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Politeness and Addressee Honorifics in Bible Translation

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Abbreviations

I. Technical Terms

AH	addressee honorifics
FD	formal deferential form
IFD	informal deferential form
FLNonD	formal limited non-deferential form
IFLNonD	informal limited non-deferential form
FGNonD	formal general non-deferential form
IFGNonD	informal general non-deferential form
HSPP	honorifics second personal pronoun
HVE	honorifics verb ending form

II. Terms for Cross-Reference

Ch.	This dissertation's chapter
Int.	The Introduction of this dissertation

III. Bibles

<i>ASV</i>	<i>American Standard Version</i> (1901)
<i>BFC</i>	<i>French Bible en français courant</i> (1997)
<i>BHK</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i> (3 rd Rudolph Kittel, 1937)
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (1966/1977)
<i>CNT</i>	<i>Corean New Testament</i> (1887)
<i>DRB</i>	<i>French Version Darby</i> (1885)
<i>ERV</i>	<i>English Revised Version</i> (1881)
<i>GNB</i>	<i>Groot Nieuws Bijbel CL</i> (1996)
<i>JB</i>	<i>Jerusalem Bible</i> (1966)
<i>KB</i>	<i>Korean Bible</i> (1911)

<i>KJV</i>	<i>King James Version</i> (1611)
<i>KRV</i>	<i>Korean Revised Version</i> (1952/1961)
<i>LUT</i>	<i>German Lutherbibel</i> (1984)
<i>LXX</i>	<i>Septuaginta</i> (Alfred Rahlfs, 1935)
<i>NA14</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (14 th Eberhard Nestle, 1923)
<i>NA25</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (25 th Nestle-Aland, 1963)
<i>NA27</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (27 th Nestle-Aland)
<i>NB</i>	<i>Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling</i> (2004)
<i>NKRV</i>	<i>New Korean Revised Version</i> (1998)
<i>NKSV</i>	<i>New Korean Standard Version</i> (1993)
<i>NVUL</i>	<i>Nova Vulgata Bibliorum Sacrorum</i> (1986)
<i>TOB</i>	<i>French Traduction œcuménique de la Bible</i> (1988)
<i>RVKB</i>	<i>Revised Version of Korean Bible</i> (1938)
<i>UBS1</i>	<i>Greek New Testament</i> (1 st UBS, 1966)
<i>UBS4</i>	<i>Greek New Testament</i> (4 th UBS)
<i>Vulgata</i>	<i>Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem, Vulgate Latin Bible</i> (1969, 1975, 1983)
<i>YLT</i>	<i>English Young's Literal Translation of the Holy Bible</i> (1862/1887/1898)

IV. Reference Works

ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , D. N. Freedman, ed., New York: Doubleday, 1992.
Bauer	<i>Walter Bauer, Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur</i> , K. Aland and B. Aland, eds., 6 th ed., Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988.
BDB	<i>A Bilingual Dictionary of the Hebrew and Aramaic Old Testament</i> , L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, eds., Leiden: Brill, 1998.
GELNT	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains</i> , J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, eds., 2 nd ed., New York: United Bible Societies, 1989.

V. Periodicals and Serials

AB	The Anchor Bible
<i>AL</i>	<i>Anthropological Linguistics</i>
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBTR</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Text Research</i>
<i>JLSP</i>	<i>Journal of Language and Social Psychology</i>
<i>KMF</i>	<i>The Korea Mission Field</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
<i>TBT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary

VI. General Abbreviations

cf.	confer
ed(s).	edited by, editor(s), edition
e.g.	exempli gratia, for example
et al.	et alii, and others
etc.	et cetera, and so on
ff.	following (pages, verses, etc.)
i.e.	id est
prof.	professor
LXX	Septuagint
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
trans.	translated by, translator
Univ.	University
v., vv.	verse, verses
vol(s).	volume(s)
/	and/or

Introduction

I. Purpose and Tasks

This study deals with the difficulties of translating the Bible into languages with honorifics—a problem that Bible translators inevitably face in some languages. The difficulty lies in the fact that honorific languages utilize a special class of words or grammatical morphemes, whose functions are to indicate social-deixis among the interlocutors in the communicative events.¹ As there is no socially neutral form in honorific languages, the speaker must always choose between deferential or non-deferential forms and will thereby always convey information about the speaker-hearer relationship, the context of communication and the current cultural expectations. Thus, a translation into inadequate honorific forms not only leads to a misunderstanding of the implicit meaning of the source text, but also distorts the style of the translated texts.

The translating of biblical Greek into languages with honorifics is a particularly complex task for Asian Bible translators. Simply put, while the Greek NT employs a few honorific titles,² it does not include the AH such as the honorific second person pronouns and the honorific verb ending forms, which are part of the multi-leveled honorific systems utilized by some languages. Hence, the decision for what degree of honorifics ought to be used in translation cannot be based on the lexical and grammatical meanings of the source language, i.e. biblical Greek, but rather on the analysis of the dialogues in terms of context and interpretation.

This issue of translating into honorifics has not gone unnoticed³ and, in

¹ W. A. Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 319.

² There are several Greek terms of honorific address relating to Jesus like Διδάσκαλε, ῥαββί, ῥαββουνί, Ἐπιστάτα, Κύριε, etc. in the Greek New Testament.

³ J. de Waard and E. A. Nida roughly dealt with the interpersonal function of honorific titles in the Greek New Testament as follows: “The two major factors in interpersonal relations are power and solidarity—one’s position in the hierarchy of relational dependency and the extent to which people identify with one another more or less on the same level of social

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fact, Bible translators in the Asia Pacific region have been studying the issue since the 1960s. The United Bible Societies (UBS) conducted a symposium on honorific forms in 1963 that specifically dealt with the difficulties in translating into honorific languages like Balinese, Burmese, Tongan, Japanese, Chinese, in addition to the many Indian languages such as Hindi, Bengali and so forth.⁴ The UBS Honorifics Committee, which is comprised of four Asian translation consultants, was established in the mid-1990's for the sole purpose of studying and exploring ways to translate biblical texts into honorific languages. In 2003, one of the proposed topics for the UBS Triennial Translation Workshop was, "Politeness Strategy and Translation" and six translation consultants presented papers related to that topic.⁵ It is obvious that translators are interested in translating into honorific

standing" (J. de Waard and E. A. Nida, *From One Language to Another: Functional Equivalence in Bible Translating* [Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1986], 27). W. A. Smalley has classified such levels into differences between the speech of upper class and lower class, educated and uneducated, older and younger, written style and spoken, formal style and informal, literary language and everyday language, church language and everyday language (W. A. Smalley, *Translation as Mission* [Mason, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1991], 150). In an earlier period, H. A. Hatton dealt with the relationship between dynamic equivalence and translating into the Thai proper pronouns for first person and second person (H. A. Hatton, "Translation of Pronouns: A Thai Example," *TBT* 24:2 [1973], 222-234). He later introduced three major speech styles in Thai languages (H. A. Hatton, "Thai Pronouns Revised," *TBT* 30:4 [1979], 415-418). L. R. Ross explained the relationship between appropriate choice of T and V forms for pronouns and speakers in the Spanish Bible translations (L. R. Ross, "Marking in Interpersonal Relationships in the 'Today's Spanish Version,'" *TBT* 44:2 [1993], 217-231). Recently, D. H. Soesilo investigated the issue of translating terms of address forms in the Greek New Testament, especially in addressing Jesus into Indonesian in his article "Sir, Teacher, Master, Lord" (D. H. Soesilo, "Sir, Teacher, Master, Lord," *TBT* 47:3 [1996], 335-340). P. Ellingworth also dealt with the complicated selection of T-V forms in BFC (Société biblique française, 1997) (P. Ellingworth, "'You Can Say You to Him': T- and V- forms in common language translations of the New Testament," *TBT* 53:1 [2002], 143-153). G. S. Shae demonstrated how the Burmese languages, which are used in Judson's translation of the Gospels, have affected the portrayal of Jesus (G. S. Shae, "The Portrait of Jesus in the Burmese Gospels," *TBT* 53:2 [2002], 202-210).

⁴ Papers of that symposium were published in the Bible Translator in 1963 (*TBT* 14:4 [1963], 145-97).

⁵ Papers related the topic, "Politeness Strategy and Translation" are as follows: "Linguistic Strategies for Politeness in Biblical Hebrew" (by A. Warren), "Honorifics in some major languages of NE India" (by M. Hynniewta), "Attempt to render Dynamic & Natural Translations" (by N. Subramani), "Politeness & Translation in Oriya Language" (by P. Nag), "Honorifics in Bible Translation & its implications" (by S. Y. Yu) and "Similarity and Dissimilarity in Bible Translation of Honorific Language" (by Y. J. Min).

expressions and investigate these honorifics-related phenomena in their own languages, however, there has been no attempt to establish the theoretical framework for translating the non-honorific language into the target honorific language.

The principal aim of this study, therefore, is to propose the proper criteria and a theoretical framework for solving problems related to the use of honorifics in Bible translation. The aim is to minimize translation discrepancies that result from either unavoidable linguistic gaps or inevitable social filters. The translator, who renders the source text of the non-honorific language into the target text with honorific languages, must be aware of not only the system of honorifics as linguist devices but also the pragmatics of honorifics in appropriate manners such as the discernment of politeness.

The politeness theories of the 1970s that insist on the universality of politeness in the linguistic field might provide some clues on how to evaluate the sense of politeness and honorifics in the Greek NT.⁶ The politeness theorists persuasively assert, “politeness is not a natural phenomenon of language but a social-cultural and historical construction.”⁷ In other words, to understand the politeness dimension of the source text, it is essential to thoroughly investigate the cultural, political and economical contexts of the Biblical times. Specific biblical discourse will be studied with a comparison of criteria in a framework derived from the politeness theories, and translation criteria in a framework based on translation theories.

Chapter 1 studies the social context, phenomena and the function of honorific languages. The AH are classified according to the Korean honorific system, which is one of most complex systems among the honorific languages. Chapter 2 examines the politeness’ rules, strategies and maxims as presented by the theories of R. Brown and A. Gilman, R. T. Lakoff, P. Brown and S. C. Levinson, and G. N. Leech—all of which are representative models of the politeness theories in order to find some clues to evaluate politeness and select the AH of dialogues. The proposed criteria and the framework for evaluating politeness and determining AH are further

⁶ If there were nothing shared and universal about politeness in source texts, then ‘translation from one language to another would be an almost impossible task’ (M. Sifianou, *Politeness Phenomena in England and Greece. A Cross-Cultural Perspective* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992], 49).

⁷ R. Márquez Reiter, *Linguistic Politeness in Britain and Uruguay: a Contrastive Study of Requests and Apologies* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), 1.

explained by the recent studies of politeness with pragmatic, sociological and anthropological linguistic and psychological aspects.

Chapter 3 deals with the translation theories, i.e. literal translation, dynamic equivalence, functional equivalence, literal-functional equivalence and the skopos theory. The criteria and framework for translating into AH are proposed by taking into account the sociological, anthropological and pragmatic approaches to translation. Chapter 4 diachronically reviews how major Korean translations have dealt with AH in their respective historical and social contexts in which they functioned. The focus is to assess from a skopos perspective the extent to which each Korean translation was appropriate, acceptable and understandable for Korean audiences given the linguistic changes that took place in the use of AH in the sample text, Mark 14:53-65.

In chapter 5, each dialogue between Jesus and the High Priest and Sanhedrin (Mk 14:58-65) is analyzed in a translation framework for the selection of AH, and specifically proposed the possible AH. Finally, chapter 6 summarizes the results of the research and clarifies the relevance of the criteria derived from the politeness framework and the choice of AH in the translation. The integrated translation framework according to skopos is suggested for translating into AH.

For the accurate translating into AH, pertinent criteria and a consistently applicable framework are necessary for a new translation or revision of the Bible in honorific languages for modern receptors. The purpose is, first, to avoid an arbitrary selection of AH when the translator opts to use all the AH available in the target language and, furthermore, to avoid the problems caused by using a uniform style that could distort the style of the translated texts but also lead to a misunderstanding of the implicit meaning of the source text. The result of this study will propose proper criteria and framework for translating into AH through sociolinguistic, anthropological linguistic and pragmalinguistic approaches to translation.

II. Definitions: Honorifics and Politeness

Honorifics

The term ‘honorifics’ refers to special linguistic forms that are used as

signs of deference toward the addressee(s) or the nominal referents. The selection of honorifics depends on both the ‘grammaticality,’ and ‘social acceptability’ of the utterances⁸ because honorifics grammatically encode the social position and the level of intimacy between the speaker, hearer and others.⁹ All honorific markers function like English tense markers, mood markers, and word order determinants.¹⁰ The choice of honorifics relates closely to grammatical and socio-pragmatic obligation in the light of social conventions.

In the same way, many linguists have classified the *T-V* forms of the second person singular pronouns in some Indo-European languages as the honorifics.¹¹ The second person singular pronouns consist of an inferior form (*T*), after the Latin *tu*, and a superior form (*V*), from the Latin *vos* (plural in surface structure, but semantically singular).¹² In Dutch, the two

⁸ S. Ide, “Formal Forms and Discernments: Two Neglected Aspects of Universals of Linguistic Politeness,” *Multilingua* 8-2/3 (1989), 227.

⁹ H. Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, G. Trauth and K. Kazzaz, trans., eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 211.

¹⁰ J. R. Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education with Reference to Korean and English: Terms of Address and Levels of Deference* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1975), 70. In the case of English honorifics, *your honor* is used in place of the second person singular pronoun *you* in a courtroom.

¹¹ B. Comrie pointed out that the familiar *T-V* pronoun alteration in European language is a case of referent honorifics among three main types of honorifics, AH, referent honorifics, and bystander honorifics (B. Comrie, “Politeness Plurals and Predicate Agreement,” *Language* 51:2 [1976], 406-418). Brown and Levinson regarded the *V* form as “honorific pronoun,” and *T* form as “singular non-honorific pronoun” (P. Brown and S. Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 107). M. Shibatani also dealt with the *T-V* variation in Europe in the category of honorifics (M. Shibatani, “Honorifics,” R. E. Asher and J. M. Simpson, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* [Oxford; New York: Pergamon Press, 1994], 1600-1608). T. E. Payne explained that the pronouns of the *T-V* forms are used depending on “the relative social status of the speech act participants” (T. E. Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], 49). Related to the honorifics phenomena, Ide regarded the choice of the pronoun *V* in contrast to *T* and the choice of the address term TLN (Title plus Last Name) in contrast to FN (First Name) as being the formal forms (Ide, “Formal Forms and Discernments,” 229).

¹² Concerning the early examples of the *V* form usage, C. A. Maley analyzed that “this departure from the conventional usage signal, perhaps, the beginnings of the development of the pluralis maiestatis” (C. A. Maley, “The Pronouns of Address in Modern Standard French,” *Romance Monographs* 10 [1974], 10). However, this was not a sudden linguistic decision, but more likely “the result of a long linguistic evolution” (Maley, “The Pronouns of Address in Modern Standard French,” 10). R. Brown and A. Gilman discussed the usage of pronouns not

singular pronouns of address are *jij* and *u*; in old English *thou* and *ye* (later *ye* was replaced with *you*); in French *tu* and *vous*; in German *du* and *Ihr* (*Ihr* gave way to *er* and later to *Sie*); in Italian *tu* and *voi* (with *Lei* eventually displacing *voi*); in Portuguese *tu* and *vos*, and in Spanish *tu* and *vos* (later *usted*).¹³ The pronoun usage follows (1) the rule of non-reciprocity *T-V* between unequals, (2) the rule of mutuality *V* or *T* between equals, and, in addition, (3) the rule of intimacy versus formality, i.e. “the *T* of intimacy and the *V* of formality.”¹⁴ In the *T-V* forms, there is no social neutrality and the speaker must always choose between the *T* and *V* forms just like other honorifics. The choice of the *T-V* forms also conveys information about the speaker-hearer relationship and circumstances of the communicative event.

The system of honorifics consists of an integral component of the deference dimension of language use but only certain languages have well-developed honorifics.¹⁵ The more complex honorific phenomena are found mostly in Asian languages such as Balinese, Bengali, Burmese, Hindi, Japanese, Javanese, Korean, Nepali, Tibetan, Thai, Tongan, etc.¹⁶ These

only in Dutch, English, French, German, Italian and Spanish, but also in the languages of Argentina, Austria, Chile, Denmark, India, Israel, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia (R. Brown and A. Gilman, “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” P. Gigliogli, ed., *Language and Social Context* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972], 253).

¹³ Cf. Brown and Gilman, “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” 254. In Dutch the employee of banks, shops, etc. speak to clients with the *V*-variant (‘u’), at least where interactants are not familiar with each other (G. Eelen, *A Critique of Politeness Theories* [Manchester & Northampton: St. Jerome Publishing, 2001], 74).

¹⁴ Brown and Gilman, “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” 257.

¹⁵ Shibatani, “Honorifics,” 1600-1601.

¹⁶ The Indian societies where Hindi, Bengali and so forth are spoken, are governed by the caste system. Indian honorifics abound, covering formal and informal relationships for social, commercial, spiritual and generational links. The languages involve three forms of the second person pronouns as well as distinctions in the third person (F. W. Schelander, “In the Marathi New Testament,” *TBT* 14:4 [1963], 178-180). There are honorific phenomena not only “in other Indo-Aryan languages such as Assamese, Bengali, Marathi, but also in some of the Dravidian South Indian languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, etc.” (P. Nag, “Politeness and Translation in Oriya Language,” *TTW* 2003, unpublished paper, 2). In particular, the Oriya language includes complicated honorifics like the third person singular and the plural forms and the verb endings, and their use is based on actual differentiations of social status (Nag, “Politeness and Translation in Oriya Language,” 6). In the Burmese language, there is a series of personal pronouns according to the rank of the speaker and the person being addressed (S. V. Vincent, “The Use of Honorifics In Burmese,” *TBT* 14:4 [1963], 196-197). Balinese also includes different degrees of deference, politeness, or familiarity expressed in the verb ending (J. L. Swellengrebel, “Politeness and Translation in Balinese,” *TBT* 14:4

phenomena are possibly connected with their cultures, which can be characterized as sociocentric cultures.¹⁷ Asian linguists have concluded that the phenomenon of honorifics is based on the collectivism, the dominant cultural value in Asian societies.¹⁸ It is crucial, therefore, for Asian people to

[1963], 158-164). Javanese verb endings are classified into plain, more elegant, and most elegant (J. Peoples and G. Bailey, *Humanity: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* [Wadsworth: Thomson Learning, 2000], 48). Javanese honorifics also have humbling expressions and polite speech forms indicating deference to the addressee (J. J. Errington, "On the Nature of the Sociolinguistic Sign: Describing the Javanese speech levels," R. Parmentier, ed., *Semiotic Mediation* [New York: Academic Press, 1984], 287-306; J. J. Errington, *Structure and Style in Javanese* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988]; C. Geertz, "Linguistic etiquette," Pride, J. and Holmes, J., eds., *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972]). A complicated set of contextual norms governs the degree of formality and politeness Japanese people normally use to show respect to those of higher social positions (K. Inoue, "Innovating Uses of Japanese Honorifics and Polite forms," *Papers in Japanese Linguistics* 4 [1974], 19-41; Shibatani, "Honorifics," 1600-1608). Japanese grammar tends to function on hierarchy and so honorific stems are appended to verbs and some nouns. The Japanese personal pronouns show the honorific hierarchy of the Japanese language – there are five or more words that correspond to each of the English words, 'I' and 'You.' Japanese honorifics involve the linguistic apparatus available to the Japanese for the expression of politeness (F. Coulmas, "Linguistic etiquette in Japanese society," R. J. Watts, S. Ide, and K. Ehlich, eds., *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* [New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992], 321). Japanese honorific expressions are still in daily use while in the case of Chinese, it remains only as epistolary style in classical Chinese pieces that are rich in polite expression (R. P. Kramers, "On Being Polite in Chinese," *TBT* 14:4 [1963], 165-173). Chinese honorifics of the imperial periods varied greatly based on one's social status but after 1920, most of these distinctions had dropped out of colloquial use. Tongan people should choose between the common word and the honorific word. In addition, they also have to select a derogatory word, or an ordinary word, or a polite word, or a chiefly word, or a regal word according to the rank of the person being addressed or referred in the conversation (C. M. Churchward, "Honorific Language in Tongan," *TBT* 14:4 (1963), 192-196).

¹⁷ In sociocentric cultures "the individual and his autonomy are not singled out as the local understanding of person, rather his embeddedness in the social context is the stuff of this definition as a person" as Foley has pointed out (Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 266).

¹⁸ Cf. Y. Gu, "Politeness Phenomena in Modern Chinese," *JPrG* 14 (1990), 237-257; S. Ide, "Japanese Sociolinguistics Politeness and Women's Language," *Lingua* 57 (1982), 357-385; Ide, "Formal Forms and Discernment," 7-11; L. R. Mao, "Focus-on issue: Politeness across cultures," *JPrG* 21:5 (May 1994), 451-582; Y. Matsumoto, "Reexamination of the University of Face: Politeness Phenomena in Japanese," *JPrG* 12 (1988), 403-426; Y. Matsumoto, "Politeness and Conversational Universals-Observations from Japanese," *Multilingua* 8 (1989), 207-221; Y. Pan, "Power Behind Linguistics Behavior: Analysis of Politeness in Chinese Official Settings," *JLSP* 14:4 (1995), 480; Y. Pan, *Politeness in Chinese Face-To-Face Interaction* (Stamford: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 2000), 11.

acknowledge the position of others in relation to all social interactions and communicative situations and not only in their own individual sphere.¹⁹

The dynamism and change of modern South and East Asian societies should be also taken into account in order to understand the more refined and subtle aspects of the honorific systems. In a traditional society with an honorific language, attributed status such as seniority and kinship plays a vital role in determining the use of honorifics rather than achieved status such as rank and role.²⁰ However, in a modernized society, which changes in accordance with the democratic ideal of liberty and equality, the use of honorifics have widely evolved to refer to a relative degree of intimacy and to reflect the speaker's personality. As a result, the investigation of the honorific systems should be sensitive to the diachronic changes of society and culture because honorific systems emerge from patterns of language usage in diachronic processes. Accordingly, in order to be able to use honorifics in languages, it is not sufficient to know the grammatical paradigms and the grammatical meanings associated with it. Speakers and writers must know the pragmatics of politeness to use the honorifics appropriately.

Politeness

The English term 'polite' is derived from late medieval Latin word, *politus* meaning 'smoothed,' 'accomplished,' which is related to the etymology of the Dutch, French, German and Spanish equivalent: *hoffelijkheid*, *courtoisie*, *höflichkeit*, and *cortesia*.²¹ The Greek word for 'politeness,' *eugenia*, has similar connotations. It is formed as *eu* meaning 'good,' or 'fine,' and *genos* meaning 'descent,' or 'origin,' and thus, politeness originally referred to "an attribute characteristic of aristocrats."²²

¹⁹ Matsumoto, "Reexamination of the University of Face," 405.

²⁰ C. H. Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics: Deixis and Politeness* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii dissertation, 1982), 80.

²¹ R. Márquez, *Linguistic politeness in Britain and Uruguay*, 1. Dutch *beschaafdheid*, *beleefdheid* and *hoffelijkheid* imply various associative connections: to "civil society," 'civilization,' life at court and in the city, or the general quality of having "life-experience" (Eelen, *A Critique of Politeness Theories*, i).

²² Sifianou, *Politeness Phenomena in England and Greece*, 82.

The Ancient Israel world has no 'equivalent' term for 'politeness,'²³ however, the Modern Hebrew terms *nimus* (to be anointed) and *adivut* are both translated as 'politeness.' According to Blum-Kulka, *nimus* comes from the Greek *nomos* meaning 'order,' or 'custom,' or 'law,' and *nimus* is more readily associated with etiquette and formal aspects of politeness than the term *adivut* (there is a certain ambivalence in attitude in relation to *nimus*).²⁴

The term 'polite,' understood to be an adjective like 'deferential,' 'appropriate,' 'friendly' or 'respectful,' refers to proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others,²⁵ i.e., "good manners, consideration for other, and correct social behavior."²⁶ On the other hand, the term 'politeness' does not indicate the state of "being polite," but the continuum stretching from polite to non-polite speech and behavior.²⁷ 'Politeness' as a technical term in linguistics should be distinguished from the colloquial use of 'polite'. Occasionally, 'politeness' is also referred to in a "negative manner as something external, hypocritical, unnatural" or "a diplomatic way."²⁸ However, such reference to politeness seems to indicate 'overpoliteness,' i.e., too much deference in a particular context²⁹: "Most of time overpoliteness sounds like flattery, joke, sarcasm, or signals unusual social relationships," whereas 'underpoliteness' functions to maintain a familiar relationship or brings jest on the conversation.³⁰

²³ R. W. Janney and H. Arndt, "Intracultural tact versus intercultural tact," R. J. Watts, S. Ide, and K. Ehlich, eds., *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (Berline: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 94.

²⁴ S. Blum-Kulka, "The Metapragmatics of Politeness in Israeli Society," R. J. Watts, S. Ide, and K. Ehlich, eds., *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 257.

²⁵ G. Kasper, "Politeness," R. E. Asher and J. M. Y. Simpson, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1994), 3206.

²⁶ Ide, "Formal Forms and Discernments," 225.

²⁷ Ide, "Formal Forms and Discernments," 225.

²⁸ Blum-Kulka, "The Metapragmatics of Politeness in Israeli Society," 257, 260. Blum-Kulka asserts that politeness is "a diplomatic way of getting things," and yet too much 'diplomacy' is suspected of being flattery in Modern Hebrew, because Israelis reject politeness as something artificial, external, or 'hypocritical' (Blum-Kulka, "The Metapragmatics of Politeness in Israeli Society," 260). "Straight talk" in politeness of Israelis emphasizes on sincerity and truthfulness in interpersonal relations, and overrides the importance of avoiding infringement on the other (Blum-Kulka, "The Metapragmatics of Politeness in Israeli Society," 271).

²⁹ A. Meier, "Passages of Politeness," *JPrag* 24 (1995), 387.

³⁰ B. Kwarciak, "The Acquisition of Linguistic Politeness and Brown and Levinson's Theory," *Multilingua* 12:1 (1993), 63.

There is a universal nature in politeness: “Being polite must be suitable, acceptable and appropriate in the conversation of a particular culture on the one hand, and on the other hand being impolite is unsuitable, unacceptable and inappropriate for a given situation.”³¹ Politeness is a matter of balance, between appearing rude and appearing “too polite.” According to the relationship between interlocutors, the balance of politeness can be proposed as being overpolite, being appropriately polite, being underpolite and being impolite. The balance of politeness is dependent upon the dynamics of interpersonal activity and not just as a static logical concept.³² The politeness phenomena definitely depend on the political, social and cultural relationships of the interlocutors in communicative events and also reflect social progress and change. It is culturally defined, i.e. what is considered polite in one culture can often be quite rude or simply strange in another.

Politeness depends on every individual’s perception of the situation, and varies widely from culture to culture.³³ Politeness phenomena are determined more by a speaker’s intention to please or displease than by the relative status of the addressee. A linguistic expression *per se*, with or without honorifics, cannot be labeled inherently impolite or polite. It is only when linguistic expressions are used in specific social and communicative contexts that hearers can infer the intended degree of politeness. This implies that speakers in different context with different intentions of politeness may use the same honorific expression, and that hearers in different contexts with different politeness interpretation can further receive same expression.

Politeness can be an “the umbrella term” for the combination of interpersonal considerations and linguistic choices affecting the form and function of linguistic interactions.³⁴ However, it is best expressed as the practical application of good manners or etiquette. Politeness, as a universal concept, is thus related to discourse and usage whereas honorifics, which is a specific morphology, is concerned with grammatical structure. According to

³¹ Meier, “Passages of Politeness,” 387. In the similar line, R. W. Janney and H. Arndt explained that “an essential feature of the politeness is the continuous balancing an act of alter exaltation and ego debasement by the deliberate use of compliments and humility strategies” (Janney and Arndt, “Intracultural tact versus intercultural tact,” 137).

³² Cf. Janney and Arndt, “Intracultural tact versus intercultural tact,” 22.

³³ Cf. R. J. Watts, S. Ide, and K. Ehlich, eds., *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice, Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs* 59 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 10.

³⁴ Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 370.

T.E. Payne's assessment of the relationship between discourse and grammar, it can be said that politeness belongs to 'content' and 'pragmatics' as a 'conceptual domain,' and honorifics to 'form' and 'grammar' as a 'formal domain.'³⁵ As a result, politeness is applicable to all languages whereas honorifics are manifested in some languages. Politeness, although crucial in understanding honorifics, is part of the conceptual world behind the discourse and is part of the context-dependent pragmatics of language usage. Honorifics, on the other hand, belong to the domain of grammar of structure. However, the boundary between usage and structure is fluid and, hence, their relationship complex.³⁶

III. Research Questions and Methods

The main research questions are: (1) how should the Greek NT be translated into honorific languages? (2) What are the functions and forms of honorifics in Korean language? (3) If there is no honorific system in the source language, how can the translator render the source text of non-honorific language accurately into the honorifics? (4) If politeness is universal, is it possible to be aware of the sense of politeness in the source text with the criteria that the politeness theories provide? (5) Are the established translation approaches like literal translation, dynamic equivalence, function equivalence, literal functional equivalence, and skopos theory valid to render into the honorifics? (6) How do the theology and hermeneutical aspects of the source text influence the translation of the Bible into honorifics? (7) How can we establish the translation criteria and framework for translating into the proper honorifics?

In order to research the aforementioned questions, this study deals with Bible translation into Korean, one of most complex honorific languages.³⁷ This research concentrates on how to determine the appropriate AH including the honorifics second person pronouns and the honorifics speech styles of the verb in Korean translations.

Recently, there have been many language-internal descriptions in cases

³⁵ Cf. Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 6.

³⁶ Cf. P. Brown and S. Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 259.

³⁷ Korean is spoken nowadays by seventy million people in North and South Korea and by people in China, Japan, the Netherlands, the United States, and the Russia.

related to honorifics³⁸ but no attempt has been made to connect the politeness framework with the translation framework. Since the mid-1970s, politeness has received a lot of attention from various fields of linguistics, especially from the current studies in contemporary sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics and pragmalinguistics. Pioneer politeness theorists like R. Brown and A. Gilman, R. T. Lakoff, P. Brown and S. C. Levinson, and G. N. Leech investigated the general nature of politeness phenomena and the appropriate approaches for politeness in speech.³⁹ These theories can be useful not only in establishing a set of proposed criteria, a framework for evaluating politeness and determining AH but also in perceiving the politeness in dialogues of the biblical text. However, the choice of addressee in Bible translation is conclusively determined not only by a set of criteria, a framework and a perception of politeness but also by the approach of translation to the biblical text.

In terms of translating into AH, we therefore review the literal translation approach as a traditional translation framework, the dynamic equivalence of E. A. Nida, the functional equivalence of J. de Waard & Nida as major translation theories,⁴⁰ the literal functional equivalence of E. R. Wendland,⁴¹

³⁸ Cf. M. Hori, "A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Japanese Honorifics," *JPrag* 10 (June, 1986), 373-386; R. N. Srivastava and I. Pandit, "The pragmatic basis of syntactic structures and the politeness hierarchy in Hindi," *JPrag* 12 (April 1988), 185-205; M. Farghal and A. Shakir, "Kin terms and titles of address as relational social honorifics in Jordanian Arabic," *Anthropological Linguistics* 36 (Summer 1994), 240-254; J. F. Pressman, "Honorification and projection of Saint Barthelem," *Anthropological Linguistics* 39 (Spring, 1997), 111-151; Y. Matsumoto, "The Rise and Fall of Japanese Nonsubject Honorifics: The Case of 'o-verb-suru,'" *JPrag* 28 (1997), 719-740; S. Okamoto, "Politeness and Perception of Irony: Honorifics in Japanese," *Metaphor and Symbol* 17:2 (2002), 119-139; S. R. Upadhyay, "Nepali Requestive Acts: Linguistic Indirectness and Politeness Reconsidered," *JPrag* 35 (2003), 1651-1677; W. Koyama, "How to do Historic Pragmatics with Japanese Honorifics," *JPrag* 35 (2003), 1507-1515; M. Yoshida and C. Sakurai, "Japanese honorifics as a marker of sociocultural identity: A view from non-Western perspective," R. T. Lakoff and S. Ide, eds., *Broadening the Horizon of Linguistic Politeness* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2006), 197-217.

³⁹ Brown and Gilman, "Pronouns of Power and Solidarity," 252-282; R. T. Lakoff, "The Logic of Politeness," *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 9 (1972), 292-305; Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*; G. N. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics* (London: Longman, 1983).

⁴⁰ E. A. Nida, *Toward A Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedure Involved in Bible Translating* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964); E. A. Nida and C. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969, 1974); De Waard and Nida,

and the skopos theory of functionalists⁴² as the central modern translation theories. As the result, the hypothetical criteria and a framework for translating into AH are proposed and specifically applied to the honorific language translation as presented in the Korean Bible.

In the history of Korea Bible translations, there are seven representative versions; namely, *CNT*, *Mark* by *S.J. Lee* (1885), *KB*, *KRV*, and *NKRV*, which are the old language translations, and *KNTNT*, *CTHB*, and *NKSV*, the modern language translations.⁴³ The AH of the seven translations demonstrate the complex phenomena in the various discourses.

As the sample case, the AH of the dialogues between Jesus and the members of Sanhedrin (Mk 14:58-65) — one of the most difficult discourses in the Bible to translate into honorifics — are evaluated in all of the aforementioned Korean translations. The proposed criteria and framework derived from the politeness theories and translation theories are applied to this biblical text. The analysis has a crucial exegetical aspect because it requires a comprehensive knowledge of religious, social and political power of the NT times. Based on the analysis, the integrated framework for translating into AH is proposed in the concluding chapter.

From One Language to Another; N. Statham, “Dynamic Equivalence and Functional Equivalence: How Do They Differ?” *TBT* 54:1 (2003), 104-111.

⁴¹ E. R. Wendland, *Translating the Literature of Scripture: A Literary-rhetorical Approach to Bible Translation* (Dallas: SIL International, 2004); E. R. Wendland, “A Literary (Artistic-Rhetorical) Approach to Biblical Text Analysis and Translation - with special reference to Paul’s letter to Philemon,” *JBTR* 16 (2005), 266-363.

⁴² Cf. H. J. Vermer, “Übersetzen als kultureller Transfer,” H. Snell-Hornby, ed., *Übersetzungswissenschaft -eine Neuorientierung* (Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 1986); C. Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1997); C. Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation: Theory, Methodology and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation-oriented Text Analysis* (Amsterdam; Rodopi, 1991); H. Basil and I. Mason, *The Translator as Communicator* (London: Routledge, 1997); D. Robinson, *Becoming a Translator* (London: Routledge, 1997); L. de Vries, “The notion of genre and the nature of Bible translations,” *Notes on translation* 13:2 (1999), 26-42; L. de Vries, “Bible translation and primary Orality,” *TBT* 51:1 (2000), 101-113; L. de Vries, “Bible Translations: Forms and Functions,” *TBT* 52:3 (2001), 306-319; L. de Vries, “Paratext and Skopos of Bible Translation,” W. Smelik, A. den Hollander, and U. Schmidt, eds., *Paratext and Metatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian traditions* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2003), 176-193.

⁴³ About 19.7% of South Korea’s 48 million people belong to Protestant churches, although Christianity in Korea only has a history of a little over one century. The Korean church has been rapidly growing through Bible study movements, of which most Christians have been studying and reading the Bible every day.

IV. Relevance of this Study

There has not been any attempt to propose sufficient criteria and a systematic framework for translating into honorifics in spite to the perplexing problem faced by Bible translators.

This study involves the general linguistic principles related to the issue at hand.

Secondly, it provides criteria and a framework of the analysis of dialogues from a new perspective with the intention being able to provide guidelines for the general practice of translation.

Thirdly, the study emphasizes the need for translators to take into account the dynamics of modern society that lead to adaptations and changes in the use of honorifics.

Finally, the study, which deals with the AH as comprehensive phenomena of honorifics, provides an effective translation framework for producing a new approach for translating the Bible into honorific languages.

Chapter 1

Phenomena, Functions and Social Factors of Korean Addressee Honorifics

I. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide criteria for determining proper honorific expressions when translating from non-honorific Greek discourses to honorific-based Korean. The difficulty of translating into honorific forms occurs because the Greek NT does not include honorific systems such as AH that include the most complex grammatical categories, i.e. honorific second person pronouns (henceforth: HSPP) and honorific verb endings (henceforth: HVE), of the target language.¹ In addition, there is neither agreement on the use of honorific systems nor any proper analysis of the social factors that influence the choice of honorifics. In order to cope with the difficulties, we will investigate the Korean honorific system — admittedly, one of the most complicated systems — in its cultural context and society and also in the context of the social changes that are currently taking place. Further investigation into the HSPP and HVE systems will be diachronically surveyed and phenomena, functions and the co-occurrence rule of the AH will be synchronically clarified. Throughout this process, we will propose new HSPP and HVE systems for the modern Korean language and analyze social factors influencing the choice of the Korean AH.

II. Korean Honorifics and Society

The term for “honorifics” in Korean is *chonda* (*chon* meaning “to

¹ There are several honorific terms in Greek used to address Jesus, such as *didaskale*, *rabbi*, *rabbouni*, *epistata*, *kurie*, etc. in the Greek New Testament. According to Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, there is only one polite marker, i.e. *kalos* (please), which used as the polite request toward the well-dressed man, “please sit here” (Jas. 2:3) (GELNT, 177).

honor,” and *dae* “to equip”), *kyeongeo* (*kyeong* “to respect,” and *eo* “word, expression, or style”) or *daewoo* (*dae* “to equip,” *woo* “to meet”),² all of which imply the “the elevation of others” and the “denigrating of self.” Although the definition of these Korean terms depends on the opinions of scholars, it is obviously related to the form of language structure in accordance with subject honorifics (honorifics for a subject),³ referent honorifics (honorifics for an object)⁴ and AH (honorifics for listener).⁵ Korean is a verb-final agglutinative language that abounds in particles of inflectional endings through which speech levels are manifested.⁶ It is also noted for its elaborate system of speech level alternates that can be found in pronouns, terms of address and the system of verb endings. Thus, all honorific markers function like the tense markers, mood markers and syntax determinants, etc., of the English language.⁷

² Scholars referring to honorifics with the term, *Daewoo* hold the view that honorific phenomena in modern Korean language are not due to the difference between high and low, but to stylistic variation (J. S. Soh, *Jondiabeb Yungu [A Study on Honorifics]* [Hanshinmunwhasa, 1984], 12; cf. S. E. Martin, “Speech Levels in Japanese and Korean,” Dell Hymes, ed., *Language in Culture and Society* [New York: Harper & Row, 1964], 407-415).

³ Subject honorifics refer to the speaker's expression of respect for the subject or non-object of a sentence. A higher-status subject indicated as the real subject in a double-subject sentence is treated as the target of respectful expression. The elevation of the subject necessarily triggers the honorification of the verb. Normally the subject honorifics consist on the honorific titles such as “-*nim*” (high deferential), or “-*ssi*” (deferential), or “-*kun*” (male)/“-*yang*” (female) (little deferential), the honorific nominative particle such as “-*kkeyse*,” and the honorific predicative verbal suffix “-(*u*) *si*” (K. H. Lee, “Honorifics, Politeness, and Indirect Speech Acts in Korean,” *Cultural Science* 18:3 [1997], 156-157).

⁴ The referent honorifics are crucially related to uses of honorific morphemes and lexicalized honorifics, which include honorary titles used together with the name (C. H. Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics: Deixis and Politeness* [Honolulu: University of Hawaii dissertation, 1982], 17). In conversation the referent can be honorified or dishonorified by the speaker. Such referents are usually the characters indicated by the dative or the accusative. When the third person is superior to the addressee, respect for the referent is expressed by adding the verbal ending conjugations to the root of a verb as a component word expressing respect for the referent, or by using the special honorific verbs themselves, which include the meaning of subject/referent respect.

⁵ The AH include the vocative, the addressee honorific terms, the addressee honorific suffix and the verb endings.

⁶ Although the normal word order is subject, object, and verb, Korean is a language with relative freedom of syntactic order except for the obligatory final position of the predicate.

⁷ J. R. Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education with Reference to Korean and English: Terms of Address and Levels of Deference* (Austin: University of Texas

On the other hand, the Korean term for “politeness” is *Kongson* (*kong* meaning “to respect”; *son* “to humble”) or *Yeyee* (*ye* meaning “to respect”; *yee* “attitude”). It includes not only the honorifics and the softened illocutionary force of a speech act but also the attitude, mood, behavior and so on. It is obvious that Korean honorifics are related with politeness, i.e., self-humility and respect for the other.⁸

The roots of Korea’s modern social organizations, cultural values and social attitudes can be traced back to the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910) — an era that was considerably influenced by Neo-Confucianism,⁹ which emphasizes the distinction between high and low, superior and subordinate.¹⁰ Lower classes addressed the members of the ruling class in the honorific forms, which was not reciprocated.¹¹

The formerly authoritarian Korean society, however, has become an industrial and urban society. With the end of the Second World War in 1945, Korea’s adoption of democracy as the new political ideology began a paradigm shift in the socio-political consciousness of the Korean people.¹² With Korea’s rapid transformation from a stratified society to an egalitarian one, there were changes in the linguistic makers of social differentiation

at Austin, 1975), 70.

⁸ Self-humbleness and respect for the other have been highly valued traditionally in Korean society.

⁹ The Neo-Confucian ideas were pre-eminent in China from the thirteenth century onward as the official state doctrine of the newly established dynasty (L. M. Song-Bradford, *Reflections of Status and Intimacy in Korean Speech Levels, English Code, and their Use in Dyadic Conversations between Bilingual Koreans* [Washington: American University, 1979], 60).

¹⁰ This political ideology soon came to regulate Korean people, and led the social system of Chosun Dynasty to be divided into four major classes: the yangban (nobility), the chungin (middle class), the sangmin (commoners), and the chonmin (out-casts) (Song-Bradford, *Reflections of Status and Intimacy in Korean Speech Levels*, 63).

¹¹ Members of the ruling class represented only ten percent of the overall population (Song-Bradford, *Reflections of Status and Intimacy in Korean Speech Levels*, 64). Some Korean linguists agree that the Korean language has developed into one of the most complex honorific languages in the world, reflecting this rigid and highly stratified social structure based on Confucianism (M. R. Park, *Social Variation and Change in honorific Usage among Korean Adults in an Urban Setting* [Illinois: The University of Illinois, 1991], 111-127). In the case of honorifics in the Chinese language, modern Chinese is not classified as an honorific language despite the fact that the Neo-Confucianism was first established in China. Since the origin of Korean honorifics is a complicated issue, we limited our investigation to modern Korean honorifics only.

¹² Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics*, 177.

including those of honorifics.

Nowadays, honorific expressions are more often used to express formality, respect and intimacy rather than to indicate social discrimination. Nevertheless, violations of proper honorific usage are still interpreted as an insult, a joke or a provocation to fight in Korean society. Korean interlocutors must be careful to adjust their verb ending to the appropriate forms and levels of deference.

Previous studies of AH from the late nineteenth century to the mid 1930's lacked a systematic understanding about the general grammar of the Korean language. Since AH had yet to be systematized, they were mainly classified as honorific expressions with three hierarchical categories; superior, equal, and inferior.¹³ It was Bible translators and pioneer missionaries to Korea such as John MacIntyre, J. Ross, H. G. Underwood and J. S. Gale who established Korean honorific systems before preparing Bible translations in Korean. Accordingly, we will diachronically survey investigations concerning the HSPP and HVE systems and synchronically clarify the phenomena, functions and co-occurrence rule of AH.

III. Korean Addressee Honorifics

III. 1. Honorific Second person Pronouns

Korean pronouns are not simply “noun substitutes”; their usage should not be understood according to the typical grammatical concept of “person” but in terms of the social interactive concept of “sender and receiver” in that particular social context.¹⁴ Failure to use proper honorific pronouns leads

¹³ J. MacIntyre, “Notes on the Corean Language,” *The China Review or; Notes and Queries on the Far East* (July 1880, to June 1881), Vol. IX; M. Y. Lee, ed., *United Presbyterian Missionary Record 1872-1890* (Seoul: the Korean Bible Society, 2003), 334; J. Scott and E. M. M. Chaik, *A Corean Manual or Phrase Book; with Introductory Grammar* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1887, 1893); H. G. Underwood, *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language* (Yokohama; Shanghai; Hongkong; Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, 1890/1915); J. S. Gale, *Korean Grammatical Forms* (Seoul: The Korean Religious Tract Society, 1890/1915).

¹⁴ There are not only Korean honorific forms of the second person singular pronoun, but also *choh* (1st person: very humble), *na* (1st person: plain); demonstrative +*pun* ‘person’ (3rd person: deferential), demonstrative +*i* ‘person’ (3rd person: a little deferential), demonstrative +*saram* ‘person’ (3rd person: plain), and demonstrative +*ae* ‘child’ (3rd person: a plain form used to refer to a child)(Lee, “Honorifics, Politeness, and Indirect Speech Acts in Korean,”

not only to ungrammatical and awkward sentences but also to breakdowns in communication and social interaction.

III. 1. a. Historical Survey of Korean HSPP Systems

The Scottish missionary J. Ross investigated Korean honorific systems in his *Corean Primer* (1877)¹⁵ before preparing the Korean Bible translation: “as the Corean language, with no cases for its nouns or persons for its verbs, has the remarkable quality of inflexion according to the rank of the person addressed, - superior, equal or inferior, - it is deemed advisable to give the pronouns and a verb, in its various tenses, with the proper terminations affixed.”¹⁶ Ross classified the Korean HSPP into the following three levels:¹⁷

Meaning	Levels	Second Person Singular Pronouns (Plural)
You	Superior always indirectly addressed by his title.	
	Addressing equal	<i>Nimca (Nimcane)</i>
	Addressing inferior	<i>Ne / nu (Nui)</i>

He realized that the Korean HSPP might employ the direct form of speech when the addressee is of the same age or social standing but strangers or socially unequal persons could not use the direct form of ‘thou’ or ‘you’ of the English and Greek. The second person pronouns, i.e. *nimca* and *nimcane*,

156-157).

Personal Pronouns	Plain forms	Humble forms	Deferential Forms
1 st	Na	choh	X
3 rd	Demonstrative + <i>-saram</i> Demonstrative + <i>-ae</i>	X	Demonstrative + <i>-i</i> < Demonstrative + <i>-pun</i>

¹⁵ J. Ross, *Corean Primer: Lessons in Corean on All Ordinary Subjects* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1877).

¹⁶ Ross, *Corean Primer*, 227.

¹⁷ Ross classified the first and third person pronouns into singular and plural, but not into inferior, equal, or superiors in contrast to the second person pronouns. He assumed that the first person pronoun, “I” is always transferred into “*ne*” and “we” into “*oori*” (Ross, *Corean Primer*, 227), and that the third person pronouns, “he,” she” and “it” were put into “*de*,” and “they” into “*desaramdul*” (meaning “the people”) (Ross, *Corean Primer*, 227).

are often used between the elderly and especially between spouses of old age. However, because its use as the HSPP was limited to a few people, Korean grammarians had not dealt with it in the HSPP system. Ross' classification would eventually influence Korean honorific systems that were introduced later on.¹⁸

H. G. Underwood, who came to Korea in 1885 as an American missionary and then became one of the pioneering Korean Bible translators, also noticed that the closest equivalent of the second person pronoun was *noh* or *ne*. This word, however, has a low or disrespectful meaning and is used for the most part to refer to inferiors and yet, this is the nearest Korean form of a true personal pronoun of the second person.¹⁹ In contrast to Ross' system, the HSPP Underwood suggested for addressing a superior were *chane*, *tangsin*, and *kong* (meaning "a high-ranking government official"), *rohyung* (meaning "elder brother") and *aurusinne* (meaning "Sir").²⁰ It should be noted, however, that *kong*, *rohyung* and *aurusinne* are not exactly second person pronouns but rather, they are grammatically vocative nouns.

Levels	Second Person Pronouns
Addressing Superior	<i>chane</i> , <i>tangsin</i> , <i>kong</i> ("a high-ranking government official"), <i>rohyung</i> ("elder brother"), <i>aurusinne</i> ("Sir")
Addressing common and inferior	<i>noh</i> / <i>ne</i>

In Underwood's classification, the second person pronouns for addressing superiors involved the contemporary use of various AH and were more elaborate than the work of Ross. Underwood's classification would later form the basis of his Korean Bible translation.

Since the mid 1930's, Korean grammarians started to divide the HSPP into more complex systems. The following chart shows H. B. Choi's classification of the Korean honorific second person pronouns into ①

¹⁸ Certainly Ross had more insight into the Korean honorifics than J. Scott who was in Korea from 1884 to 1893 as a British diplomat. Although Scott dealt with the Korean polite conjugation of verb, he just divided the Korean SPP into singular and plural forms in his writing (J. Scott, En-Moun Mal Chaik, *A Corean Manual or Phrase Book; with Introductory Grammar* [Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1887], 45).

¹⁹ Underwood, *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language*, 41.

²⁰ Underwood, *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language*, 41.

highest, ② high, ③ low, and ④ lowest.²¹

Levels	Second Person Singular Pronouns (Plural)
Highest	<i>Aurusin, Aurun, Tangsin (Tangsinne, Tangsindul)</i>
High	<i>Tangsin (Tangsin-ne, Tangsindul), Keudae (Keudaedul)</i>
Low	<i>Chane (Chanedul)</i>
Lowest	<i>Noh (Noheui)</i>

This system he established greatly influenced the next generation of Korean grammarians.

Some have criticized Choi's categorization claiming that *Tangsin* cannot be used as the highest honorific expression in daily conversations although it may be used in literary dialogue.²² As Ross previously noted, traditional Korean custom does not allow a person of inferior status to directly address a person of a superior social standing with the SPP when speaking and Korean grammarians have recognized this pragmatic phenomena of the HSPP. In addition, there is a question of whether *noh* is used as the low, lowest form or plain form. Generally speaking, it is used as the plain form when addressing an equal or a person of intimate relationship. As a result, in 1964, H. S. Lee²³ classified the HSPP into high and plain forms including the *noh* form. However, in the mid 1970's, I. S. Jeung²⁴ returned to the honorific system framework proposed by H. B. Choi and Choi's system is currently

²¹ H. B. Choi, *Ourimalbon (Korean Grammar)* (Seoul: Jongyon, 1937), 230.

²² J. H. Kim, *Gukeokyeongeobukyeongu (A Study on Korean Honorifics)* (Seoul: Jibmoondang, 1984), 110.

²³ H. S. Lee, *Semoonbeop (New Grammar)* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1968), 128.

Levels	Second person Singular Pronouns (Plural)
High	Rohyung, Tangsin, Aurusine
Plain	Noh, Chane, Keudae

²⁴ I. S. Jeung, *Godeungmalbon (Advanced Grammar)* (Seoul: Singumoonwhasa, 1977), 219.

Levels	Second person Singular Pronouns (Plural)
Highest	Aurusinne
High	Tangsin
Common	Tangsin, keudae
Low	Chane
Lowest	Noh (Noheui)

being used to help categorize modern Korean honorific systems.

III.1.b. Functions of Modern Korean HSPP

As previously mentioned, the classification of honorific forms for second person pronouns is slightly different according to different Korean linguists.²⁵ Still, most Korean linguists agree that there are four main kinds of forms of the second person singular pronoun (plural), i.e. *noh* (*noheuidul*), *chane* (*chanedul*), *keudae* (*keudaedul*) and *tangsin* (*tangsindul*) and the second person plural pronoun *yeoreobun*.²⁶

(1) The plain form of *noh* is used to address or refer to a child or its equivalent. The symmetrical use of *noh* can also occur between two adults who became friends as classmates or in childhood. The use of the nonreciprocal *noh* increases solidarity among members of a family or a specific social group. When such solidarity exists in a teacher-student relationship, the age limit is shifted up to adolescence. In these cases, it is socially unacceptable for the lower-status or younger speaker to use the form *noh* or any other less formal expression when addressing a higher-status or older person. An exception, however, would be in the army where the higher-ranking person, in formal speech, addresses all lower ranking soldiers regardless of age with the *noh* form. In short, the use of *noh* depends on individual style and varies according to the speaker's judgment of the appropriate time and circumstance. A reciprocal *noh* situation develops into a reciprocal *chane* relationship, as members of the dyad grow older.

(2) The reciprocal use of *chane* is normally found between adult male friends. A superior would use the form *chane* to address a much younger adult or adolescent inferior, for example, a father-in-law to a son-in-law. It is also used asymmetrically between superiors and subordinates such as in the relationship between professor and student regardless of gender. Like the *noh* form, the *chane* form is never used by a lower-status or younger speaker to address an elder of a person of higher social status.

²⁵ Choi, *Ourimalbon (Korean Grammar)*, 239-240; Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign Language Education*, 25-37; Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics*, 35-37; Park, *Social Variation and Change in Honorific Usage among Koreans*, 28-30; Sohn, *The Korean Language*, 409-418.

²⁶ All second person plural forms of this section will be observed together with their singular forms.

(3) Similar to *chane*, *keudae* is used asymmetrically between an older person and a younger person. The reciprocal use of *keudae* frequently occurs when a person intends to express their intimate relationship with a person of different gender in literary texts. Since Korea's middle ages, the form *keudae* has functioned as the high form in contrast to the low form *noh*. As a result, it functions as the archaic and refined speech form that a person will use to address friends or an inferior in modern Korean.

(4) As for the *tangsin* form, it is difficult to define one specific usage for this form on the deferential or non-deferential scale since this form can serve the following four functions. 1) First, *tangsin* is frequently used to express scorn or insult during angry arguments or when fighting with the addressee. 2) Second, *tangsin* is also used asymmetrically by a speaker of higher social status to address a person of lower social status when both members of the dyad are adults. 3) Third, *tangsin* also as a reciprocal use that is normally reserved for the relationship between husband and wife, and 4) finally, the *tangsin* form can be regarded as more formal and respectful than *chane*, and grammarians mark the form with +respect. Most Korean linguists have assumed that the *tangsin* form involves not only the +respect function but also the –respect function inducing the addressee to feel anger or insult when used in daily conversation. The function of *tangsin*, however, has been extended to imply +respect according to dynamic changes in honorifics as used by the Korean people.

(5) The second person plural pronoun, *yeoreobun* is the conventionalized form of the honorific expression coming from the compound word, “many people.” *Yeoreobun* is most appropriately paired with the deferential verb ending form in the public speech.

Traditionally a Korean speaker of lower status is not allowed to use any of the SPP to address a person of higher-status. Most Korean linguists have agreed that Korean language lacks a proper SPP of deference in the Korean honorific system. However, even though a speaker does not use a SPP when talking with the addressee, there is no difficulty for the addressee in understanding the speaker's expression in Korean. Thus the honorific phenomenon of the lack of a deferential SPP may reflect the speaker's unwillingness to directly address the hearer.

Interestingly, some Korean speakers may still be offended by the +respect functions of *tangsin* in daily conversations all the while understanding that *tangsin*, which is used often as the deferential form in television drama series or in prayer, reflects and invokes “nearness” and

“intimacy” with the interlocutor regardless of age, gender and social status. This kind of use of *tangsin* is frequently found in poems or in expressions of condolences. In fact, *tangsin* has functioned traditionally as the deferential form of the third person singular pronoun. For this function, *tangsin* is uniquely used to indicate the addressee, who is emotionally close to the speaker, but spatially and geographically distant.

Table 1. The Use of Honorific Forms of SPP

Forms	Functions	Speaker		Addressee
<i>(Yeoreobun)</i>	Deferential	A single speaker		Public audience
<i>Tangsin</i> <i>(Tangsindul)</i>	Deferential	Person of lower social status Younger person Adult relative of lower rank		Person of higher social status Older person Adult relative of higher rank
		Spouse		Spouse
	Non-deferential	Person of higher social status Angry person		Person of lower social status Person being insulted
<i>Keudae</i> <i>(Keudaedul)</i>	Deferential	Refined	Woman (in literary texts) Man (in literary texts)	Man (in literary texts) Woman (in literary texts)
	Non-deferential		Older person	Younger person
<i>Chane</i> <i>(Chanedul)</i>	Non-deferential	Polite	Adult relative of higher rank Male friend Professor	Adult relative of higher rank Male friend Student
<i>Noh</i> <i>(Noheuidul)</i>		Plain	Adults in general Parents Elder siblings Teacher	Children Offspring regardless of age Younger siblings Student up to high school

As shown in the table above, *keudae* is more refined than *chane*, since the *chane* form is more polite only when it is compared with *noh*. However, the *tangsin* form, which is the only deferential form of the Korean SPP, is probably a more respectful form than *chane*. It is worth noting, however, that the use of the above forms is rather fluid and that the chart is flexible according to individual style and/or communicative circumstances.

In accordance with the use of the HSPP, we hereby propose the following HSPP system:

Table 2. A Newly Proposed System of HSPP in Modern Korean Language

Honorific Grade	Formal	Informal
Deferential	<i>Tangsin, Keudae (Yeoreobun)</i>	<i>Tangsin</i>
Non-deferential: Limited General	<i>Tangsin, Keudae</i> <i>Noh</i>	<i>Keudae, Chane</i> <i>Noh</i>

III.2. Korean Honorific Verb Endings

Korean is a verb-final agglutinative language, which abounds in particles of inflectional endings through which verb endings are manifested.²⁷ The HVE is a more complicated system than the HSPP. Verb endings can be used as “relation-acknowledging devices” that indicate the addressee’s social standing.²⁸ In modern Korean HVE, there are up to six kinds of verb endings for Korean honorifics: *-Pnita* (P form); *-yo* (Y form); *-o/-u* (O form); *-ne* (N form); *-ta* (T form) and *-e* (E form).²⁹

Aboji	Kkeyso	Bang	Eh	Dulagasipnita Dulaseyo Dulagasio Dulagasine Dulagasinta Dulagashae
Father	HON-NOM-PARTICLE	room	DAT-PARTICLE	enters-HON-VER-SUFF -(P) FORM -(Y) FORM -(O) FORM -(N) FORM -(T) FORM

²⁷ Song-Bradford, *Reflections of Status and Intimacy in Korean Speech Levels*, 41.

²⁸ They divide the verb into two portions, base and ending, each having two states, deferential and non-deferential. Thus, there can be six possible combinations, each differing in honorific connotations.

²⁹ The rest is the archaic *-naitia* form in the Korean verb endings, although it is still used infrequently in formal writings and ritualistic occasions. It is no longer used in contemporary colloquial Korean (Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education with Reference to Korean and English*, 81; Y. S. Choi-Park, *Aspects in the Development of Communicative Competence with Reference to the Korean Deference System* (Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1978), 28.

-(E) FORM

“(My) father enters (the) room”

As Korean children must use the honorific forms when addressing adults, with the exception of very young children who are unable to use appropriate honorifics or those who have a special intimate relationship with the adult, the speaker must add the honorific nominative particle to the subject and the honorific verbal affix “-*si*” to the predicate verb. In addition, s/he should choose the appropriate honorific verb ending from the six forms shown above.

III.2.a. Historical Survey of Korean HVE Systems

Since the systems of Korean HVE are affected by social dynamics, Korean linguists and grammarians have used different systems to describe their understanding of the verb endings.³⁰ The study of Korean the HVE can be broadly classified into two kinds of approaches: the first emphasizes the vertical grade and, the other, the horizontal grade. Early studies on speech levels have explained these endings in terms of hierarchical systems.

Like the HSPP, Ross and his colleague, MacIntyre, classified the present indicative verb endings into three forms of civility, viz., *ganda*, *gamme*, and *gammuda*.³¹

Meaning	Levels	Honorific Verb endings
Go	Highest	<i>Gammuda</i>
	Middle	<i>Gamme</i>
	Lowest	<i>Ganda</i>

³⁰ The number of verb endings classified by Korean grammarians ranges from as many as six styles (S. E. Martin, “Speech Levels in Japanese and Korean,” 407-415; S. K. Yun, *Honorific Agreement*, Ph.D. Dissertation [Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1993]), some five (W. Huh, *Pyochun moonpup [Standard Grammar]* [Seoul: Shinkoomoonhwasa, 1969]; H. S. Lee, *Semoonpup [New Grammar]* [Seoul: Cjungwoomsa, 1968]), some four (e.g. Choi, *Ourimalbon [Korean Grammar]*), and only two (e.g. J. S. Suh, “A Study of Honorifics of Modern Korean (Hyeondai Gogeuoi Daewoobuk Yeongu),” *A Study on Language* 8:2 [1972]).

³¹ Ross, *Corean Primer*, 3-4; MacIntyre, “Notes on the Corean Language,” 29.

Evidently, their classification depended on dialects of the northwestern province where the Korean translators of their team were from and, therefore, was not enough to explain the phenomena of HVE in those days.³² However, it shows that Ross and MacIntyre have definitely recognized the characteristics of Korean honorifics.

Underwood also realized that all sentences in Korean have been given three forms for addressing inferiors, equals, and superiors.³³

Meaning	Grades	Styles	Terminations	Usages
Do	1	<i>Haopjjioh</i> <i>Hanaida</i> <i>Haopnaida</i>	<i>-opjjioh</i> <i>-naida</i> <i>-opnaida</i> <i>-saopnaida</i>	Honorific terms in the order given.
	2	<i>Haoh</i> <i>Hajjioh</i>	<i>-oh or so</i> <i>-jjioh</i>	Polite form among equals
	3	<i>Handa</i> <i>Hanne</i>	<i>-da</i> <i>-E</i>	Used to servants, children, etc. Used to intimate friends, aged servants, etc.

Underwood also recognized the various HVE but simply divided them into three grades. Like Ross and MacIntyre's system, it was based on the traditional categorical and normative approach of analyzing honorific forms.

Another pioneer translator of the Korean Bible, J. S. Gale (1916), elaborated the system of HVE and added the following classifications: ① P forms as high forms are used in speaking of what is immediately seen or known; ② Y forms are used by servants or children to elders; ③ O forms are used among equals and between friends; ④ Half-talk or E forms lack respectful endings; ⑤ N forms are used as low forms; and ⑥ T forms are used to children, etc.³⁴

Grades	HVE	Forms
The highest forms	<i>-m neda/ opneda, -m neda/sumneda</i>	P
Respectful forms (-in very common use)	<i>-oh, yo</i>	Y

³² We will observe whether MacIntyre and Ross have adopted their system in their Korean Bible translation or not in chapter 4.

³³ Underwood, *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language*, 202.

³⁴ Gale, *Korean Grammatical Forms*, 1-6.

