

Korean Honorifics in Flux: a Case Study of Seoul National University LEI Textbooks

Klaudija LUKMAN

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
klaudijalkmn1@gmail.com

RYU Hyeonsook

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
hyeonsook.ryu@ff.uni-lj.si

Abstract

This paper aims to demonstrate the close connection between society and politeness styles by analyzing Korean language textbooks for foreign learners published by Seoul National University Language Education Institute from 2000 to 2019. Changes in these textbooks indicate a dynamic interplay between society and language. The study reveals notable shifts in politeness styles, particularly the near-complete replacement of the formal *hasipsioche* with the polite informal style *haeyoche*. This paper seeks to connect the observed changes in textbooks and shifts in Korean culture and society. The paper offers a brief introduction to Korean history, society, and culture, highlighting their relevance to the Korean language in general and specifically to Korean in a second language education.

Keywords: Korean language, Korean honorifics, sociolinguistics, Korean society, second language textbooks

Povzetek

Članek si prizadeva potrditi tesno povezavo med družbo in slogi vljudnosti preko analize učbenikov korejskega jezika za tuje učence, ki jih je objavil Inštitut za jezikovno izobraževanje na Nacionalni univerzi v Seulu med leti 2000 in 2019. Spremembe v teh učbenikih kažejo na dinamično medsebojno delovanje med družbo in jezikom. Raziskava razkriva opazne premike v slogih vljudnosti, zlasti skorajda popolno zamenjavo formalnega *hasipsioche* s vljudnim neformalnim slogom *haeyoche*. Članek poveže omenjene spremembe v učbenikih s premiki v korejski kulturi in družbi. Prinaša tudi kratek uvod v korejsko zgodovino, družbo in kulturo, ki poudari njihovo pomembno vlogo v korejskem jeziku nasploh kot tudi v izobraževanju korejščine kot tujega jezika.

Ključne besede: korejski jezik, korejske spoštljive oblike, sociolingvistika, korejska družba, učbeniki tujih jezikov



1 Introduction

1.1 An overview of Korean language history

The first state of the Korean peninsula is said to have emerged in 2333 B.C., with Korean as the predominant language.¹ The exact origins of the Korean language remain uncertain, but it is typically categorized² into Old Korean³, Middle Korean⁴, Early Modern Korean⁵, and Modern Korean⁶. Old Korean was spoken during the Three Kingdoms period (4-7AD) until the era of Unified Silla (676-935 AD). Evidence suggests that honorifics were already present in Old Korean⁷, indicating that honorifics have been used for at least a millennium.

King Sejong the Great (1418-1450) is credited with inventing Hangeul⁸, the Korean writing system, which was promulgated in 1446. Despite its innovativeness, the widespread distribution of Hangeul among the general population was hindered by various historical factors. The adoption of Hangeul as the official script within the Korean Peninsula faced challenges and did not occur as rapidly or extensively as initially envisioned by King Sejong. The shift from Chinese characters to Hangeul started with the Gabo reform (*gabo gaehyeok* 갑오개혁), a government-led initiative from 1894 to 1896 that sought to modernize Korean society, including politics, law, military, economy, and education. Emperor Gojong 고종 (1852-1919), during the Gabo reform, officially designated Hangeul as the national alphabet and decreed that “laws and

¹ In this paper, ‘Korean’ refers to the language spoken in South Korea.

² There are some differences among scholars regarding the criteria and terminology for classifying Korean eras. Kim (1997) summarizes the periods concisely but also points out that such classification is not sound and suggests a new Korean era classification.

³ Old Korean refers to the Korean language from the Three Kingdoms period to the Unified Silla period (Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.-b).

⁴ Middle Korean refers to the Korean language from the early 10th century when Goryeo was established to the end of the 16th century when the Imjin War broke out (Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.-e).

⁵ Early Modern Korean refers to Korean language from the early 17th century after the Imjin War to the Gabo Reforms at the end of the 19th century (Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.-a).

⁶ Modern Korean refers to the Korean language used from the Gabo Reformation to today (Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.-d).

⁷ For details, see Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (n.d.-c), Lee (2008) and Park (1991).

⁸ Prior to King Sejong’s creation of Hunminjeongeum in 1443 and its promulgation in 1446 following a three-year implementation period, Chinese characters were used in the Korean Peninsula. Hunminjeongeum, which is now referred to as Hangeul, represents the original name of the Korean language that is spoken today. Before the introduction of Hunminjeongeum and the official proclamation of the name Hangeul by King Sejong, the Korean language had various informal designations. In this paper, the term Hangeul is employed due to its current widespread recognition and usage.

edicts would be promulgated in Hangeul, either translated into Chinese characters or utilizing both Korean and Chinese characters”⁹. This proclamation designated Hangeul as the official language, about 450 years after its creation by King Sejong.

However, in 1910 Japan colonized Korea, enforcing the Japanese language and script as the official means of communication. Korea regained independence after World War II in 1945 but experienced U.S. military occupation (United States Army Military Government in Korea) until the establishment of the South Korean government in 1948. In 1950, the Korean War erupted, ceasing the nation-building process. The war ended in 1953 with a truce lasting to this day. At the end of the Korean War, South Korea was considered one of the poorest nations in the world. However, the country made significant efforts toward economic development, eventually being able to attain the status of a developed country. Notably, events like the 1988 Seoul Olympics and the 2002 FIFA World Cup played a significant role in advancing Korea’s globalization efforts.

Prior to these developments, daily newspapers in Korea were mainly written in Chinese characters. However, in 1988, The Hankyoreh (*hangyeore sinmun* 한겨레신문), a newspaper written entirely in Hangeul, was established. The establishment of Hankyoreh represents an important shift in the media landscape, and increased the prominence of the Korean script in mass media and communication. This does not mean that after the establishment of The Hankyoreh, Chinese characters ceased to exist in media communication. However, although Chinese characters were still in use, the native Korean language and Hangeul were beginning to be used more and more, slowly becoming prevalent. The increased utilization of native Korean also presented an opportunity for the language to develop further and allow for softer writing styles.

Moreover, in 1989, the liberalization of overseas travel in Korea led to an increase in both international travel and studying abroad, causing an organic growth in interpersonal exchanges with foreign countries. This resulted in a greater influx of foreign words and emphasized the importance of the native Korean language. Consequently, the status and significance of the Korean language have risen, attracting a growing number of learners wishing to engage with Korean culture and society (BBC, 2018; Duolingo, 2020).

1.2 Research design

An analysis of social changes and the evolution of Korean honorifics and their structure reveals that the Korean Wave (*hallyu*), which first spread across Asia in the 1990s and

⁹ Joseon wangjo sillok Gojong sillok 32 gwon, Gojong 31 nyeon 11 wol 21 il 조선왕조실록 고종실록 32 권, 고종 31 년 11 월 21 일 (n.d.)

eventually breached the borders, advancing all the way to the Middle East and across the globe, has led to a rapid growth in Korean language learners.

In recent years, Korean popular culture has been gaining popularity, with interest in Korean history, society, and culture increasing, as well. Kim (2015) connects the increased interest in more traditional Korean culture to the development of *hallyu*. In the beginning, it was focused primarily on popular culture, mainly on K-dramas and, later, K-pop idols. Through the widespread usage of social media, K-pop idols have gained supranational fandoms. This second wave of *hallyu*, in particular, has managed to introduce more traditional Korean culture (including the Korean language) to foreigners.

Consequently, more and more foreigners are starting to study and take an interest in the Korean language. As a result, Korean second language education has also been quickly developing. Practically every Korean university offers its own Korean language program, accompanied by specific textbooks which are overall very similar but differ in certain aspects (e.g., they emphasize different language skills). As language has changed and developed, changes have also occurred in textbooks.

