeyaji.</i> ("Honey, you should be quick on the phone.")
	(13) <i>Dang-sin</i>	당신도 그렇지 않아? <i>Dangsindo geureochi ana?</i> ("Aren't you like that, too?")
	(14) <i>Neo</i>	너, 얘기 들었어? <i>Neo, yaegi deureosseo?</i> ("Did you hear that story?")
Mixed usage	(15) Surname + position + <i>jon-daes-mal</i> (without honorific titles)	김 대리, 그 사람하고 인사했어요? <i>Kim daeri, geu saramhago insahaesseoyo?</i> ("Assistant Manager Kim, did you say hello to him?")
	(16) Full name/first name + <i>ssi</i> + <i>ban-mal</i>	현진 씨, 이거 못 먹어? <i>Hyeonjin ssi, igeo mot meogeo?</i> ("Ms. Hyeonjin, you cannot eat this?")

*Note:* Examples are extracted from Sejong Corpus (accessed in 2021), Korean Dictionary from Korea University (2009), and Standard Korean Language Dictionary (1999); translation mine.

An honorific title, *nim*, is generally used in polite speech, as seen in (1) and (2). When an academic title or the name of an occupational position is not used, *nim* is combined with a

first name or a full name (e.g., *Kim Minsu nim*, “Mr. Minsu Kim”), as in (3). Traditionally, *nim* is not combined with proper names (Ik-seop Lee 2000, 207); however, this usage is easily and frequently observed nowadays. For example, the use of this combination of only first name (or full name) and *nim* between colleagues is encouraged at some companies (Kim 2016). It is also common in the service industry to address customers by their names with *nim* when their names are registered. The Standard Korean Language Dictionary also indicates usage of a surname with *nim* (e.g., *Kim nim*), which is rarely used.

When an older person talks to a younger adult in a polite sense, the older person can use a polite speech style without attaching *nim* to the addressee’s name, as in (10) and (15). Comparing (1), (10), and (15) shows how an elder speaker adjusts the level of politeness expressed during the conversation. Originally, this style was considered (S3) *ha-o-che* (see Table 13). While this style is becoming more inactively used, it appears to be used freely in both *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal* styles according to the speaker’s intention. As its original speech style was (S3) *ha-o-che*, it could be part of a polite speech style, but omitting *nim* implies non-politeness to the listener, and it cannot be used by subordinates to address their superiors. Hence, it is categorized as “mixed usage,” which has features of both polite and casual styles.

*Yeo-bo* in (7, 12) and *dang-sin* in (8, 13) appear in both styles as well. Their original speech style was (S3) *ha-o-che*. However, it should be noted that *dang-sin* can express not only politeness but also non-politeness (even rudeness) in certain situations, as previously explained.

Kinship terms (5, 6, 12) are also observed in both speech styles. As described in Table 12 in 3.3.2, adult children mostly use *ban-mal* with their parents, as in (12). However, (5) and (6) show that family hierarchy is still influential.

Another example of adjusting politeness is (16). An honorific title, *ssi*, is used to convey politeness to an addressee who is of equal or slightly lesser status than that of the speaker. This title is a lower level of expressing politeness than *nim*. *Ssi* is typically combined in *jon-daes-mal*, as in (7), using the first name or full name,<sup>17</sup> but it is sometimes

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<sup>17</sup> Combination with only the surname (e.g., *Kim ssi*) is also possible. However, it is seldom used, and it tends to imply that an addressee is in a much lower position than that of an addresser (Lee 2000, 208). Therefore, it often implies disrespect.

used with *ban-mal* as well, as it is in (16). This is grammatically incorrect because it is using an honorific title in a non-polite sentence. However, it is often used by a superior who wants to speak politely to his/her subordinate but not so sternly in reality. This should be interpreted as a pragmatic point of view.

### 3.3.3 Comparison

A comparison of general usage of Czech and Korean speech styles is described below.

**Table 15.** *Tykání* and *ban-mal*

	<i>Tykání</i>	<i>Ban-mal</i>
With whom to use (similarities)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents</li> <li>• Children</li> <li>• Siblings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students</li> <li>• Close friends and colleagues of the same age</li> </ul>
With whom to use (dissimilarities)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People engaged in the same activity</li> <li>• Close friends and colleagues of the same professional level and/or similar age</li> <li>• Relatives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subordinates (regardless of solidarity)</li> <li>• Younger people (regardless of solidarity)</li> </ul>
Appropriate terms of address	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First name (VOC)</li> <li>• Diminutive form of the first name (VOC)</li> <li>• Kinship term (VOC)</li> <li>• <i>Ty</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First name-<i>a/ya/-i</i></li> <li>• Surname + position</li> <li>• Kinship term</li> <li>• <i>Yeo-bo</i></li> <li>• <i>Dang-sin</i></li> <li>• <i>Neo</i></li> </ul>

**Table 16.** *Vykání* and *jon-daes-mal*

	<i>Vykání</i>	<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>
With whom to use (similarities)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unfamiliar people (strangers)</li> <li>• Professors</li> <li>• (Non-solidarity) superiors</li> </ul>	
With whom to use (dissimilarities)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students (by professors at higher-educational institutes)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Superiors (regardless of solidarity)</li> <li>• Friends and colleagues who are older (regardless of solidarity)</li> <li>• (Parents)</li> </ul>
Appropriate terms of address	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pane, paní</i> + surname (VOC)</li> <li>• <i>Pane, paní</i> + academic title/function (VOC)</li> <li>• <i>Slečno</i></li> <li>• <i>Vy</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Surname + position + <i>nim</i></li> <li>• Position + <i>nim</i></li> <li>• Full name/first name + <i>nim</i></li> <li>• Kinship term (+ <i>nim</i>)</li> <li>• Full name/first name + <i>ssi</i></li> <li>• <i>Yeo-bo</i></li> <li>• <i>Dang-sin</i>*</li> </ul>

\* When it is used in spoken language between non-solidarity people, it may imply rudeness (Hyeryong Kim 2018)

**Table 17.** Half-politeness expressed by terms of address and speech styles

	Czech	Korean
Half-politeness expressed by terms of address and speech styles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First name (VOC) + <i>vykání</i></li> <li>• <i>Pane, paní</i> + First name (VOC) + <i>vykání</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Surname + position + <i>jon-daes-mal</i></li> <li>• Full name/first name + <i>ssi</i> + <i>ban-mal</i></li> </ul>

Czech and Korean both convey politeness by inflecting the ends of verbs. Although inflection also applies to adjectives in the Korean language, such adjectives are known as descriptive verbs. In this context, we can say that politeness is grammatically conveyed by inflecting verbs in both languages. Situations calling for polite or casual speech styles in both languages have similarities. For instance, Czechs and Koreans use polite speech styles with non-solidarity people. They also use casual styles with their close friends, family, fellow students, and pupils. However, a role of power semantics is stronger in relationships between Koreans. With parents, Korean children formerly used a polite speech style after reaching adulthood, but nowadays they mostly maintain their usage of *ban-mal*. However, it can sometimes be observed in Korean TV programs that some adults use a polite speech style with their parents, especially sons with their fathers.

Age is an influential factor in both languages. A younger colleague will not typically use a casual speech style with his/her older colleague without consent, not only because of a lack of solidarity but also because of their age gap. However, the systems differ in how speakers mutually agree to use casual speech styles as their relationship progresses.

Younger and older Czech colleagues can mutually agree to use a casual speech style like that used between close friends. However, this process is different for Korean colleagues. As the Korean language has many speech styles, there may be minor changes, including terms of address (e.g., not using honorific titles such as *nim* or *ssi*), but for the most part, the same casual style they would use to talk to a close friend of their age would not be used. Ik-seop Lee (2000, 231) argues that the role of solidarity is quite active when we consider such minor changes, although such changes cannot approach extremely casual levels. It implies that *ban-mal* is not merely casual but at the top end of casualness for Koreans.

In Korea, the most important thing to know in deciding on speech styles used to be who had more power. In this sense, age especially has been regarded as a strong factor. For example, *ban-mal* is safe to use with a person of the same age or a younger person relying on the age hierarchy. If two close interlocutors differ in age, the younger might use a polite speech style.

However, in 21<sup>st</sup> century Korea, social change is shifting power-based decisions about using speech styles to solidarity-based decisions (Kim-Renaud 2001; Jeongbok Lee 2012b), resulting in two different changes: mutual use of *jon-daes-mal* in the workplace and mutual use of *ban-mal* in the family. Nowadays, younger generations prefer to hear and use *jon-daes-mal* with non-solidarity people in the workplace. Second, usage of *ban-mal* has been expanded positively in the family. Nowadays, children have a tendency to use *ban-mal* with their parents even after they become adults.

Czech and Korean both have certain terms of address that are used with particular speech styles. Academic titles and occupational positions are typically used with polite speech styles in both languages. Kinship terms are observed in casual speech styles in Czech and Korean, but they also appear in polite speech styles in Korean. When using one's surname in polite speech, Czech requires *pán* or *paní*, while Korean requires some titles (positions).

“Half-politeness” is expressed in Czech by using the addressee's first name and *vykání*. In Korean, it is expressed by using an honorific title and *ban-mal* or using a title without an honorific title and *jon-daes-mal*. This is grammatically incorrect but pragmatically allowed in real-life settings in Korea. Such actions can subdivide speech styles and require a speaker to use the system in concrete situations according to the speaker's needs.