Polite Forms used among friends, equals & c. ³⁵	<i>-jioh, -oh, -so</i>	O
Half-talk forms (Forms lacking respectful ending)	<i>-ji</i>	E
Low forms	<i>-ne, p ne</i>	N
Lowest forms used to children, servant &c.	<i>-n da, nanda</i>	T

Since the mid 1930s, Korean grammarians started to divide the HVE into more levels than the previous systems. A representative modern Korean grammarian H. B. Choi has classified the Korean HVE into ① Highest (P), ② High (O), ③ Low (N), ④ Lowest (T) and ⑤ under the regular grade (E).³⁶ Other Korean linguists also adopted the hierarchical system of speech levels. Table 3 shows a portion of the various systems of honorific verb ending classified by modern Korean linguists.³⁷

Table 3. Hierarchical Systems of Korean Honorifics Verb endings

Forms	S. Martin (1964)	H.S. Lee (1968)	S.J. Chang (1972)	M.S. Lee (1973)	Y. S. Park (1978)	H.M. Sohn (1986)
P	Deferential	Highest	Formal	Highest	Level 1	Formal deference
Y	Polite			General High	Level 2	Informal deference
O	Authoritative	High	Blunt	High	Level 3	Blunt
N	Intimate	Low	Familiar	Low	Level 4	Intimate
T	Plain	Lowest	Plain	General Low	Level 5	Familiar
E	Familiar		Intimate	Lowest	Level 6	Plain

³⁵ We added the term “Polite” to “Forms used among friends, equals & c.” of Gale in order to clarify characteristics of each form.

³⁶ Choi, *Ourimalbon (Korean Grammar)*, 803.

³⁷ Martin, “Speech Levels in Japanese and Korean,” 407-415; Lee, *Semoonpup (New Grammar)*, 98; S. J. Chang, *A Generative Study of Discourse with Special Reference to Korean and English*, Ph.D. dissertation (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1972), 147; M. S. Lee, “Variations of Speech Levels and Interpersonal Social Relationships in Korean,” *Hansan Lee Chong-Soo Paksu Songswu Nonchong (In Honor of Dr. Chong-Soo Lee on his Sixtieth Birthday)* (Seoul: Samhwa Chwulphansa, 1973), 109-142; Choi-Park, *Aspects in the Development of Communicative Competence*, 27-31.

The highlighted cells in the P and Y forms clearly belong to deferential verb endings. The O form is classified into high, authoritative or blunt categories according to linguists. It is not easy to determine whether the O form is deferential or non-deferential in style. The N, T and E forms are classified as low or non-deferential. Table 3 clearly shows that early Korean linguists established a hierarchical structure for the deferential style as shown in the P, Y, O, N, T, and E forms.

C. H. Park, however, established a new system of classifying Korean verb endings.³⁸ Park's distinction between 'plain' and 'formal' influenced later systems of hearer honorifics that were established under the distinction between the formal and informal forms. Nowadays, Korean linguists deviate from the typical hierarchical system of verb endings since they have become more aware of the sociolinguistic analysis of the situations surrounding different conversations.³⁹ These horizontal systems of verb endings are

³⁸ C. H. Park, (*An Intensive course in Korean (Hankukgujorunyeingo)*) (Seoul: Yonsei University, 1964), 34.

	Formal	Half language of formal	Medium	Plain	Half language of Plain
Declarative	<i>P ni ta</i>	-- u/o /a-yo	- n e	- n ta	-- a/ə
Interrogative	<i>P ni ka</i>	-- u/o /a-yo	- n a	- ni	-- a/ə
Propositive	<i>P si ta</i>	-- u/o /a-yo	- s e	- (a)la	-- a/ə
Imperative	<i>P si o</i>	-- u/o /a-yo	- k e	- c a	-- a/ə
Retrospective declarative	<i>P ti ta</i>	-- u/o /a-yo	- t e	- a la	
Retrospective Interrogative	<i>P ti ka</i>		- t e	- ti	

³⁹ J. S. Suh, *Jondiabeb Yungu (A Study on Honorifics)* (Seoul: Hanshinmoonwhasa, 1984), 39.

	Formal	Informal
+ respect	High: -pnita (P) Normal: -o (O)	-yo (Y)
- respect	Normal: -nda (D) Low: -la (L)	-ne (N) -e (E)

J. R. Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education with Reference to Korean and English: Terms of Address and Levels of Deference* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1975).

Verb endings	Formal	Informal
Style 1 (most deferential)	-pnita (P)	-(e) yo
Style 2	-o	
Style 3	-ne panmal	

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Style 4 (most condescending)		
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Park-Choi, *Aspects in the Development of Communicative Competence*, 31.

Verb endings	Formal	Informal
Deferential	P	Y
Quasi-Deferential		O
Familiar		N
Plain	T	E

H. M. Sohn, "'Power' and 'Solidarity' in Korean Language," *Korean Linguistics* (1981), 3.

Verb endings	+ Formal	-- Formal
High	P	Y
Low	T	E

Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics*, 17.

Verb endings	Formal	Informal
Deferential	Pnita (P)	Yo (Y)
Non-deferential: Marked	O (O)	Ne (N)
Unmarked	Ta (T)	E (E)

K. Han, *A Study on the Plain Speech in Korean with Special Reference to the Closing suffixes of Plain Speech* (Seoul: Yonsei University, 1986), 135.

Division Grade	Formal style	Informal style	Division Grade
High	Highest	Plain speech + '-yo'	[+respect]
	High		
Low	Low	Plain speech	[-respect]
	Lowest		

H. S. Kim, *A Sociolinguistic Study of the Modern Korean* (Seoul: Tehaksa, 1991).

Grade	Formal	Intimacy
High	P	Y
	O	
Low	N	E
	T	

K. C. Lee, *Gukeo Jondaibeoprun (The Method of Korean Honorifics)* (Seoul: Gipmoondang, 1992).

Grade	+ Formal	- Formal
+ Respect	P	Y
	O	
- Respect	N	E
	T	

reflective of social changes such as egalitarianism, which resulted from the rise of democracy and diminution of Confucianism. In line with such social changes, recent classifications of verb endings have come to depend on the functional analysis of each verb ending, with consideration for communicative situations.

According to the scholars mentioned above, the P and Y forms are characterized as high, +respect or deferential styles while the O, N, T and E forms are classified as low, -respect or non-deferential styles. The latter forms, however, are used not only for the lower persons but for equals as well. The usage of these styles, therefore, reflects the fact that there is no disrespect or inhospitable verb endings but only non-deferential styles in Korean honorifics. In order to propose a system of modern Korean honorific verb endings, we will consider the functions of each style together with the communicative situation.

III.2.b. Functions of Modern Korean HVE

Formal Speech Styles of HVE

The P form is used to convey informational messages clearly, exactly and efficiently without adding any subjective feeling.⁴⁰ It is the most appropriate form to use in television and radio newscasts, formal lectures, public speeches, business talks, briefings by cabinet ministers at the national

Y. G. Kim, *A Historical Survey on Descriptive Trends of the Hearer Honorific in Korean*, Ph.D. dissertation (Masan: Kyungnam University, 2003), 176-202.

Formal form		Informal form	
Respect form	Polite honorific (hapnida)	Respect form	Haeyo style 1 (+honor, +intimate)
	General honorific (hao)		Haeyo style 2 (+honor, +intimate)
	Inferior honor (hane 1) Polite treatment (hane 2)		Banmal style 2 (+honor, +intimate)
Non-respect form	Non-respect (handa)	Non-respect form	banmal style 1 (-honor, +intimate)

⁴⁰ Suh, *Jondiabeb Yungu (A Study on Honorifics)*, 40; Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics*, 108.

assembly, etc. When it is used in writing, it is the ideal form for use in school textbooks for children of low grade and in business letters. It is also used in formal occasions, conversation between strangers, by young people to their elders, by people of lower social status to those of higher status and also between members of the opposite gender.⁴¹ The P form appropriately functions as the formal deferential style.

The declarative form of O is the least commonly used in daily discourse although the imperative form is frequently used to give directions and instructions in situations such as a policeman ordering a traffic offender to a halt: this is similar to the traffic sign “STOP.” Since the O form is used more in public situations than the informal limited non-deferential N form, the O form may be considered a more formal alternant of the N form.⁴² The interrogative form of O in conversation sounds very “authoritative.” Accordingly, the decision to choose this form depends much on the speaker’s style and attitude. It is a style that is often used by a person of superior status towards people of lower or equal status. The use of the O form can be found between two male adults who have developed some solidarity but not intimacy or friendship. The O form is limitedly used as the formal non-deferential style.

The T form is extensively used in writing, newspapers and magazines, as well as in most textbooks and academic books because it minimizes “the space and the spatio-temporal distance between writer and reader.”⁴³ The symmetrical use of the T form in the everyday dialogues seems to reveal the strong intimacy between the interlocutors. Since the T form is occasionally realized as a formal and very authoritative form in asymmetrical relationships, the E form often substitutes the T form in informal situations. The T form is generally classified as the formal non-deferential style.

Informal Speech Styles of HVE

The Y form has been most widely used as the informal deferential style regardless of age, gender, social position, or the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. This form had been traditionally regarded as the

⁴¹ Suh, *Jondiabeb Yungu (A Study on Honorifics)*, 51.

⁴² Song-Bradford, *Reflections of Status and Intimacy in Korean Speech Levels*, 162.

⁴³ Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics*, 113.

typical characteristic of women’s speech in the central region of Korea, but since 1950, the Y form has become interchangeably used with the formal deferential form P.⁴⁴ Furthermore, this form is frequently used in the informal situations where an elderly person speaks to their young counterpart who is a stranger and in conversation between the opposite genders in daily dialogue.⁴⁵ The Y form usually functions as the informal deferential style.

The N form is reciprocally used among close male adult friends over thirty years old. The form is asymmetrically used by a higher-status speaker to a lower-status adult addressee when there is a certain degree of intimacy between the interlocutors. Speakers of the Seoul dialect, i.e. people using standard Korean language, use the N form less frequently in their daily dialogues.⁴⁶ Thus, the N form is classified as the informal non-deferential style.

The E form is primarily used among children and among close adult friends. The form, the first ending form children learn to use, have been labeled as ‘panmal,’ i.e. “half-language” or “incomplete utterance” in the sense that it lacks deference towards the addressee.⁴⁷ This style reveals special intimacy to addressees of higher status in a private informal situation or intimacy to addressees of equal status, or informality. The E form appropriately shows equality between the interlocutors. The E form is generally used as the informal non-deferential verb ending.

According to the above analyses on the functions of the Korean honorific verb endings, a new system of honorific verb endings is suggested in the table (4) below:

Table 4. A Newly Proposed System of HVE

Verb endings	Formal	Informal
Deferential	<i>-pnita</i> (P)	<i>-yo</i> (Y)
Non-deferential: Limited	<i>-o</i> (O)	<i>-ne</i> (N)
General	<i>-ta</i> (T)	<i>-e</i> (E)

⁴⁴ Cf. Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics*, 122.

⁴⁵ Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education*, 81.

⁴⁶ Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education*, 101.

⁴⁷ Cf. Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education*, 81; Suh, *Jondiabeb Yungu (A Study on Honorifics)*, 82.

IV. Co-occurrence Rule between HSPP and HVE in Korean

The system of AH was proposed horizontally at deferential and non-deferential levels and vertically by formal and informal levels. In a Korean sentence, there is also the co-occurrence rule between HSPP and HVE to consider.⁴⁸ Koreans may determine the overall level of a sentence before making any utterance to a Korean addressee, and then choose a proper HSPP and HVE according to the co-occurrence rule. A highly consistent co-occurrence restriction between the address form and the verb ending is found in all speaker groups.⁴⁹

The majority of pioneering Korean linguists and grammarians investigated honorific expressions whereas only a few scholars dealt with the co-occurrence rule between the HVE and HSPP.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the co-occurrence relationship between the HSPP and HVE is valid for not only daily conversation but translated texts and literature as well. Apart from the appropriateness of individual systems of the HSPP and the HVE, expressions definitely become ungrammatical and sentences awkward when the co-occurrence rule is broken. In order to translate into proper honorifics, it is therefore crucial to observe the co-occurrence relationship between HSPP and HVE.

Like most Korean linguists, Ross never mentioned the co-occurrence rule of AH in his system however the HSPP of his system co-occurs with the HVE and vice versa as shown in the table below:⁵¹

⁴⁸ S. M. Ervin-Tripp calls such sociolinguistic rules as “alternation,” “co-occurrence,” and “sequencing” (cf. S. M. Ervin-Tripp, “On the Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation And Co-Occurrence,” J. Gumperz and D. Hymes, eds., *Directions in Sociolinguistics: Ethnography of Communication* [New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972], 221-227). Among these rules, we will focus on the co-occurrence between honorifics in the same sentence.

⁴⁹ Even among speakers of the youngest age group, there is a co-occurrence restriction between address forms and verb endings with respect to speech levels (Park, “Age Variables in Socio-linguistics,” 126).

⁵⁰ Among Korean linguists, H. B. Choi, K. C. Sung, Choi, and Y. S. Park have dealt with the co-occurrence rule between HSPP and HVE in Korean (cf. Choi, *Ourimalbon* [*Korean Grammar*], 801-815; K. C. Sung, “Gugeo Daewoobup Yeongu [A Study on Korean Honorifics],” *Nonmeunjip* [*A Collection of Papers*] 4 [1970], 51; Y. S. Park, *Hangukeotongsaron* [*Korean Syntax*] [Seoul: Jibmoondang, 1985], 272).

⁵¹ Cf. Ross, *Corean Primer*, 227, 3-4.

Meaning	Grade	Second Person Singular Pronouns (Plural)	HVE
You go.	Highest	Superior always indirectly addressed by his title.	<i>Gammuda</i>
	Middle	<i>Nimca (Nimcane)</i>	<i>Gamme</i>
	Lowest	<i>Ne / nu (Nui)</i>	<i>Ganda</i>

His system displays the typical honorific phenomena, where a speaker cannot indicate an addressee directly with the second person pronoun even though s/he chooses the highest honorific verb ending toward the addressee. However, whether or not his honorific system was proper for readers at that time will be examined in the chapter 5 with specific sample cases derived from the text he translated.

In 1937, H. B. Choi made the first attempt to explain the co-occurrence relationship between HSPP and HVE as follows.⁵²

Levels	Second Person Singular Pronouns (Plural)	HVE
Highest	<i>Aurusin, Aurun, Tangsin (Tangsinne, Tangsindul)</i>	P
High	<i>Tangsin (Tangsinne, Tangsindul), Keudae (Keudaedul)</i>	O
Low	<i>Chane (Chanedul)</i>	N
Lowest	<i>Noh (Nohee)</i>	T

As Y and E forms are under the grades of his honorific system, there is no applicable HSPP related to both forms in his system. *Aurusin* meaning “sir” is not exactly a second person pronoun but a noun. However, *tangsin* that co-occurs with the formal deferential P form becomes the highest honorific form in his system. His honorific system has had a great influence on most honorific systems proposed by other Korean grammarians.

In the 1970s, G. C. Sung dealt with the co-occurrence relationship between the HSPP and HVE including the Y and E forms with the HSPP as follows:⁵³

High	Grade	Highest	P	<i>aurusin</i>
		High	O	<i>tangsin</i>
	Under grade	Common high	Y	<i>aurusin, tangsin</i>
Low	Grade	Low	N	<i>chane</i>

⁵² Choi, *Ourimalbon (Korean Grammar)*, 802.

⁵³ Sung, “Gugeo Daewoobup Yeongu (A Study on Korean Honorifics),” 51.

		Lowest	T	<i>noh</i>
	Under grade	Common Low	E	<i>chane, noh</i>

The classification he developed became the standard honorific system in terms of pragmatic and sociolinguistic usages although *aurusin* was still regarded the highest deferential second person pronoun. Like Sung, some Korean grammarians also assume that there is no HSPP related to the formal deferential P form.⁵⁴ However, in the public speech, the second person plural pronoun, *yeoreobun* is most appropriately paired with the formal deferential P form.

Usages of *tangsin* vary in modern Korean as observed in the previous section. According to relationship between interlocutors and situation, it can co-occur with P, Y, O, E, and T forms as follows:

HSP	HVE	Results of Co-occurrence
<i>Tangsin</i>	P (FD)	Proper (in literatures, or translations, prayers, etc.)
	Y (IFD)	Proper (in a condolence, or in a letter)
	O (FLNonD)	Proper (insult)
	N (IFLNonD)	Improper (ungrammatical expression)
	T (FGNonD)	Proper (Intimate, spouse, insult)
	E (IFNonD)	Proper (Intimate, spouse, insult)

F (Formal), IF (Informal), L (Limited), G (General), D (Deferential), NonD (Non-deferential)

No naming is used more frequently than *tangsin* as the deferential form of SPP in a daily conversation. When choosing the highest deferential form toward the most respectable person in Korean, the following three

⁵⁴ Cf. Y. S. Park investigated that the co-occurrence rule clarifies the relation between address terms and the verb endings of verb endings in a sentence (Park, *Hangeukeotongsaron [Korean Syntas]*, 272).

Level	Address Terms	HVE
6	Kinship term + <i>nim</i> , Title+ <i>-nim</i>	P
5	Kinship term + <i>nim</i> , (Last Name) title+ <i>-nim</i> (or - <i>ssi</i>)	Y
4	(Last Name) title, <i>Tangsin</i>	O
3	<i>Chane</i> , <i>Yeoboge</i> , (Last Name) + <i>-yang</i> , (Last Name) + <i>-gun</i>	N
2	(Name)+ <i>-ee</i> , (Last Name) <i>yang</i> , (Last Name) <i>-gun</i>	E
1	(Name) + <i>-(y)a</i> , <i>noh</i>	T

expressions are all possible—the avoidance of the dative deferential *tangsin* can be naturally accepted by a Korean hearer(s).

S → H (superior): I said to you

1. che-ga tangsin-kke malsseum-deuryeot-ssumnida
I NOM (Hum) you DAT (HON) said VEB (P form)

2. che-ga malsseum-deuryeot-ssumnida
I NOM (Hum) said VEB (P form)

3. malsseum-deuryeot-ssumnida
said VEB (P form)

It is not necessary that all pronouns of the source text in a non-honorific language be rendered into single pronouns in the translated Korean text. Through the analysis of communicative events in the source text, translators can determine whether they should choose *tangsin* as the highest deferential form or no naming with the highest deferential P form. However, it must be remembered that the co-occurrence between *tangsin* and the informal limited non-deferential N form makes a sentence awkward and ungrammatical.

S → H: I said to you

ne-ga tangsin-ege malhed-ne
I NOM you DAT (HON) said VEB (N form)

The N form can appropriately co-occur with *keudae* or *chane* as follows:

S → H (equal or inferior): I said to you

ne-ga keudae-ege malhed-ne
I NOM you DAT (NonHON) said VEB (N form)

ne-ga chane-ege malhed-ne
I NOM you DAT (NonHON) said VEB (N form)

As *keudae* is a more refined expression than *chane*, there is a slight difference that is revealed with a more polished manner of speech. The *keudae* form shows a wider distance between interlocutors than the *chane*

form. It, however, is certain that both *keudae* and *chane* are appropriately correlated with the informal limited non-deferential N form as follows:

HSP	HVE	Results of the Co-occurrence
<i>Keudae</i>	P (FD)	Proper (occasionally in literatures)
	Y (IFD)	Improper
	O (FLNonD)	Proper
	N (IFLNonD)	Proper
	T (FGNonD)	Improper
	E (IFNonD)	Improper

F (Formal), IF (Informal), L (Limited), G (General), D (Deferential), NonD (Non-deferential)

Keudae also occasionally co-occurs with the formal deferential P form as an expression of a person who intends to show an intimate relationship with people of different gender in literatures like poems or novels. On the other hand, *chane* is not correlated with other HVE except the informal limited non-deferential N form.

HSP	HVE	Results of the Co-occurrence
<i>Chane</i>	P (FD)	Improper (ungrammatical expression)
	Y (IFD)	Improper (ungrammatical expression)
	O (FLNonD)	Improper (ungrammatical expression)
	N (IFLNonD)	Proper
	T (FGNonD)	Improper
	E (IFNonD)	Improper

Noh has the co-occurrence relationship with E and T forms as follows:

HSP	HVE	Results of the Co-occurrence
<i>Noh</i>	P (FD)	Improper (ungrammatical expression)
	Y (IFD)	Improper (ungrammatical expression)
	O (FLNonD)	Improper (ungrammatical expression)
	N (IFLNonD)	Improper (awkward expression)
	T (FGNonD)	Proper
	E (IFNonD)	Proper

The integration of the above co-occurrence relationships between HSP and HVE can be proposed in the following system:

Table 5. A Newly Proposed System of the Addressee Honorifics

Addressee Honorifics	Formal	Informal
Deferential	<i>Yeoreobun</i> } <i>Tangsins</i> } + <i>-pnita</i> (P) <i>Keudae</i> }	<i>Tangsins</i> + <i>-yo</i> (Y)
Nondeferential: Limited	<i>Tangsins</i> } + <i>-o</i> (O) <i>Keudae</i> }	<i>Chane</i> } + <i>-ne</i> (N) <i>Keudae</i> }
General	<i>Noh</i> + <i>-ta</i> (T)	<i>Noh</i> + <i>-e</i> (E)

How each form is used within the system is flexible according to the social relationship between interlocutors, the social situation of communicative event, the speaker’s intention, etc. According to these social factors, Korean interlocutors usually choose the HSP and HVE automatically in the daily conversation. Accordingly, if translators do not sufficiently recognize the use of each honorific expression and rules of the co-occurrence that apply, it will be impossible for them to translate into proper honorific forms. The fact that the proposed addressee honorific system will be subject to ceaseless changes according to the social change must be considered. In order to approach the nature of honorifics rather than their phenomena more closely, we will investigate the social factors that influence the selection of Korean AH.

V. Influence of Social Factors on the Choice of Korean Addressee Honorifics

Korean honorific systems have no “ideal-speaker-hearer” distinction in a homogenous speech community but rather correlate with linguistic factors. Korean grammarians have been investigating this phenomenon from a sociolinguistic perspective with the aid of other Asian linguists.⁵⁵ This

⁵⁵ S. Ide stated the social rules of Japanese politeness as the follows: 1) be polite to a person of higher social position; 2) be polite to a person with power; 3) be polite to an older person; and 4) be polite in a formal setting determined by the factors of participants, occasions, and topics (S. Ide, “Japanese Sociolinguistics Politeness and Women’s Language,” *Lingua* 57 [1982], 366-377). Y. Pan explained, “the institutionalized power overwhelms the impact of power based on gender or age in official settings in China” (Pan, “Power Behind Linguistics Behavior,” 463). In case of Korean hearer-based honorification, social factors that

section will deal with the degree of influence and various social dimensions, i.e. addressee's relative age, relative status, relative gender, the degree of familiarity and the formality of situation.

V.1. Relative Age

determine hearer honorifics have been investigated by Korean linguists and grammarians as follows (cf. Martin, "Speech Levels in Japanese and Korean"; Chang, *A Generative Study of Discourse with Special Reference to Korean and English*; Lee, "Variations of Speech Levels and Interpersonal Social Relationships in Korean"; Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign Language Education with Reference to Korean and English*; Park, "Age Variables in Socio-linguistics"; Y. G. Koh, "Hyeondai Gukeoui Jonbibeope Kwanhan Yeongu [A Study of Modern Korean Honorifics]," *A Study of Language* 10:2 [1974]; G. S. Nam, "Gukeo Jondaibeopui Gineung [The Function of Korean Honorifics]," *Cultural Science* 45 [1981]; K. G. Sung, *Hyeondai Gukeoui Dewoobeop Yeongu [A Study of Modern Korean Honorifics]*, Ph.D. Dissertation [Seoul: Seoul National University, 1985]; S. J. Soh, "Sangdai Nopimui Deungbeube Daihayeo [Concerning the Levels of Relative Honorifics]," *Yongbongnonchong* 22 [1993]; K. Han, *Hyeondai Gukeo Banmale Ganwhan Yeongu [A Study on the Plain Speech in Korean]* [Seoul: Yonsei University, 1986]; K. Han, *Hyeondai Woorimalui Nopimbeop Yeongu [A Study on Modern Korean Honorifics]* [Seoul: Yokrak Press, 2002]).

Scholars	Social factors
S. Martin (1964)	Age, gender, social status, & outgroupness.
S.J.Chang (1972)	Kinship, social status, age, familiarity, & psychological relationship of speaker.
Y.G.Koh (1974)	Social position, age, & social relationship of class.
I.S.Lee (1974)	Relative age, relative social status, & degree of familiarity.
M.S.Lee (1975)	Social status, & relative intimacy.
J.R.Hwang (1975)	Social status, communicative scene, & intention of speaker.
Y.S.Park (1978)	Age, & gender.
G.S.Nam (1981)	Age, social status, occupation, gender, & intimate relationship.
K.C.Sung (1985)	Vertical status relationship, horizontal intimate relationship, physical distance, & intention of speaker.
S.J.Soh (1993)	Public factor, private factor, situational factor, & character and ordinary styles.
J.B.Lee (1994)	Interlocutor factors (individual interlocutor factors [=speaker factors: age of speaker, age, status, gender, etc.], hearer factors [age, status, gender], relationship factors [relative age, relative status, relative gender, degree of intimacy]), & situation factors.
K.Han (1986, 2002)	Age, social status, gender, intimacy, kinship, & communicative scene.

‘Relative age’ seems to be the most important and powerful factor in the Korean honorific system. The difference in social class had traditionally governed the choice of addressee however, in contemporary society, age difference has gained particular importance as a social determinant of linguistic choice.⁵⁶ In traditional society, juniors were not supposed to interrupt or offer opinions to elders and “talking back” or “criticizing” elders was taboo.⁵⁷ Although juniors are able to freely express their opinion to elders nowadays, they must still use the expected and appropriate deferential AH forms.

The use of proper AH of juniors, on the other hand, depends on their developmental aspects in the communicative competence. Korean people differentiate the variants of deference in terms of the degree of deference. With increasing age, they are able to perceive more AH.⁵⁸ Children begin to understand the deferential forms according to absolute status, viz. adult vs. child dichotomy and relative familiarity. Children firstly learn the informal general non-deferential *noh* form and the “half language,” the more informal and condescending E form from their parents. After that, they start avoiding using the second-person pronominal pronouns to a superior out of deference and adding the E form to the deferential verb ending *-yo* in several well-defined social contexts. Typically children’s books are written in the deferential P or Y form except for direct quotations of the story character’s familiar talk. Thus, children generally use the informal general non-deferential *noh* and E forms toward a child, and no naming and informal

⁵⁶ Cf. Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education*, 90.

⁵⁷ Cf. Song-Bradford, *Reflections of Status and Intimacy in Korean Speech Levels*, 182.

⁵⁸ J. R. Hwang has indicated that some interpret this phenomenon as the style difference between the young and the old generation because young people tend to use more informal variants, while old people tend to use more formal variants (Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education*, 122). Y. S. Park investigated age difference in the sociolinguistic perception of the variants of verb endings in Korean (Park-Choi, *Aspects in the Development of Communicative Competence*, 117).

Age group	Criteria of discrimination
3-5	67% (absolute status: adult vs. Child)
6-8	71% (general vs. close adult vs. Child)
9-11	62% (honorific vs. familiar)
12-14	75% (degree of deference)
15-18	100% (degree of deference)
24-38	100% (degree of deference)
40-59	100% (levels of speech)

deferential Y form toward an adult in a daily conversation and learn the usage of formal deferential P form.

Adolescents start to learn the various verb endings at school and become capable of differentiating the occasions to use the deferential P and Y forms as endings towards adults in the student-teacher situation. They are also able to perceive the general non-deferential E and T forms as appropriate to use between friends. Generally, however, they are not used to using *tangsin*, *keudae* and *chane*, and the limited non-deferential O and N forms. Although they usually do not use all these forms toward the addressee, they are used to hearing the HSPP and HVE forms as used by a speaker over 30 years old.⁵⁹ Since adults over 30 are equipped with the appropriate command of all verb endings,⁶⁰ they are often judged strictly for incorrect use of verb endings.

Proficiency in using appropriate AH reflects a maturity of socialization. In terms of the competence of speaker, therefore, relative age is by far the most basic factor in order to determine appropriate honorifics to use toward the addressee. Nevertheless, there are also other complicated factors that influence the selection of appropriate AH.

V.2. Relative Status

Relative power or hierarchical status in a formal context is another important factor in determining the appropriate degree of AH.⁶¹ Korean people have been traditionally expected to be more polite to persons of high social status than to those of low social status. In contemporary society, however, honorifics are more dependent upon the subjective judgment of the speaker. Nowadays, the traditional hierarchical relationship can be found in relationships such as employer and employee or teacher and student though

⁵⁹ Young adolescent are not expected to know and use verb endings as proficiently as adults do because they are still in the process of learning to use appropriate verb endings (Song-Bradford, *Reflections of Status and Intimacy in Korean Speech Levels*, 57).

⁶⁰ According to J. R. Hwang, children start talking with friends in the reciprocal use of the T style, and then switch to the N style since they enter their thirties (Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education with Reference to Korean and English*, 113).

⁶¹ M. R. Park has emphasized that “social status ranked the most influential factor in determining the choice, at 47%, with age difference, the second factor, at 30%, and familiarity, the third, at 11%” (Park, *Social Variation and Change in honorific Usage among Korean Adults in an Urban Setting*, 68).

to a lesser extent. Occupational rank is especially important in defining the relationships and is stressed in Korean work situations.

Relative social status, however, is not an absolute factor of asymmetrical speech in a “more egalitarian” society and is considered together with relative age. Both deferential P and Y forms are used absolutely toward higher-ranking adults⁶² whereas the formal deferential P form is not used toward adults of younger higher rank. On the other hand, the general non-deferential *noh* and T or E form refer to the lack of special respect for equal status or lower status people with the exception of older people. The speaker cannot use the general non-deferential *noh* and the T and E forms when communicating with an addressee of older lower rank. In organizations like the military, the asymmetrical use of *noh* and the T style can be observed between a higher-ranking speaker and a low-ranking addressee regardless of the age difference.⁶³

The speaker cannot use AH without considering the social status of the addressee according to social etiquette. In the most formal situation, occupational position or rank is particularly the most salient criterion for determining AH. The difference in social status, however, is limited by relative age and intimacy.

V.3. Relative-gender

Gender is also recognized as another part of the normative framework of honorific speech.⁶⁴ Most Korean linguists have assumed that women speak more politely than men.⁶⁵ The assumption behind this phenomenon has been

⁶² Cf. Han, *Hyeondai Woorimalui Nopimbeop Yeongu (A Study on Modern Korean Honorifics)*, 197.

⁶³ Cf. Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education*, 104-105.

⁶⁴ Most Japanese linguists have also assumed that “Japanese women use a wider and more complex range of honorifics than men, and they are particularly sensitive to the complex contextual factors which determine polite usage” (J. Holmes, *Women, Men and Politeness* [London: Longman, 1995], 22). In order to explain this phenomena, M. Hori has assumed that “this different role-situation is the foremost reason for male/female discrepancy in language use” because expected role-relations in Japanese society are not the same for men and women (Hori, “A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Japanese Honorifics,” 385).

⁶⁵ Hwang claimed that “a male speaker chooses a condescending style in speaking to a younger or lower status female more comfortable than a female speaker does in speaking to younger and/or lower status male” (Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language*

derived from the subservient position of women in traditional society. In the majority of cultures, men's language is "the language of the powerful" and women's language was the language that was "without access to power."⁶⁶ Such sharp distinctions can blur the subtlety and complexity involving gender-differentiated styles and obscure the reasons why women's language developed the way it did.

The change from a traditional patriarchal society to an egalitarian one, however, has obviously benefited women.⁶⁷ In contemporary society, the domains of women's activity have extended to the public realm, which has been traditionally regarded as predominantly male. Although Korean women come across situations where they are still treated with less deference than men of equivalent status and qualification in the workplace, they are increasingly getting a fair opportunity to talk in the educational, professional and public arenas, etc. Accordingly, the AH do not depend on relative-gender but gender distinction.

A speaker customarily tends to use the deferential styles toward people of the opposite gender. Familiarity may be the most decisive factor for both male and female speakers in the choice of AH toward people of the same or younger opposite gender. When the lower status speaker chooses the deferential style, relative-gender does not affect the choice of AH because s/he must choose the deferential style in an asymmetrical relationship. Thus in contemporary society, there is no longer any relative-gender apart from the deferential styles between adults of opposite gender, with the exception of intimate relationships.

Education, 129). R. T. Lakoff remarked women's language shows distance from power or lack of interest in power, rather than subservience and obedience (cf. R. T. Lakoff, *Language and Women's Place* [New York: Harper and Row, 1975]). P. Brown and S. Levinson also pointed out that "one of the characteristic behavior patterns of women in many societies is their 'deferent' self-humbling in front of men, with lowered eyes, shy or embarrassed silence, and kinesic self-effacement" (P. Brown and S. Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 182).

⁶⁶ R. T. Lakoff, *Talking Power: the Politics of Language in Our Lives* (New York: Basic, 1990), 205, 206.

⁶⁷ In traditional society, for instance, the informal limited non-deferential N form was the prevalent form that a husband of aristocratic class used to address his wife, while she responded as the deferential P or Y forms toward her husband. Most husbands in contemporary society, however, use the informal deferential Y form, or the informal general non-deferential E form when speaking to their wives, who respond in the same style.

V.4. Degree of Familiarity

The degree of intimacy between interlocutors is yet another important factor determining the use of Korean AH. Between adult strangers, the rest of the factors do not often determine the choice of AH. The speaker must automatically use a deferential form toward a stranger. More and more, the elderly are giving up their past privilege of addressing young strangers in a condescending style and are now reciprocating the deferential form toward young strangers.⁶⁸

Although distance and familiarity are social factors limited by rank in the workplace, familiarity may be too broad a term to capture “the more dyad-specific nature of honorific use.”⁶⁹ As observed in the previous section, some ‘distance’ persists between two adults of opposite genders.⁷⁰ When a person meets an adult who is not acquainted with her/him, she/he must use the deferential forms toward the stranger regardless of age or social status. Their AH will gradually change to the non-deferential styles as their friendship and intimacy grows.

The use of the formal deferential P form expresses the highest degree of deference toward an addressee and implies the ‘distance’ between the interlocutors. The use of the informal deferential Y form shows more intimacy than using the P form and implies less familiarity between the speaker and the addressee than when using the non-deferential forms. Using the informal limited non-deferential N form with *chane* or *keudae* can show greater intimacy than when using the formal limited non-deferential O form with *tangsin* or *keudae*. The formal general non-deferential T form with *noh* seems to indicate a less intimate relationship than the informal general non-deferential E form. Contempt or insult is conveyed when using a lower addressee honorific than expected. Intimate expression, however, transcends the status recognition and/or relative age, etc.

⁶⁸ Cf. Hwang, *Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign language Education*, 120.

⁶⁹ Park, *Social Variation and Change in honorific Usage among Korean Adults in an Urban Setting*, 69.

⁷⁰ In Korean honorifics, the distinction between ‘out-groupness’ and in-groupness’ is certainly not the axis of classifying verb endings. In case of Japanese honorifics, an officer would place his/her boss and him/herself in the same in-group, using a humble expression to signify the visitor’s superior status because the visitor is an outside (B. Moeran, “Japanese Language and Society: An Anthropological Approach,” *Jprg* 12 [1988], 433).

V. 5. Formality of Situation

Since a speaker's behavior and linguistic choice must be appropriate to the situation, it influences honorific expressions. Recognizing the situation or context of interaction is based upon the degree of formality. Formality can be described by using the deferential forms of AH with men more than women, with distant or non-familiar relationships, with relationships between people of the opposite gender and with public and transactional situations.⁷¹ In private situations, the choice of AH seems to be governed by the existing intimacy, the personal preference and style of the interlocutors and their respective stages of life. Therefore, although two friends reciprocate when using the informal non-deferential forms in an informal everyday-life situation, they would switch to the reciprocal use of the formal deferential form at public meetings.

All honorific expressions are distinguished in circumstances of intimacy and formality. Honorific devices are used less frequently in private context. In contrast, public contexts such as situations involving an audience or interactions between people who are typically unacquainted,⁷² the speakers are usually required to use deferential verb endings. In a formal setting such as courts or ceremonial occasions, speakers tend to focus on the transactional roles rather than personal relationships.⁷³ Failure to adapt AH to the formality of the situation would make the style awkward. The final choice of style, therefore, is affected by the restrictions, which come from the formality of the situation.

Social status is relevant to the verb endings in formal contexts whereas personal interactions are more related to the style used in informal and intimate contexts. Effective use of AH in a public context can serve to enhance the status of the speaker and audience. Korean 'honorification', thus, basically depends on the degree of formality of situations.

⁷¹ Cf. Song-Bradford, *Reflections of Status and Intimacy in Korean Speech Levels*, 189.

⁷² Cf. Y. J. Kim and D. Biber, "A Corpus-Based Analysis of Register Variation in Korean," Biber and Finnegan, eds., *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 178.

⁷³ Cf. Holmes, *Women, Men and Politeness*, 19.

VI. Summary and Conclusion

In order to study honorific phenomena, we focused on the honorifics of the Korean language, which utilizes a highly complicated system. It is worthy to note that there is a difference between the terms ‘honorifics’ and ‘politeness’ in Korean. While the Korean term for ‘honorifics’ appears to relate to forms of language structure toward the addressee, subject or referent, the term for ‘politeness’ involves not only honorifics and softened illocutionary force, but also attitude, mood, behavior and so on. Korean honorifics originated from the stratified social structure based on Confucianism however, the modern use of AH express formality, respect and intimacy rather than differences in social class.

Honorific systems in grammars emerge from patterns of language usages in diachronic processes. Through analyses of current systems of AH, a new system of the honorific second person pronouns and honorific verb endings has been proposed below:

Table 5. A Newly Proposed System of the Addressee Honorifics

Addressee Honorifics	Formal	Informal
Deferential	<i>Yeoreobun</i> <i>Tangsin</i> <i>Keudae</i>	<i>Tangsin</i> + -yo (Y)
Nondeferential: Limited	<i>Tangsin</i> <i>Keudae</i>	<i>Chane</i> } + -ne (N) <i>Keudae</i> }
General	<i>Noh</i>	<i>Noh</i> + -e (E)

The adequacy of the above system has been verified through analyses concerning the function of Korean HSPP and HVE and the co-occurrence relationship rule. In particular, instead of using *tangsin* as the highest deferential second person pronoun, no naming has been emphasized because it has been generally used in daily conversations.

The AH reflect various social dimensions such as addressee’s relative age, relative status, relative gender, degree of familiarity and formality of situation. The speaker has to acknowledge every social factor about the addressee in order to determine the proper honorific. The choice of the speaker’s honorific toward the addressee will lead to the following results as shown in table 6 depending on the context it has been used:

Table 6. Acknowledgement of an Addressee, and Results per Addressee Honorifics

Verb ending	Addressee	Result
Deferential	+Respect addressee	Proper
	-Respect addressee (Younger or Same)	Awkward, joking, flattery, insincerity, or sarcasm (Except higher, opposite gender, stranger or formal situation)
	(Lower or Equal)	(Except older, opposite gender, stranger or formal situation)
Non-deferential	+Respect addressee (Older) (Higher) (Opposite gender)	Rude except strong intimacy in informal situation
	-Respect addressee (Younger Stranger)	Proper except stranger or in formal situation (Authoritativeness or arrogance)

It is appropriate that the speaker uses deferential forms toward +respect addressee, or non-deferential forms toward -respect addressee. The non-deferential forms toward +respect addressee, however, are regarded as a rude expression unless the speaker and the addressee are in an informal situation and have a strong intimate relationship with one another. The use of non-deferential forms toward a younger unacquainted addressee can be also understood as an authoritative or arrogant attitude of the speaker. On the other hand, the deferential forms toward -respect addressee can probably make the utterance awkward or convey joke, flatter, insincerity or sarcasm. These deferential forms, thus, are not appropriate for use toward -respect addressees with the exception of the opposite gender, strangers or formal situations. Nevertheless, there is always some flexibility in the choice of honorific expressions according to the social relationships of interlocutors and the situation of communicative event.

Chapter 2

The Criteria and Framework for the Evaluation of Politeness and Selection of Addressee Honorifics

I. Introduction

The translator for honorific languages must be aware of not only the system of honorifics as linguistic devices but also of the pragmatics of honorifics in appropriate manners such as the discernment of politeness. However, the boundary between politeness and honorifics is fluid and their relationship is complex. While honorifics belongs to a specific grammatical domain of individual language systems and emerges from the patterns of language use in diachronic processes, politeness belongs to the conceptual part of communication.¹ Politeness is related to the context-dependent pragmatics of language and derived from cultural norms and conventions.² Nevertheless, the actual use of honorifics is associated with wider pragmatic as well as sociolinguistic perspectives that take into consideration the social factors influencing the choice of honorifics. Accordingly, the translator of the honorific language must recognize not only the grammatical paradigms of the honorifics but also the syntactic-semantic and pragmatic explanations associated with it.

Recently, there have been many language-internal descriptions in cases related to honorifics but no attempt to establish a specific framework for translating the text of a non-honorific language into proper honorifics. Since the mid-1970s, the pioneer politeness theorists like R. Brown and A. Gilman, R. T. Lakoff, P. Brown and S. C. Levinson, and G. N. Leech investigated the universality of politeness as a concept and the parameters of the politeness phenomena.³ The theories will be useful in establishing a set of criteria and

¹ T. E. Payne uses terms like ‘message-world’ and metaphors like the ‘discourse stage’ to denote that conceptual domain (Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 8).

² A. Asif, “Honorification,” *Annual Rev. Anthropology* 23 (1994), 285.

³ R. Brown and A. Gilman, “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” P. Gigliogli, ed.,

a framework for both the evaluation of politeness and the selection of AH. In addition, recent studies of politeness will also be able to provide valid parameters to analyze the politeness of dialogues and choose the AH with pragmatics and sociological, anthropological and psychological linguistics.

II. Politeness Theories and Criteria for Politeness and Addressee Honorifics

II.1. The Power and Solidarity of Brown and Gilman

In terms of selecting honorifics, which depends on both ‘grammaticality’ and ‘social acceptability’,⁴ many linguists have classified the *T-V* forms of the second person singular pronouns in some Indo-European languages as the honorifics.⁵ In 1972, R. Brown and A. Gilman found that the pronominal *T-V* variants in some Indo-European languages are relevant to ‘power’ and ‘solidarity,’ which are two factors that also determine social and psychological distance.⁶ Power establishes the asymmetrical relationship that characterizes a vertical social distance on the basis of social class, profession, physical strength, wealth, age, gender, etc. The pronoun usage expressing this power relationship is asymmetrical and nonreciprocal thus using the *V* form when addressing and the *T* form when listening. The assertion of inequality in economical, political or social settings is related to other factors like age, the status and gender.

Solidarity determines the horizontal distance, the intimate psychological distance, and is related to possessing similar attributes (e.g., equal power,

Language and Social Context (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 252-282; R. T. Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 9 (1973), 292-305; P. Brown and S. Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987]; G. N. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics* (London: Longman, 1983).

⁴ S. Ide, “Formal Forms and Discernments: Two Neglected Aspects of Universals of Linguistic Politeness,” *Multilingua* 8-2/3 (1989), 227.

⁵ We have clarified the *T-V* forms of the second person singular pronouns in some Indo-European languages as the honorifics in the introduction of this book (cf. B. Comrie, “Politeness Plurals and Predicate Agreement,” *Language* 51:2 [1976], 406-418; Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 107; Shibatani, “Honorifics,” 1600-1608; Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 49).

⁶ Cf. Brown and Gilman, “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” 254.

same family, similar profession, common political persuasion).⁷ Since solidarity assumes closeness and common interests between the interlocutors, this familiarity and formality is relevant in any situation. Thus, while a strictly power-based system is non-symmetric or non-reciprocal in that the inferior is obliged to use the *V* form toward the superior, who replies with the *T* form, the solidarity-based honorifics are symmetric and reciprocal and mutually use the *T* or *V* pronoun.

The choice of *T-V* variants sometimes reflects the attitude or emotion of the speaker as observed by Brown and Gilman:

“In saying *T*, where *V* is usual, the speaker treats the addressee like a servant or a child, and assumes the right to berate him ... The *T* of contempt and anger is usually introduced between persons who normally exchange *V* but it can also be used by a subordinate to a superior. As the social distance is greater, the overthrow of the norm is more shocking and generally represents a greater extremity of passion.”⁸

Power and solidarity provide valid social variables, i.e. power and distance, not only in evaluating politeness but also in determining honorifics.⁹ In fact, Brown and Gilman’s study influenced the work of Brown and Levinson.

II.2. The Politeness Rules of Lakoff

Influenced by the maxims of H. P. Grice,¹⁰ in 1973, R. T. Lakoff

⁷ Cf. Brown and Gilman, “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” 258.

⁸ Cf. Brown and Gilman, “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” 278.

⁹ Cf. P. Ellingworth, who summarized the communicative situations of Matthew and Acts, and roughly classified the conversations into *T*-forms and *V*-forms, dealt with the complicated selection of *T-V* forms in BFC (Société biblique française, 1997) (P. Ellingworth, “‘You Can Say You to Him’: *T*- and *V*- forms in common language translations of the New Testament,” *TBT* 53:1 [2002], 143-153). L. R. Ross argued that uniformly translating into *T* form could give readers “the erroneous impression” that the interlocutors of every dialogue in biblical text are either socially equals or feel a mutual solidarity (Ross, “Marking in Interpersonal Relationships in the ‘Today’s Spanish Version,’” 217-231).

¹⁰ Pioneer politeness theorists have been influenced by the objections raised against the generality and universality of H. P. Grice’s maxims. Grice has suggested that there is a “Cooperative Principle (CP),” whereby interlocutors are expected to make the conversational contribution in line with the accepted purpose of the talk (H. P. Grice, “Logic and

proposed the rules of pragmatic competence: (1) be clear; and (2) be polite. Lakoff is one of the first linguists to consider the inadequacy of grammatical rules and adopt Grice's conversational principles to account for politeness.¹¹ She maintains that while clarity sometimes coincides with politeness it is very often incompatible.¹² The rules of clarity are based on Grice's maxims but the rules of politeness are envisaged as follows:¹³

Rule 1 Don't impose – remain aloof.

Rule 2 Give options.

Rule 3 Make an addressee(s) feel good – be friendly.

Lakoff explains that two or more of these rules may be in effect together, sometimes reinforcing each other. Also, while the three rules of politeness are universal there are different orders of precedence for these rules.¹⁴

Rule 1, "don't impose – remain aloof," can be understood as "don't intrude into other people's business."¹⁵ It means that the speaker asks the

conversation," P. Cole and J. L. Morgan, eds., *Syntax and Semantics* [Baltimore: University Park Press, 1975], 45-46). Grice's theory rests on the assumptions that people are intrinsically cooperative and aim to be as informative as possible in communication (G. Eelen, *A Critique of Politeness Theories* [Manchester & Northampton: St. Jerome Publishing, 2001], 2). Like a Gricean baseline of "ordinary" conversation, politeness theories have attempted to conceptualize the pragmatic force of politeness (Asif, "Honorification," 288). This principle distinguishes the information that has been delivered through the conversation into four categories as follows: (1) quantity (make your contribution as informative as is required, and do not make your contribution more informative than is required.); (2) quality (do not say what you believe to be false, and do not say for which you lack adequate evidence); (3) relation (be relevant); and (4) manner (avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, be brief [avoid unnecessary prolixity], and be orderly) (Grice, "Logic and conversation," 45-46).

¹¹ Cf. B. Fraser, "Perspectives on Politeness," *JPrag* 14 (1990), 223.

¹² If a speaker insists on the addressee(s)' appropriate response, it will violate the politeness rules because a speaker imposes on an addressee(s), destroys their options, and does not friendly treat them (Lakoff, "The Logic of Politeness," 301). In that case, clarity definitely conflicts with politeness.

¹³ Lakoff, "The Logic of Politeness," 298. Later Lakoff rephrased the rules as "formality (keep aloof), deference (give options) and camaraderie (show sympathy)" (Lakoff, *Language and Women's Place*, 1975], 65). According to Lakoff, formality is characterized as a strategy of impersonality, deference as hesitancy, and camaraderie as informality (Lakoff, *Language and Women's Place*, 65).

¹⁴ According to Lakoff, "in American society, R1 takes precedence: one must not impose one's internal workings on someone else. But in Chinese society R3 takes precedence: show appreciation, make the other guy feel good" (Lakoff, "The Logic of Politeness," 304).

¹⁵ Lakoff, "The Logic of Politeness," 298.

permission of the addressee(s) before asking in order to be polite. Rule 2, “give options,” means “let an addressee(s) make their own decision – leave their options open for them.”¹⁶ Rule 2 may operate with Rule 1 since it implies that the person does not impose or intrude: the addressee has freedom to react as s/he wishes. However, while rule 2 is appropriate to the situations in which speaker and addressee are of equal power it is different from rule 1, which assumes social distance between interlocutors.¹⁷

Rule 3, “make an addressee(s) feel good,” establishes a sense of camaraderie between interlocutors where there is “no real friendship.”¹⁸ It also produces a sense of equality between the speaker and the addressee(s) showing solidarity.¹⁹ Rule 1 can be inconsistent with rule 3 since under rule 3 one can give compliments but not under rule 1.²⁰ Thus, rule 3 is incompatible with rule 1 but can coexist with the rule 2 since giving options to an addressee(s) makes them feel good.

The three rules help to analyze the politeness of dialogues and to determine the AH. Rule 1 is related to the social variable of “distance.” The speaker, who is psychologically distant from the addressees, automatically uses the deferential forms. Rule 2 is connected with politeness, which is determined by a speaker’s intention to please or displease and the social variable of “power”. However, it can be irrelevant to the selection of since the speaker may not give options to the addressee(s). Rule 3, “making the addressee(s) feel good,” is the essential element of politeness and the use of honorifics. There are cases that speaker is grammatically and socially obliged to use the deferential forms while making the addressee(s) feel bad or vice-versa. Thus, rule 3 is not always equivalent to the selection of honorifics since honorifics are frequently governed by grammatical obligation whether or not the speaker has a polite intention.

Lakoff thus extended the study of politeness to pragmatics. Though there are critics who point out the limitations of the rules,²¹ the pragmatic rules

¹⁶ Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 299.

¹⁷ Cf. S. K. Yun, “On the Principles of Politeness and Cooperation,” *Studies on English Literature* 45:1 (March, 2001), 186.

¹⁸ Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 301.

¹⁹ Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 301.

²⁰ In fact, Lakoff claimed that the rule 3 seems to be mutually contradictory the rule 1, for instance, giving of compliments is found in the rule 3, but out of place in the rule 1 situations as impositions (Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 301).

²¹ Certainly, there are also some critiques, which point out the limitations of Lakoff’s rules and the inexplicitness: (1) politeness is broader and more complex than the sum of these rules;

are much more important for politeness interpretation than the syntactic and semantic structure.²²

II.3. The Politeness Strategies of Brown and Levinson

Since 1978, many politeness theorists have agreed that Brown and Levinson (henceforth: B & L) established the most comprehensive and elaborate theories.²³ B & L claimed that the notion of ‘face,’²⁴ viz. the public self-image, is universally relevant and stated that communicative activities impose on the face of the addressee(s) and/or the speaker: i.e., they are intrinsically Face Threatening Activities (FTAs).²⁵

The variables for FTA’s that B & L suggest are as follows: (1) the social distance of interlocutors; (2) the relative ‘power’ between them; and (3) their absolute rank (R) in their particular culture.²⁶ Each variable has some cognitive validity and is used to calculate the weightiness of FTA (Wx [Degree of face-threat to be compensated by appropriate linguistic strategy] = D (S [S, H-Distance] + P [H, S-Power] + Rx [Imposition]).²⁷ B & L also suggest the following strategies:²⁸

(2) the rules are not sufficient to capture in entirety of politeness concept; and (3) the definition of politeness, consisting as it does of three kinds of rules, rigidifies the account of Lakoff, etc. (cf. Sifianou, *Politeness Phenomena in England and Greece*, 21).

²² Cf. Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 296; Lakoff, *Talking Power*, 34.

²³ L. Baxter, “An Investigation of Compliance Gaining as Politeness,” *Human Communication Research* 10 (1984), 427-456; H. Clark and D. Schunk, “Polite Responses to Polite Requests,” *Cognition* 8 (1980), 111-143; T. Holtgraves and J. N. Yang, “Politeness as Universal: Cross-Cultural Perceptions of Request Strategies and Inferences Based on Their Use,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 59 (1990), 719-729. The names P. Brown and S. C. Levinson (1978/1987) have become almost synonymous with the word ‘politeness’ itself, though their theory is not the first (Eelen, *A Critique of Politeness Theories*, 3).

²⁴ B & L derive their notion of ‘face’ from that of E. Goffman (1967) and also from the English folk term, which ties face up with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated, or “losing face” (B & L, *Politeness*, 61; cf. E. Goffman, *Interaction Ritual* [New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1967], 5).

²⁵ FTAs are “those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face want of the addressee(s) and/or of the speaker” (B & L, *Politeness*, 65).

²⁶ B & L, *Politeness*, 81.

²⁷ B & L, *Politeness*, 86.

²⁸ B & L, *Politeness*, 94-227.

Chart 1. Politeness Strategies of B & L

Categories	Types	Politeness Strategies
1. Doing an act baldly, without redress	1. The most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way 2. The specifications of Grice's Maxims of Cooperation	
2. Positive politeness	Claim common ground	1. Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods) 2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H) 3. Intensify interest to H ... 8. Joke
	Convey that speaker and addressee are cooperators	9. Assert of presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants ... 14. Assume or assert reciprocity
	Fulfill H's want for some H	15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)
3. Negative Politeness	Be direct	1. Be conventionally indirect
	Don't presume/assume	2. Question, hedge
	Don't coerce addressee	3. Be pessimistic 4. Minimize the imposition, Rx 5. Give deference
	Communicate speaker's want to not impinge on addressee	6. Apologize 7. Impersonalize S and H 8. State the FTA as a general rule 9. Nominalize
	Redress other wants of addressee's	10. Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebteding
4. Off Record	Invite conversational implicatures	1. Give hints ... 10. Use rhetorical questions

	Be vague or ambiguous: violate the manner maxim	11. Be ambiguous ... 15. Be incomplete, use ellipsis
5. Don't do the FTA	'Don't do the FTA' is simply that S avoids offending H at all with this particular FTA. S also fails to achieve his desired communication, and as there are naturally no interesting linguistic reflexes of this last-ditch strategy. ²⁹	

The five categories estimate the risk of face loss in the circumstance thereby determining the choice of strategy.³⁰ The first category, “doing an act baldly, without redress,” may be stated simply: when the speaker wants maximum efficiency s/he will choose the bald-on-record strategy. The next three categories including the strategies are ‘positive politeness’ (roughly, the expression of solidarity), ‘negative politeness’ (roughly, the expression of restraint) and ‘off-record’ (politeness, roughly the avoidance of unequivocal impositions).³¹ Positive politeness strategies emphasize the closeness between the speaker and addressee(s) by confirming or establishing common ground or referring to desirable attributes in the addressee(s). The potential FTAs is minimized since the speaker wants what the addressee’s wants.³² Negative politeness strategies suggest distance and accentuate the addressee(s)’ right to territorial claims and freedom from imposition.³³ “Off-record” is dealt as hints triggered by the violation of Grice’s Maxims.³⁴ The five categories help to analyze the politeness of biblical dialogues and select the AH.

B & L also clearly identify honorifics in their politeness strategies. They describe the honorifics in the negative strategies as, “deference,” and “impersonalize speaker and addressee (address terms as ‘you’ avoidance).”³⁵ Korean linguists have argued the conceptual difference between politeness

²⁹ B & L, *Politeness*, 72.

³⁰ B & L, *Politeness*, 60.

³¹ B & L, *Politeness*, 2.

³² Kasper, “Politeness,” 3207.

³³ Kasper, “Politeness,” 3207.

³⁴ H. P. Grice claimed that the interlocutors may fail to fulfill a maxim in various ways by (1) violating a maxim, (2) opting out from the operation of maxim, (3) being faced by a clash, and (4) flouting a maxim (Grice, “Logic and conversation,” 49).

³⁵ B & L, *Politeness*, 23. In addition, B & L dealt with the *V* form among *T-V* variants as honorifics in the positive politeness strategy, “use in-group identity marker (addressee forms)” (B & L, *Politeness*, 107).

and honorifics³⁶ and determined that politeness is more dependent on the psychology of the individual, who is free to choose among the different levels of indirectness, than honorifics, which is highly concerned with the individual positions in social structure.³⁷ B & L classify deference into two types where the “speaker humbles and abases himself,” and “speaker raises addressee.”³⁸

Japanese and Chinese linguists have also criticized B & L’s universal concept of “face” as a way of referring to a personal self-image since it fails to give a proper account of honorifics. B & L view “face” as an abstract principle underlying the politeness phenomena cross-culturally.³⁹ Y. Matsumoto and Y. Gu have argued that the distinction between positive and negative face is inappropriate for Asian cultures since negative politeness and the avoidance of imposition on the freedom to act are derived from Western Europe’s concept of the individual.⁴⁰ However, B & L appropriately explain the nature of honorifics as direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between interlocutors in the communicative event.⁴¹ They also properly define honorifics in the politeness strategies as “the non-arbitrary nature of polite forms,” and as “the most part ‘frozen’ or grammaticalized outputs of productive politeness strategies.”⁴² In their politeness strategies, honorifics are explained as face-redressive action or as face-preserving

³⁶ C. H. Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics: Deixis and Politeness* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii dissertation, 1982), 128; K. Hijirida and H. M. Sohn, “Cross-cultural Patterns of Honorifics and Sociolinguistic Sensitive to Honorific Variables: Evidence from English, Japanese and Korean,” *Paper in Linguistics* 19:3 (1986), 366.

³⁷ J. R. Hwang, “‘Deference’ Versus ‘Politeness’ in Korean Speech,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 82 (1990), 41-55.

³⁸ B & L, *Politeness*, 178.

³⁹ B & L have introduced that their data come from three languages: English, Mexican, and Tamil in India, while Malagasy, Japanese, and other languages are secondary sources.

⁴⁰ Cf. Y. Matsumoto, “Reexamination of the University of Face: Politeness Phenomena in Japanese,” *JPrag* 12 (1988), 405; Y. Gu, “Politeness Phenomena in Modern Chinese,” *JPrag* 14 (1990), 256. Especially, Matsumoto argued that in Japanese society, the self’s position in relation to other is more important than this individualistic concern with the self’s own territorial claims and is interdependence, not independence (cf. Matsumoto, “Reexamination of the University of Face,” 403-426). Gu also raised a similar objection in his discussion of Chinese notions of politeness. Matsumoto and Gu both argue that politeness behavior cannot be reduced to instrumental considerations issuing from individualistic face wants alone.

⁴¹ Cf. B & L, *Politeness*, 23.

⁴² B & L, *Politeness*, 179, 276.

strategies.⁴³

J. Culpeper, on the other hand, criticized B & L's main premise saying that a threatening face is too emotional and sensitive concept of the self.⁴⁴ Janney & Arndt have pointed out that B & L do not present the specific grade of FTA per each variable; viz., distance (D), power (P), and imposition (R) are results from the inner feelings of the individual.⁴⁵ In fact, social variables cannot be calculated according to the specific numerical values but only inferred by the social relationship of interlocutors. Through the universal concept of 'face', B & L systematically related the politeness phenomena to human intentions in terms of psychology.⁴⁶ Their face threatening potential involves not only the social variables of the speaker's assumption toward the addressee(s) but also the speaker's intention.⁴⁷

K. T. Werkhofer also has indicated that B & L seem to exclude other factors except the initial intention of the speaker.⁴⁸ Their strategies, however, provide the proper frameworks for studying social interaction at multiple levels of politeness and involve both cross-cultural similarities and differences.⁴⁹ Accordingly, the intention can be a crucial key in evaluating the politeness in a certain speech.

There are many critics of B & L, still, it is obvious that their strategies systematically suggest a comprehensive framework for various politeness phenomena and the social variables can be the essential criterion for the evaluation of politeness and the selection of AH.

⁴³ B & L, *Politeness*, 278-279. B & L reasonably explained the realization of deference as two sides to coin, viz. "speaker humbles and abases himself," and "speaker raises addressee" (B & L, *Politeness*, 178).

⁴⁴ J. Culpeper, "Towards an Anatomy of Impoliteness," *JPrag* 25 (1996), 350.

⁴⁵ R. W. Janney and H. Arndt, "Intracultural tact versus intercultural tact," R. J. Watts, S. Ide, and K. Ehlich, eds., *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (Berline: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 138.

⁴⁶ R. W. Janney and H. Arndt, "Universality and Relativity in Cross-Cultural Politeness Research: a Historical Perspective," *Multilingua* 12:1 (1993), 18.

⁴⁷ Cf. M. Jary, "Relevance Theory and the Communication of Politeness," *JPrag* 27 (1998), 6.

⁴⁸ K. T. Werkhofer, "Traditional and Modern Views: the Social Constitution and the Power of Politeness," R. J. Watts, S. Ide, and K. Ehlich, eds., *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 168.

⁴⁹ Holtgraves and Yang, "Politeness as Universal," 719.

II.4. The Politeness Maxims of Leech

In 1983, G. N. Leech dealt with the dichotomy, ‘sense’ (meaning as semantically determined), and ‘force’ (meaning as pragmatically, as well as semantically determined), and the bond between the two.⁵⁰ Force includes sense and is pragmatically derived from it. Leech focuses on the pragmatics, which is in opposition to the formal language system, viz. grammar.⁵¹ In the principles of pragmatics, Leech proposes the maxims for a thorough and detailed analysis of politeness. Grice’s co-operative principle (CP), his ‘politeness principle’ (PP) and ‘irony principle’ (IP) fall under interpersonal rhetoric.⁵² The rhetoric of conversation can be extended beyond Grice’s Cooperative Principle by adding the maxims of politeness.

The ‘Politeness Principle’ (PP), ‘minimize the expression of impolite beliefs’ into six ‘interpersonal maxims,’ as follows:⁵³

(1) TACT MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)	(a) Minimize cost to other [(b) Maximize benefit to other]
(2) GENEROSITY MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)	(a) Minimize benefit to self [(b) Maximize cost to self]
(3) APPROBATION MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)	(a) Minimize dispraise of other [(b) Maximize praise of the other]
(4) MODESTY MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)	(a) Minimize praise of self [(b) Maximize dispraise of self]
(5) AGREEMENT MAXIM (in assertives)	(a) Minimize disagreement between self and other [(b) Maximize agreement between self and other]
(6) SYMPATHY MAXIM (in assertives)	(a) Minimize antipathy between self and other [(b) Maximize sympathy between self and other]

Among the maxims (1)-(4), maxim (1) appears to be a more powerful constraint on conversational behavior than maxim (2), and maxim (3) than

⁵⁰ Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 17.

⁵¹ Cf. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 10. Leech dealt with the grammar as “the formal, or abstract features of a languages and the rules that govern their combination,” as opposed to rhetoric as the “art of effective speech or discourse” (G. N. Leech, *Explorations in Semantics and Pragmatics* [Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1980], 9). In terms of pragmatics, he explained the grammar as “the formal, or abstract features of a languages and the rules that govern their combination,” and the rhetoric as the “art of effective speech or discourse” (Leech, *Explorations in Semantics and Pragmatics*, 9).

⁵² Leech, *Explorations in Semantics and Pragmatics*, 9.

