

Terms of Address In Korean and American Cultures

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Abstract

This paper studies different orientations and different orderings of constituents in address terms used in Korean and American cultures.

While American culture is first-name oriented, Korean culture is title and family-name oriented. Titles like 'doctor,' 'professor,' and 'teacher' are used, with or without family names. In fact, English loan words such as 'Mr.,' 'Mrs.,' and 'Miss' are commonly used when there is no title on hand. First names in Korean culture are restricted in use. They are used most commonly among peer groups of children and young people, and by an older person addressing a child or younger person in the family.

The order of constituents used in terms of address has an interesting correlation with language and culture. (1) Basic word order of a clause: As would be expected from implicational universals, in Korean, where the basic word order is SOV (Subject-Object-Verb), family name comes first, followed by given name and title; English, an SVO language, organizes the constituents in the opposite order. (2) Cognitive styles and basic values: While Americans tend to be dichotomistic (linear), Koreans tend toward a holistic (global) style. Koreans put the group, family, and country before the individual. This kind of macro-to-micro orientation is correlated with the order of constituents in address terms, temporal phrases, and locative phrases.

1. Introduction

Since Brown and Gilman (1960) presented their study of the pronouns (T and V forms) of power and solidarity, there have been a number of studies applying the concepts of power and solidarity and of reciprocity and nonreciprocity to many languages. These concepts are applied not only to terms of address (e.g., Brown and Ford 1961, Ervin-Tripp 1971, Lambert and Tucker 1976, Kroger, Wood, and Kim 1984) and reference (Hijirida and Sohn 1983), but also to kinship terms (as part of and independent of address terms, e.g., Lee and Harvey 1973) and to other social psychological behavior (Brown 1965).

The fact that there is a conflicting but overlapping force coming from power/status and solidarity/intimacy has proved to be largely universal, whether it relates to the choice of pronouns (as in French, German, and Spanish), the choice of nonpronominal noun phrases, such as first vs. family names vs. titles (in English, Korean, and Japanese), or the choice of greetings, such as Hi vs. Good morning. Brown, in fact, extends these concepts to other aspects of social psychological behavior, such as who (superior or subordinate) invites the other to dinner, who borrows a pocket comb, etc. The universal norm has been found in the following aspects: (1) 'If the forms changed at all in time they became more intimate or solidary'; (2) 'whenever there was non-reciprocity of address the person of higher status... used the more intimate form' (Brown 1965:94-5); and (3) the person of higher status is the pace-setter, as well as the gate-keeper of intimacy.

Hijirida and Sohn (1983) compared American English, Korean, and Japanese, and proposed 8 'putative universals' along the same line of power and solidarity. Kroger, Wood, and Kim (1984) also conclude that there is a cross-cultural consistency in address usage by Chinese, Greek, and Korean speakers in conformation with the 'universal' pattern described by Brown (1965), while suggesting future research on 'esoteric cultures that have nonWestern types of kinship patterns in which social stratification is less complex':

We would then have a stratified sample (Western/esoteric) of address usage that, though necessarily [sic] incomplete, would still be preferable to the unsupported claims of universality made routinely (if implicitly) by experimental social psychologists (Kroger, *et al.* 283-4).

In contrast to these 'universal' approaches, Braun, having dealt with terms of address in numerous languages and cultures in her book, Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures (1988: 304), is skeptical of universals in address terms:

Universals in the field of address may be very few ..., and those which can be found will probably be of a rather trivial nature. One such candidate for a universal is the observation that address is differentiated in every language... Universals of this kind are not very satisfactory, but address is so varied that, possibly, one may not find anything beyond the most basic type of correspondence.

According to Braun, the phenomenon of address inversion is a particularly disturbing aspect in the theory of address which is difficult to explain logically or in any universal terms. Address inversion is essentially

the reciprocation of a senior kinship term or a superior status term to the

junior/inferior of the dyad... It is restricted rather with regard to its contexts: in most of the languages concerned, address inversion is used for expressing affection and authority, especially in talking to children (Braun 309).

For example, a speaker of Arabic or Georgian may address his sibling's children with a term for 'uncle,' regardless of the sex of the addressee. This practice, she says, is widespread geographically and genetically as it is found in Albanian, Arabic, Bengali, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Turkish, etc.