### **3.4 Evasion of choice between polite and casual speech styles**

Choosing the appropriate speech style is not always simple. For example, when one talks to one's younger boss or when one cannot remember one's previous agreement with an acquaintance on speech styles, basic rules of using speech styles will not be very helpful. In this case, avoiding choosing a speech style is regarded as a solution. A few different strategies for evasion are illustrated in this sub-chapter.



### 3.4.1 Evasion of choice in Czech

In daily situations, communicators can face difficulties in choosing speech styles for many reasons. Evading the use of a specific speech style becomes a good solution for moments when one does not want to use either of them. One reason is due to ambiguous targets of the action. The following few examples illustrate such occasions.

- (1) *Po vhození mince se rozsvítí světélko na znamení povolení vstupu*  
("After inserting the coin, the light for the entry sign will illuminate")
- (2) *Místo ke kouření* ("A place to smoke")
- (3) *Místo k zouvání* ("A place to take off shoes")
- (4) *Zde nekouříme* ("Here [we] don't smoke")
- (5) *Zde se zouváme* ("Here [we] take off shoes")
- (6) *Děti do deseti let smí toto zařízení používat pouze v doprovodu dospělých*  
("Children under the age of ten may only use this device when accompanied by an adult")

(Patočka 2000, 79; translation mine)

The above examples are indirect announcements for unspecified people, which do not refer to the addressees in either *tykání* or *vykání*. The first example sentence avoids choice by using a phrase with the preposition (*po*, "after") instead of saying "if you insert the coin." Even though the subject of the action is not specifically mentioned, readers will easily know that it indicates themselves.

(1)	<i>Po</i>	<i>vhození</i>	<i>mince</i>	<i>se rozsvítí</i>	<i>světélko</i>
	After	inserting	coin	to illuminate-3SG	light
	(PREP)	(VN-LOC)	(N-GEN)	(V)	(N-NOM)
	<i>na</i>	<i>znamení</i>	<i>povolení</i>	<i>vstupu</i>	
	on	sign	permission	entrance	
	(PREP)	(N-ACC)	(VN-GEN)	(N-GEN)	

Examples (2) and (3) also use phrases linked with a preposition *k(e)*. They simply show the purpose of a place, and this indirectness again requires the reader's interpretation. However, in the above examples, it is not hard to catch the intended meaning, which implies permission for certain actions such as smoking and taking off shoes in that place.

(2)	<i>Místo</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kouření</i>
	Place	to	smoking
	(N-NOM)	(PREP)	(VN-DAT)

(3)	<i>Místo</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>zouvání</i>
	Place	to	Taking shoes off
	(N-NOM)	(PREP)	(VN-DAT)

As for (4) and (5), they use a personal pronoun, “we,” which is omitted in the sentence but can be inferred from the conjugation of the verb. Furthermore, this approach uses declarative sentences: instead of using an imperative sentence in accordance with second-personal singular pronoun (e.g., *nekuř*, “don’t smoke”) or second-personal plural pronoun (e.g., *nekuřte*, “don’t smoke”), (4) employs a verb, *kouřit*, “to smoke”, conjugated for the first-person plural pronoun. This is also a typical way to avoid indicating others.

(4)	<i>Zde</i>	<i>nekouříme</i>
	Here	not to smoke-1PL
	(PRONA)	(V)

(5)	<i>Zde</i>	<i>se zouváme</i>
	Place	to take shoes off-1PL
	(PRONA)	(V)

In the case of (6), by not using *používejte* (“use” in *vykání*) or *používej* (“use” in *tykání*), ambiguity is maintained. The sentence is an instruction about children, but the target can be children, parents, or both.

(6)	<i>Děti</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>deseti</i>	<i>let</i>	<i>smí</i>
	Children	to	ten	year	may-3PL
	(N-NOM)	(PREP)	(N-GEN)	(N-GEN)	(MODV)

<i>toto</i>	<i>zařízení</i>	<i>používat</i>	<i>pouze</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>doprovodu</i>	<i>dospělých</i>
this	device	to use-INF	only	in	accompaniment	adults
(DPRON)	(VN-NOM)	(V)	(A)	(PREP)	(N-LOC)	(N-GEN)

This evasion can be employed even for a specified audience.

(7) *Bylo by dobré tam dojít, předat dokumenty a přinést další.*

(“It would be nice to go there, hand over documents, and bring more.”)

(8) *Chtělo by to se tam zastavit, vyřídit jejich připomínky a nejpozději do 12 hodin se vrátit zpět.*

(“It would be good to stop there, deal with their comments, and return no later than 12.”)

(Patočka 2000, 79; translation mine)

Sentences (7) and (8) use infinitives *dojít* (“to come”), *předat* (“to hand over”), *přinést* (“to bring”), *zastavit se* (“to stop by”), *vyřídit* (“to deal with, handle”), and *vrátit se* (“to return”) in their indirect requests using a conditional mood. However, the reasons for this construction can vary and are not limited to ambiguous targets. For example, forgetting a previous mutual agreement on speech styles is one common reason. When two acquaintances have not met for a long time, one might forget how politely they used to talk to each other, and consequently, evasion can work temporarily.

If a speaker does not want to use one specific speech style, combining the two can be interpreted as an evasion of choice. How Czechs make “half-*vykání*” has already been discussed in 3.3.1. With respect to terms of address, it uses the given name of an addressee combined with *vykání*. Thus, it remains in a middle, grey area, avoiding *vykání*, typically used with a surname, and *tykání*, typically used with a given name.

### 3.4.2 Evasion of choice in Korean

In Korean, avoiding choosing a speech style while talking is tricky. First, when one is talking to another, a speech style must be adopted. As all speech styles are equally applied to all personal pronouns, “we” can be used in polite or casual speech as follows:<sup>18</sup>

- |     |                   |                 |                 |                    |
|-----|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (1) | 우리-는              | 보               | 았               | 습니다.               |
|     | <i>Uri-neun</i>   | <i>bo</i>       | <i>ass</i>      | <i>seumnida</i>    |
|     | We-topic marker   | to see          | (past tense)    | (JON, declarative) |
|     | (“We saw [it].”)  |                 |                 |                    |
|     |                   |                 |                 |                    |
| (2) | 우리-는              | 들어가             | -르 수 있          | 어.                 |
|     | <i>Uri-neun</i>   | <i>deureoga</i> | <i>l su iss</i> | <i>eo</i>          |
|     | We-topic marker   | to enter        | can             | (BAN, declarative) |
|     | (“We can enter.”) |                 |                 |                    |

The second reason evasion is difficult is because of the root of *ban-mal*: situations in which one does not clearly show which style is used.<sup>19</sup> In other words, the speaker does not complete the ending of the sentence, where politeness is mainly conveyed. After the establishment of *ban-mal*, it acquired a connotation of being contrary to *jon-daes-mal*, it expanded to casual rather than neutral speech. Because of this feature, one’s attempts to avoid ending a sentence during conversation can be easily accepted as *ban-mal*. As *ban-mal* is mostly defined and categorized as a casual speech style, which does not convey politeness, this is a logical progression of perception.

However, noun phrases used in a public announcement remain neutral in written form. For example, it is common to see signs in public like the one described in (3) below. Instead of saying “Don’t smoke here,” (3) indirectly delivers the message to unspecified

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<sup>18</sup> Korean examples are from the Sejong Corpus provided by the National Institute of Korean Language; translation mine.

<sup>19</sup> Hyeon-bae Choi (1937)

people by only using nouns. It is accepted as information rather than casual speech; omitting verbs gives such an impression.

(3)	금연	구역 <sup>20</sup>
	<i>Geumyeon</i>	<i>guyeok</i>
	Prohibition of smoking	area
	(N)	(N)
	("Non-smoking area")	

Another example is a note attached to a café wall in Seoul, Korea, (see the photo in Appendix) in March 2021 during the coronavirus pandemic. In the note, only four short sentences are written:

(4-1)	음식	섭취	중	대화	자제
	<i>Eumsik</i>	<i>seopchwi</i>	<i>jung</i>	<i>daehwa</i>	<i>jaje</i>
	Food	ingestion	middle	conversation	refrainment
	(N)	(N)	(DEPN)	(N)	(N)
	("Avoiding conversation while eating food")				

(4-2)	마스크	착용
	<i>Maseukeu</i>	<i>chagyong</i>
	Mask	wear
	(N)	(N)
	("Wearing a mask")	

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<sup>20</sup> See Appendix for a photo of the sign (translation mine).

(4-3)	음식	섭취	시	제외
	<i>Eumsik</i>	<i>seopchwi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>jeoe</i>
	Food	ingestion	time	exception
	(N)	(N)	(DEPN)	(N)
	("Excluding when eating food")			

Instead of a long sentence asking for customers to wear a mask while ordering food and moving, signs (4-1) to (4-3) use only nouns in Korean. By doing so, they maintain a neutral tone. However, such signs are also commonly written in a polite speech style as (5).

(5)	월요일-은	쉬	-버니다 <sup>21</sup>
	<i>Woryoil-eun</i>	<i>swi</i>	<i>bnida</i>
	Monday-topic marker	to rest	(JON, declarative)
	("We rest on Monday")		

### 3.4.3 Alternating between speech styles

Just as Czechs use “half-*vykání*,” Koreans also swap terms of address that are more appropriate for *ban-mal* or *jon-daes-mal*. Not using honorific titles but still using a verb in *jon-daes-mal* can imply that both concepts exist in the relationship, which in turn implies that neither is significantly chosen. Such effects can also be achieved by shifting speech styles a few times in the same relation, even within one turn.