This paper analyzes changes in Seoul National University second language education textbooks with the focus on the honorific system. By closely examining the Seoul National University LEI textbooks, this study sheds light on the nuanced representations of honorifics in the post-Korean Wave era in second language education textbooks. Chapter 1 is dedicated to introducing Korean history and the research design. Chapter 2 deals with Korean linguistic politeness, with an emphasis on addressee honorifics and the current state of Korean linguistic politeness. Chapter 3 presents Korean as a second language. It firstly briefly introduces the history of teaching Korean as a second language and highlights the changes in the structure of Korean language learners. The following Chapter 4 presents the analysis of the selected textbooks. The final Chapter 5 discusses the obtained results and summarizes key findings and implications of the research.

Studying addressee honorifics in Korean second language (KSL) textbooks is important since in Korean practically no sentence can be uttered without using one of the politeness styles that express addressee honorifics. Thus, Korean language students are introduced to politeness styles at the very beginning of their linguistic journey. The ways different textbooks introduce politeness have been researched before and many authors expressed their criticism of textbooks when explaining politeness. For example, Lee (2010, p. 304) points out that many students face problems when choosing and utilizing politeness styles even when they already reached high language proficiency. Choo (1999) criticizes the way textbooks introduce Korean honorifics and politeness styles. Textbooks do not systematically explain the entire system but tend to only introduce the most polite style in order to help students avoid (unintentionally) offending their interlocutors. Additionally, Park (2005) identifies a lack of

standardization among different textbooks regarding the introduction of politeness styles.

In the context of KSL textbooks, the initial introduction to addressee honorifics tends to concentrate on two specific styles: *hasipsioche* 하십시오체 and *haeyoche* 해요체. These styles are considered polite and are taught early on to help language learners avoid awkward situations of offending others. While there are various styles within the Korean honorific system, beginners are typically introduced to these two styles due to their perceived practicality and relevance for learners at the early stages of language acquisition. These styles are considered essential in Korean social interactions and demonstrate respect and deference towards the person being addressed. They are commonly used in everyday conversations, formal settings, and interactions with unfamiliar individuals.

The primary objective of this study is to investigate the changes in the usage of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* within the context of three different editions of beginner-level textbooks published by Seoul National University. By conducting a detailed analysis of these textbooks, the study aims to shed light on the development and changes in the usage of these two styles over time. The focus on textbooks from a renowned institution like Seoul National University provides valuable insight into the pedagogical approaches employed in teaching addressee honorifics to Korean language learners at the beginning level. This study examines both changes in the presentation of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* in textbooks and changes in Korean society. By considering the socio-cultural context both within and outside of Korea, this research strives to showcase the reciprocal relationship between language use and societal changes.

The two main Romanization systems commonly used for representing the Korean language in Romanized form are the McCune-Reischauer Romanization System for Korean and the Revised Romanization of Korean (RR) developed by the National Institute of Korean Language in Korea, revised in 2000. This research paper adopts the RR system that is based on the phonetic representation of Korean sounds. Since this paper is an academic study, the application of Article 8 of the RR system which permits an exception for academic purposes and allows romanization based on Hangeul spelling, could be applied. However, this study does not explore sentence restoration or conduct analyses of etymologies. Instead, the primary objective of this study is to examine the changes and patterns of honorifics in the Korean language. Therefore, RR, which accurately represents sound values, is employed in this research to ensure consistency and clarity.

2 Korean linguistic politeness

2.1 Linguistic politeness in Korean

The Korean language is famous for its intricate politeness system that is said to reflect Korean society and its values. A key element of Korean linguistic politeness is represented by honorifics. Among the thousands of the world's languages, only a few have fully developed honorifics in their grammar. It is said that this linguistic feature was formed as a need of society and that honorifics have emerged in societies that were highly stratified (Ahn, 2010).

Politeness in the Korean language is supposed to have emerged as a linguistic equivalent of the strict class division, which was reflected in society in other areas as well - e.g., government officials wore clothing of different colors to easily distinguish between their statuses (Lee, as cited by Shin, 2017). The elaborate Korean politeness system was especially thriving during the eras of strict social division, such as the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties. A key factor that shaped Korean honorifics was Confucianism, which emphasized a rigid social hierarchy and was also reflected in the language, especially in the use of honorifics. After the introduction of Western ideas of freedom and democracy that have greatly impacted Korean society, changes in politeness styles were also observed. Ideas of democracy and equality of all people started shaping and transforming the linguistic politeness system – resulting in the simplification of the system and reducing the number of politeness styles.

Korean language has highly developed systems of both referent and hearer honorifics, but it did not develop bystander honorifics. Both types of honorification in Korean are expressed through verbal inflection, which is not commonly found among the world's languages (Brown, 2008).

Politeness in the Korean language can be further divided into two dimensions: vertical and horizontal. The vertical dimension explicitly suggests a balance of power and has traditionally been expressed through respectful forms that help maintain social stability within a strict hierarchy. On the other hand, the horizontal dimension of respect is related to the emotional distance between speakers. Respectful forms have primarily been used to establish and maintain social hierarchy, but since intimate and friendly relationships have always existed even in such a strict society as Korean, more casual forms were also needed to build and maintain close interpersonal relationships. When speakers who are very close use these forms they are considered to be neither rude nor disrespectful, but symbolize friendship (Shin, 2017).

Korean honorifics can be divided into three categories: addressee honorification (*sangdae nopimbeop* 상대 높임법), subject honorification (*juche nopimbeop* 주체 높임법) and object honorification (*gaekche nopimbeop* 객체 높임법).

Sangdae nopimbeop expresses the speaker's attitude towards the addressee and is shown through the choice of sentence endings (*munjang jonggyeol* 문장 종결) or politeness styles. As explained by Brown (2008), *sangdae nopimbeop* depends on two levels of deference and two levels of formality. According to this system, Korean honorifics are thus divided into honorific or non-honorific styles and formal or informal styles.

Juche nopimbeop expresses respect towards the subject by elevating it. It is expressed by the pre-final ending *-si* 시, which is attached to the verb stem in front of the politeness style ending. For example, in sentences (1) and (2), the subject of the action, the younger sibling, is not the target of elevation, whereas the father is the target of elevation, so the honorific suffix *-si* is added. For the same reason, when the subject is "I" or the speaker, the subject honorifics are never used, since speakers should not elevate themselves.

(1) 동생이 간다
 dongsaengi ganda
 younger sibling go
 'The younger sibling goes.'

(2) 아버지가 가신다
 abeojiga gasinda
 father go
 'The father goes.'

Gaekche nopimbeop is a linguistic form used to elevate the target or recipient of an action or behavior performed by the subject. For example, in sentence (3), the verb *junda* 준다 is used because there is no need to elevate the younger sibling. However, in sentence (4), the subject *na* 나 needs to show humility since it is necessary to elevate the object – the father. This is expressed by the humble form *deurinda* 드린다, which is used instead of *junda*, to show humility.

(3) 나는 동생에게 물을 준다
 naneun donsaengege mureul junda
 I to my brother water give
 'I give water to my younger sibling.'

- (4) 나는 아버지께 물을 드린다
 naneun abeojikke mureul deurinda
 I to my father water give
 'I give water to my father.'

In Korean, it is not possible to directly elevate the object, so the subject in action should express humility. *Gaekche nopimbeop* is limited to a few lexical substitutions, which include the already mentioned *deurida* 드리다 'to give' and *juda* 주다 'to give', *boebda* 뵈다 'to see' instead of the neutral *boda* 보다 'to see', and *yeojjupda* 여쭙다 'to ask' instead of the neutral *mutda* 묻다 'to ask'.