Phenomena of this kind have led Braun (308) to state that 'almost anything is possible in address' and that numerous studies, in their search for universal rules that follow the abstract, idealized, and simplistic dimensions of power and solidarity and of reciprocity/ nonreciprocity (symmetry/asymmetry), have neglected complex subrules that are context dependent. She (35) proposes reformulated 'rules' that are highly open statements:

Whenever variants expressing intimacy, juniority, low social status, or inferiority are employed, they can signal—if not mutual intimacy—juniority, low status, or inferiority of either speaker or addressee (or both).

The corresponding rule having to do with distance and seniority is not reproduced here.

The review of some of the literature on terms of address shows that whereas many researchers reported the universal semantics of power and solidarity at work in numerous languages and cultures, thorough research on more languages needs to be carried on in order to support, modify, or reject Brown's (1965) proposals. Address terms constitute one area of socio-linguistics that relates to the familiar, much-debated question of linguistic universalism and relativism (cf. Pinxten 1976 and Hwang 1984): How similar and/or different are human languages?

This paper will deal with some similarities and differences between address terms in Korean and American cultures, expanding on some earlier studies on the same topic, both in semantic/pragmatic usage and in syntactic structure of the internal constituents.

2. Address Terms in Korean and American English

2.1. Pronoun vs. Noun Forms of Address

Both American English and Korean have pronouns of address. While English uses one form you regardless of social relationship between interlocutors, Korean has more than one second person singular pronominal form:¹ *nø* 'you' (between peers and younger people), *tangsin* 'you' (polite), and *jane* 'you' (from older to younger men).² Although *tangsin* is more polite than either *nø* or *jane* and is never used between children, it is not really polite enough for most vertical non-reciprocal situations. It is used either reciprocally between spouses or non-reciprocally in addressing a subordinate.

The functional load between pronoun and noun forms of address is not identical in the two cultures. The second person pronoun you in American English has a larger

functional load than the 'you' pronouns in Korean. For example, in

- (1) Did you read the book, John?

while the pronoun you is an "integrated" part of the sentence (a syntactically "bound form" as defined by Braun), John is not (it is a "free form" of address functioning as a vocative). You may be enough for identification because of the speech situation (i.e., you would be deictic, sensitive to extralinguistic situations).

In Korean, address terms are frequently omitted when they are integrated parts of the sentence (the implied information is shown in parentheses in the following examples):

- (2) (Kim sønsång-nim-un) ku jhäk-ul ilku-si-øss-umnikka?
Kim teacher-HonT-TP that book-OP read-Honor-Past-fQ
'Did (you=Mr. Kim) read the book?'

- (3) (Nø-nun) ku jhäk ilk-øn-ni?
you-TP the book read-Past-Q
'Did (you=a child or a friend) read the book?'

These examples show two different speech levels (polite and familiar) depending on the speaker's relationship with the addressee. Since the addressee is assumed to be the subject of the sentence, reference to him may be omitted as shared information. This may be called "zero deixis," similar to zero anaphora but the zero referring not anaphorically to the previously-mentioned participant but deictically to the participant in the speech situation. When the subject is overt, instead of the universal you form of English, the form of address needs to be selected, mostly from the nominal forms of the repertoire, with the pronoun forms limited to intimate and younger (or peer group) and condescending relationships. The use of pronouns as terms of address is inappropriate in many cases. In the sentence You said so yesterday in Korean, if one is speaking to his own mother, he cannot use a pronoun but only a noun (kinship term in this case):

- (4) Ømma-ka øje kuløkhe malhä-ss-øyo.
mom-SP yesterday so say-Past-sfDecl
'Mommy (=you) said so yesterday.'

Koreans in fact find it very relaxing to speak in English so far as address terms, speech levels, and honorification are concerned. They no longer have to make a choice among attitude-laden noun or pronoun forms of address; you is all right whoever the interlocutor may be. Of course, in American culture there are also different noun forms of address – mostly used as vocatives – and other devices to show respect and politeness (see, for example, Kelley 1987). In the case of Korean, starting with the very first sentence one has to choose the appropriate speech level, although one can avoid address

terms so long as one resorts to zero deixis.