⁵³ Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 132.

maxim (4).⁵⁴ “Tact Maxim” is strategic conflict avoidance and is measured by the degree of effort in avoiding conflict.⁵⁵

Like the parameters of other theorists, Leech’s maxims focus on the pragmatic aspect of politeness. Nature honorifics, implying “the elevation of others” and “denigrating of self”, is associated with (1) Tact ([b] maximizing benefit to other), (2) Generosity ([a] minimizing benefit to self), (3) Approbation ([a] minimizing dispraise of other) and (4) Modesty ([b] maximizing dispraise of self). All the maxims are useful for the analysis of politeness in dialogues.

According to Leech, the kind and amount of politeness that is called for depends on the following situation.⁵⁶

(1)	Competitive	The illocutionary goal competes with the social goal (i.e., ordering, asking, demanding, begging, etc.)
(2)	Convivial	The illocutionary goal coincides with the social goal (i.e., greeting, thanking, etc.)
(3)	Collaborative	The illocutionary goal is indifferent to the social goal (i.e., announcing, reporting, etc.)
(4)	Conflictive	The illocutionary goal conflicts with the social goal (i.e., threatening, etc.)

Leech proposed that the illocutionary functions could be classified into the above categories according to how they relate to “the social goal of

⁵⁴ Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 133.

⁵⁵ Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 109. Leech’s maxims resemble the rules of Lakoff: (1) Tact maxim (‘Minimize cost to other’) with the rule 1 (Don’t impose, remain aloof’); (2) Generosity maxim (‘Minimize benefit to self’) and Agreement maxim (‘Minimize disagreement between self and other’) with the rule 2 (‘Give the addressee his/her options’); and (3) Agreement, Approbation (‘Minimize dispraise of other’) and Sympathy (‘Minimize antipathy between self and other’) maxims with the rule 3 (‘Act as though you and addressee were equal/make him feel good’) (Eelen, *A Critique of Politeness Theories*, 123. R. T. Lakoff, “What You Can Do with Words: Politeness, Pragmatics, and Performatives,” A. Rogers, B. Wall, J. P. Murphy, eds., *Proceedings of Texas Conference on Performatives, Presuppositions, and Implicatures* [Arlington: Center of Applied Linguistics, 1977], 88; Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 132). In addition, Agreement maxim overlaps with B & L’s positive politeness strategy 5, “seek agreement,” and strategy 6, “avoid disagreement” (Cf. B & L, *Politeness*, 107-116). The sub-maxim (b) of Sympathy maxim (‘Maximize sympathy between self and other’) is also closed to B & L’s positive politeness strategy 15, “give gifts to addressee (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation) (Cf. B & L, *Politeness*, 129).

⁵⁶ Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 104.

establishing and maintaining comity.”⁵⁷ The competitive and convivial functions may involve politeness but competitive functions intrinsically “reduce the discord implicit in the competition between speaker wants to achieve and what is ‘good manners.’”⁵⁸ The convivial functions are substantially courteous and more positively polite.⁵⁹ The competitive functions are related to the negative politeness of B & L and the convivial functions take their positive form of politeness. In the category of collaborative illocutionary functions, politeness is largely irrelevant, and in the category of conflictive functions, politeness is out of the question since threats and curses contradict a polite manner.⁶⁰ These varieties of illocutionary functions help classify the situations of dialogues before evaluating politeness.

III. Criteria for the Evaluation of Politeness and the Selection of Addressee Honorifics

As the politeness theories have claimed the pragmatic levels of politeness beyond syntactic and semantic levels,⁶¹ the pragmatic analysis of dialogues is crucial not only for evaluating of politeness but also for selecting AH. According to Lakoff, the three areas of pragmatic behavior for analyzing the meanings of utterances in discourses are as follows:⁶²

- (1) The speaker’s assumptions about the relationship of interlocutors;
- (2) His/her real-world situation as s/he speaks; and
- (3) The intention or wish of the speaker.

Among the areas of pragmatic behaviors proposed by R. W. Janney and H. Arndt, an area is valid to evaluate politeness and determine the selection of AH as follows:⁶³

⁵⁷ Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 104.

⁵⁸ Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 104.

⁵⁹ Cf. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 105.

⁶⁰ Cf. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 105.

⁶¹ See, Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 114.

⁶² Lakoff, *Talking Power*, 296.

⁶³ R. W. Janney and H. Arndt classified the areas of pragmatic behaviors as follows: (1) the type of social activity (e.g., setting, communicative ends, social relationships between the

- (1) The cultural expectation concerning the social activity.

The above can be combined to evaluate politeness in dialogues and the selection of AH. In addition to the politeness concepts and parameters that we have investigated in the previous sections, we will extend the areas of pragmatic behavior to evaluate politeness in the biblical text and select the possible AH as follows:

- (1) Situations of dialogue;
- (2) Social relationship of interlocutors – age, social status, gender, and degree of familiarity;
- (3) Cultural expectation concerning the social activity;
- (4) Social variables of speaker’s assumption toward addressee(s) – power, rank, distance, and intention of a speaker; and
- (5) Paralinguistic politeness.

The social variables of the speaker’s assumption toward the addressee(s) depend on social factors like age, status, gender and familiarity and the situation of dialogue is associated with the formality of situation. Even though the AH is governed by the grammatical obligation, the social variables of speaker’s assumption toward the addressee(s) and the cultural expectation are also related to the selection of AH since the choice of the AH is frequently affected by the psychological aspect of the speaker. The validity of these criteria in Bible translation is proved by the analysis of the specific text in chapter 5.

III.1. Situation of Dialogue

A certain expression may be polite in one social situation but impolite in another. The social situation⁶⁴ of a dialogue is related to the selection of AH.

participants, degree of ratified membership in a social group, the open or closed character of the interpersonal network, etc.); (2) the speech events; (3) the cultural expectations concerning the social activity; (4) the assumptions concerning the information state; and (5) the social distance and dominance relationships in force between the participants prior to the interaction (Janney and Arndt, “Intracultural tact versus intercultural tact,” 51).

⁶⁴ According to R. W. Fasold, the ‘situation’ is composed of setting and the scene: “the setting is about the physical circumstances of a communicative event, including the time and

A basic characteristic of the casual style is found in relative phonetic and grammatical inexplicitness whereas the formal style shows more phonological effort from the speaker, written grammatical explicitness, formal vocabulary, etc.⁶⁵ In written communication, politeness strategies require more strategic consideration and are not as elusive as spoken words.⁶⁶

Other important factors for determining the situation of dialogue are social and cultural context. Impoliteness is more likely to occur in situations where there is an imbalance of power.⁶⁷ Situations involve the mutual assessment of factors like the right to speak in court, silence in church and so forth.⁶⁸ The courtroom provides a socially respectable and legitimate form of verbal aggression.⁶⁹

In most modern cultures, clear-cut distinctions between the strictly formal and informal are blurred. The social situations must be determined according to the characteristics of that society whether it is “age-centric,” “hierarchical,” “patriarchic,” etc.

III.2. Factors of Social Relationship of Interlocutors

A speaker always assesses: (1) age, (2) social status, (3) gender and (4) familiarity in the communicative event. These social factors show recognition of the social system.⁷⁰

In “age-centric” societies, age is the most important social factor not only for evaluating politeness but also in determining AH. Age is associated with power and prestige and the basic social structure relies on age ranks.⁷¹ Even in “non age-centric” societies, the ability to use politeness and

place. The scene is the ‘psychological setting’; what kind of speech event is taking place according to cultural definitions” (R. W. Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Language* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1990], 44).

⁶⁵ Cf. M. Wheeler, “Politeness, Sociolinguistic Theory and Language Change,” *Folia Linguistica Historica* 15 (1994), 160.

⁶⁶ M. Pilegaard, “Politeness in Written Business Discourse: A Textlinguistic Perspective on Requests,” *JPrag* 28 (1997), 241.

⁶⁷ Culpeper, “Towards an Anatomy of Impoliteness,” 354.

⁶⁸ Eelen, *A Critique of Politeness Theories*, 14.

⁶⁹ Culpeper, “Towards an Anatomy of Impoliteness,” 364.

⁷⁰ Cf. Janney and Arndt, “Intracultural tact versus intercultural tact,” 98.

⁷¹ Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 313, 327.

honorifics toward an addressee(s) depends on the age of speaker. Children learn about the dimensions of power, social distance, and degree of imposition,⁷² thus, the age of speaker should be considered with the ability to use politeness and honorifics.

It is universal that a speaker of high social rank has more freedom to be impolite. Status refers to the relative position of the interlocutors in a culture's social hierarchy depending on their social ranking. Various social roles are linked to class and status, which influence linguistic practices.⁷³ The height of social status is proportionate to the grade of power and rank and the width of distance.

Many linguists have agreed that women are more polite and elaborate whereas men are more direct and straightforward.⁷⁴ Men seem to interrupt more freely and talk more than women.⁷⁵ In general, the female style of speech seems to be characterized by less imposition and the tendency to use more standard forms.⁷⁶ No sociolinguistic data, however, shows that women are less 'nonstandard' in casual, relaxed and natural speech.⁷⁷ This should warn us not to exaggerate differences between the genders. Distinctions between male and female speakers should be examined in the context of other social characteristics. Generally, highly stratified societies have patriarchal characteristics and in such societies, important social factors also include age and status.

⁷² C. E. Snow, R. Y. Perlamnn, J. B. Gleason and N. Hooshyar, "Development Perspectives on Politeness: Sources of Children's Knowledge," *Jprg* 14 (1990), 304. Through monitoring one another's polite expressions, children usually amass a vast knowledge about politeness (Kwarciak, "The Acquisition of Linguistic Politeness and Brown and Levinson's Theory," 61). Whenever the children use the proper polite expression, their caregiver encourages them in order to develop their ability in selecting proper politeness or AH. According to L. Hickey, children learn to select politeness according to whatever addressee wants to hear as follows: (a) semantic content as the linguistic politeness; (b) expression of his mood and attitudes; (c) effects or changes he wishes to produce on the hearer's mood, attitudes or actions; and d) desired surface features of the language such as degrees of formality and elegance (L. Hickey, "Politeness Apart: Why Choose Indirect Speech Acts?" *Lingua e Stile* 27:1 [1992], 79).

⁷³ Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 343.

⁷⁴ B. Thorne and N. Henley, eds., *Language & Sex: Difference and Dominance* (Rowley: Newbury House, 1975), 25.

⁷⁵ Thorne and Henley, *Language & Sex: Difference and Dominance*, 16.

⁷⁶ Thorne and Henley, *Language & Sex: Difference and Dominance*, 16.

⁷⁷ M. B. Harris, "When Courtesy Fails: Gender Roles and Polite Behaviors," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 22:18 (1992), 1399- 1409.

Familiarity between the interlocutors is also an important social factor⁷⁸ and has evaluates politeness and determines the AH in the private domain. Close friends are more likely to have similar “face” wants.⁷⁹ Friendship depends on a relationship of equality and the value of openness and typically shares similar status. With interlocutors of close relationship, the unexpected polite expression or the deferential forms of AH are interpreted as disrespectful, inappropriate or arrogant.

III.3. Cultural Expectation concerning the Social Activity

As most politeness theorists have agreed the concept of ‘politeness’ is universal whereas cultural interpretations are not.⁸⁰ Politeness is related to the generational transmission of cultural and sociolinguistic values.⁸¹ Socio-cultural phenomena affect language and how it is used which can have an impact on how socio-cultural phenomena are perceived. Politeness is a mirror of social transformation.⁸² Culture sets values of politeness by conventional rules, which take the form of cultural scripts that people rely on in order to determine the appropriateness of a specific verbal strategy in a specific context.⁸³

Since many traditional cultures have socio-centric characteristics,⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Leech has argued that lack of politeness is connected to intimacy, but the notion relative to politeness is better selected as “familiarity” than “intimacy” (Culpeper, “Towards an Anatomy of Impoliteness,” 352).

⁷⁹ B & L, *Politeness*, 64.

⁸⁰ Janney and Arndt, “Universality and Relativity in Cross-Cultural Politeness Research: a Historical Perspective,” 37; Eelen, *A Critique of Politeness Theories*, 19. B & L say that, although the notion is universal, the exact content of face will differ in different cultures (B & L, *Politeness*, 66-67). Appraisals of politeness will be motivated by cultural determinants of face wants and variable degrees of linguistic conventionalization. On the other hand, they will be affected by culturally colored definitions of the situation, with the result that similar linguistic choices can carry very different values of politeness in the same situation across different cultures (Blum-Kulka, “The Metapragmatics of Politeness in Israeli Society,” 275).

⁸¹ Wheeler, “Politeness,” 169; Blum-Kulka, “The Metapragmatics of Politeness in Israeli Society,” 270.

⁸² Ehlich, “On the historicity of politeness,” 96.

⁸³ Eelen, *A Critique of Politeness Theories*, 13.

⁸⁴ Cf. R. Shweder and E. Bourne, “Does the Concept of the Person vary Crossculturally?” R. Shweder and R. LeVine, eds., *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1984), 158-199.

social position is much more important than social action. For example, aristocratic and court cultures were characterized by concern over etiquette violations and sensitivity to honor, status and rank. In these cultures, individuals are defined by his/her involvement in the social context. The socio-centric concept of personhood subordinates individual wants and needs to the collective good.⁸⁵ All these different conventions for linguistic practices suggest that different meanings are exchanged in these communities.⁸⁶

These cross-cultural studies should be considered with linguistic behavior in the particular context. This avoids using one language as a yardstick against which all others are measured and reduces the risk of an ethnocentric bias.⁸⁷ The interpretation of politeness involves a tension between the intercultural and the ethnocentric. In order to analyze the cultural expectations concerning the politeness of a speaker, literature or reports describing the customs provide specific criteria in a particular cultural context. In order to translate the Bible, these specific criteria must be applicable to the biblical context and to the Ancient East literature relevant to the biblical texts.

III.4. Social Variables of a Speaker's Assumption toward an Addressee(s)

Taking into account the social factors, the speaker then chooses to be polite to the addressee(s). Age, social status, gender and familiarity are proportioned to the grade of power and rank and the width of distance. In order to analyze social variables, the situation of the communicative event and the expectations of the cultural context should be examined. The

⁸⁵ Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 266.

⁸⁶ Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 285. According to Sifianou, for example, handshaking was a welcoming sign of trust and friendliness in ancient Greece: "Handshaking may be accompanied by kissing, embracing, or patting on the shoulder depending on the relationship of the interactants" (Sifianou, *Politeness Phenomena in England and Greece*, 76). Avoiding direct eye contact with the interlocutor in Greece may be considered a sign of distrust, and may lead to inferences of dishonesty. The relationship between physical and social distance is assumed to be "proportional ... in all cultures" (R. A. Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* [Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1980], 135).

⁸⁷ Meier, "Passages of Politeness," 388.

estimation of social variables is dependent on whether or not the society is “age-centric,” “hierarchic” or “patriarchic.” Accordingly, the speaker makes different assumptions about the social relationship of interlocutors.

The social variables that the speaker has to take into account are the same as the variables of Face Threatening Acts (FTA) that Brown and Levinson have suggested: i.e. (1) social distance (D), (2) relative ‘power’ (P), and (3) absolute ranking (R).⁸⁸ However, the social variable cannot be calculated according to the systematic standards for evaluating the politeness of the speaker. Rather, it can only be inferred by the social relationship of interlocutors. In addition, there is the intention of the speaker to successfully interact with the addressee(s). Although exact calculations of social variables are impossible, the intention of the speaker to use the politeness can be inferred through the social factors affected by the social system.

III.5. Paralinguistic Phenomena

Paralanguage is body language, considered to be marginal to language.⁸⁹ Paralanguage includes speaking tempo, vocal pitch, volume and intonation, which can be used to communicate attitudes or shades of meaning. It describes the nonverbal communication that accompanies verbal communication to modify meaning and convey emotion.⁹⁰

Paralinguistic politeness is therefore a decisive factor for the evaluation of linguistic politeness.⁹¹ Paralinguistic phenomena include eye contact, glancing, shrugging, smiling, the tone of voice, taciturnity, silence, laughter, pausing or interrupting.⁹² Although social behavior changes over time, there are “diachronic universals” serving as interpersonal dimensions. Polite behavior reveals a speaker’s intentions, drives, feelings, motives, etc.⁹³

⁸⁸ As reviewed in the section 5.6, three variables are used for calculating the weightiness of FTA (W_x [Degree of face-threat to be compensated by appropriate linguistic strategy] = D (S [S,H-Distance]) + P (H,S-Power) + R_x [Imposition]) (B & L, *Politeness*, 86).

⁸⁹ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 427.

⁹⁰ Cf. S. Robbins and N. Langton, *Organizational Behaviour: Concepts, Controversies, Applications*, 2nd Canadian ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-H, 2001).

⁹¹ It is reasonable for B & L to point out “a rational or logical use of strategies provides a unitary explanation of such diverse kinesic, prosodic, and linguistic usages” (B & L, *Politeness*, 60).

⁹² Blum-Kulka, “The Metapragmatics of Politeness in Israeli Society,” 261.

⁹³ Cf. Janney and Arndt, “Intracultural tact versus intercultural tact,” 31.

The form of paralinguistic politeness bears upon the following discourse etiquette: “don’t shout, don’t show a lack of attention, avoid silence, keep talking and don’t interrupt.”⁹⁴ Silence sometimes leads to a pragmatic impasse when an outsider joins a conversation. The newcomer may find it rude to interrupt the conversation whereas the participants may feel it rude not to give the newcomer a chance to join. Silence implies the performance of a face-threatening act in that it is associated with the lack of consideration or negativity toward the interlocutor.⁹⁵ Laughing is recognized as a very powerful device for minimizing face threat in dialogues.⁹⁶ Through laughing, the interlocutor is freed from the burden of verbalizing a politeness strategy in a particular language.⁹⁷ Pauses are frequently used to express uncertainty about ideas whereas repetitions and filled pauses may reflect knowledge.

Silence, laughter, pauses or interruptions at the wrong time, however, have impolite implications since the speech acts may request a reply, seek permission for speaking, etc. Accordingly, we cannot automatically assume the right to engage in dialogue.⁹⁸ Thus, verbal and nonverbal cues depend on the factors of relationship, speaker’s assumption, situation of dialogue, cultural expectation and paralinguistic politeness. The paralinguistic politeness is not directly connected with the honorific expressions, i.e. the linguistic phenomena but can nevertheless help evaluate politeness and determine the proper AH.

IV. A Framework for the Evaluation of Politeness and the Selection of Addressee Honorifics

Before determining the politeness toward the addressee(s) or selecting the AH, the speaker usually assesses the addressee(s)’ age, social status, gender, familiarity, situation and cultural expectation in addition to power, distance, and rank. The intention of the speakers is related to the speaker’s assumption toward the addressee(s).⁹⁹ These social variables cannot be

⁹⁴ H. Haverkate, “Politeness Strategies in Verbal Interaction: an Analysis of Directness and Indirectness in Speech Act,” *Semiotica* 71 (1988), 60.

⁹⁵ Haverkate, “Politeness Strategies in Verbal Interaction,” 60.

⁹⁶ Werkhofer, “Traditional and Modern Views,” 215.

⁹⁷ Werkhofer, “Traditional and Modern Views,” 215.

⁹⁸ Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 140.

⁹⁹ Cf. R. D’ Andrade, “Culture and Human Cognition,” J. Stigler, R. Shweder, and G. Herdt,

accurately calculated but only inferred from the social relationship of the interlocutors.

The analytical framework provides the valid universal basis for politeness and the selection of AH. The selection of AH depends more on the social relationship than on the intention of speaker since it is determined by grammar and social obligation rather than the speaker's intention. As examined in chapter 1, the speaker is obliged to use the deferential forms to + respect addressee(s) regardless of the speaker's intention. On the other hand, in some dialogues the speaker uses the improper AH to show jest, flattery, insincerity, sarcasm, authority or arrogance. Therefore, in terms of pragmatics, the framework provides the translator analytical filters in evaluating politeness and proposing the selection of AH.

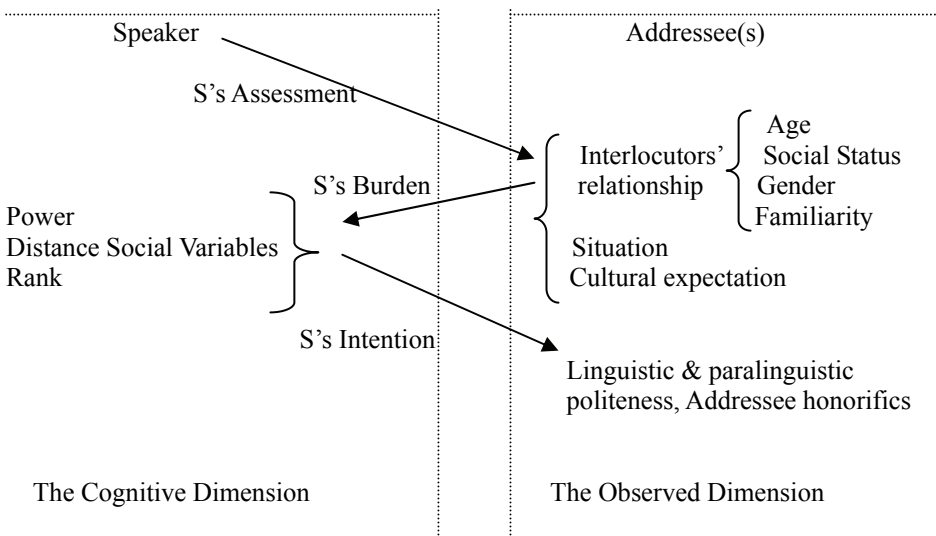


Figure 1. A Framework for the Evaluation of Politeness and the Selection of Addressee Honorifics

Information about the social factors of the biblical interlocutors can be found in both the Bible and the Ancient Near Eastern literature relevant to the Bible. Since the social variables belong to the cognitive dimension of the

speaker, it can be evaluated according to the pragmatic analysis based on exegetical interpretation. The translator, who interprets the social variables and the speaker's intention, evaluates the politeness of the speaker toward addressee(s) and selects the proper AH. The validity of these criteria in Bible translation will be demonstrated in their application to the dialogues in the Greek New Testament.

V. Summary and Conclusion

In order to find some clues to evaluate the politeness of dialogues and select the AH, we have overviewed the politeness concepts and parameters in the pioneer representative politeness theories: the power and solidarity of R. Brown and A. Gilman, the politeness rules of Lakoff, the politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson, and the politeness maxims of Leech. Concerning the pronominal *T-V* forms in some European languages, Brown and Gilman have earlier claimed two fundamental dimensions in the analysis of society: power and solidarity.

Influenced by the Grice's conversation maxims, Lakoff proposed rules of politeness as follows: (1) don't impose – remain aloof; (2) give options; and (3) make the addressee(s) feel good – be friendly. These three rules are useful in analyzing the politeness in the biblical dialogues. Especially, rule 1 provides one of the social variables of speaker's assumption toward the addressee(s), i.e. "distance", for the evaluation of politeness and the selection of AH.

In 1978, Brown and Levinson established the most comprehensive and elaborated strategies of politeness in the following categories: (1) doing an act baldly, without redress; (2) positive politeness; (3) negative politeness; (4) off record; and (5) don't do the FTA. They also suggest valid social variables of FTA's for the evaluation of politeness as follows: (1) social distance (D); (2) the relative 'power' (P); and (3) their absolute ranking (R) in the particular culture.

In 1984, Leech adopted Grice's 'Cooperative Principle' (CP) and presented 'Politeness Principle' (PP), which falls under interpersonal rhetoric and consists of the following set of maxims: (1) tact; (2) generosity; (3) approbation; (4) modesty; (5) agreement; and (6) sympathy. These maxims are useful for the analysis of politeness in dialogues. Leech also proposes that illocutionary functions are classified into the following categories

according to how they relate to “the social goal of establishing and maintaining comity”: (1) competitive, (2) convivial, (3) collaborative, and (4) conflictive. These varieties of illocutionary functions are also helpful in classifying the situations of dialogues prior to evaluating politeness.

Through the overview of the above politeness theories and recent studies, we have proposed a set of criteria as common denominators for the variety of politeness concepts and parameters for the evaluation of politeness in dialogues and the selection of AH: (1) situations of dialogue; (2) factors of the relationship between interlocutors; (3) cultural expectation of social activity; (4) social variables of speaker’s assumption toward addressee(s); and (5) paralinguistic politeness. This set of criteria provides the framework for the evaluation of politeness and the selection of AH.

Chapter 3

Elements and A Framework for the Translation into Addressee Honorifics

I. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we established an integrated framework for the evaluation of politeness and selection of addressee honorifics (AH) in communicative events. However, while this framework is applicable to the pragmatic analysis of the source text, it must also extend to the translation framework in order to accurately translate biblical Greek, which lacks an honorific grammatical system, into the rather complex Korean AH translations since the use of AH inevitably evokes culture-specific relationships in the minds of Korean audiences that cannot be directly determined from the Greek source text.

Many Bible translators have already taken notice of the difficulties of translating into honorifics and those in the Asia Pacific region, in particular, have been dealing with this issue since the 1960s.¹ Although translators are interested in translating into honorific expressions and acknowledge the honorifics-related phenomena in their own languages, it is difficult to find a specific method or framework for translating into AH in Bible translation theories.

In order to propose a framework for translating into AH, we will critically review the following translation theories: literal translation as a traditional translation framework, dynamic equivalence and functional equivalence as major translation theories and literary-functional equivalence and the skopos theory as modern translation theories. We will compare and contrast the theories as they relate to translating into AH and then propose a

¹ A United Bible Societies (UBS) conducted symposium on honorific forms in 1963 dealt with difficulties in translating into honorific languages. The UBS Honorific Committee consisting of four Asian translation consultants was organized in mid 1990 and studies the translation of biblical texts into honorific languages till now.

framework for translating into the most accurate and appropriate AH.

II. Translation Theories and Translating into Addressee Honorifics

II.1. Literal Translation

Despite the development of various translation theories, the polar opposites of ‘literal’ and ‘free’ have always been included in the traditional mainstream translation studies.² The three-term taxonomy set forth by Jerome (AD 395), i.e. word-for-word, sense-for-sense, and free, was the standard until the late medieval/early modern period during which the trichotomy was repackaged as “metaphrase, paraphrase, and imitation” by John Dryden in 1680.³ In the 1970s, John Beekman and John Callow classified the types of translations as “unduly free, highly literal, modified literal, and idiomatic.”⁴ Recently, Mildred L. Larson has suggested the terms “form-based” vs. “meaning-based” as alternative categories.⁵ However, there is a long-standing tradition claiming that the most faithful translation is the literal translation.⁶

When E. A. Nida redefined literal translation in terms of formal equivalence, it was an important turning point for how translators thought about the concept of literal translations. Later, Nida further redefined formal equivalence to formal correspondence on the grounds that literal translation is not equivalent to the source text.⁷ According to Nida, formal correspondence seeks to match the form, wording and syntax of the source

² B. Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation* (Edinburgh Gate: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), xiii.

³ D. Robinson explained the metaphrase and imitation of Dryden: “‘the two extremes which ought to be avoided’, and paraphrase the ‘mean betwixt them’ – the mode of translation which avoids the dangers of both extremes and combine their virtues of fidelity to the original (metaphrase) and TL fluency (imitation)” (D. Robinson, “The Skopos Theory,” M. Baker, ed., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* [London; New York: Routledge, 1998], 166).

⁴ J. Beekman, and J. Callow, *Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishers, 1974), 21.

⁵ M. L. Larson, *Meaning-based Translation: A Guide to Cross-language Equivalence* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984).

⁶ Cf. Robinson, *Becoming a Translator*, 9.

⁷ Nida, *Toward A Science of Translating*, 165-166, 171-176.

text as much as possible⁸ but adapts to the grammatical and stylistic patterns of the receptor language.⁹

Literal translation cannot provide a suitable framework for translating into AH. Simply put, except for the polite marker in the Greek NT, there is nothing at the diction or syntax level similar to any AH.¹⁰ Accordingly, decisions about the AH cannot be based on the lexical and grammatical data of the source languages. If translators provide a strict literal translation, they would limit their use of AH to one form even when the target language may have many different levels of AH, e.g. Korean. Moreover, a translated target text consisting of one single uniform AH would be awkward and flat. If the translators overlook the various kinds of AH available for translation, the sparkle and charm of the original style would be lost and the AH of literal translation would seem unfinished thereby violating the “co-suitability of message and context.”¹¹

Some modern translation theorists assume that formal correspondence and dynamic equivalence approach are polar opposites with all the other translations scattered along the spectrum.¹² As Nida argued against formal correspondence asserting that it had no advantage at all, there is no possibility to adopt it for honorific languages. The literal translation is not an appropriate translation principle for honorific languages.

II.2. Dynamic Equivalence

Nida’s contribution since the 1940s is that equivalence-based translation

⁸ Nida, *Toward A Science of Translating*, 129.

⁹ E. A. Nida and C. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Brill: Leiden, 1969), 201.

¹⁰ According to Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, there is only one polite marker, i.e. kalos (please) in the Greek New Testament (J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed. [New York: United Bible Societies, 1988], 177). Kalos is used as the polite request toward the well-dressed man, “please sit here” (Jas. 2:3).

¹¹ Cf. Nida, *Toward A Science of Translating*, 156-171.

¹² M. Watt, “Redefining ‘Dynamic Equivalence,’” *Notes on Translation* 10:1 (1996), 16; G. J. C. Jordaan, “Problems in the Theoretical Foundation of the Functional Equivalence Approach,” J. A. Naudé & C. H. J. Van der Merwe, eds., *Contemporary Translation Studies and Bible Translation: A South African Perspective* (Bloemfontein: The University of the Orange Free State, 2002), 20.

theories and methods have developed in various aspects of linguistics, anthropology and communication. In the 1960s, Nida also determined that dynamic equivalence approach does not have to be 'free' in order to overcome the weak points of literal translation. According to the dynamic equivalence approach, translating consists in producing in the target language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style.¹³

According to Nida's framework, the naturalness of expression in the target language is essentially a problem of co-suitability on the following levels: "(1) word classes; (2) grammatical categories; (3) semantic classes; (4) discourse types; and (5) cultural context."¹⁴ The naturalness is a crucial condition for proper honorific expressions in honorific languages. If the translated text consists of inadequate honorific expressions, it is both awkward and too unnatural for the readers to comprehend. Thus, the aforementioned levels are related to the naturalness of expression and are relevant to honorific expressions. In particular, discourse type and cultural context are two factors that are connected with the social situation and cultural expectation as the criteria for pragmatic analysis of the source text.

The following three-stage procedure of dynamic equivalence approach is partly useful when translating into AH: (1) analysis, (2) transfer, and (3) restructuring.¹⁵

(1) The analysis deals with the grammatical and semantic aspects of the message. In this stage, Nida and Taber suggest that all levels of language have these associated aspects: "(a) pronunciation, (b) words, i.e. semantic units, including words and idioms, (c) the discourse (this involves connotative reaction to the style of utterance), and (d) themes of a

¹³ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 12. This definition contains three essential terms: "(1) equivalent, which points toward the source-language message, (2) natural, which points toward the receptor language, and (3) closest, which binds the two orientations together on the basis of the highest degree of approximation" (Nida, *Toward A Science of Translating*, 166). The aim of dynamic equivalence translations is to give the same impact to a modern audience as the original text had on its own (S. J. Joubert, "No Culture Shock? Addressing the Achilles Heel of Modern Bible Translations," Naudé & Van der Merwe, eds., *Contemporary Translation Studies and Bible Translation: A South African Perspective*, 31). "A natural rendering must fit (1) the receptor language and culture as a whole, (2) the context of the particular message, and (3) the receptor-language audience" (Nida, *Toward A Science of Translating*, 167).

¹⁴ Nida, *Toward A Science of Translating*, 168.

¹⁵ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 33.

message.”¹⁶ This classification is crucial in order to evaluate the politeness in the source text and translate it into the proper AH. Obviously, the analysis of both the discourse and theme of a message may be related to the situation and the cultural expectation in the dialogue as criteria of pragmatic analysis. Thus, the levels are valid when analyzing the source text but not sufficient as a framework for translating into AH since they neither consider the interpersonal social factors of the interlocutors nor the social variables.

(2) While analysis is the task of understanding the source text, transfer is the process of understanding the very same meaning through the thought and language of another culture. According to Nida and Taber, this is the stage where translators borrow “not only words, idioms, and stylistic devices, but even grammatical forms” by imitating forms of the source language to preserve source content.¹⁷ Since there exists a cultural and linguistic gap between the source and the receptor texts, the translators attempt to bridge this gap through the transfer of the meaning. In this regard, not only the semantic aspect of the source text but also the pragmatics for the interpretation and explanation of utterances must be emphasized in order to translate into AH.¹⁸

(3) The final stage of translation process is the ‘restructuring’ of the transferred meaning. In restructuring the message, it is essential to consider the problems that arise from three perspectives: “(a) the varieties of language or of styles which may be desirable, (b) the essential components and characteristics of these various styles, and (c) the techniques which may be employed in producing the type of style desired.”¹⁹ In order to properly restructure the transferred meaning, Nida and Taber suggest the following sociological factors: “(a) age, (b) sex, (c) educational level, (d) occupation, (e) social class or caste, and (f) religious affiliation.”²⁰ These factors are similar to those used to determine the AH of the target languages but there is insufficient explanation of how these factors are restructured during translation. As a result, it is necessary to use other translation elements.

The following diagram of Nida and Taber’s model²¹ can also be in part

¹⁶ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 96.

¹⁷ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 100-101.

¹⁸ P. Cotterell and M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (London: SPCK, 1989), 19.

¹⁹ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 120.

²⁰ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 127.

²¹ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 22.

extracted for translating into AH:

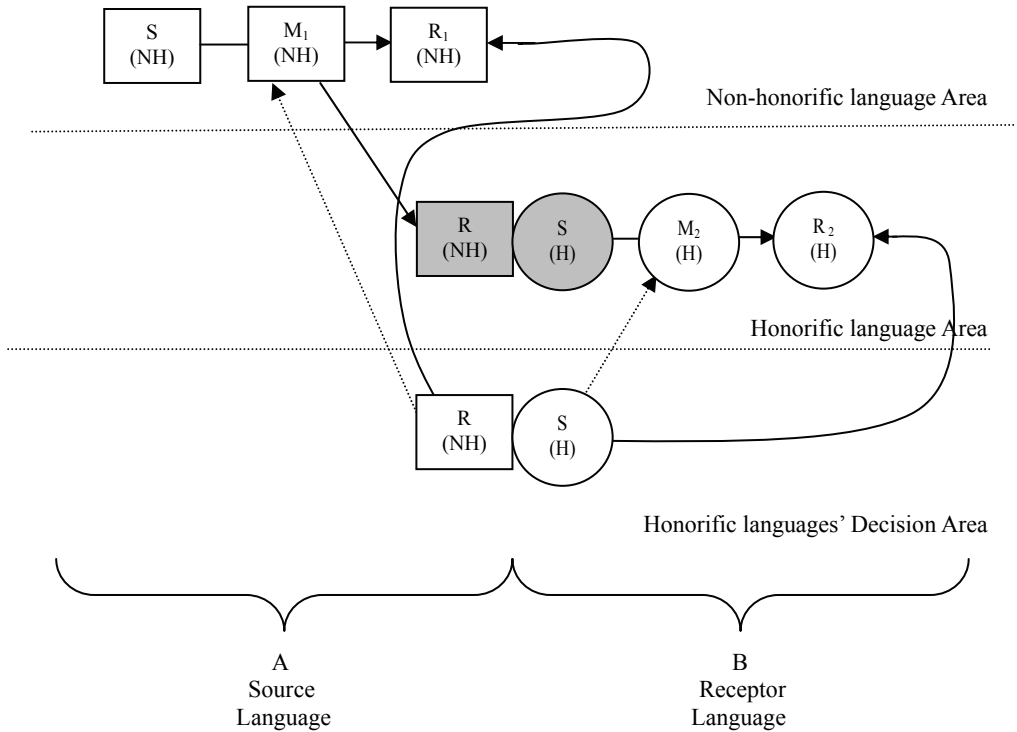


Figure 2. Nida & Taber's Model²² and Translating into AH

At the first level, the source (S) originates the message (M₁), which is directed at the original receptor (R₁). These three elements belong to the non-honorific language. At the second level, the translator, who is both receptor (R) and source (S), receives M₁ and produces a new message (M₂) in a totally different historical-cultural context so that it can be understood by the final receptor (R₂). The translator must at least grasp the honorific system and express the M₂ with honorifics so it can be transferred to R₂. The third level involves the specialist (R) who has access to M₁ and also

²² Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 23.

influences M_2 .²³ The specialist must evaluate the non-honorific M_1 and determine whether it should be expressed in a deferential or non-deferential form.

The model reveals insights that will help establish a framework for translating into AH: (1) Nida and Taber emphasize the difference between the source and receptor language systems, e.g. the difference between non-honorific and honorific languages. (2) There is greater emphasis on the role of translator in this scheme than in the literal translation approach. Finally, (3) this scheme shows that M_2 is a new message according to the historical-cultural differences between the source text and the reader.

This model, however, also presents several problems when it is directly applied to translating into AH: (1) the elements Nida and Taber suggest are insufficient for translating into AH because the translation elements, the source, message and receptor are not enough to determine the translating of a non-honorific language into the proper AH of honorific languages. (2) It is not appropriate for the translator alone to take total responsibility in determining the AH without specific information and the requirements of the 'final receptor.' (3) In this scheme, it is impossible for the source text to be the theoretical starting point for translating into AH since AH does not exist in the source text.

On the whole, dynamic equivalence approach for translating into AH has several weak points: (1) Nida and Taber emphasize the need to avoid awkward expressions in the translated text but concentrate on one kind of translation, i.e. the common language translation in general;²⁴ (2) they also strongly recommend that features of style should somehow be accounted for but do not propose any specific techniques;²⁵ and (3) the requirements of readers and understanding how their linguistic system is influenced by cultural, political and social characteristics must precede the analysis of the source text in the translation procedures.

Dynamic equivalence approach, nevertheless, provides significant elements that can be applied to the framework for translating into AH. The sociological factors and sociolinguistic approach for translation, which Nida and Taber acknowledge and adopt, can be associated with the selection of AH. Finally, it is necessary to analyze discourses in the Greek NT

²³ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 22.

²⁴ Smalley, *Translation as Mission*, 156.

²⁵ Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation*, 24.

exegetically in order to evaluate the politeness of dialogue in the source text and translate into the proper AH in the target text.

II.3. Functional Equivalence

While dynamic equivalence approach is drawn from semantics, sociosemiotics provides important insights to functional equivalence, which was introduced in the 1980's by J. de Waard and E. A. Nida to resolve misunderstandings about dynamic equivalence. The functional equivalence theory is similar to the dynamic equivalence as de Waard and Nida explain.²⁶

The characteristics of functional equivalence approach are useful in establishing a framework for translating into AH because the approach focuses on the total communicative event as a linguistic unit.²⁷ The emphasis of the communicative event within a social context is influenced by a sociosemiotic approach to meaning extending from syntax and semantics to sociolinguistics in the field of Bible translation. Sociosemiotics is not exactly identical with sociolinguistics but overlaps in part:

“While the sociosemiotic approach focuses on the linguistic structures and the codes which provide a key to meaning, the sociolinguistic approach looks to the social structure of the user of the language for keys to the significance of any element in a discourse.”²⁸

The sociosemiotics belongs only to the field of linguistics and cannot provide a sufficient framework for translating into AH, but the total communicative event of functional equivalence is a crucial element for translating into AH.

In functional equivalence, which places a greater demand on the linguistic and literary understanding of translators, the starting point of the translation process is a translator's awareness of the rhetorical structure of the source and target texts.²⁹ Certainly for translating into AH, a translator should understand the overall structures of both the source and target texts. Only the observation of the rhetorical structure of the source text is, however,

²⁶ De Waard and Nida, *From One Language to Another*, vii-viii, 36.

²⁷ Statham, “Dynamic Equivalence and Functional Equivalence,” 106.

²⁸ De Waard and Nida, *From One Language to Another*, 77.

²⁹ Statham, “Dynamic Equivalence and Functional Equivalence,” 105.

in part valid for understanding the discourses.

De Waard and Nida also suggest that sources and receptors never have identical linguistic and cultural backgrounds.³⁰ Accordingly, the translator's task is to keep any loss in the communication process to a minimum. The emphasis on the cultural difference between the source and the receptor text is related to the fact that AH does not exist in the source text but in the receptor text. In addition, they have acknowledged levels of languages, which they classify with formal and informal levels as the basic dimensions of language levels: "the formal/informal dimension there are probably at least five significant levels, often spoken of as ritual, formal, informal, casual, and intimate."³¹ Levels of languages are related to the formality of the social situation among the social factors, which influence the selection of AH. There is also the premise that the level of language must involve the channel capacity of the audience in comprehending the text.³² This is related to the speaker's competence in using honorific expressions.

Nida and his colleagues thus recognize the linguistic problems similar to AH and provide the pivotal elements for analyzing the source text for translating into AH. However, it is not sufficient to establish a proper framework for translating into AH in functional equivalence as in dynamic equivalence.

II.4. Literary Functional Equivalence

A literary functional equivalence (henceforth, LiFE) approach to translation has intensified "the prominent stylistic and rhetorical features of biblical literature," which are not essentially different from the focus of functional equivalence according to E. R. Wendland, who has recently investigated LiFE in the field of Bible translation.³³ The emphasis on the

³⁰ De Waard and Nida, *From One Language to Another*, 42.

³¹ De Waard and Nida, *From One Language to Another*, 12-13. Concerning the level of language, Nida and Taber mentioned roughly as follows: "apart from the level of speech, i.e. formal rather than technical, informal, casual, or intimate, one must also consider the type of audience to which a translation is directed" (Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 94).

³² Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 50.

³³ E. R. Wendland, "A Literary (Artistic-Rhetorical) Approach to Biblical Text Analysis and Translation-with special reference to Paul's letter to Philemon," *JBTR* 16 (2003), 180.

stylistic and rhetorical features in the analysis and translation of the source text is not a new development in other equivalence theories: “A functional approach to style” has been presented in the process of “restructuring” in the dynamic equivalence theory.³⁴

There, however, are several distinctions between the LiFE approach and the previous equivalence theories. The preceding frameworks have usually noted the importance of this human component in “a unilateral, even monolithic sort of way,” i.e. an author or a translator is given the responsibility of translation and the audience is simply passive in the translation process whereas the LiFE approach recognizes that the audience brings to the text “their own distinct expectations, values, norms, biases, experiences, perspectives, and cognitive frameworks, all of which greatly influence the message that they perceive, understand, and ultimately react to.”³⁵ Accordingly, although literary translation remains faithful to the source text, there are limits and definite boundaries that must be set with regard to the rhetorical conventions of the target language.

The term LiFE is not interchangeable with other equivalence theories since a stylistic definition of literature depends on a synchronic study that consists of integration of form, content, and function within a contextual setting.³⁶ If the literal translation, i.e. formal correspondence, is closely associated with the form, dynamic equivalence with content and functional equivalence with function, then LiFE must be an integrated framework of the equivalence theories. Furthermore, the LiFE approach is not only a synthesis of the equivalence theories but also premises on various modern translation theories such as the skopos theory, relevance theory, etc.

Despite the advantages of LiFE, it is limited because its approach focuses on the literary features of translation and possesses several communication possibilities for “particular audience subgroups in specific situations or special settings.”³⁷ Therefore, it may be unacceptable in a public worship service with a general liturgical purpose.³⁸ However, the criteria of a LiFE approach can provide effective elements for the analysis of the source text based on style and genre. The premise of the approach in the

³⁴ E. R. Wendland, *Translating the Literature of Scripture: A Literary-rhetorical Approach to Bible translation* (Dallas: SIL International, 2004), 45.

³⁵ Wendland, *Translating the Literature of Scripture*, 26.

³⁶ Wendland, *Translating the Literature of Scripture*, 82.

³⁷ Wendland, *Translating the Literature of Scripture*, 96.

³⁸ Wendland, *Translating the Literature of Scripture*, 96.

overall translation process is therefore not precisely associated with the framework for translating into AH.

The main characteristics of the LiFE approach provide the analytical criteria for translating into AH:

(1) The LiFE approach emphasizes “a discourse-central, genre-based perspective,” viewing the parts of a text in terms of the linguistic and literary whole.³⁹ Since there are various kinds of genres in the Bible, proper analysis of the source text takes into consideration both the style of discourse and the genre. According to the literary conventions that apply to the genre and setting, the AH in the target text is interchangeable between deferential and non-deferential forms. Also note that the rhetorical intention of the translators affects the AH in honorific languages beyond grammatical rules.

(2) Coherence refers to the underlying semantic and pragmatic aspects of textual connectivity.⁴⁰ There is a general expectation that the deferential and non-deferential forms are not used at the same time and place by the same interlocutors except for specific cases that deal with the speaker such as their psychological change or a particular genre like poetry. If there is no coherence in the dialogue between the same interlocutors in the same situation of a discourse, the translator cannot provide an understandable and appropriate text for the readers. The emphasis of coherence in LiFE is not only valid for special literature in Scripture but also for translating into AH.

(3) In the LiFE approach, the analysis of important literary features, e.g. extensive verbal style, is connected with semantic content and pragmatic intent.⁴¹ The approach adds special attention to the pragmatic end of the “form-content-function translational continuum,” which is related to the socio-cultural circumstance and the interpersonal situation of the production of discourse.⁴² This is an obvious distinction from the previous equivalence theories that do not use the term, ‘pragmatics,’ in their devices. Emphasizing the pragmatic aspect in the use of AH is essential in analyzing the source text and determining the AH in the receptor text.

Like other modern translation theories, LiFE is still developing as an integrated framework. In terms of AH, it can provide a partially effective set of criteria for analyzing the source text but not a complete framework.

³⁹ Wendland, “A Literary Approach to Biblical Text Analysis and Translation,” 228.

⁴⁰ Wendland, “A Literary Approach to Biblical Text Analysis and Translation,” 183.

⁴¹ Wendland, *Translating the Literature of Scripture*, 10.

⁴² Wendland, *Translating the Literature of Scripture*, 191.

Beyond the equivalence approach to translation, the skopos theory among other modern translation theories will be reviewed in order to establish a framework for translating into AH.

II.5. Skopos Theory

Since the 1980s, skopos theory (Greek: ‘purpose’, ‘goal’) has emerged as a modern translation theory, which emphasizes anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, critical discourse analysis and cultural theory.⁴³ The Skopos theory, which emphasizes the interactive dynamics and pragmatic purposes of the translation, was introduced to translation studies by K. Reiss and H. J. Vermeer in the early 1980s and recently developed by C. Nord.⁴⁴ This theory recognizes three major purposes in translation: “communicative purpose aimed by the target text; strategic purpose aimed at using particular translation procedure; and general purpose of the translator.”⁴⁵ In fact, the early skopos theory does not focus on the function of the source text but rather on the purpose of the translation procedure, the target text and the translator. In addition, the intended function of the target

⁴³ J. A. Naudé, “An Overview of Recent Developments in Translation Studies with Special Reference to the Implications for Bible Translation,” Naudé and Van der Merwe, eds., *Contemporary Translation Studies and Bible Translation: A South African Perspective*, 46; B. Hatim and I. Mason, *Discourse and the Translator* (London; New York: Longman, 1990), xi, 8; M. Baker, ed., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 279; P. C. Stine, ed., *Bible Translation and the Spread of the Church: the Last 200 years* (Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1990), vii; A. O. Mojola, “Bible Translation in Africa. What Implications Does the New UBS Perspective Have for Africa? An Overview in the Light of the Emerging New UBS Translation Initiative,” Naudé and Van der Merwe, eds., *Contemporary Translation Studies and Bible Translation*, 210). There are still alternative distinctions of translation: “overt vs. covert translation (Juliane House), between foreignizing vs. domesticating translation (Lawrence Venuti), between linguistic vs. literary (James Holmes), between literal vs. idiomatic (Beekman & Callow), semantic vs. communicative (Newmark), form-based vs. meaning-based (Larson), documentary vs. instrumental (Nord), direct vs. indirect (Gutt), observational vs. participative (Pym), among others” (Mojola, “Bible Translation in Africa,” 209).

⁴⁴ Vermeer, “Übersetzen als kultureller Transfer”; C. Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1997); C. Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation: Theory, Methodology and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation-oriented Text Analysis* (Amsterdam; Rodopi, 1991).

⁴⁵ Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation*, 75.

text—not the function of source text—determines translation methods and strategies.

These features of the skopos theory has been criticized as follows: (1) the skopos theory dethrones the source text, i.e. the source text becomes the servant of the producers of a translated text to communicate with a new audience and (2) a translator can be too free to do whatever he or she likes or what the clients require. Responding to such criticism, Nord formulated “the function-plus-loyalty model.”⁴⁶ ‘Loyalty’ to a text means that the target-text’s purpose should be compatible with the original author’s intentions, so that it limits the range of the target-text’s functions for a particular source text like the biblical text and eliminates the possibility of wrong translations. Accordingly, loyalty commits the translator bilaterally to the source and the target sides.⁴⁷

The focus of the skopos theory, nonetheless, shifts from the source text to the target text for determining the manner and style of translation. In addition, the skopos theory states that translators should be aware that “some goal exists, and that any given goal is only one among many possible ones.”⁴⁸ Such a concept is different from the equivalence approach, which emphasizes equivalent transfer from the source to receptor in a line.⁴⁹ Readers furthermore have no access to the pure thoughts of the original author because they interpret texts through the lens of their own language with their experience, thinking, interests, needs, etc.⁵⁰

As a result, L. de Vries, who applied the skopos approach to the field of

⁴⁶ According to Nord, the function refers to “the factors that make a target text work in the intended way in the target situation,” and loyalty refers to “the interpersonal relationship between the translator, the source-text sender, the target-text addressees and the initiator” (Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity*, 126).

⁴⁷ Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity*, 125.

⁴⁸ The important point is that a given source text does not have one correct or best translation only whenever transferring the meaning or rhetorical function to the audience (H. J. Vermeer, “Skopos and Commission in Translational Action,” L. Venuti, ed., *The Translation Studies Reader* [London: Routledge, 2000], 228).

⁴⁹ In the framework of equivalence translation theory, the target text must be equivalent to the source text as closely as possible, whereas skopos theorists explain that multiple target texts may diverge from the source text according to goals, which are set for each skopos (Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity*, 31; Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation*, 13).

⁵⁰ T. Wilt, *Bible Translation: Frame of Reference* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2003), 8.

Bible translation,⁵¹ points out that “source text underdetermines their possible translations.”⁵² Whenever translating, Bible translators inevitably encounter the problem of “selectivity and underdetermination.”⁵³ In fact, Bible translators working with honorific languages must also always make a selection from various honorific expressions. Perhaps the solution to the problem, which is related to translating into AH, may be “theological and hermeneutic elements that define the notion ‘Bible’ for a given community and that emerge from the specific spirituality of that community.”⁵⁴ Thus, translating the Bible into AH begins with the requirements of the reader, who uses honorific language as target language.

According to D. Robinson, the skopos theory is concerned with “the social network of people, authors, translation commissioners, terminology experts, readers and others.”⁵⁵ C. Nord also presents the client, the source text author, and the target text reader as the initiators and the translators,⁵⁶ and B. Hatim states that translating should be studied as an interaction between author, translator, and reader of the translation.⁵⁷ Thus, there are wider varieties of elements in skopos theory than the equivalence theories. The integrated framework of translation into AH would be composed by the following elements: (1) reader, (2) commissioner, (3) translator, (4) source text, and (5) target text.

III. Translation Elements for the Selection of Addressee Honorifics

III.1. Requirement of Readers

It might be obvious that the success or failure of a translation is

⁵¹ Wilt, *Bible Translation: Frame of Reference*, 15.

⁵² L. De Vries, “Paratext and the Skopos of Bible translations,” W. F. Smelik, A. A. den Hollander, and U. B. Schmidt, eds., *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden, Boston: Brill Publishers, 2003), 176-193.

⁵³ De Vries, “Paratext and the Skopos of Bible translations,” 177.

⁵⁴ L. de Vries, “Theology, Spirituality and the Skopos of Bible Translations: the Case of the Dutch Statenvertaling,” TTW 2003 paper, 1.

⁵⁵ Robinson, *Becoming a Translator*, 192.

⁵⁶ Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation*, 6.

⁵⁷ Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation*, 32.

ultimately decided by whether the readers successfully accept the text or not. All translations are directed at an intended reader because translating means producing a text in a target setting for a purpose. The achievement of the requirement of the readers is the main decisive factor in the production of the target text, but it must be not against the intention of the original author. In Bible translation, the “intention of the reader” must be expanded to include the “intention of the community,” i.e., the past and the present community of believers.⁵⁸ Accordingly, it is essential to identify the exact reader or the reader community before establishing principles of translation.

Concerning the readers, Nida and Taber do not emphasize “the language of a dying generation” as a target for translation but the “speech of the oncoming generation.”⁵⁹ Their priority is to focus on the language of people from “twenty-five to thirty-five years of age”⁶⁰ though there has been a strong opinion that the Bible should not be translated into “ordinary speech.”⁶¹ Rather, the translation of the Church Bible should be shaped by the ritualistic aspect of communication.

In religious writing, it is expected that a certain style and case be used because readers simply attracted more to a text that is aesthetically satisfying than to one that is just easy to understand. In a liturgical setting, old language may be frequently considered natural, understandable and even appropriate, whereas contemporary language may be considered inappropriate and unacceptable.⁶² It is not easy to determine the language level or style since opinions about the translation can vary from being “too literary or not literary enough, too learned or not learned enough, too colloquial or not colloquial enough, too churchly or not churchly enough.”⁶³ The continuum of Bible translations includes “a more or less standard or conventional style

⁵⁸ P. A. Noss, “Dynamic and Functional Equivalence in the Gbaya Bible,” *Notes on Translation* 11:3 (1997), 22.

⁵⁹ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 125.

⁶⁰ Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 182.

⁶¹ Smalley, *Translation as Mission*, 88.

⁶² K. F. De Blois, and T. Mewe, “Functional Equivalence and the New Dutch Translation Project,” Naudé and Van der Merwe, eds., *Contemporary Translation Studies and Bible Translation*, 225. E. C. Sánchez argued that there is the tendency that “the youth may be quite content to use a speech style which in other context they would disdain as being completely out of date” for church services (E. C. Sánchez, “Functional (or, Dynamic) Equivalence Translation,” R. Omanson, ed., *Discover the Bible* [New York: United Bible Societies, 2001], 408).

⁶³ Smalley, *Translation as Mission*, 170.

of the language, obsolescent speech, and obsolete language.”⁶⁴ Accordingly, it is crucial for a translator of an honorific language to be aware not only of the contemporary colloquial honorifics system used by modern readers but also of the traditional honorifics systems used in the ritual religious realm.⁶⁵

Readers comprehend certain discourses in their language with acquired linguistic competence. If the intended readers are children under seven years old, the target text must not include every AH but rather only the limited forms which the children can understand in specific types of text. In short, translating into AH is unavoidably influenced by the readers’ circumstance and relevant social factors such as age, social status, gender, familiarity and so on. In particular, the reader’s situation is related to the purpose of translation, i.e. whether it will be read aloud in churches, family settings, or etc.

III.2. Role of Commissioner

De Vries points out that, “commissioners of translations have certain aims with the translation (intended skopos) but communities of users and buyers of translations expect certain things of translations (expected skopos).”⁶⁶ In consideration of the intended and the expected skopos, the commissioner of translation has to focus on the goals of the project and the definite description of the translation principles and guidelines.⁶⁷ Factors such as the form and style of the translation are greatly influenced impacted by the translation policy, ideological considerations and political decisions rather than by the translator’s individual style.⁶⁸ The commissioner therefore can guide the translator to use a specific AH in a discourse although there

⁶⁴ E. R. Wendland, *Language, Society and Bible Translation: With special reference to the style and structure of segments of direct speech in the Scriptures* (Cape Town: Bible Society of South Africa, 1985), 54.

⁶⁵ There is always an alternative plan to produce at least two versions, a liturgical text and a common language translation in the Christian church because a single translation can never reflect all aspects of the source text. Translations always select certain aspects of the source text and it is the social function, the skopos, of the translation that determines the nature of the translational filter (Cf. de Vries, “Bible Translations: Forms and Functions,” 307).

⁶⁶ De Vries, “Theology, spirituality and the skopos of Bible translations,” 2.

⁶⁷ De Blois and Mewe, “Functional Equivalence and the New Dutch Translation Project,” 217.

⁶⁸ Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation*, 69.

may be several honorific expressions to choose from.

A specific translation policy is thus established through consultation and agreement with the readers' community according to the skopos of the target text: "liturgical and church functions, study function, common language function, secular literary-cultural functions, and private reading or home function."⁶⁹ For translating into AH, the decision of the translation policy or principle has to take into account the socio-linguistic factors, including the readers' age, gender, social situation and ideological orientation, which are the same social factors determining the choice of AH. Accordingly, no matter what the translation principle the commissioner settled on, whether it is literal, free, dynamic equivalence, functional equivalence, or literary functional equivalence, the commissioner must carefully consider the needs of the reader communities and establish an appropriate policy of translation and give the most accurate information to the translator as possible.

If the translated text includes unacceptable or ungrammatical AH, it cannot be used and read within the intended readers. Translation agencies, as a commissioner, must therefore not only support the translation project by setting a certain skopos but also train translation consultants to check translations with an understanding of the principles.⁷⁰ After finishing the translation project, the commissioner distributes the new translation or revised versions to the intended readers.

III.3. Function of Translator

The initial task of a translator is to collect as much information as possible about the readers who will receive the translation. If the translator's assumptions about readers are inaccurate, the translated text will be a failure.

⁶⁹ De Vries, "Paratext and the Skopos of Bible translations," 178. In case of translations where UBS is the commissioner, one of the most important aspects of a translation consultant's work is given as: "to train translators to produce translations that convey accurately and faithfully to the intended readers and hearers the meaning of the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek text of the Bible" (Translation Consultants in the Bible Societies, 2000). Such description focuses on the intended readers with consideration of their situation or capability so that they can grasp the meaning of the translated text. If the reader community requests a certain translated text, UBS or local BS is prepared to assist with a translation principle (C. Gross, "Acceptability – the Supreme Translation Principle?" *TBT* 54:4 (2003), 435.

⁷⁰ M. Watt, "Redefining 'Dynamic Equivalence,'" *Notes on Translation* 10:1 (1996), 18.

The readers' sociocultural expectation and commissioner's organizational frames limit translators' work. Obviously, there exists the interactive relationship between commissioner, translator and source text in which the translator is frequently not only one of the members belonging directly or indirectly to both the readers' community and the commissioners' team but is also the first reader to face the source text.

The translator simply cannot offer the same amount of information in the source text because of the difference between the source text and the target text in terms of the cultures and linguistic systems.⁷¹ However, the interpretation of the source text has a definite influence on the form or style of target text.⁷² The translator selects a certain speech style from the source text, which offers of information, and forms a new AH in the target language according to that information. For translating into AH, the translator should exegetically analyze the social factors, social situation and cultural expectation of the interlocutors in the biblical dialogue. As a result, the translator will be able to realize power, distance and rank as the social variables between the interlocutors and transfer it pragmatically to the target text with honorific language. The translator ultimately seeks to recover stylistic effects by tracing the intentions of the original author of the source text and providing an appropriate translated text to average readers who do not know that the source text lacks an honorifics system.

III.4. Analysis of Source Text

Since the source text does not have any linguistic systems or grammatical morphemes such as honorifics, it is impossible for a translator to render the source text of non-honorific language into the proper AH without a pragmatic analysis of the source text. Accordingly, the source text must be analyzed within the pragmatic framework in the same way

⁷¹ De Vries points out "whenever language patterns of the source that are foreign to the target language are discernible in the translation there is linguistic interference" (De Vries, "Bible Translations: Forms and Functions," 306-319).

⁷² The specific tasks of the translators are as follows: (1) analyzing acceptably and viably the source text; (2) checking whether the translation is really needed; (3) performing a translational action; and (4) advising, actually communicating with the commissioner (cf. Vermeer, "Übersetzen als kultureller Transfer," 276; also Holz-Manttari 1984: 109f quoted in Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity*, 21).

politeness was determined. The criteria of the framework derived from politeness theories are useful in analyzing the source text. Through pragmatic analysis, the social relationships between interlocutors, the formality of the social situation and the cultural expectation concerning the social activity in the dialogue can be perceived. It reveals whether the ancient society of Israel in the biblical period is an egocentric or sociocentric society in addition to whether it was also specifically an age-centric, hierarchic or patriarchic society.

There is the difficulty of chronological distance from the source culture and the translator may not have enough information about what the social factors were like during the writing of ancient texts. Accordingly, through biblical exegesis, hermeneutics, and sociolinguistical and anthropological elements, the translator can penetrate not only the social factors but also the communicative intentions, which are implicit in the source text. As the result, the translator can recognize the social variables, i.e. power, distance and rank between the interlocutors and the intention of the speaker in the biblical dialogues. Through the integrated process of the mutual elements, the source text determines the AH of the target text. Although the intended readers' competence and requirement are initial factors for translating into AH, the analysis of the source text definitely eliminates wrong translations that go against the information of source texts. However, even after this elimination process, there is always more than one translation that is supported by the information in the source text, so that the selection of AH in the target text is ultimately the translator's decision.

III.5. Function of Target Text

The target text displays the translator's final decisions after the dilemmas have already been resolved. The autonomy of the translated text is oriented toward the target culture and redefined by the reader. Accordingly, the function of the target text cannot be exactly the same as that of the source text and some parts of the source text are unavoidably lost in the target text despite its accurate analysis.⁷³ The function of the translated text depends on the requirements of the readers' community and situation of the readers, i.e. the church, home, school, missionary context and so forth.

⁷³ Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity*, 31.

The translator expects that “the target receivers will recognize the intention and receive the text with the desired function.”⁷⁴ If the target text is composed of all kinds of AH for children without considering their linguistic competence or the AH with the archaic style for non-Christians, the function of the target text damages the transfer of the information to the source text. The effect of the stylistic features like the factors of AH is thus expected by a reader of the given text type. It is essential for the target text to not only include information offered by the source text but also to be grammatically correct and read with fluency by the intended readers. The target text is ultimately evaluated in light of the readers’ social situation and cultural context.

IV. A Translation Framework for the Selection of Addressee Honorifics

The framework for translating the source text of non-honorific language into AH is proposed with the aforementioned translation elements. Through the awareness of the intended reader, the commissioner and the translator establish the policy or principle for translating into AH whether the translator belongs to the community or not. The reader is an individual, group or institution that reads the text after it has been produced and the commissioner strives to catch the need of reader with the intended skopos in order to deliver that information to the translator. The translator also works to obtain information concerning reader’s need and must cooperate efficiently with the commissioner.

With the intended skopos, the translator exegetically analyzes the social relationship of interlocutors, the formality of the situation and the cultural expectations concerning the social activity in the dialogues. The analysis, however, focuses on the pragmatic use of language in the source text rather than on the formal, semantic and/or functional correspondences. The result is pragmatically transferred to the cognitive domain as social variables, e.g. power, distance, rank between interlocutors and intention of a speaker. Social variables pictured in the translator’s cognitive concept, i.e. the universal concept, are restructured in the AH of the target text with the expected and the intended skopos.