Barešová (2008, 36) states that, once Czechs agree on using T-form with each other, purposely returning to V-form would imply impoliteness in their close relationship, although such sudden shifts between T-form and V-form can be made in very specific situations, such as emphasizing formality in public. When two speakers have not agreed on the T-form, it is odd to switch from V-form to T-form and then back to V-form. However, it can sometimes happen when T-form was used in error. For example, when two Czech

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<sup>21</sup> See Appendix for a photo of the sign (translation mine).

speakers hold a conversation in V-form, one can suddenly talk in T-form by mistake. His/her T-form will be immediately self-corrected, but is often a hint to shift speech styles. For example, a chef shifted his speech style first in error, before a classical offering sentence is told in a scene below.

- Chef: *Ale vaříme hovězí vývar, tudíž těch kostí dáme víc.*  
*Už tě to, pardon, vás, začíná bavit?*  
 (“But we are cooking beef broth, so we give those bones more.  
 Do you [*tě*: TY, 2SG-ACC], sorry, you [*vás*: VY, 2PL-ACC] already  
 started to enjoy this?”)
- Guest: *No tykat si budeme, ne?*  
 (“We will use T-form, no?”)
- Chef: *Budeme si tykat? Prima.*  
 (“Will we use T-form? Great.”)

(Dialogue in *Cooking Emergency*, January 8, 2011; translation and emphasis mine)

In this scene, a chef switched from V-form to T-form and then V-form to correct his mistake. Except in such limited cases, repetitive shifts are not expected to occur. Furthermore, it is hard to interpret this mixture as a strategy to avoid choosing speech styles because it happens as an error to apologize.

In contrast, alternating between *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal* have a different feature, which can be a strategy to avoid maintaining one speech style. However, discussion of such mixing in Academics in the past, has not been regarded as a strategy. For example, Ki-cheol Seong (1970) illustrated an example below.

하지만 가지 마세요. 아무데도 가지 마.

*Hajiman gaji maseyo. Amudedo gajima.*

(“But don’t go [*hae-yo-che*; JON]. Don’t go anywhere [*hae-che*; BAN].”)

(Seong 1970, 132; translation and emphasis mine)

Although Seong (ibid.) admitted that some styles could be mixed (e.g. shifts in speech styles within a polite level such as *hab-syo-che* and *hae-yo-che*), however, the above example (*hae-yo-che* and *hae-che*) was regarded as a grammatically incorrect case. Considering the consistency of the text, mixing different styles side by side may seem to be odd and grammatically wrong.

However, a new approach to interpreting it as a speaker's strategy has appeared. For example, Jeongbok Lee (2012b) suggests five strategies that can be adopted when using honorifics. This can apply to situations alternating between two styles without agreement. First, when one wants to request something, one tries to be as polite as possible to achieve a goal, most commonly by overusing honorifics in the speech. As a part of this strategy, the requesting utterance can suddenly be in *jon-daes-mal* while speaking in *ban-mal*, as it can be observed by the first lieutenant's speech in the army below.

- First            아, O 소위, 있었네?  
 lieutenant:    *A, O sowi, isseonne?*  
                   ("Oh, Second Lieutenant O, you were here?"; BAN)
- Second         어서 오세요.  
 lieutenant:    *Eoseo oseyo.*  
                   ("Come on in."; JON)
- First            O 소위, 부탁 좀 해도 돼요?  
 lieutenant:    *O sowi, butak jom haedo dwaeyo?*  
                   ("Can I ask you a favor?"; JON)
- Second         무슨 일인데요?  
 lieutenant:    *Museun irindeyo?*  
                   ("What is it?"; JON)



First lieutenant: 다음 월요일 내가 휴간데, 당직이 나와서 O 소위하고 좀 바꿨으면 좋겠는데.

*Daeum worryoil naega hyugande, dangjigi nawaseo O sowihago jom bakkwosseumyeon jokenneunde.*

(“I have a day off next Monday, but I am supposed to be on night duty. So, I’d like to exchange the duty schedule with you.”; BAN)

(Dialogue in Lee 1999, 93; translation and emphasis mine)

Second, such shifts can happen between people with conflicting social variables, such as a younger colleague in a higher position. In this case, they might mix two speech styles when talking, reflecting the conflicting power variables between them. For example, see the conversation below between a young boss and his elderly driver. The boss is alternating between polite and casual speech styles while talking to his driver.

Boss: 김기사님, 갈비찜 잘하는 집 혹시 아세요?

*Gimgisanim, galbijjim jalhaneun jip hoksi aseyo?*

(“Mr. Kim [honorific title], do you know a good braised ribs place [JON]?”)

(...)

암튼 뭐 이 명함 얘기 엄마한테 주면 되겠네. 그쵸?

*Amteun mwo i myeongham aegi eommahante jumyeon doegenne. Geujyo?*

(“Anyway, I can give this card to my wife [BAN], right [JON]?”)

(...)

그래요. 덕분에 이럴 때 생색 한번 내 보는 거지.

*Geuraeyo. deokbune ireol ttae saengsaek hanbeon nae boneun geoji.*

(“Sure [JON]. Thanks to you I can play the good husband [BAN].”)

(Dialogue in *Parasite*, 2019; emphasis mine)

he third strategy is to emphasize a superior’s power to influence the subordinate’s attitude. Lee (2012b, 362) explains that a superior can use a polite speech style to be nice to a subordinate, but sometimes using a casual speech style functions as a reminder of the

power relationship between them. It emphasizes that a superior has the power to change the chosen speech style

The fourth strategy of using honorifics is to re-identify a relationship. Lee (ibid., 371) illustrates an example in which a drunk customer suddenly changed his speech style from *ban-mal* to *jon-daes-mal* when he saw that the driver looked like a gangster.

The last strategy is to adjust the gap between interlocutors. Using *ban-mal* while speaking *jon-daes-mal* can show that one wants to be closer to the other. The following speech is by an employer talking to an employee (a housekeeper). In the second line, the employer calls the housekeeper “sister (*eonni*)” with *ban-mal*.

Wife: 매실청 두 개 타서 다송이 방으로 갖고 올라 가세요.

언니는 학부모가 아니니까 들어가도 되는 거지!

*Maesilcheong du gae taseo dasongi bangeuro gatgo olla gaseyo.*

*Eonnineun hakbumoga aninikka deureogado doeneun geoji!*

(“Take two glasses of plum extract to Da-song's room [JON].

You [*eonni*: “older sister”] are not a parent, so you can go in [BAN]!”)

(Dialogue in *Parasite*, 2019; emphasis mine)

A few strategies might also be used by Czech speakers, but Koreans seem to utilize such strategies more actively, as Park (1995, 567) and Brown (2010, 68) acknowledge that Koreans do not maintain only one speech style while talking. However, too many shifts would sound unnatural, and shifts at inappropriate moments may offend the other interlocutor.

#### 3.4.4 Comparison

In summary, Czech and Korean languages employ neutral speech styles in avoiding polite or casual speech styles as follows:

**Table 18.** Evasion of choice of one speech style (polite or casual)

	Czech	Korean
Evasion of choice of one speech style (polite or casual)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Using nouns (written sign)</li> <li>• Mix-and-match terms of address and speech styles: (1) first name + <i>vykání</i>, (2) terms of address with an honorific title + <i>ban-mal</i>, (3) terms of address without an honorific title + <i>jon-daes-mal</i></li> </ul>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Using “we” or “it”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• X</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• X</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mixed speech styles (switching back and forth between speech styles)</li> </ul>

It is possible to use a neutral speech style to avoid choosing between polite or casual speech styles in both Czech and Korean. Since the choice of one style is not always clear in communicative situations, this strategy of evasion can be useful for interlocutors. Here evasion can mean not choosing either T-form or V-form in Czech or *jon-daes-mal* or *ban-mal* in Korean. However, it can also mean choosing both speech styles at once.

As Czech speech styles are related to the usage of personal pronouns, choosing the first-person plural “we” instead of “you” is one way to avoid making a choice. However, Korean speech styles are not changed by using the first-person plural pronoun. Thus, using “we” cannot be a solution in Korean as it is in Czech.

In Czech, using the infinitive form of a verb is another form of evasion. With this strategy, the sentence can employ a specific structure using “it” as a subject and make an indirect statement. However, this approach does not work in Korean, as using “we” is not an option in Korean.

However, using a noun phrase can emphasize its neutral sense in both languages. As it is not explicitly written in such cases what one should do, these imperatives rely on the addressees’ interpretation. However, signs that use such phrases are quite simple and common and are easy to decipher. “(Non) smoking area” is one typical example in both languages.

In Korean, repetitive shifts between polite and casual speech styles can be interpreted as a speaker's strategy to avoid holding only one speech style, but rather to emphasize power or solidarity selectively. Such shifts may happen in Czech conversations as well, but occurs as a speaker's error to correct.

### 3.5 Offering shifts to casual language

When two people meet and want to be friends, shifting into a casual speech style seems to be a natural step. However, using this style sometimes conjures negative connotations and generates conflicts between people. According to Kiaer et al. (2019), reports from newspapers from 2008 to 2017 show that inappropriate shifts to a casual speech style have caused violent conflicts in Korea. Therefore, people tend to be cautious and prefer to negotiate shifting before they do so. This chapter discusses Czech and Korean customs about this negotiation, which refers to the offer to shift from polite to casual speech style.