In English, you is an integrated part of the sentence in general, and the noun forms of address such as first name and title are vocative in function. In Korean, not only pronouns but also many noun forms of address are bound forms in the sentence that frequently function as the subject, object, or indirect object. That is, noun forms of address function both as bound and free forms.³

2.2. Noun Forms of Address

Hijirida and Sohn (H&S, 1983) have done a good foundational work on both Korean and American English. The following is the description of possible address forms, adapted from them:⁴

- (5) (Last Name) (First Name) (Stem Title) (Affixal Title)

where Stem Title may be filled by a General Title (GT, e.g., sir, miss, ma'am; *sønsäng* 'sir (literally, teacher)', *puin* 'ma'am', *samo* 'teacher's wife', *yøngkam* 'old man'), Professional Title (PT, e.g., president, doctor, professor; *sajang* 'company president', *kyosu* 'professor', *sønsäng* 'teacher'), or Kinship Title (KT, e.g., mother, uncle; *apøji* 'father', *ømøni* 'mother', *ønni* 'sister'); and Affixal Title may be an Honorific Title (HonT, e.g., Mr., Mrs.; *-nim* 'Honorific', *ssi* 'Mr./Mrs.', *kun* 'Mr.' (from older to younger men), *yang* 'Miss') or Vocative Suffix (Voc, not developed in American English, but in Korean refers to *-i/zero* and *-a/ya* and (the honorific vocative) *-iyø/yø*, the first in each pair occurring after words ending in a consonant).

This order of constituents within the string of an address term is reversed in American English (AE), as H&S's rule shows:

- (6) Mirror Image Rule for AE Terms:
 $X_1 \dots X_{n-1}, X_n \Rightarrow X_n, X_{n-1} \dots X_1$
 where X is a lexical category or a zero.

This difference in ordering of constituents in address terms will be related to other aspects of the two languages and cultures in Section 3.

Some examples of address terms follow, in which some combinations show unacceptable (ungrammatical?) forms:

- (7) Korean:
- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Kim Jhølsu sønsäng-nim | 'Kim Chulsu teacher(=Mr.)-HonT' |
| apønim (<apøji-nim) | 'father-HonT' |
| Jhølsu-ya | 'Chulsu-Voc' |
| *Kim-nim | 'Kim-HonT' |
| ?Jhølsu-nim | 'Chulsu-HonT' |
| Kim Jhølsu-nim | 'Kim Chulsu-HonT' |

*Kim-a

'Kim-Voc'

(8) American English:

Mr. President

*Sir President

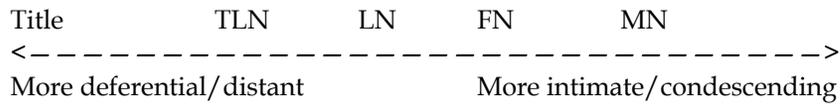
Dr. Smith

Jack Smith

Following Brown and Gilman's (1960) distinction between power and solidarity, H&S find the sociolinguistic dimension of distance/deference and that of intimacy/condescension at work also in Japanese and Korean, although in both languages there is a much more rich and complex deferential system than in AE.

Brown and Ford's (1961) discussion shows that there is a scale from more deferential and distant to more intimate and condescending in the following way in AE (where TLN = title & last name, LN = last name, FN = first name, MN = multiple names):

(9)



Both first names and multiple names are used in an intimate reciprocal relationship between speakers. H&S (144) present AE address terms in a hierarchy arranged according to a decreasing order of psychological distance:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (10) Title sequence (HonT & PT): | Mr. President, Mr. Chairman |
| Title alone (GT/PT/KT): | sir, ma'am, miss, doctor, father |
| Title (PT or HonT) & LN: | Prof. Bender, Mrs. Martin |
| Last name alone (LN): | Bender, Martin |
| Full first name (FFN): | Samuel, Eveline |
| Nickname (Nn): | Sam, Eve |
| Affectionate Nickname (AfNn): | Sammy, Evie |

The Korean address terms according to their scale follows, with my examples:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| (11) GT/PT/KT-nim: | Paksa-nim (Dr.), uysa sønsäng-nim (M.D.) |
| LN-GT/PT/KT-nim: | Kim paksa-nim (Dr. Kim) |
| GT/PT/KT: | Paksa |
| LN-GT/PT: | Kim paksa |
| Dr. LN: | Dr. Kim |
| LN-FN-ssi: | Kim Jhølsu-ssi |

FN-ssi:	Jhølsu-ssi
Miss/Mr./Mrs. LN:	Mr. Kim
LN-kun-yang:	Kim-kun
FN-kun/yang:	Jhølsu-kun
FN-(i):	Jhølsu
FN-(y)a:	Jhølsu-ya

H&S (143) say that 'in general, the lower in power and the closer in solidarity, the more individual identity is revealed in personal address and reference.' Certainly, FN at the low end reveals more identity of the addressee than does T or TLN. However, in the case of Korean, Mr. Kim and *Kim-kun* are lower in power than the fully specified forms *Kim-Jhølsu-ssi* and *Jhølsu-ssi*. I would consider the form LN-FN-ssi to be the form maximally specified on this scale and to be the neutral form, with the attitude of the speaker reflected the least. In the case of American English also, we can insert the fully-specified forms such as Prof. Samuel Bender and Mrs. Eveline Martin between the levels of Title and last name alone.