⁷⁴ Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation*, 153.

A problem that the translator faces is that the honorifics system of reader, commissioner, translator and target text is inherently different from the non-honorifics system of the source text. Accordingly, the translator must have the capability not only to pragmatically analyze the source text as its first reader, but also to fully understand how AH is determined. Whenever the translator selects a form among various AH, elements always get lost in translation.

This integrated framework for translating into AH is mainly based on the skopos theory whereas the detailed elements of translation are determined from the pragmatic framework for the evaluation of politeness and the selection of AH, the translation stages of the dynamic equivalence approach and the criteria of functional equivalence and the literary functional equivalence approaches to translation.

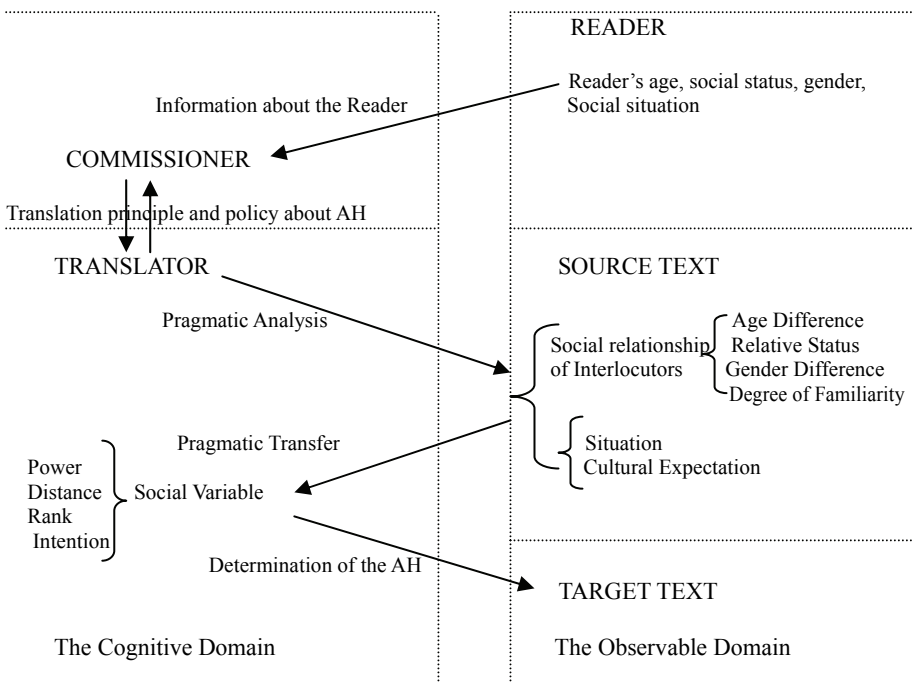


Figure 3. A Framework for the Translation into Addressee Honorifics

In the framework, the cognitive domain involves both the translation policy and principle established by the commissioner and the translator and

also the social variables, which can be recognized through the translator's pragmatic analysis of source text. On the other hand, the observable domain is where everybody can take an objective view of the social condition of the readers, the social factors shown in the source text and the target text given to the readers.

Each element in the framework seems to have straight functions but is actually flexible according to the skopos of the target text. In particular, for translating into the AH of the Church Bible, it is essential to consider the fact that the Bible is used as the canon in Christian communities. There is always tension between the established version, which has been used in the Church with the unchangeable solon style, and new version, which provides to the new generation with the contemporary natural style. The selection of AH in the target text is finally determined by the translator in consideration of the readers' community. The integrated framework is useful for the commissioner to initially establish the translation policy with the specific skopos and, in particular, for the translator to analyze the source text in terms of the pragmatics.

V. Summary and Conclusion

To propose elements and a framework for translating into AH, we critically reviewed the literal translation theory, dynamic equivalence, functional equivalence, literary functional equivalence approaches and the skopos theory. We observed that the literal translation approach which may have denotatively rendered the Greek text, which does not have various AH like the Korean, into a single honorific form, could not provide an appropriate framework for translating into AH. If the target text consisted of one single uniform AH it would be awkward and flat.

In terms of translating into AH, the model of dynamic equivalence approach presents the problems: the translation elements, the source, message and receptor are not enough to determine the translating of a non-honorific language into the proper AH of honorific languages, the translator alone takes total responsibility in determining the AH without specific information and the requirements of the 'final receptor,' and the source text is the theoretical starting point for the translation. Nevertheless, it provides significant three-stages of translation, analysis, transfer, and restructuring, applicable to the framework for translating into AH. In addition, the

sociological factors and sociolinguistic approach for translation that Nida and Taber acknowledged and adopted seem to be connected with the determination of AH. For translating into AH, it must be emphasized not only the semantic aspect of the source text but also the pragmatics for the interpretation and explanation of utterances.

The function equivalence influenced by a sociosemiotic approach extends from syntax and semantics to sociolinguistics in the field of Bible translation. Translating into AH requires multilateral points of sociolinguistic and pragmatic connections between the source and target texts so that the emphasis of the rhetorical structure of text is useful in being aware of the overall structure of the discourse. However, de Waard and Nida just classify according to formal and informal levels, which are the basic dimensions of language levels that influence the selection of AH. Nida and his colleagues thus recognize the linguistic problems for translating into AH and provide the partly valid analytical elements, but do not suggest a proper whole framework for translating into AH in dynamic equivalence and functional equivalence approaches.

Along the lines of the previous equivalence approaches, a literary functional equivalence approach integrates form, content and function, and furthermore relies on various modern translation theories. Still, since the approach focuses on the literature characteristics of translation, there is a limit in providing a sufficient framework for translating into the target text. The analytical criteria, the discourse-central, genre-based perspective, coherence, pragmatic intent are all part of the process to establish a method for translating into AH.

The skopos theory suggests a suitable framework for translating into AH. While the literal translation theory is related to the syntactic area of linguistics, dynamic equivalence to semantics, functional equivalence to sociosemiotics, and the literary functional equivalence to the synthesis of the aforementioned equivalence theories, the skopos theory complements these theoretical frameworks by emphasizing the pragmatic aspect. The skopos theory is different from the equivalence approach, which emphasizes equivalent transfer from the source to receptor. According to the skopos theory, the integrated framework for translating into AH is formulated with the following elements: (1) reader, (2) commissioner, (3) translator, (4) source text, and (5) target text.

The framework for translating the source text of non-honorific language into AH has been proposed with the aforementioned translation elements.

Both the expected skopos and the intended skopos of the translator are crucial elements. Most of all, translation into AH is determined by the linguistic competence, requirement, needs, and theological aspect of the final readers' community. The decision of the translation policy or principle also depends on socio-linguistic factors including the orientation of reader. The translator must get as much information as possible about the readers and pragmatically analyze the source text as the first reader. The framework the translator uses to analyze the source can be derived from framework that evaluates the politeness and selection of the AH. As the result of the analysis, translators will be able to realize power, distance, rank and speaker's intention as social variables, and transfer it pragmatically to the target text with the appropriate honorifics. However, the final selection of AH in the target text is determined by the translator who considers the readers' community insofar as being consistent with the analysis of the source text. Among the various AH, the task of a translator is to select one AH as the common point which is neither against the result of the analysis of source text nor the requirement of the intended readers.

Chapter 4

Addressee Honorifics of Mark 14:58-65 in Korean Translations

I. Introduction

This chapter reviews how major Korean versions¹ have dealt with AH. The focus of the chapter will be to explore to what extent, from a skopos perspective, each Korean version is appropriate, acceptable and understandable for Korean audiences given the linguistic changes that took place in the daily use of AH. The sample text is Mark 14:58-65, which is ideal since it is one of the most difficult pericopes of the Bible concerning honorifics. The AH phenomena in the discourse of Jesus before the Sanhedrin as presented in the Korean translations will be carefully observed in terms of the reader, role of the commissioner, function of the translator, analysis of the source text and function of the target text.

II. Addressee Honorifics of Mark 14:58-65 in Old Language Translations

¹ Since the first Korean portion was translated in 1882, Korean Protestant churches started growing rapidly to about 19.7% of 48 million South Korean people through Bible study movements. About 46.5% of South Koreans have no religion while the percentage of Buddhists is 23.1%, Protestant Christian 19.7%, Roman Catholics 6.6%, Confucianists 0.5%, and others 0.8% (Korea National Statistical Office, “2005 Population and Housing Census Report”). The Protestant church consists of Presbyterian (58.4%), Methodist (10.7%), Full Gospel (10.4%), Holiness (7.7%), Baptist (6.4%) and other denominations (26.4%) (Korean Statistical Information System 2005). From the beginning, translation of the Bible into the Korean language and the distribution of Bibles have led a remarkable growth of Korean Protestant churches along with the Bible study movement. According to the annual report of the Korean Bible Society, 37,921,249 copies of the Bible, 63,701,631 copies of the NT, 75,637,479 copies of Scripture Portions have been distributed in Korea from 1883 to 2007 (the Annual Report of the Korean Bible Society 2007).

It is debatable when the Biblical text was first translated into Korean. The earliest recorded visit of a Protestant missionary to Korea is that of K. F. Gützlaff, an agent of the Netherlands Bible Society on July 1832.² While traveling along the coasts of Korea for about a month in 1832, he translated the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:9-13) into Korean, and distributed the prayer books to the Korean people.³ It is obvious that Gützlaff intended to introduce Korea to missionaries who would be going to Korea in the near future, but that is not enough to say that his writing is the first Korean translation. On September 1865, R. J. Thomas who was an agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland (henceforth: NBSS) visited the west coast of Korea, and distributed Chinese Bibles to Korean people.⁴ In 1866, Thomas volunteered to go to Korea and got on board the General Sherman, but was murdered with all on board when the vessel grounded in the Taidong.⁵ As the Scriptures Thomas distributed were not Korea translations but Chinese ones, the first attempt of translating scriptures into Korean was undertaken by J. Ross in 1873.

² The records of K. F. Gützlaff state him as "an accomplished scholar, with a most remarkable ability for the acquirement of languages, a qualified doctor, and a man of extraordinary enterprise and resource" (T. Hobbs, "Pioneers," *KMF* [May, 1938], 90). He made contributions in the translation of Scriptures into Siamese, Chinese and Japanese. His translation of the Gospel according to John into Japanese was published in Singapore in 1838.

³ It is preserved at a Chinese repository under the title of "Remarks on the Korean Language" (Hobbs, "Pioneers," 90). In his paper, he made scientific observations on Chinese characters, grammar, transliteration, and the Korean language in Korea. K. F. Gützlaff, "Notes on the Corean Language," *The Chinese Repository* I (Nov. 1832), "The Corean Syllabary," *The Chinese Repository* II (1833), "Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China" in 1831, 1832 and 1833 (London, 1834).

⁴ Before then, in Peking (now Beijing), he met the annual Korean embassy to the Emperor of China and distributed Bibles, which they brought back to Korea (Hobbs, "Pioneers," 90).

⁵ Cf. "H. Loomis' letter to E. W. Gilman, August 29, 1884," I. S. D. Oak and M. Y. Yi, eds., trans., *Document of the History of Korean Bible Society*, Vol. 1: Correspondence of John Ross and Correspondence of Henry Loomis (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 2004), 355. Thomas became the first Protestant martyr for Korean mission. It is reported that Thomas left by the boat with a Bible in his hand, and when he reached the shore, he humbly knelt and offered it to a soldier who stood ready to strike him down. The soldier hesitated, then struck the fatal blow. Afterwards, he picked up the Bible and took it home (Hobbs, "Pioneers," 91). Near to spot where this first and only Protestant martyr in Korea died stands the Thomas Memorial Church erected by Korean Christians in 1932 (Hobbs, "Pioneers," 91).

II.1. *The Corean New Testament (1887)*

The first Korean Gospel translation can be accurately dated to 1873. John Ross, a missionary to Manchuria sent by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, took up residence in Mukden in 1872. Ross made the long journey from the port of Newchwang to “The Gate of Korea,”⁶ and made contact with Korean merchants in October 1874. During his second visit on 20 May 1876, he attempted to acquire some knowledge about the Korean language from a Korean, U. C. Lee.⁷ Ross found that an educated Korean could translate the Chinese Bible into vernacular Korean and undertook the work of supervising the translation of the NT.

In 1878, he started to translate the Gospels of John and Matthew into Korean with U. C. Lee and some other unknown people in Mukden, Manchuria. Meanwhile, the Gospel of Luke was being translated by S.Y. Soh in Newchang, China.⁸ In addition, Ross and his colleague, J. MacIntyre and his Korean translators, H. J. Paik and others started translating Matthew, Acts, and Romans in 1879. By 1882, the translations for *the Gospel according to Luke* and *the Gospel according to John* were finished and 3,000 copies each were published in Pongchun, Manchuria⁹ and were taken across the Yalu into northern Korea by colporteurs. Later in the same year, the BFBS took over the task and the portions translated by Ross’ team were collated into *the Corean New Testament (CNT, 1887)*, the first Korean translation of the NT.¹⁰

⁶ Its name was derived from the fact that it was the only place where Korean merchants could exchange products of their country with other merchandises that were bought of Chinese (J. Ross, “The Christian Dawn in Korea,” *KMF* 13:7 [July 1937], 134).

⁷ J. Ross, “Visit to the Corean Gate,” *The China Recorder and Missionary Journal* 5 (November, December, 1875), 471-472; J. Ross, “To the Corean Gate,” *The United Presbyterian Missionary Record* (Scotland Church) (January, 1877), 355-357.

⁸ M. Y. Lee, “The Pioneer of Korean Christianity Mr. Sang-Yun Soh,” *Light and Salt* (1988), 2-3.

⁹ *The History of the Korean Bible Society I* (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1993), 57; K. J. So, *The Translation of the Bible into Korean: Its History and Significance* (Ann Arbor: U.M.I., 1993), 47. Korean church historians may agree that there are no firm data on the names of the Korean translators (*History of Korean Bible Society I*, 57).

¹⁰ In 1887, the translation team continued to translate the Acts (1883), the Gospel according to Mark (1884), the Gospel according to Matthew (1884) and so on, and combined these portions into the *Corean New Testament (CNT, 1887)*.

Ross' anticipated readers were not Korean scholars but common people and women, who were regarded as illiterates because they did not learn to read and write the Chinese characters upon which the Korean language is based but rather only the simpler Korean alphabet. It was a great challenge to translate into the honorific Korean language not into the nonhonorific Chinese.¹¹ Moreover, since there is no honorific expression in source and reference texts,¹² it leads to the question of whether there are any proper AH that could be accepted and understood by readers of the *CNT*. In addition, there is also the question of whether Ross' team had consistently followed his AH system and the co-occurrence rule in the translated text.

As observed in chapter 1, Ross and his team fully acknowledged the factors in Korean honorifics even though his system is too simple just like the honorific systems of those days. According to his classification, the uses of SPP are disrespectful in Korean language.¹³ In fact, he translates the genitive second person pronoun σου, "you," into "Father's" in the Lord's Prayer (cf. Mt 6:9-10), and the disciples direct address to Jesus into an indirect mode, "Lord" or "Teacher."¹⁴ Ross uses the lowest *noh* form when disciples or patients address Jesus in *the Gospel according to Mark*, which was published in 1884. He then modified the lowest SPP form to the noun, "Lord" in the *CNT* published in 1887 (Mk 1:37; 1:40). He fully understood that Koreans attach much more importance to the form of the addressee than in Chinese, which was an essential change for accurate translation.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the man with an evil spirit speaks to Jesus in a lowest SPP form (Mk 1:24; 3:11).

^{GNT} **Mark 1:24** Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹¹ In relation to the missionary skopos, Ross reported that "the remarkable result already produced, not in the Corean valleys only, but in Central and Southern Corea, by means of the Gospels and tracts disseminated, prove conclusively the truth of what my Corean translators always affirmed, that the translation would be understood by all, including women and children" ("Ross' letter to Wright March 8, 1885," 101).

¹² See the section 1. (4) of Appendix 1.

¹³ J. Ross, "Corean New Testament," *the United Presbyterian Missionary Record* (May, 1883), 494.

¹⁴ Ross explained that even in Chinese, he always used indirect modes in prayers as direct modes were not reverential (Ross, "Corean New Testament," 494).

¹⁵ Ross, "Corean New Testament," 494.

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Mark 1:24 of *CNT* by Ross (1887)
A man with an evil spirit → Jesus

Nasalet	Yesu-ya	Woori	Neo-ro	Deobureo
Nazareth	Jesus VOC (Lowest)	us NOM	you (Lowest)	with
Adrugi	Ne	Waso	Woori-rul	Manghananyo
how	you NOM (Lowest)	come to	us ACC	destroy VEB (Lowest)
Ne-ga	noh-lul	neuin-jul-ul	aanun-gusi	hananim-yei
I NOM	you-DAT	who are	know ADJ	of God GEN
sunghan-nun	ja	la		hani
Holy ADJ	One COMP	is VEB (lowest, archaic)		said VEB (lowest, archaic)

“Nazareth Jesus, how do you destroy us to come to us with you? I know who you are God’s Holy One” (Back translation of Korean)

Although σοί, “you” and the second person singular subject forms ἦλθες, “you come” and εἶ, “you are” do not imply any honorific form, Ross should have selected the HSPP in Korean. In contrast to the addresses toward Jesus in other passages, Ross chooses the lowest form when addressing Jesus in this passage.

One possible reason why he chooses the lowest form for addressing one in the highest level of respect might be that he desired to translate the SPP of Greek into the SPSP of Korean for addressing superior as literally as possible,¹⁶ however, there is no suitable SPP for the superior addressee(s) in his Korean honorific system. Accordingly, he may have used the *noh* form, which has been widely used as the SPP of those days rather than the *nimca* classified as the middle form. The choice to use the *noh* form may also have been influenced by the denotation of the second person pronoun in the Greek text apart from the pragmatics of the honorific speech styles and also the *tu* forms of some Indo-European languages.¹⁷ The infinitive aorist ἀπόλλυμι,

¹⁶ It has been repeatedly observed that his official translation principle is literal translation. In his letter, Ross said, “I always prefer the absolutely literal translation when it can be retained consistently with a perspicuous rendering” (“Ross’ letter to Wright March 10, 1884,” 97). Simultaneously, he emphasized in his writing that his aim has been to represent the real sense in idiomatic language, and that literal verbal translation had to wait upon these two conditions (Ross, “Corean New Testament,” 491-497).

¹⁷ The choices of the *T-V* variants in Latin (VUL), English (KJV, ASV), French (DRB), and

“to destroy” was also translated into the lowest speech style. The Greek ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ, “God’s Holy One,” does not include any verb form but when translated into Korean, the verb “is” has to be added which may have led Ross to select the verb of the lowest form. Apart from the honorific systems Ross wrote about in the *Corean Primer*, the lowest verb forms and archaic styles are found in his translations.

In Mark 14:58-65, Ross also shows the tendency to select the lowest forms and archaic styles for the dialogues among all the interlocutors as follows:¹⁸

The Dialogues of Mk 14:58-65 in <i>CNT</i>	Back-Translation of The <i>CNT</i> (1884, 1887)	HSPP	HVE
Testimony: Some witnesses → the high priests and the Sanhedrin (v. 58)			
Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποιήτου καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἰκενοποιήσω οἰκοδομήσω			
Wooli-geu-maleul- deuleuni -ea-soneuro-jieun- ba-sungdeoneul-hareone- saheuleh-sonerosso-jieun- ba-eunahn-geoseul- sheogadda-haveosuni	We hear the word, ‘(I) will tear down the temple that is made with these hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands’ said .		deuleuni ; seugadda (lowest); hayeosuni (lowest / archaic style)
First query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 60b)			
Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν τί οὐτοί σοῦ καταμαρτυροῦσινε			
ne -daedabhal-ba- eomneunva -ea-sarami- ganjunghayeo- nohreul - chineun-geosi- otteohanva	Don’t you have any answer? What is it that these men testify against you ?	ne ; nohreul (lowest)	eomneunva (lowest); otteohanva (lowest)

Second query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 61b)

German (LUT) translations are as follows:

Versions	SPP of ἀποκρίνη (Mk 14:60b)	σου (Mk 14:60c)
VUL	2 nd person singular of Respondes	tibi
KJV	Thou	Thee
ASV	Thou	Thee
DRB	Tu	Toi
LUT	Du	Dich

¹⁸ We will only focus on the issues related honorific phenomena in the CNT even though there are many issues related to the translation of this passage.

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Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ;

nega-chingsonghanun-
hananimeui-adal-**kiristonva** **Are you the Christ** of God
the Blessed? **nega** **kiristonva**
(lowest) (lowest)

Reply: Jesus → the high priests and the Sanhedrin (v. 62b)

Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ ὤψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

naehga-**giroda-noheui**-
jangcha-injaga-
gwonnungeui-woopyoneh-
ango-tto-gulumeul-tago-
omeul-**borira** I am he; and **you will see** the
Son of man seated at the
(lowest) **noheui** giroda (lowest,
archaic); **borira**
(lowest, archaic)

Speech: The high priest → the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a)

Τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; (v. 63b)

Ἦκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας: τί ὕμῶν φαίνεται; (v. 64a)

eo-tji-dalni-ganjungeul-
sseurivo-noheui-geu-
chamnamha-muldeuleosuni-
noheui-t-teutdi-**otteohanva** Why do (we) **use** another
witnesses, and **you** have
heard his blasphemy so **what**
is your will? **noheui**; **sseurivo**
(lowest) **noheui** (middle);
otteohanva
(lowest)

Jeer: Some of them → Jesus (v. 65b)

Προφήτευσον

ne-mal-ee-**malhara** **Your** word **savs**. **ne** **malhara**
(lowest) (lowest)

The *noh* form toward the inferior addressee is uniformly used between all interlocutors though Ross has divided the HSPP into three forms in the *Corean Primer*.¹⁹ In addition, among the various verbs, there is only one verb, *sheugadda* (“will build” [v. 58]) that includes the *-da* verb form for the inferior addressee as he has dealt with in the *Corean Primer*. Certainly, the *-nya* ending of verbs like *eopneunya* (“don’t have?” [v. 60b]); *otteohanya* (“what is?” [v. 60c]); *kiristonya* (“are [you] the Christ?” [v. 61b]); and *hannya* (“is?” [v. 63b]) belong to interrogative sentences and are composed in the colloquial style toward inferior addressees. The verb ending *-rio* of *sseurio* (“use” [v. 63b]) was occasionally used as a soliloquy style and occupied the middle level of honorifics according to one of Korean grammarians, K. C. Sung, who has investigated the honorifics of the 19th century.²⁰ Perhaps there is a possibility that translators interpreted the

¹⁹ See section 2.2.1. in chapter 2.

²⁰ K. C. Sung, “The Change of the Hearer Honorification in the 19th Century Korean Language: the Speech Levels,” *Journal of Korean Language* 249 (September, 2000), 177.

speech of a high priest as a soliloquy. Except the verb ending *-rio*, the HSPP and HVE are uniformly expressed with forms used toward an inferior addressee despite the various social statuses of the interlocutors in the dialogues. The verb endings *-ni* of *deuleuni* (“hear” [v. 58]); *hayeosuni* (“said” [v. 58]); and *-rira* of *hannaira* (“is one” [v. 69]) and *borira* (“will see” [v. 62b]) are also classified as the lowest forms. Furthermore, the archaic verb endings of *-ni* and *-rira* used in literary styles were selected in contrast to Ross’ efforts to make his version colloquial. In addition, the *CNT* does not have any word spacing or punctuation, as was the literary norm in those days. Ross’ translation involved various forms of verb endings but they were limited to the lowest level in Mark 14:58-65. Thus, Ross’ honorific expressions show that he did not consider all the possibilities of Korean honorifics in his translations though, to his credit, he did as much as he could with the knowledge he had of the honorific phenomena. We must also remember that the honorific systems of the 19th century were less strict than today’s. As the result, the honorific phenomena made sentences flat in the uniform lowest forms without vivid honorific expressions.

Nevertheless, there were reports of mass converts because of the effort made by Ross and the other Scottish missionaries and these people had read the Gospel as translated by Ross.²¹ Thus, the translation of this NT was significant not only for the growth of Korean churches all over the Korean peninsula but also for the rediscovery of the value of the Korean written alphabet, which had been despised under the tradition of honoring only the Chinese culture and characters.

II.2. *The Gospel according to Mark (1885)*

In 1885, another new portion of *the Gospel according to Mark*, translated by the Korean scholar S. J. Lee,²² was published in Japan. Before translating

²¹ A. A. Pieters, “First Translations,” *KMF* (May, 1938), 93.

²² S. J. Lee’s name was first mentioned in H. Loomis’ report to the ABS in his letter dated May 11, 1883 (“H. Loomis to E. W. Gilman May 11, 1883,” 301). At that time, Loomis was in charge of the Japanese Branch of ABS. According to Loomis, “he is an intimate personal friend of the present king of Corea, and the leader of the liberal or reform party. The man at the head of the recent rebellion was his bitter enemy and would gladly have taken his life. When the outbreak occurred last July (1882), Rijutei (Japanese name of S. J. Lee) saved the life of the queen, and the king offered, as a reward, to give him any rank or honors that he

the Bible into Korean, he began to put the Korean endings to the Chinese text in 1883, and then took up the work of translating.²³ Since S. J. Lee was well versed in Chinese characters and was at ease in putting correct endings to the Chinese text, his work on the Sino-Corean edition of the New Testament, the so-called *Kuntan-Corean New Testament* was completed within two months. However, because the Korean translation of the New Testament was more urgently required than the Sino-Corean edition of the New Testament, the four Gospels and the Book of Acts were published by ABS in 1883. In 1885, S. J. Lee started his work and completed his first translated text, *the Gospel according to Mark*. It was definitely influenced by his previous work on the *Sino-Corean version* and so the principle terms and concepts are written with Chinese characters.²⁴

Because S. J. Lee was involved in evangelism work among Korean students in Japan, S. J. Lee's target readers were the Korean intellectuals who were familiar with Chinese. He had found a way to do mission work in Korea.²⁵

Like Ross' translation, S. J. Lee also makes a consistent selection of the lowest form in dialogues between all interlocutors. The version frequently selects *-rira*, *-ra* or *-myeo* form as the archaic style, which appeared in other literary texts of the day. In fact, S. J. Lee followed the classic style of mixing Korean with Chinese characters in writing rather than the colloquial style.

In dialogues of Mark 14:58-65, S. J. Lee shows his tendency to select the lowest forms in speeches between all interlocutors as follows:

The Dialogues of Mk 14:58-65 in <i>Mark</i> by S. J. Lee (1885)	Back-Translation of <i>Mark</i> by S. J. Lee (1885)	HSPP	HVE
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desired. His reply was: "I only ask to be permitted to go to Japan in order that I may study and see the civilization of other lands" (H. Loomis, "The First Korean Protestant in Japan," *KMF* [July 1937], 139). He explained in detail the process of how Su-Jung Lee became the first Korean Protestant Christian in Japan (Loomis, "The First Korean Protestant in Japan," 139-140).

²³ By translating the entire NT in this way in a short period of time, he tried to accumulate the knowledge about Bible translation and to deepen his understanding of the Bible ("H. Loomis to E. W. Gilman May 30, 1883," 301-307).

²⁴ After it was published in Japan in 1885, S. J. Lee and Loomis wished to translate the whole New Testament into Korean, but it was discouraged by S. J. Lee's sudden return to Korea in 1886 due to the assassination of his political enemies.

²⁵ "H. Loomis' letter to E. W. Gilman May 30, 1883," 305.

Testimony: Some witnesses → the high priests and the Sanhedrin (v. 58)

Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τούτου τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω

jeh-malleul-deureun-jeug- ireudoeh-ee-juneun-sarameui- shoneuro-jieun-geotsieoniwa- nehga-jangcha-heoleo- beorigo-igeoseun-saramui- syoneuro-jieun-be- anirira- hadeora	(We) hear his word, said, 'this temple was built by person's hand and I will destroy and within three days in future (I) will build this temple, but it will not built by the person's hand.' said ,	anirira ; hadeora (lowest / archaic style)
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First query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 60b)

Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν τί οὐτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν

ne -daedaphal-ba- comneunda - ea-sarami-jeungegeocul-sama- nohreul -chimeun- cotjiminvo	Is not there anything for you to answer? How does this man make testimony and smite you?	ne ; nohreul (lowest)	comneunda (lowest); cotjiminvo (lowest)
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Second query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 61b)

Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ;

nega -ea-syonghal-jaii- keurisudossinda	Are you the Christ of the Blessed one?	nega (lowest)	keurisudossin da (lowest)
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Reply: Jesus → the high priests and the Sanhedrin (v. 62b)

Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

geureohani- ne -jangcha-inja- nunghan-jaii-orunpyeonui- anjyeo-hanalui-gureumeul- tago-oneun-geoseul- borira	Yes, you will see in future the Son of man - seated at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.	ne (lowest)	borira (lowest / archaic style)
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Speech: The high priest → the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a)

Τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας· τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται;

uri-dareun-jeunggeohayeo- mueotharivo - ne -ea- muisyeolman-haneun-maleul- deureotnunjira - noheui - tteuksi- cotteohanveo	Why will (we) do with the other witnesses? You heard his insolence. What is your will?	ne ; noheui (lowest)	mueotharivo (lowest); deureotnunjir a (lowest / archaic style); otteohanveo (lowest)
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Jeer: Some of them → Jesus (v. 65b)

Προφήτευσον

ne -siheonhayeo- malhara	You testify and sav	ne (lowest)	malhara (lowest /
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archaic style)

Like the *CNT*, S. J. Lee's version also has no word spacing, punctuation or various levels of AH.²⁶ It uniformly renders the SPP and VE into the lowest form of AH in the dialogues of Mark 14:58-65. Although S. J. Lee does not choose various speech levels, he knew more about various honorific expressions than Ross' team: *anirira* ("will not" [v. 58]); *hadeora* ("said" [v. 58]), *borira* ("will see" [v. 62b]), and *deureonknunjira* ("heard" [v. 64]). Most verb endings are archaic and were used in antique documents in those days. In contrast to the other Korean versions, the *-da* form was used as the lowest level verb endings in interrogative sentences: the verbs *eopneunda* ("is not?" [v. 60b]); and *keurisudossinda* ("are you the Christ?" [v. 61b]). The verbs *eojjiminyo* ("what does?" [v. 60c]); *mueokhariyo* ("why will (we) do?" [v. 63b]); *eotteohanyeo* ("what is?" [v. 64]); and *malhara* ("say" [v. 65b]).

Despite his native knowledge about honorific expressions, S. J. Lee did not consider the honorifics in his translation but focused on the classic and archaic styles to deliver the Gospel to Korean intellectuals. The style he adopted influenced many missionaries after his time.

II.3. *The Korean Bible (1911)*

In 1884 and 1885, several American Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea, and as soon as they tried to get a sufficient knowledge of the language they assumed the responsibility of giving the people a more perfect translation of the Bible. The very first translation of the whole Bible into Korean was initiated in 1887 by 'the Permanent Executive Bible Committee' of Korea. The entire NT was published in 1900 as the tentative version, revised in 1904, and further revised in 1906. In 1911, *the Old Testament* was published, and the first complete Korean Bible, the *Korean Bible (KB, 1911)* was subsequently published after the OT was combined with the *Korean New Testament (KNT, 1906)*.

Since the anticipated readers of the *KB* were all Koreans, the style is

²⁶ However, while Ross appropriately translated into the plural form of HSPP (v. 62b, v. 64), S. J. Lee did not use the plural form but the singular form. Perhaps it is because he has followed the source text, the Delegate's version that selected the singular form.

simple, but also sufficiently stylish so that it would commend itself to the scholar.²⁷ The 1911 *KB* also had word spacing and followed the contemporary standard of Korean grammar. However, there was still no punctuation such as question marks, quotation marks, commas, and periods.²⁸ Although the *KB* still followed the structures and literary text styles of the 19th century, it influenced the coming Korean versions read by most Protestant Christians as the liturgical Bible.

The dialogues of Mark 14:58-65 show their tendency of selecting lowest forms between speeches of all interlocutors as follows:

The Dialogues of Mk 14:58-65 in <i>KB</i>	Back-Translation of <i>KB</i> (1911)	HSPP	HVE
Testimony: Some witnesses → the high priests and the Sanhedrin (v. 58)			
Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἁχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω	We, that is, heard his word, 'I will tear down this temple that was made with hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands' said .		deureuni ; jieurira hadeora (grade 3, lowest T form, archaic style)
uriga iljeug geuui maluil deureuni soneuro jieun ea syongdeoneun nega heolgo soneuro jijji anihan dareun syongdeoneul saheule jieurira hadeora			
First query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 60b)			
Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν	Don't you have any answer? What is it that these men testify?	nohneun (grade 3) Omission	comneunva (grade 3, lowest T form) mueosinva (grade 3, lowest T form)
nohneun amo daedapitto comneunva -ea saramdeului jeungeohaneun geonsi mueosinva			
Second query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 61b)			
Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ;	Are you the Christ , the Son of the Blessed?	nega (grade 3)	geurisudonva (grade 3, lowest T form)
nega chingsonghal jaiui adal geurisudonva			

²⁷ H. G. Underwood, "Bible Translating," *KMF* (October 1911), 297.

²⁸ Divisions of paragraphs and marks to indicate to start new paragraphs (mark O), however, appear for the first time in the version. Proper nouns are underlined, i.e., single lines for persons' names, and double lines for place names. The transliterations of proper nouns were different from those of previous versions.

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Reply: Jesus → the high priests and the Sanhedrin (v. 62b)

Εγώ εἰμι, καὶ ἤψαθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

naer <u>ro</u> da injaga gunneung innanjyau i upyeone anjingwa hanuil gureumeul tago omeul <u>noheui</u> ga <u>borira</u>	I am ; and you will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of the Powered, and riding in the clouds of heaven.	<u>noheui</u> ga (grade 3)	naer <u>ro</u> da; <u>borira</u> (grade 3, lowest T form, archaic style)
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Speech: The high priest → the Sanhedrin (v. 63b & v. 64)

Τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας: τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται;

uriga eoiji dareun jeungineul <u>sseurio</u> geu chamramhan maleul <u>noheui</u> do <u>deureonsseuni noheui</u> tteusenun <u>otteohanvo</u>	Why do we use another witnesses? You also heard his blasphemy so what is your will?	<u>Noheui</u> do; <u>noheui</u> (grade 3)	sseurio (grade 2, polite O form, archaic style); Deureonsseuni; otteohanvo (grade 3, lowest T form, archaic style)
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Jeer: Some of them → Jesus (v. 65b)

Προφήτευσον

Syeonjjyanoreuseul <u>hara</u>	Do play the prophet.	<u>hara</u> (grade 3, lowest T form)
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The HSPP used among the interlocutors in the above dialogues are uniformly expressed in the *noh* form, which Underwood classified as the form for addressing the common and the inferior.²⁹ Although his classification included honorific expressions for addressing superiors, the honorifics adopted in the *KB* were not rich in variety. Certainly Underwood, Gale, and the other translators — especially native Koreans — had enough knowledge of the higher honorific system of HSPP and probably intentionally selected the *noh* form. Since they followed the literal translation approach, they may have denotatively rendered the Greek text, which does not have various addressee honorifics like the Korean, into a single honorific form such as the *noh* form, and maintained the form in their translation.

Except for the verb *sseurio* (“use” [v. 63b]), most HVE of the dialogues belong to grade 3 of Underwood’s honorifics system and to the lowest T form of Gale’s. The verb *sseurio* is classified as grade 2, which is a polite

²⁹ See section 1.2.1. in chapter 1.

form used among equals according to Underwood's classification, and a form used among friends, equals and common use according to Gale. The verb *eotteohanyeo* ("what is" [v. 64]) of second reply of high priest toward the Sanhedrin, however, can be regarded as the lowest form. The verb ending *-nyeo* is used in various ways to indicate low, equal and high interrogative forms in the literary texts of the 19th century.³⁰ If the co-occurrence rule between the HSPP and the HVE is followed, the *eotteohanyeo* must be classified as the lowest form correlating to the pronoun *noh* form that is lowest form (*noheui* [v. 64]). The verb ending *-nyeo* was correlated with the interrogative pronouns such as "who, when, where, what, how, why, etc."

The other interrogative verb ending *-nya*, on the other hand, was used in the interrogative judgment sentences that did not involve interrogative pronouns in the literary text of 19th century.³¹ In the above dialogues, the verb ending *-nya* belongs to the verbs *eomneunya* ("do not have" [v. 60b]) and *geurisudonya* ("are you the Christ" [v. 61b]). However, in the second query where the high priest addresses Jesus, the verb ending *-nya* of *mueosinya* ("what is" [v. 60c]) is used, breaking the general usage of the HVE. This may reflect the fact that the HVE of *KB* did not follow the general usage of HVE.

The typical archaic styles of *KB* are shown in the verbs *deureuni* ("hear" [v. 58]), *jieurira* ("will build" [v. 58]), *hadeora* ("said" [v. 58]), *naeroda* ("I am" [v. 62a]), *borira* ("will see" [v. 62b]) and *hara* ("do" [v. 65b]). The overall translation is in the archaic mood like other literary texts of the 19th century. Most AH belong to the grade 3 of Underwood and the lowest form of Gale.

These styles have become known as the typical Korean "Biblical style." Apart from the colloquial style, this liturgical style is read in a solemn tone for worship in Korean churches. However, the attempt to render a non-honorific language into an honorific language without considering the pragmatics results in a flat translation that may convey inaccurate information not in the source text.

³⁰ According to K. C. Sung, the verb ending *nyeo* is used as both low and high forms in the Korean literary texts of 19th century (Sung, "The Change of the Hearer Honorification in the 19th century Korean Language," 183). Although the *nyeo* form usually shows the lowest form between interlocutors in dialogues, it was occasionally used as the high form.

³¹ J. S. Kim, "Linguistic Examination of the New Korean Revised Version (for reviewer)," *JBTR* 2 (1998), 72.

II.4. Korean Revised Version (1938/1952/1961) and New Korean Revised Version (1998)

Immediately after publishing the *Korean Bible* (1911), the ‘Board of Official Translators’ was re-named as the ‘Board of Official Revisers,’ whose job was to polish the *KB*. The first Korean revision, the *Revised Version of Korean Bible*, was published in 1938. This version did not follow “the draft for unified Korean spelling system” legislated in 1933. Therefore, the spelling was corrected in the *Korean Revised Version, Hangul Edition* (1952) according to rules of Korean orthography. Nine years later, this edition was again revised as the *Korean Revised Version (KRV, 1961)* according to “Korean orthographical rules” of the time. This is the version that has been used by most Korean Protestant churches until 2000 as the standard church Bible. Since early 1980s, in response to the demand for an updated version, the *New Korean Revised Version (NKRV)* was published in 1998, and officially accepted by most Protestant denominations as the church Bible around 2000 though its wide spread usage took a little more time.

The *KB* (1911) includes proper spacing of words, whereas *Revised Version of Korean Bible* (1938) does not have any spacing just like the archaic literary texts. The spacing of words was again presented in *the Korean Revised Version, Hangul Edition* (1952) and *KRV* (1961). However, even the current revision, *NKRV* (1998), still does not have any periods, commas, and quotation marks between narrations and dialogues. The *NKRV* (1998) was composed in line with the archaic styles of the *KB* (1911) and the standard “Biblical Style.” Such styles almost remained uninfluenced by rapid linguistic changes that took place during the last century. Since the AH of this version uniformly adopted one single AH for most passages, the honorific phenomena made speech styles flat and sentences awkward to current day readers. However, it is obvious that the AH of *NKRV* (1998) is slightly different from the *KB* (1911) and *KRV* (1961) and even expressed in the deferential forms in some passages.³²

³² There are a few deferential second person pronouns forms in the *KRV* (1961) and the *NKRV* (1998) as the following table:

In particular, the grammatically incorrect honorific phenomena of the *KRV* (1961) like those of the *KB* (1911) are corrected in the *NKRV* (1998). Consider the following example of Acts 16:30.

^{GNT4} **Acts 16:30f** Κύριοι, τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ;

Prison guard → Paul and Silas

Acts 16:30f of *KRV* (1961)

Sunsangdul-**aa** Nei-ga Uttukke Hayeoya Guwon-eul Udduri**ika**
 Teachers I NOM How should Salvation Get (**F/D**)
 VOC(**IF/NonD**)

“Teachers, how should I get salvation?” (Back translation of Korean)

Acts 16:30f of *NKRV* (1998)

Sunsangdul-**iveo** Nei-ga Uttukke Hayeoya Guwon-eul Udduri**ika**
 Teachers I NOM How should Salvation Get (**F/D**)
 VOC (**F/D**)

“Teachers, how should I get salvation?” (Back translation of Korean)

F: Formal, IF: Informal, L: limited, G: General, D: Deferential, NonD: Non-deferential

In the above passage, both the vocative form of the noun, Κύριοι, “teachers,” and the subjunctive aorist passive 1st person singular form of the

Korean Versions	<i>KRV</i> (1952/1961)	<i>NKRV</i> (1998)	<i>CTHB</i> (1977)	<i>RCTHB</i> (1999)	<i>NKSV</i> (1993)	<i>RNKSV</i> (2001)
HSPP						
<i>Tangsin(dul)</i> (D or NonD)	341	393	2106	2105	341	112
<i>Keudae(dul)</i> (D or NonD, Refined)	144	188	713	713	720	713
<i>Chane(dul)</i> (NonD, Polite)	0	0	127	127	57	57
<i>Noh(eui)</i> (NonD)	7799	7839	5430	5381	6008	5244
Total	8294	8445	9467	9416	8271	7248

The deferential verb ending forms, which co-occur with the HSPP, also belong to the *KRV* and the *NKRV*. As compared with other modern translations, the deferential forms of the *KRV* and the *NKRV* are definitely small in number.

verb, σωθῶ, “saved,” do not imply any honorific phenomena like other Greek words. In *KRV* (1961), the informal non-deferential vocative form of “teachers” does not grammatically match the formal deferential verb ending form when the prison guard speaks to Paul and Silas. However, in *NKRV* (1998), the informal non-deferential vocative form is appropriately changed to the formal deferential form, so the honorific co-occurrence rule is not broken. Such cases are found quite rarely in the *NKRV* (1998), which mostly retains the honorifics of the *KRV* (1961).

The dialogues of Mark 14:58-65 of the *NKRV* also show that there is almost no difference between *KB* (1911) and the third revision, *NKRV* (1998) insofar as AH is concerned.

The Dialogues of Mk 14:58-65 in <i>NKRV</i>	Back-Translation of <i>NKRV</i> (1998)	HSPP	HVE
Testimony: Some witnesses → the high priests and the Sanhedrin (v. 58) Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω			
uriga geuui maluil deureuni soneuro jjeun ea seongjeoneul nega heolgo son-euro jijji anihan dareun seongjeoneul saheul dongane jieurira hadeora	We heard his word, ‘(I) will tear down this temple that was made with hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands’ said		deureuni ; jieurira hadeora (low T form, archaic style)
First query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 60b) Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν			
nohneun amu daedappto upneunva -ea saramdeuli nohreul chineun jeungegeoga eothanva	Don’t you have any answer? How is it that these men testify against you ?	nohneun ; nohreul (lowest)	Upneunva; eothanva (lowest T form)
Second query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 61b) Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλόγητου;			
nega chingsong badeul iui adeul geurisudonva	Are you the Christ of God the Blessed?	nega (lowest)	geurisudonva (lowest T form)
Reply: Jesus → the high priests and the Sanhedrin (v. 62b) Εγὼ εἰμι, καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.			
nega guinira injaga gunneungiaui upyeone anjeun	I am he ; and you will see the Son of man seated at	noheuga (lowest)	guinira ; borira (lowest)

geokwa haneul gureumeul the right hand of Power,
tago oneun geoseul **noheui**ga and coming with the
borira clouds of heaven. T form,
archaic style)

Speech: The high priest → the Sanhedrin (v. 63b)
Τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας· τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται;
uriga eoiji deo jeungineul How do we **require** more **noheui**ga; yoguharivo
yoguharivo geu witnesses? **You heard** his **noheui**neun (polite O
sinsungmodok haneun maleul blasphemy. What **do you** (NonD) form, archaic
noheuiga **deureokttoda** **think?** style);
noheuineun eotteokhe **deureokttoda**
senggakhaneunva (lowest T
form, archaic
style);
senggakhaneun
nva (lowest T
form)

Jeer: Some of them → Jesus (v. 65b)
Προφήτευσον
syeonjija noreuseul **hara** **Do** play the prophet. **hara** (lowest
T form)

Like the previous versions, the HSPP between all interlocutors are uniformly expressed in the *noh* form, which is classified as a non-deferential form in modern honorific system. However, the HSPP makes sentences flat and gives the readers the misguided impression that interlocutors are quite rude to one other.

All HVE except the HVE of the verbs *guinira* (“[I] am he” [v. 62b]), *yoguhariyo* (“do require?” [v. 63b]), *eureokttoda* (“heard” [v. 64]), and *senggakhaneunya* (“do think?” [v. 64]) completely overlap with the ones of *KB* (1911). All HVE including the four different HVE do not belong to the modern honorific system but rather to the honorifics of literary texts in the 19th century. If we are forced to classify them in terms of the styles of modern HVE system, they can be compared to the formal general non-deferential T form that is typically used in writing, newspapers, magazines, most textbooks and academic books. However, it is obvious that the above dialogues are quotations with several interlocutors even though quotation marks are absent. Accordingly, it is doubtful that the *NKRV* renders into the proper AH with the sufficient interpretation of the social relationships between the interlocutors in Mark 14:58-65.

The people of the 19th century, in addition, recognized the variety in archaic styles whereas modern readers are not aware of all the uses and nuances of the styles. Rather, they are simply accepted as authoritative or bald styles. Korean grammarians have criticized that the coexistence of the archaic style and the modern style belongs to the same heterogeneous linguistic system as pidgins.³³ This phenomenon is incoherent with the modern Korean honorific expressions that have rapidly changed during the last century. Nevertheless, even today, most Korean Protestant Christians seem to believe that the Bible should not be translated into ordinary speech but the so-called ‘difficult canonic styles,’ i.e. archaic styles, even though it has been 90 years since the translation of the *KB* in 1911.³⁴

Accordingly, there is a possibility that the forthcoming revision of *NKRV* (1998) will retain the archaic style according to the requirement of readers who are used to reading the *KB* (1998) and its revisions.³⁵ Apart from its archaic style, the revision must not only be grammatically correct in terms of honorifics but it must also select various honorifics including deferential forms with the accurate interpretation of source text. Since the mid 1960’s, there have been several attempts to modernize style for the new translations.

III. Addressee Honorifics of Mark 14:58-65 in Modern Language Translations

III.1. *The Korean New Testament, New Translation* (1967)

In the mid 20th century, KBS organized a committee for a new translation in the modern style. As was done for the revision project, translators were invited from various denominations. In 1967, the team of translators finished the *Korean New Testament, New Translation* (*KNTNT*) according to the

³³ A Korean grammarian Jung-Su Kim indicated that revisers of *NKRV* (1998) could not totally understand the honorific expressions of the 19th century, and partial revisions of honorifics consequently led to breaking down the elaborated honorific structures of sentences.

³⁴ Regardless of the denomination, most Korean Protestant churches have used the *Korean Revised Version* (*KRV*, 1961) in liturgy until around 2005, and then, started to accept the *New Korean Revised Version* (*NKRV*, 1998) as the church Bible.

³⁵ Since 2015, the KBS will undertake to the revision project of the *NKRV* (1998) or new translation project.

skopos theory in order to approach non-Christians and young people. The target readers of the new translation were young people under the age of 30 who made up about 70% of South Korea's population in those days (as stated in the preface of *KNTNT*).³⁶

Translators had intended for the new translation to be totally accessible to everyone regardless of age, gender, social status, religion, etc. Accordingly, the style of *KNTNT* are not only colloquial but also extremely polished and composed in a more modern style than the *NKRV* of 1998. In addition, unlike the previous versions that followed the literal translation theory, this new translation tried to find a balance between the literal and free translation theories.

The styles of Mark 14:58-65 of *KNTNT* (1967) display characteristics of modernized speech styles and honorifics as shown below.

The Dialogues of Mk 14:58-65 in <i>KNTNT</i>	Back-Translation of <i>KNTNT</i> (1967)	HSPP	HVE
Testimony: Some witnesses → the high priest and the Sanhedrin (v. 58)			
Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τούτου τὸν χειροποιήτου καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἄχειροποιήτου οἰκοδομήσω			
“urineun ea saramea ‘naneun saramui soneuro jieun ea seongjeoneul heolgo soneuro jijji anheun dareun seongjeoneul saheul mane <u>seugetta</u> hago malhaneun geoseul <u>deuresseumnida</u> .”	“We <u>heard</u> that this man said, ‘I will tear down this temple that was made with man’s hands, and within three days <u>will build</u> another, not made with hands.”		<u>seugetta</u> (FGNonD T form); <u>deuresseumni</u> <u>da</u> (FD P form)
First query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 60b)			
Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν			
“ea yeoreo jeungini <u>tangsinege</u> bullihan jeungeonduleul hago inneunde <u>tangsineun</u> dapbyeonhal mali <u>eopso</u> ?”	“These many witnesses testify against <u>you</u> , so <u>don’t you have</u> any answer?”	<u>tangsine</u> ge; <u>tangsine</u> un (FLNon D)	<u>eopso</u> (FNonDL O form)
Second query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 61b)			

³⁶ The target audiences of the new translation may have been as follows: college graduates, middle school students, new Christians, non-Christians, and so on, and each group have a different understanding of Korean (A. D. Clark, “What Kind of a Translation?” *Korean Bible Magazine* 8:2 [April, 1962], 68).

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Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ;

“ tangsini chanyangeul badeusil bunui adeul geurisudoyo ?”	“ Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed One?”	tangsini (FLNon D)	Geurisudoyo (FLNonD O form)
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Reply: Jesus → the high priest and the Sanhedrin (v. 62b)

Εγὼ εἶμι, καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

“nega baro guiida , Noheuni eun injaga jeonneunghasin bunui oreunpyeone anja inneun geokkwa haneul gureuneul tago oneun geoseul bol geosida .”	“ I am he . You will see the Son of man seat at the right hand of Power, and comes on the clouds of heaven.”	Noheuni eun (FGNon D)	guiida ; geosida (FGNonD T form)
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Speech: The high priest → the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a)

Τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας; τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται;

“ea isang museun jeungeoni deo pilvohagesseunikka ? yeoreobuneun ije hananimeul modokhaneun maleul deureosseunnida . Yeoreobuneun eotteokhe senggakhassimnikka ?”	“Which testimony do (we) need more? Everyone now heard the blasphemy. What does everyone think ?”	yeoreob uneun ; yeoreob uneun (FD)	Pilyohagesseu mnikka (FD P form) deureosseumn ida (FD P form); senggakhassi mnikka (FD P form)
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Jeer: Some of them → Jesus (v. 65b)

Προφήτευσον

“ja, keudaeleul chineun jaga nuguinji alamachueo booh .”	“Come on, guess who hit you .”	Keudaeleul (FLNonD)	Booh (FLNonD O form)
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F (Formal), IF (Informal), L (Limited), G (General), D (Deferential), NonD (Non-deferential)

According to the modern honorifics system,³⁷ all the AH in Mark 14:58-65 are consistently in formal forms even though there are variations in speech levels. In marked contrast to previous versions, the HSPP of all the interlocutors are variously expressed in the forms, *tangsini*, *noh*, *yeoreobun*, and *keudae*. Especially, v. 63b the second person plural form of ἠκούσατε, “we heard,” and the second person dative plural ὑμῖν were rendered into the

³⁷ The addressee honorifics system newly proposed in chapter 1 is adopted for the above dialogues.

compound words, *yeoreobun* (“everyone” [v. 64]), which is the honorific expression of the adjective, *yeoreo* (“many”), and the noun, *bun* (“people”), as the third person deferential form. In fact, the noun *yeoreobun* is frequently used toward audiences in public speech in place of *tangsin*. The classifications of various HSPP depend on the speech levels of the HVE.

The HVE are expressed in various forms, i.e. the formal deferential P form, the formal limited non-deferential O form, and the formal general non-deferential T form. The testimonies of some witnesses (v. 58) and the speech of the high priest to the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a) are expressed in the deferential P form. On the other hand, the high priest addresses Jesus in the formal limited non-deferential O form with the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* (vv. 60bc, 61b). Certainly there is a possibility that the verb *eopso* (“don’t have?” [v. 60bc]) used in the speech of the high priest is derived from the so-called high *-so* form of literary texts of the 19th century.³⁸ However, the modern reader may see it as the formal limited non-deferential O form with the authoritative mood. In addition, these forms can be regarded as an angry person insulting Jesus. It can be compared with the deferential P form of the high priest to the Sanhedrin. However, it must be noted that the high priest does not address Jesus in the formal general non-deferential T form.

On the other hand, Jesus’ speech style to the Sanhedrin, i.e. public audience, is composed in the non-deferential T form using *noh*, the non-deferential SPP form (v. 62b) like the previous translations. Even in the passage when people hit Jesus with their fists and jeer him, they have used the formal limited non-deferential O form with the formal limited non-deferential *keudae* (v. 65b). It may reflect that translators intention to show that the examiners avoid using the formal general non-deferential T form, i.e. the most authoritative form toward Jesus and select the formal limited non-deferential O form for a male adult though Jesus is the accused in the trial situation.

³⁸ The *-so* form was frequently used in literary texts of the 19th century, but no longer in daily conversations nowadays. They are referred to as the so-called ‘*-so* form’ because they are distinguished from the formal limited non-deferential O form of the modern HVE system (K. C. Sung, “The Change of the Hearer Honorification in the 20th Century Korean Language: the Speech Levels,” *Journal of Korean Language Education* 10:2 [1999], 17). The use of the *-so* form was closer to that of formal deferential P form than the O form of the modern HVE system (Sung, “The Change of the Hearer Honorification in the 19th Century Korean Language,” 21).

As the honorifics of Jesus' speech, the translators may have wanted His words to be in a style that is clearly understandable and yet reverent so that it would not detract honor from His Deity as the Son of God.³⁹ They were aware that if Jesus were talking in Korean, He would not talk in the style of the *KB* (1911) and the revisions (1938/1952/1961/1998), where He uniformly uses the "Low Talk" to almost everybody. The low forms of Jesus' speech style in the Korean versions are due to what the translators knew about the personality, mission and divine-human nature of Jesus after the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.⁴⁰ When publishing the tentative version of *the Gospel according to Mark* of *KNTNT* (1963), the translation committee collected the opinion from readers and decided to keep the honorific speech styles of Jesus to be uniformly in the low forms regardless of the addressees.

Except for Jesus' speech style, the target readers of the *KNTNT* were ready to accept most of the significant changes in style. However, tradition tends to make any book more popular than a newly translated version. It is possible for feelings of resentment and even opposition to arise against a new translation.⁴¹ Such opposition also seems to be due to the perception that authority of the Bible originates from the ambiguity of expressions.⁴² It was therefore difficult for a new version to become the representative liturgical version.

III.2. Common Translation of the Holy Bible (1977/1999)

The project for Common Translation was initiated through interconfessional cooperation rather than the OT of the *KNTNT* (1967) because the Catholic position had dramatically changed after the assembly of bishops at the Vatican Council II of 1965.⁴³ After the agreement between the

³⁹ Clark, "What Kind of a Translation?" 69.

⁴⁰ Clark, "What Kind of a Translation?" 69.

⁴¹ K. R. Crim, "Missionaries and the New Translation of the Bible," *Korean Bible Magazine* 8:2 (April, 1962), 71.

⁴² M. K. Cho, "Seongseo Sebunyeoke dehan Jae-eon (A Proposal of New Translation)," *Korean Bible Magazine* 7:1 (December, 1960), 18.

⁴³ The assembly of bishops at the Vatican Council II in 1965 suggested that Christians must have many opportunities to easily approach the Bible, expressed the hope that the Bible would be appropriately and accurately translated from the source text of Bible into languages of each country. After such announcement during the assembly of bishops at the Vatican Council II, the UBS faced the subject of whether or not they would serve the Catholic

United Bible Societies and the Vatican in 1968, the *Common Translation of the New Testament (CTNT)* was published in 1971 and the *Common Translation of the Holy Bible (CTHB)* in 1977.⁴⁴ The *CTHB* was revised again in 1999 per the request of the Catholic Church.

According to the “Guiding Principles for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible,” the expected readers of the Common Translation included both Catholic and Protestant Christians and even non-Christians. In addition, in order to help Korean readers understand the contents of the Bible just as the readers of the source text would, translation principles were established for dynamic equivalence with the modern language.

Thus, the *CTHB* was first complete modern Korean Bible that the readers could readily understand and naturally accept the style, especially the honorific speech styles. The dialogues of Mark 14:58-65 of the *CTHB* (1977/1999) are shown below:

The Dialogues of Mk 14:58-65 in <i>CTHB</i>	Back-Translation of <i>CTHB</i> (1977/1999)	HSPP	HVE
Testimony: Some witnesses → the high priest and the Sanhedrin (v. 58) Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτου τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω “urineun ea saramea ‘naneun saramui soneuro jieun ea seongjeoneul heoreobeorigo saramui soneuro jijji anheun se	“We have ever heard that this man talked big, ‘I will destroy this temple that was made with man’s hands, and		seugetta (FGNonD T form); isseumnida

Christians who desired to get the Bible as the Protestant Christians (W. M. Abbott, “Gatolicgwa Protestanteui Seongkyeong: Gongdongbunyeok [Bible of Catholic and Protestant: Common Translation],” *Samok* 4 [1968], 38). Then during the 150th anniversary of the Netherlands Bible Society in 22-26 June 1964, the General Secretary invited about 75 representatives from all over the world to Netherlands, and discussed about this issue (Abbott, “Gatolicgwa Protestanteui Seongkyeong: Gongdongbunyeok [Bible of Catholic and Protestant: Common Translation],” 38). Finally, during the UBS assembly that was held from 16 to 21 May 1966 in Pennsylvania, USA, the General Secretary of UBS announced its official statement as follows: “We welcome that the assembled bishops at Vatican Council II emphasized that every people easily approach to Bible, and the possibility of cooperation about the translation of Bible and distribution” (Abbott, “Gatolicgwa Protestanteui Seongkyeong: Gongdongbunyeok [Bible of Catholic and Protestant: Common Translation],” 39).

⁴⁴ The North Korea government re-edited the OT of this version in 1983 and the NT in 1984 according to the North Korean spelling rules, and combined them together in the same year (J. E. Kim, “Hanguk Seungseo Bungukui Eygssa [The History of Korean Bible Translations],” *Gidokkyosasang [Christian Thought]* 410 [February, 1993], 33).

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<p>seongjeoneul saheul ane seugetta. hago keunsorichineun geoseul deuleun ilea isseumnida.”</p>	<p>will build new temple that is not made with hands within three days.”</p>	<p>(FD P form)</p>
<p>First query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 60b) Ὁὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν τί οὐτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν “ea saramdeulea keudaege itorog bullihan jeungeoneul haneunde keudaeneun hal mali eomneunga?”</p>		
<p>“These people testify against you like this, so is not there anything you talk?”</p>	<p>keudae ge; keudaen eun (IFLNon D)</p>	<p>eomneunga (IFLNonD N form)</p>
<p>Second query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 61b) Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; “Keudaega gwayeon chanyangeul badeusil haneunimui adeul geurisudoinga?”</p>		
<p>“Are you indeed the Christ, the Son of the Blessed God?”</p>	<p>keudaeg a (IFLNon D)</p>	<p>geurisudoin ga (IFLNonD N form)</p>
<p>Reply: Jesus → the high priest and the Sanhedrin (v. 62b) Εγὼ εἶμι, καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. “geureotta. Noheuineun saramui adeulea jeonneunghasin bunui oreunpyeone anja inneun geokkwa haneului gureuneul tago oneun geoseul bol geosida.”</p>		
<p>“That is it. You will see the Son of man seat at the right hand of Power, and comes on the clouds of heaven.”</p>	<p>noheuine un (FGNon D)</p>	<p>geureotta; geosida (FGNonD T form)</p>
<p>Speech: The high priest → the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a) Τί ἔτι χρειάν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας· τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται; “ea isang museun jeungeoga deo pilyohagesso? yeoreobuneun banggeum ea modokhaneun maleul deujji annasseumnikka? Ja, otteokhe haesseumyeon jokesso?”</p>		
<p>“Which evidence do (we) need more? “Didn’t everyone hear just now this blasphemy? Come on, what do (you) want to do?”</p>	<p>yeoreob uneun (FD P form)</p>	<p>pilyohagess o (FLNonD O form); annaseumni kka (FD P form); jokesso (FLNonD O form)</p>
<p>Jeer: Some of them → Jesus (v. 65b) Προφήτευσον “Ja, nuga ttaeryeonneunji alamachyeo boara.”</p>		
<p>“Come on, guess who hit you.”</p>	<p>Omission</p>	<p>boara (FGNonD)</p>

T form)

F (Formal), IF (Informal), L (Limited), G (General), D (Deferential), NonD (Non-deferential)

Contrary to the formal AH of the *KNTNT* (1967), the AH of the *CTHB* are composed of both formal and informal forms. Varied forms of *tangsin*, *noh*, *yeoreobun*, and *keudae* are used according to relationships and the speakers' intentions. The high priest speaks to Jesus in the informal limited non-deferential *keudae* form instead of the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* form of the *KNTNT* (1967). The HVE have also been changed from the formal limited non-deferential O form of the *KNTNT* to the informal limited non-deferential N form in the *CTHB*. The N form is asymmetrically used by a higher-status speaker to a lower-status adult addressee, when there is a certain degree of intimacy between the interlocutors. Accordingly, there is a possibility that readers accept the N form as the gentle speech style of a high priest to Jesus. On the other hand, Jesus appears to answer rudely to an authoritative question, as his speech style is in the formal general non-deferential *noh* form and T form. In fact, Korean linguists have higher regard of the honorifics of Jesus' speech in the *CTNT* than in the *CTHB*.⁴⁵ Protestant ministers and Catholic priests, however, thought that the deferential speech style of Jesus to people seemed to downgrade Jesus'

⁴⁵ C. H. Park, "Gongdongbunyeok Shinyakseongseo: Eoneohakjeok Pyeongga (Book Review of *The New Testament of Common Translation: Linguistic Evaluation*)," *Gidokkyosasang (Christian Thought)* (1961), 157, 130; C. W. Na, "Shinyakseongseo Gongdongbunyeoke Dehan Pyeongga (Evaluation for the Common Translation of the New Testament)," *Kyohoewa Shinhak (Church and Theology)* 5 (1972), 67-86. The honorifics in the dialogues of Mark 14:58-65 of *CTNT* (1971) are as follows:

Testimony:	Some witnesses → the high priest and the Sanhedrin (v. 58)	(highest P form)
First query:	The high priest → Jesus (v. 60bc)	(<i>tangsin</i> , high O form)
Second query:	The high priest → Jesus (v. 61b)	(<i>tangsin</i> , high O form)
Reply:	Jesus → the high priest and the Sanhedrin (v. 62b)	(<i>tangsin</i> , high O form, highest P form)
First Reply:	The high priest → the Sanhedrin (v. 63b)	(\emptyset , highest P form)
Second Reply:	The high priest → the Sanhedrin (v. 64)	(<i>yeoreobun</i> , highest P form)
Jeer:	Some of them → Jesus (v. 65b)	(\emptyset , lowest T form)

divinity as being somewhat washy.⁴⁶ Accordingly, the dialogues above were revised to make Jesus' speech style uniform and non-deferential in the *CTHB*. However, the use of the formal general non-deferential T forms in which the person jeers Jesus in the *CTHB* is more natural than the use of the formal limited non-deferential *keudae* and O form of the *KNTNT*.