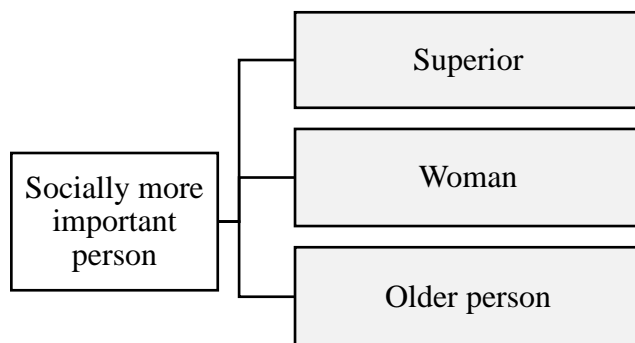
#### 3.5.1 Offering shifts in Czech

In Czech, the key person to offer shifts is the “socially more important person (*společensky významnější osoba*).”<sup>22</sup> This means that a change from V-form to T-form is first suggested by a superior to a subordinate, a woman to a man, or an older to a younger person.

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<sup>22</sup> Patočka (2000), Špaček (2005) and many other Czechs adopt this term to explain social manners.

**Figure 2.** Czech concept of a socially more important person



This idea applies to handshakes as well: generally, a superior, a woman, or an older person extends a hand first. According to Patočka (2000, 14), it is logical that the superior, not the subordinate, should first suggest the T-form, because the superior provides opportunities to subordinates for work and earning a salary. However, according to Patočka, the reason women make the suggestion first is not the same as the reason in the superior–subordinate case. Instead, he cites the assumption that women care more about maintaining relationships, while men try to compete or achieve strategic goals and may believe that letting women make the suggestion first may result in a smoother resolution of the situation (ibid., 16). Finally, regarding the relationship between a younger person and an older person, the older person is considered to have the moral right to advise and counsel the younger person (ibid., 17); therefore, the older person would suggest using T-form first. Majorová (1970, 34) also emphasizes that using *tykáni* with older people is allowed only when the older people agree to it.

As such, Czech has quite clear and basic rules for offering shifts from V-form to T-form. However, the conventions described above cannot apply to all circumstances of the various relationships that people encounter in their lives. There must be a moment when one has to decide which factor is prioritized over the others among age, gender, and position (status or rank). The answer is not simple, as it can differ by personal preference, people’s attitude to each other at that moment, and so on. For example, if one is emphasizing the roles of official positions, this must be considered in one’s decision.

The setting can also determine the conventions by which personal agreements between people are made. For example, the environment in an advertising agency may be more conducive to people using T-form regardless of their ranks at work (Smejkal and Bachrachová 2008, 76), and different workplaces may have different atmospheres. However, Špaček (2005, 26) states that the boss must be the one to make decisions about speech styles at work, even if the boss is a younger male.

Plaňava (1992, 58) states that, in complicated situations, the person who thinks there has been a change in distance should probably be the first to suggest using T-form. The use of V-form for a long time by two people requires one of them to eventually decide and progress to T-form. Depending on how good the rapport is between them, the basic rules of choosing speech styles can remain merely a reference for them rather than absolute rules to follow in any situation.

Utterances of offering shifts from polite to casual speech style are observed as follows.

(1) *Budeme si tykat?* (“Will [we] use T-form?”)<sup>23</sup>

(2) *Můžu poprosit, jestli bychom si mohli tykat?* (“Can [I] ask if [we] could use T-form?”)<sup>24</sup>

(3) *Nebude vám vadit, kdybychom si tykali?* (“Will [it] not bother you, if [we] would use T-form?”)<sup>25</sup>

The above examples are from the Czech TV show, *Kuchařská pohotovost*, where a professional chef visits an applicant of the show and they cook something together. Sentence (1) is a common interrogative utterance to offer shifts. To make this request softer and more polite, the conditional form of a modal verb can be used with a phrase such as “can I ask...?” as in (2) or “can we...?” (e.g., “can we use T-form?” [*můžeme si tykat?*]). The offer can be used even with negative forms, as in (3), which is regarded as more polite.

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<sup>23</sup> Dialogue in Cooking Emergency (2011, March 5); translation mine.

<sup>24</sup> Dialogue in Cooking Emergency (2009, April 4); translation mine.

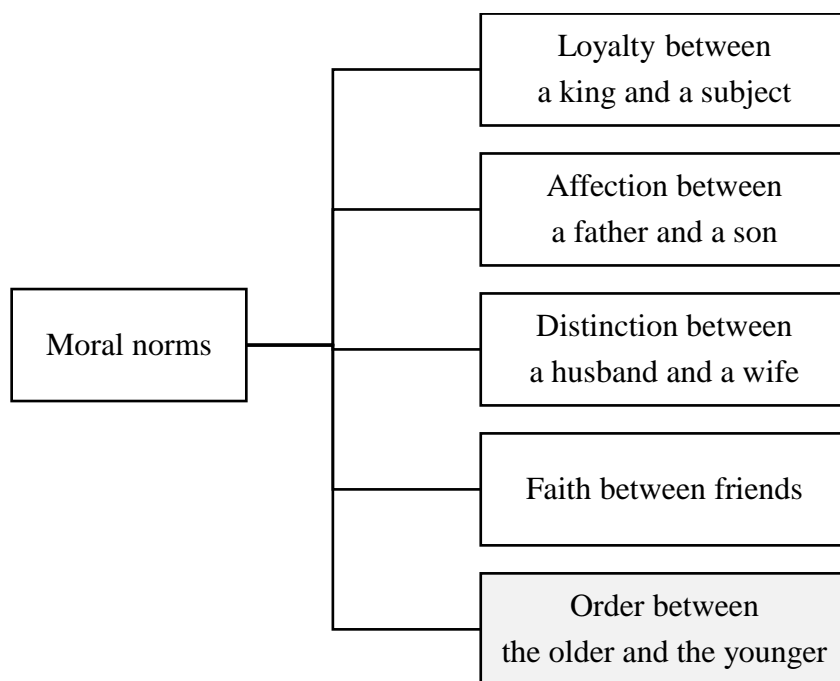
<sup>25</sup> Dialogue in Cooking Emergency (2009, April 11); translation mine.

In the same vein, “Couldn’t we use T-form?” (*nemohli bychom si tykat?*) is also a common offer, and there are more variations of such offers.

### 3.5.2 Offering shifts in Korean

The system of the Korean polite register is deeply and explicitly related to ideology from Confucianism, which was adopted as the main philosophy during the Joseon dynasty (14c–19c) in Korea. Therefore, social folk customs that have since followed are often rooted in Confucianism. Based on this philosophy, there were five moral norms (*oryun*, 오륜) in the Joseon dynasty; these norms equated to social rules to follow in various human relations: (1) between a king and a subject (or servant), emphasizing loyalty; (2) between a father (parent) and a son (child), emphasizing affection; (3) between a husband and a wife, emphasizing the distinction between their roles; (4) between friends, emphasizing faith; and (5) between the older and the younger, emphasizing hierarchy.

**Figure 3.** Korean idea of five moral norms



The moral norm between the older and the younger is called *jang-yu-yu-seo* (장유유서), and it has directly and heavily influenced customs of speech style usage in Korea (Lee 2012b, 236). To be precise, this idea indicates that there are both a strict hierarchical order and manners that should be followed by adults and children. As Song (2014, 301) agrees, Confucianism in Korea has a stronger feature of authoritarianism compared to other countries influenced by Confucianism. With this characteristic of Confucianism, a strong age hierarchy was established in Korea. In fact, age hierarchy was not the most important aspect in the Joseon era (Yi 2004) as is discussed in section 3.3.2; however, today, age plays quite an important role in Korean society in deciding speech styles.

Kiaer et al. (2019) demonstrates that gender and setting are influential variables as well. For example, shifts between female speakers have been observed to differ from those between male speakers. Women over the age of 40, tend not to shift styles with their younger female work colleagues even when there are no conflicts with other variables (ibid., 296). As for setting, most people in school expect to use casual speech styles after mutual agreement (ibid., 294).

Position/rank is important as well. Conflicts from age and rank are commonly observed in daily life. If there are such conflicts, both interlocutors may use *jon-daes-mal* mutually, although some older subordinates also use *ban-mal* with younger superiors in private and informal settings.<sup>26</sup> In problematic cases, one can shift speech styles a few times even during a single turn. This is further discussed in 3.4.2.1.

The aspect of offering shifts has received little attention in academics. Therefore, it is still not clear who should initiate offers in Korean manners. One view is that a younger person should offer shifts first, but this offer in fact is about the elder's speech style used with the younger person (Young-soon Park 2007). It does not imply that the younger person him- or herself has decided to use a casual speech style first but that the younger person asks the elder to decide (for example, "please drop the honorific first" or "you can talk comfortably (use *ban-mal* on me [the younger])." However, Bařtanov Kwak (2020) shows that the older person tends to offer shifts first (for example, a typical offer is "Shall we drop the honorific?" for symmetrical shifts or "Can I drop the honorifics?" for

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<sup>26</sup> See more details in a newspaper article (2010), <https://www.hankyung.com/society/article/2010110171381>



asymmetrical shifts) in romantic relationships. In Bařtanov Kwak’s data, sixty percent of people offering shifts first are older men in an older man–younger woman relationship. In the case of a younger man–older woman relationship, 70% of people who initiate shifts are older women. Although the percentages are slightly different depending on the gender of the older person, in both cases, the older person made the request a majority of the time, and the main consideration was age. As these outcomes are limited to romantic relationships shown in a TV program, they cannot be easily generalized. However, these data confirm that there are two approaches (either the older or younger person offers shifts first), and the older person seems to initiate offers more often, at least in romantic relationships.