2.3. One or More Hierarchies

Is it possible to reduce all varieties of address forms to a single hierarchy, especially for a language such as Korean, which allows several address forms with similar/identical levels of deference and intimacy? Braun (1988:38) raises the same question: 'Do variants of address constitute a single hierarchy (scale)?' Citing the cases of English thou and examples from Jordanian Arabic, she (42) concludes: 'On the whole, the underlying forces of address behavior... cannot always be summarized into the dimensions of status and distance.'

A single hierarchy which is more indicative of power and status (with age as the most salient factor in Korean, as rightly pointed out in H&S) may be too simplistic. Whereas AE forms are applicable to a broader spectrum of addresses (you for any interlocutor, TLN for most superiors and strangers, and FN for most colleagues, subordinates, family members, and friends), Korean forms are much more restricted in their usage. For example, FN-ssi is limited to close friends or office mates of the opposite sex, while LN-ssi is limited to subordinates at work who do menial work, and LN-kun is always limited to young males (equivalent to LN-ssi except for the age of the addressee, e.g., a teacher to a college student).

A more realistic picture may be captured by positing more than a single hierarchy. Although the use of pronouns is very limited in Korean both as terms of address and reference,⁵ the pronouns may possibly form a separate hierarchy. Except at the lowest end (in power) of the hierarchy, pronouns are rarely used as terms of address in Korean. There is simply no appropriate form of pronoun that shows deference. The form *tangsŏn* 'you,' which is generally viewed as a polite counterpart of *nø* may cause a fight if addressed to one's boss or an older person. In fact, it is frequently used during heated arguments among adults, with the connotation of an insult. Depending on the tone of

voice and adjustments coming from other honorific systems of the language⁶ (such as the honorific suffix - *si* on the verbs and the speech levels indicated at the end of the sentence), *tangsin* may possibly extend upward to the level equivalent to LN-T, but normally it would not stretch beyond FN-*ssi*, which is usually specific to the context of close friends of the opposite sex or between spouses.

Another hierarchy consists of loan words from English (including madam, possibly originally from French). In Korea, a traditionally Confucian society where status (especially, age) is a more dominant factor than intimacy, English loan words such as 'Mr.', 'Mrs.', and 'Miss' are commonly used when there is no appropriate title on hand. What is interesting is that in this case the English order of Title plus Last Name is retained. This might be an illustration of a syntactic borrowing (although in a very limited sense) along with the lexical borrowing in Korean. Thus, it is not acceptable to say *Kim Mr., which would conform to the Korean order. However, the term madam is assimilated to the Korean order (Kim madam), but with considerable condescension associated with a profession such as a bar madam. Even in the case of English forms, these "polite" distant address terms are demoted in power in Korean culture. In fact, usage of English forms is not uniform among all Koreans. In Korea, they are generally used with subordinates, with some condescension. For Koreans living in America, however, these English forms are used in a neutral sense among social equals (with plus or minus fluctuation in status) without the sense of negative status power. Interestingly, the specific English forms show a range of distribution on a scale of their own: while 'Dr.' and 'Mrs.' may be used to superiors or equals (but somewhat lower than Korean counterparts *paksa* and *puin*), 'Mr.' and 'Miss' are lower in power.

Teknonymy is also prevalent in the Korean address system, particularly among speakers with some degree of solidarity. It is the 'practice of addressing an adult not by his or her own name, but by the name of a child, adding the relationship between the child and the adult' (Lee and Harvey 1973:38). It can be used extensively with kinship titles such as mother, father, paternal/maternal uncle, and aunt, e.g., *Yonghi appa* 'Younghee's daddy,' and *Yonghi imo* 'Younghee's (maternal) aunt.' Even using the teknonymy of father and mother alone, there is a range of deference one can show towards the addressee. *Jholsu apønim* ('Chulsu's father' with HonT *nim*) is the form of highest respect on this scale, often used in a formal setting by a friend of Chulsu, followed in descending order of deference by *Jholsu apøji* 'Chulsu's father,' *Jholsu appa* 'Chulsu's daddy,' and *Jholsu apøm* 'Chulsu's dad.' The last form *Jholsu apøm*, or simply *apøm*, is typically used by the grandparents of Chulsu addressing their own son.