The speech style of the high priest to the Sanhedrin, on the other hand, shows a mixture of the formal deferential P form and the formal limited non-deferential O form and breaks the consistency of honorific expressions. Thus, the AH of the *CTHB* still involve some awkward honorifics like Jesus' speech style and the mixed formal and informal forms but are more natural than the styles of the *KNTNT* (1967).

III.3. New Korean Standard Version (1993/2001)

As observed in the previous section, the Protestant Church criticized the *CTHB* (1977) for having Catholic features, being composed in styles too light for liturgy, and being too simple. On the Protestant side, the *New Korean Standard Version (NKSV)* was translated into standard contemporary Korean by sixteen Protestant scholars and published in February 1993. Its revision, the *Revised New Korean Standard Version (RNKSV)* was published in 2001 as the most current Korean translation.

According to the translation guidelines,⁴⁷ the expected readers were teenagers and people in their twenties, i.e. the largest demographic group in Korea. Since the skopos of its usage was not only for liturgy but also for Christian education, the style of the new translation did not follow archaic style of the *KRV* but rather the most up-to-date modern styles.

Insofar as the translations of dialogues of Mark 14:58-65, the *RNKSV*

⁴⁶ D. H. Cho, "Gongdongbunyeok Shinyakseongseo: Hanai Kyohoe, Hanai Jeungeon (Book Review of *The New Testament of Common Translation: One Church, One Testamony*)," *Gidokkyosasang (Christian Thought)* 157, 127.

⁴⁷ The guidelines of the *NKSV* (1993) are as follows: 1) to translate into easy modern Korean languages for teenagers and people in their twenties, i.e., the group covering the largest mass of the Korean population, and to be understood by anyone; 2) to express appropriate Korean according to Korean grammar after fully understanding the meaning of source text; 3) to translate for both rituals and education of the Church; 4) to follow the *KRV* (1961) insofar as transliterations of proper nouns are concerned; and 5) not to change the typical church terms (ex. God's naming, the Son of God, the Red Sea, etc.) (The preface of *NKSV*).

(2001) is the same as the *NKSV* (1993).

The Dialogues of
Mk 14:58-65 in *RNKSJ*

Back-Translation of
RNKSJ (2001)

HSPP

HVE

Testimony: Some witnesses → the high priest and the Sanhedrin (v. 58)

Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τούτου τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω

“uriga ea saramea malhaneun
geosul deuleonneundae ‘naga
saramui soneuro jieun ea
seongjeoneul heomulgo,
soneuro jijji anheun dareun
seongjeoneul saheul ane
seugetta.’ **haveosseumnida.**”

“We have ever heard
that this man is talking,
‘I will tear down this
temple that was made
with man’s hands, and
will build other temple
that is not made with
hands within three
days.’ **Said.**”

seugetta
(FGNonD T
form);
haveosseumni
da (FD P
form)

First query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 60b)

Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν τί οὐτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν

“ea saramdeulee **keudaege**
bullihange
jeungeonhaneundedo, amu
dappyeondo haji **ansso?**”

“Although these people
testify against **you**,
don’t (you) answer
anything?”

keudaege
(FLNonD)

ansso
(FLNonD O
form)

Second query: The high priest → Jesus (v. 61b)

Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ;

“**Keudaeneun** chanyangeul
badeusil bunui adeul
geurisudovo?”

“**Are you** the Christ, the
Son of the Blessed
God?”

keudaeneun
(FLNonD)

geurisudovo
(FLNonD O
form)

Reply: Jesus → the high priest and the Sanhedrin (v. 62b)

Εγὼ εἶμι, καὶ ὤψεθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

“nega baro **geuivo.**
Tangsindeuleun injaga
jeonneunghasin bunui
oreunpyeone anja inneun
geokkwa haneului gureuneul
tago oneun geosul boge doel
geosio.”

“I **am** he. You **will** see
the Son of man seat at
the right hand of Power,
and comes on the clouds
of heaven.”

tangsindeuleun
(FLNonD)

geuivo; geosio
(FLNonD O
form)

Speech: The high priest → the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a)

Τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας; τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται;

“eaje uriege museun

“Now, What do (we)

veoreobuncun;

pilyohagesso

jeungindeulea deo <u>pilvohagesso?</u> <u>yeoreobuneun</u> ije hananimeul modokhaneun maleul <u>deuleosso</u> . <u>yeoreobunui</u> senggageun <u>eotteohao?</u> ”	need any further witnesses? Everyone heard just now blasphemy. What does everyone think?”	<u>yeoreobunui</u> (FLNonD)	(FNonDL O form) <u>deuleosso</u> ; <u>eotteohao</u> (FNonDL O form)
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Jeer: Some of them → Jesus (v. 65b)

Προφήτευσον

“alamachyeo boara.”

“Make a guess.”

boara
(FGNon T
form)

F (Formal), IF (Informal), L (Limited), G (General), D (Deferential), NonD (Non-deferential)

In contrast to the previous versions, there is no general non-deferential *noh* form in the above dialogues. It seems to be natural that all the interlocutors in the trial do not use this form because the *noh* form is not used to address others unless they are relationally close and in daily conversation. The HSPP are appropriately expressed in varied forms of *tangsŏn*, *yeoreobun* and *keudae*. In addition, Jesus’ speech style is also in balance with those of the high priest in contrast to the previous versions. It shows that the rendering Jesus’ speech styles has become more flexible.

Jesus speaks to the high priest in the shorten ending, *iyŏ* (“am” [v. 62b]) and *geosio* (“will” [v. 62b]), which function like the formal limited non-deferential O form. Nowadays, a speaker seldom uses the O form although the form not only show the authoritative mood but also the dignified behavior and speech styles of speakers.

The honorific speech style of the *RNKSŬ* display more developed phenomena than any other Korean versions. The flexibility in Jesus’ speech style in the *RNKSŬ* adopt the modern honorific system and serve to let people overcome their prejudice that Jesus, the Son of God, must speak to everyone in the non-deferential form regardless the pragmatics of speech.

IV. Korean Translations Along with the Framework for Addressee Honorifics

We have reviewed the seven versions of the Korean Bible that have been officially used as the Church Bible or for Bible education in Korean

churches. The focus of this review was the AH phenomena in the dialogue between Jesus and the Sanhedrin (Mk 14:58-65) of each translation. This comparison was done by utilizing the framework for translating into AH that was proposed in chapter 3. It is obvious that the skopos of each translation not only directed the translation process but also influenced the AH.

The target readers of each translation have changed from being the common people and pioneer missionaries (*CNT*: 1884, 1887); Korean intellectuals (*Mark* by S. J. Lee: 1885); every Korean reader (*KB*: 1911; *KRV*: 1938/1952/1961; *NKRV*: 1998); non-Christians and young people under thirty years of age (*KNTNT*: 1967); Catholic and Protestant Christians and non-Christians (*CTHB*: 1977/1999); and, finally, teens and young adults (*NKSV*: 1993; *RKNSV*: 2001). In the pioneer periods of the Korean translation, the Ross' target was based on the missionary skopos of spreading the gospel while S. J. Lee focused on intellectuals. Since the beginning of translating the Bible into Korean, translators who belonged to the official committee endeavored to provide a translation for every Korean. The expected readers of the *KB* and its revisions were too broad and ended up appealing only to the older generation. On the other hand, the target readers of the modern translations were more specific than the earlier versions. Defining specific expected readers, however, led translators to a double binding situation faced by all translators, i.e. translating into "ordinary language" or "conventional style or obsolescent language". The previous generation of Christians rejected the modern translations in ordinary language with vivid honorific expressions intended for the youth or non-Christians. Although recent versions like the *KNTNT* (1967), the *NKSV* (1993), and the *RKNSV* (2001) use modern honorific expressions, they are not used as the liturgical Bible but only for educational purposes. The exception is the *CTHB* (1977/1999) which was accepted by the Catholic Church as the liturgical Bible.

The AH were also influenced by translation guidelines and theories set up by commissioners and translators. Except for Ross, the commissioners undertook main roles in the translation project at its starting stage. In Korea's early Christianity, the NBS, BFBS and ABS proposed translation guidelines, provided financial support for the translation committee, published the translations and actively distributed them even during the Japanese colonial period that lasted from 1910 to 1945. After KBS was officially established in 1947, KBS became the commissioner of all translation projects and organized the translation committee consisting of biblical scholars, who were

recommended by various denominations, and trained translators through the cooperation of UBS. When translators started working on the project, central roles have been transferred from the commissioners to the translators. Translation approaches were established by translators without any interference of commissioners that resulted in the literal translation of the *KB* (1911), its revisions (1938/1952/1961/1998), the more free translation of the *KNTNT* (1967), the dynamic equivalence of the *CTHB* (1977/1999), and functional equivalence of the *NKSV* (1993) and the *RNKSV* (2001).⁴⁸

Under the literal translation approach of the *KB* and its revisions, the dialogues between the interlocutors in Mark 14:58-65 were almost uniformly translated with the *noh* form and the lowest form. This reflects the fact that the translators followed the literal translation approach and strove to match the non-honorific expressions of Greek with the *noh* form and the lowest form of the Korean language undertaking the linguistic denotative function of the Greek pronoun and verb without considering the pragmatics of speech levels of daily conversation. The honorific phenomena are also found in Korean translations by Ross and S. J. Lee, however, their translation theories are not clearly stated. Under free translation, dynamic equivalence and functional equivalence, translators of contemporary versions have colorfully expressed the dialogues of interlocutors using various AH.

In addition to the translation approaches, the source text of each versions also caused some difficulties for the translators in determining the AH because source texts, i.e. Chinese, Greek, and English versions, and even the references were not composed in honorific languages, but non-honorific ones.⁴⁹ Only established versions in Korean could serve as references for the following translations. The turning point for using modern AH in Korean translations was marked by the translation of the *KNTNT* (1967), which refrained from strict literal translation and followed a more free translation. This version had great impact on the later translations such as the *CTHB* (1977/1999), the *NKSV* (1993) and the *RNKSV* (2001). Nevertheless, the AH of these versions were determined by thorough observation and interpretation of the source text. Such an endeavor is essential to accurately render the message of the source text into the target text. It depends entirely

⁴⁸ The translation principle, which explains the translation approach, was “to benefit from the merits of the formal correspondence and dynamic equivalence while dismissing the disadvantages of both concepts.”

⁴⁹ Specific source texts of each version are represented in the appendix 1.

on the intended skopos of translators, who exegetically analyze the source text and pragmatically transfer the results as the target text. The fact that there was research on Jesus' speech style reflects the awareness that the AH are not only related to the dogmatic angles of readers but also to the interpretation of source text. The translators' choice of AH is relevant to the developments in honorific systems of modern Korean.

Although all translators have considered the honorific problems, it was difficult to find proper HSPP and HVE. Even if the translators established their own honorific systems at the starting stage of their translations, all honorific expressions of their systems could not be used in their translations. Rather, the honorifics of their translations—and revisions of the *KB*' in particular—have been strongly influenced by the archaic styles which were used in the literary texts of the 19th century. Accordingly, young readers regard the so-called typical Korean Biblical styles as obsolete speech and the old language. Nobody knows how long the Korean Protestant Christians will use the *KB* and its revisions as the official Church Bible. If these versions continue to be used as the Church Bible, honorifics of the Korean Church Bible will continue to be in the style of the 19th century. In the future, the honorifics for the revisions must be carefully selected by a concrete method for translating into the AH.

There is the possibility that current translations, which have included the modern Korean honorifics, could become the standard Church Bible when the young readers grow up and become the older generation. Perhaps it would never happen or take a long time, at least a turn of one generation, i.e., thirty years for the Church Bible to change from *KB*'s revisions to new translations. Whether the next project is undertaken to the revision of *NKRV* (1998) or to new translation, translating into the AH will be definitely crucial issue just like the previous translations have made.

V. Summary and Conclusion

Korean Bible translations played a significant role in rediscovering the value of the Korean alphabet, which had been ignored in favour of the Chinese culture and characters. However, since the Korean alphabet was used in the Korean Bible translations, translators have had to face the challenge of selecting honorifics for every sentence.

Since the *CNT* by Ross (1887), the HSPP and HVE were uniformly

expressed with forms used to address an inferior despite the variety of social statuses of interlocutors in Mark 14:58-65. Even though the honorific systems of the 19th century were less strict than now, honorific expressions of the *CNT* seem to imply that Ross was not sensitive in considering Korean honorifics though he was aware of the honorific phenomena. Like other literature of the time, the *CNT* does not have any word spacing or punctuation.

The Gospel according to Mark by S. J. Lee (1885) also does not have any word spacing or punctuation. The lowest form had also been consistently selected in dialogues between all interlocutors and this archaic style, appearing in other contemporary literary texts, was frequently selected because S. J. Lee's skopos was to deliver the Gospel to Korean intellectuals. S. J. Lee also followed the classic style of mixing Korean with Chinese characters in writing. Many missionaries after his time were influenced by the skopos and honorific styles he adopted.

The *Korean Bible* (1911) made use of word spacing and followed the standard Korean grammar of publishing. However, there is no punctuation in this version. The honorifics adopted in the *KB* were not rich in variety although it includes honorific expressions for addressing superiors. The HSPP and the HVE are uniformly expressed with the lowest form between all interlocutors in Mark 14:58-65. The *KB*, which followed the structures and literary text styles of the 19th century, has influenced its revisions (1938/1952/1961/1998). However, the *KRV* (1961) and the *NKRV* (1998) have been read by most Protestant Christians as the liturgy Bible.

The translators, especially Korean translators, had enough knowledge of the higher honorific system of HSPP but may have intentionally selected the lowest form following the literal translation theory in order to translate SPP of the Greek into the HSPP of Korean as literally as possible. However, there are various expressions within the same lowest honorific level that deliver the same meaning. These styles have settled down as the typical Korean "Biblical style" which is read in a solemn tone for worship in the Korea church.

Each revision of the *KB* (1911) has reflected the current of the times but the extent of revision was limited according to the expected skopos of Korean church. In this regard, there is no difference in the honorific phenomena even between the *KB* (1911) and the *NKRV* (1998) despite the rapid changes in Korean honorifics during the 20th century. Even the *NKRV* (1998) still uses the archaic style without any quotation marks, periods, or

divisions between narrations and dialogues. Since the AH of this version uniformly adopts one single AH for all passages, the honorific phenomena makes the speech styles flat and sentences awkward for today's readers. Still, most Korean Protestant Christians believe that the Bible should not be translated into ordinary speech but the so-called 'difficult canonic styles'.

Since the mid 1960's, however, there were several attempts to modernize the style of new translations. The *KNTNT*, a modern translation published in 1967, was more modern in style than the *NKRV* of 1998. Styles of the *KNTNT* are not only colloquial but also excellently polished at the same time. In marked contrast to previous versions, dialogues in the *KNTNT* show the use of various HSPP and HVE to a broader extent. The HSPP of all interlocutors in the dialogues are variously expressed in the forms, *tangsin*, *noh*, *yeoreobun*, and *keudae* according to their relationships and intentions. The HVE are also expressed in various forms, i.e. the formal deferential P form, the formal limited non-deferential O form, and the formal general non-deferential T form. The relationships between interlocutors are more vivid than the ones in the previous versions implying that the translators have interpreted the relationships of interlocutors by their gender difference, relative age, or relative social status. However, Jesus' speech is still uniformly translated with the formal general non-deferential T form.

Like the HSPP of the *KNTNT* (1967), the HSPP of the *CTHB* (1977/1999) also use the varied forms of *tangsin*, *noh*, *yeoreobun*, and *keudae*. However, the AH of the *CTHB* are more vivid and natural than the ones of the *KNTNT*. Nevertheless, the *CTHB* still has some awkward honorific expressions in the dialogues that mix the deferential P form and the non-deferential O form and break the consistency of honorific expressions. Furthermore, the Jesus' speech style when he answers a gentle question is rendered into the formal general non-deferential *noh* and T form thereby implying rudeness. The adoption of modern honorific systems for Jesus' speech style is an issue that still remains unsolved in Korean translations because of the conflicting requirements between the laity and church leaders.

The *NKSV* (1993) and its revision, the *RNKSV* (2001), use more developed honorific phenomena than any other Korean version. In contrast with the previous versions, the Jesus' speech style is in balance with those of the high priest in Mk 14:58-65. In the *RNKSV*, the AH is influenced by the *CTHB* (1977), however, the flexibility in Jesus' speech style in the *RNKSV* may allow people overcome their preconception that Jesus as the Son of God must speak to every person in the non-deferential form.

For the Protestant Church, there will be a new Korean translation in 2015 that will focus on the young generation. For this project, the honorifics will again be a great challenge as it was in other modern translations. The honorifics of modern translation cannot return to using uniform honorific expressions in the archaic style but must keep up with the changes in general honorifics systems in contemporary Korean society.

Chapter 5

Politeness and Addressee Honorifics in Mark 14:58-65

I. Introduction

This chapter analyzes the biblical text according to the proposed criteria and the theoretical framework for translating into AH, and discusses possible alternatives of AH for a new Korean church translation. The specific text, the discourse of Jesus before the Sanhedrin (Mk 14:53-65), will be analyzed in terms of: (1) social factors, i.e., relative age, status and gender, degree of familiarity and the formality of the situation, which all influence the choice of Korean AH (ref. Ch. 1), (2) criteria for evaluating politeness and selecting AH, i.e., situation of dialogue, the interlocutors' social relationships which overlap with the social factors influencing the choice of AH, cultural expectations, social variables of the speakers' assumptions and paralinguistic politeness (Ch. 2), and, finally, (3) the proposed framework for translating into AH, particularly pragmatic analysis, transfer and determination (ref. Ch. 3).

Mark 14:53-65 narrates a singular line of plotted action (14:53-57, 64a, 65ac) and the following seven dialogues (14:58-64a, 65b): (1) the testimony of witnesses before the Sanhedrin (v. 58a), (2) the false testimony regarding Jesus' claims (v. 58b), (3) the high priest's first query to Jesus (v. 60b-61a), (4) the high priest's second query to Jesus (v. 61b), (5) Jesus' reply to the high priest and his speech before the Sanhedrin (v. 62b), (6) the high priest's speech to the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a), and, finally, (7) the resulting outrage of some of the members of the Sanhedrin (v. 65b).

The situation of each dialogue in this pericope does not change except for Jesus' reply to the false testimonies. The formality of situation is a crucial factor for determining proper honorific usage especially for the contemporary honorifics system. After dealing with the formality of the situation, each dialogue (Mk 14:53-65) will be analyzed according to the following criteria: (1) the social relationship of interlocutors, (2) the cultural expectation concerning the social activity, and (3) the social variables of

speaker's assumption toward addressee(s) and the intention of speaker. Based on the result of the analyses, the speaker's politeness will be determined and the most appropriate AH will be proposed.

II. Situation: Formal or Informal?

In this pericope, the trial situation's formality, determined by the space and time of Jesus' trial, has been debated.¹ One opinion suggests that bringing Jesus to the home of the high priest late at night indicates that the hearing is unofficial and informal.² According to Mark, the trial is conducted in the house of the high priest: καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ἕως ἔσω εἰς τὴν ἀύλην τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, "and Peter afar off did follow him, to the inside of the courtyard of the high priest" (Mk 14:54a).³

There is, however, no evidence in rabbinic literature that suggests that the court considers the house of the high priest as its chambers. *M. Sanh*, 11.20 says "the chamber of hewn stone" in the Temple precinct as the seat of the court and the Sanhedrin could not—and never did—exercise jurisdiction anywhere outside the court of the Temple precinct, including the house of the high priest.⁴ In addition, the expression describing the courtyard,

¹ R. H. Gundry claimed that the Sanhedric trial of Jesus violated almost every judicial regulation known from the Mishnah at the time of Jesus, so his trial was viewed as unjust (R. H. Gundry, *Mark: a Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993], 893-894). C. A. Evans also said that bringing Jesus to the home of the high priest (cf. v. 54a) late at night indicates that the hearing was unofficial (C. A. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20* [Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001], 443). In fact, Jewish authorities could not inflict the death penalty under the Roman rule in Palestine (R. M. Grant, "The Trial of Jesus in the Light of History," *Judaism* 20:1 [Winter 1971], 39). According to Grant, all the reliable evidence shows that the high Priest and the Sanhedrin did not possess the right to execute offenders against either Jewish or Roman law in the time of Jesus (Grant, "The Trial of Jesus in the Light of History," 41).

² Cf. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 443.

³ Mark 14:54 seems to interrupt the flow of the narrative and appears to be disruptive to the account of the proceedings before the Sanhedrin. It is inserted to prepare for the discourse of Peter's denial (vv. 66-72) and to indicate that the trial to Jesus and the denial of Peter were concurrent. "Being warned by the fire," is repeated in v. 67 to draw readers back to this setting. Insofar as translating into AH in the discourse of Jesus' trial, this intended device of Mark seems to imply the spatiotemporal background.

⁴ A. W. F. Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark: in the Revised Version, with*

θερμαινόμενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς, “warming himself by the fire” (Mk 14:54) reveals that the court meeting was held late at night.⁵ However, according to *m. Sanh*, 4.1, condemnation by the Sanhedrin on the night of the Passover is prohibited for no criminal trial can take place on the eve of a feast day or on the feast day itself.⁶ Most NT scholars notice that Luke 22:66 specifies that the Sanhedrin did not meet until morning because a nocturnal assembly would be an affront to temple-policy.⁷

Mark, however, may intend to show that the nocturnal assembly of such high ranked figures (vv. 53-54) reveals their great alarm and sense of urgency. It is consistent with the deliberations reported in Mark 14:1-2 where Jesus’ appearance is prevented at the Temple during the Passover.⁸ Accordingly, the Mishnaic judicial regulations are not opposed to the irregularities in Jesus’ trial because “the Sanhedrin treated Jesus’ case as an emergency fraught with great danger to the Torah.”⁹ It is normal to try people immediately after his/her arrest since Jewish criminal law made no provision for detainment on demand (Deut. 13:12; 17:13; 21:21).¹⁰ The fact that Mark did not need to explain such irregularities to his first readers shows that this kind of irregular meeting was understood by his contemporaries. This may be the reason why the Gospel of Mark records that the trial before the Sanhedrin occurred during the night.

Introduction and Commentary (Oxford: The Clarendon press, 1939), 255; P. Winter, “The Meeting Place of the Sanhedrin and Mark’s Nocturnal Session,” *ZNW* 50 (1959), 221-225; H. Cohn, “Reflections on the Trial of Jesus,” *Judaism*. 20:1 (Winter 1971), 15.

⁵ The courtyard is usually an enclosed area surrounded by buildings or porches, and open to the sky (R. G. Bratcher 1981: 199), and nights in Jerusalem around the Passover period can be cold (J. R. Donahue and D. J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* [Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2002], 420).

⁶ Cf. W. L. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark: the English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974), 529; C. S. Mann, *Mark: a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1986), 662; Gundry, *Mark*, 894.

⁷ Cf. Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 255; Cohn, “Reflections on the Trial of Jesus,” 15. C. S. Mann has claimed that the codification of the tractate Sanhedrin in the Mishnah prohibits night meetings when handling criminal cases (Mann, *Mark*, 662). He has pointed out that Luke’s version mentions the meeting to have taken place in the morning (22:66-71), and John has an account of Jesus being questioned by Annas (18:19-23) (Mann, *Mark*, 662).

⁸ Cohn, “Reflections on the Trial of Jesus,” 19.

⁹ Gundry, *Mark*, 893.

¹⁰ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 531.

The expression, ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον, “all the Sanhedrin” (Mk 14:55), also indicates that Mark presents the trial as an official Sanhedrin meeting before an official judicial inquiry for which the death penalty was to be sought. The description, ὅλον, “all,” may have been expanded by Marcan universalizing, which is occasionally seen in other passages (cf. Mk 1:5), however, general scholarly consensus agrees that Mark intends to underscore how fully Jesus’ passion predictions had been fulfilled.¹¹ According to *m. Sanh.* 1.6, “all the Sanhedrin” consisted of 71 members and the presence of 23 members constituted a quorum.¹² Therefore, at least 23 members of the Sanhedrin would have assembled for the trial of Jesus according to Mark’s account.

For translating into the proper AH, it is necessary to follow Mark’s narrative and not the narratives of the other Gospels. Despite the debate about the formality of the actual situation, Mark obviously depicts the trial setting as a formal and official meeting and presents the procedure as a rigged trial.

III. Testimony of Some Witnesses before the Sanhedrin (v. 58a)

Mark 14:58 ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος... 59
καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἴση ἦν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτῶν.

Mark 14:58 “We ourselves heard his saying... 59 and
neither so was their testimony alike.”¹³

III.1. Analysis by Criteria for Politeness and Addressee

¹¹ Cf. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 531; Gundry, *Mark*, 883; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 444.

¹² Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 531; B. Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark: a Socio-rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001), 383; J. R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark* (Grand Rapids: Apollos, 2002), 443. According to Josephus, *Antiquities* IV. v. 4, they constituted the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem, the supreme Jewish court of law, and the council was composed of 71 members and the high priest who presided over its deliberations (Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 531).

¹³ The Greek text is translated as literally as possible before evaluating politeness of source text and selecting the AH.

Honorifics

Social Relationship of Witnesses and All the Sanhedrin

After the first group of witnesses are dismissed (vv. 55-56), some witnesses try and trap Jesus in his claim that he would destroy the Temple and build another in its place in three days (v. 58) as the threat to their temple. The identity of the speakers is purposely delineated in vv. 56-57: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐψεудоμαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἴσαι αἱ μαρτυρίαι οὐκ ἦσαν. καὶ τινες ἀναστάντες ἐψεудоμαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες “for many were bearing false testimony against him, and their testimonies were not alike. And some having stood up, were bearing false testimony against him, saying.” The speakers are τινες, “some (people)” (v. 57), narrowed down from πολλοί, “many (people)” (v. 56), just as the “many” were narrowed down from ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον, “all the Sanhedrin” (v. 55).¹⁴ As they testify against Jesus before the members of the Sanhedrin their false testimonies are emphasized in v. 59: καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἴση ἦν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτῶν, “and neither so was their testimony alike.”

There is no evidence whether the false witnesses against Jesus belong to the Sanhedrin or not, so their age, social status, gender and the degree of familiarity with the members of Sanhedrin cannot be ascertained. However, it is certain that their audiences are the highest ranked figures of Jewish society.

The addressees of some false witnesses, the members of the Sanhedrin, are mentioned at the beginning of this pericope (Mk 14:53): τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ... πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς, “the high priest, ... all the chief priests, the elders, and the scribes.” The members of the Sanhedrin, i.e. the body of Jewish leaders, took turns in playing appreciable roles in the government and saw to the administration of Jewish law.¹⁵ Although the chief priests would be replaced by secular rulers under Roman overlords, their social status gave them prestige and authority in the eyes of others and formed the real power in Jewish politics.¹⁶ The

¹⁴ Gundry, *Mark*, 885.

¹⁵ E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1985), 312.

¹⁶ Cf. Josephus, Ant. 20.10.5: “the ruling priests (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς) were entrusted with the leadership of the nation” (E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: from Pompey to Diocletian* [Leiden: Brill, 1976], 148-150).

dominant orientation of this group would have been the Sadducees who had a special concern for the temple.¹⁷ If Jesus is believed to have made some threatening remark about the temple being destroyed, this group would have wanted to see Jesus out of the way. “The elders” represented the most influential laypersons and were wealthy landowners and members of prominent Jewish families and “the scribes” are associated with the Pharisees.¹⁸ The Sadducees (most of the chief priests) and the Pharisees (the scribes), thus, sit together on the court.¹⁹ Obviously, the addressees of this testimony are socially, politically, and religiously the highest ranked figures in Jewish society.

Cultural Expectation concerning the Testimonies

Any accusation that accused Jesus of speaking about the destruction of the Temple would have been abhorrent to Jewish people.²⁰ However, the testimony toward the supreme Jewish court ironically violates the Law against false testimony.²¹ The “testimonies” have to be spoken by an eyewitness and not simply circumstantial in accordance with Jewish law.²² Therefore, the forward position of οὐδὲ οὕτως ἴση, “neither so was alike” (v. 59) stresses the disagreement that exposed the falsity of the witnesses’ testimonies and supports the innocence of Jesus.²³ According to the rules of evidence of Jewish law, such testimonies of the witnesses are not sufficient to condemn Jesus. Clearly, these testimonies depended on the intention of the Sanhedrin.²⁴

¹⁷ Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 383.

¹⁸ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 532; Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 383.

¹⁹ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 312.

²⁰ S. G. F. Brandon, “The Trial of Jesus,” *Judaism* 20:1 (Winter 1971), 47.

²¹ Cf. Exod 20:16; Deut 5:20 (Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 421; F. J. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark: a Commentary* [Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002], 302).

²² Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 444. According to the Jewish law, the agreement of only two witnesses suffices to establish the truth of an accusation, and their smallest inconsistency is sufficient to discredit them and make their testimony invalid (Cf. Num 35:30; Deut 17:6; 19:15; 11QTemple 61:6-7; Josephus Ant. 4.8.15§219 quoted by Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 533; Gundry, *Mark*, 885).

²³ Cf. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark*, 303.

²⁴ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 421.

In contrast with Jewish law, Roman law did not necessitate the presence of a witness but the accused could be condemned on such a guilty plea.²⁵ Thus, although the Sanhedrin did not need any witness to bring Jesus to Pilate, the high priest probably did not want to take the responsibility alone. The Sanhedrin did not want to alienate the Roman authorities but also wanted to retain the confidence of the Jewish people.²⁶ Thus, the Sanhedrin tried to secure testimony that would give rise to a charge that will be taken seriously by a Roman governor who would have little interest and little jurisdiction in a purely religious dispute.²⁷ The trial is a preliminary examination to make the Roman governor give a verdict of death.²⁸ In fact, Jesus was executed by Pilate at the behest of the Jewish leadership.

The Social Variables of Witnesses' Assumption toward All the Sanhedrin and Their Intention

Regardless of whether some witnesses as speakers belong to the Sanhedrin or not, their addressees consisted of the most powerful men in Jewish society. Furthermore, their purpose against Jesus works with the fierce hostility of their addressees although the disagreement of the testimonies frustrates this intention. A trial on a capital charge should begin with a statement of the reasons for acquittal, not with reasons for conviction according to the Mishnah (*m. Sanh.* 4.1),²⁹ whereas the entire Sanhedrin is blatantly determined to put him to death from the start.

Mark depicts the Sanhedrin as opposed to Jesus since his arrival in Jerusalem (Mk 11:18, 27; 14:1, 10, 43, 47), and their hostile intentions and attitudes toward Jesus are clear. In addition, the specific proceedings against Jesus before this pericope shows the plot by the hostile Jewish leaders to put

²⁵ Cohn, "Reflections on the Trial of Jesus," 20.

²⁶ As J. R. Edwards has argued, this supreme indigenous tribunal mediated between the Jewish populace and Roman occupation, and possessed freedom of jurisdiction in religious matters and partial freedom in political matters, though it is doubtful whether it possessed the right of capital punishment (Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 442).

²⁷ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 444.

²⁸ Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 255; John reports that the Sanhedrin had no right to try any capital cases at all (Jn 18:31) (R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: a Commentary on the Greek Text* [Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 2002], 602).

²⁹ M. D. Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark* (London: A & C Black, 1991), 358.

Jesus to death (Mk 14:55): οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον ἐζήτουν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαρτυρίαν εἰς τὸ θανατώσαι αὐτόν, καὶ οὐχ ἠύρισκον. “And the chief priests and all the sanhedrin were seeking against Jesus testimony - to put him to death, and they were not finding.” The iterative imperfect form ἐζήτουν, “were seeking” (v. 55a), which always implies negative intent, appears several times in Mark (Mk 11:18; 12:12; 14:1, 11).³⁰ Another iterative imperfect οὐχ ἠύρισκον “they were not finding” (v. 55b), signifies the ongoing effort of the priests, which are searching for the evidence of capital crimes, and implies the intent to condemn Jesus.³¹

The translator can thus assume that the testimonies of some witnesses are in accord with the obvious hostile intent of their addressees against Jesus. Also, the speakers neither assume to have more power nor rank than the Sanhedrin and there is a wide distance between the interlocutors in this formal situation.

III.2. Politeness of Some Witnesses to All the Sanhedrin

The politeness of some witnesses’ testimonies, Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, “we heard him saying,” cannot be evaluated in the grammar, and the syntactic and semantic structure in the Greek itself, whereas, in terms of pragmatics, the translator can perceive that it would have been accepted as the polite expression by their addressees, i.e. the members of the Sanhedrin. The witnesses remain aloof with their addressees in the formal situation and their testimonies serve the purpose of their addressees who opposed Jesus since his arrival in Jerusalem.³²

The witnesses notice the interest of Sanhedrin who is against Jesus (v. 55) and attempt to dramatically intensify their false testimonies and furthermore assert their wrong knowledge about the identity of Jesus as the

³⁰ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 444; Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 444. The Jewish leadership began to seek to destroy him (11:18), seek to seize him (12:12), seek in stealth to seize and kill him (14:1), and Judas sought how to give him over (14:11).

³¹ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 444; Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 444.

³² According to the politeness rules of Lakoff, the testimonies may be classified as the rule 1, “don’t impose – remain aloof,” and the rule 3, “make an addressee(s) feel good – be friendly” (Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 298).

false prophet.³³ They cooperate with members of the Sanhedrin and assert the addressees' wants and willingness through the testimonies implying, "we know what you want to hear." In addition, they maximize agreement and sympathy among themselves and the Sanhedrin allows this because of their hatred of Jesus.³⁴ Thus, although the illocutionary goal is indifferent from the social goal,³⁵ they would have obviously used polite expressions toward their addressees who were as hostile against Jesus as they were.

III.3. Translating the Testimonies of Some Witnesses into Addressee Honorifics

The verb ἠκούσαμεν, "we heard," itself does not give any information for translating into the proper AH. ἠκούσαμεν has six possible translations into the Korean honorific verb ending form: (1) the formal deferential P form; (2) the formal limited non-deferential O form; (3) the formal general non-deferential T form; (4) the informal deferential Y form; (5) the informal limited non-deferential N form; and (6) the informal general non-deferential E form.

(1) The formal deferential P form. The social status of witnesses cannot be higher than the high priest and the rest of the Sanhedrin and the social situation would be formal. The formality of the situation can be shown by using the verb-ending formal deferential P form in distant or non-familiar relationships and in public situations. In a real court situation, witnesses are usually required to use the formal deferential verb ending as the form of public speech in modern Korean honorifics. The use of the formal deferential verb ending in the testimonies of the witnesses is natural for modern Koreans. Effective use of the formal deferential verb ending when talking in a public context can serve to reinforce the statuses of the speaker and

³³ The testimonies can be classified as a case of the positive politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson as follows: (1) strategy 1: notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods); (2) strategy 3: intensify interest to H; and (3) strategy 9: assert of presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants (Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 103-104, 129).

³⁴ The politeness maxims of Leech are applicable to the testimonies as follows: (1) the agreement maxim ([b] maximize agreement between between self and other), and (2) the sympathy maxim ([b] maximize sympathy between self and other) (Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 132).

³⁵ Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 105.

audience. Accordingly, most modern translations appropriately have selected the formal deferential form since the *KNTNT* (1967) in contrast to the older translations that uniformly select the formal general nondeferential T verb ending form.

(2) The formal limited non-deferential O form. The formal limited non-deferential O verb ending form is often used by the person of superior status towards people of lower or equal status. It is certain that the witnesses are not of higher rank than the religious Jewish authorities nor do they hold more power than their addressees. Furthermore, their testimonies correspond to formal speech according to the Marcan account. Accordingly, in terms of the information of the source text and the naturalness of the target text, the use of the formal limited non-deferential form in the testimony of witnesses is likely to be awkward for modern readers.

(3) The formal general non-deferential T form. Witnesses cannot use the non-deferential forms toward court officials and if used it would be definitely regarded as contempt of court. Old language translations such as the *CNT* (1887), *Mark* by S. J. Lee (1885), the *KRV* (1938/1952/1961) and the *NKRV* (1998), however, select the formal general non-deferential T form in its archaic style because these versions have pursued the literal translation approach and concentrate on the denotation of the Greek verb without considering pragmatic usage of the speech levels in daily conversation. As a result, the selection of the formal general non-deferential T form for the testimony of witnesses inevitably leads to the loss of information about the witnesses' deferential attitude toward the Sanhedrin, the tacit agreement on their intention, the trial situation, and so forth. Thus, as it damages the transfer of the source text information, the non-deferential T form is not appropriate to the style of the witnesses' testimonies.

(4) Informal deferential Y form, (5) informal limited non-deferential N form, and (6) informal general non-deferential E form. Although there is a debate as to whether the trial setting is formal or informal, Mark depicts it as a formal and official meeting and further presents the procedure as a rigged trial. It is assumed that the trial is conducted by the high priest and all the Sanhedrin, which consists of at least 23 members according to the Marcan account. Although the informal deferential forms are occasionally interchangeable with the formal deferential forms in daily conversation, they are not appropriate at a formal trial. Accordingly, the informal forms are inappropriate in translating the source text into the target context. Since the formality of the trial situation has been also realized by Korean translators,

no Korean translation selects the informal deferential form.

Among the six possible selections, the formal deferential P verb ending is the most proper verb ending form for the testimonies regardless of old language or modern language translations. The informal forms cannot be used in a formal trial situation and the non-deferential forms neither convey the respect of witnesses toward the highest religious authorities and the supreme Jewish court nor effectively express the collective hostility against Jesus. The witnesses may have worried about etiquette violations and proper honoring of the Sanhedrin. When selecting the formal deferential P verb ending form, most modern Korean translations seem to interpret the source text as accurately as possible observing the characteristics of this form as used in formal court. Accordingly, even if the old language translations like the *NKRV* (1998) are revised, the formal deferential P verb ending form will have to be chosen as in other passages of *NKRV* (1998).

Before the AH is selected, the social variables of some witnesses' assumptions of the Sanhedrin must be analyzed. According to their testimonies, the witnesses do not assume more power or higher rank than the Sanhedrin and they acknowledge the social distance. The Sanhedrin, as the supreme Jewish court, seems to have absolute power over the outcome of the trial although the trial is preliminary to the verdict of the Roman governor. It is obvious that the witnesses observed proper social etiquette and were sensitive in honoring the Sanhedrin as the greater power and higher rank.

IV. The Speech of Jesus toward his Audience in the False Testimonies (v. 58b)

Mark 14:58b ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω

Mark 14:58b “I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days, I will build another that is made without hands.”

IV.1. Analysis by Criteria for Politeness and Addressee Honorifics

Social Relationship of Jesus and his Audience in the False Testimonies

Mark explicitly states that Jesus is falsely accused of saying these words (v. 57). Some witnesses lie about what Jesus said about his relationship with the temple.³⁶ Accordingly, a number of critical questions surround the speech of Jesus in the testimony³⁷ but we will focus on who the witnesses assume the addressee of Jesus' speech is.

In these false testimonies, the witnesses may assume the following as Jesus' addressees. (1) There are the chief priests, the scribes and the multitude (Mk 11:18) in the account of the temple cleansing (Mk 11:15-19) and these witnesses may have seen and heard Jesus' "cleansing" of the Temple (Mk 11:15-19).³⁸ Jesus may have made a threatening gesture or added a threatening statement against the Temple so that not only the priest but also the Jews would have been deeply offended (Mk 11:18a).³⁹ It could also be considered as an act of a 'rebellious elder' and, moreover, the prediction of the temple's destruction, the words of a 'false prophet.'⁴⁰ (2)

³⁶ Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark*, 304.

³⁷ In the New Testament studies, it is controversial whether or not Jesus has actually predicted the following: 'I shall destroy this temple...'" (Mk 14:58). Donahue and Harrington have claimed that these Marcan texts suggest that there was some substance to the charge that Jesus did make such a prophecy (Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422). In addition, Evans has believed that Mark 14:58 represents something that Jesus actually said or at least something close to what that he said (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 445). On the contrary, Mann has raised a question in argument: "even if Jesus makes some kind of 'messianic claim,' this does not wholly explain the conflicting testimony, still less the evidently impatient anger of Caiaphas" (Mann, *Mark*, 623). Gundry has pointed out that Jesus did not portray himself as a destroyer of the temple in 13:2 (Gundry, *Mark*, 885), and Sanders has also concluded that "Jesus publicly predicted or threatened the destruction of the temple, that the statement was shaped by his expectation of the arrival of the eschaton, that he probably also expected a new temple to be given by God from heaven, and that he made a demonstration which prophetically symbolized the coming event" (Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 75). Moloney has claimed that there is a double edge to the untruthfulness of this witness and that deep irony enters the narrative (Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark*, 302). As the Marcan Jesus has never uttered these words, the witness are not speaking the truth, but the reader recalls Jesus' symbolic act of bringing the cultic functioning of the temple.

³⁸ Gundry, *Mark*, 885.

³⁹ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 270.

⁴⁰ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 300.

Second, there are οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, “Jews” (Jn 2:18) who are the addressees of Jesus’ prediction in John 2:18. In reporting the cleansing of the Temple, John 2:19 records that Jesus’ words: “if this temple [ναός] be destroyed, in three days I will raise it up” (Jn 2:19). However, the testimonies of Marcan account are irrelevant to Jesus’ statement in the Gospel of John. (3) Next, Mark 13:1-2 tells us that one of Jesus’ disciples (Mk 13:1) heard Jesus’ prediction about the Temple. However, the destruction of the Temple is a prediction and not a threat.⁴¹ (4) Fourth, Matthew 24:1-2, the synoptic parallel of Mark 13:1-2, shows that his disciples are the addressees of Jesus’ prediction; and (5) Finally, Luke 21:5-6, the other synoptic parallel, maintains that the addressees are Jews. However, none of the above passages are an exact match to the witnesses’ testimony about Jesus’ declaration (Mk 14:58).

For evaluating politeness and translating it into AH, it is noted that Mark depicts the testimony (v. 58) as the repetition of the verb ἐψευδομαρτύρουν, “give false evidence or testimony.” Mark wrote with the emphatic ἡμεῖς, “we ourselves,” before “heard him saying” to emphasize the falsity of the witnesses’ claim about Jesus.⁴² In their false testimony, some witnesses convince the audience that they directly heard the words of Jesus, the false prophet who predicts the destruction and replacement of the Temple. Accordingly, the addressees of Jesus in the false testimonies can be assumed to be the unspecified numerous Jews of unspecified age, social status and gender.

Social Situation of the Speech of Jesus in the False Testimonies

If some witnesses are assumed to be Jesus’ addressees in the false testimony, the setting of Jesus’ speech is public. It is also possible that the witnesses heard about a similar kind of prediction by Jesus from Judas because he mentioned the destruction of temple only in front of his disciples according to the Marcan account (Mk 13:1-2). However, the emphatic ἡμεῖς, “we ourselves,” in the false testimony seems to suggest that the false witnesses claim to have heard the declaration directly from Jesus. According to the false testimonies, the witnesses assume that the place would be the

⁴¹ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 71.

⁴² Gundry, *Mark*, 885.

temple implying a public situation (Mk 11:15-19).

Cultural Expectation concerning the Speech of Jesus in the False Testimonies

There are some Jewish traditions where the eschatological Messiah is expected to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem.⁴³ In fact, in the LXX, χειροποίητος, “made with hands,” appears fifteen times in reference to idols.⁴⁴ Such a connotation between χειροποίητος of the LXX and לְפָסֵל, “idol” (cf. Lev 26:1); לְאֵלִים, “idol” (cf. Isa 2:18; 10:11; 19:1); or various forms of אֱלֹהֵי הַזָּהָב וְהַכֶּסֶף, “gods of gold, silver” (cf. Dan 5:4, 23; 6:28), would only intensify the prophetic indictment of Jesus’ saying.⁴⁵

Referring to the temple as χειροποίητον, “made with hands,” may refer to the words of Stephen in Acts 7:48 but no Jew would say that the Temple was made by hands.⁴⁶ In the context of Jewish apocalypticism, it is obvious that the adjective ἀχειροποίητος, “made without hands,” refers to the perfect sanctuary that will replace the earthly Temple in Jerusalem.⁴⁷ In the context of Mark’s Gospel, it more likely refers to the body of the risen Jesus (as in Jn 2:19-22) and/or to the Christian community as the place where God is now worshiped “in spirit and truth” (Jn 4:23).⁴⁸ The references to διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, “after three days,” can also be connected with the predictions of the Passion (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:34) and thus with the resurrected body of

⁴³ Evans has claimed that this expectation may be rooted in the prophecy of Zech 6:12. “The man whose name is Branch... he shall build the temple of the Lord” (cf. Tg. Zech 6:12: “Behold, the man whose name is Messiah will be revealed, and he shall be raised up, and shall build the Temple of the Lord”) (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 445).

⁴⁴ Cf. Lev. 26:1, 30; Isa. 2:18; 16:12; 19:1; 21:9; 31:7; 46:6; Dan. 5:4, 23; 6:28; Bet. 1:5; Jdt. 8:18; Isa. 10:11; Wis. 14:8. We searched them in *Septuaginta (Old Greek Jewish Scriptures)* edited by Alfred Rahlfs (Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1935) of the Bible Works 7.0.

⁴⁵ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 446.

⁴⁶ Paul, on the Areopagus, calls the Temple of the Athenians handmade (Acts 17:24-25), and his own Temple of Jerusalem made by either God or Angel and not made by hands; and Paul considered it holy and worshipped in it (Mann, *Mark*, 623).

⁴⁷ Cf. Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422.

⁴⁸ The disciples understood that these words were referring to the temple of his body after the resurrection of Jesus (Jn 2:21f) (Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 535; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 445).

Christ.⁴⁹ However, the “three days” in this pericope may simply refer to a short period of time.⁵⁰

The tradition of ἀχειροποίητος, “made without hands,” is rooted in the later OT writings and expressed at great length in the Qumran *Temple Scroll*⁵¹ and other works roughly contemporary with the NT.⁵² In 2 Baruch 4:3, a new temple is envisioned for the eschatological and restored Jerusalem⁵³ and later the rabbinic interpretation suggests that God himself builds this temple.⁵⁴ Although it is probably derived from the period between the two great wars (70-132 C.E.), the Aramaic paraphrase of Isaiah 53:5⁵⁵ may reflect messianic ideas that were in circulation in earlier times.⁵⁶

In the testimony, the utterance about destroying the Temple and rebuilding another in its place was messianic in its tone because Judaism anticipated a renewed glory of the Temple when the Messiah came.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 421.

⁵⁰ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 421.

⁵¹ Some have thought of this sanctuary in spiritual or communal terms (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 446). Because the Essenes did not have access to the temple in Jerusalem, or at least were unable to influence the activities of the cult, they formed a human temple whereby they might worship God (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 446). Wise (RevQ 15 [1991] 103-32) has correctly argued that the passage is speaking about a literal temple, one that will be built in the time of judgment and restoration. According to 11QTemple 29:7-10, God promises: “I shall dwell with them for all eternity. I shall sanctify my [Te]mple with my glory, for I will cause my glory to dwell upon it until the day of creation, when I myself will create my temple; I will establish it for myself for everlasting in fulfillment of the covenant that I made with Jacob at Bethel” (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 446).

⁵² Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422.

⁵³ According to 2 Baruch 4:3, “this is the city of which I said, ‘On the palms of my hands I have carved for you.’ It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed, with me, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise” (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 446).

⁵⁴ Rabbinic interpretation declares that “but when He built the [Solomonic] Temple ... but when He came to build the Temple He did it, as it were, with both of His hands, as it is said, ‘The sanctuary, O Lord, which Your hands have established’” (Mek. on Exod 15:17-21; cf. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 446).

⁵⁵ The Aramaic paraphrase of Isaiah 53:5 is as follows: “and he [i.e., the Servant who is the Targum is identified as the Messiah] will build the sanctuary, which was profaned for our sins” (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 446).

⁵⁶ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 446.

⁵⁷ Such expectation is derived from messianic passages like 2 Samuel 7:12: “When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom,” and Zechariah 6:12: “and say to him, ‘Thus says the LORD of hosts, “Behold, the man whose name is the Branch:

Accordingly, it can be understood that the whole trial assumes a messianic claim.⁵⁸ Thus, Jesus' accusers connect the speech of Jesus to the apocalyptic context of the divinely originated sanctuary replacing the Jerusalem Temple. In fact, Mark wanted his readers to take it in the Christological and ecclesiological sense.⁵⁹

For evaluating the politeness and selecting the AH, it is important to recognize that Jesus' speech in the false testimonies of witnesses is seen as a serious threat to the most holy sanctuary of the Jewish people and includes the crucial Messianic claim for Christians.

The Social Variables of Jesus' Assumption toward His Audience and His Intention in the False Testimonies

It is obvious that the accusation is utterly serious. A statement against the Temple, even if minor, would have been "a blow against the basic religio-political entity: Israel."⁶⁰ Because God had commanded the building of the temple and declared it as His house (cf. Ex. 15:17; Jer 7:12-15; 26:4-6, 9), speaking against the Temple was tantamount to speaking against God himself.⁶¹ An emphatic Ἐγὼ, "I myself," emphasizes the false elements in the purposed prediction.⁶²

The contrast between χειροποίητος, "made with hands," and ἀχειροποίητος, "made without hands," shows the difference between human agency and divine agency.⁶³ Referring to the temple as χειροποίητον, "made with hands," would have been offensive to the ruling priests, for it denies the divine status of the temple, and such a statement hints at idolatry.⁶⁴ The

for he shall grow up in his place, and he shall build the temple of the LORD" (Cf. V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark: the Greek text with Introduction, Notes, and Indexes* [London: Macmillan & Co Ltd., 1952], 563; Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 535).

⁵⁸ D. H. Juel, *The Gospel of Mark* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 151.

⁵⁹ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422.

⁶⁰ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 296.

⁶¹ B. A. Bain, *Literary Surface Structures in Mark: Identifying Christology as the Purpose of the Gospel* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1998), 177. In addition, the destruction or desecration of places of worship was regarded as a capital offense in the Graeco-Roman world (Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 535).

⁶² Cf. Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 421.

⁶³ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 421.

⁶⁴ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 446.

noun ναός, “sanctuary,” which refers to the holy place,⁶⁵ is different from the temple precincts indicated with the word ιερόν (Mk. 11:11).⁶⁶ Accordingly, the people who were present to hear the testimony must have naturally seen Jesus’ speech as a direct threat against the sanctuary and the temple. The adjective ἀχειροποίητος, “made without hands,” on the other hand, specifies the divine origin of the new sanctuary, but its precise reference is unclear. Jesus’ speech is interpreted as the rebuilding of eschatological Messiah in the apocalyptic context.

Since the witnesses testify with words that Jesus never used to articulate his relationship with the temple in Mark, his audience cannot be identified by the testimonies. If Jesus predicted the destruction of the holy place and the rebuilding of new one in front of his followers, they would have definitely regarded him as the Messiah. However, in the false testimonies, some witnesses assumed Jesus as a false prophet. In the true testimonies, Jesus is a real messiah but, in the false testimonies, he is a false prophet. Witnesses who quote Jesus’ speech must show that Jesus himself had more power and was of higher rank thereby establishing a wide social distance. In the false testimony, Jesus’ style of speech would have been regarded as arrogant by the addressees.

IV.2. The Politeness of Jesus to his Audience in the False Testimonies

Some witnesses lie about Jesus claim about his relationship with the temple. It is crucial that, in their false testimony, some witnesses convince the audience to believe that they themselves directly heard the words of Jesus predict the destruction and replacement of the temple. According to the false witnesses Jesus’ claim, ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω, “I

⁶⁵ The word ναός, which is important for accusing, appears again in the taunting of Jesus on the cross in 15:29, 38 (Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 421). As M. D. Hooker points out that assuming from the fact that Mark has chosen the term ναός here which is not what he usually used for the temple, it may refer to the inner sanctuary, including the Holy of Holies (Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 358). If so, the charge against Jesus would be even graver (Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 384).

⁶⁶ Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 566; C. S. Mann, *Mark*, 623; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 421.

will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days, I will build another that is made without hands,” is at the very least impolite to his Jewish audience. Such a statement against the temple is an affront to the religio-political entity of Israel.

The suggestion that the temple is χειροποίητον, “made with hands,” is offensive to the ruling priests and regarded as denying the divine status of the temple. Simply put, it would have made the addressees uncomfortable.⁶⁷ Jesus’ speech in the testimonies of the false witnesses reflects his desire for clarity but threatens shame and loss of face.⁶⁸ Jesus, however, maximizes efficiency rather than saving his audience’s face.⁶⁹ Thus, Jesus’ speech, which unambiguously expresses his real identity as the eschatological Messiah in the false testimonies, is definitely impolite to his hostile audience but clearly delivers the truth to the faithful readers.⁷⁰

By using the expression ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω, “I will build another that is made without hands,” Jesus is depicted as a self-glorifying false eschatological Messiah who insults the temple.⁷¹ Jesus’ speech in the false testimony is purposely presented as contentious.⁷²

In false testimonies regarding what Jesus claimed, Jesus’ real identity is shared neither with the general Jewish audience nor the Sanhedrin. It is, however, fully accepted as truth by the readers of Mark’s gospel. Accordingly, the false testimonies in which Jesus is declared the false messiah actually reveal him as the real messiah to the faithful readers. Simply put, there are differences between the general assumptions of

⁶⁷ The speech of Jesus in the testimonies is regarded as impolite according the politeness rules of Lakoff because it violates the rule 3, “make the addressee(s) feel good – be friendly” (Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 301).

⁶⁸ In the classification of Brown and Levinson, the statement of Jesus against the temple may belong to the category, “doing an act baldly, without redress” (Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 60).

⁶⁹ Cf. Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 95.

⁷⁰ Apart from the politeness strategies, the speech is rather related to the maxim of quality (speak the truth, be sincere), and maxim of manner (be perspicuous; avoid ambiguity and obscurity) among the Grice’s Maxims (Grice, “Logic and conversation,” 45-46).

⁷¹ According to the politeness maxims of Leech, the speech of Jesus in the testimony was also impolite to his Jewish audience, because it maximizes the praise of self as a messianic statement (the violation of “[a] minimize praise of self” of “[4] modesty maxim”), and antipathy to their holy place, the temple (the violation of “[a] minimize antipathy between self and other” of “[4] modesty maxim”) (Cf. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 132). These make an exact contrast with the maxims that make up Leech’s politeness principle.

⁷² Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 105.

religious belief, eschatology and messianism of Jesus' trial audience and Mark's readers.

IV.3. Translating Jesus' Speech in the False Testimonies into Addressee Honorifics

There is technically six possibilities of translating καταλύσω, "I will destroy," and οικοδομήσω, "I will build," into Korean AH: (1) the formal deferential P form; (2) the formal limited non-deferential O form; (3) the formal general non-deferential T form; (4) the informal deferential Y form; (5) the informal limited non-deferential N form; and (6) the informal general non-deferential E form. What we can immediately determine is that Jesus' speech in the testimonies is public and so cannot be in an informal form.

If Jesus proclaimed his message in front of his audience, the speech style should be in the formal deferential P form, which is generally used in public speeches. However, in all Korean translations, it is rendered into the lowest verb ending forms. Korean translations—except the *NKSV* (1993/2001)—seem to have generally selected the lowest form and uniform AH for all of Jesus' speeches because of what they believe about the divinity of Jesus after the Crucifixion and the Resurrection since the AH expresses not only respect to addressee(s) but also the noble character of the speaker. Thus, this form should be considered as an option in the new translation.

In this passage, witnesses testify that Jesus predicted the destruction of the holy place and the rebuilding of a new one presenting him as an arrogant false prophet. Accordingly, the verb endings of Jesus' speech should be translated into the formal general non-deferential T form, which is occasionally used as a formal and defiant authoritative form in asymmetrical relationships in modern Korean honorifics. Even though the *NKSV* uses various AH forms, this quotation uses the formal general non-deferential T form. The formal general non-deferential T form is the most appropriate choice of AH for Jesus' speech as presented by the testimony of witnesses.

V. The High Priest's First Query to Jesus (v. 60b-61a)

Mark 14:60 καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς μέσον ἐπηρώτησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγων, Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; 61a ὁ δὲ ἐσιώπα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν.

Mark 14:60 the high priest, having stood up in the midst, questioned Jesus, saying, “Don’t you answer anything? What do these testify against you?” 61a he was keeping silent, and did not answer anything.

V.1. Analysis by Criteria for Politeness and Addressee Honorifics

Social Relationship of the High Priest and Jesus

This situation is extremely tense. The high priest arises and steps into the middle of the assembly where the accused is seated.⁷³ The focus narrows down again as the high priest takes control of the session.⁷⁴ Just like the false witnesses, the high priest stands up in the midst of the council and directly questions Jesus.

The high priest was the highest office of the Jewish priesthood and functioned as the President of the Supreme Council of the Jews.⁷⁵ At this time, the office was held by Caiaphas, which is confirmed by Matthew, Luke, John and Acts (cf. Mt 26:57; Lk 3:2; Jn 18:13, 24, 28; Ac 4:6). In A, W and several later MSS variants of Mark 14:60 record πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα, Καΐάφαν, “to the high priest Caiaphas,” which may reflect the influence of, πρὸς Καΐάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, “to Caiaphas, the high priest,” in Matthew 26:57.⁷⁶ While his father-in-law, Annas, was the first high priest appointed by the Romans, Caiaphas inherited this office and retained it when Pilate succeeded Valerius Gratus in 26.⁷⁷ The high priest was associated with the record of the “chief priests,” including former holders of the high

⁷³ Cf. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 535; Gundry, *Mark*, 886.

⁷⁴ Gundry, *Mark*, 886.

⁷⁵ Cf. R. G. Bratcher, *A Translator’s Guide to the Gospel of Mark* (London; New York: United Bible Societies, 1981), 198.

⁷⁶ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 447.

⁷⁷ Grant, “The Trial of Jesus in the Light of History,” 41.

priestly office, the commander of the Temple Guard, the steward of the Temple, and the three Temple treasures.⁷⁸ Thus, the high priest, Caiaphas, was undoubtedly the highest rank religious authority. Now, as he stands to interrogate Jesus, he takes on a prosecutorial role.⁷⁹

Jesus, on the other hand, is the defendant facing the death penalty based on charges of sedition brought before Pilate (15:2-3) by the high priest (vv. 60-61).⁸⁰

Cultural Expectation concerning the First Query of the High Priest

According to Mark, the high priest cannot be the only accuser⁸¹ and therefore attempts to bait Jesus with his questions. When the inconsistent testimonies emphasize Jesus' innocence and no legitimate charges can be brought against him,⁸² the high priest tries to trap Jesus into uttering a self-incriminating statement.

Jesus' silence to the confused and contradictory witnesses supports his innocence according to Jewish legal tradition⁸³ and Mark portrays Jesus as the righteous sufferer who bears all in silence as described in Psalms 38:13 (37:14); 39:9 (38:10), etc.⁸⁴ It is also an allusion to the silence of the suffering servant in Isaiah 53:7, "he did not open his mouth."⁸⁵ Regardless, the silent dignity heightens the impression of Messianic majesty.

On the other hand, Jesus' silence may have seemed contemptuous to the high priest and the Sanhedrin.⁸⁶ Accordingly, the high priest questions Jesus

⁷⁸ Cf. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 532.

⁷⁹ Gundry, *Mark*, 886.

⁸⁰ E. K. Broadhead, *Prophet, Son, Messiah: Narrative Form and Function in Mark 14-16* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 134.

⁸¹ Cohn, "Reflections on the Trial of Jesus," 17.

⁸² D. R. A. Hare, *Mark* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 201.

⁸³ Cf. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark*, 303.

⁸⁴ Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 384.

⁸⁵ Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 384; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422; Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 446. On the other hand, M. D. Hooker recognizes the possibility, but argues that there is no clear evidence proving influences from these passages (Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 360).

⁸⁶ Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark*, 304. Furthermore, H. Boers explains that "from a historical point of view nothing Jesus said could have been considered blasphemy in a Jewish

about his silence, “don’t you answer anything?” and “what do these [men] testify against you?”⁸⁷ The high priest plainly intends to provoke some kind of defensive response from Jesus that the members of the Sanhedrin might seize as a reason to send the prisoner to Pilate.⁸⁸ The first question is a challenge, a rather indignant query, while the second is a demand.⁸⁹ It is also worth noting that the high priest, because of his hostile intent towards Jesus, disregards the rules of the Sanhedrin.⁹⁰

Jesus was considered dangerous by both the Jewish and Roman authorities, because he attacked the observance of the law and temple ritual and was greeted by the people as a prophet or messiah.⁹¹ The high priest in particular plays a significant role in bringing the case before Pilate.

The Social Variables of the High Priest’s Assumption toward Jesus and His Intention in the First Query

Since the witnesses proved ineffective (v. 58), the high priest must keep the “trial” on track. As such, the high priest takes a more direct approach, shifting the burden onto the accused concerning the claims about Jesus’ identity.⁹² The questions, “Don’t you answer anything? What do these testify against you?” present Jesus’ silence into guilt and⁹³ for his silence can be exploited by the prosecution as self-incrimination.⁹⁴ Whatever the

high court” (H. Boers, *Who was Jesus? The Historical Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels* [New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1989], 66).

⁸⁷ Both questions are more in accord with Mark’s style (cf. 8:17f.) and their effect is vivid (Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 567). The double negative (Οὐκ ... οὐδέν) also constructs a favorite Marcan technique (Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422).

⁸⁸ Mann, *Mark*, 624.

⁸⁹ Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 567; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 448.

⁹⁰ The high priest may have desired to condemn Jesus rather than to keep the rules of Sanhedrin. According to the tractate *Sanhedrin* 4:1, 5 and 5:2, “In noncapital cases arguments could begin with reasons for either acquittal or conviction, but capital cases had to begin with reasons for acquittal.... In noncapital cases everyone could argue in favor of either acquittal or conviction, but in capital cases all could argue for acquittal but not in favor of conviction” (cf. Boers, *Who was Jesus?*, 67-68).

⁹¹ E. Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark*, D. H. Madvig, trans. (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1970), 322.

⁹² Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422.

⁹³ Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark*, 330.

⁹⁴ Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 446.

case, Jesus' silence brought the proceedings to a deadlock thereby prompting the high priest to seek a decision through direct means.