As for the offering utterance, Bařtanov Kwak (ibid., 48) demonstrates that “drop the honorific (*mal-eul noh-da*, 말을 놓다)” is the most frequently used phrase, while the second most often used is “talk comfortably (*mal-eul pyeon-ha-ge ha-da*, 말을 편하게 하다).” Examples of precise utterances, extracted from a Korean reality TV show (*We Got Married*, broadcast from 2008 to 2017 in South Korea), are presented below:

(1) 말 놓을까요? *Mal noh-eul-kka-yo?*<sup>27</sup>

(“Shall [we] drop the honorific?”)

(2) 먼저 말 놓으세요. *Meon-jeo mal noh-eu-se-yo.*

(“Please drop the honorific [to me] first.”)

(3) 말 편하게 하셔도 돼요. *Mal pyeon-ha-ge ha-syeo-do dwae-yo.*

(“You can talk [to me] comfortably.”)

(Bařtanov Kwak 2020, 48)

Offering utterance can be interrogative, as in (1). However, it is also common to use the form of a polite request, such as “please use a casual speech style to me,” as in (2), and a form of allowing, such as “you can use a casual speech style to me,” as in (3). Neither (2) nor (3) implies the mutual usage of a casual speech style. If the older person hears (2) or (3)

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<sup>27</sup> It is written as “*Mal noh-eul-lae-yo*” in the original literature (Bařtanov Kwak 2020, 48), but it is corrected here as the correct Romanization is “*Mal noh-eul-kka-yo*.”

from the younger, the older person will use a casual speech style (*ban-mal*), while the younger will maintain a polite speech style (*jon-daes-mal*) unless the older person reciprocates the offer. Offers for symmetrical shifts like that in (1) and offers for asymmetrical shifts such as in (2) and (3) are all common forms of offering.

### 3.5.3 Comparison

A comparison of Czech and Korean features in terms of shifts is presented below.

**Table 19.** Shifts in speech styles in Czech and Korean in general

	Czech	Korean
Social rules for shifts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clear</li> <li>• Based on the concept of <i>společensky významnější osoba</i> (“socially more important person”)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not clear</li> <li>• Mainly based on the concept of <i>jang-yu-yu-seo</i> (age hierarchy)</li> </ul>
Person who has priority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A superior</li> <li>• A woman</li> <li>• An older person</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An older person (a superior)</li> </ul>
Action of the person who has priority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initiate offers to shift</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initiate offers to shift</li> <li>• A younger person offers asymmetrical shifts</li> </ul>

<p>Situation with a few conflicting variables</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One has to decide which factor will dominate (e.g., work position over age)</li> <li>• Mixed usage of terms of address and speech styles (half-<i>vykání</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One has to decide which factor will dominate</li> <li>• Mixed usage of terms of address and speech styles</li> <li>• One can alternate between different speech styles in the same relationship, even within one turn.</li> </ul>
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In terms of offering shifts from a polite to a casual speech style, Czechs and Koreans follow their own social rules. In Czech, a socially more important person (a superior, a woman, or an older person) leads such shifts. In Korean, such priority goes to the older person.

However, there can be two ways to respect elders. First, the younger person may suggest shifts to the older person. In this case, the younger person's question implies that the older person will decide the speech style to use between them, and the younger person is merely asking for the older person's opinion on the matter. Second, the older person may suggest shifts first so that this topic is led by him or her from the beginning. Previous studies introduced the first strategy as a general norm; but a recent study shows that the latter is observed more frequently in romantic relationships.

In the workplace, both Czechs and Koreans treat occupational position as the strongest deciding factor. However, in Korean, conflicts of power variables tend to result in using *jon-daes-mal* between two interlocutors or shifting back and forth between polite and casual speech styles depending on the formality of the situation. Such shifting is regarded as a sort of strategy as it is discussed in Chapter 3.4.3.

As not all types of offering utterances are analyzed here, a comparison of politeness strategies in offers to shift cannot yet be discussed, but a few utterances from TV shows broadcast in each country are shown. Conveying politeness by using a negative interrogation is one feature in the Czech language, but it applies to Korean as well (Yoon 2012). Future research should focus on using negative interrogation as a polite strategy in Czech and Korean.

## 4 Comparison of Czech and Korean systems in their translations

Translation equivalence is an important concept in contrastive linguistics. As Halliday et al. (1964, 115) state, “if the items are not at least sometimes equivalent in translation, they are not worth comparing.” In fact, one can easily find that Czech V-form translates to Korean *jon-daes-mal* and Czech T-form translates to Korean *ban-mal*, both respectively indicating “polite speech style” and “casual speech style.” However, despite these translations, these concepts are not simply equivalent. This chapter discusses how they are not always translated as such by observing translations from TV programs and movies.

### 4.1 Czech system translated to Korean

Czech TV programs broadcast on Korean TV and Czech movies screened in Korea are rare. Therefore, this chapter utilized a few Czech lines from a Korean TV program for analysis. The following scenes are from one episode of the travel documentary series *Backpack Travels*, which focuses on the Czech Republic and was broadcasted in Korea in 2015. A few native Czech speakers are talking with a reporter who speaks Czech as well.

In the tables below, the Czech audio is self-transcribed with the help of a native Czech speaker, and the English version of the Czech text is self-translated as well. The Korean translation is from the official subtitles in the TV program. Lastly, [P] refers to polite, which is *vykání* in Czech and *jon-daes-mal* in Korean; [C] refers to casual, which is *tykání* in Czech and *ban-mal* in Korean; and [N] refers to neutral, which is not using either *vykání* or *tykání*.

- Scene 1

(Situation: A reporter approaches two Czech people, Jan and Hana. Precise information about their relationship is not given in the program, but apparently, they are close. They have visited Olomouc, and the reporter is asking them for their opinions on Olomouc.)

Speaker (→ Listener)	Original Czech line (English translation)	Korean translation
Jan (→ Reporter)	[C] <i>Jo, co si myslím, že jako Olomouc je pěkná, tak že má jak kdyby svoje genius loci, že tady člověk najde takové uličky, kde prostě není - nejsou davy turistů, ale přitom je to tady pěkné a cítíš z toho něco jak kdyby.</i> (Yeah, I think Olomouc is pretty. It has brilliant locations [places] where one finds such alleys here where there are just not - there are no crowds of tourists. But it's nice here, and you get that sense.)	[P] 올로모우츠는 예쁜 도시라고 생각해요. 기풍이 있고 조그마한 골목들이 많고 너무 많은 관광객이 있지는 않지만 특별한 분위기를 느낄 수 있어요. <i>Ollomoucheuneun yeppeun dosirago saenggakaeyo. Gipungi itgo jogeumahan golmokdeuri manko neomu maneun gwangwanggaegi itjineun anchiman teukbyeolhan bunwigireul neukkil su isseoyo.</i>
Jan (→ Hana)	[C] <i>A ještě něco... ještě chceš říct?</i> (And something else...do you want to say?)	[C] 얘기하고 싶은 거 뭐 있어? <i>Yaegihago sipeun geo mwo isseo?</i>
Hana (→ Reporter)	[N] <i>Olomouc je hezčí než Praha!</i> (Olomouc is more beautiful than Prague!)	[P] 여기가 프라하보다 더 아름다워요. <i>Yeogiga peurahaboda deo areumdawoyo.</i>

In Scene 1, Jan is talking casually in Czech with both the reporter and Hana. However, it is converted to Korean differently. When Jan is talking to the reporter (to the camera), he adopts *jon-daes-mal*. However, when Jan is speaking to Hana, it is in *ban-mal*. This is because their relationships are different. In fact, talking to the camera will be mostly in V-form in Czech as well, but Jan uses T-form, which is assumed to be used for a generic purpose (not indicating a reporter but general people) or as a friendly speech. Regardless of

the form and the purpose, it should not be translated into *ban-mal* in Korean. This shows that casual speech styles, T-form and *ban-mal*, are not automatically interchangeable.

As for Hana’s last comment, since the subject is Olomouc, it is a neutral sentence that does not use the second person pronoun. However, it must use either *jon-daes-mal* or *ban-mal* in Korean. Thus, Hana’s utterance is converted to *jon-daes-mal* in Korean.

- Scene 2

(Situation: A reporter talks with a group of girls [majorettes] who are preparing a performance for a festival. One girl from the group is mainly talking to the reporter.)

Speaker (→ Listener)	Original Czech line (English translation)	Korean translation
Girl (→ Reporter)	[N] <i>Budeme vystupovat s mažoretkama.</i> (We will perform with majorettes.)	[P]우리는 이 곤봉을 들고 무대에 오를 거예요. <i>Urineun i gonbongeul deulgo mudae oreul geoyeyo.</i>
Reporter (→ Girl)	[N] <i>Aha, a jak to bude vypadat?</i> (I see, and what will it look like?)	[C] 어떨 거 같니? <i>Eotteol geo ganni?</i>
Girl (→ Reporter)	[N] <i>Doufám, že pěkně.</i> (I hope it will be nice.)	[P] 멋진 공연이었으면 좋겠어요. <i>Meotjin gongyeonieosseumyeon jokesseoyo</i>

Scene 2 shows more obviously how all neutral sentences in Czech are converted to Korean. The first utterance uses “we,” the second uses “it,” and the last uses “I.” As the interviewee is a young girl, the reporter is using *ban-mal* with her in the Korean translation. However, the girl is replying to the reporter, who is an adult, in *jon-daes-mal*.