When the addressee is a relative of the speaker, kinship terms take precedence over any title, not only among family members but also remote relatives such as *phaljhon* 'third cousin' or *saton* (kinship term between sets of parents of a married couple). When one introduces a relative to another person, it is more important to specify the relationship to the speaker than the name of the person. The names are used only if the relative is younger than the speaker. Following the Korean custom, I once introduced my sister to an American friend as *uli ønmi* 'my (literally, we) older sister,' and that friend

asked me her name. He did not think that I had really introduced her until I told him my sister's name. The use of kinship terms is related to the holistic tendency in Korean culture, where the parts need to fit into the whole network (cf. Sec. 3).

The following table shows the four hierarchies of Korean address terms from high deference on the left progressing to low deference (or condescension) on the right.

(12)

1. T-nim		LN-T-nim <u>LN-T</u>	LN-FN-ssi	<u>FN-ssi</u>	LN-ssi/kun
	FN-kun FN	<u>FN-ya</u>			
2.		<u>tangsin</u>		jane	
	<u>nø</u>				
3.	<u>Dr. LN</u>	<u>Mrs. LN</u>	<u>Mr. LN</u>	<u>Miss LN</u>	LN-madam
4. J-apønim	J-apøji	<u>J-appa</u>	J-apøm		
	<----->				
	More deferential		Less deferential		

Note: Intimate forms are marked by underlining.

The first scale is the most inclusive one, representing the usage of titles (T), last names (LN), and first names (FN). The second person singular pronouns are mapped onto the second scale at the approximate points of deference relative to the first scale. Loan words of address titles form the third scale, and the fourth one represents the use of teknonymy on the deference scale, illustrated here with various forms for J(Chulsu)'s father. These scales are more reflective of power (age) than solidarity (cf. Sec. 2.4). Intimacy is scattered throughout the scales and is here marked by underlining on respective scales.

2.4. Comparison between the Two Address Systems

In the case of Korean, the scales of address forms do not reflect the degree of solidarity. The dimension of intimacy is scattered across the hierarchies. Intimate friends who were acquainted first as adults may reciprocate LN-T (*Kim sønsäng*), T-LN (Mr. Kim), or *Jhølsu appa* (Chulsu's daddy), whereas those acquainted as children or young adults mostly use FN (and FN-*ya*) forms. Following the principle of "initial usage maintenance" (H&S 1983 and Sohn 1981), address terms tend to stabilize quickly in Korean and do not change much over time, compared to American usage, where address and reference terms are more prone to change from TLN to FN through contact. I think that the solidarity dimension is not readily apparent in address terms in Korean. Intimacy may surface in the use of other sociolinguistic features, such as adjustments in speech levels. While there are corresponding linguistic features, such as co-occurrence restrictions among address terms, speech levels, and the use of subject and object honorification, the restrictions are not rigid but show a range of acceptability. The LN-T (*Kim sønsäng*) or T-LN (Mr. Kim) may occur with P (*pnita*), Y (*yo*), S (*so*), and E (\emptyset)

speech levels as described by Sohn (1981), allowing the speakers a range of attitudes from polite to semipolite and to *panmal* (half-talk) or familiar style.

Thus, unlike American usage, TLN is usually retained in Korean culture even with strong solidarity. The result is that Korean culture is title and family-name oriented, while American culture is first-name oriented, in terms of both frequency and distribution.

The following table presents the comparative points between address terms in the two cultures:

(13) AMERICAN ENGLISH	KOREAN
1. The pronoun <u>you</u> is used for any interlocutor.	1. It is not polite to use pronouns.
2. In addition to <u>you</u> (as "bound forms"), other reassuring nominal address terms are often used as vocatives ("free forms").	2. Vocatives are not as common; nominal address terms are used as "bound forms" of a sentence instead of <u>you</u> .
3. When uncertainty exists, avoid any nominal form and resort to noncommittal <u>you</u> .	3. Avoid any form of address when uncertain (by omitting subject object, etc.) or use generic nouns such as <u>sønsång-nim</u> 'sir' or <u>ajumøni</u> 'lady' (<aunt).'
4. Two types of initial acquaintance usage: FN among children FN or TLN among adults.	4. Three basic types: FN among children, TLN among adults, T (<u>ølusion</u> , <u>yøngam</u>) among elderly.
5. Address terms are prone to change from TLN to FN. Result: FN oriented.	5. Address terms tend to stabilize quickly and are retained through duration of interaction. Result: T or LN oriented.
6. Regardless of initial type, the intimate form is FN.	6. Intimate form depends on initial acquaintance usage: FN or TLN.
7. Intimacy is the most salient factor.	7. Power (especially, age) is the most salient factor.
8. Kinship terms are limited to parents, grandparents, and uncles/aunts.	8. Kinship titles, which show a strong bond between interlocutors, take priority over other titles or FN. KT for older persons (sister, cousing); FN for younger kin.