In exasperation, the high priest stood up before the Sanhedrin to interrogate Jesus himself in an attempt to get him to respond with an incriminating answer.⁹⁵ The prefix *κατα*, "against," in the verb *καταμαρτυροῦσι*, "they testify against," reinforces the hostility "against" Jesus throughout the trial.⁹⁶ The second person pronoun *σου*, "you," emphasizes Jesus as the accused.⁹⁷ Mark repeats Jesus' refusal to answer—"he was keeping silent, and did not answer anything"—to emphasize "Jesus' strength in withstanding the attempt to browbeat him into an admission of guilt."⁹⁸ His silence deprives the court of the possibility of exploiting the evidence that had been given against him as he refused to cooperate in the mock trial.⁹⁹ Still, it is clear that the high priest has assumed the prosecutorial role and sees himself as possessing power and rank over Jesus who stands as the accused.

V.2. The Politeness of the High Priest to Jesus

While the readers assume that the silence of Jesus reveals him as the righteous sufferer, the high priest takes it as a contemptuous rebuke and a refusal to cooperate with the witnesses' hostile intent. As a result, it rouses his indignation.

The high priest's inquiry to Jesus, *οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν*, "don't you answer anything? What do these testify against you?" are impolite. The high priest, though addressing Jesus, gives him no real opportunity to speak.¹⁰⁰ The high priest is clearly against Jesus who is at the receiving end of this hostility and threat of death.¹⁰¹ The high priest also

⁹⁵ Gundry, *Mark*, 886.

⁹⁶ Cf. Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422.

⁹⁷ Cf. Gundry, *Mark*, 886.

⁹⁸ Gundry, *Mark*, 886.

⁹⁹ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422.

¹⁰⁰ The first query of the high priest violates the politeness rules of Lakoff: the rule 1, "don't impose," the rule 2, "give options," and the rule 3, "make the addressee(s) feel good" (Cf. Lakoff, "The Logic of Politeness," 298-299).

¹⁰¹ Lakoff, "The Logic of Politeness," 301.

does not fear “retaliation or cooperation” from Jesus¹⁰² since his questioning only puts Jesus at risk in “the most direct, clear, unambiguous, and concise way.”¹⁰³ In short, the high priest’s interrogation maximizes the guilt of Jesus and reveals his antipathy against Jesus.¹⁰⁴

The translator can perceive that the high priest assumes that he has more power and rank than Jesus, which results in the wide social distance. Mark also continuously shows the reader that the high priest is intent on putting Jesus to death. Accordingly, Jesus endures the high priest’s initial query as, at the very least, impolite.

V.3. Translating the High Priest’s First Query to Jesus into Addressee Honorifics

The pronominal choices of *T-V* variants for the high priests first question are complicated in some Indo-European translations. While VUL, NVUL, KJV, YLT, ASV, DRB, TOB, BFC, and LUT render the query into the *T* form, Dutch translations such as NB and GNB select the *V* form for translating the query.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Cf. Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 95-97.

¹⁰³ According to the framework of Brown and Levinson, the first query of the high priest seems to belong to the category, “doing an act baldly, without redress” (Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 69).

¹⁰⁴ According to the politeness maxims of Leech, the first query of the high priest maximizes the dispraise of Jesus (the violation of [a] minimize dispraise of other of [3] approbation maxim, and antipathy between the interlocutors (the violation of [a] minimize antipathy between self and other of [6] sympathy maxim) (Cf. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 132).

¹⁰⁵ The choices of the *T-V* variants in Latin (VUL, NVUL), Dutch (NB, GNB), English (KJV, YLT, ASV), French (DRB, TOB, BFC), and German (LUT) translations are as follows:

Versions	SPP of ἀποκρίνη (Mk 14:60b)	συ (Mk 14:60c)
VUL	2 nd person singular of Respondes	tibi
NVUL	2 nd person singular of Respondes	te
NB	U	U
GNB	U	U
KJV	Thou	Thee
YLT	Thou	Thee
ASV	Thou	Thee
DRB	Tu	Toi

The choice of the *T* form for the high priest's first query shows that the high priest treats Jesus as an inferior accused with hostility or contempt.¹⁰⁶ there is no solidarity but rather a wide and formal social distance.¹⁰⁷ This selection represents, to a greater extreme, Jesus' passion to faithful readers who believe that Jesus deserves to be addressed in the *V* form by a human being. On the other hand, the *V* form in the Dutch translations shows the formal situation of the trial and respects the office of the high priest as honorable. Furthermore, in the Dutch court, all are obliged to use the *V* form, hence, the *T* form would make for an awkward translation. The *T* variant in some Dutch translations may function to convey the formality of the trial and the *V* variant in other Indo-European translations reveals the high priest's assumption concerning the social relationship between himself and Jesus as the accused. Thus, the *T-V* variants are not always uniformly selected in some Indo-European translations but function to convey information about the speaker-hearer relationship or the formality of situation in the biblical dialogue.

In the case of Korean AH, there are eight possible translations for ἀποκρίνη, “you answer,” and καταμαρτυροῦσι, “they testify against,” and σου, “you”: (1) the formal deferential forms (*tangsin, keudae + P*); (2) the formal limited non-deferential forms (*tangsin, keudae + O*); (3) the formal general non-deferential forms (*noh + T*); (4) the informal deferential forms (*tangsin, keudae + Y*); (5) the informal limited non-deferential forms (*keudae, chane + N*); (6) the informal general non-deferential forms (*noh + E*); (7) the omission of the second-person pronominal pronoun; and (8) the noun instead of the SPP.

(1) The formal deferential forms (*tangsin, keudae + P*). In a real trial situation in Korea, not only the counsel but also the judge and prosecutor are obligated to use the formal deferential forms to those in the trial proceedings, including the accused. According to current court etiquette in Korea, judges

TOB	Tu	Toi
BFC	Tu	Toi
LUT	Du	Dich

¹⁰⁶ Cf. in the classifications of Ellingworth, the *T* form of the first query may function as a social superior addressing inferior in the context suggesting hostility or contempt (Ellingworth, “‘You Can Say You to Him’: *T*- and *V*- forms in common language translations of the New Testament,” 143-153).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Brown and Gilman, “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” 257.

and judiciaries, in order to maintain their own honor and dignity, must use the deferential forms to every participant including the accused.¹⁰⁸ Recently, the use of non-deferential forms has become unacceptable in court and is considered beneath the honor of a judge. The implication, of course, is that Korean judges had formerly addressed the accused and/or the participants of court with the non-deferential forms in a high-handed manner. Accordingly, it is understandable that the old language translations have not selected the deferential forms for the first query of the high priest to Jesus. These forms function to reflect the dignity of Jesus and also of the high priest as in a real court for the deferential forms in the modern honorifics system elevates the authority and honor of both the addressee(s) and the speaker. However, the selection loses the fact that Jesus' trial does not follow judicial regulations: the Sanhedrin is clearly intent on putting Jesus to death from the very beginning. In other words, the selection of these forms fails to convey the hostility of the high priest.

(2) The formal limited non-deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + O).

The high priest regards Jesus as an inferior. He stands up in the Sanhedrin to interrogate Jesus in exasperation because the inconsistent testimonies are not admissible against Jesus (v. 60). Certainly, the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* pronoun form and O verb form appropriately reflect the speech style of the high priest toward Jesus at the first query. The forms express scorn or insult during angry arguments or when fighting with the addressee and are asymmetrically used by a speaker of higher social status to address someone of lower social status where both members of the dyad are adults. Among modern Korean translations, the *KNTNT* (1967) chooses these forms for the speech style of the high priest instead of the non-deferential general T form, which was selected by the old language translations. On the other hand, the *RNKSV* (2001) chooses the formal limited non-deferential *keudae* form and the O form. This selection may reflect the intention to avoid using *tangsin* of

¹⁰⁸ The general principle of ethics for the Korean judge was established as the rule number 1374 of the Supreme Court on 23 June 1995, and revised on 11 June 1998 and 25 May 2006. In the particular of the court monitoring, the issue of the speech of a judge as the following articles: (1) the usage of deferential form of the judge toward the accused, (2) the mingled usage of deferential form and nondeferential form of a judge toward the accused, and (3) the usage of nondeferential form and the ignoring behavior toward the accused. If a judge uses the nondeferential form, abuse, or vulgar language, it is regards as the contempt of court (Y. G. Lee, "The Report of a judge," *Maeil Business Newspaper* [October, 26, 2005]).

the *KNTNT*, which implies scorn or insult. The formal limited non-deferential *keudae* form is asymmetrically used by a speaker of higher social status to address a person of lower social status but is the gentler non-deferential form and does not imply scorn or insult. Since, however, the high priest is hostile, the *keudae* form is not appropriate in this situation. Conversely, the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* and O forms are appropriate.

(3) The formal general non-deferential forms (*noh* + T). The formal non-deferential general *noh* form is rarely used in modern Bible translations except when addressing a child, an intimate friend or a younger family member. In a real trial situation, the judge, prosecutor, counsel and all other participants do not use the general non-deferential *noh* and T forms even toward the accused. However, in the old language translations such as the *CNT* (1887), *Mark* by S. J. Lee (1885), the *KB* (1911), and its revisions, the AH of the high priest toward Jesus are in the lowest *noh* and T forms that are used to address an inferior. Since there are deferential forms in other passages and in extra-canonical literature and the translators had a good knowledge of the honorifics system, the choice of the lowest form is peculiar. There are two reasons for this selection and their problems are presented as follows: ① The forms may have simply been accepted as the written style since the first Korean translation. If the high priest does not ask Jesus but simply reads the future verdict as a judge or a prosecutor, the formal general non-deferential forms would be proper as the neutral forms, which are extensively used in newspapers, magazines, textbooks and academic books to minimize “the space and the spatio-temporal distance between writer and reader.”¹⁰⁹ However, the high priest does not unilaterally read the document but clearly demands an answer from Jesus. ② The old language translations using the literal translation approach may concentrate on the denotation of the Greek text, which does not have an honorifics system. However, the attempt to render a non-honorific language into an honorific language without considering the pragmatics results in a flat translation that may convey inaccurate information from the source text. However, the formal general non-deferential *noh* and T forms are not an acceptable translation to the modern reader who is influenced by egalitarianism.

¹⁰⁹ C. H. Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics: Deixis and Politeness* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1982), 113.

(4) The informal deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + Y); (5) the informal limited non-deferential forms (*keudae*, *chane* + N); and (6) the informal general non-deferential forms (*noh* + E). Since Mark depicts the trial situation as the official and formal setting, most Korean translations do not render the query of the high priest into the informal forms except the *CTHB* (1977/1999), which selects the informal limited non-deferential *keudae* and N forms for the high priest's dialogue with Jesus. However, the forms do not accurately convey the information of the source text. The informal limited non-deferential *keudae* and N forms are asymmetrically used between superiors and subordinates and carry an archaic and refined mood. The gentle speech style of the high priest toward Jesus may strengthen a certain degree of intimacy between the interlocutors and have a moderating influence on the tension of the situation, which is clearly not the case. Accordingly, these forms are inappropriate for the query of the high priest.

(7) The omission of the second-person pronominal pronoun. Since there is no difficulty for addressees to understand the speaker's expression omitting the Korean pronouns, it is possible to select only the verb endings with the omission of second person pronouns. In a real trial situation, the pronoun is frequently omitted even toward the accused. However, because of the emphatic σου, "you," of Mark, it is more accurate to translate the SPP than to omit it. In this regard, there is no Korean translation that chooses to omit the HSPP.

(8) The noun instead of the SPP. In a real court situation, the judge, prosecutor or counselor frequently addresses the accused with the noun "pigo" (the accused) instead of the SPP, without any honorific suffix. If the speech styles of the high priest toward Jesus are translated into the noun, "pigo" (the accused), the formal deferential P form, which is generally selected as the honorific verb form in order to convey information exactly and efficiently without subjectivity, will be the acceptable verb ending form for modern Korean readers. However, translating with the noun instead of the pronoun must be carefully determined because it could fix the identity of Jesus as only the accused according to what the high priest thinks and obstruct any other possibility from (1) to (7).

There are, thus, eight possibilities of translating ἀποκρίνη, "you answer," καταμαρτυροῦσι, "they testify against," and σου, "you," into the AH. Among these, the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* pronoun and O verb form

are the most proper AH to reflect the speech of the exasperated high priest in modern Korean honorifics. If the translation skopos is to stress the target context, the formal deferential P form must also be considered. However, the deferential forms, which are generally used in the Korean real court, do not adequately convey the information of the source text, which intensifies insult and reflects the tension in the trial. The informal forms, however, may not be appropriate no matter what the translation skopos is.

VI. The High Priest's Second Query to Jesus (v. 61b)

Mark 14:61b *πάλιν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ;*

Mark 14:61b Again the high priest asked him, and says to him, “Are you the Christ the Son of the Blessed One?”

VI.1. Analysis by Criteria for Politeness and Addressee Honorifics

Social Relationship of the High Priest and Jesus

Throughout this passage, there is no change in the social relationship between the high priest and Jesus. However, in verse 58, the high priest changes the direction of the trial after failing to draw out a response from Jesus.

πάλιν, “again,” shows his persistent questioning, which shifts from Jesus’ deeds to his identity.¹¹⁰ The high priest puts more pressure on Jesus in order to draw out a confession. The question *Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ;*, “are you the Christ the Son of the Blessed One?” challenges Jesus to His Messianic claim and elicits a reply in v. 61, “Yes” or “No.” If Jesus answered affirmatively, this could mean death, however, if he replied negatively, the high priest would need a new strategy. The Sanhedrin’s judgment against Jesus depended on how he replied.

¹¹⁰ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422. This is one of the cases in which *πάλιν* may well mean ‘thereupon’ (Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 567).

Cultural Expectation concerning the Second Query of the High Priest

The inquiry of whether Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, i.e., the Christ, is closely related to the witnesses' testimony, i.e., that Jesus declared to destroy the Temple and build another in its place in three days (v. 58). The Jews anticipated a renewed glory of the Temple when the Messiah came.¹¹¹ The expectation that the Messiah will rebuild the temple in 2 Samuel 7:13-14 calls on God to rebuild an eternal Jerusalem and to raise David's throne.¹¹² The second query of the high priest depends on the testimony of the witnesses and nullifies the legal procedure of formal hearing.

The high priest not only manipulates the evidence in the attempt to convict Jesus but also avoids the possibility of causing any technical infringement of the commandment not to dishonor God's name. He is so cautious about the name of God. ὁ εὐλογητός, "the Blessed One," reflects a Jewish reverential circumlocution to avoid mentioning the word θεός, "God,"¹¹³ as is "the Power" in v. 62. "The Blessed One" is a familiar Jewish way of referring to God and his unpronounceable name by using a title.¹¹⁴ Thus, he is quite careful of God's honor while unjustly condemning Jesus to death.¹¹⁵ However, the reverential circumlocution is not typical Marcan style since he does not completely avoid using the word, "God" in his

¹¹¹ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 535.

¹¹² O. Betz argues that the temple-Messiah sequence of Mark makes consummate its historical sense (O. Betz, "Probleme des Prozesses Jesu," H. Temporini and W. Hasse, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. II, 25/1 [Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1982], 565-647).

¹¹³ A. E. J. Rawlinson, *St. Mark: with Introduction Commentary and Additional Notes* (London: Methuen & Co., 1947), 222; Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 567; Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 360; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 449; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422.

¹¹⁴ R. G. Bratcher and E. A. Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), 465. One should also take into account, 1 Enoch 77:2, which speaks of "the Most High" and "the Eternally Blessed" (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 449). A partially preserved Enochic text at Qumran only loosely parallels the Ethiopic, reading "the Great One" [rabba] instead of "the Most High" or "the Eternally Blessed"; cf. 4Q209 [=4QEnastr^b ar] 23:3 (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 449).

¹¹⁵ Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 384; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 422.

Gospel. Mark makes no hesitation in saying “the kingdom of God” (e.g., Mk 1:15; 4:11, 26, 30; 9:1, 47, etc.),¹¹⁶ or having characters identify Jesus as “the Son of God” (e.g., 3:11; 15:39; cf. 1:1) or “the holy one of God” (e.g., 1:24).¹¹⁷ In the trial, Mark shows that the high priest made a show to be pious.

In Jesus’ time, “the Son of God” may have essentially had the same meaning with “the Christ,” i.e., “the anointed one” as the anointed king. However, there is a debate over whether or not “the Son of the Blessed” was equivalent with the title, “the Christ” as used by the Jews of those days. Some scholars argue that in Jewish circles, the Messiah was never called “the Son of God”¹¹⁸ and others also state that “the Son of God” has not been widely recognized as the title of “the Messiah” in Judaism.¹¹⁹ In the OT, Israel is God’s son. Thus, all Israelites can be said to be “sons of God.”¹²⁰ In the OT, God says בְּנִי בְּכֹרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל, “Israel is my son, my first-born” (Exo 4:22), and כִּי נָעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָהַבְתִּיו וּמִמִּצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לְבְנִי, “when Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son” (Hos 11:1).¹²¹ In addition, there is no clear evidence that “Son of God” was used by Jews as a synonym for “the Christ” in the first century, although it is certainly known that Israel, the king and righteous individuals could be described in this way.¹²² However, if “the Son of God” had been understood as referring to all Israelites, the question of the high priest, “Are you Christ the Son of the Blessed One?” would not have been so dangerous.

Other views of OT support the fact that the Davidic royal descendant was referred to as “the Son of God.”¹²³ The meaning of this term is allegorical and not biological but the Messiah in Jewish minds would be “the

¹¹⁶ “The kingdom of God” contrasts with Matthew’s preference for “the kingdom of heaven” (e.g., Mt 3:2; 4:17, 23; 5:3, 10, 19; 6:10; 7:21, etc.).

¹¹⁷ Cf. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 449.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark*, 324; H. Ernst, *Der Weg Jesu: eine Erklärung des Markus-Evangeliums und der Kanonischen Parallelen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968), 512.

¹¹⁹ Rawlinson, *St. Mark*, 222.

¹²⁰ See e.g. Rom 9:4 “They are Israelites, and to them belongs the sonship ...” (Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 298).

¹²¹ It is also used to describe angels in Genesis 6:2 as ‘the sons of God,’ and in Job 1:6 and 38:7 (Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 52).

¹²² Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 360.

¹²³ Cf. 2Sam 7:12, 14; 1Chr 17:13; Psalms 2:2, 7 (Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 52; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 448; Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 384).

Son of God.”¹²⁴ Israel’s hope unites several concepts: “the king as God’s anointed, the Davidic kingship, the king as God’s Son.”¹²⁵ These images provide the basis for the messianic expectations that emerge in the last pre-Christian centuries within Palestinian Judaism.¹²⁶ Accordingly, the title, “the Son of God,” may be understood solely in a messianic sense in Jewish sources contemporary with the NT.¹²⁷ In the trial, “the Son of God” is a title and the high priest uses it as the equivalent of “the Christ.”

Apart from the debate whether “the Son of God” is equivalent to “the Christ,” the combination of Jesus as “the Christ” and “the Son of God” seen at the beginning of Mark’s Gospel (1:1) is the most important text of Mark.¹²⁸ The inquiry of the high priest is not only central to the gospel but also the climax of the trial. In Mark’s Gospel, titles are deliberately redefined by Jesus’ suffering and death.¹²⁹ According to the Marcan account, the query has a decisive function, determining Jesus’ death penalty.

If Jesus admits that he is the Messiah, it is a capital crime for according to some rabbinic circles. God alone has the right to announce and enthrone the Messiah, thus, the one who claims the messianic dignity infringes on God’s majesty.¹³⁰ In addition, since Jews expected the Messiah to present proof of his identity, it is natural that the religious authorities regard Jesus as a false messiah. For Jews, it does not make sense that their Messiah is imprisoned, abandoned and delivered helplessly into the hands of his foes as was Jesus’ case.¹³¹ If Jesus proclaimed himself to be the Messiah in such circumstances, the Sanhedrin including the high priest would have definitely stigmatized Jesus as a false messiah.

The Social Variables of the High Priest’s Assumption toward Jesus and His Intention in the Second Query

¹²⁴ Cf. Ps 2:7, 89:26, 27 (Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 256).

¹²⁵ E. K. Broadhead, *Naming Jesus: Titular Christology in the Gospel of Mark* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 147.

¹²⁶ Broadhead, *Naming Jesus*, 147.

¹²⁷ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 535; Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 360.

¹²⁸ Cf. Mark introduces Jesus as the “Son of God” in Mark 1:1, 11; 3:11, 5:7; 9:7; 13:32; and 15:39 (Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 423).

¹²⁹ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 26.

¹³⁰ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 536.

¹³¹ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 535.

The religious authority asks Jesus if he is “the Christ, the Son of the Blessed One,” while the inquirer is not aware of the true identity of Jesus. In the inquiry, σύ, “you,” is not only emphatic but also contemptuous and derisive,¹³² for εἶ by itself means, “you are,” or in this interrogative context, “are you?”¹³³ The word ἐπερωτάω, “to ask,” appears twenty three times in Mark,¹³⁴ but, in this verse, Jesus faces the most fatal interrogation. In marked contrast with the interrogators of other passages, the high priest is no petty rival nor an irritated scribe nor an indignant Pharisee but the highest religious authority.¹³⁵ The death penalty on Jesus will be decided by how he answers the question about “His Christhood and Divine Sonship,” i.e., ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ, “the Christ the Son of the Blessed One,” which is introduced with asyndeton.¹³⁶

The hostile intent of the high priest, thus, is obvious. If the inquiry elicits an affirmative response, the high priest will have enough evidence to present Jesus to Pilate as “a dangerous Messianic agitator”.¹³⁷ The Romans were interested only in the political implications, i.e. the King who is “anointed” by the God of Israel’s tradition.¹³⁸ ὁ Χριστός, “the Christ,” is the Greek translation of the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ, “the Messiah,” which literally means “the Anointed One” and the claim that Jesus is “the Christ” is understood as “the King of the Jews.”¹³⁹ It is seditious to Caesar’s realm where there can be only one king.¹⁴⁰ The fact that Jesus was executed as the “King of the Jews”

¹³² Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 567; E. Lohmeyer, (*Das Evangelium des Markus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 328; Mann, *Mark*, 625; Gundry, *Mark*, 886.

¹³³ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 448.

¹³⁴ The word ἐπερωτάω, “to ask (for),” appears in Mark 5:9; 7:5, 17; 8:23, 27, 29; 9:11, 16, 21, 28, 32f; 10:2, 10, 17; 11:29; 12:18, 28, 34; 13:3; 14:60f; 15:2, 4, 44.

¹³⁵ Cf. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 448.

¹³⁶ Gundry, *Mark*, 886.

¹³⁷ The title, “the Anointed One” seems to mean the anointed king, as opposed to the anointed prophet (1 Kgs 19:15-16; 1 Chr 16:22 = Ps 105:15) or anointed priest (Lev 16:32; 1 Chr 29:22) (Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 255).

¹³⁸ Juel, *The Gospel of Mark*, 145.

¹³⁹ Cf. Juel, *The Gospel of Mark*, 145. The title, “the King of Jews” appears five times in Mark – three times by Pilate (Mk 15:2, 9, 12), once in the mockery of the soldiers (Mk 15:18), and once on the sign inscription of the charge against Jesus (Mk 15:26).

¹⁴⁰ That “the Christ” is a royal designation is confirmed in Mark 15:32, when another group of Jewish mockers taunt Jesus as “the Christ, the King of Israel” (Juel, *The Gospel of Mark*, 145).

shows that the religious authorities successfully persuaded the Romans of Jesus' messianic pretensions.¹⁴¹ Thus, whether or not he viewed the term ὁ Χριστός as political, the political implications were clear.

The conspiracy of the high priest against Jesus is revealed in this inquiry. Since the high priest regards Jesus as a false messiah, he is pretentious and assumes that he himself has more power and is of higher rank than Jesus and keeps the accused at a wide distance.

VI.2. The Politeness of the High Priest to Jesus

The second query of the high priest to Jesus, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; “Are you the Christ the Son of the Blessed?” is definitely an impolite expression like the first. However, the parameters, which influence politeness, are different from the first one.

Since the high priest does not regard Jesus as the Christ the Son of the Blessed but rather intends to charge him with accusations for a capital crime, the second query is ironic. Accordingly, the second query does not directly impose the answer unlike the first query, “Don't you answer anything? What do these testify against you?”¹⁴² It shows that each utterance of the same interlocutors in the same communicative event can violate the different kinds of politeness rules. However, it simulatenously expresses the speaker's desire for clarity, perspicuousness and efficiency just like the first query.¹⁴³ The inquiry is decisive query for determining a death penalty, dispraises Jesus by using the second person pronoun, which functions to express contempt and derision, and expresses antipathy against Jesus.¹⁴⁴ Since the high priest regards Jesus as a false messiah, he is pretentious and assumes that he has more power and rank than Jesus and so keeps the accused at a

¹⁴¹ D. Flusser, “A Literary Approach to the Trial of Jesus,” *Judaism* 20:1 (Winter, 1971), 34.

¹⁴² Within the framework of Lakoff's politeness rules, the inquiry violates the politeness rule 3, “make the addressee(s) feel good” (Cf. Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 298).

¹⁴³ According to the linguistic phenomena classification by Brown and Levinson, the second query by the high priest may belong to the strategy 1, “doing an act baldly, without redress,” and specifically in “the most direct, clear, unambiguous, and concise way” (Cf. Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 94-95).

¹⁴⁴ The inquiry violates [a] minimize cost to other of (1) tact maxim, [a] minimize dispraise of other of (3) approbation maxim, and [a] minimize antipathy between self and other of [6] sympathy maxim (Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 132).

wide distance. On the other hand, using the title, “the Blessed One”, a Jewish reverential circumlocution, reflects the high priest’s desire to show his own airs and graces in the trial context. The circumlocution of the high priest praises God but is really a mask of self-praise. Thus, although the rules, strategies and maxims of politeness in the second query is different from the first, the assumption of the high priest concerning Jesus in his second query is the same as in the first.

VI.3. Translating the High Priest’s Second Query to Jesus into Addressee Honorifics

In some Indo-European translations such as the VUL, NVUL, KJV, YLT, ASV, DRB, TOB, BFC, LUT, etc., the Greek second person singular pronoun σὺ, “you,” is constantly translated into the *T* forms like the ones of first query.¹⁴⁵ The translations may reflect the viewpoint that the pronoun σὺ is not only emphatic but also contemptuous and derisive because the indicative present verb εἶ includes the meaning of the second person singular pronoun. The choice of the *T* form shows that the high priest sees Jesus as the inferior accused with his hostility or contempt.¹⁴⁶ The Dutch translations such as NB, GNB, however, constantly select the *V* form. The

¹⁴⁵ Just like the first query of the high priest, Latin (VUL, NVUL), English (KJV, YLT, ASV), French (DRB, TOB, BFC), German (LUT) translate the second query of the high priest into the *T* form, but Dutch into the *V* form as follows:

NTG ²⁷	σὺ (Mk 14:61)
VUL	Tu
NVUL	Tu
NB	U
GNB	U
KJV	Thou
YLT	Thou
ASV	Thou
DRB	Tu
TOB	Tu
BFC	Tu
LUT	Du

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Brown and Gilman, “Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” 257.

selection may reflect the Dutch culture in which all in the court are obliged to use the *V* form.

It is also possible to translate the second person pronoun $\sigma\upsilon$, “you” and the verb $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, “you are” into the following eight renderings of Korean AH: (1) the formal deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + P); (2) the formal limited non-deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + O); (3) the formal general non-deferential forms (*noh* + T); (4) the informal deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + Y); (5) the informal limited non-deferential forms (*keudae*, *chane* + N); (6) the informal general non-deferential forms (*noh* + E); (7) the omission of the second-person pronominal pronoun; and (8) the noun instead of the SPP.

(1) The formal deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + P). In a real court situation, regardless of whether the speaker is polite or impolite to the addressee, the judge or a prosecutor is obligated to use the formal deferential P form even to the accused. By using this form, the speaker not only conveys information clearly, accurately and efficiently but also shows respect for the court. It must be noted that there is no Korean translation that chooses deferential forms for translating this passage. The translations focus on a real court situation in Korea rather than the source text that views the high priest as being contemptuous and derisive of Jesus as the false messiah. However, since the information that Jesus is the “Christ, the Son of God” is shared with the faithful readers, the non-deferential forms may be viewed as humiliating by the readers. Although it is possible that the high priest has unwittingly declared Jesus’ true identity, his deferential speech style may reduce the tension of the trial and tone down the tragedy of the passion narrative. Accordingly, it is inappropriate to translate the second query into the deferential form even though it is a possibility for the first query, “Don’t you answer anything? What do these testify against you?” (v. 61).

(2) The formal limited non-deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + O). The formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* pronoun and O verb ending forms may be appropriate for translating the second query. The forms express scorn or insult toward Jesus with an authoritative mood. Among modern Korean translations, the *KNTNT* (1967) chooses the *tangsin* and O forms for the speech style of the high priest to translate the continued questions. In consideration of the social relationship between the interlocutors as male adult strangers in a court situation, the translation avoids using the non-deferential general T form, the boldest form, which is

chosen by the old language translations. On the other hand, the *RNKSV* (2001) selects the formal limited non-deferential *keudae* pronoun and O verb ending forms. The *keudae* form is frequently used as the refined non-deferential form in order to show the polished manner of the speaker. While the first query challenges or demands an answer from Jesus, it can be said that the second one expresses the high priest's desire to show his own airs and graces by using the Jewish reverential circumlocution of "the Blessed One" to avoid mentioning the word "God" in the trial. Accordingly, although the most proper styles for the first query of the high priest is the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* and O forms, for the second query of the high priest, the formal limited non-deferential *keudae* and O forms can be appropriate to express his arrogant attitude. For co-occurrence, the translator should choose one pronoun form among the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* and *keudae* pronouns with the O verb ending form.

(3) The formal general non-deferential forms (*noh* + T). In a real trial in modern Korean society, none of the participants in the court are allowed to use the general non-deferential *noh* and T forms even toward the accused because such forms are generally used as the lowest form in private situations. The old language translations even including the *NKRV* (1998) select the lowest *noh* and T forms, specifically *-ya* verb ending form, as the speech style of the query by the high priest. The reason for selecting these forms is the same as the one of the second query of the high priest to Jesus. Such expressions can be regarded as an insult toward the addressee or as a reflection of the serious tension between the interlocutors. In addition, these forms are accepted as archaic and regarded as awkward by modern readers because they were frequently used when the master talked to a slave before the Korean society was modernized. It is likely that the translation is accepted by modern readers as awkward or unnatural expressions and, if used, they are regarded as serious contempt of the court. Accordingly, apart from the archaic style due to tradition, the lowest *noh* and T form must be revised to the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* or *keudae* pronoun form with O verb ending form as in the *NKRV* (1998).

(4) The informal deferential forms (*tangsin, keudae* + Y); (5) the informal limited non-deferential forms (*keudae, chane* + N); and (6) the informal general non-deferential forms (*noh* + E). The informal deferential Y form is not generally used in a court situation by a judge or a prosecutor despite being occasionally and undesignedly used by witnesses or the accused. It also does not convey the hostile intent of the high priest

toward Jesus and the tension of situation. Although the informal limited non-deferential forms are generally used between intimate adult interlocutors, there is no Korean translation that renders the high priest's second query into these forms except the *CTHB* (1977/1999). The combination of the informal limited non-deferential *keudae* and N forms reflect familiarity between the interlocutors to a greater extent than the translation of the *RNKSJ* (2001), which adopts the combination of the informal limited non-deferential *keudae* and O forms. On the other hand, the informal general non-deferential *noh* pronoun and E verb ending forms are generally used to address or refer to a child or its equivalent among members of a family or a specific social group. The relationship between the high priest and Jesus is not as intimate so as to use the informal non-deferential *noh* and E forms. Furthermore, the trial is formal. Accordingly, no Korean translation selects the informal general non-deferential forms.

(7) The omission of the second-person pronominal pronoun. As with the translation of the first query, it is also possible to omit the second person pronoun and select only the verb endings. The SPP is frequently omitted even toward the accused in a real court setting. If a translator, however, is aware that the emphatic *σύ*, "you," is used in a specific way in the source text, he or she will select the proper HSPP rather than omit it. No Korean translation has chosen to omit the pronoun when the high priest addresses Jesus.

(8) The noun instead of the SPP. As mentioned in the previous section, it is also possible to translate the second person pronoun *σύ* into the noun, "pigo" (the accused) because this is the noun that is often used instead of the second person pronoun not only in daily conversations but also in Korean Bible translations. However, as this noun fixates the identity of Jesus as the accused, which is not mentioned in the source text, there is a risk in translating *σύ* with the noun, "pigo" (the accused). No Korean translation selects the noun, "pigo" (the accused) as the translation of the pronoun *σύ*.

There are, thus, eight possible translations of the pronoun *σύ*, "you," and the verb *εἶ*, "you are." Among these eight possibilities, the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* or *keudae* pronoun and O verb ending forms are the proper addressee speech styles of the high priest toward Jesus at the trial. As shown in the previous sections, the religious authority insults Jesus as the accused and expresses arrogance and self-righteousness by using the Jewish reverential circumlocution to avoid mentioning of the word, "God." Thus,

the suitable AH for the high priest can be both the *tangsin* and O forms, which express scorn or insult toward addressee, and the *keudae* and O forms, which show the polished manner of the speaker. However, in terms of the coherence with the first query of the high priest and his hostile intention, the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* pronoun and O verb ending forms are proper addressee speech styles of the high priest toward Jesus at the trial.

If naturalness in the target context is the translation skopos, translators must consider rendering into speech styles as used in a real court situation such as the formal deferential *tangsin* and P forms, omitting the pronoun, or using the noun instead of the pronoun and deferential P verb ending form. However, as the result of emphasizing the naturalness of the target text, the translations will inevitably lose out from the source text, i.e. the high priest's hostile intent toward Jesus. Thus, whenever translators select AH, information from the source text will always be lost. Translators always risk losing in translation in order to follow the translation policy or principle. A specific translation policy is established from consultation and agreement with the reader community according to the skopos of the target text: liturgical and church functions, study function, common language function, secular literary-cultural functions, and private reading or home function.

VII. Jesus' Reply to the High Priest, and Speech to the Sanhedrin (v. 62b)

Mark 14:62 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Mark 14:62 and Jesus said, "I am, and you will see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power, and coming with the clouds of the heaven."

VII.1. Analysis by Criteria for Politeness and Addressee Honorifics

Social Relationship between Jesus and the High Priest and all the Sanhedrin

Jesus' reply can be divided into (1) his response, Ἐγὼ εἰμι, "I am," to the question, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; "Are you the Christ the Son of the Blessed One?" and (2) his declaration before the Sanhedrin, ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ... "you will see the Son of Man..." Jesus' reply to the high priest is a simple affirmation ("yes"); it is not an allusion to the divine name.¹⁴⁷ In the second case, the second personal plural form of the verb, ὄψεσθε, "you will see," indicates that Jesus addresses both high priest and the entire Sanhedrin.

Jesus replies to the interrogation of the high priest, who is socially, politically and religiously the highest ranked figures in Jewish society. Jesus, on the other hand, takes the role of the accused. The social relationship between Jesus and his addressees is clear. Jesus is clearly younger and lower than his addressees in this situation. The social relationship of the interlocutors belongs to the present situation whereas his message points to future vindication.

Cultural Expectation concerning Jesus' Response

Jesus unambiguously claims his true identity as the Christ by his direct affirmation of his messiahship, Ἐγὼ εἰμι, "I am (he)." This claim would have been clear and presumptuous to his Jewish addressees. Before the trial, Jesus had avoided calling himself the Messiah in the Gospel of Mark, i.e. the so-called Messianic secrecy,¹⁴⁸ but now the Messianic secrecy is unveiled before the highest religious Jews. Although many had confessed Jesus as the Messiah or as the Son of God, even early Jewish Christians would have been uncomfortable seeing Jesus declaring his identity in such a direct way.¹⁴⁹ The other Gospels and the longer variant of the Mark's

¹⁴⁷ E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 65. It may not imply divinity, the theophanic formula akin to God's revelation of himself to Moses with the divine name (cf. Exo 3:14) (Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 568; B. A. Bain, *Literary Surface Structures in Mark: Identifying Christology as the Purpose of the Gospel* [Ann Arbor: UMI, 1998], 178).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Mark 1:24-25, 34, 44; 3:11-12; 4:11-12; 7:36; 8:26, 30; 9:9 (E. K. Broadhead, *Mark* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 119).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 450.

Gospel present the indirect answers. First, Matthew's σὺ εἶπας, "you said" (Mt 26:64), and Luke's ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι, "you say that I am" (Lk 22:70), may represent attempts to mitigate the presumptiveness of Jesus' bold statement of "I am."¹⁵⁰ In similar fashion, the longer variant of Mark 14:62, σὺ εἶπας ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι, "you said that I am," also attempts the same thing.

In the early 20th century, many scholars believed that the longer reading was the original¹⁵¹ but this is no longer the general consensus among recent biblical scholars.¹⁵² Except some variants, i.e. Θ f³ 565 700 2542^s pc, Origen, the most reliable texts and manuscript evidence do not support the longer reading (NTG 27th ed.). Furthermore, the internal evidence in Mark also does not support the phrase, σὺ εἶπας ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι, "you said that I am." As R. Kempthorne states:¹⁵³ (1) Mark uses the nominative σύ five times in the Jesus' passion discourses in Mark (Mk 14:61; 15:2), but only σὺ λέγεις in the trial of Pilate (cf. Mk 15:2); (2) the inelegant repetition of ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν σὺ εἶπας ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι, "and Jesus said you said that I am," is not typical of Mark; and (3) the longer reading produces an abrupt conjunction of second person verbs in the singular and the plural, σὺ εἶπας ... καὶ ὄψεσθε κτλ. ("You [singular] said ... and you [plural] will see..."),

¹⁵⁰ Matthew presents that the high priest has unconsciously declared Jesus' true identity, and Luke shows that faith in Jesus as the Son of God is something that men must declare for themselves (Lk 22:70) (Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 361).

¹⁵¹ B. H. Streeter argued that the obscure and hesitant reply seems to be more authentic, and explained the similarity of the parallels in Matthew and Luke (B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: a Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* [London: MacMillan, 1924], 322). Streeter's opinion was followed by E. Lohmeyer and V. Taylor of the next thirty years (Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus*, 328; Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 568). Taylor has assumed that a scribe may have wished to omit σὺ εἶπας ὅτι, "you said that," and his assumption has been followed by J. A. T. Robinson, C. E. B. Cranfield, and J. C. O'Neill (Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, *Jesus and His Coming: the Emergence of a Doctrine* [New York: Abingdon Press, 1957], 49; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark: An Introduction and Commentary* [Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1959], 443-444; J. C. O'Neill, "The Silence of Jesus," *NTS* 15 [1968], 158).

¹⁵² E. F. Hills, "Harmonizations in the Caesarean Text of Mark," *JBL* 66 (1947), 149-150; M. E. Thrall, *Greek Particles in the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), 72; N. Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1965), 73-74; D. R. Catchpole, "The Answer to Caiaphas: Matt. Xxvi 64," *NTS* 17 (1970), 220-221; and R. P. Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1972), 178.

¹⁵³ R. Kempthorne, "The Marcan Text of Jesus' Answer to the High Priest (Mark XIV. 62)," *NovT* 19 (1977), 199-201.

which is infrequent in Mark. Thus, it is likely that the longer reading was influenced by the parallel accounts in Matthew 26:64 and Luke 22:70. There is recently growing consensus among many scholars that a later scribe copying Mark may have expanded and qualified Jesus' reply "you said that I am" under the pressure to soften Jesus' bold reply.¹⁵⁴ The directness of Jesus' reply, however, must be taken into consideration when rendered into Korean AH.

Jesus' response to all the members of the Sanhedrin directly expresses Jesus' self-reference, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "the Son of Man," which is associated with the Danielic figure, כְּבָר אֶנְכִי, "one like a son of man" (Dan 7:13).¹⁵⁵ Daniel 7:13, which was assumed to be Messianic, referred to the time of Christ's reign and the Parousia rather than the enthronement in heaven.¹⁵⁶ The high priest and the Sanhedrin probably assumed that the reference to "the Son of Man" was an allusion to Daniel 7:13 as applied to a human yet heavenly authority.

The two participles, καθήμενον, "sitting," and ἐρχόμενον, "coming," are governed by the same verb, ὄψεσθε, "you will see." The word ὄψεσθέ, "you will see," is generally used not toward friends, well-wishers, or disciples but rather toward enemies consumed with raging hostility.¹⁵⁷ His words, "sitting before coming," have been interpreted in terms of the future exaltation of Jesus and the following Parousia.¹⁵⁸ "Sitting at the right hand of" someone is a familiar idiom meaning to occupy the place of the highest honor.¹⁵⁹ The expression, δύναμις, "power," is a circumlocution to avoid mentioning God's holy name and a synonym for God. Hence, Jesus adds to his bold self-identification by drawing from Psalms 110:1: "Sit at my right hand, till I make your enemies your footstool." He will come as a judge of his (and God's) enemies, i.e. the highest religious authorities who now sit in

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 450.

¹⁵⁵ "The Son of Man" in the other passages of the Gospel of Mark definitely alluded to the Danielic figure (Cf. Mark 2:10, 28; 8:31, 38; 9:9; 9:12, 31; 10:33, 45; 13:26; 14:21, 41, 62), and the allusion may have been developed by christological interpretation (P. Winter, "The Marcan Account of Jesus' Trial by the Sanhedrin," *JTS* 14 [April, 1963], 100; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 451).

¹⁵⁶ H. K. McArthur, "Mark 14:62," *NTS* 4 (1958), 157-158.

¹⁵⁷ Mann, *Mark*, 626.

¹⁵⁸ Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 362.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. "And they said to him, 'Grant us to sit, one at your right hand and one at your left, in your glory'" (Mk 10:37) (Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 537).

judgment of him. On the other hand, “coming with the clouds of heaven” may also imply “coming to earth, riding on the clouds,”—the clouds representing the chariot on which the Son of Man will ride.¹⁶⁰

If Jesus wanted to escape the death penalty he would not have affirmed his identity. His answer, however, is definitely clear. He is not only the Christ, the Son of God but also the Son of Man whom the high priest and his priestly colleagues will see sitting on the right hand of the power and coming with the clouds. “Sitting on the right hand of the power” and “coming with the clouds of the heaven,” thus, emphasize the divine status of the Son of Man¹⁶¹ and Jesus makes it clear that this is he.

The Social Variables of Jesus’ Assumption toward the High Priest and All the Sanhedrin and His Intention

The translator can perceive the social variables as Jesus expresses his power, rank, distance and intention to his addressees. Jesus affirms his titles, “the Christ, the Son of God,” with the direct answer Ἐγώ εἰμι, “I am,” to a direct question and declares that those who have condemned Jesus will see him as the Son of Man who will come in judgment. Jesus does not hide his hostility toward his addressees, i.e. the present highest religious authorities. He boldly claims a status higher than the high priest who asks about “the Christ the Son of God.” In placing himself as the judge over the Jewish high court, Jesus offends the Torah and the leadership.¹⁶² In addition, his response implies that the “the Son of Man” will fulfill the divine role as the final judge of the high priest and the Sanhedrin. He elevates himself to a superhuman level and portrays himself as the Son of Man who sits at God’s right hand and comes with the clouds of heaven to judge those who now presume to judge him. This claim is not only personal self-exaltation but also an attack on the current Jewish leadership. Thus, the translator must preserve

¹⁶⁰ The divine being is riding on a cloud chariot, which is said to be Yahweh’s vehicle in the Old Testament (Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 385). This interpretation is supported by Daniel 7:9: “thrones were placed and one that was ancient of days took his seat ... his throne was fiery flames, its wheels were burning fire” (Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 220).

¹⁶¹ Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 385.

¹⁶² D. L. Bock, *Blasphemy and Exaltation in Judaism and the Final Examination of Jesus: A Philological-historical Study of the Key Jewish Themes Impacting Mark 14:61-64* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 15.

the authority of Jesus' reply clearly revealing the future relationship between himself and his addressees while still emphasizing the formality of the court situation.

Both the translator and the reader are well aware that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God and the Son of Man in his suffering and on the cross. Jesus is looking into the future—beyond the Crucifixion and Resurrection—and to the Ascension when he will take his place at the right hand of God—the place of authority—and to his Parousia when he will come to administer judgment. However, the high priest and the members of Sanhedrin, who should have understood him and recognized him as the Messiah, fail and reject him. Jesus does not hide his hostility toward his addressees but rather reserves the right to express his superior power and rank despite the trial context.

VII.2. The Politeness of Jesus to the High Priest and Members of Sanhedrin

Jesus' reply to the high priest and his colleagues of the Sanhedrin is definitely impolite although it is unambiguously accepted as the truth by Christian readers. The affirmation of his messiahship and the declaration that he will come as the judge over the highest religious authorities that now sit in judgment before him creates tension and anger among his present addressees.¹⁶³ Jesus also asserts this in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way.¹⁶⁴ He not only emphasizes his dispraise of the addressee but also elevates himself to a superhuman level as Christ, Son of God, and Son of Man, and further heightens the antipathy between interlocutors through his declaration about the Parousia when those who judge him now will clearly see him enthroned at God's side as the eschatological Judge.¹⁶⁵

His reply is definitely contentious, clearly irreverent and impolite. In fact, Jesus' statement could have been viewed as blasphemy because it presumed

¹⁶³ Cf. Lakoff, "The Logic of Politeness," 298.

¹⁶⁴ In the categories of Brown and Levinson, Jesus' speech can be classified as the category, "doing an act baldly, without redress" (Cf. Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 69).

¹⁶⁵ Jesus' declaration involves the truth, but violates the following politeness maxims of Leech: (1) the Approbation Maxim ([a] minimizing dispraise of other); (2) Modesty Maxim ([a] minimizing praise of self); and (3) the Sympathy Maxim ([a] minimizing antipathy between self and other) (Cf. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 132).

divine prerogatives and threatened the high priest and his priestly colleagues. Thus, while their social relationship belongs to the present trial context, Jesus' response projects into the future Parousia and assumes the future social variables. Although he uses a circumlocution of δύνάμις, "power," to avoid mentioning God's holy name in the trial, it does not mean that he accepts the verdict of religious authorities and their judgment. However, Christian translators and readers find this acceptable since Jesus does not need to be polite to his unfaithful addressees. Jesus is simply telling the truth about his divinity.

VII.3. Translating the Reply of Jesus into Addressee Honorifics

Technically, there are eight possibilities of rendering Ἐγὼ εἰμι, "I am (he),"¹⁶⁶ and ὄψεσθε, "you will see," into the Korean AH as the follows:¹⁶⁷

(1) The formal deferential forms (*yeoreobun* + P verb ending); (2) The formal limited nondeferential forms (*tangsindul*, *keudaedul* + O verb ending); (3) The formal general nondeferential forms (*noheui* + T verb ending); (4) The informal deferential forms (*yeoreobun* + Y verb ending); (5) the informal limited nondeferential forms (*keudaedul* or *chanedul* + N verb ending); (6) the informal general nondeferential forms (*noheui* + E verb ending); (7) The omission of the second-person pronominal pronoun; and (8) The noun instead of the SPP.

(1) The formal deferential forms (*yeoreobun* + P verb ending). In the

¹⁶⁶ Concerning Jesus' reply of Ἐγὼ εἰμι to the high priest, Korean translations have rendered as follows: (1) I am he; (2) I am; and (3) yes. The *CNT* (1887), the *KRV* (1938/1952/1961), the *NKRV* (1998), the *KNTNT* (1967), the *NKSV* (1993), and the *RNKS* (2001) have translated Ἐγὼ εἰμι into "I am he." Only the *KB* (1911) translated it into "I am," and the *Mark's Gospel* of S. J. Lee (1885) and the *CTHB* (1977/1999) rendered it into "yes." Most recent biblical scholars agree, "yes" is a better translation of Jesus' response than "I am," which is the literal translation of Ἐγὼ εἰμι. The Korean translation, "I am," is definitely accepted as an awkward expression by Korean readers. Most Korean translations render Ἐγὼ εἰμι into "I am he," but it does not imply the theophanic formula apprehended by the general public but the simple affirmation of his identity such as "I am the Christ the Son of God." In Korean translation, the theophanic formula, Ἐγὼ εἰμι is normally rendered into "I exist for myself" (Cf. Exo 3:14 [LXX]).

¹⁶⁷ Since the second person pronoun of ὄψεσθε, "you will see," is plural, the plural suffix of *-dul* is be added to each pronoun form except the *noh* form because the plural form of *noh* is *noheui*.

Korean judicial context, the accused is obliged to use the formal deferential forms towards the judge, prosecutor or counsel whether or not s/he has polite inclinations. However, no Korean translation selects deferential forms in translating Jesus' response to the high priest and the Sanhedrin. The Korean translators stress the real identity of Jesus as the eschatological judge rather than maintaining the immediate social relationships of the interlocutors. The translators have assumed that Jesus appropriately uses the nondeferential forms to his hostile enemies under the extreme harsh pressure. In fact, *the CTNT* (1971), which was completed by interconfessional cooperation, attempted to select the deferential forms for translating Jesus' reply, however, the forms were later revised to the nondeferential forms in 1977 on the grounds that the deferential forms ignored the divinity of Jesus.¹⁶⁸ However, the current social trend has shifted from the hierarchical social system of the past to a linguistic system in which formality is being determined according to social changes such as egalitarianism. In addition, according to the current general principle of court ethics, Korean judiciaries must keep their own honor and dignity in using the deferential forms toward every participant including the accused. The recent emphasis of deferential forms shows that Korean judges had formerly addressed the accused and/or the participants of court with the nondeferential forms in a high-handed manner. Now, the use of nondeferential forms is unacceptable and results in the judge's loss of face and honor. Accordingly, in the new Korean translations, the formal deferential forms better express the dignity of Jesus as the eschatological judge of the future as it elevates the authority and honor of the speaker. Nevertheless, if the translator works with the presumption that the expected reader assumes that Jesus does not need to use the deferential forms of his divinity, the formal limited nondeferential forms are also a possibility.

(2) The formal limited nondeferential forms (*tangsindul*, *keudaedul* + O verb ending). These forms are asymmetrically used by a higher and/or an older speaker to address a lower and/or younger addressee(s) with both members of the dyad being adults in authoritative positions. The formal limited nondeferential O verb ending form with the *tangsindul* second personal pronoun is selected as Jesus' reply in the *NKSV* (1993) and the *RNKS*V (2001) and avoids using the formal general nondeferential *noh* pronoun and T verb ending forms found in most Korean translations.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Cho, "Gongdongbunyeok Shinyakseongseo (Book Review of *The New Testament of Common Translation*)," 127.

Nowadays, the forms are asymmetrically used in strong hierarchical settings such as in the military. In addition, the use of the formal limited nondeferential forms in Jesus' response keeps the balance between the high priest' query and his response (cf. Mk 14:60bc, 61b) unlike the other modern Korean translations, which use the formal limited nondeferential forms for the high priest's question and the formal general nondeferential forms for Jesus' response. In any case, the translator considers the nondeferential forms as possibilities for Jesus' reply and attempts to express Jesus' decisive declaration that he is the Messiah and the divine Son. However, it is worth noting that there is a possibility that modern readers regard these forms as too archaic of an authoritative mood.

(3) The formal general nondeferential forms (*noheui* + T verb ending). This is the most commonly selected form in Korean translations. There are several reasons for this selection but there are also problems. ① The forms may have simply been accepted as the written style since the first Korean translation. If Jesus does not speak to his addressees but simply reads the future verdict as the eschatological judge, the formal general nondeferential forms would be proper as the neutral forms, which are extensively used in writing, newspapers, magazines, textbooks and academic books to minimize "the space and the spatio-temporal distance between writer and reader."¹⁶⁹ However, Jesus is not unilaterally reading a document but replying to the high priest and communicating to all at the trial. ② The literal translations and versions used the concentrate on the denotation of the Greek text, which does not have an honorifics system. However, the attempt to render a non-honorific language into an honorific language without considering the pragmatics results in a flat translation that conveys inaccurate information from the source text. ③ Like the *KNTNT* (1967) and the *CTHB* (1977), along with its revision (1999), modern translations that do not follow the literal translation approach and select various the speech levels, uniformly render all of Jesus' speech into the formal general nondeferential forms. The selection, however, does not consider the carryover from the AH' hierarchical system in which nondeferential forms reflect the divinity or authority of Jesus. Accordingly, the formal general nondeferential form is not an acceptable translation to the modern reader who is influenced by egalitarianism more and more.

¹⁶⁹ Cho, *A Study of Korean Pragmatics*, 113.

(4) **The informal deferential forms (*yeoreobun* + Y verb ending), (5) the informal limited nondeferential forms (*keudaedul* or *chanedul* + N verb ending), and (6) the informal general nondeferential forms (*noheui* + E verb ending).** In spite of the debate on the formality of the trial, no Korean translation selects the informal form for Jesus' response. Since the informal limited nondeferential forms (*keudaedul*, *chanedul* + N) are reserved for a gentle manner and familiar mood between intimate interlocutors and cannot be used in Jesus' reply. The informal general nondeferential forms (*noheui* + E) are also improper for they are generally used to address a child or its equivalent.

(7) **The omission of the second-person pronominal pronoun.** Usually the Korean second personal pronoun may be omitted in translations, which, in some cases, makes the sentence much more natural. Jesus' reply in this passage, however, is addressed to the high priest and all members of the Sanhedrin. As a result, the second personal plural pronoun of ὄψεσθε must be translated in order to accurately indicate the plurality of the addressees.

(8) **The noun instead of the SPP.** The Korean pronoun is frequently replaced with the noun but, in this case, there is no suitable noun for the second personal plural pronoun of ὄψεσθε, "you will see." In particular, if a translator selects the formal deferential P verb ending form, it is most appropriately paired with the pronoun, *yeoreobun*. The pronoun, *yeoreobun* is the conventionalized form of the honorific expression coming from the compound word, "many people" and is the honorific second personal plural form that is most appropriate over and above any noun.

There, thus, are eight possible AH of Ἐγώ εἰμι, "I am (he)," and ὄψεσθε, "you will see." As analyzed in the previous sections, Jesus does not defend himself as a normal accused would but proclaims his real identity as the Christ, the Son of God, and the Son of Man. Therefore, readers expect the speech style to reflect his messiahship and divinity and translators inevitably reflect the expected skopos of readers in their translations.

If translators emphasize the naturalness of the target context, Jesus' speech will have to be translated into *yeoreobun*, the honorific form of "many people," and into the formal deferential P verb ending form. The deferential forms, however, do not sufficiently convey the powerful declaration of the source text. The translation of Jesus' speech into AH will unavoidably lose the actuality of the target context in order to reproduce the atmosphere of the source text or weaken the message of the source text in

the pursuit of the naturalness of the target context. Jesus' speech styles will be determined after a thorough consideration of the translation skopos established by the requirement of the readers, the policy of the commissioner and the selection of the translators.

If the expected skopos of the translation is to strengthen the faith of readers, they will definitely focus on the authoritative expression of Jesus which functions as a proclamation of truth. In terms of the skopos, the suitable speech styles of Jesus may be the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* and O forms. There, however, is also the possibility that these forms are accepted as archaic styles by contemporary readers because declarative forms are the least commonly used forms in daily conversation. In this regard, if the skopos of the translation focuses on the church tradition based on established Korean versions, the formal general deferential *noh* and the T forms can be revised to the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* and O forms which are used in some passage in the archaic style translations. Translators, however, disapprove the use of the formal general deferential *noh* and the T forms because a speaker cannot use the *noh* and the T forms when communicating with an addressee of older/higher rank in the Korean society.

Jesus' reply is definitely impolite for his assumption about his real identity was not shared by the religious authorities. However, Jesus' divine declaration is shared with both the translator and the reader who understand this decisive moment. Accordingly, among the eight possible Korean AH of Ἐγώ εἰμι, "I am (he)," and ὄψεσθε, "you will see," the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* and O forms are the most proper speech styles for Jesus' claim as the eschatological judge in the new Korean translation. This selection is certainly different from most of the established Korean translations that have used the formal general nondeferential forms (*noh* + T verb ending) based on either the emphasis of a uniform written style, the literal translation approach or the hierarchical system of AH. Nowadays, the use of nondeferential forms at a trial is not considered the authoritative form but is considered contemptuous and results in the loss of face of Jesus as the eschatological judge. As previously mentioned, if it is known that the expected readers give up the naturalness of the target text and assume that Jesus does not need to use the deferential forms to address his hostile accusers because of his divinity then the formal limited nondeferential forms are also a possible selection for Jesus' response. The role of the translator is to select the AH that would best express the acceptance of verbal expression

in the court context of the target culture and the future verdict of Jesus in the trial context of the biblical text according to the *skopos* of the translation.

VIII. The High Priest's Speech to the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a)

Mark 14:63 ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς διαρρήξας τοὺς χιτῶνας αὐτοῦ λέγει, Τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; 64 ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας· τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται; οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου.

Mark 14:63 And the high priest, having tore his clothes, says, “what need have we still witnesses? 64 You heard the blasphemy, what appears to you?” and they all condemned him as deserving death,

VIII.1. Analysis by Criteria for Politeness and Addressee Honorifics

Social Relationship of the High Priest and all the Sanhedrin

The high priest responds to Jesus' self-reference with a public gesture of tearing his clothes off, an act expressing horror at blasphemy. He says nothing to Jesus but instead asks his priestly colleagues “what need have we still witnesses?” In addition, he declares, “You heard the blasphemy,” and asks them again, “What appears to you?” The current high priest held the highest office in the Jewish priest system and was the president of the supreme council of the Jews,¹⁷⁰ however, the evidence of the NT and Josephus reveals that the title, “high priest” was also retained by former high priests as well and that the expression of ‘the high priest’ was also used loosely to denote the members of the high priestly families.¹⁷¹

His addressees, i.e. the rest of the Sanhedrin members, are πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς, “all the chief priests, the elders, and the scribes,” as mentioned at the start of this discourse (v. 53).

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Bratcher, *A Translator's Guide to the Gospel of Mark*, 198.

¹⁷¹ Cf. E. M. Smallwood, “High Priests and Politics in Roman Palestine,” *JTS* (April 1962), 16.

This included the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem—the Supreme Court of Jewish law—and the high priest and his priestly colleagues had considerable influence on the judgment.

οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου, “And they all condemned him as deserving death,” and no members of the Sanhedrin defended Jesus. Mark’s πάντες, “all,” is probably hyperbolic and should be understood as “many” or “most.”¹⁷² “The Sanhedrin” consisted of a total of 71 members but there must have been at least 23 members at the quorum of the Sanhedrin assembled at the high priest’s place. They were also probably handpicked members who were sympathetic to the high priest’s position.¹⁷³ They unanimously agree that Jesus must be slain because θάνατος, “death,” is interpreted in the sense of ‘being killed,’ not merely ‘to die.’¹⁷⁴ Since “they all condemned him,” they were all guilty of Jesus’ death.

Cultural Expectation concerning the High Priest’s Speech

According to the high priest, the formal charge was blasphemy and the rendering of the robes clearly shows this. In the highly volatile political situation of Palestine, it was all too probable that the high priest would be more than anxious to put the worst possible constructions on Jesus’ words¹⁷⁵ and he interpreted Jesus’ claim as divine vindication and dominion.¹⁷⁶

Tearing one’s clothing is a typical Jewish custom, not readily understandable to people in other cultures.¹⁷⁷ This custom dates back to the earliest times of biblical history. The tearing of garments as a sign of horror is found in 2 Kings 18:37 and 19:1, and as a sign of great grief in Genesis

¹⁷² Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 457.

¹⁷³ According to Marcan account, Joseph of Arimathea, a prominent member of the Sanhedrin, who asked for Jesus’ body to Pilate, may not have attended the hearing held at the home of the high priest. Matthew identifies Joseph as “a disciple of Jesus” (Mt 27:57), as does John, adding that Joseph was a disciple “secretly” (Jn 19:38). Luke implies that Joseph was indeed present and that he “had not consented” to the Sanhedrin’s judgment (Lk 23:50-51). According to Marcan account, Nicodemus was also absent at the trial that night. In the Gospel of John, Nicodemus, “a ruler of the Jews” (Jn 3:1), defends Jesus before the Sanhedrin (7:50-52), and assists Jesus’ burial (19:39-40) (cf. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 458).

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Bratcher and Nida, *A Translator’s Handbook on the Gospel of Mark*, 467.

¹⁷⁵ Mann, *Mark*, 627.

¹⁷⁶ Mann, *Mark*, 627.

¹⁷⁷ Cohn, “Reflections on the Trial of Jesus,” 22.

37:29.¹⁷⁸ It can also reflect dismay, mourning, or outrage,¹⁷⁹ and conveys great “anguish” and/or “penitence” in 2 Samuel 13:19, Job 1:20, Judith 14:19, and Jeremiah 1:12.¹⁸⁰ This gesture is used at the end of a trial when the accused is convicted of blasphemy.¹⁸¹

ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας, “you heard the blasphemy,” may make other members sympathize with the high priest’s strong opinion. The word βλασφημία¹⁸² literally means, “the evil thing he has said against God,” i.e., “impious speech against God.”¹⁸³ It includes the “defaming” of God and “piercing” his name.¹⁸⁴ Based on Leviticus 24:16, Philo concluded that the death penalty is called for if one utters the name of God inappropriately.¹⁸⁵ However, blasphemy is not just limited to misusing the divine Name (*m Sanh* 7:5) since idolatry was seen as blasphemous.¹⁸⁶ In this case, blasphemy was not due to the utterance of God’s name since Jesus had respectfully avoided the name of God by circumlocution, i.e., “power” (v. 62). Nevertheless, the high priest interprets Jesus’ speech as blasphemous and it results in the verdict he desires: guilty and punishable by death.¹⁸⁷ However, the pentateuchal law concerning blasphemy (Lev. 24:15-16) was very elastic in the first century¹⁸⁸ and it is quite difficult to gain a precise understanding of the ancient view on blasphemy.¹⁸⁹

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Broadhead, *Prophet, Son, Messiah*, 136.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 256; Bratcher, *A Translator’s Guide to the Gospel of Mark*, 202; Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 385.

¹⁸⁰ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 453.

¹⁸¹ Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 362.

¹⁸² In the LXX βλασφημία, “blasphemy,” βλασφημεῖν, “to blaspheme,” and βλάσφημος, “blasphemous,” occur some twenty-two times. The principal Hebrew words referring to blasphemy are רָגַז, “to revile or slander,” לָלַץ, “to revile or belittle,” רָחַץ, “to reproach,” and גָּאַז, “to despise” (Cf. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 453).

¹⁸³ Bratcher, *A Translator’s Guide to the Gospel of Mark*, 202.

¹⁸⁴ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 538.

¹⁸⁵ Moses 2.37-38 §203-206 (C. A. Evans, “In What Sense ‘Blasphemy?’ Jesus before Caiaphas in Mark 14:61-64,” *SBLSP* [1991], 217).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Isaiah 65:7; Ezekiel 20:27-28 (J. C. O’Neill, *Who Did Jesus Think He Was?* BIS 11 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995], 53).

¹⁸⁷ The blasphemy charge and the corresponding death sentence are rooted in the Torah: “one who blasphemes the name of the Lord shall be put to death” (Lev. 24:16). The death sentence against a false prophet comes from the Torah (Deut. 13:1-51 18:15-22) (Broadhead, *Prophet, Son, Messiah*, 136).

¹⁸⁸ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 538.