Both *juche nopimbeop* and *gaekche nopimbeop* are examples of referent honorification, which is in Korean achieved by two separate processes. *Juche nopimbeop* elevates the subject, while *gaekche nopimbeop* allows the speaker to show their own humility. By doing so, the speakers imply the higher status of the referents and emphasize the symbolic distance between themselves and the referents. Other examples of referent honorifications in Korean include: honorification of noun phrases and honorification of human noun phrases. The former is limited to a few lexical examples. These include *jinji* 진지 'meal' instead of *bap* 밥 'meal', *saengsin* 생신 'birthday' instead of *saengil* 생일 'birthday' and *daek* 댁 'house' instead of *jip* 집 'house'. The latter is marked by an honorific suffix *-nim* 님. Honorification can also be marked through case marking such as the respectful suffix, which marks the subject, *-kkeseo*께서 is used in place of the plain particle *-i/-ga* 이/가, while plain indirect object particles *-hante* 한테 and *-ege* 에게 are replaced with the honorific particle *-kke* 께 (Brown, 2008). Honorification of the object can be noticed in previous examples (3) and (4) above. In the first case, the particle following the object is the plain *-ege*, while in the second case, the honorific particle *-kke* is used to express respect towards the father.

2.2 Addressee honorification

Sangdae nopimbeop, which expresses speaker's attitude towards the addressee, is expressed through the choice of several different sentence endings or politeness styles¹⁰ that represent different levels of politeness¹¹. They can be divided into two characteristics, namely formality and respectfulness.

¹⁰ This paper uses the term 'politeness style' to describe different levels of addressee honorifics, which are often referred to as 'politeness levels', 'speech styles', or 'speech levels'.

¹¹ In this paper the term 'politeness' (in the context of addressee honorifics) is used interchangeably with the term 'respectfulness'. E.g., *hasipsioche* can thus be treated as either the most polite or the most respectful style.

There is some disagreement amongst linguists on how many politeness styles there are. Hong (2009) points out that from the year 1910 when Ju Si-gyeong 주시경 in his work Korean grammar (*Gugeo munbeop* 국어문법) divided the styles into ‘high’ (*nopeum* 높음), ‘equal’ (*gateum* 같음) and ‘lower’ (*najeum* 낮음), various linguists had proposed their own systems. In 1937, Choe Hyeon-bae 최현배 divided the styles into ‘very high’ (*aju nopeum* 아주 높음 - *hapsyo* 합쇼), ‘ordinary high’ (*yaesa nopeum* 예사 높음 - *hao* 하오), ‘ordinary low’ (*yesa natchum* 예사 낮춤 - *hage* 하게) and ‘very low’ (*aju natchum* 아주 낮춤 - *haera* 해라); *banmal* 반말 (informal speech, literally: half-speech) was placed between *haera* 해라 and *hage* 하게.

In the following years, several Korean linguists proposed their own taxonomies of politeness styles. One significant challenge they encountered pertained to the classification of the forms *haeyoche* 해요체 and *haeche* 해체. During the 1980s, scholars, such as Seo Jeong-su and Seong Gi-cheol, contributed to the gradual development of a six-level system for classifying politeness in the Korean language. This system comprised four formal styles and two informal styles. The four formal styles include ‘very high’ (*aju nopim* 아주 높임 (*hapsyoche* 합쇼체)), ‘ordinary high’ (*yesa nopim* 예사 높임 (*haoche* 하오체)), ‘ordinary low’ (*yesa natchum* 예사 낮춤 (*hageche* 하게체)) and ‘very low’ (*aju natchum* 아주 낮춤 (*haerache* 해라체)). Informal styles include ‘general high’ (*duru nopim* 두루 높임 (*haeyoche* 해요체)) and ‘general low’ (*duru natchum* 두루 낮춤 (*haeche* 해체 / *banmal* 반말)). Such a division is still found in Korean school grammar instructions (Hong, 2009).

In this paper, the categorization of politeness styles follows the system proposed in *Shingaejeong oegugineul wihan hangugeo munbeop* 신개정 외국인을 위한 한국어 문법 (Ihm, Pyo, & In, 2005), which divides the system into five styles, with three classified as formal and two as informal. In the following overview of politeness styles, *haoche* is excluded, despite its occasional classification as a distinct style by certain scholars. *Haoche* is considered to be a very archaic style, deemed practically obsolete and not found in contemporary everyday speech. As such it rarely appears in second language education textbooks, mostly merely mentioned as an interesting fact in textbooks for highly advanced learners who already possess a deeper understanding of Korean honorifics.

The most respectful formal style is *hasipsioche* 하십시오체. It allows the speakers to simultaneously convey respect towards the hearer while showcasing their own sense of humility. *Hasipsioche* is employed in official situations to elevate and convey utmost respect towards the hearer, especially during first encounters or when the interlocutors are not very familiar with each other. This style is utilized regardless of the social status of the individuals involved. By using *hasipsioche*, speakers effectively navigate formal settings, emphasizing respect and demonstrating courtesy towards others (Ihm et al., 2005). While not as commonly employed as some other styles, there are certain situations where the use of *hasipsioche* becomes indispensable. It is

practically essential in conversations with individuals that are significantly older or occupying positions of high authority. Furthermore, it is noted that *hasipsioche* is more prevalent among older individuals and among men in terms of gender (Hong, 2009).

Hageche is a formal style neutral with respect to the politeness-impoliteness dimension. It is typically used when the speaker holds a higher position on the social hierarchy or is older in age and is addressing a younger or lower-ranked hearer, but the speaker wishes to avoid highlighting the inequality in status or emphasizing the lower social standing of the hearer. Consequently, *hageche* is considered appropriate when the speaker is older than the hearer, but can also be used in conversations between older speakers who are of similar ages (Ihm et al., 2005). *Hageche* is not often used in everyday language (Hong, 2009).

Haerache is a politeness style that is considered formal but also casual.¹² It is typically employed by older speakers or those who hold a higher social position in relation to their hearers. Moreover, it can be used between speakers of similar ages who are very close and know each other well. *Haerache* is also used in written language, such as books and magazines. In such contexts, this form does not inherently convey an emphasis on the lower status of the reader. Instead, it maintains a neutral tone (Ihm et al., 2005). *Haerache* is prevalent in everyday spoken language, more so than in written language.

Informal politeness styles are typically considered to be “softer” in nature compared to formal ones, as they often convey a greater sense of subjectivity. Consequently, these forms are primarily used between speakers who share a close relationship or familiarity. Moreover, these styles can carry a sense of intimacy between the interlocutors. It is worth noting that within the realm of informality, there are also distinctions based on politeness: *haeyoche* is an informal and polite form, while *haeche* is an informal and casual form (Ihm et al., 2005). Among the different styles of politeness, the informal styles are the most commonly used. They are primarily employed in informal situations, emphasizing a more relaxed and casual tone. However, there are instances where *haeyoche* can be utilized in formal circumstances as well (Hong, 2009). *Haeyoche* and *haeche* do not explicitly express the power dynamics between speakers. In fact, they allow speakers to avoid emphasizing such hierarchical relationships. Consequently, for a long time, these forms have been regarded as distinctive expressions that do not belong to the established system of politeness styles. Today, these *haeyoche* and *haeche* are prevalent in usage, but among linguists, there is still debate regarding their proper classification within the politeness system. The primary reason for this ongoing discourse is their status as relatively recent innovations that reflect an evolving linguistic change. The casual *haeche*, also known as *banmal*,

¹² According to the dimension of polite-impolite styles like *haerache* are technically considered to be impolite, but since these styles are not inherently rude or impolite, this paper adopts the term ‘casual’ instead.

does not inherently convey rudeness or disrespectfulness. The perception of politeness always depends on the specific situation and context. Similarly, when the hearer anticipates or prefers a more casual and informal style, *haeche* is considered polite. However, if the hearer expects a higher degree of formality and respect, using *haeche* may be perceived as rude (Kim-Renaud, 2001).