There are common, general features of address terms in the two languages and cultures. In both American and Korean cultures, address terms reflect (1) social meaning that exists between interlocutors in a relational social network, and (2) self presentation of the speakers, in addition to the identification of the addressees. The first point should be obvious, and I will exemplify the second with my own experience. When someone telephones me in my absence and does not leave a message, I may ask the person who received the call who the caller asked for. If they say my first name, it would probably have been an American friend or colleague; TLN may be from a Korean (a friend or acquaintance) if they pronounced my last name correctly, if not, an American with little or no acquaintance; etc. Brown and Ford (1961:383) similarly cite a case of violation of the norms of the AE address system to be a reflection of the speaker's 'ingenuous vulgarity.'

3. Correlation with Linguistic and Cultural Characteristics

That the order of constituents within the noun phrase of address terms is reversed in the two languages in question is no accident. Linguistically, the order is correlated with (or predicted by linguistic universal features from) the basic word order of each language, SVO for English and SOV for Korean. Culturally, the order correlates with the general cognitive styles of Korean culture.

3.1. Implicational Universals in VO vs. OV Languages

Several studies (Greenberg 1978, Hawkins 1983, Lehmann 1978) have shown implicational universals stemming from the basic word (i.e., constituent) order in the clause between VO and OV languages. Burquest's (1985:31) list includes the constituent order of title and family-given names, and I have added the last feature of direction:

(14)

	<u>OV (SOV, OVS)</u>	<u>VO (SVO, VSO, VOS)</u>
Adposition:	Postposition	Preposition
Noun Phrase Modifier:	Modifier-Noun	Noun-Modifier
Main Verb and Aux:	Main Verb-Aux	Aux-Main Verb
Affixation:	Suffixation	Prefixation
Direct Object and Indirect Object	IO-DO	DO-IO
Adverbial:	Adv-Verb	Verb-Adv
Numeral:	Decimal-Unit	Unit-Decimal
Question and Negation:	Proposition-Neg-Q	Q-Neg-Proposition
Complementation:	Complement-Verb	Verb-Complement
Title:	Name-Title	Title-Name
Name:	Family-Given Name	Given-Family Name

Direction: Macro-Micro Micro-Macro

While English departs in several aspects from the typical VO language in this oversimplified and generalized list of implicational universals, Korean follows in every detail the features predicted for OV languages. As far as title and name are concerned, both languages follow the pattern provided above. Thus, whereas Korean uses names before titles (*Kim paksa* 'Dr. Kim') and family names before given names (*Kim Jhølsu*), American English uses the opposite order of constituents in address and reference terms (Dr. Smith and Jack Smith).

Another linguistic feature that I think results from the general universals has to do with the direction of elements in a phrase. Whereas English locative and temporal phrases start with micro elements proceeding to macro, Korean phrases proceed from macro to micro.⁷ Some examples of Korean phrases follow:

(15)

Locative Phrase: mikuk Texas-ju San Antonio-si
 U.S. state city
 'San Antonio, Texas, U.S.'

Temporal Phrase: 1989-nyøn sam-wøl i-sip-o-il ajhim yøl-si
 year 3-month 2-10-5 day morning 10-o-clock
 '10 o'clock in the morning, March 25, 1989'

Possessive Phrase: uli apøji
 we father
 'my father'

 nã (<na-uy) kabang
 my I-Possessive bag
 'my bag'

A locative phrase in Korean starts with the largest location and progresses to gradually smaller locations, and a temporal phrase progresses from generic to specific times as illustrated in (15). In the case of possessive phrases, the only possible order is from the possessor ('my') to the possessed ('father' and 'bag' in 15), unlike English where it is possible to have the possessed before the possessor as in this bag of mine. The order from macro to micro is preserved in all three types of phrases above.