Notably, according to Korean custom, if they were not using a neutral form, a casual form would be expected from the reporter, and a polite form would be expected from the girl, because their conversation is between an adult and a young child.

- Scene 3

(Situation: A reporter is talking to a woman buying groceries in a farmer's market.)

Speaker (→ Listener)	Original Czech line (English translation)	Korean translation
Reporter (→ Woman)	[P] <i>A co jste dneska koupila?</i> (What did you buy today?)	[P] 오늘 뭐 사셨어요? <i>Oneul mwo sasyeosseoyo?</i>
Woman (→ Reporter)	[N] <i>Co jsem koupila? Rajčata, hroznové víno, hokajdo. Hokajda.</i> (What did I buy? Tomatoes, grapes, Hokkaido [pumpkin].)	[P] 토마토, 포도랑 단호박을 구입했어요. <i>Tomato, podorang danhobageul guipaesseyo.</i>

Unlike the case in Scene 2, Korean subtitles for the reporter's question in Scene 3 are in *jon-daes-mal*. Different speech styles in Korean in Scenes 2 and 3 with the same context (a reporter asking questions to people) show the role of age difference between interlocutors.

The Korean translation in the above scenes show how Czech T-form and V-form are converted to the Korean speech style system in the conversations between the reporters and local people. First, the interviewee's casual form of speech (in Scene 1) cannot be interchanged with Korean *ban-mal*. The interviewee's casual speech style is converted to Korean casual speech style only when he is talking to his friend.

Second, when a reporter is talking to a young girl (in Scene 2), the Korean line is in a casual style. In this scene, the Czech line uses a neutral form, but it is also expected that the reporter would probably use a casual form. When Czechs are talking to children, using a casual form is typical. Chejnová (2015) considers children as an exception to reciprocal T- or V-forms, as they are addressed as T-forms by adults. Accordingly, Pečený (2011) wondered until what age this style would be naturally accepted. The answer is not given, but university age can be one standard, as by then, children are already using mutual V-form with their professors.

Third, when a reporter is talking to an adult (in Scene 3), both Czech and Korean lines are in polite forms. Since they are non-solidarity adults, using a polite speech style does not look special for both languages.

## 4.2 Korean system translated to Czech

In this chapter, a few scenes from a Korean movie directed by Joon-ho Bong, *Parasite*, are used for analysis. It was first screened in 2019 in Korea, and it was also shown in the Czech Republic with official Czech subtitles. After it won awards at the 2020 Oscars, it was screened a few more times in 2020 in the Czech Republic.

In the tables below, the text of the Korean audio is self-transcribed. English and Czech translations are provided from the movie. The same tags as those described in 4.1 for speech styles are used: [P] refers to polite, [C] refers to casual, and [N] refers to neutral.

- Scene 1

(Situation: A family recently got part-time jobs folding pizza boxes. While submitting the completed boxes, the mother is talking to the young female boss of a small pizza restaurant. The boss is complaining about the poor quality of the folded boxes.)

Speaker (→ Listener)	Original Korean line (English translation)	Czech translation
Mother (→ Boss)	[P] 그래서 정말 돈 10프로 떼고 주겠다는 거예요, 지금? <i>Geuraeseo jeongmal don 10peuro ttego jugetdaneun geoyeyo, jigeum?</i> (So, you're really docking 10 % off our pay?)	[P] <i>To jako vážně chcete říct, že nám strhnete deset procent z výplaty?</i>
Boss (→ Mother)	[C+P] 아니, 불량율에 비하면 페널티 적은 거지. 안 그래요? <i>Ani, bullyangyure bihamyeon peneolti jeogeun geoji. An geuraeyo?</i> (Considering the rejects, that's a low penalty, isn't it?)	[N] <i>V porovnání s podílem zmetků je to jenom mala pokuta, ne snad?</i>
Mother (→ Boss)	[C] 아, 인건비가 얼마나 한다구. <i>A, ingeonbiga eolmana handagu.</i> (Our pay is so low already!)	[N] <i>Vždyť už takhle si nic nevyděláme.</i>



	[P] 아니, 너무한 거 아니에요? <i>Ani, neomuhan geo anieyo?</i> (How can you do this?)	[P] <i>Nepřeháníte to?</i>
Boss (→ Mother)	[P] 아, 이 봐요. <i>A, ibwayo.</i> (Look here.)	[P] <i>Tak podívejte.</i>
	[C] 이게 그렇게 간단한 문제가 아니야. <i>Ige geureoke gandanhan munjega aniya.</i> (This is not some minor issue.)	[N] <i>To není zas tak malej problém.</i>
	[P] 이런 불량 박스 하나하나가 얼마나 큰 데미지를 주는 지 알아요, 우리 브랜드 이미지에? <i>Ireon bullyang bakseu hanahanaga eolmana keun demijireul juneun ji arayo, uri beuraendeu imijie?</i> (You know what one shitty box can do to our brand image?)	[P] <i>Víte, jakou škodu udělá každá taková zmršená krabice image naší značky?</i>
Mother (→ Boss)	[C] 브랜드? 박스 하나 접을 사람 없는 것들이, 어? <i>Beuraendeu? Bakseu hana jeobeul saram eomneun geotdeuri, eo?</i> (Brand? You can't even afford a box folder!)	[P] <i>Jaká jste to značka, když ani nemáte člověka na skládání krabic.</i>
Boss (→ Mother)	[C] 뭐라고? <i>Mworago?</i> (What did you say?)	[P] <i>Co jste řekla?</i>

The relationship between the two people in Scene 1 is quite complicated. The mother is noticeably older than the boss, but she is a part-time employee. Because of such conflicts, both often shift speech styles, especially when they express their anger and dissatisfaction. However, such switches do not appear in the Czech translation, which maintains a polite

speech style and a neutral form, since it is odd to switch styles in the middle of a sentence in Czech. Additionally, as the two characters are not close, using *vykání* with each other seems logical.

- Scene 2

(Situation: Two friends, Min-hyuk and Ki-woo, are talking about a girl, Da-hye, who is Min-hyeok's student.)

Speaker (→ Listener)	Original Korean line (English translation)	Czech translation
Min-hyeok (→ Ki-woo)	[C] 귀엽지? <i>Gwiyeopji?</i> (Cute, huh?)	[C] <i>Roztomilá, vid'?</i>
Ki-woo (→ Min-hyeok)	[C] 어, 갠가? 니가 그 가르친다는 그? <i>Eo, gyaenga? Niga geu gareuchindaneun geu?</i> (She's the one you're tutoring?)	[N+C] <i>To je ona?</i> <i>Ta, co ji doučujeteš?</i>

This scene depicts a conversation between close friends who are apparently the same age. They reciprocally use a casual speech style both in Czech and Korean. It shows that both cultures use a casual speech style between close friends of the same age.

- Scene 3

(Situation: Ki-woo is teaching a student, Da-hye, at her home. Ki-woo has introduced his younger sister as a new art teacher to Da-hye's younger brother. Ki-woo pretends that the new teacher is not his sister but rather an acquaintance from his cousin's school. Da-hye is skeptical.)

Speaker (→ Listener)	Original Korean line (English translation)	Czech translation
Da-hye (→ Ki-woo)	[P] 선생님, 그럼 저 질문 하나만 해도 돼요? <i>Seonsaengnim, geureom jeo jilmun hanaman haedo dwaeyo?</i>	[P] <i>Pane učiteli, můžu se vás na něco zeptat?</i>

	(Then, can I ask you a question?)	
Ki-woo (→ Da-hye)	[C] 응 <i>Eung</i> (Sure.)	[C] <i>Jo.</i>
Da-hye (→ Ki-woo)	[P] 오늘 오신 제시카 선생님, 정말 선생님 사촌의 과 후배 맞아요? <i>Oneul osin jesika seonsaengnim, jeongmal</i> <i>seonsaengnim sachonui gwa hubae majayo?</i> (That teacher Jessica, is she really your cousin's classmate?)	[P] <i>Ta nová</i> <i>učitelka Jessica je</i> <i>opravdu</i> <i>spolužačka vaší</i> <i>sestřenice?</i>
Ki-woo (→ Da-hye)	[C] 그게 뭘 소리야? <i>Geuge mwon soriya?</i> (What do you mean?)	[C] <i>Co tím myslíš?</i>

In Scene 3, the student is using a polite speech style in both Czech and Korean. In contrast, her tutor is using a casual speech style in Czech and Korean. Such non-reciprocal usage of speech styles is common in student–teacher relationships in both cultures.

- Scene 4

(Situation: Ki-woo is asking his father about a plan he was previously discussing.)

Speaker (→ Listener)	Original Korean line (English translation)	Czech translation
Ki-woo → Father	[P] 아버지, 아까 그 계획이 뭐예요? <i>Abeoji, akka geu gyehoegi mwoyeyo?</i> (What was your plan?)	[C] <i>Jaký je tvůj</i> <i>plán?</i>
Father (→ Ki-woo)	[C] 뭘 소리야? <i>Mwon soriya?</i> (What are you talking about?)	[C] <i>O čem to</i> <i>mluvíš?</i>

In this movie, Ki-woo uses a polite speech style while his younger sister uses a casual speech style with their father. It supports the observation by Hyangsook Kim (2014, 30) that daughters tend to talk in *ban-mal* more than sons do with their parents.

- Scene 5

(Situation: Ki-jeong [a daughter] is talking to her father about his work experience with a specific car.)