Mixing of different politeness styles often occurs in both informal and formal situations. Even in formal settings, there is a tendency to blend the forms of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* (Sohn, 1999). *Haeyoche* can be used interchangeably with *haerache* and *haeche* to some extent. However, there is no mixing observed between *haeche* and *haerache* with *hasipsioche*. This is primarily due to the significant difference in respectfulness between *hasipsioche* and *haerache* or *haeche* in comparison to *haeyoche* (Kim, 2012).

2.3 Linguistic politeness today

The most obvious change in the Korean language is the disappearance of expressions and forms that emphasize inequality in social power between interlocutors. On the other hand, the deference of speakers according to age and kinship remains. At the same time, speakers today are expected to express themselves in a way that will successfully cultivate positive and harmonic interpersonal relationships. Such demands result in the simplification of the system and creation of new styles, such as *banmal*. In general, forms that are respectful and kind to the interlocutors while not focusing on social power predominate today (Kim-Renaud, 2001).

As the authors mentioned earlier, the Korean language is usually divided into six or five styles, of which three or four are formal and two are informal. However, everyday language differs from theory in many ways. According to Choo (2006) the prevalent politeness styles in spoken Korean today are *hasipsioche*, *haeyoche*, *haerache*, and *haeche*.

Haoche and *hageche* are rare these days. The forms glorify both the speaker and the hearer. They allow speakers to express a superior and authoritative attitude. In today's society, speakers increasingly see these forms as old-fashioned, awkward, and arrogant, even though they express respect for their interlocutor (Kim-Renaud, 2001). As Kim (2012) notes, for young Koreans between the ages of twenty and thirty, these two suffixes are not productive and are not used in their spoken language. However, it is important to note that the absence of these honorific forms in the language usage of today's young people does not necessarily imply that they will never employ them. In Korean culture, there is an expectation that individuals will begin incorporating honorifics into their speech as they grow older and assume higher social positions or engage in more formal contexts (Im, as cited in Kim, 2012).

Kim (2012) also finds that the use of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* by Koreans aged twenty to thirty is not influenced solely by the division into formal and informal situations. It shows that in an informal situation, *haeyoche* predominates, but *hasipsioche*, or a mixture of both forms, is also often used. More than the dimension of formality-informality, intimacy to the hearer and their status are important in the choice – *hasipsioche* is more often used when the hearer is not close to the speaker and is of high status.

The difference between theory and practice in today's language is also visible in connection to *haerache* and *haeche*. Although *haerache* is usually classified as a formal style, in such situations either *haeyoche* or *hasipsioche* are used instead. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that the difference between *haerache* and *haeche* lies in the formality-informality dimension or that they are distinct styles in the politeness system, but the difference is supposed to be connected to the register. Based on this, the system of politeness styles of young Koreans is composed of only three styles: *hasipsioche* as the highest style, *haeyoche* in the middle, and with *haeche* and *haerache*, as two forms of the same style (Kim, 2012). Speech of younger generations and their linguistic preferences are very important in understanding the current status of a certain linguistic phenomenon and in predicting its possible developments, thus, according to the speech of young Koreans, in the future only three styles of Korean politeness may remain.

3 Korean as a second language

3.1 History of teaching Korean as a second language

This chapter provides a brief overview of the historical development of Korean language education as a second language. Due to Korea's geographical location as a peninsular country, it has maintained a long-standing relationship with China. However, prior to the opening of ports in the 19th century, Korea remained a closed kingdom, lacking educational facilities specifically designed for second language learners. Nevertheless, professional interpreters and national educational institutions existed to train individuals in Chinese and Japanese interpretation¹³.

It was not until 1959 that the first Korean language Institute dedicated to teaching Korean as a second language was established at Yonsei University. Scholars differ in their classification of the history of Korean second language education. While some consider the establishment of the Korean Language Institute as a significant milestone, Park (2016) argues that second language education in Korea might have already been in existence since 1876, when Korea opened its doors to foreigners. This paper adopts

¹³ Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (n.d.-f).

the classification proposed by Lee Ji-yeong 이지영 (2004, as cited in Park, 2016), which divides the stages of Korean language education development into four periods.

- First Period (Modern Enlightenment – 1958): The period from the modern Enlightenment and the establishment of Korean language education institutions in Korea.
- Second Period (1959-1985): This period corresponds to the tenure of the Yonsei University Korean Language Institute, which played a crucial role in providing Korean language education and the creation of dedicated textbooks.
- Third Period (1986-1997): This period witnessed a remarkable growth in Korean language education institutions and the continued development of textbooks. Furthermore, hosting prominent international events such as the Asian Games and Olympics drew attention to the importance of the Korean language. At the same time, research on task-oriented education approaches gained prominence.
- Fourth Period (1998-present): This period represents a notable shift towards the development of task-oriented, function-integrated textbooks, specifically designed to cater to the needs of diverse learners.

3.2 Changes concerning Korean language learners

South Korea has gained significant popularity in recent years, largely attributed to the global spread of *hallyu*, which popularized Korean popular culture across the globe. *Hallyu*, known as the Korean Wave, first emerged in the late 1990s. Kim (2015) divides it into 4 stages – *Hallyu 1.0*, *Hallyu 2.0*, *Hallyu 3.0* and *Hallyu 4.0*.

Hallyu 1.0 started at the end of 1990s and has mainly spread across Asia through Korean dramas and movies. It was primarily distributed by overseas Koreans and aimed to boost the Korean tourist industry.

Hallyu 2.0 represents the crucial stage of the *hallyu* development in connection to second language education. This stage began in 2006 and spread across the globe through K-pop idols. The key to successful distribution was the Internet and social media. An important aspect of *Hallyu 2.0* is the fact that foreigners' interest went beyond simply contemporary K-pop culture, but also focused on traditional Korean culture. Foreigners became interested in the Korean language, Korean food, traditional Korean architecture, and clothing.

Hallyu 2.0 is now gradually developing into *Hallyu 3.0*. that aims to expand traditional Korean culture around the world. *Hallyu 4.0* will be the next stage which has the potential to develop even further.

Hallyu, especially *Hallyu 2.0* with its focus on more traditional Korean culture and language, has thus significantly influenced Korean second language education, leading to a notable transformation in the composition of Korean language learners within a relatively brief timeframe. This can be exemplified by the period from 2009 to 2013, during which the Korean language witnessed the highest rate of enrollment growth among all second languages taught in U.S. universities (Goldberg, Looney & Lusin, as cited in Lee, 2018). Moreover, the number of King Sejong Institutes has greatly increased. The King Sejong Institute was established in 2007 and has then comprised thirteen individual institutes in three countries. By 2021, it had established 234 institutes in eighty-two countries (King Sejong Institute Foundation 2022; Munhwa cheyuk gwangwangbu, 2022).

4 Analysis of the Seoul National University LEI textbooks

South Korean universities offer a variety of foreign language textbooks as practically every university offers its own Korean language course with textbooks tailored specifically to their course. This study selected three textbooks published by Seoul National University, namely *Hangugeo 1* (2000), *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* (2013) and *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* (2019).

The following sections first briefly introduce the structure and organization of each textbook, highlighting similarities, differences, and certain changes. As this study aims to uncover changes in use of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche*, special focus is dedicated to analyzing the dialogues (and short texts) that are present in each book and the usage of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* in each textbook.