3.2. Cognitive Styles (Basic Values) of the Two Cultures

Among several studies dealing with cognitive styles (e.g., Mayers 1982, Lingenfelter and Mayers 1986, Kohls 1984, Paredes and Hepburn 1976), Mayers' basic values system is chosen here to contrast the two cultures. The six values are shown below with the list

rearranged to fit the two cultural patterns under study here:

(16)

AMERICAN CULTURE	KOREAN CULTURE
Dichotomy (Linear)	Holism (Global)
Prestige Achieved	Prestige Ascribed
Object as Goal	Person as Goal
Time	Event
Vulnerability	Vulnerability as Weakness
Crisis/Noncrisis	Crisis/Noncrisis

Of course, no one culture is uniform in its values among all its members. American culture includes both dichotomistic and holistic types of people, but as a whole it tends to be more dichotomistic than Korean culture. Thus, the grouping of the values in the two cultures needs to be viewed as grossly oversimplified.⁸

It seems there are some correlations between a culture and its language. The language of the people influences the speakers' mode of thinking and their cognitive style, and vice versa. I perceive both language and thought structures to be always changing, however slight the change may be. Therefore, while many have assumed that it is language which influences the speakers' cognitive style, I see the other possibility as well, i.e., the cognitive style of people influences their linguistic structures gradually over many years. Thus I assume that the relationship between the language and the cognitive style of its speakers is mutually dependent.⁹

In traditional Korean society, an individual is primarily viewed as a member in a social network rather than as a unique human being in his (or her) own right. Koreans tend to put the group, family, and country before the individual. This type of holistic (global) orientation is reflected in the language in several ways. The fact that the Korean language has a rich system of honorifics, levels of speech, extensive terms of address and reference including kinship terms and titles shows the basic values of the culture orienting toward Holism, Prestige Ascribed, and Person as Goal. As mentioned above, in the introduction of a person, it is more important to reveal the speaker's relationship to the person (*uli ønni* 'my sister') than the person's name, demonstrating the primacy of the whole social network over individuals. In address and reference terms, the family name (the group) occurs before the individual's given name.

On the other hand, in American culture where individuality is valued over group identity, a person's name is more important in introduction than the relationship, and given names occur before family names.

Reference terms for 'my father,' 'my husband,' and 'my country' are expressed in Korean with *uli* 'we (our)' as: *uli apøji*, *uli namphyøn*, and *uli nala*, even when Koreans speak to a foreigner who does not share father, husband, or country with them. The first person singular possessive pronoun *nä* (contracted from *na-uy* 'I-Possessive') is

limited to reference to younger siblings and some small personal belongings: *nä tongsäng* 'my younger brother or sister,' *nä jhäk* 'my book,' and *nä kapang* 'my bag.' Bigger possessions such as a house and a yard are used with the plural form *uli*. The holistic tendency of the Korean culture seems to correlate with the language not only in the macro-micro order of constituents in address terms (Family name - Given name - Title order) and of locative, temporal, and possessive phrases, but also in the use of 'our' in place of 'my' in many possessive phrases.

4. Concluding Remarks

In this paper address terms in Korean and American English are compared. While we may generalize that American culture is first-name oriented and Korean culture is title and last-name oriented, there are complex sociolinguistic factors that influence the proper choice, such as age, social status, vernacular vs. borrowed titles, and kinship.

The functional load between pronouns and nouns in address usage is different in the two languages. Whereas you is used in American English for any interlocutor, pronouns in the Korean address system have a much smaller functional load, limited mostly to addressing children. Noun forms of address are used in Korean both as "bound" and "free" (vocative) forms of address.

A single hierarchy of titles, first and last names with power and solidarity factors is viewed as too simplistic for the Korean address system. Additional hierarchies of pronouns (e.g., *tangsin*), borrowed titles from English with last names (Mr. Kim), and teknonymy (*Jholsu appa* 'Chulsu's daddy') are presented. These scales mainly reflect the factor of power, especially of age. The solidarity factor is not very often reflected in Korean address terms, as Koreans tend to maintain the initial usage terms. In contrast, American English address terms are prone to change from TLN (title - last name) to FN (first name) through contact as the level of intimacy builds up.

The constituent order in address terms is correlated with the basic word order of each language: Family name - Given name - Title order for Korean (an OV language), and Title - Given name - Family name order for American English (a VO language). This contrastive order is also correlated with the cognitive style of each culture: macro-to-micro order for the holistic Korean culture, and micro-to-macro order for the individualistic and dichotomistic American culture.