¹⁸⁹ J. E. Hartley, *Leviticus*, WBC 4 (Dallas: Word, 1992), 408.

The opinions concerning the charge of blasphemy are divided into the three following arguments:¹⁹⁰ (1) the claim to be Messiah as a false prophet; (2) the nature of Jesus' ministry; or (3) Jesus' claim to Psalms 110:1 and Daniel 7:13.

(1) The blasphemous claim to be Messiah as a false prophet. O. Betz argues that Jesus is seen as a false prophet because of his messianic claim and actions, which were also regarded disturbing the peace of Rome.¹⁹¹ J. C. O'Neill also claims that Jesus is guilty of the capital crime of claiming that he is the Messiah when he was a false prophet.¹⁹² However, Jesus never claimed that he was a prophet in the trial though the testimony that Jesus threatened to destroy of the temple (v. 58) may have implied it. Still, the false testimony was not corroborated (v. 59). In addition, claiming to be Israel's Messiah was not considered blasphemous at the first-century Israel.¹⁹³

(2) The blasphemous charge against Jesus' ministry. R. E. Brown suggests that the charge of blasphemy stemmed from Jesus' ministry: "amen sayings, claims to forgive sin, healed while claiming arrival of God's kingdom, proclaimed judgment if one does not respond to him, teaching on law, teaching on temple, his refusal merely to be portrayed as a prophet, his use of Abba, and his use of son language."¹⁹⁴ R. T. France also says that blasphemy was not in any narrowly defined misuse of language, but in an overall claim to the entire public life and teaching of Jesus, which were in conflict with the Jerusalem authorities.¹⁹⁵ However, if the blasphemous charge was raised because of his ministry, the high priest would have cried out, 'blasphemy' at the beginning of trial, however, the high priest cried blasphemy only after hearing Jesus' speech and such timing cannot be ignored.

¹⁹⁰ Concerning the cause of blasphemy, Gundry has recently assumed that Jesus did not say "right hand of Power," but rather that he spoke the tetragrammaton, and said "right hand of Yahweh" (Gundry, *Mark*, 894). However, his assumption is incongruent because there is no possibility that "power" comes to us instead of tetragrammaton.

¹⁹¹ Betz, "Probleme des Prozesses Jesu," 639.

¹⁹² O'Neill, *Who Did Jesus Think He Was?*, 48.

¹⁹³ According to Josephus, any of the many would-be kings and insurrections of the first-century Israel were disparaged as impostors and opportunists (Evans, "In What Sense 'Blasphemy?,'" 215).

¹⁹⁴ R. E. Brown, "The Death of the Messiah," D. Freedman, ed., *The Anchor Bible Reference Library*, vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1994).

¹⁹⁵ France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 601.

(3) The blasphemous claim of Psalms 110:1 and Daniel 7:13. J. Blinzler proposes that the key of blasphemy is in the speech of Jesus linked with Psalms 110:1 and Daniel 7:13 in Mark 14:62, i.e. the claim to be the eschatological judge.¹⁹⁶ A. Strobel also suggests that the blasphemy was in the claim to sit at the right hand from Psalms 110:1 and Daniel 7:13.¹⁹⁷ M. D. Hooker states that Jesus' claim to sit at God's right hand in addition to Jesus saying Ἐγὼ εἰμι, "I am," as the use of the divine name resulted in the charge of blasphemy.¹⁹⁸ Mann explains that the high priest reacted in anger when Jesus' quoted Psalms 110:1 and Daniel 7:13.¹⁹⁹ Evans argues that the charge was due to two passages, which speak of the subjugation of Israel's enemies, including kings (Dan 7:14, 26; Ps 110:1, 5, 6), and of judgment (Dan 7:10, 22, 26; Ps 110:6), whether or not the Divine Name was pronounced.²⁰⁰ Focusing on Psalms 110:1 and Daniel 7:13, M. Hengel argues that Jesus "seems to have provoked them with an indication of his 'messianic-judgmental' authority that they delivered him as a messianic pretender to Pilate."²⁰¹ H. Boers also points out that Jesus' silence could have been considered blasphemy in a Jewish high court from a historical point of view. However, for Mark the blasphemy is the general affirmation that he is the Christ the Son of God (14:61e-62a) as well as the reference to his sitting as the Son of Man at the right hand of God and his subsequent coming on the clouds of heaven (14:62b).²⁰²

Although their points of view are slightly different, most recent biblical scholars agree that the key to the charge of blasphemy is Jesus' claim on Psalms 110:1 and Daniel 7:13.²⁰³

Mark was aware that the Sanhedrin was not able to administer the death

¹⁹⁶ J. Blinzler, *Der Prozess Jesu*, 4th ed. (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1969), 158-159.

¹⁹⁷ A. Strobel, *Die Stunde der Wahrheit* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1980) quoted by D. L. Bock, *Blasphemy and Exaltation in Judaism and the Final Examination of Jesus*, 15.

¹⁹⁸ Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 362.

¹⁹⁹ Mann, *Mark*, 627.

²⁰⁰ Evans, "In What Sense 'Blasphemy?' Jesus before Caiaphas in Mark 14:61-64," 215-234.

²⁰¹ M. Hengel, "'Sit at My Right Hand!': The Enthronement of Christ and the Right Hand of God," *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), 187.

²⁰² Boers, *Who was Jesus?*, 66.

²⁰³ Bock, *Blasphemy and Exaltation in Judaism and the Final Examination of Jesus*, 26.

penalty by stoning.²⁰⁴ The competence of the Sanhedrin remained intact but the governor alone possessed the capital power, and this was the most jealously guarded prerogative in Roman provincial administration.²⁰⁵ Thus, though Jesus was sentenced by the Sanhedrin on the charge of blasphemy, they still needed a political charge in order to ensure execution by the provincial prefect.²⁰⁶ In short, the Sanhedrin could only judge him to be worthy of presentment to Pilate as a capital offender.²⁰⁷

Jesus' claim was understood as denigrating God and threatening to the high priest, the ruler of Israel, and both elements were regarded as blasphemous. The explicit declaration of Jesus is "an admission of blasphemy under Jewish law as a denial of the fundamental principle of monotheism."²⁰⁸ According to religious heritage and law, the high priest may influence leaders to condemn Jesus to death as a dangerous pretender who is a threat to tradition, law and order.²⁰⁹

The Social Variables of the High Priest's Assumption toward All the Sanhedrin and His Intention

Translator is aware that the high priest uses false testimony (vv. 55-61) and subsequently urges his colleagues to declare a false judgment condemning Jesus to death (vv. 63-64). Although the accusation that Jesus had threatened to destroy the temple (v. 58) had no corroboration (v. 59), the priest conveniently ignores that fact.

His act of tearing his own clothes anticipates the blasphemy charge (v. 64a) and is deliberately planned as an expression of consummate indignation.²¹⁰ It is worth noting that this is a ritual action prescribed by tradition and only minor tears are made.²¹¹ According to *m. Sanh* 7:5, when

²⁰⁴ Cf. Lev. 14:16, 1Kings 21:19 (Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 570).

²⁰⁵ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 530.

²⁰⁶ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 530.

²⁰⁷ Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 256.

²⁰⁸ Cohn, "Reflections on the Trial of Jesus," 21.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Juel, *The Gospel of Mark*, 151.

²¹⁰ Bratcher and Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark*, 466.

²¹¹ The plural form *χιτῶνας* here probably does not mean a number of shirts, but clothes in general (BDAG 2000: 1085). It is used in a general manner to refer to 'clothes,' 'garments,' rather than with a strict reference to the under-garments (the parallel Mt. 26:65 has *ἱμάτιον*)

the judges hear something blasphemous, they are to stand up on their feet and tear their clothes and may not mend them again.²¹² Thus, the gesture is a concrete way to show his consternation at Jesus' "blasphemy".

In order to elicit the verdict he wants, the high priest asks his priestly colleagues: Τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; "what need have we still witnesses?" While it is grammatically a question in Greek, it is also a way of making a statement, not a request for information.²¹³ The forward positioning of ἔτι, "still," and χρεῖαν, "need," serves to express the high priest's implication that the Sanhedrin has heard for themselves the stunning and incriminating statement.²¹⁴ Therefore, there is no need for witnesses.

He formally and efficiently persuades his colleagues to decide on the death penalty for Jesus. The question τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται; "what appears to you?," i.e., "what is your verdict?" shows that the high priest obviously respects the formal judgment of his addressees. ὑμῖν, "to you," may be the expression to evoke a response from the Sanhedrin.²¹⁵ The verdict is immediate, decisive and unanimous: οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου, "and they all condemned him as deserving death," and it appears to express a judicial opinion rather than the sentence κατακρινουσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ, "they will condemn him to death," of Mark 10:33.²¹⁶ The word ἔνοχος means "on liable, answerable, guilty; deserving (of death); guilty of sin against": here the word denotes the punishment.²¹⁷ The political and religious circumstances explain how Jesus could have been so immediately condemned to death.²¹⁸ The session ends with the formal

[garment, clothing; coat, robe, and cloak]) (Bratcher and Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark*, 466).

²¹² Cf. Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 362; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 453.

²¹³ Bratcher, *A Translator's Guide to the Gospel of Mark*, 202.

²¹⁴ Cf. Gundry, *Mark*, 887; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 453.

²¹⁵ Gundry, *Mark*, 887.

²¹⁶ Cf. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 570.

²¹⁷ BDAG 2000: 338, 2.b.a. ἔνοχος was used as "guilty" in Mark 3:29: ὃς δ' ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ ἔνοχος ἐστὶν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος, "but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit never has forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin." Mark 3:29 may be an essential parallel to the present scene. The high priest accuses the Spirit working in Jesus and when he is paradoxically the one guilty of blasphemy, not Jesus (Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 385).

²¹⁸ In fact, the judicial rules of the Marcan account were violated by not waiting until the following day for conviction and sentence on a capital charge (Mann, *Mark*, 627; Boers, *Who*

decision to hand Jesus over to the Roman procurator.²¹⁹ Because of the nature of the charge, the high priest can manipulate it to make it seem that Jesus not only arrogantly claimed divine status but was also a political threat to the Romans. There were clearly political and religious factors throughout the trial. In addition, the high priest must not assume that he himself has more power or is of higher rank than all other members of the Sanhedrin, but keeps them at a wide distance.

VIII.2. The Paralinguistic and Linguistic Politeness of the High Priest to the Sanhedrin

The question, “what need have we still witnesses?” the declaration, “you heard blasphemy,” and the following question, “what appears to you?” are likely to be polite expressions. The high priest gives the option of the death penalty over to his priestly colleagues thus playing to their ego.²²⁰ The speech of high priest had already created a kind of solidarity among his colleagues of the Sanhedrin and this minimized guilt and regret over their fierce hostility against Jesus.²²¹

The high priest uses in-group identity markers such as crying out ‘blasphemy,’ to curry agreement from the remaining the members of the Sanhedrin in order to condemn Jesus to death.²²² At the same time, he pre-emptly any sympathy with the powerful visual display of tearing his clothes. He then demands his colleagues, “what need have we still witnesses?” a firm statement, which is followed by the declaration, “you heard blasphemy.” In addition, he includes himself and his addressees in the order to condemn

was Jesus?, 67).

²¹⁹ Cf. Mark 15:1 (Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 539).

²²⁰ According to the classification of Lakoff, the politeness rule 2, “give options,” and the politeness rule 3, “make the addressee(s) feel good,” can be applicable to the speech of the high priest (Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 298).

²²¹ Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 301.

²²² The speech of the high priest is also classified as a case of a positive politeness strategy in terms of Brown and Levinson as follows: (4) use in-group identity markers (addressee forms, use of in-group language or dialect, use of jargon or slang, and contraction and ellipsis), (5) seek agreement, (6) avoid disagreement (token agreement, pseudo agreement, white lies, and hedging opinions), (9) assert of presuppose S’s knowledge of and concern for H’s wants, (12) include both S and H in the activity (using an inclusive ‘we’ form), (13) give (or ask for) reasons (Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 107-117, 125, 126-128).

Jesus using the inclusive “we” form, ἔχομεν, “we have” (v. 63). He essentially gives reasons why Jesus should die through the ritual gesture of tearing his clothes and the word “blasphemy” and elicits the cooperation of his priestly colleagues through the question, “what appears to you” which means “what is your verdict?” in order to avoid condemning Jesus by himself. In terms of the positive politeness, the speech of the high priest is related to the expectations of his addressees, to what they want to hear from him. The high priest maximizes the agreement between himself and his addressees to maximize sympathy by the inclusive we, ἔχομεν, “we have” (v. 63).²²³

The high priest cleverly does not assume that he has more power or rank than the other members of the Sanhedrin. In terms of social relationship, the high priest and his addressees both have considerable influence on the judgment. The question, “what need have we still witnesses?” and the declaration, “you heard blasphemy,” reveals the high priest’s efforts to obtain concurrence from other members of the Sanhedrin. The question, “what appears to you?” shows that he respects the judgment of his addressees. Ironically, in his hostility to persuade his addressees to condemn to Jesus to death, he effectively uses politeness to achieve his purpose.

The high priest’s gesture of tearing his clothes in the response of Jesus’ speech is an impolite paralinguistic expression to Jesus because it was indicative of sorrow or horror.²²⁴ It not only expresses the consummate indignation about the claim of Jesus, but also expresses his dismay to his colleagues. As the gesture is a ritual and formal action, it is not likely to be regarded as impolite by his addressees but rather functions to persuade them.

VIII.3. Translating the Reply of the High Priest into Addressee Honorifics

The speech of the high priest consists of a question, a declaration

²²³ In line with the positive politeness strategy of Brown and Levinson, Leech’s politeness maxims are also applicable to the speech of the high priest as follows: (1) the agreement maxim ([b] maximize agreement between the high priest himself and his addressees with same intent against Jesus), and (2) the sympathy maxim ([b] maximize sympathy between them with an inclusive we form, ἔχομεν, “we have” [v. 63]) (Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 132).

²²⁴ Bratcher, and Nida, *A Translator’s Handbook on the Gospel of Mark*, 466.

followed by another question. Grammatically, ἔχομεν, “we have,” ἠκούσατε, “you heard,” ὑμῖν, “to you,” and φαίνεται, “(what) appear,” can be translated into the Korean addressees honorifics as follows: (1) the formal deferential forms (*tangsin, keudae + P*); (2) the formal limited nondeferential forms (*tangsin, keudae + O*); (3) the formal general nondeferential forms (*noh + T*); (4) the informal deferential forms (*tangsin, keudae + Y*); (5) the informal limited nondeferential forms (*keudae, chane + N*); (6) the informal general nondeferential forms (*noh + E*); (7) the omission of the second-person pronominal pronoun; and (8) the noun instead of the SPP.

(1) The formal deferential forms (*tangsin, keudae + P*). As observed in the previous sections, a judge or a prosecutor is obliged to use the formal deferential P form in a real court situation. Whether his expression is polite or not, it is appropriate for him to use the deferential form to his addressees in a trial situation. Among the pioneer Korean translations, the *CNT* (1887) and *Mark* by S. J. Lee select the high forms for the high priest’s first question but the lowest forms for the second declaration and the following question. Similarly in the *KB* (1911) and the *KRV* (1961), and even in the *NKRV* (1998), the polite O form and the lowest T form are both used. For the first question, the polite O form was selected but for the declaration and the following question, the lowest verb ending T form was chosen to co-occur with the lowest pronoun *noheui* (the plural form of *noh*) form. The selection of the lowest *noheui* form results because the literal translation approach uniformly renders the source text into the formal general nondeferential *noh* form because of the linguistic denotative function of the Greek pronoun. The *CTHB* (1977/1999) also improperly mixes the formal deferential P form and the formal limited nondeferential O form for translating the high priest’s speech. It must be considered that there is no change in the social relationship between the high priest and his addressees, the variables of the speaker’s assumption toward his addressees and the situation of these three sentences. Among modern Korean translations, the *KNTNT* (1967) appropriately and coherently selects *yeoreobun*, the honorific form of “many people,” and the formal deferential P verb ending form for translating the high priest’s speech. In public speech, the second person plural pronoun, *yeoreobun* is most appropriately paired with the formal deferential P form. Addressees and readers accept the compound word *yeoreobun* as a more polite expression than the pronouns, *tangsindul* or *keudaedul*. Most of all, this compound word is used much more frequent than the pronoun in public

situations. The use of *yeoreobun* and the formal deferential P form may have resulted from considering both a real court situation and the source text's information, i.e. the high priest's respect for his addressees.

(2) The formal limited nondeferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + O). The formal limited nondeferential *tangsin* pronoun and O verb ending forms or the *keudaedul* pronoun and O verb ending forms are not proper for translating the high priest's speech. The O form is used in transactional and public situations but the declarative O form, which sounds very "authoritative" and archaic, is the least commonly used in daily conversation. However, the *NKSV* (1993) and the *RNKSV* (2001) both choose the formal limited nondeferential O verb ending form with the second person plural pronoun, *yeoreobun*. Although *yeoreobun* does not properly co-occur with the formal nondeferential O verb ending form in daily conversations, the translators avoid using the formal limited nondeferential *tangsin* form, which expresses scorn or insult toward the addressees. It is obvious that though the high priest feels indignant against Jesus, he is polite towards his colleagues. The selection of the formal nondeferential O verb ending may be because the translators regard the high priest as being of higher rank than others at the Sanhedrin meeting or they may interpret the attitude and the speech of the high priest as being authoritative. However, the formal nondeferential O verb ending itself is likely to be an awkward expression to modern readers—especially since both the high priest and his addressees are equal in terms of Jewish society and they both had the right of passing judgment on the accused. The formal limited nondeferential *keudae* and O forms express a gentler and polished manner than the *tangsin* and O forms but these are not proper styles for the speech of the high priest toward other members of the Sanhedrin.

(3) The formal general nondeferential forms (*noh* + T). It is impossible for a judge or prosecutor to use the general nondeferential *noheui* and T form toward those who have the right to judge the accused. As such, most Korean translations do not select these forms, though they have been chosen as the speech styles in other dialogues of old language translations. The lowest form is found in the old language translations but it co-occurs with the *noheui* form. In terms of the source text and the naturalness of the target text, the general nondeferential *noh* and T forms are not proper for translating the high priest's speech toward other Sanhedrin members present at the trial.

(4) The informal deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + Y); (5) the

informal limited nondeferential forms (*keudae*, *chane* + N); (6) the informal general nondeferential forms (*noh* + E). In the case of the informal deferential Y form, it does not properly convey the information of the source text because this form is informal. Technically, the informal limited nondeferential *keudae* or *chane* and N forms used between intimate adult interlocutors can be used for the high priest's speech. If the high priest talks privately to his colleagues assuming a very close relationship, these forms will be appropriate but obviously a trial situation is not at all private. Hence, there is no Korean translation that renders the high priest's speech into the informal limited nondeferential forms. Like the other nondeferential forms, it is also improper for a judge or prosecutor to use the general nondeferential *noheui* and E forms toward other participants in Korean court.

(7) The omission of the second-person pronominal pronoun. The omission of the second personal plural pronoun is possible like the omission of the dative pronoun ὑμῖν, "to you" (v. 64b) in the *CTHB* (1977/1999). However, if the translation skopos is to follow the literal translation approach, it is quite difficult for translators to skip ὑμῖν, "to you," which may be the expression used to evoke a response from the Sanhedrin. However, when the translation skopos is to follow the dynamic equivalence approach such as the *CTHB*, the omission will not cause any problem. The second personal plural pronoun is frequently omitted in a real court situation.

(8) The noun instead of the SPP. In daily conversation, it is normal for Korean speakers to replace the SPP with the noun. However, in the case of this passage, if the high priest addresses the members of Sanhedrin with the noun, "wiwonnim" (members + the honorific suffix) with the formal deferential P verb ending form, it fixes the identity of the members of Sanhedrin but does not show their role in the trial.

There are, thus, eight possible AH for translating ἔχομεν, "we have," ἠκούσατε, "you heard," ὑμῖν, "to you," and φαίνεται, "(what) appear," in the high priest's speech. Among them, the most proper style would be the formal deferential *yeoreobun* pronoun and P verb ending forms in terms of communicating the information of the source text and ensuring naturalness of the target text. Certainly, the omission of pronoun and the deferential form is also possible depending on the translation skopos. However, the informal forms are not proper for translating the high priest's speech. The formal limited nondeferential O form is too authoritative and archaic. That is why even the pioneer translations, which have uniformly selected the lowest

pronoun form, have chosen the high form or the polite O verb ending form for translating the questions.

IX. Jeer of Some Sanhedrin Members toward Jesus (v. 65b)

Mark 14:65 Καὶ ἤρξαντό τινες ἐμπτύειν αὐτῷ καὶ περικαλύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ κολαφίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ, Προφήτευσον, καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον.

Mark 14:65 and some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to strike him, and to say to him, ‘Prophesy;’ and the servants received him with blows.

IX. Analysis by Criteria for Politeness and Addressee Honorifics

Social Relationship of the Some Sanhedrin Members and Jesus

Some members of the Sanhedrin, τῖς, “some,” mock Jesus and taunt him by saying, “prophesy” and the mocker are specified as οἱ ὑπηρέται, “the servants.” Some biblical scholars doubt that τῖς, “some,” refers to “some members of the Sanhedrin” because of the nature of the act. C. S. Mann indicates that τῖς, “some,” most likely referred to οἱ ὑπηρέται, “the servants.”²²⁵ Similarly, M. D. Hooker also suggests that since the servants are not the members of the Sanhedrin, they are more likely to have treated Jesus with physical abuse.²²⁶ However, Mark’s Gospel is clearly referring to the members of the Sanhedrin in vv. 64-65. According to Mark, they abuse Jesus and say to him, “prophesy,” and then turn him over to the guards who continue the beatings. Just like the high priest who tore off his clothes when hearing something blasphemous, his colleagues of the Sanhedrin act brutally and mock Jesus.

It is not clear who οἱ ὑπηρέται, “the servants,” were, but they must have

²²⁵ Mann, *Mark*, 628.

²²⁶ Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 363.

been Jewish guards under the command of the high priest, and men outside with Peter, warming themselves by the fire as written in v. 54.²²⁷ They are not the grandees themselves, but work as the temple-guard,²²⁸ and also join the abusive action against Jesus expressing their opposition to him (14:66-72; cf. 14:30).

Cultural Expectation concerning Jeering and Mockery

Though the Sanhedrin sentenced Jesus to death, they cannot execute him under Roman imperial law. The OT law regarding false prophets demands punishment, the Jews must defer to the Roman government.²²⁹ Still, the desire to punish Jesus under the Jewish law is clearly understandable especially in the case of blasphemy.²³⁰

The act of spitting at his face and hitting him echo Isaiah 50:6,²³¹ which Mark purposely refers to in his vocabulary.²³² The *κολαφίζω*, “to strike sharply with the hand, strike with the fist, beat” is derived from *κολαφός*, and is purely vernacular, not being found either in classical Greek or in the LXX.²³³

The act of “Cover[ing] his face” could have been done either with a cloth or with their hands.²³⁴ It may be related to the tradition expressing condemnation, as the case with Haman in Esther 7:8.²³⁵ In addition, Προφήτευσον, “prophesy,” is explained in Matthew 26:68; Luke 22:64, as being a combined sneer; ‘prophesy who smote you.’²³⁶ The demand is based on the rabbinic interpretation of Isaiah 11:2-4 stating that the Messiah could

²²⁷ Bratcher, *A Translator's Guide to the Gospel of Mark*, 199, 202; Mann, *Mark*, 628; Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 458; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 424.

²²⁸ Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 257.

²²⁹ D. W. Wead, “We Have a Law,” *Novum Testamentum: An International Quarterly for New Testament and Related Studies* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), 189.

²³⁰ Wead, “We Have a Law,” 189.

²³¹ They seem to be echoing the description in Isaiah 50:6: “I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to those who pulled out the beard; I hid not my face from shame and spitting.”

²³² Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 363.

²³³ Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 566; Mann, *Mark*, 628.

²³⁴ Bratcher and Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark*, 468.

²³⁵ Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 257.

²³⁶ Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 257; Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 363.

judge by smell and did not need sight (*b Sanh* 93b).²³⁷ He is supposed to possess prophetic clairvoyance and thus be able to identify his assailants.²³⁸

Spitting and hitting were also conventional gestures of rejection and repudiation (cf. Job 30:10; Num. 12:14; Deut. 25:9; Isa. 50:6).²³⁹ ἐμπτύω, “to spite on,” is a matter of great shame; e.g., Numbers 12:14: “But the Lord said to Moses, ‘If her father had but spit [LXX: ἐμπτύω] in her face, should she not be shamed seven days? Let her be shut up outside the camp seven days, and after that she may be brought in again’”; Deuteronomy 25:9: “then his brother’s wife shall go up to him in the presence of the elders, and pull his sandal of his foot, and spit [LXX: ἐμπτύω] in his face.” In these verses, one spits on the transgressor’s face.²⁴⁰ ἐμπτύω is also found when the Roman soldier mocks Jesus as the “King of the Jews” (cf. Mk 15:16-20).²⁴¹ The final act of mockery is the execution of the false prophet as found in Deuteronomy 18:20: “But the prophet who presumes to speak a word in my name which I have not commanded him to speak, or who speaks in the name of other gods, that same prophet shall die.”²⁴²

The Social Variables of Some Sanhedrin Members’ Assumption toward Jesus and Their Intention

The decision that Jesus deserved the death penalty shows the hostility of the Sanhedrin. Their actions follow the traditional way of expressing disgust and abhorrence for what they have heard.²⁴³ They vent their rage against Jesus by spitting on him and taunting him, “prophesy!” Undoubtedly their indignance with Jesus reflects their disbelief in his claim to be the Messiah. Jesus refused to entertain their demands and thus the Sanhedrin concludes that he is a false prophet or an imposter. Certainly, the abusers assume that they have more power and rank than Jesus.

Those who taunt Jesus to prophesy also reveal much through their

²³⁷ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 540; Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 385.

²³⁸ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 458.

²³⁹ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 540.

²⁴⁰ Evans, *Mark 8:27-16:20*, 458.

²⁴¹ Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 424.

²⁴² Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 363.

²⁴³ Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 385.

actions.²⁴⁴ The challenge to prophesy ironically fulfills Jesus' prophecy that he would be rejected by the Sanhedrin (Mk 8:31; 9:12), condemned to death and mocked and spat upon (Mk 9:31; 10:33-34; cf. 15:19).²⁴⁵ Jesus is clearly "the suffering, righteous, and rejected Prophet" in this scene of abuse.²⁴⁶ In addition, the following scene of Peter's denial also fulfills a prophecy (Mk 14:66-72; cf. 14:30).²⁴⁷

In addition to the mockery, the striking of servants intensifies the tragedy. The last phrase, ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον, i.e., "received him with blows," may mean 'to beat him up,' a common enough practice among bullies, whether in or out of military uniform.²⁴⁸ The physical brutality begins as the hearing comes to a close and Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God, and the Son of Man stands convicted as a false prophet, which is reflected in the following brutal physical treatment.²⁴⁹

If the formal charge against Jesus as a false prophet is sustained by the Sanhedrin, he should have hanged as according to the Talmudic passages (*b Sanh* 43a).²⁵⁰ In addition, as the Sadducees denied the existence of angels and spirits (Acts 23:6), they may have desired to discredit Jesus who was believed to possess the spirit of prophecy.²⁵¹ The charge of being a deceiver, however, is framed in a political way as shown in Luke 23:3 "We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king."²⁵²

IX.2. Paralinguistic and Linguistic Politeness of Some Sanhedrin Members toward Jesus

The demand, Προφήτευσον, "prophesy!" is without doubt impolite. The

²⁴⁴ Juel, *The Gospel of Mark*, 147.

²⁴⁵ Gundry, *Mark*, 888.

²⁴⁶ Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 59.

²⁴⁷ Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 363; Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark*, 306.

²⁴⁸ Bratcher and Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark*, 468.

²⁴⁹ Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 540.

²⁵⁰ Bock, *Blasphemy and Exaltation in Judaism and the Final Examination of Jesus*, 19.

²⁵¹ Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 448.

²⁵² Bock, *Blasphemy and Exaltation in Judaism and the Final Examination of Jesus*, 19.

jeer imposes a reaction upon Jesus, gives no options, and undermines him.²⁵³ The accusers directly, clearly, unambiguously and concisely insult him with their command, “prophesy.”²⁵⁴ It also emphasizes the mockery, dispraise, abuse and antipathy between the scoffers themselves and Jesus.²⁵⁵ Thus, they would have assumed that they themselves have more power and rank than Jesus. Most of all, the actions of spitting, blindfolding, cuffing, and demanding to him, “prophesy,” show their indignation toward Jesus through extremely impolite paralinguistic expressions.

IX.3. Addressee Honorifics in Some Sanhedrin Members’ Jeer toward Jesus

Προφήτευσον, “prophesy,” can be translated into the following six possible AH: (1) the formal deferential P form; (2) the formal limited non-deferential O form; (3) the formal general non-deferential T form; (4) the informal deferential Y form; (5) the informal limited non-deferential N form; and (6) the informal general non-deferential E form.

(1) The formal deferential P form. In Korean court, no one would have been allowed to torture and mock Jesus with the demand, “prophesy!” These kinds of jeer or actions are commonly prohibited even outside of the court. In fact, in court people of high rank like some of the Sanhedrin members are obliged not to jeer anyone directly, but to use the formal deferential P form. Thus, the demand is not relevant in a Korean situation but only in the cultural context of first century Jewish society. Accordingly, the sneer cannot be in deferential form and no Korean translation selects these forms.

(2) The formal limited non-deferential O form. The formal limited non-deferential O form is also improper for the taunt. Although the

²⁵³ The demand violates the rule 1 “don’t impose,” the rule 2 “give options,” and the rule 3 “make an addressee(s) feel good” of Lakoff (Lakoff, “The Logic of Politeness,” 298).

²⁵⁴ Among the linguistic strategies of Brown and Levinson, the demand is classified as strategy 1, “doing an act baldly, without redress” (Brown and Levinson, *Politeness*, 60).

²⁵⁵ Their impolite expression is more specifically clarified in the violation of Leech’s politeness maxims as follows: (1) the tact maxim ([a] maximize cost to Jesus with mockery); (2) approbation maxim ([a] maximize dispraise of Jesus with the abuse); (3) agreement maxim ([a] maximize disagreement between the scoffers and Jesus); and (4) sympathy maxim ([a] maximize antipathy between the scoffers themselves and Jesus) (Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, 132).

declarative O form sounds highly “authoritative” with the archaic mood, this form is generally used only between the male adults and is a more gentle and polished expression than the formal general nondeferential T form. Nevertheless, the first modern language translation, the *KNTNT* (1967), selects this form possibly because the speech toward Jesus cannot be in the formal general nondeferential T form and that the speakers’ rank is too high to use a blunt remark. However, because nobody uses such form during spitting, beating and sneering, it is not appropriate for translators to insist on using this form.

(3) The formal general non-deferential T form. This form is a proper style for translating the sneer because it reflects an asymmetrical relationship and is regarded as a formal and highly authoritative form expressing greater humiliation than the formal limited non-deferential O form. The formal general non-deferential T form is selected not only in old language translations as the lowest form but also in the modern language translations such as the *CTHB* (1977/1999) and the *NKRSV* (1993/2001). The imperative mood of Προφήτευσον, “prophesy,” is translated as “your word says” in the *CNT* (1887) and “you testify and say” in the *Mark’s Gospel* by S. J. Lee (1886). The second personal singular pronoun in both translations was rendered into the formal general nondeferential *noh* form as the corresponding form for the verb ending.

(4) The informal deferential Y form; (5) the informal limited non-deferential N form; and (6) the informal general non-deferential E form. The informal forms are not appropriate in this case. These forms are generally used between intimate interlocutors in private situations. However, the actions and sayings of some members of the Sanhedrin are public and stress their disgust toward Jesus in terms of the cultural context of the source text. No Korean translation selects these forms and no translator would ever consider using them. In particular, the informal general non-deferential E form reflects intimacy between addressees of higher status in a private informal situation or informality/intimacy toward addressees of equal status. Hence, the form is inappropriate in this case.

There are, thus, six possible AH for translating Προφήτευσον, “prophesy.” The jeer cannot be rendered in the deferential or the informal forms but only in the formal general nondeferential T form. The *KNTNT* selected the formal limited non-deferential O form generally used between male adults but this is not the most appropriate form. Whatever the skopos of

translation, the most proper form of translating the mockery is the formal general non-deferential T form, which is used in most Korean translations except the *KNTNT*.

X. Summary and Conclusion

The AH in Jesus' trial reveals the relationship of the various interlocutors, i.e. the witnesses and all members of the Sanhedrin (Mk 14:58a), Jesus and his audience in the false testimonies (v. 58b), the high priest and Jesus (vv. 60b, 61b), Jesus before the high priest and all the Sanhedrin (v. 62b), the high priest and all the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a), and, finally, the mockers and Jesus (v. 65b). Most of all, the proper AH of the speakers in the target text efficiently expresses Jesus' solemn declaration that he is the Christ, the Son of God (Mk 14:61-62). If the dialogues in this pericope are inappropriately translated into AH, it can be easily misunderstood and can be awkward and flat, losing the sparkle and the variety of the original style of the source text.

This selection of the AH is associated with the translator's research into the exegetical concerns of the trial situation's formality including the problem of space and time, the identity Jesus' addressee(s), the cultural interpretation of the titles "Christ", the "Son of God", and the "Son of Man", the reason behind the textual variants, the references to the OT, the charge of blasphemy, the identity of the Jesus' abusers, etc. In particular, the criteria and framework for translating the biblical text into the AH—derived from the politeness and translation theories—help us to pragmatically analyze the biblical text and determine the appropriate AH.

Although there is debate about the formality of the actual situation, we have determined to follow Mark's narrative exclusive of the other Gospels for translating into the proper AH. Mark obviously depicts the trial setting as a formal and official meeting and presents the procedure as a rigged trial. Accordingly, the selection of AH in this pericope is narrowed to at least six possibilities. After dealing with the formality of the situation, each dialogue (Mk 14:53-65) was analyzed according to the following criteria: (1) the social relationship of interlocutors, (2) the cultural expectation concerning the social activity, and (3) the social variables of speaker's assumption toward addressee(s). Based on the result of the analyses, the speaker's politeness is assessed and the most appropriate AH with considering the translation skopos is proposed.

The testimonies of the witnesses, *Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος*, “we ourselves heard him saying” (v. 58a), are polite since they are addressing the Sanhedrin. The source text does not reveal age difference, relative-gender and familiarity but it does show us the relative-social status and that the witnesses are lower than the Sanhedrin. The translator can thus assume that the witnesses know that they have less power and rank than the Sanhedrin and that there is a wide social distance. In addition, the hostile intent of the witnesses against Jesus is shared with the Sanhedrin. Technically, *ἠκούσαμεν*, “we heard,” can be translated into six forms of AH, but the formal deferential P verb ending is the most proper verb ending for it shows the authority of the Sanhedrin and the formality of the trial and the capital charge. Even if the established literal translation like the *NKRV* (1998) is revised, the better choice of AH would be the formal deferential P form.

Jesus’ speech as claimed in the false testimonies (v. 58b), *ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τούτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω*, “I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days, I will build another that is made without hands,” is offensive to his Jewish audience. The reliability of the testimony is questioned but, according to Mark, the witnesses persuade their addressees that they have directly heard these words from Jesus. Therefore, it is assumed that Jesus’ supposed audience as presented by the false testimony is simply the Jewish public (Mk 11:15-19; Jn 2:18). Regardless their age, status, gender and familiarity, the translator could assume that Jesus’ claim as quoted by false witnesses assumes that he has more power and rank than his audience, which results in a wide social distance and a most arrogant tone. There are six possible verb ending forms for Jesus’ speech, *καταλύσω*, “I will destroy,” and *οἰκοδομήσω*, “I will build,” but the most proper is the formal general non-deferential T form.

The first query of the high priest to Jesus, *Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδὲν, τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν;* “don’t you answer anything? What do these testify against you?” (v. 60b) is impolite. The high priest acts as a prosecutor in the court and Jesus is presented as the accused. The translators can perceive that the high priest assumes that he possesses more power and rank than Jesus thereby keeping the accused at a wide distance. In contrast with the evaluation of politeness, the pronominal choices of *T-V* variants are complicated in some Indo-European translations. While VUL, NVUL, KJV,

YLT, ASV, DRB, TOB, BFC, and LUT render the query into the *T* form, Dutch translations such as NB and GNB select the *V* form. The choice of the *T* form shows that the high priest treats Jesus as the inferior accused with hostility and contempt: there is no solidarity but rather a wide and formal social distance and the *V* form in the Dutch translations shows the formal situation of the trial and respects the office of the high priest as honorable. Thus, the pronominal choices of *T-V* variants are determined by social factors of the readers' community. In Korean, there are eight possible ways to translate ἀποκρίνη, “you answer,” καταμαρτυροῦσιν, “they testify against,” and σου, “you”, including the omission of the pronoun and the substitution of the pronoun with the noun. Among these possibilities, the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* pronoun and O verb ending forms are the most proper styles to express the exasperation of the high priest, his insult to Jesus and intensity of the trial. The informal forms are not appropriate no matter what the translation skopos is.

The second query of Jesus by the high priest, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; “Are you the Christ the Son of the Blessed One?” (v. 61b) is definitely an impolite expression like the first. However, the parameters influencing politeness are different from the first one. There is no change in the social relationship between the high priest and Jesus throughout this passage but his persistent questioning shifts from Jesus' deeds to his identity as the decisive query that determines the death penalty. The translator can see that the high priest assumes power and rank over Jesus and so keeps him at a wide distance. In some Indo-European translations such as the VUL, NVUL, KJV, YLT, ASV, DRB, TOB, BFC, LUT, etc., the Greek second person singular pronoun σὺ, “you,” is constantly translated into the *T* forms as in the first query. The choice of the *T* form shows that the high priest regards Jesus as inferior. The *V* form in Dutch translations such as NB and GNB may reflect the Dutch culture in which everyone in court is obliged to use the *V* form. There are right possible ways to translate the second person pronoun σὺ, “you” and the verb εἶ, “you are” in Korean. In terms of the first query of the high priest and his hostile intention, the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* pronoun and O verb ending forms effectively convey the scorn and insult toward Jesus.

Jesus' reply to the high priest and his colleagues of Sanhedrin, Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. “I am, and you

will see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power, and coming with the clouds of the heaven” (v. 62b), is definitely impolite. The affirmation of his messiahship, Ἐγώ εἰμι, “I am,” would have stricken his Jewish hearers and been regarded as presumptuous. Hence, there is the longer reading of a later scribe who lessens the impact with, “you have said that I am.” The translator can assume that Jesus knows that he has more power and authority than all the members of the Sanhedrin and distances himself away from them as the eschatological judge. Technically, there are eight possibilities of rendering Ἐγώ εἰμι, “I am (he),” and ὄψεσθε, “you will see,” into the Korean AH but the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* and O forms are the most suitable styles. These forms efficiently express the authoritative and powerful declaration of Jesus, the tension of trial situation, and, most of all, balance the honor due to the present judge, the high priest and the future judge.

The speech of the high priest to the other members of the Sanhedrin, Τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; ἠκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας· τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται; “what need have we still witnesses? You heard the blasphemy, what appears to you?” (vv. 63b-64a), is polite. His addressees are likely to have been hand-picked members who were sympathetic to the high priest’s position. The second question, “what appears to you?” i.e., “what is your verdict?” shows the high priest’s obvious respect for his addressees. The high priest cleverly does not assume that he has more power or rank than his colleagues of the Sanhedrin. Grammatically, ἔχομεν, “we have,” ἠκούσατε, “you heard,” ὑμῖν, “to you,” and φαίνεται, “(what) appear,” can be properly translated into the formal deferential *yeoreobun* pronoun and P verb ending forms.

The demand of the mockers, Προφήτευσον, “prophesy” (v. 65b), is undoubtedly an impolite expression. The actions of spitting, blindfolding, cuffing and the demand to “prophesy,” show their indignation toward Jesus through extremely contemptuous paralinguistic expressions. Certainly, translators can perceive that the abusers assume that they have more power and higher status than Jesus. The actions and words of the accusers are integrally related to the degrading treatment corresponding to the condemnation. Προφήτευσον, “prophesy,” can be technically translated into six possible AH. The jeer cannot be in the deferential forms nor the informal non-deferential forms, but only in the formal general non-deferential T form since the actions and sayings of some members of the Sanhedrin are done in public and stress their disgust toward Jesus in terms of the culture of the

source text. Whatever the skopos of the translation, the most proper form for the mockery is obviously the formal general non-deferential T form as found in most Korean translations.

In this pericope, translators can evaluate the politeness of a speaker to the addressee(s). Although source text does not give enough information about age, status, and gender of witnesses (v. 58a) and the audience of Jesus in the false testimonies (v. 58b), translators can assume social variables such as power, rank, distance between interlocutors and the intention of a speaker in each dialogue. Most of all, the intention of the speaker influences politeness and is determined by exegetical analyses and cultural expectations.

In terms of pragmatics, there are dialogues in which a speaker shares information with the addressee(s) and the readers and some dialogues in which a speaker shares information only with the readers. In Jesus' speech in the false testimonies (v. 58b) and his declaration toward the high priest and all the Sanhedrin (v. 62b), the real message of Jesus and his true identity is not shared with his addressees but only with the readers who have read Mark's gospel. On the contrary, the testimonies of some witnesses (v. 58a) and the speech of the high priest (vv. 63b-64a) are shared with all the Sanhedrin and accepted as polite by their addressees but function to intensify the conspiracy against Jesus. The queries of the high priest to Jesus (v. 60bc-61a, 61b) and the following jeering (v. 65b) are also impolite and stress the tragic suffering of Jesus and speakers' misunderstanding about his real identity. Thus, politeness in dialogues is perceived by translators who apply the criteria for politeness however, the selection of AH is not equivalent to politeness.

The AH depends on the expectation of readers' community according to the translation skopos. The pronominal choices of *T-V* variants for the queries of the high priest to Jesus (vv. 60b-61a, 61b) in some Indo-European languages' translations show this phenomenon: the choice of the *T* form in the VUL, NVUL, KJV, YLT, ASV, DRB, TOB, BFC, LUT, etc. shows that the high priest treats Jesus as an inferior with hostility and contempt and the *V* form in the Dutch translations such as NB, GNB reflect the Dutch culture in which everyone in court is obliged to use the *V* form. The Korean AH also always has to be selected from six or eight possibilities including the noun instead of the pronoun and the omission of the SPP.

We have proposed the formal deferential P form for the testimonies of the false witnesses (v. 58a) and the high priest's speech to the members of the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a), which are evaluated as polite expressions. This

is important since the form is the only way to express the authority of Sanhedrin's members as the judges in the formal trial situation. Concerning the other impolite dialogues, there are two forms of AH: the formal general non-deferential T form for both Jesus' speech in the false testimonies (v. 58b) and the jeer of Jesus' abusers (v. 63b-64a) and the formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* and O forms for the queries of the high priest (vv. 60b-61a, 61b) and Jesus' reply (v. 62b).

While the formal general non-deferential T verb ending form of Jesus' speech in the false testimonies expresses defiance and arrogance in the indirect quotation (v. 58b), in the mocking and jeering, the form expresses the tragic suffering of Jesus (v. 65b). However, since a judge or prosecutor cannot use the form toward participants of the court including the accused, they are not appropriate for the high priest's queries or Jesus' response.

The formal limited non-deferential *tangsin* and O forms are not frequently used in the court, but they express the insult of the high priest to Jesus, Jesus' authoritative and powerful declaration before him and his colleagues of the Sanhedrin and the tension of the trial. Most of all, the consistent selection of the forms shows coherence between the first and second queries of the high priest and keeps the balance of the speech styles between the high priest as a present judge and Jesus as the future judge.

In sum, we have tried to propose the most appropriate AH for the intermediate church translation, which restructures the source text's information in the natural expressions of target text as pragmatically as possible. Certainly, whenever translators select AH, the information from the source text will always be transformed because of the linguistic difference between NT Greek, which is a non-honorific language, and any target text with honorifics. The proper AH conveys to readers information such as the insincerity of the participants of Jesus' trial, the confrontation between Jesus and his adversaries and the pugnacity of his mockers. Accordingly, the framework for translating into the proper AH should contribute to the application for the proper selection of AH in the biblical dialogues.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the results of the foregoing investigation, i.e. pertinent criteria and a consistently applicable framework for translating the biblical text into the proper addressee honorifics (AH). The primary purpose of this investigation was to determine how the non-honorific language of the Greek New Testament could be translated into the proper AH of the multi-leveled honorific systems of some languages. In order to find a solution, we first examined the phenomena, function and social factors of Korean AH as the sample language (Ch. 1). Second, we established criteria and a framework for the evaluation of politeness and the selection of AH in chapter 2 and, in chapter 3, criteria and a framework for translating into AH. Next, we observed the AH phenomena of Mark 14:58-65 in Korean translations (Ch. 4), and finally evaluated the politeness of the dialogues in Mark 14:58-65 and suggested the possible AH for the church Bible translation through the analysis of the proposed criteria and framework (Ch. 5).

In **chapter 1**, we elaborated the complex system of modern Korean AH along the synchronic survey of honorific systems and the diachronic overview of modern honorific phenomena. The classification of the honorifics systems depends on the linguists, but the modern uses of AH express formality, respect and intimacy rather than difference in social class. Among the social factors influencing the choice of AH—relative age, relative status, relative-gender, degree of familiarity and formality of situation—the former three factors are the decisive factors in traditional society while the latter two factors have become the principal factors for the choice of AH in modern society. The formality of the situation has especially become a crucial factor in modern honorifics. Through the analyses of the function of the Korean honorific second person pronoun (HSPP) and honorific verb ending (HVE) and its co-occurrence relationship rule, a new system has been proposed as follows: (1) the formal deferential forms (*yeoreobun*, *tangsŭn*, *keudae* + *-pnita* [P]), (2) the formal limited non-

deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + *-o* [O]), (3) the formal general non-deferential forms (*noh* + *-ta* [T]), (4) the informal deferential forms (*tangsin*, *keudae* + *-yo* [Y]), (5) the informal limited non-deferential forms (*keudae*, *chane* + *-ne* [N]), and (6) the informal general non-deferential forms (*noh* + *-e* [E]).

The deferential forms are generally used toward +respect addressee(s) and the non-deferential forms toward –respect addressee(s) with the exception of stranger(s) and formal situations. On the other hand, the use of the deferential forms toward –respect addressee(s) is implicitly awkward, mocking, flattery, insincere, or sarcastic except toward younger/lower or same age/status addressee(s) of higher, opposite gender, or strangers or in a formal situation. In contrast, the use of non-deferential forms toward +respect addressee(s) is considered as rude except in cases of intimate relationships between interlocutors in informal situations. The choice of AH is always flexible and the proposed classification would change the AH systems as described in grammars of Korean because of the diachronic processes of change. Accordingly, translator must be not only aware of the grammatical paradigm of the honorifics but also the relevant syntactic-semantic and pragmatic explanations.

In terms of the pragmatic usage of AH, **chapter 2** examined the politeness concepts and parameters of R. Brown and A. Gilman, R. T. Lakoff, P. Brown and S. C. Levinson and G. N. Leech—all of which are representative models of the politeness theories. Brown and Gilman claim that two fundamental dimensions behind the use of the pronominal *T-V* variants in some European languages are power and solidarity. They provide useful concepts for social variables, i.e. power and distance, not only to evaluate the politeness of dialogues but also to determine its honorifics. The politeness rules of Lakoff, the strategies of Brown and Levinson, and the maxims of Leech also provide the parameters for the evaluation of politeness in dialogues. Particularly, the speaker's assumption toward addressee(s) as a criterion for the evaluation of politeness and the selection of AH are formulated by the power and solidarity of Brown and Gilman, the distance of Lakoff's rules, and the variables of FTAs Brown and Levinson suggested.

By examining the above politeness theories and recent studies, we have proposed the following set of criteria as common denominators for the variety of politeness concepts and parameters for the evaluation of politeness in dialogues and the selection of AH: (1) situations of dialogue; (2) social factors of the interlocutors; (3) cultural expectations; (4) the speaker's

assumption toward the addressee(s); and (5) paralinguistic politeness. Based on the criteria, we have established the framework for the evaluation of politeness in dialogue and the selection of AH. However, we also extended it to the translation framework for appropriately rendering the source text of non-honorific language into the target text of honorific language because translating into the AH requires multilateral points of sociolinguistic and pragmatic connections between the source and target texts.

To establish the theoretical framework for translating the biblical text into the proper AH, **chapter 3** dealt with the existing translation theories, i.e. literal translation, dynamic equivalence approach, functional equivalence approach, literary functional equivalence, and the skopos theory. Since the selection of AH cannot be determined by the lexical and grammatical data, syntax, or semantics of the source text, the literal translation approach or the equivalence approach is not appropriate to establish the framework for translating into the proper AH. If translator follows the strict literal translation approach the target text would consist of one single uniform AH which makes the sentence awkward and flat and it would lose the sparkle, variety and charm of the original text. The model of dynamic equivalence also presents problems: ① the translation elements - the source, message and receptor - are not enough to determine the proper AH of honorific languages; ② the translator alone cannot take total responsibility of determining the AH without specific information and the requirements of the 'final receptor'; and ③ the source text of non-honorific language cannot be the theoretical starting point for the translation. Nevertheless, it provides the significant three stages—analysis, transfer, and restructuring—for translating into AH. The functional equivalence approach influenced by socio-semiotics extends syntax and semantics to sociolinguistics in the field of Bible translation and emphasizes the rhetorical structure of text. It is useful in being aware of the overall structure of the discourse in terms of the sociolinguistics. However, since de Waard and Nida simply classify the linguistic problem related to the honorifics into formal and informal levels, their approach does not provide the sufficient framework for translating into the proper AH. Along the lines of the previous equivalence approaches, a literary functional equivalence approach integrates form, content and function, and furthermore relies on various modern translation theories. However, this approach focuses on the literary characteristics of translation and is thus limited in providing a sufficient framework for translation. The

skopos theory, which emphasizes the pragmatic aspect, suggests a suitable framework for translating into AH.

Based on the skopos theory, we formulated the following translation elements: (1) requirements of reader, (2) role of commissioner, (3) function of translator, (4) analysis of source text, and (5) function of target text. The translator must get as much information as possible about the requirements and needs of the readers and establish translation principles with the commissioner. In addition, the translator pragmatically analyzes the social situation, the relationship of the interlocutors and the cultural expectations of the biblical text by the framework for the evaluation of politeness and the selection of AH. The result of the analysis helps the translator perceive the speaker's assumption and intention toward the addressee(s) and select the appropriate AH in the target text.

Chapter 4 assessed—from a skopos perspective—the extent to which each Korean translation was appropriate, acceptable and understandable given the linguistic changes that took place in the use of AH in the sample text, Mark 14:58-65.

We have observed that, since the first Korean version of 1882, old language versions have mostly used the lowest form, i.e. the formal general non-deferential forms. We have analyzed that the early Korean translation followed the literal translation approach and the specific AH system for the translations was not yet established in the early 20th century. However, the archaic uniform styles of the *KB* (1911) became the typical Korean “Biblical style” which has been read in a solemn tone for worship in the Korean church. Even the *KRV* (1961) and the *NKRV* (1998) almost uniformly render all the dialogues in Mark 14:58-65 into the formal general non-deferential forms except for the high priest's speech to the rest of the Sanhedrin. On the other hand, the *KNTNT* (1967), the first modern language translation, is not only colloquial but also excellently polished at the same time and uses the HSPP and HVE to a broader extent. Still, Jesus' speech is uniformly translated with the formal general non-deferential T form. The AH of the *CTHB* (1977/1999), published through interconfessional cooperation, is more vivid and natural than the ones of the *KNTNT* but the *CTHB* still has some awkward honorific expressions in the dialogues that mix the formal deferential P form and the formal limited non-deferential O form and break the consistency of AH. Furthermore, Jesus' speech style when he answers the queries of the high priest is rendered into the formal general non-deferential *noh* and T form thereby implying extreme rudeness. The *NKSV* (1993) and

the *RNKS*V (2001), which followed the optimal equivalence approach, use more developed honorific phenomena than any other Korean version. In contrast with the previous versions, Jesus' speech style in Mark 14:58-65 is in balance with those of the high priest. The flexibility of Jesus' speech style in the *RNKS*V allows people to overcome their preconception that Jesus must speak to every person in the non-deferential form. However, there is no theoretical framework or specific elements for translating into the proper AH even in the modern translations and the adoption of modern honorific systems for Jesus' speech is an issue that still remains unresolved in Korean translations. Future translations must not retain the archaic mood and ought to keep up with the changes of contemporary Korean society. Even if the old language translation must be revised, the AH should be translated according to the theoretical framework.

Chapter 5 thus applied the proposed criteria and theoretical framework for translating into AH to the dialogues of Mark 14:58-65 and suggested possible selections of AH for a new Korean translation.

We first discussed the contradictions and improbabilities of the social situation, and, second, analyzed the social relationship of the interlocutors, cultural expectations concerning the communicative event and the speaker's assumption and intention toward the addressee(s). The translator can determine the speaker's assumption and intention toward the addressee(s) through exegesis and further evaluate the politeness in the dialogue. However, translating into AH is not only determined by exegesis but also by considering the readers' community, i.e. translation *skopos*, insofar as it is consistent with the analysis of the source text. Among the various AH, the translator must select one AH as the common point that matches most closely with the result of the analysis of source text and the requirement of the intended readers.

If the translation *skopos* is to intensify the extreme target-oriented translation or the naturalness in the target context, all the dialogues of this pericope would consist of speech styles used in a real court situation such as the formal deferential *tangsin* pronoun or *yeoreobun* pronoun and P verb ending forms, omitting the pronoun altogether or using the noun instead of the pronoun and deferential P verb ending forms. All participants of real Korean court are obligated to use these forms. However, the translation inevitably loses some information of the source text, i.e. the high priest's hostility toward Jesus, Jesus' powerful declaration, his tragic suffering by his mockers, all of which reflects the tension of the trial.

If the translation skopos is to stress the extreme source-oriented translation, or the literal translation approach, the translation would match the non-honorific expressions of Greek with a single honorific form, i.e. usually the formal general non-deferential *noh* pronoun and T verb ending forms. However, this selection makes the adversarial relationship of the interlocutors and the serious social situation awkward, flat and monotone.

For the church Bible, the translator must therefore mediate between the target-oriented translation and the source-oriented translation and find a fitting compromise between the trial situation of the biblical text and a real court situation of the target context. The translator must avoid both extremes and introduce the readers' community to the message of the source text as accurately as possible, expressing the naturalness of the target text. Thus, the AH in the dialogues of this pericope must be super-elaborated to show the adversarial dynamics between Jesus and his hostile interlocutors in the trial situation where Jesus' accusers, the high priest, the members of Sanhedrin and Jesus' mockers may win in the present trial but ultimately lose when the situation reverses in the future and the highest religious authorities are disempowered by the power of Jesus Christ, Son of God and Son of Man.

The appropriate AH can reveal all these varying levels of power and makes the translation dynamic, fascinating and real to the readers. As a result, the importance of the theoretical framework for translating into the proper AH, which is valid for analyzing the dialogues of biblical text and selecting the proper AH, cannot be overlooked.

Definitions and Concepts

Affix [Lat. *afficere* ‘to attach’] is a collective term for bound word-forming elements that constitute subcategories of word classes,¹ i.e. a base morpheme such as a root or to a stem used to form a word. Affixes are classified according to their placement: prefixes precede the stem, suffixes follow the stem and infixes are inserted into the stem.² Affixes may be derivational, like the English “-ness” and “pre-”, or inflectional, like the English plural “-s” and past tense “-ed”. In modern Korean honorific verb endings, there are up to six kinds of verb endings for Korean honorifics: *-pnita* (P form); *-yo* (Y form); *-o/-u* (O form); *-ne* (N form); *-ta* (T form) and *-e* (E form). Korean interlocutors must be careful to adjust their verb ending to the appropriate forms and levels of deference.

Agglutinative / agglutinating language In linguistics, agglutination is the morphological process of adding affixes to the base of a word. Languages that use agglutination are generally called agglutinative languages and are often contrasted with fusional languages and isolating languages. Often, agglutinative languages have more complex derivational agglutination than isolating languages. An agglutinative language also consists of lengthy strings of forms indicating person, number, tense, voice and mood.³ Korean, as an agglutinative language, also includes information such as negation, passivity, past tense and degree of honorifics in the verb form. Because Korean is also a verb-final agglutinative language that abounds in particles of inflectional endings through which speech levels are manifested, the verb endings are used as relation-acknowledging devices that indicate the addressee’s social standing.

Cognitive linguistics [Lat. *cognitio* ‘acquaintance; comprehension’] (also cognitive psychology) Cognitive or mental structure and organization are analyzed by cognitive strategies which are used for thought, memory, comprehension and the production of language.⁴ Various analytical procedures and systems of representation drawn from structural linguistics or

¹ Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 90.

² Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 90.

³ D. Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 414.

⁴ Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 80.

cognitive psychology are employed to represent this cognitive organization of cultural phenomena.⁵ In psychology, it is used to refer to the mental functions, processes and states of intelligent entities with a particular focus toward the study of such mental processes as comprehension, inference, decision-making, planning, and learning.

Cognitive anthropology is concerned with how cultural content interacts with psychological processes and cultural information is constrained by the way the mind processes information.⁶ Others have traced this to a “hidden nature” universalistic claim for the basis of ethnobiological classifications and argue that cultural practices do indeed have a role in their framing.⁷

Communicative competence is a person’s awareness of the grammatical rules governing the appropriate use of language in social situations as the fundamental concept of a pragma-linguistic model of linguistic communication.⁸ It focuses on the learner’s knowledge of the functions of language and on their ability to select appropriate kinds of language for use in specific situations.⁹ The term underlies the view of language learning implicit in the communicative approach to language teaching. The assumption is that the readers share a common level of language and channel capacity.

Communicative competence falls under the fields of general linguistics and pedagogy. After N. Chomsky, who distinguished between competence and performance, declared “linguistic competence” as a part a theory of the linguistic system in 1960,¹⁰ D. H. Hymes included it in a theory of education and learning.¹¹ In 1980, M. Canale and M. Swain claimed that communicative competence consists of four components: “grammatical competence: words and rules, sociolinguistic competence: appropriateness,

⁵ Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 130.

⁶ R. D’Andrade, “The Cultural Part of Cognition,” *Cognitive Science* 5 (1981), 179-195.

⁷ Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 130.

⁸ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 417; Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 84.

⁹ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 374.

¹⁰ Cf. N. Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965).

¹¹ D. H. Hymes, *On Communicative Competence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971).

discourse competence: cohesion and coherence, strategic competence: appropriate use of communication strategies.”¹² A more recent survey of communicative competence by Bachman simplifies these categories into “organizational competence,” which includes both grammatical and discourse (or textual) competence, and “pragmatic competence,” which includes both sociolinguistic and “illocutionary” competence.¹³

In Korean AH, relative age is by far the most basic factor determining the appropriate use of honorifics. With increasing age, children are able to perceive more AH and understand the deferential forms according to absolute status, viz. the adult vs. child dichotomy and relative familiarity. Thus, the intended readers’ competence and requirement are initial factors for translating into AH.

Connotation [Lat. con –‘with,’ notation ‘definition’] is “the emotive or affective component of a linguistic expression, which is superimposed upon its basic meaning and which is difficult to describe generally and context-independently.”¹⁴ Connotation could include the contrast of a word or phrase with its primary, literal meaning known as a denotation, i.e. what that word or phrase specifically denotes. Connotation is synonymous with intention and contrasted with denotation, which is synonymous with extension.

Co-occurrence is “a basic syntactic relation in structuralist taxonomy which signifies the simultaneous incidence of linguistic elements of different classes in sentences.”¹⁵ Co-occurrence means coincidence or the frequent occurrence of two terms from a text corpus alongside each other in a certain order. In a Korean sentence, there is the co-occurrence rule between HSPP and HVE. Koreans determine the overall level of a sentence before making any utterance choosing the proper HSPP and HVE according to the co-occurrence rule. A highly consistent co-occurrence restriction between the address form and the verb ending is found in all speaker groups.

¹² M. Canale and M. Swain, “Theoretical Bases of Communicative Approaches to Second Language Teaching and Testing,” *Applied Linguistics* 1 (1980), 1-47.

¹³ Cf. L. Bachman, *Fundamental Considerations in Language Testing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

¹⁴ Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 96.

¹⁵ Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 105.

Deixis [Greek. δειξις display, demonstration, or reference, the meaning ‘point of reference’ in contemporary linguistics] In pragmatics and linguistics, deixis indicates that the words or expressions rely on context. The three main types of deixis are personal, spatial and temporal.¹⁶ Personal deixis is the use of pronouns such as *I* and *you*, which identify who is taking part in the discourse; spatial deixis distinguishes the position of the speaker in relation to other people or objects, such as *this/that*, *here/there*, *bring/take*, *come/go*; and temporal deixis distinguishes time with reference to the speaker, such as *now*, *yesterday*, *then* and the various kinds of tense marker.¹⁷ Thus, every language has a set of lexemes, which can be interpreted only with reference to the speaker’s position in space or time, and characteristic function of linguistic expressions relate to the personal, spatial and temporal aspect of utterances depending upon the given utterance situation.¹⁸

Denotation [Lat. *denotare* ‘to indicate, to mean’] refers to “the constant, abstract, and basic meaning of a linguistic expression independent of context and situation, as opposed to the connotative, i.e. subjectively variable, emotive components of meaning.”¹⁹ Denotation is synonymous with extension in contrast to the intentional meaning, i.e. connotation.

Honorific [Lat. *honorificus* ‘showing honor’] See section II. “Honorifics and Politeness” in the Introduction of this dissertation.

Illocutionary deals with the intentions of the speaker.²⁰ The illocutionary force is not always obvious but the effect of the statement is contextual. If someone says, “it is cold in here,” it could be that the person is simply describing the room, in which case the illocutionary force would be the description of the temperature of the room. If it is possible to change the environment, say by turning up the heat or closing a window, the person’s intent may be to get someone else to do something about the cold, in which case the illocutionary force would be the other person’s action.

An illocutionary act is a technical term that has been introduced by J. L.

¹⁶ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 106; Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 117.

¹⁷ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 106.

¹⁸ Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 117.

¹⁹ Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 118.

²⁰ Hatim and Mason, *Discourse and the Translator*, 241.

Austin (1975).²¹ Another understanding of ‘illocutionary acts,’ is suggested by K. Bach and R. M. Harnish in *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts* (1979).²² D. Holdcroft views illocutionary force as the property of an utterance to be made with a certain intention, namely, the intention to perform this or that illocutionary act as contrasted with the successful performance of the act.²³ However, we only deal with the illocutionary functions, which G. N. Leech classified into the following varieties according to how they relate to “the social goal of establishing and maintaining comity”: (1) competitive; (2) convivial; (3) collaborative; and (4) conflictive. These varieties of illocutionary functions are helpful in classifying the situations of dialogues before evaluating politeness.