The three selected textbooks were published in a span of 20 years during the rapid rise of *hallyu*. *Hangugeo 1* was published in 2000 which, according to Kim's (2015) division of the *hallyu* stages, falls under *Hallyu 1.0*, when the Korean wave has primarily been spreading across Asia. *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* was published in 2013 during *Hallyu 2.0* which has spread further around the globe. Finally, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* was published in 2019 when *hallyu* has been reaching new peaks with Korean musicians, film and tv series entering mainstream Western media. *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* can thus be said to be published during *Hallyu 3.0*.

The rise of *hallyu* brought Korean culture and language closer to a new demographic of Korean learners across the globe with new needs, interests, and motivations. To accommodate and satisfy this new structure of learners, textbooks were bound to adapt and tailor their curriculum to a new audience. This study focuses on changes in the use of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* and how they can reflect not only general changes in Korean society, but also how textbooks have adapted in the era of *hallyu*.

4.1 *Hangugeo 1 (2000)*

The textbook *Hangugeo 1* was first published in 2000 and features an introductory preface and a note to a reader at the beginning of the textbook. These two sections provide an overview of the textbook's structure and its components.

Hangugeo 1 then briefly introduces the contents of its thirty chapters together with the main vocabulary and grammar. The table of contents is placed directly before the core of the textbook.

The textbook initially focuses on introducing the fundamentals of the Korean writing system Hangeul along with a short overview of Korean vowels and consonants. This section also provides guidelines on how Hangeul is correctly written, presents basic vocabulary, and includes exercises to aid in the memorization of Hangeul. Through the thirty chapters, the textbook presents basic Korean vocabulary and grammar. Preceding each chapter, short dialogues or texts are featured, introducing the grammar and vocabulary relevant to the forthcoming chapter. The chapters consist of the following parts:

- Pronunciation (*bareum* 발음)
- Grammar (*munbeop* 문법)
- Vocabulary (*eohwiwa pyohyeon* 어휘와 표현)
- Exercise 1 (*yeonseup 1* 연습 1)
- Exercise 2 (*yeonseup 2* 연습 2)¹⁴

Following the last chapter, a glossary and a transcription of listening exercises are added.

4.2 *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book (2013)*

Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book was first published in 2013. The initial pages of *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* comprise a brief preface and instructions on how to use the textbook. Subsequently, an index is provided, followed by an introduction of characters who serve as guides throughout the textbook, mostly appearing in various dialogues. Similarly to the *Hangugeo 1* textbook, *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* also introduces Hangeul, its characteristics, as well as Korean consonants and vowels in the initial sections. Following the introduction, the book consists of eight chapters, each further subdivided into multiple sections:

- Vocabulary (*Eohwi* 어휘)
- Grammar and Expression 1 (*Munbeopgwa pyohyeon 1* 문법과 표현 1)
- Speaking 1 (*Malhagi 1* 말하기 1)

¹⁴ In the first four chapters, Exercise 1 and Exercise 2 are replaced by only one section Exercise before the section Vocabulary.

- Grammar and Expressions 2 (*Munbeopgwa pyohyeon 2 문법과 표현 2*)
- Speaking 2 (*Malhagi 2 말하기 2*)
- Listening and Speaking (*Deutgo malhagi 듣고 말하기*)
- Reading and Writing (*Ilkgo sseugi 읽고 쓰기*)
- Task (*Gwaje 과제*)
- Culture Note (*Munhwa sanchaek 문화 산책*)
- Pronunciation (*Bareum 발음*)
- Self-Check (*Jagi phyeongga 자기 평가*)
- Translation of the Vocabulary (*Beonyeok 번역*)

The final chapter is followed by the Appendix (*Burok 부록*), comprising a range of materials including activities used in the Task sections of the textbook, comprehensive grammar explanations, insights into specific aspects of Korean culture, transcriptions of listening tasks, an answer key, and a glossary.

4.3 *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book (2019)*

The last textbook analyzed, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book*, was published in 2019.

In this textbook, the first sections also consist of a preface and instructions on how to navigate the textbook. These are followed by an index and an introduction of the main characters featured throughout the book. Chapter 1 focuses on a short overview of Hangeul, including an explanation of Korean consonants and vowels. Chapter 2 is also devoted to mastering the basics of the Korean script, along with an introduction of a few basic Korean words and the first ten cardinal numbers. Towards the end of the chapter, students are introduced to key phrases relevant to classroom interactions (e.g., “Please look” - *boseyo* 보세요) and everyday situations (such as “Sorry” - *mianhaeyo* 미안해요). It is worth noting that students are taught expressions of gratitude and apology in both *haeyoche* and *hasipsioche* styles. For example, they learn the words *gomawoyo* 고마워요 (*haeyoche*) and *gomapseumnida* 고맙습니다 (*hasipsioche*), both of which convey the meaning of “thank you”.

Following the introductory sections, the textbook proceeds with nine chapters, each of which is further divided into two subchapters. Similar to *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, these (sub)chapters are also subdivided into multiple parts. Each subchapter starts with a presentation of new vocabulary, followed by:

- Key Expression 1 (*Haeksim pyohyeon 1 핵심 표현 1*)
- Key Expression 2 (*Haeksim pyohyeon 2 핵심 표현 2*)
- Speaking (*Malhagi 말하기*)
- Listening (*Deutgi 듣기*)
- Task and Activities (*Gwaje 과제*)

At the end of each chapter, there are sections dedicated to specific tasks, namely Reading and Writing (*Ilkgo sseugi* 읽고 쓰기) and Vocabulary Check (*Eohwi hwagin* 어휘 확인). The final Chapter 9 is followed by Appendix (*Burok* 부록) that contains various components, such as activities that are used in the Tasks and Activities sections, grammar explanations, transcriptions of listening exercises, and a glossary.

4.4 Textbooks' structure and characteristics

The establishment of Korean language education institutions for foreigners in South Korea began with the Korean Language Institute affiliated with Yonsei University in 1959¹⁵. Seoul National University established its Language Education Institute in 1963¹⁶, slightly later, and started providing Korean language education for overseas Korean students in June of the same year. In 1969, the Korean Language Education Center was opened, marking the official start of teaching Korean to foreigners and overseas Koreans.¹⁷

Among other things offered by the institute, LEI has started publishing its own textbooks that accompany the Korean second language education curriculum as set by Seoul National University. All three selected textbooks were published by LEI in the span of around 20 years – from 2000 to 2019. Since the publisher of all three textbooks is the same, certain similarities, especially in the structure of both the curriculum and the textbooks was to be expected. However, due to the fact that almost two decades have passed since the publication of *Hangugeo 1* and *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* changes and transformations are predicted to have occurred.

The three selected textbooks share a similar organizational structure, in which each chapter is divided into subchapters addressing different language skills essential for language learners, such as reading, writing, pronunciation, and grammar. Additionally, each chapter features dedicated sections containing dialogues or shorter texts that integrate newly introduced vocabulary and grammar. These texts and dialogues serve as the primary data source for the study. However, several notable differences can be observed.

Firstly, in terms of the number of hours designated for the courses, *Hangugeo 1* and *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* both require 200 hours of instruction, suggesting a more comprehensive and in-depth approach to teaching the Korean language. On the other hand, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* has a significantly shorter duration, with only 60 hours of instruction. This presents a major change in the development of the textbooks.

¹⁵ YSKLI (n.d.)

¹⁶ Eoneo gyoyugwon sogae 언어교육원소개 (n.d.).

¹⁷ Korean Language Education Center, Language Education Institute, Seoul National University (n.d.).