Speaker (→ Listener)	Original Korean line (English translation)	Czech translation
Ki-jeong (→ Father)	[C] 아빠, 옛날에 대리기사 될 때, 벤츠도 많이 몰아 봤나? <i>Appa, yennare daerigisa ttwil ttae, bencheudo mani mora bwanna?</i> (Dad, when you worked as a driver, did you drive a lot of Benzes?)	[C] <i>Tati, když jsi dřív dělal šoféra, jezdil jsi často mercedesem?</i>
Father (→ Ki-jeong)	[C] 벤츠는 대리보다는, 대치동서 발렛 될 때, 그때 많이 해 봤지. <i>Bencheuneun daeribodaneun, daechidongseo ballet ttwil ttae, geuttae mani hae bwatji.</i> (Benzes? Not then, but I did when I worked as a valet.)	[N] <i>Spíš, než při šoférování jsem s mercedesy jezdil, když jsem dělal v Tächchidongu parkovače aut.</i>
Ki-jeong (→ Father)	[C] 아, 아빠 발렛 된 적 있었지? <i>A, appa ballet ttwin jeok isseotji?</i> (You worked as a valet?)	[C] <i>Tak ty jsi dělal parkovače aut?</i>

However, the fact that both types of usage co-exist here in conversation between close family members (parents and their children) should not be overlooked. In Scene 4, Ki-woo's polite speech style is converted to Czech casual speech style, and his sister's casual speech style is also translated as a Czech casual speech style. Their father's speech

addressing them is casual in both languages. The Czech translation reflects Czech tradition here, because using a polite speech style between a son and a father would seem quite odd in Czech families. Therefore, there is no difference between Ki-woo's (son) speech and Ki-jeong's (daughter) speech in Czech in terms of polite speech styles.

The above five scenes from the movie show how Korean *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal* are converted to the Czech system of speech styles. First, when there are a few shifts between casual and polite speech styles in Korean, the Czech translation maintains one style, as such shifts are not common in Czech. Second, the Korean polite speech style between a boss and an employee is converted to Czech polite speech style. Basically, using a polite speech style with a boss makes sense in both languages. Third, Korean casual speech style is translated to Czech casual speech style for conversation between close friends, which is common in both cultures. However, if a conversation is between parents and children (not only young but also grown), it is translated into Czech as a casual speech style regardless of the original speech style used in the source material. Lastly, Korean polite speech style used by a student and casual speech style used by a tutor is the same in the Czech translation.

### 4.3 Comparison

Chapter 4 compared Korean translation of Czech *vykání* and *tykání* and Czech translation of Korean *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal*. We cannot generalize a relation between Czech and Korean speech styles in translation with only a few selected scenes. However, it already shows that the Czech polite speech style cannot be automatically changed to the Korean polite speech style, and it is the same for their casual speech styles, although each can be respectively described as polite and casual speech styles. Their translation equivalence requires consideration of cultural aspects.

At the time that the Korean system first developed *ban-mal*, it already had six types of speech styles, although only four (two for *jon-daes-mal* and two for *ban-mal*) are actively used contemporarily. This makes the difference between *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal* regarded as a sort of extreme change for Koreans. Therefore, while Czech and Korean

casual speech styles may share common contexts, T-form in T/V distinction and *ban-mal* in Korean honorifics are not completely identical.

As power variables play the strongest role in the Korean system of polite register, the interlocutor's age and status should be considered more carefully when Czech *vykání* and *tykání* are translated to Korean. Therefore, although a Korean son is using a polite speech style with his father in the movie, it should not be interpreted in the same way as two strangers on the street using a polite speech style to ask for directions.

In Korean, repetitive shifts between *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal* can happen in terms of a speaker's politeness strategies. As the Czech system does not have this approach, it cannot convey the same shifts in style. In the end, it is a matter of stylistics in translating the mood of the conversation.

The summary of findings of this chapter is as below.

**Table 20.** Translation of Czech speech styles in selected situations

Source language	Situation	Target language	Summary
<i>Tykání</i>	Used with a close friend	<i>Ban-mal</i>	Casual → Casual
<i>Tykání</i>	Used by an adult interviewee with an adult reporter	<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>	Casual → Polite
Neutral form	Used by an adult interviewee with an adult reporter	<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>	Neutral → Polite
Neutral form	Used by a child interviewee with an adult reporter	<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>	Neutral → Polite
Neutral form	Used by an adult reporter with a child interviewee	<i>Ban-mal</i>	Neutral → Casual
<i>Vykání</i>	Used by an adult reporter with an adult interviewee	<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>	Polite → Polite

**Table 21.** Translation of Korean speech styles in selected situations

Source language	Situation	Target language	Summary
<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>	Used by a son with his father	<i>Tykání</i>	Polite → Casual
<i>Ban-mal</i>	Used between family members	<i>Tykání</i>	Casual → Casual
<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>	Used by a student with a tutor	<i>Vykání</i>	Polite → Polite
<i>Ban-mal</i>	Used by a tutor with a student	<i>Tykání</i>	Casual → Casual
<i>Jon-daes-mal</i>	Used between a subordinate and a boss (additional setting: non-solidarity, non-friendly meeting)	<i>Vykání</i>	Polite → Polite
<i>Ban-mal</i>	Used between a subordinate and a boss (additional setting: non-solidarity, non-friendly meeting)	<i>Vykání</i>	Casual → Polite
Alternating between <i>jon-daes-mal</i> and <i>ban-mal</i>	Used between a subordinate and a boss (additional setting: non-solidarity, non-friendly meeting)	<i>Vykání</i>	Polite + Casual → Polite (maintaining one style)

## 5 Answers to the research questions

Thus far, Czech and Korean systems of speech styles have been compared in various aspects. This chapter reviews the findings of this comparison to answer the four research questions presented in Chapter 1.1.

### 5.1 Common background for Czech and Korean speech styles of politeness

What is the common historical background for polite and casual speech styles in Czech and Korean? To answer to the first question, Chapter 3.2 studied the development of Czech and

Korean speech styles. Both languages had more speech styles around the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, which have become simpler in modern times. The Czech language had at most four speech styles from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, two speech styles have remained active from the 20<sup>th</sup> century to present day: *vykání* (a polite speech style) and *tykání* (a casual speech style). In contrast, the Korean language has had at most six speech styles since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Technically, this has remained true according to textbooks, but Koreans do not employ all of them in daily life. The four actively used styles are divided into *jon-daes-mal* (a polite speech style) and *ban-mal* (a casual speech style), and this binary system was used in the comparison with the Czech *vykání* and *tykání*.

Since World War II, Communism in Czechoslovakia, and Korean War resulted in the collapse of social ranks at the time. By going through such events, increased attention to human equality has influenced speech styles in both languages. Horizontal relationships have become more important, and modernity has encouraged less focus on power. Consequently, both systems have become simpler and importance of solidarity has increased.

## 5.2 Key factors differentiating Czech and Korean speech styles

What are the key factors that differentiate the usage of Czech speech styles and Korean speech styles? To answer this second question, Czech and Korean systems were compared in Chapter 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5. The major factor is the role of power semantics, especially age. While Czech solidarity interlocutors can overcome an age gap and use *tykání*, Koreans will reflect age in their system of speech styles: the bigger the age gap is, the harder it is to use mutual *ban-mal*.

However, current social changes in Korea show that this power-based decision is becoming more a solidarity-based decision. For example, between parents and children, it is now more common to see mutual *ban-mal*, although an adult child using *jon-daes-mal* may still be observed. In this sense, *ban-mal* has become more broadly used mutually in families. In contrast, nowadays many young Koreans feel uneasy hearing *ban-mal* from



their bosses at work; they prefer both sides use *jon-daes-mal*. This reflects the view of solidarity as horizontal and symmetrical. In the case of Czech, usage of *tykání* has been expanded, and this trend is continuing.

Another major difference is from a relation of a pronominal and a verbal system. As the Korean system is more independent of the pronominal system than the Czech system is, using different pronouns (for example, using “we” instead of “you”) is not an option to avoid choosing between polite and casual speech styles in Korean. However, written noun phrases can maintain a neutral form in both languages.

In terms of offering shifts, the key concept to understand in Czech culture is the socially more important person. In contrast, the key concept in Korea is moral norms (especially regarding age) from Confucianism. Superiors and elders are considered to be the ones who have priority, but Czech additionally prioritizes women. In Czech, this socially more important person offers shifts first, and mostly it is expected that interlocutors will mutually use *tykání* with each other. However, such rules are not so clearly written in the Korean system. It has been considered that the younger person will initiate offers first, not to suggest mutual *ban-mal* but to ask the older person to use *ban-mal* on the younger person. However, the older person may also broach this issue first. In this case, the offer by the older person is different from the one the younger person would make. The older person would offer to use mutual *ban-mal* or ask the younger whether he or she is okay with the older person using *ban-mal* (non-reciprocally).

### 5.3 Translation equivalence

Do Czech polite (*vykání*) and casual (*tykání*) speech styles have translation equivalence with Korean polite (*jon-daes-mal*) and casual (*ban-mal*) speech styles? Chapter 4 discussed this issue. Czech *vykání* can be translated to Korean *jon-daes-mal* when the conversation is between non-solidarity adults (additional setting: a reporter talking to the public). However, while Czech T-form can be translated to Korean *ban-mal*, the usage of *ban-mal* is more restricted because it is at the top end of casualness for Koreans, especially when it is combined with *neo* (a second-person pronoun only used for *ban-mal*). To use *ban-mal* with

each other in Korean translation, the interlocutors must have a close relationship and be of the same age, or else the one using *ban-mal* is older. Importantly, when Czech speech styles are converted to the Korean system, the interlocutors' age and status must be considered and reflected in the translation rather than automatically matched to the speech style used in the source language.