The appropriate usage of address terms has important implications in translation and discourse. The form of address in the source language often needs to be adjusted in a good, idiomatic translation. In addition to changing the order of constituents in an address term, it may be necessary to make a more radical adjustment. A first name in an English text may need to be changed in a target language like Korean to the last name and title. Or, the pronoun you in a conversation may be translated with nouns such as 'mother' and 'Mrs. Kim,' or it may be omitted altogether ("zero deixis").

In discourse, terms of address may reflect a shift in power of the addressee in the plot structure. For example, in "The Story of Shim Chung," Shim Bongsu addresses the monk in the following ways:

- (17)
- | | | | | |
|---------|----|---------------------|----|-------|
| tangsin | => | posal-nim | => | sunim |
| you | | Buddhist.saint-HonT | | monk |

When the blind Shim Bongsu does not know whom he is addressing, he uses the pronoun *tangsin*. Then when he is anxious to learn the way to open his eyes from the monk, he addresses the monk with an extremely polite title *posal-nim*. Finally, when he realizes that he has made an impossible promise to keep, he calls him *sunim*, a neutral term of address for a monk (cf. Hwang 1987, Chap. 5).

In a children's story "The Ungrateful Tiger," a tiger in a trap addresses the traveller first as *nakune-nim* 'passer-by-HonT,' pleading for help. Once out of the trap with the man's help, the tiger calls him *yongkam* 'old.man,' a rather derogatory term, and then switches to *tangsin* 'you' when he is about to attack and eat the man. The power of the speaker, the tiger, increases as that of the traveller declines in the development of the plot, then is reversed at the end of the story, which teaches the value of gratitude.¹⁰

Different terms of address are usually motivated by specific discourse contexts and sociolinguistic situations. For an appropriate usage we have to be sensitive to both types of contexts. While we recognize the universal tendency of address terms to reflect power and solidarity across cultures, we should not overlook language-specific and culture-particular principles governing the proper usage of address terms.

Notes

1. Fred Lukoff's (1945-47) romanization system is adopted in the transcription of the Korean language data. The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: Decl = declarative, f = formal, Honor = Honorific suffix, OP = object particle, Q = question particle, sf = semiformal, SP = subject particle, TP = topic particle, and Voc = vocative suffix.
2. D. J. Lee (1975) specifically discusses difficulties in learning Korean second-person pronouns and advises to avoid using 'you' in most cases. Unlike Hijirida and Sohn, I do not consider *sönsäng* to be a pronoun; it is a noun which literally means 'teacher' but its use is extended to that of a general title used to show respect in addressing most adults.
3. If we assume that for the American English address system the pronoun you carries 75% of the workload, it would probably be the reverse for the Korean system. The workload for the Korean pronouns would be significantly lighter (25%) and the various noun forms would do most of the work both as bound and free forms in the sentence.
4. Strictly speaking, it is more accurate to use terms like family and given names (which do not assume any inherent order) than last and first names. However, since

the latter set is used extensively in the literature of address terms, I use it here following H&S.

5. In fact, the third person pronoun *ku* is a relatively recent development in the language that has the same form as the deictic term for 'that' referring to an item that is distant from the speaker but close to the addressee.
6. For studies on Korean honorification, see Suh (1978 & 1984), Sung (1985), and Baek (1985).
7. See Yang (1972) where the multiple subjects in a clause are described as proceeding from macro to micro in Korean.
8. Detailed discussions regarding the basic values are beyond the scope of this paper. Those interested are referred to Mayers (1982) and Lingenfelter and Mayers (1986). As to the dimension of Crisis vs. Noncrisis, both cultures seem to have a tendency toward both trends. American culture seems to have dominant subcultures trending toward both, Crisis of conservatives and Noncrisis of liberals. Korean culture tends toward Crisis in seeking expert advice, but it also has a Noncrisis orientation in handling crisis by focusing on actual experience and delaying decisions. Perhaps both cultures are primarily Crisis oriented and are similar in this basic value, while they sharply contrast in the other five values.
9. For related studies, see Bloom (1979), Park (197?), and Parades and Hepburn (1976).
10. In these texts, unlike the general tendency for the Korean address system to maintain the initial usage, address terms shift following the power struggle of the participants in the plot structure since common nouns like 'monk' and 'traveller' are used as address terms.

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