Moving on to the structure of the textbooks, *Hangugeo 1* stands out with its thirty chapters, possibly implying a thorough presentation of various language aspects and topics throughout the course. *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, in contrast, contains a considerably smaller number of chapters, with only eight. Similarly, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* comprises nine chapters, aligning more closely with *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*.

An interesting point to add is the fact that in the preface of the newest textbook *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book*, it is explicitly stated that the textbook's curriculum 'reflects recent social and cultural changes'. Expressing the authors' attempt in adapting the curriculum to capture and accurately reflect the latest trends, phenomena, and communication styles present in contemporary Korean society. By explicitly acknowledging recent social and cultural changes authors demonstrate their commitment to accommodating the constantly changing needs of Korean language learners. It shows the authors' recognition of the interplay between language, society, and culture, and the importance of incorporating all these elements into language education to enhance learners' linguistic competence and cultural understanding. Finally, the sentence possibly suggests recognition of not only changes within Korean society but also, according to a wider perspective, acknowledging phenomena such as *hallyu*, the increase of Korean learners and the changes of the structure of students learning Korean.

4.5 *Hasipsioche, haeyoche and haerache*

As previously mentioned, in all three textbooks, the analysis focused exclusively on dialogues and short texts. Starting with *Hangugeo 1*, dialogues or short texts preceding each of the thirty chapters were examined. The use of *hasipsioche* is already observed in Chapter 1, while *haeyoche* is introduced for the first time in Chapter 10. In Chapter 11, a combination of both *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* is introduced for the first time. Within the dialogues and texts preceding each chapter, a total of 233 sentences were examined. Among these sentences, *hasipsioche* appeared 104 times, while *haeyoche* was used 128 times. Additionally, one sentence consisted solely of the word "yes" (*ne* 네), which was excluded from further analysis.

In *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, dialogues appearing in the Speaking 1 and Speaking 2 sections were analyzed. Within this textbook, the initial dialogue in Chapter 1 employs *haeyoche*, while the following dialogue within the same chapter already introduces the student to *hasipsioche*. Notably, in the second dialogue, a combination of the styles is observed, as the form *annyeonghasimnikka* is replaced with *annyeonghaseyo*¹⁸.

¹⁸ *Annyeonghasimnikka* belongs to *hasipsioche*, and *annyeonghaseyo* belongs to *haeyoche*.

The final occurrence of *hasipsioche* in the analyzed dialogues is observed in the penultimate chapter, within the Speaking 2 section. In this case, the form is not employed in a dialogue context but rather used by a recurring character who is presenting his hometown to other students (in a relatively formal context – a classroom).

In total, the dialogues and short compositions found in the Speaking 1 and Speaking 2 sections comprise 120 sentences. Among these sentences, a significant majority of 106 sentences are in *haeyoche*, while only 12 sentences utilize *hasipsioche*. In addition, two sentences were excluded from the analysis. One sentence is “A, yes” (A, *ne* 아, 네), and another sentence simply consists of the word “Yes” (*ne* 네).

As in previous textbooks, only dialogues were analyzed in *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student’s Book*. In this textbook, dialogues are present in each subchapter within the Speaking section. In the first dialogue, *haeyoche* is used, already indicating its predominance throughout the textbook. *Hasipsioche* is encountered only three times. It first appears in the second dialogue in Chapter 7, followed by two instances in the second dialogue in the final Chapter 9. An important point to consider is the fact that even though three instances of *hasipsioche* were found, only one word appears in *hasipsioche*, namely “thank you” (*gomapseumnida* 고맙습니다). Thus, in *Saranghaeyo hangugeo 1 Student’s Book*, students have very limited exposure to *hasipsioche* and only ever encounter it in an isolated context.

The dialogues featured in *Saranghaeyo hangugeo 1 Student’s Book* comprise a total of 115 sentences. Among these sentences, practically all 110 sentences are in *haeyoche*, while *hasipsioche* is employed in only 3 instances. Additionally, the expressions “Ah, yes” (A, *ne* 아, 네) and “Yes, guest” (*Ne, sonnim* 네, 손님) each appear once. As for other textbooks, these two sentences were not counted in the analysis.

Even though this study focused solely on *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* styles, it is important to highlight the absence of *haerache* in textbooks designed for beginners. In the curriculum of *Seouldae Hangugeo textbooks*, *haerache* is only introduced in later books (*Seouldae Hangugeo 2B Student’s Book*, lesson 10) after around 600 hours of studying Korean. On the other hand, a change in textbooks can be observed in comparison to *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo*. In the newer books, *haerache* is introduced in *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 4* lesson 3 after 120 hours of learning Korean.

Such developments are welcome as they reflect the changes in Korean society and the evolving structure of Korean students influenced by *hallyu*. Since new Korean students tend to be more interested in pop culture and usually represent the younger generation, it can be presupposed that these students wish to be able to communicate with their peers. To effectively achieve this and build closer relationships with Korean people, a solid understanding of the *haerache* becomes essential. Thus, the fact that *haerache* is being introduced earlier in learners’ linguistic journey is great, however, for

these students, it would be necessary to further emphasize the *haerache* in textbooks by providing more comprehensive explanations and additional exercises in this politeness style. *Haerache* is often only briefly introduced in a chapter or two and then tends to appear in a few isolated cases, while the prevalent examples utilize *haeyoche* (or even *hasipsioche*). This point was also highlighted by Choo (1999) who points out that politeness is always relative and even the honorific styles that are traditionally considered to be the most polite and respectful can be impolite in certain situations. For example, if interlocutors wish to express more intimacy and a closer relationship, the most polite styles that express the highest deference can actually be considered rude. Thus, if learners wish to build close relationships with Koreans, particularly with the younger generation, a satisfactory knowledge of *haerache* (and *haeche*) is necessary.

5 Results and discussion

The dialogues and shorter texts within the selected textbooks have undergone significant changes over a span of approximately two decades. In the earliest textbook, *Hangugeo 1*, there was a relatively balanced representation of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche*. Specifically, *haeyoche* was used 128 times, while *hasipsioche* appeared 104 times. Thus, the frequency of *haeyoche* in the *Hangugeo 1* textbook surpassed the frequency of *hasipsioche* by only around ten percent.

An important point to consider is the fact that the *Hangugeo 1* textbook introduces a complete beginner that has no previous knowledge of Korean to *hasipsioche* as their first encounter with the Korean language, a feature that is not found in the other two textbooks. This deliberate choice holds particular significance, as the form initially presented is likely attributed to a high level of importance. It is plausible to assume that the textbook creators perceive *hasipsioche* as crucial for novice learners. Alternatively, they may have intended it to be easier for beginners to comprehend and acquire, due to the perceived simplicity of using *hasipsioche*.

As previously noted, the *Hangugeo 1* textbook presents *haeyoche* for the first time in Chapter 10, which is in contrast with the other two textbooks that introduce *haeyoche* at the outset and only briefly mention the *hasipsioche* form (*Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* does not explicitly mention *hasipsioche* at all).

Another notable characteristic of the *Hangugeo 1* textbook is the inclusion of mixed politeness styles, a feature absent in the other two textbooks. The mixing of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* is found in eleven dialogues. The first instance occurs in Chapter 11 (manifested as *-euseyo* -으세요), directly following the introduction of *haeyoche* in Chapter 10. In this regard, *Hangugeo 1* immediately introduces the practice of combining polite styles after the first encounter with the new style –

haeyoche. This contrasts with the other two textbooks, where such mixing is completely absent.