#### 5.4 Understanding of Czech speech styles by Koreans

How are the Czech speech styles (*vykání* and *tykání*) be understood by Koreans? A few notes are provided below.

- (1) Czech speech styles are related to the use of different personal pronouns and different verb inflections. The ending of the verb conveys politeness, much like the system of Korean speech styles does.
- (2) As *vykání* and *tykání* are directly related to the personal pronouns used in the sentence, using a different pronoun (such as the first-person plural “we”) changes the speech style to neutral, which is not the case in the Korean system.
- (3) It is expected that Czech speech styles are used mostly, but not necessarily always, reciprocally. In Czech, speech styles of an adult talking to a non-solidarity child can be similar to those in Korean where an adult speaks casually to a child while the child speaks politely to the adult.
- (4) When deciding a speech style, an agreement between interlocutors is required. This etiquette can be found both Czech and Korean.
- (5) Once a shift to a casual speech style (*tykání*) is made, this mutual decision is not easily changed. In other words, repetitive shifts (i.e., alternating *vykání* and *tykání*) are not common.
- (6) Understanding who is a socially more important person (*společensky významnější osoba*) is important in Czech etiquette. Such a person (a superior, a woman, or an older person) initiates shifts in speech styles.

(7) From the Korean point of view, a Czech using *tykání* even with a person who has higher status in some hierarchy (e.g., family hierarchy, age hierarchy, or occupational hierarchy) seems to be odd, but this occurs because of the stronger function of solidarity semantics. In this sense, Czech *tykání* is not equivalent to Korean *ban-mal*.

## **6. Conclusion**

### **6.1 Summary**

This dissertation compares Czech and Korean speech styles of politeness: *vykání* and *tykání* in the Czech language, and *jon-daes-mal* and *ban-mal* in the Korean language. Chapter 1 introduces this topic, with subchapters discussing four research questions and the methodology.

Chapter 1.1 suggests four research questions, which relate to (1) the historical background of the Czech and Korean speech styles, (2) the key factors differentiating their usage, (3) translation equivalence between Czech and Korean speech styles, and (4) a Korean's understanding of Czech speech styles from a Korean-system perspective.

Chapter 1.2 identifies the three steps in this contrastive analysis: description, juxtaposition, and comparison. It also discusses an issue of comparability. It confirms what the Czech language and the Korean language have in common regarding linguistic politeness (Table 1). Both the Czech and Korean languages convey politeness through speech styles related to verbal inflection.

In Chapter 2, the study reviews previous research on contrastive linguistics and politeness. Chapter 2.1 introduces the concept of contrastive linguistics. As Table 2 shows, many different approaches are involved in this field; thus, it is a hybrid linguistic field.

Chapter 2.1.1 discusses previous research concerned with the Czech and Korean languages. Such research began with a pedagogical purpose, as contrastive linguistics deeply connects with teaching and learning foreign languages. However, contrastive studies on politeness, especially polite speech styles, are scant, thereby motivating this dissertation.

Chapter 2.2 illustrates several definitions of politeness and five categories of research on politeness (Watts 2003). The type that this dissertation explores belongs to the third category, cross-cultural work.

Chapter 2.2.1 focuses on universal politeness. The chapter's views agree with Leech (2005) that universal politeness is still valid. It provides a ground for cross-cultural studies in politeness, although a certain degree of cultural difference exists.

Chapter 2.2.2 centers on terminology. This dissertation uses grammatical expressions of politeness, speech styles, and speech levels interchangeably.

Chapter 2.2.3 reviews the previous research in each country to understand its flow. Although Czech and Korean scholars' focus was different initially, politeness research in both languages grew in sociolinguistics and pragmatics because of notions of the face, power and solidarity, politeness strategies, and so on from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Chapter 3 looks at Czech and Korean systems of speech styles. Chapter 3.1 confirms a few key concepts, such as speech styles, T/V distinction, power and solidarity semantics, *jon-daes-mal*, and *ban-mal*.

Chapter 3.2 introduces a history of Czech and Korean speech styles. This section studies Czech speech styles since the 14<sup>th</sup> century and Korean speech styles since the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Chapter 3.2.3 then juxtaposes the development of each language's speech styles, while Chapter 3.2.4 points out a few things that Czech and Korean development have in common. Both systems follow the same trajectory, such as simplification and non-authoritarianism, which are features of modern society.

Chapter 3.3 presents how to use speech styles in Czech and Korean. After illustrating how both speech styles inflect verbs, it discusses situations that use a polite or casual speech style and each style's appropriate terms of address. Chapter 3.3.4 argues that cases using a polite or casual speech style are similar in Czech and Korean because acquaintances and people from dissimilar backgrounds or with unlike characteristics (non-solidarity) use a polite manner, while close friends use a casual style. The difference is that because of the stronger power semantics in Korea, some adult children may use polite speech to their parents to show their respect, or a younger colleague may use polite speech to his/her older but close colleague. However, solidarity is getting as strong in Korean as it is in Czech.

This chapter also mentions that age influences one's decision to choose a speech style in both languages. However, age hierarchy makes it hard to achieve mutual usage of a casual speech style in Korean, while solidarity overcomes it relatively easily in Czech. Thus, *jon-daes-mal* may not easily shift to *ban-mal*. However, solidarity enables lots of minor changes in Korean speech styles through various terms of address. Notably, chapter 3.3 mentions “half-politeness” concerning terms of address. This concept exists in both languages, creating a grey area in conventional categories of speech styles.

Chapter 3.4 considers how to avoid choosing a speech style by choosing nothing (neutral style) or both (alternating between two styles). As verb inflections indicate the speech style, nouns emphasize a neutral tone in both languages. Additionally, Czechs can communicate with an addressee without using a second-person singular or plural pronoun, which is impossible in Korean. However, unlike in Czech discourse, Koreans sometimes alternate between a polite and casual speech style within one conversational exchange. Within Korean conversation, a speaker may mix styles to emphasize his or her power or solidarity at that moment.

Chapter 3.5 reviews how to shift to casual language. The socially more important person (*společensky významnější osoba*) is critical in Czech etiquette, denoting one's superior, a woman, and an older person. In contrast, the norm between the older and the younger (*jang-yu-yu-seo*) is key in Korean etiquette. In Czech, a socially more important person initiates shifts in speech styles. However, such social rules are set less clearly in Korean. An older person can instigate a shift, or a younger person can do it first. However, the older person decides on such changes in both cases. When a younger person brings up this issue, he or she will ask an older person to use a casual speech style, but not mutually. When there are few conflicting variables (e.g., a younger boss), interlocutors have to decide which variable will dominate. In this situation, “half-politeness” offers a solution. In Korean, shifting (mixing) speech styles back and forth can happen as well.

Chapter 4 studies the translation equivalence of Czech and Korean speech styles. It utilizes multiple scenes from two video materials: A travel documentary and a movie. Czech polite and casual speech styles are not automatically interchangeable with Korean polite and casual speech styles, although they may share common contexts. When adults without solidarity use a polite speech style in Czech, it translates into polite speech in

Korean as well. However, translating Czech informal speech requires consideration of the interlocutors' age and status. When translating Korean to Czech, repetitive shifts between polite and casual speech styles cannot appear the same in Czech.

Chapter 5 recaps the four research questions and answers them. Its first answer confirms that Czech and Korean had more speech styles around the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although the Korean language has theoretically maintained six speech styles since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, speakers actively use four styles nowadays. After social ranks collapsed in 1940–50s, both languages followed the same trend of emphasizing solidarity. The second answer verifies that the role of power semantics, the relations between a pronominal and verbal system, and significant concepts about a socially important person are the points that make a difference. The third response demonstrates that consideration of power semantics is necessary when translating Czech to Korean. Lastly, the fourth answer provides seven notes to understand Czech speech styles from a Korean point of view.

## **6.2 Limitations and future work**

Chapter 3.5 illustrated how shifts can be offered in Czech and Korean, but provided only three utterances as a sample of each language. A future study should focus on collecting more examples from various sources including live conversation data to expand the range of research to a pragmatic contrastive analysis on politeness strategies (e.g., using negative interrogative) in Czech and Korean.

Chapter 4 attempted to seek translation equivalence at a basic level with only two video sources. If more materials are collected for comparison, including literary translations, this topic can be further discussed. Translations by professional Czech–Korean translators (including Korean Bohemists and Czech Koreanists) have been increasing gradually, such as Kyuchin Kim (2020) and Tomáš Horák (2019) to name a few among recent translations.

Last, it has been acknowledged that solidarity has been expanding both in Czech and Korean society, but empirical research observing how people currently use speech styles is scant. As Čermak (1903), Jurman (2001), and Kiaer et al. (2019) conducted large-

scale surveys on people, more studies focusing on current trends in Czech and Korean speech styles are needed to keep tracking social and linguistic changes.

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## Appendix

1. A Korean sign for a non-smoking area, taken by Sunjoo Cho in Seoul, South Korea (2021)



2. A Korean sign asking customers to wear a mask in a café, taken by Sunjoo Cho in Seoul, South Korea (2021)



3. A Korean sign stating that a business is closed on Mondays, taken by Youngran Bařtanov Kwak in Yangpyeong-gun, South Korea (2020)