In *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* which was first published in 2013, some changes in the use of politeness styles can already be found. *Hasipsioche* is used significantly less than in the *Hangugeo 1* textbook, which was published thirteen years earlier. *Hasipsioche* was only used 12 times and *haeyoche* was used 106 times. Sentences using *hasipsioche* represent only a tenth of all the sentences that appear in the textbook dialogues. However, it should be pointed out that *hasipsioche* already appears in the second dialogue in Chapter 1, which can be understood as a fact that the style is nonetheless considered very useful. It seems that the textbook assumes that *hasipsioche* is still very important for complete beginners and is necessary to acquire it at the initial stage of learning the Korean language. In this first introduction to *hasipsioche*, the style is used in a situation where characters in the textbook meet for the first time and introduce themselves. Based on the illustration next to the dialogue, it can be assumed that the represented situation is relatively formal – characters are wearing formal attire, like neckties, suits, and blazers. In addition, in the first sentence, the character Michael addresses everyone gathered at the table, so the use of the formal *hasipsioche* is more expected than the informal *haeyoche*.

The second appearance of *hasipsioche* occurs in the second dialogue of the penultimate chapter. In this instance, it is used in a public presentation where the speaker presents his birthplace to an audience. As in the first example, where the situation was fairly formal, the public presentation in this case is also relatively formal. Again, an illustration is accompanying the dialogue (in this case, this is instead a monologue), showing a speaker in front of a classroom giving a presentation. Again, the illustration points to a more formal situation where *hasipsioche* is generally expected. Based on both examples, it can therefore be concluded that in this textbook, *hasipsioche* is already starting to be limited to specific, more formal, situations and is not presented as a form that can be used often in everyday situations. In all other cases, such as talking to friends, conversations in a store or restaurant, the textbook uses *haeyoche*. This is a significant difference compared to *Hangugeo 1*, wherein such situations, *hasipsioche* is often used or a combination of both forms is utilized. Notably, the employees typically use the more formal *hasipsioche*.

In *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, there is a strict separation of the two politeness styles and a combination of both forms in a single dialogue (except when *annyeonghaseyo* is used in the second dialogue in Chapter 1) is never used. This can potentially lead novice learners of Korean to erroneously assume that they can only utilize one particular style over the other, without realizing that these styles can be mixed or blended depending on the specific context.

The last textbook analyzed, *Saranghaeyo hangugeo 1 Student's Book*, was published in 2019 and is thus the newest. It uses *hasipsioche* the least, with only

utilizing it three times inside the dialogues. This represents only around three percent of the sentences, compared to *haeyoche*, which is used as many as 110 times and represents a 97 percent share. Moreover, the fact that all three occurrences of *hasipsioche* in this textbook are just the word “thank you” (*gomapseumnida*) cannot be ignored. In this textbook, students do not receive an explicit explanation or a presentation of *hasipsioche*, which is a large departure from the first two textbooks.

Similarly to *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student’s Book*, Chapter 1 is devoted to the acquisition of sentence structures related to introducing oneself. However, one key difference can be noticed: *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student’s Book* presents exclusively *haeyoche*. The illustrations accompanying the dialogues in the first chapter depict characters engaging in interactions within a classroom and at a freshman welcome party. Both situations are generally regarded as formal, but unofficial. Recently, in such situations the use of *haeyoche* (or even *haeche*) is common, therefore, the use of the informal polite *haeyoche* is expected.

Nevertheless, such a jump from the textbook *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student’s Book* to *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student’s Book* is noteworthy, as the latter does not introduce *hasipsioche* to beginners at all. Only six years have passed since the publication of the former and the latter. Such drastic changes in textbooks’ presentation of *hasipsioche* offer proof of rapid developments and changes in Korean society, on one hand, and in the structure of Korean learners, on the other. The newer textbook, therefore, assumes that students who encounter Korean for the first time, at least at the very beginning, do not require the knowledge of *hasipsioche*. This decision highlights the emphasis and importance placed on *haeyoche* within the newest textbook.

As shown in Figure 1, there has been a clear trend in the analyzed textbooks. As time passed, *hasipsioche* has rapidly been replaced by *haeyoche*. In *Hangugeo 1*, the styles are utilized practically equally often, while in the latter two textbooks, *hasipsioche* has been disappearing. An additional factor to consider is the fact that changes from *Hangugeo 1* and *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student’s Book* have occurred over a span of thirteen years, whereas *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student’s Book* has been published only six years after *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student’s Book*, proving just how fast changes in textbooks (and Korean politeness system) have been happening.

Several causes can be attributed to these changes. On one hand, the general evolution of Korean politeness has been shifting towards more informal styles. As language education textbooks aim to provide the most accurate reflections of a language, changes in textbooks were unavoidable.

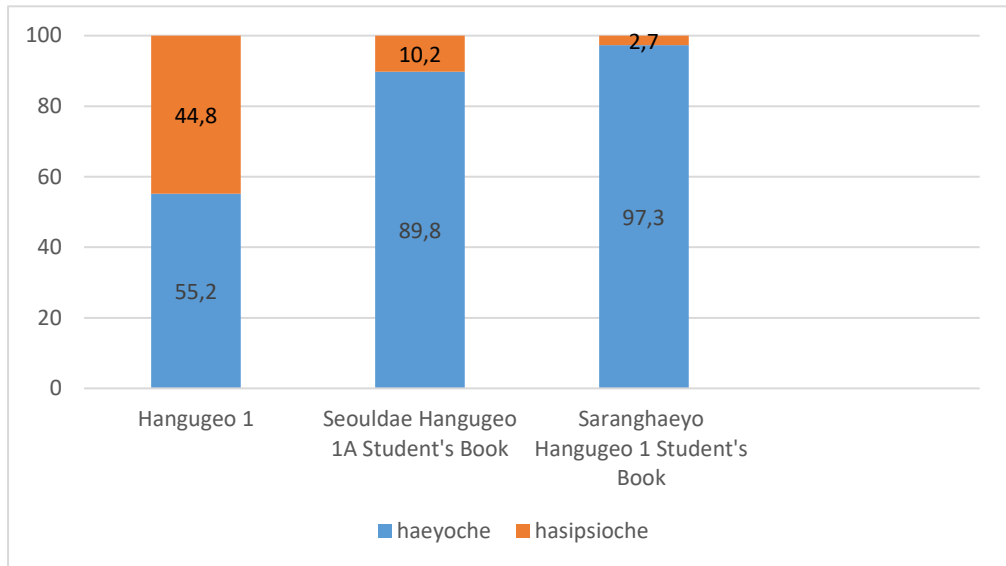


Figure 1: Percentage of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* in analyzed Seoul National University LEI Textbooks (in %)

The changes in the use of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* can also be linked to Kim's (2015) categorization of *hallyu*. *Hangugeo 1* was published during the latter part of the *Hallyu 1.0* stage when the wave was primarily spreading across Asia and focused on media contents. On the other hand, *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* was published when *Hallyu 2.0* was already in full swing. A key characteristic of *Hallyu 2.0* is the increased interest in traditional Korean culture and the Korean language worldwide. Consequently, the observed shifts between *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* can be attributed to the growing number of foreigners who wish to learn Korean due to their interest in Korean pop culture. Since in general the majority of foreigners influenced by *hallyu* are younger, the increase of *haeyoche* is understandable. For such learners the most formal politeness styles are not as important and useful (at least not at the start of their Korean language journey) as the polite informal style *haeyoche* or even the informal casual style *haerache*.

Furthermore, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* was published in 2019, when *Hallyu 2.0* had been underway for some time, and *Hallyu 3.0* had likely already begun. The practically exclusive emphasis on *haeyoche* can be attributed to the ongoing evolution of *hallyu* and the increasing number of students who learn Korean primarily due to their interest in Korean pop culture, rather than for business opportunities.

Considering the ongoing trend, the demand for learning Korean is projected to further increase. Therefore, it is imperative to analyze the potential learners in order to develop more satisfactory instructional materials. Current research findings and statistical data indicate that Korean language learners primarily comprise a younger demographic who are drawn to Korean popular culture. In light of this, future materials should be designed to enhance the learning experience by incorporating elements that align with their interests and expose them to a broader range of content. Unlike existing resources that predominantly focus on the polite style (*haeyoche* 해요체), upcoming instructional materials should encompass a variety of situations where both the polite style and the casual style (*haeche* 해체) can be flexibly employed. By considering these factors, more effective and engaging materials can be produced to meet the evolving needs of Korean language learners.

Acknowledgments

This work was supported by the Seed Program for Korean Studies of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the Korean Studies Promotion Service at the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2022-INC-2250001).

References

- Ahn, J. K. 안정근. (2010). The use of Korean honorifics for the heritage Koreans in the US. *Yeonge yeongmunak yeongu 영어영문학연구*, 36(3), 235–254. <https://doi.org/10.21559/aellk.2010.36.3.013>
- BBC News. (2018). The rise of fake Amazon reviews. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-44770777>
- Brown, L. (2008). Contrasts Between Korean And Japanese Honorifics. *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali*, 81(1/4), 369–385. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41913346>
- Choo, M. (1999). Teaching Language Styles of Korean. *The Korean Language in America*, 3, 77–95. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42922234>.
- Choo, M. (2006). The structure and use of Korean honorifics. In H.-M. Sohn (Ed.), *Korean Language in Culture and Society* (pp. 132–145). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Duolingo. (2020). Global Language Report 2020. [Duolingo Blog]. Retrieved from <https://blog.duolingo.com/global-language-report-2020/>
- Eoneo gyoyugwon sogae 언어교육원소개. (n.d.). Wonjang insa 원장 인사. Retrieved from <https://lei.snu.ac.kr/mobile/kr/lei/greeting/greeting.jsp>

- Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture). (n.d.-a). Geundaegugeo 근대국어. Retrieved from <https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0007396>. Last accessed 14.5.2023.
- Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture). (n.d.-b). Godaegugeo 고대국어. Retrieved from <https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0003382>. Last accessed 14.5.2023.
- Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture). (n.d.-c). Gyeongeo 경어. Retrieved from <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0002676>. Last accessed 13.5.2023.
- Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture). (n.d.-d). Hyeondaegugeo 현대국어. Retrieved from <https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0063285>. Last accessed 13.5.2023.
- Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture). (n.d.-e). Jungsegugeo 중세국어. Retrieved from <https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0053799>. Last accessed 14.5.2023.
- Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture). (n.d.-f). Yeokgwon 역관. Retrieved from <https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0036568>. Last accessed 13.5.2023.
- Hong, J. S., Gwak, S. Y., Gwon, Y. M., Mun, H. S., & Ha, Y. U. (2009). *Gugeo nopimbeop pyohyeonui baldal 국어 높임법 표현의 발달*. Seoul: Bakmunsa.
- Ihm, H. B., Pyo, H. G., & In, J. S. (2005). *Singaejeong oegugineul wihan hangugeo munbeop 신개정 외국인을 위한 한국어 문법*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.
- Joseon wangjo sillok 조선왕조실록. (n.d.) Gojong sillok 32 gwon, Gojong 31 nyeon 11 wol 21 il 고종실록 32 권, 고종 31 년 11 월 21 일. Retrieved from https://sillok.history.go.kr/id/kza_13111021_002. Last accessed 21.2.2023.
- Kang, A. (2018). Negative politeness in Korean questions: Interaction between epistemic uncertainty and conventional indirectness. *Language Research*, 54(2), 229–247. <https://doi.org/10.30961/lr.2018.54.2.229>
- Kim, B. G. 김병건 (2012). 20-30dae sangdaenopimbeop chegye yeongu 20·30 대 상대높임법 체계 연구. *Munbeopgyoyuk 문법교육*, 17, 1–32.
- Kim, B. R. (2015). Past, Present and Future of Hallyu (Korean Wave). *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 5(5), 154–160.
- Kim, D.-S. 김동소. (1997). Hangugeo yeoksau sidae gubune gwanhan yeongu 한국어 역사의 시대 구분에 관한 연구. *Gugeogungmunhak 국어국문학*, 118, 19–31.
- Kim-Renaud, Y.-K. (2001). Change in Korean honorifics reflecting social change. In T. E. McAuley (Ed.), *Language Change in East Asia* (pp. 27–46). Surrey: Curzon Press.

- Korean Language Education Center, Language Education Institute, Seoul National University. (n.d.). Introduction to KLEC. Retrieved from <https://lei.snu.ac.kr/mobile/en/klec/introduction/klec.jsp>
- Language Education Institute, Seoul National University. (2000). *Hangugeo 1 한국어 1*. Seoul: Moonjinmedia.
- Language Education Institute, Seoul National University. (2013). *Seouldae hangugeo 1A Student's Book 서울대 한국어 1A Student's Book*. Seoul: TWOPONDS Co.
- Language Education Institute, Seoul National University. (2019). *Saranghaeyo hangugeo 1 Student's Book 사랑해요 한국어 1 Student's Book*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.
- Lee, E. H. 이은희. (2010). Hangugeo nopimbeop gyoyuk naeyong yeongu 한국어 높임법 교육 내용 연구. *Munbeopgyoyuk 문법교육*, 13, 280–315.
- Lee, T. H. 이태환. (2008). *Hangugeo gyeongbeop yeoksajok byeoncheone gwahan yeongu 한국어 경어법 역사적 변천에 관한 연구 (A Study on the Historical Change of the Korean Honorific Expression)* [Doctoral dissertation, Kyungwon University].
- Lee, I. (2018). Effects of Contact with Korean Popular Culture on KFL Learners' Motivation. *The Korean Language in America*, 22(1), 25–45. <https://doi.org/10.5325/korelangamer.22.1.0025>
- Munhwa cheyuk gwangwangbu 문화체육관광부. (n.d.). Sejonghagdang seolchi hyeonhwang deung gwallyeon juyo tonggye (2015nyeon 12wol mal gijun) 세종학당 설치 현황 등 관련 주요 통계(2015년 12월 말 기준). Retrieved from https://www.mcst.go.kr/kor/s_policy/dept/deptView.jsp?pDataCD=0417000000&pSeq=608
- Park, S. A. 박새암. (2016). 'Geundaejeok hangugeogyoyuk hyeongseonggi' seoljeongui munje '근대적 한국어교육 형성기' 설정의 문제. *Eoneowa jeongbo sahoe 언어와 정보 사회*, 29, 151–180. <https://doi.org/10.29211/soli.2016.29..006>
- Park, S. J. 박석준. (2005). Chogeup hangugeo gyojaeui cheongja nopimbeopje 초급 한국어 교재의 청자 높임법. *Hanmalyeongu 한말연구*, 17, 85–107.
- Park, Y.-G. 박양규. (1991). Gugeo gyeongbeobui byeoncheon 국어 경어법의 변천. *Saegugeosaenghwal 새국어생활*, 1(3), 23–39.
- Shin, M. K. (2017). A comparative study of honorific systems in North and South Korea: Shifts since 1950 [Doctoral dissertation, University of York]. White Rose eTheses Online.
- Sohn, H.-M. (1999). *The Korean Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- YSKLI. (n.d.). Hangugeohagdang 한국어학당. Retrieved from <https://www.yskli.com/hp/intro/kliIntro001.do?yskliMenuNo=kliIntro001>