Maxims is a succinct formulation of a fundamental principle, general truth or rule of conduct. The conversational maxims thought to underlie the efficient use of language, e.g. speakers, should be relevant and clear.²⁴ The term, “maxim of conversation” was introduced by H. P. Grice in 1967. Grice has suggested that there is a “Cooperative Principle (CP),” whereby interlocutors are expected to make the conversational contribution in line with the accepted purpose of the talk.²⁵ This principle distinguishes the information in a conversation into the following four categories: (1) quantity (make your contribution as informative as is required, and do not make your contribution more informative than is required.); (2) quality (do not say what you believe to be false, and do not say for which you lack adequate evidence); (3) relation (be relevant); and (4) manner (avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, be brief [avoid unnecessary prolixity], and be orderly).²⁶ The objections raised against Grice’s maxims have influenced pioneer politeness theorists such as R. T. Lakoff, P. Brown and S. C. Levinson and G. N. Leech.

Paralinguistic / Paralanguage See section III.5. “Paralinguistic

²¹ Cf. J. L. Austin, *How To Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

²² K. Bach and R. M. Harnish, *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979).

²³ D. Holdcroft, *Words and Deeds: Problems in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

²⁴ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 117.

²⁵ Grice, “Logic and conversation,” 45-46.

²⁶ Grice, “Logic and conversation,” 45-46.

Phenomena,” of chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Politeness See section II. “Honorifics and Politeness” in the Introduction of this dissertation.

Pragmatics studies the factors that govern a speaker’s choice of language in a social context and its effects on the interlocutors.²⁷ Pragmatic factors always influence the selection of sounds, grammatical constructions and vocabulary of the speaker but its errors break no rules of phonology, syntax, or semantics.²⁸ In the early 1970s, pragmatics was almost identified with the speech act theory but it was later concerned with empirical studies in conversation analysis and drew on H. P. Grice’s (1975) maxims of conversation. As a result of a growing awareness of the close interaction of meaning and use, there has been a recent trend towards treating them under the heading of a more broadly conceived semantics.²⁹ In linguistics and semiotics, pragmatics is concerned with bridging the gap between “sentence meaning” and “speaker’s meaning”. “Sentence meaning” is the literal meaning of the sentence, while the “speaker’s meaning” is what the speaker is trying to convey. Therefore, the study of how context influences interpretation is then crucial. In this setting, context refers to any factor — linguistic, objective or subjective — that affects the actual interpretation of the signs and expressions. The ability to understand a speaker’s intended meaning is called pragmatic competence. In terms of honorifics and politeness, we deal with social rules that constrain the way someone speaks.

Reciprocal is a grammatical term that expresses the meaning of mutual relationship. Phonologically, it is a type of assimilation in which sounds influence each other.³⁰

Variant is a linguistic form that is part of a set of alternatives in a given context (English plural /s/, /z/, /iz/).³¹ In a more specific sense, it indicates something that differs in form only slightly from something else, as a different spelling or pronunciation of the same word.

²⁷ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 120.

²⁸ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 120.

²⁹ Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, 370.

³⁰ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 429.

³¹ Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 90.

Appendix 1: Readers, Commissioner, Translators (Revisers), and Source Texts of Korean Translations

1. *The Corean New Testament (1887)*

(1) Reader

The expected reader of J. Ross' translation and the skopos of the translation are specified in his letters and reports.¹ Ross repeatedly emphasized that his anticipated readers are not Korean scholars but common people and women²: "though every Corean scholar should laugh at the simplicity of a book in his native tongue, the language which every woman in Corea can read is the language for the Bible."³ In those days, most common people and women were regarded as illiterates since they could not learn to read and write Chinese characters but only understand Korean alphabets.

Ross also noticed that Koreans divided themselves into three classes, i.e., "upper," "middle," and "lower" within the social system.⁴ As shown in the *Corean Primer* (1877), he recognized the honorific system of Korean language and considered honorific expressions. It presents that he dealt with

¹ It was proved through the letters J. Ross sent to Wright of The British and Foreign Bible Society and the reports "The Christian Dawn in Korea" in *KMF* (July, 1937) and "Corean New Testament" in *the United Presbyterina Missionary Record* (May, 1883).

² "The Corean alphabet is phonetic, and so beautifully simple that all men, women and children of years of understanding can read it ... The importance of the Bible translation into such a language of from 12 to 15 million of people cannot be overestimated" ("Ross's letter to Wright, June 23, 1880," S. D. Oak and M. Y. Yi, eds., trans., *Document of the History of Korean Bible Society*, Vol. 1: Correspondence of John Ross and Correspondence of Henry Loomis [Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 2004], 23; Ross, "The Christian Dawn in Korea," 135). Korean alphabets known as Hangul were invented in 1446 by the great King Sejong. Scholars who had been deeply embedded in the Chinese culture were very much against them, but the King who was a scholar himself knew their value. Originally, there were twenty-eight letters, but were later reduced to twenty five, i.e., eleven vowels and fourteen consonants.

³ "Ross' letter to Wright July 22, 1883," 83.

⁴ Officials and their descendants belonged to the "upper"; merchants and others that were able to hire labor to the "middle"; and all who were employed in any form of manual work to the "lower." As the significance of labor was yet to be acknowledged in Korea at that time, the middle and upper classes never engaged themselves to any labor work (Ross, "The Christian Dawn in Korea," 134).

honorifics, especially AH while preparing translation into Korean.⁵ In fact, it was a strong challenge he faced after he decided to translate into Korean alphabets instead of Chinese characters that do not have any AH.

Ross did not belong to the readers' community of his Korean translation, but attempted to be fully prepared as a translator. He definitely had a clear skopos for his translation, i.e., to deliver the Gospel to Korean people as a missionary. The expected readers of his translation were not only the Korean people but also the pioneer missionaries who desired to preach and teach the Gospel to Korean people.

(2) Commissioner

In 1879, the National Bible Society of Scotland (henceforth: NBSS) agreed to provide funds to cover translating expenses, and to provide typesetting for tentative editions of the Gospels of Luke and John.⁶ In September 1882, the work of publishing the Bible was transferred from the NBSS to the British and Foreign Bible Society (henceforth: BFBS). In 1883, Korea became a part of North China branch of the BFBS. However, the NBSS continued to be interested in the Korean mission, and very actively participated in the distribution of Bibles in Korea.⁷ The NBSS and the BFBS supported Ross' translation work and received reports of the overall translation process from him. However it was obvious that Ross played the trigger role in the translation project as a missionary for Korean people.⁸

(3) Translators

Ross himself established his skopos according to his mission goals as follows: "(1) an absolutely literal translation compatible with the meaning of the passage and the idiom of the Korean language, and (2) the Greek of the

⁵ Ross stated that the lessons were intended to introduce to the Korean language to those with the desire to prepare for becoming officials, merchants, and chiefly the missionary intercourse with Korea.

⁶ Since preparations for translation into Korean started, the NBSS assured Ross that they would support the translation and the printing work. 3,000 copies each of the two Gospels of Luke and John were published in early 1882 (Reynolds, "The Board of Bible Translators," 116).

⁷ The notable fact is that the NBSS distributed Gospels to Koreans through Japanese colporteurs (So, *The Translation of the Bible into Korean*, 65).

⁸ Evidences can be found in the correspondences of Ross that are contained in the "The Editorial Correspondence Boos, Inwards, The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1880-1897," *The BFBS Archives* (London: Cambridge University).

Revised Version is made the standard rather than the English.”⁹ The official translation principle of Ross’ team for their translation projects is literal translation, and it has been repeatedly observed in Ross’ letters: “I always prefer the absolutely literal translation when it can be retained consistently with a perspicuous rendering.”¹⁰ At the same time, however, he emphasized in his writing that his aim has been to represent the real sense in idiomatic language, and that literal verbal translation had to wait upon these two conditions.¹¹ In the translation process, there seems to be a tension between idiomatic translation and literal translation, and it co-exists with the phenomena of both translation frameworks. Apart from his principle, he should solve the problems related to the honorific expression.

Ross and his colleague, MacIntyre, worked on their translation with Korean translators.¹² Ross evaluated the ability of Korean translators of his translation team from two points of view: (1) his Korean translators are intelligent and scholarly men,¹³ and knew Mandarin as well as the Wen-li’s¹⁴ translators¹⁵; but (2) coming from the northwestern province of Korea, their pronunciation and spellings are different from the ones used in the capital city.¹⁶ That is why phonetic Korean alphabets compel the writing of Korean words as pronounced in the distinct of the writer. Ross wished to

⁹ In his letter to Wright, Ross said, “my main object being an accurate and faithful representation of the sense, in the best attainable idiom, where that sense is rendered by paraphrasis in Chinese I have followed the literal language of the Greek. ... In certain cases where the English literally translates the Greek such literal translation is impossible in Korean as ‘they laid many stripes upon them’ (Acts 16:23) which in Korean is ‘they beat them much’” (“Ross’ letter to Wright, Jan. 24, 1883,” 63).

¹⁰ “Ross’ letter to Wright March 10, 1884,” 97.

¹¹ J. Ross, “Corean New Testament,” *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (November, 1883), 491-497.

¹² Korean translators who worked with Ross and MacIntyre are U. C. Lee, H. J. Paik, J. K. Kim, S. Y. Soh, K. J. Soh, S. H. Lee, I. S. Lee and others (“Ross’ letter to Wright March 24, 1882,” 37, 39; “Ross’ letter to Wright January 24, 1883,” 65, 67).

¹³ About the Korean translators, Ross put the following in his records: “my present Corean assistant is an intelligent and scholarly man of whom I write before and to his judgment I have to resort to ascertain whether the literal translation is one which is intelligible to the unlearned Corean” (“Ross’ letter to Wright, March 10, 1884,” 97).

¹⁴ This is the so-called Delegates’ Version that was translated by the Committee of Delegates in 1852, and was published by the British Foreign Bible Society in Shanghai, China.

¹⁵ Ross, “Corean New Testament,” 96; “J. Ross to W. Wright, March 10, 1884,” 97; “J. Ross to W. Wright March 8, 1885,” 100.

¹⁶ “J. Ross to W. Wright Sept. 29, 1883,” 85, 87; Ross, “Corean New Testament,” 493.

approximate as closely as possible to the spelling of the standard Korean.¹⁷ However, the pronunciation and spelling practices of the northwestern province still exist in the *Corean New Testament* that was published in 1887 by Ross' team, and it may have an influence on the honorific expressions in the version.

The team has one skopos that is delivering the gospel to Korean people of those days efficiently. In the period when the Korean grammar and linguistics were not yet systematically established, Ross started to formulate the system of Korean language as he did in the *Corean Primer* (1877) before translating into Korean.

(4) Source Text

There is a debate about the source text of the *CNT*, whether it is the NT in Chinese or Greek or English, etc. However, the record concerning the translation process of Ross' team can solve the problem: (1) An unnamed former officer of the Korean government did a first translation from the archaic style of the Chinese NT; (2) Ross and U. C. Lee did a second translation by referring to the Greek NT and English NT; (3) The first translator recopied the second translation; (4) Ross and U. C. Lee revised it (this was the third translation); (5) Ross checked the vocabulary based on the Greek NT and the Greek dictionary (this was the fourth translation); (6) The final manuscript was handed over to the printers.¹⁸ The Chinese NT that was used by Korean translators at the first stage of translation process might be the so-called *Delegates' Version* of 1852.¹⁹ Ross and MacIntyre may have used the *KJV* and *ERV* that existed in those days as the English text.²⁰ Ross, however, emphasized that the Greek NT had been made the standard rather than the English versions.²¹ The Greek version he referred to was not Textus Receptus (TR) that was popularly used for translations in other languages

¹⁷ "J. Ross to W. Wright Sept. 29, 1883," 85. A. A. Pieters also reported that "when Ross was able to secure the translators of a convert from Seoul, he employed him to revise the translated portion to conform with the dialect of the Capital" (Pieters, "First Translations," 92).

¹⁸ J. Ross, "The Corean Work," *United Presbyterian Missionary Record* (July 1882), 244; "J. Ross to W. Wright March 24, 1882," 35; "J. Ross to W. Wright Jan. 24, 1883," 67.

¹⁹ That is why Ross stressed the need to receive The Greek New Testament of E. Palmer from James Legge who was a member of the Committee of Delegates, although there were several other kinds of the Chinese New Testament.

²⁰ *The Annual Reports of the National Bible Society of Scotland*, 1881, Korea.

²¹ "Ross to W. Wright Jan. 24, 1883," 62.

like Chinese and Japanese those days, but *the Greek Testament with the Readings Adopted by the Reviewers of the Authorized Version* of E. Palmer (1881).²²

Since Korean translators could not understand the Greek and English texts, Chinese text must have had influence on his translation from the initial stage of the translation process. Although Ross, MacIntyre and his assistants might have tried to check with other versions throughout every stage of the translation process, the influence might still exist in the translation. For the analysis of AH, the fact that the texts-in-use as source or reference were not in honorific language is important.

2. *The Gospel according to Mark (1885)*

(1) Reader

S. J. Lee had the Korean intellectuals who were familiar with Chinese in mind as his target while Ross' team in Manchuria used only Korean for their translation since their target was the common people. In Japan, S. J. Lee was involved in evangelism work among Korean students and in search for ways to do mission works in Korea.²³ He thought many people would not be able to understand the accurate meaning of the sentence if he chose to use only Korean, and that the meaning would become clear with Chinese.²⁴ Furthermore, he criticized Ross' versions that contained many dialects of the northwestern province because people in other regions could not understand them well.²⁵ It was understandable that a Korean intellectual would disregard a version that was written only with Korean alphabets without any Chinese characters in contrast to many other literary texts in Korea those

²² E. Palmer, *The Greek Testament with the Readings Adopted by the Revisers of the Authorized Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1881). James Legge of Oxford University in England recommended sent the Greek Text to Ross ("J. Ross to W. Wright, March 24, 1882," 35).

²³ "H. Loomis to E. W. Gilman May 30, 1883," 305.

²⁴ *Annual Report of the American Bible Society for 1885*, 146.

²⁵ H. Loomis obtained copies of Ross' translation of Luke, John and the Acts through Thompson of the NBSS in Japan and provided them to S. J. Lee. H. Loomis reported that "on being shown the work done by Ross he [Su-Jung Lee] seemed greatly disappointed and said most decidedly it would be of no value. In the first place Ross did not have a competent assistant, and then it was published without a proofreader who understood the language and there were many errors in the type" ("H. Loomis to E. W. Gilman May 30, 1883," 305, 307).

days. As S. J. Lee expected, his translation with a mixed script of Korean and Chinese characters appealed to the Korean intellectuals, and it was widely used among them at that time. The first two American missionaries, H. G. Appenzeller and H. G. Underwood could get a copy of the Korean Bible in Japan, even before they arrived in Korea in 1885.

(2) Commissioner

At the planning stage of the translation, H. Loomis, the resident agent of the ABS, was involved in the translation project. He knew that S. J. Lee wished to deliver the Christian Gospel to his people, so Loomis encouraged him to work on the Sino-Corean edition of NT and then do a Korean translation of the Gospel of Mark. He said to S. J. Lee that the ABS was ready to supply all needed funds for both the translation work and publication.²⁶ For the translation of the Gospel of Mark into Korean, he also organized a translation team for S. J. Lee, as he might need the help of other people for a more accurate translation than his work on the Sino-Korean edition of NT. He also made a plan to publish and distribute the *Gospel according to Mark* by S. J. Lee, and then send the portions to the south part of the Korean peninsula through Japanese Colporteurs. Thus, from the planning stage of the translation process, the ABS as the commissioner, was actively involved in S. J. Lee's project to translate the *Gospel according to Mark*. The role of Loomis had more weight on the translation project than any other translation projects at that time.²⁷

(3) Translators

Unlike the Sino-Corean edition of the NT S. J. Lee prepared by himself, Loomis planned that Yasukawa and G. N. Knox of the Presbyterian Mission

²⁶ The financial support needed for the publication of S. J. Lee's translation was made available by the ABS through the request of Loomis. The fund was used for the publication of one thousand copies of the Gospel of Mark in 1885. On the other hand, Loomis reported to the headquarter of ABS concerning S. J. Lee's translation project that the Chinese language is the language of the court and scholars in Korea, and this edition will probably be even more valuable than the Kunten edition in Japan.

²⁷ The Gospel of Mark was ready to be printed in August 1884. But due to the demand of many other printings, the publication was postponed. In the meantime, the Presbyterian Church of America appointed J. W. Heron and H. G. Underwood as the missionaries for Korea in 1884. Loomis, therefore, hurried to print the Gospel of Mark so that these missionaries could take it with them. Finally, six thousand copies of Mark were published in Yokohama in February 1885 ("H. Loomis to E. W. Gilman, June 17, 1885," 361).

would offer to assist the work of making a suitable translation of *the Gospel according to Mark*.²⁸ However, there is a possibility that their roles would be a consulting one for the translation work of S. J. Lee without being actively involved in the translation project.²⁹

S. J. Lee was a man with linguistic talent as much as he could speak Japanese with fluency after his nine months stay in Japan. As a scholar of Chinese literatures, he was accustomed to preparing state papers in Sino-Korean text that were issued by the court or the king.³⁰ His high rank, together with his eminent scholarship and competence, gave him great influence.³¹ It seems to be quite natural that S. J. Lee was more comfortable and accustomed to using Chinese than Korean for the literary text. Such his tendency must have had a general contribution to his translation, but at the same time, worked as a disadvantage when it came to selecting honorific expressions despite his knowledge on the standard Korean and various honorific expressions.

(4) Source Text

The Chinese Bible S. J. Lee used for translation was the *Delegates' Version* by E. C. Bridgeman and N. S. Culbertson (1864).³² Yasukawa and G. N. Knox may have used the Greek text as the source text, and the Japanese version and English versions as reference texts. Especially, there are such traces of direct transliteration of Greek words into Korean letters without the influence of the Chinese text (cf. *Christos* [Χριστός, Mt 1:1]; *Baptishuma* [βαπτίζω, Mk 1:4]; *Sabbatil* [σάββατον, Mk 6:2]) in the version. In addition, although S. J. Lee disliked Ross' versions, the version influenced his work in

²⁸ In fact, Su-Jung Lee first learned about Christianity from Yasukawa and was baptized by Knox in Japan ("H. Loomis to E. W. Gilman May 30, 1883," 301). Loomis reported, "by the aid of Knox and Yasukawa, I have no fears as to its exactness. Yasukawa is admitted by all that in the Korean language he is all that could be desired; and it is certain that his name will give influence and popularity to the versions which may be produced" ("H. Loomis to E. W. Gilman, June 21, 1883," 315).

²⁹ D. Y. Ryu, S. D. Oak, and M. Y. Yi, eds., *The History of Korean Bible Society II* (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1994), 162.

³⁰ He wrote poetry in Chinese that was admired by everyone, and the best Japanese newspapers were eager to get his work printed. He is said to be a great artist as well. Above all things, he was a man with the greatest zeal for Christ.

³¹ "H. Loomis to E. W. Gilman May 30, 1883," 305.

³² This version was published by the ABS in Shanghai in 1864 (So, *The Translation of the Bible into Korean*, 84).

preparing for *the Gospel according to Mark*. Nevertheless, the source text was undeniably a Chinese version that was written in a non-honorific language. Since all source texts and reference texts were in non-honorific languages, honorific expressions in S. J. Lee's translation might have been possibly influenced by Ross' versions or by his own decisions.

3. *The Korean Bible (1911)*

(1) Reader

The translators of *KB* directly faced the need of Korean readers while carrying out mission work in Korea. They had to make styles simple so that every Korean reader of those days could understand, yet sufficiently stylish that it would commend itself to the scholarly.³³ Like Ross and S. J. Lee, they were also aware that two kinds of versions were needed for Korean Christians: (1) scriptures in pure Korean characters for every people including low class, women and children, and (2) scriptures in Korean-adapted Chinese characters in a sort of Chinese-Korean text for the upper class.³⁴ At that time, the first Korean NT, the *CNT* in the text with Korean characters only, had been already spread all over the Korean peninsular, but the American and British missionaries in Korea devaluated the version as being in "the stilted style, abounding in Chinese derivatives and provincial expressions, with frequent errors, obscure renderings, queer spellings and archaic type."³⁵ Accordingly, they resolved to produce a new translation rather than wasting time patching up the established versions.

The missionaries, however, did not seem to solve the Korean AH for their translation as much as they deeply consider the AH. Accordingly, they rather appear to have been preoccupied with the urgency of meeting the demand and providing the whole Bible in the Korean language to Korean churches that had already grown rapidly without the OT. The first Korean Church Bible based on literal translation was the only Bible read by Korean churches until its revision was published in 1938.

³³ Underwood, "Bible Translating," 297.

³⁴ Cf. "H. B. Hulbert to H. Loomis, June 19, 1890," 427.

³⁵ W. D. Reynolds, "The Contribution of the Bible Societies to the Christianization of Korea," *KMF* (May, 1916), 127; Cf. Pieters, "First Translations," 93.

(2) Commissioner

While preparing the translation, the BFBS, the commissioner, led the translation project more actively than the translators.³⁶ In 1887, ‘the Permanent Executive Bible Committee’ of Korea, consisting of American and British missionaries, H. G. Underwood, W. B. Scranton, H. G. Appenzeller, J. W. Heron, and H. N. Allen, was first organized.³⁷ This Committee, however, did not function very well, so the translation work depended heavily upon individual efforts of the missionaries.³⁸ By the end of 1892, individual versions of about two-thirds of the NT were ready for the press.³⁹ In order to combine the translations and systematically proceed with the translation project, the Bible Committee was reconstituted and the ‘Board of Official Translators’ was appointed in 1895, by the suggestion of A. Kenmure, the resident agent of the BFBS.

The “Suggestions for Board of Translators” of Kenmure laid the foundation for the translation project. According to the suggestions, the commissioner elected members of the board and organized the meeting of members. The commissioner did not establish “the principles of translation” but rather made suggestions to members of the translation board. It shows that the commissioner was deeply involved in the translation project at the beginning stage, but the center role was transferred to members of Board in the process of translation.

³⁶ The BFBS opened its Branch in Korea in 1895 and sent A. Kenmure to Korea as the first Executive Officer. Then, the ABS opened its Branch in 1908, but they had already sent A. A. Pieters as a colporteur to Korea in May 1895. On the other hand, the NBSS never opened its Branch in Korea, even though they were involved in the Bible distribution through their agents. In addition, the Bible Societies had defrayed all translating expenses, including the salary of a Korean assistant for each translator (Reynolds, “The Contribution of the Bible Societies to the Christianization of Korea,” 128).

³⁷ E. M. Cable, “The Present Version,” *KMF* (January, 1938), 97. After Heron’s death in 1890, Rev. J. S. Gale was added to the Committee (Reynolds, “The Contribution of the Bible Societies to the Christianization of Korea,” 127). Its three sub-committees were (1) the Permanent Bible Committee, (2) the Translating Committee, and (3) the General Revising Committee. The Permanent Bible Committee was the highest decision making entity which was in charge of all works related to the Bible translation and all other committees.

³⁸ Sections of the Bible translated in this period were *the Gospel of Mark* by Appenzeller and Underwood in 1887; *the Gospel of Luke* and *the Romans* by Appenzeller in 1890; *the Gospel of John* by M. C. Fenwick in 1891; and *the Gospel of Matthew* by Appenzeller and *the Acts* by J. S. Gale in 1892.

³⁹ Reynolds, “The Contribution of the Bible Societies to the Christianization of Korea,” 127.

(3) Translator

The commissioner seems to have placed high value on members of ‘a Board of Official Translators’ including Underwood and Appenzeller, and trusted their capability for preparing the new Korean version.⁴⁰ Translators already had the experience of revising translations by Ross and S. J. Lee individually. All members of the board consisted of the people who were recommended by the Mission Boards of every denomination in Korea. The initial members of this board that was organized in 1895 were Appenzeller and Scranton of the American Northern Methodist Church, Underwood and Gale of the American Northern Presbyterian Church, and M. N. Trollope of the British Episcopal Church.⁴¹ Underwood and Gale especially investigated the Korean grammar and the Korean honorific systems in their papers before preparing their translation.

From 1887 to 1911, eleven missionaries and at least about eleven Korean assistants participated in the translation project as the members of ‘a Board of Official Translators.’ Most Korean translators had a profound knowledge on Chinese classics and were from the central part of the Korean peninsula, around Seoul. Each Book of the NT went through three stages: (1) the individual translator’s draft made with the aid of his Korean translator; (2) the provisional version, a revision of NT⁴²; and (3) the Board’s “Tentative version” reached by joint revision of No.⁴³ The final decision on the translation was reached through a formal vote of the translators of the Board.⁴⁴ After members of board had come to a consensus on the real

⁴⁰ Loomis also recognized that: “Mr. Underwood and Mr. Appenzeller are the only missionaries in Korea who have done anything at translation, or are competent to judge of the merits of such a work” (“H. Loomis to E. W. Gilman Oct. 13, 1888,” 397).

⁴¹ Reynolds, “The Contribution of the Bible Societies,” 27; Cable, “The Present Version,” 97.

⁴² During the first three or four years, the members of the Board devoted their energies to separate work, preparing individual drafts and “provisional” versions of the Gospels and several Epistles. Thirty-one meetings were held with twenty of these being taken up with joint revision of Matthew. In the winter of 1896-1897 began meeting three times a week to prepare the “Tentative Edition” of the NT (Reynolds, “The Board of Bible Translators,” 102).

⁴³ After several chapters have been completed, two clean copies are made by a native copyist: one with spaced columns to be preserved as the Board’s official copy, and the other as sheet for Press. These two are bound separately in native style, and verified by the other two members as the secretary re-reads the corrected copy of the original (Reynolds, “The Board of Bible Translators,” 103).

⁴⁴ Reynolds, “The Board of Bible Translators,” 103.

meaning of the text, the greatest difficulty was to convey a perfectly clear idea of this real meaning to Korean assistants.⁴⁵ Translators of the board endeavored to secure best-qualified Korean assistants for the purpose. Nevertheless, the translation theory was literal translation,⁴⁶ and it was also applied to the translation of the OT.

The translation of the OT by the ‘Board of Official Translators’ initially began in 1897 while the translation of the NT was going on. Since the translation of the NT had to be done promptly at that time, each book of the OT was assigned to translators for translation in 1899. The members worked separately, preparing first drafts and circulating them for criticism.⁴⁷ At the beginning stage, Gale reported that the translating committee had been working on the Psalms. Appenzeller prepared for the translation of Genesis, and Gale had I and II Samuel finished.⁴⁸ As soon as finished NT, there was a pressing need to provide the whole OT translation to Korean Christians. Finally, in April 1910, the translation of OT was finished, and after undergoing adjustments next year, the *KB* was published.

(4) Source Text

There are traces in the *KB* suggesting that the Chinese version and occasionally the Japanese version have been used as source texts while *ERV* and *ASV* as references.⁴⁹ Certainly, translators referred to English lexicons and commentaries of those days. However, after a board of official

⁴⁵ Underwood, “Bible Translating,” 298.

⁴⁶ Underwood, however, realized that “an exact literal translation from the source language to Korean is impossible, that some loss must occur, the nearest corresponding idiom of the one having a slightly different shade of meaning” (Underwood, “Bible Translating,” 298).

⁴⁷ Reynolds, “The Contribution of the Bible Societies to the Christianization of Korea,” 127.

⁴⁸ Before then, in 1898, the Korean version of Psalms that was translated by A. A. Pieters was published. Pieters was brought up in an orthodox Jewish home, where he was impressed, during the daily reading of the Hebrew prayerbook, by the beauty and spiritual inspiration of the Psalms, many of which he memorized. Years later he embraced Christianity in Japan and was sent to Korea as a colporteur of the ABS (Pieters, “First Translations,” 93). According to his report, he dared to undertake the translation of a selection of the Psalms at the end of two years (Pieters, “First Translations,” 93).

⁴⁹ J. E. Kim, “Hanguk Seungseo Bungukui Eygssa (The History of Korean Bible Translations),” *Gidokkyosasang (Christian Thought)* 410 (February 1993), 30. Translators probably would have used English versions as the source text, and their Korean assistants Chinese and Japanese versions for the tentative translation.

translators was organized, there was a tendency to emphasize Greek and Hebrew texts as the source texts. In “Suggestions for Board of Translators” (1893), A. Kenmure presented “the Greek Text underlying the English revised version” as the source text of Korean NT.⁵⁰ In addition, scholars with vast amount of knowledge about the Hebrew language like Peters and Gale took active roles in the translation board. Before starting the translation project of OT, however, Kenmure complained that the board asked for four copies of the New Hebrew Lexicon (Brown-Driver and Briggs), but that at least two among the members knew nothing about Hebrew.⁵¹ For the work of translating the OT, *the Old Testament in Greek: according to the Septuagint* (ed., Henry Barclay Swete, London: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1901) was used by the translators. Apart from identifying which source texts and references were used by the translators, it is important that no source texts or references texts are composed in honorific languages. It is obvious that the determination of AH depended on the missionaries like Underwood and Gale who served as translators, and they are the ones who wrote the book concerning the Korean grammar and lexicon. In addition to the missionaries, the Korean translators may have also influenced the determination of AH in the *KB*, as they were intellectuals using the standard Korean language of those days.

5. Korean Revised Version (1938/1952/1961) and New Korean Revised Version (1998)

(1) Reader

The expected readers of *KB* (1911) revisions were all Korean Christian like the case with the *KB*. The need for the revision was proposed the moment the OT translation was completed. The revision of the OT was more urgently required than the NT, which was revised twice in 1906 and 1911 after first translating in 1900.⁵² Although there was a dispute over

⁵⁰ The second provision of “Suggestions for Board of Translators” was to “agree to use one Greek Text”: Probably “the Greek Text underlying the English revised version” must have been the most generally acceptable basis of translation, “with the privilege of any deviation in accordance with the *Textus Receptus*.”

⁵¹ “A. Kenmure to W. Wright, February 26, 1897,” 289-293.

⁵² The other reasons are “the rapid growth and change of the language due to the influx of Western ideas, the ever expanding knowledge of archeology and philology, which three new

translation theories within the ‘Board of Official Revisers’ in 1920, the Board finally resolved to follow the literal translation and selected the archaic styles for *RVKB* (1938).

The Korean Bible Society (henceforth: KBS) decided to prepare for the revision project in 1949 because the *RVKB* (1938) needed to be revised according to the new system of spelling. Korean linguists abolished the old orthographic system and established a new one in its place after the 1945 Liberation of Korea. The year 1950 witnessed the outbreak of Korean War, and the project continued even in midst of War. The *KRV*, *Hangul Edition* (1952) was again amended in 1956, and 815 wordings of the *KRV* were changed in 1961. According to the requirements of Korean churches, translators maintained the literal translation of the *KB* (1911) as the translation theory of the *KRV*. The things that were required by Korean churches influenced the *NKRV* (1998), even though about 73,000 wordings of *KRV* (1961) were changed in the revision.

Each revision reflected the current of the times, but the extent of the revision was limited according to the expected skopos of Korean churches. In this regard, there isn’t any difference in the honorific phenomena even between *KB* (1911) and *NKRV* (1998) despite the rapid changes of Korean honorifics during the 20th century. The elderly regarded the archaic style including AH, the so-called “Biblical style” as a solemn tone with a mood of dignity. However, young readers could not readily understand the texts composed in archaic styles. Although there were three major revisions since 1938, the revised version of the *NKRV* (1998) currently in use is still composed in archaic styles.

(2) Commissioner

For the first revision projects of *KB* (1911), H. Miller, the General Secretary of KBS, which was established in 1895 by the BFBS, conveyed “the Rules for the Guidance of Translators, Revisers and Editors, working in connection with the BFBS (RGTRE)” to the committee. The rules involve thirty-three items, not only the ethos of translators and revisers but also the detail procedures from translation to print. The Rules involves the revision’s

light upon the meaning and interpretation of the Scripture - these and other factors necessitated the revision of the original translation” (Cable, “The Present Version,” 98).

principle, which must refrain from the abbreviated paraphrase and follow the literal translation as much as possible. The revisers must select concise forms and known words as Korean daily languages and avoid vulgar words. At the first stage, the commissioner determined the way and characteristics of the revision project according to the rules, and invited the members of the revision's board like the translation project of *KB* (1911). The revision project was done twenty-six years after the 'Board of Official Revisers' was organized in 1911.

In 1947, the KBS, the branch of BFBS, was transferred to the independent Bible Society, and went ahead with a plan of revision projects of 1952 and 1961. For the revisions of 1952 and 1961, translation staffs of KBS corrected misspelled words according to the Korean orthography of those days themselves without having any revision committee organized.⁵³

For the revision project of *KRV* published in 1961, the KBS, however, organized the revision committee and prepared a draft of revision from September 1983 to April 1988. In 1991, the Board members of KBS lay down revision rules for *NKRV* (1998).⁵⁴ Among the rules, the principle to "maintain 'the mood' of the style of *KRV* (1961)" related to honorific expressions, especially the HVE of *NKRV* (1998). The HVE was not modernized in the *-da* style, i.e., T form used in the textbooks, nobles, or general literary texts, etc., but maintain the *-ra* style, i.e., the typical archaic style of 19th century in respect to preference of readers, who related the canonical authority to the archaic HVE in Bible translation. The Board of KBS requested to each denomination to send supervisors of revision. In 1993, "the Supervisor Committee of Revision for *KRV*" was organized with eighteen Korean scholars recommended by each denomination.

(3) Reviser

The first revision project of *KB* (1938) did not go smoothly from the beginning. It was mainly due to the frequent change of the members and their resignation.⁵⁵ These periodic changes in the personnel of the Board

⁵³ C. W. Na, *Woorimal SeongKyeongYeongu (A Study of the Korean Translations of the Bible)* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Press, 1990), 66.

⁵⁴ The rules for *NKRV* that were established by the Board members of KBS are as follows: (1) respect the source text of *KRV* (1961); (2) correct the obvious mistranslations; (3) revise constrained expressions and translations which cause misunderstanding, including words written in Chinese characters; and (4) maintain "the mood" of the style of *KRV* (1961).

⁵⁵ To make the things worse, Underwood, who among the missionaries had participated in

greatly delayed the work.⁵⁶ In 1937, the two Boards of Revisers of the OT and NT announced the completion of the Revision of the Bible. The revision of the OT took much longer than the translation, taking almost twenty-six years till completion. The revision of the NT also required more time than the translation, lasting almost eleven years. Due to the fact that the revision work had stretched over twenty-five years, the Board felt it necessary, for the sake of uniformity of style and greater accuracy.⁵⁷ *RVKB*, which was published in 1938, became an Authorized Version used most widely in the Korean churches. For *the Korean Revised Version, Hangul Edition* (1952) and *KRV* (1961), there was no official reviser, because corrections to these editions were done by the translation staffs of KBS.

In case of the *NKRV* (1998), the revisers belonged to “the Supervisor Committee of Revision for *KRV*” consisting of eighteen Korean scholars of each denomination. According to the rules of revision established by the Board of KBS,⁵⁸ the revision must adhere to the typical Church terms used by Church for a long time. The revisers who established the rule, therefore, did not follow the current spelling system and the honorific systems in particular, but maintained the honorific systems of *RVKB* (1938).

The NT revision was first completed in 1994, and then 2,000 copies of the tentative version of the Bible revision were published for consultants belonging to Korean churches in 1997. The critical opinions from about 1,600 people involved in various fields of the society were delivered to “the Supervisor Committee of Revision for *KRV*,” and after reviewing, adopted in the final revision. In 1998, *NKRV* was published with the revisions of 12,823 wordings in NT and 59,889 wordings in the Old Testament.⁵⁹

the work of Bible translation for the longest period of time, died in 1916.

⁵⁶ Cable, “The Present Version,” 98.

⁵⁷ Cable, “The Present Version,” 99.

⁵⁸ The principles are as follows: (1) make correct the ungrammatical expressions; (2) revise the wrong selections of vocabularies; (3) remedy the difficult expressions to easy ones; (4) replace the dialects by the standard languages, and the shorten words to the standard ones; (5) clarify the genitive and plural forms of nouns and pronouns as far as possible; (6) retranslate the mistranslations of *KRV* (1961) through collation with the source text (UBS 4th edition] for NT; BHS for OT); (7) leave the typical Church terms that have been used by Church for a long time as they are, and postpone the solution to the next revision; and (8) follows the current spelling system according to Notification No.88-1 of the Ministry of Education of 1988.

⁵⁹ H. H. Do, “Geyeokhangeulpan Seongkyeongui Euieuiwa Bangbeok (Significance and

(4) Source Text

According to “the Rules for Translation and Revision” of *RVKB* (1938), any translation or revision must be translated from Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts or it could follow the English versions. For the translation of the NT, *NA14* was used as the source text.⁶⁰ As for the translation of the Old Testament, *the Old Testament, diligently revised according to the Massorah and the early Editions, with the various reading from Manuscripts and the Ancient Versions* (Christian David Ginsburg, ed., 1908-1926) was used as the source text.⁶¹ *ERV*, *ASV*, *KJV*, *Wile Reference Bible* (Chinese Bible, 1912), etc. and various commentaries had been used as the reference.

The source texts and references were used for the revisions of 1952 and 1961 as well. The committee for the revision project of 1998 used the *BHS* for the Old Testament and the *UBS4* for the NT in order to keep up with the latest textual determinations.⁶² However, as source and reference texts are in non-honorific languages, it is not likely that revisions of AH were influenced by them, but rather by the typical Korean Biblical styles, which have been kept for over one hundred years.

6. *The Korean New Testament, New Translation (1967)*

(1) Reader

In the 1960s, the KBS as the commissioner realized that there had been significant changes in the Korean language including styles of vocabulary and writing form since the publication of the *KB* in 1911.⁶³ The KBS found that the *KB* and its revisions commonly used in Korea are faithful to the source text, but in many instances, it was very difficult to understand archaic styles and terms.⁶⁴ Accordingly, the need for a Bible that could be understood by readers of those days naturally surfaced. The commonly

Method of the Revision of *KRV*,” *JBTR* 2 (1998), 31, 33.

⁶⁰ H. Miller to E. W. Smith, July 31, 1936.

⁶¹ H. Miller to R. Kilgour, September 1, 1922.

⁶² Do, “Geyeokhangeulpan Seongkyeongeui Euieuiwa Bangbeok (Significance and Method of the Revision of *KRV*),” 28.

⁶³ Clark, “What Kind of a Translation?” 66.

⁶⁴ Cho, “Seongseo Sebunyeoke dehan Jae-eon (A Proposal of New Translation),” 17.

accepted principle that a new translation is done about every 30 years for readers to help their understanding of the Biblical message also abounded in Korean churches.

With such necessity for a new translation, the translation project must start from the needs of non-Christians, especially young people under the age of 30 who were covering 70% of the overall South Korean population in those days (as stated in the preface of *KNTNT*), because mature Christians are used to reading the *KB* (1911) and its revisions as the standard Bible of the Church.⁶⁵ The expected skopos of this new translation was to provide a Bible translation for potential new Christians who had at least middle school education.

The styles must not only be beautiful, but also accurate based on the interpretation of the cultures, customs, and institutions that existed during the time when the source text was written in those days. According to the results of the survey on readers' requirements for the new translation, they want to impress the Gospel as much as first readers of the source text impressed through the vivid styles.⁶⁶ They suggested that the new translation have punctuation markers like question marks, quotations marks, commas, periods, etc. and the clear divisions between paragraphs like normal literary texts or textbooks.⁶⁷ Such requirements of readers led the new translation to express the vivid modern honorifics in dialogues. It also influenced the plan of the KBS, the commissioner for the new translation project.

(2) Commissioner

From the planning stage of the new translation project, the KBS played the trigger role in the project. In the general meeting of the Bible committee in May 1959, the KBS resolved to initiate a new translation project in response to the requests of Korean churches for a new translation. In March 1960, the KBS organized "Revision Management Committee" (actually, "New Translation Management Committee") consisting of members who came from various church denominations. The committee not only established the overall principle of translation and selected members who

⁶⁵ The target audiences of the new translation may have been as follows: college graduates, middle school students, new Christians, non-Christians, and so on, and each group have a different understanding of Korean (Clark, "What Kind of a Translation?" 68).

⁶⁶ Cho, "Seongseo Sebunyeoke dehan Jae-eon (A Proposal of New Translation)," 19.

⁶⁷ Cho, "Seongseo Sebunyeoke dehan Jae-eon (A Proposal of New Translation)," 19.

would belong to the “New Translation Committee” and “New Translation Consultant Committee,” but also drew up a budget for the project, and instituted a general policy.⁶⁸

Concerning the speech styles, in particular, the KBS carried out a survey with 320 pastors, professors, laypersons, etc. and asked them about the styles they prefer. Results of this survey showed that most people had a positive view on various modern honorific styles, and preferred them to archaic styles.⁶⁹ Based on such results, the KBS determined that the new translation would be in modern styles, and such styles then became the main characteristics of the new translation, making it distinctive from previous Korean versions.

(3) Translators

Six members of the “New Translation Committee” were in general professors of the NT studies at seminaries or universities established by various denominations. They gathered together once a week, and collated the draft prepared by C. W. Park with the Greek NT.⁷⁰

In order to meet the needs of readers as much as possible, the committee determined to express the dialogues using various modern honorifics, and to delineate the descriptions of dialogues in the highest P form. Most of all, the new version should be more readily understandable, but at the same time, be reverent in style.⁷¹

In a joint meeting of nine members of new translation management, six translators, and thirty-seven translation consultants, which was held in

⁶⁸ Y. S. Jeong, “Seongseo Gaeyeoksaeopeun Ireoke Jinhaengdoego Itta (Progress of the New Translation Project),” *Korean Bible Magazine* 7:2 (April, 1961), 8.

⁶⁹ The analysis of questionnaire responses are as follows: (1) 73% supported current style, T form of HVE and 27% supported archaic style, *-ra* form; (2) 59% supported the idea of expressing all speeches of Jesus in deferential forms, 20% supported the uniform use of non-deferential T form, and 24% supported using the deferential form in public speeches of Jesus, and the non-deferential T form or *ra* form for His private speeches; (3) 21% agreed to partly maintaining the pure and beautiful archaic style while 76% preferred to entirely remove the archaic style; and (4) 17% preferred the use of *tangsin* as the HSPP for addressing God, followed by using the noun “God,” “Lord,” or “Jehovah,” etc (Jeong, “Seongseo Gaeyeoksaeopeun Ireoke Jinhaengdoego Itta (Progress of the New Translation Project),” 7).

⁷⁰ Jeong, “Seongseo Gaeyeoksaeopeun Ireoke Jinhaengdoego Itta (Progress of the New Translation Project),” 9.

⁷¹ Clark, “What Kind of a Translation?” 68.

January 1961, the topics included the issue on honorific speeches of Jesus.⁷² When translating the words of Jesus, translators wanted His words to be in a style that is clearly understandable and yet reverent so that it would not detract honor from His Deity as the Son of God.⁷³ They were aware that if Jesus were talking in Korean then, He would not talk in the style of the *KB* and the revisions, where He uniformly uses the “Low Talk” to almost everybody. Because of what the translators knew about the personality, mission and divine-human nature of Jesus after the Crucifixion and the Resurrection,⁷⁴ they seem to have selected a uniform AH for the speeches of Jesus. Finally, after publishing the tentative version of *the Gospel according to Mark* of *KNTNT* (1963), the committee collected the opinion from readers, and decided to keep the honorific speech styles of Jesus to be uniformly in the low form regardless of the addressee.

The translators were able to complete the translation after going through a total of seven steps. The first draft of the new translation was reviewed twice by the “New Translation Committee”, was then passed to two sub-committees, i.e., “the Committee for Checking Translation against Source Text” and “the Committee for Examination of Sentence” and management committees. It was again returned to the initial translation committee, and then was finally submitted to consultant committee.⁷⁵

(4) Source Text

The principles established by “New Translation Committee” involve the issue on the source text. For this translation, KBS determined *A Greek English Diglot for the use of Translator* (London: BFBS, 1961) as the source text and *NA25* as another main text, and the consultant committee approved it. The English text is a new translation made solely to meet the needs of translators-it does not aim to be readable or literary, but only to be accurate and unambiguous.⁷⁶ On the other hand, the preface of *KNTNT* states that the new translation is neither a revision nor a re-translation of previous versions, but a direct translation from *NA25*.

⁷² Jeong, “Seongseo Gaeyeoksaeopeun Ireoke Jinhaengdoego Itta (Progress of the New Translation Project),” 12.

⁷³ Clark, “What Kind of a Translation?” 69.

⁷⁴ Clark, “What Kind of a Translation?” 69.

⁷⁵ Clark, “What Kind of a Translation?” 13.

⁷⁶ R. Rutt, “Concerning the New Translation of the Korean Bible,” *Korean Bible Magazine* 8:2 (April, 1962), 62.

Translators, thus, tried to be faithful to the source text as much as possible. If they used other references, they notified the source at the footnotes of *KNTNT*. In fact, they used several English, Latin, German, Japanese and Chinese translations as references. Dictionaries and commentaries were used to discern what the original words really meant, and Korean dictionaries were used for checking the definition of words used in the Korean translation.⁷⁷ The subtitle of each pericope came from *UBSI*.

The source texts and various references including previous Korean versions, however, might not have been helpful for determining modern AH of the *KNTNT* because they were composed in non-honorific languages or archaic honorific styles. Perhaps translators must firstly determine the honorific expressions in the *KNTNT* through the interpretation of source text and the investigation of Korean honorifics. It definitely brought up sensitive issues on honorifics between interlocutors in dialogues of discourses.

7. Common Translation of the Holy Bible (1977/1999)

(1) Reader

According to the “Guiding Principles for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible,” the expected readers of the Common Translation involved both the Catholic and Protestant Christians, and even non-Christians. The skopos was established for new Christians, especially young people just like the *KNTNT* (1967). The *KNTNT* composed in modern styles influenced the Common Translation more than the revised editions of the *KB* (1938/1952/1961) that were read by most Protestant Christians. In order to help Korean readers understand the contents of Korean translation as the readers of the source text would, the translation principles were established to avoid literal translation and to follow the dynamic equivalence with the modern language.

For the Protestant and Catholic readers, translation was done with the intention of creating new terms instead of the traditional terms used by the Protestant Church or the Catholic. Although there were two kinds of versions, i.e., the version without Apocrypha for Protestant readers and the version including Apocrypha for Catholic readers, *CTHB* was successfully accepted by the Roman Catholic readers and used widely for rituals and Bible studies.

⁷⁷ Clark, “What Kind of a Translation?” 68.

However, many Protestant Christians rejected it because they were used to reading the established versions. The version including the Apocrypha has been used by the Korean Catholic Churches up to now as the mass Bible. Later, the Catholic readers requested KBS, the commissioner of the *CTHB* to initiate its revision project.⁷⁸

(2) Commissioner

In January 1968, the KBS organized the translation committee, which consisted of scholars of the Protestant Church as well as the Roman Catholic Church. During the preparation, KBS invited E. A. Nida of ABS and W. J. Bradnock of BFBS to give lectures on new translation to the translators.⁷⁹ Their lectures on dynamic equivalence approach had a great impact on the translators who were preparing the interconfessional translation, and led them to positively accept the dynamic equivalence approach as the most up-to-date worldwide trend in translation theories. KBS thus undertook the main role of preparing the project, publishing, distributing, etc., but the center role was transferred to translators in the process of translation.

(3) Translator

In February 1968, the interconfessional committee for the translation of the OT was organized with six scholars from the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches. However, two members from the Protestant Church soon resigned from the committee because they thought the interconfessional cooperation impossible.⁸⁰ Such incident seemed to hint the rejection of Protestant churches in advance.

In January 1969, on the other hand, seven scholars who were recommended by the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches started to participate in the project of NT translation. Four members were later selected for the translation of the Apocrypha. In addition, four Korean linguists and grammarians polished expressions of the drafts and proofread their grammar as stylists. Translators established general rules for the interconfessional translation including the issues of the source text, and the styles, the theory,

⁷⁸ However, the Korean Roman Catholic Church translated the so-called “Seonggyeong (Holy Bible)” in August 2005 on their own without seeking cooperation from the Protestant Church. They would probably use the current version instead of the revision of *CTHB* (1999).

⁷⁹ Na, *Woorimal SeongKyeongYeongu (A Study of the Korean Translations of the Bible)*, 72.

⁸⁰ Na, *Woorimal SeongKyeongYeongu (A Study of the Korean Translations of the Bible)*, 73.

the expected reader, etc.

Since the translation project went well, the *CTNT* was completed in 1971 two years later after the project had started. Following the dynamic equivalence approach, translators of the *CTNT* tried to apply rules of modern honorifics to the speech style of Jesus according to the passage context. However, there were strong objections against the *CTNT* for the following reasons: (1) the translation principle, i.e., dynamic equivalence approach, of this version was strongly attacked as “free translation”; and (2) protestant ministers and Catholic priests thought that “the deferential styles of Jesus toward human” downgraded Jesus’ divinity. Accordingly, this version was again revised to make the speech style of Jesus uniform in the non-deferential speech style in the *CTHB*. However, the dynamic equivalence translation theory was maintained in the *CTHB* despite the harsh criticism.

The revision of the *CTHB* in 1999 also maintains characteristics of the first edition because the revision simply focused on correcting the spellings according to the current rules of Korean orthography, and re-editing the orders of Apocrypha according to the sequence of *Nova Vulgata Bibliorum Sacrorum* (1986)⁸¹ per the request from the Catholic Bishop’s Conference of Korea.

(4) Source Text

General rules for the translation show that the *BHK* has been used as the source text of the Old Testament, and the *UBSI* as the source text of the NT. The committee decided to translate directly from the source text into Korean, but may have used many translated references available those days. In particular, there were new English and French versions published from 1960s to 1970s.⁸² Among those references, the *JB* had the greatest influence upon the *CTHB*.

⁸¹ *Nova Vulgata Bibliorum Sacrorum*, Vaticana: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1986

⁸² *(La) Bible de Jérusalem* was published by École biblique de Jérusalem in 1956 and the English version, *the Jerusalem Bible* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1966) was later published in 1966. The NT of *the New English Bible* was published by Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press in 1961, and the OT and the Apocrypha in 1970. *(The) New American Bible* was translated by the Catholic of America, and published by Catholic Bible Press a division of Thomas Nelson Publishers in 1970. The New Testament of the *Living Bible, Paraphrased* (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House) was published in 1962 and the OT in 1971. *Good News Bible: Today’s English Version* (Canberra: Bible society, 1976) was also published in 1976.

8. *New Korean Standard Version (1993/2001)*

(1) Reader

In the 1980s, the ministers and laypersons of Korean Protestant churches required the KBS to do a new translation to replace the *KRV* (1961) which was read by most Protestant churches for liturgies. It must not be a revision or proofread version of the established translations, but a new translation respecting the conservative tradition of Korean Protestant churches (the preface of *NKSV*). According to the translation guidelines,⁸³ the expected readers were teenagers and people in their twenties, i.e., the group covering the largest mass of the Korean population. Skopos of its usage was not only for liturgies but also for Christian education.

That is why styles of the new translation did not follow archaic styles of the *KRV* but the most up-to-date modern styles. When the *NKSV* (1993) is compared with the *KRV*, the following characteristics of the *NKSV* stand out: 1) no intentional involvement of any archaic style; 2) rendering into easier words; 3) translation into natural Korean; 4) removal of gender discriminative expressions, i.e., vulgar words or expressions (Exo 2:8; 1Kin 3:16-17), etc. and; 5) removal of discriminative expressions for handicapped persons.⁸⁴ Thus, translators established better-developed guidelines than the previous versions.

The version was highly appreciated by many Biblical scholars and linguists who regarded it as the best translation of those days, and was accepted by many denominations as the Church Bible.⁸⁵ As the case of other

⁸³ The guidelines of the *NKSV* (1993) are as follows: 1) to translate into easy modern Korean languages for teenagers and people in their twenties, i.e., the group covering the largest mass of the Korean population, and to be understood by anyone; 2) to express appropriate Korean according to Korean grammar after fully understanding the meaning of source text; 3) to translate for both rituals and education of the Church; 4) to follow the *KRV* (1961) insofar as transliterations of proper nouns are concerned; and 5) not to change the typical church terms (ex. God's naming, the Son of God, the Red Sea, etc.) (The preface of *NKSV*).

⁸⁴ Y. J. Min, "Seongkyeongjeoseo Pyojunsaebeyonyekwonchigeul Malhanda (Speaking about the Translation Principle of New Korean Standard Version)," *WolganMokhoi (Monthly Pastoral)* 183 (November, 1991), 185.

⁸⁵ The denominations that accepted the *NKSV* are as follows: Korean Evangelical Holiness Church, The Presbyterian Church of Korea (Tonghap), The Korean Methodist Church, The

new translations, it was, however, denounced by some church leaders, especially by those from conservative Presbyterian churches. Unlike the attacks on previous translations, honorific speech styles of Jesus were not an issue this time, but the issue was rather with the interpretation of the source text from dogmatic angles. In fact, interpretations of many Korean church readers adhered with the *KB* (1911) and its revision (1938/1952/1961), which have been read for about one hundred years.

The commissioner KBS immediately set up the plan to revise it, and organized the *NKSV* revision committee nine months after it was published. The revised version, *RNKSV* was published in 2001, i.e., eight years later after the *NKSV* (1993) was published. For the revision, KBS gathered various opinions of many readers and reviewed them extensively with members of the revision committee who were recommended by sixteen denominations (the preface of *RNKSV*). However, translation principles of the *RNKSV* mainly followed those of *NKSV*, although the committee members themselves established the following revision principles: 1) to change unclear or unsatisfactory translations to clear and understandable renderings; 2) to remove unnatural translations, while expressing the meaning of passages; 3) to endeavor to clarify difficult phrases of the source text; and 4) to adopt modern honorific systems in dialogues (the preface of *RNKSV*). In fact, the *NKSV* was already composed in modern honorifics, and partly included archaic styles. Although this version was seldom used in liturgies, it has been continuously used to educate adolescents about the Bible in Korean Protestant Church.

(2) Commissioner

At the beginning stage of the *NKSV* project in August 1984, KBS, the commissioner sent six scholars of biblical studies to Taiwan to join the translation training held in the Asia-Pacific region. During that training, they learned about the history of Bible translation, translation theories, practice, textual criticism, linguistics, stylistics, syntax, organization and management of translation team, etc. Since all scholars were professors of seminaries or taking the Ph.D. course abroad, they did not have enough time to commit themselves to the translation project. Accordingly, KBS soon reinforced the translation team with other scholars, and by 1987, seven scholars joined the

Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea, The Presbyterian Church in Korea (PCK: Kosin), The Presbyterian Church in Korea (Gehyeok), etc.

Old Testament Translation Committee, and three scholars the NT Translation Committee in addition to six existing members. In August 1987, KBS provided another training on translation for all sixteen scholars in Hong Kong. In addition, KBS invited eight Korean grammarians and linguists to participate in the project, and then published the tentative version for 980 reviewers who were senior ministers and Biblical scholars recommended by each denomination.⁸⁶ Unlike projects for previous versions, the commissioner not only undertook the main role of preparing the project, publishing, distributing, etc., but also endeavored to train actively translators.

(3) Translator

Sixteen Biblical scholars participated in the new translation project as the translators, eight Korean grammarians and linguists as the stylists, five church leaders as supervisors, and nine hundred eighty ministers and theologians as consultants. They established translation principles in order to avoid criticism as a “free translation” as the case with the *CTHB*. The translation principle sets up then is to “benefit from the merits of the formal correspondence approach and dynamic equivalence approach while dismissing the disadvantages of both concepts” (the preface of the *NKSV*). The translators premised upon the formal correspondence approach, which seeks to grammatically match the translation as closely as possible to the source language, and partly adopted the dynamic equivalence insofar as there was a meaning gap between passages of the source language and Korean. However, according to Nida, there is no advantage in formal correspondence, and it is impossible for Korean language to adopt it either. Rather, it seems that the *NKSV* actually strived to follow functional equivalence and avoid free translation unlike the explanation of the translation committee. The translation process faithfully followed the UBS guidelines and the finest scholars and efficient translation procedures of those days were mobilized for the translation of the *NKSV*.

(4) Source text

The committee for translation of the Old Testament basically used the *BHS*. When faced with problems in interpreting the passages, they referred

⁸⁶ Y. J. Min, “Seongkyeongjeoseo Pyojunsaebeyonyeokwonchigeui Beonyeogjichingwha Teujjing (Bible Translation and Christian Mission),” *Gidokkyosasang (Christian Thought)* 410 (February, 1993), 50.

the *LXX*, *VUL*, ancient translations, Qumran manuscripts, or Samaritan Pentateuch.⁸⁷ The committee for translation of the NT used the *UBSI* as the source text.⁸⁸ The determination of various textual variants and the interpretation of passages were influenced by *UBS Helps for Translators: UBS Handbook Series*, and many commentaries available those days.⁸⁹ They also made use of existing Bible versions in Korean like *KB* (1911), *KRV* (1938/1956), and *CTHB* (1977), as well as the English versions,⁹⁰ German versions,⁹¹ and etc.

⁸⁷ Min, “Seongkyeongjeoseo Pyojunsaebeonyeokwonchigeul Malhanda (Speaking about the Translation Principle of New Korean Standard Version),” 183.

⁸⁸ Min, “Seongkyeongjeoseo Pyojunsaebeonyeokwonchigeul Malhanda (Speaking about the Translation Principle of New Korean Standard Version),” 183.

⁸⁹ *Das Alte Testament Deutsch; Teilbd* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978-); *The Anchor Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1964-); *The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible* (Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press, 1973-1979); *The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary (CGTC)* (Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press, 1977); *The Century Bible Commentary (CBC)* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981, 1972); *The Expositor’s Greek Testament (EGT)* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1897-); *Hermeneia (Her)* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971); *International critical commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (ICC)* (Scotland : T. & T. Clark, 1988-); *The Interpreter’s Bible (IB)* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1952); *New Century Bible Commentary (NCBC)* (London: Oliphants, 1976); *Old Testament Library (OTL)* (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1872-); *Westminster Commentary (WC)* (London: Methuen, 1925-); *World Biblical Commentary (WBC)* (Waco, Tex.: Word, 1982-), etc.

⁹⁰ The English versions used by the committee were *ASV* (1901), *RSV* (1952), *NASB* (1960), *JB* (1966), *NEB* (1970), *GNB* (1976), *NIV* (1978), *NKJV* (1979), *NJB* (1985), *NRSV* (1989), and *REB* (1989) (Min, “Seongkyeongjeoseo Pyojunsaebeonyeokwonchigeul Malhanda [Speaking about the Translation Principle of New Korean Standard Version],” 184).

⁹¹ The German Bibles used were the *Luther Bibel* (1985), *Einheitsübersetzung der Heiligen Schrift* (1980), *Die Gutenachricht* (1982), etc. (Min, “Seongkyeongjeoseo Pyojunsaebeonyeokwonchigeul Malhanda [Speaking about the Translation Principle of New Korean Standard Version],” 184).

Table 1. Readers, Commissioner, Translators (Revisers), Source Texts, and Target Texts of Korean Translations

	CNT (1884, 1877)	Mark by S. J. Lee (1885)	KB (1911)	KRV (1938/1952/1961) / NKRV (1998)	KNTNT (1967)	CTHB (1977/1999)	NKSV (1993) / RNKSV (2001)
Expected Reader	Common people and pioneer missionaries	Korean Intellectuals	Every Korean reader	Every Korean reader	Non-Christians and young people under the age of 30	Catholic and Protestant Christians, and even non-Christians	Persons in their teens and twenties
Commissioner	NBS and BFBS	ABS	BFBS and ABS	KBS as the branch of BFBS / KBS	KBS	KBS	KBS
Translator / Reviser	John Ross, John MacIntyre, and their Korean colleagues	Su-Jung Lee, Yasukawa and G. N. Knox	Board of Official Translators	Board of Revisers of the Old Testament and NT / The Supervisor Committee of Revision for KRV	New Translation Management Committee / New Translation Committee / New Translation Consultant Committee	Interconfessional Committees for the translation of the Old Testament, NT, and Apocrypha	Sixteen translators, eight Korean stylists, five supervisors, and nine hundred eighty consulting members.
Source Text	<i>Delegates' Version</i> (in Chinese, 1852) and <i>the Greek Testament with the Readings Adopted by the Reviewers of the Authorized Version</i> (ed., E. Palmer 1881)	<i>Delegates' Version</i> (in Chinese, Chinese, eds., E. C. Bridgeman & N. S. Culbertson 1864)	<i>The Greek Testament with the Readings Adopted by the Reviewers of the Authorized Version</i> (ed., E. Palmer 1881) and <i>The Old</i>	<i>The New Testament in Greek</i> (ed., B. F. Westcott – F. J. A. Hort 1881), <i>NA14 and the Old Testament, diligently revised according to the Massorah and the early Editions, with the various reading from</i>	<i>A Greek English Diglot for the use of Translator</i> (London: BFBS, 1961) / <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (ed., Eberhard Nestle 1898, 1923)	<i>Masoretic Text in Biblia Hebraica</i> (3rd ed., Rudolph Kittel 1937) / <i>the Greek New Testament</i> (1 st ed., USA: UBS, 1966)	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (eds., Karl Elliger & Wilhelm Rudolph et al. 1977) / <i>the Greek New Testament</i> (3 rd ed., USA: UBS, 1983)

<p>Target Text (AH of the dialogues in MK 14:58-65)</p>	<p>Lowest <i>noh</i> forms / Lowest forms, and archaic styles</p>	<p>Lowest <i>noh</i> form / Lowest archaic styles</p>	<p>Grade 3 <i>noh</i> forms / grade 3 lowest T forms, grade 2 polite O form, and archaic styles</p>	<p>Lowest <i>noh</i> forms / lowest T, polite O forms, and archaic styles</p>	<p>FNonDG <i>noh</i> form, and FNonDL <i>tangsin</i> forms / FD P form, FNonDL O form, FNonDG T form, and IFD Y form</p>	<p>FNonDG <i>noh</i>, FNonDL <i>keudae</i>, and FNonDL <i>tangsin</i> forms / FD P, FNonDL O, IFNonDL N, and FNonDG T forms</p>	<p>FNonDG <i>noh</i>, FNonDL <i>keudae</i>, FNonDL and IFD <i>tangsin</i> forms / FD P, IFD Y, FNonDL O, FNonDG T forms</p>
				<p><i>Manuscripts and the Ancient Versions</i> (ed., Christian David Ginsburg 1908- 1926)</p>			
			<p><i>Testament in Greek: according to the Septuagint</i> (ed., Henry Barclay Swete, London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1901)</p>				

Table 2. Addressee Honorifics of Mark 14:58-65 in Korean Translations

Mark 14:58-65	CNT (1887)	Mark by SJLee (1885)	KB (1911)	KRV (1938/1952/1961) / NKRV (1998)	KVNTNT (1967)	CTHB (1977/1999)	NKSV (1993) / RANXSV (2001)
Testimony: Some witnesses → the Sanhedrin (v. 58)	Deuleuni; hayeosuni (lowest / archaic style) seugadda (lowest)	anirira; hadeora (lowest / archaic style)	deureuni; jieurira; hadeora (grade 3, lowest T form / archaic style)	deureuni; jieurira (lowest T forms / archaic style)	seugeta (formal gnereria NonD T form); deuresseumnida (formal D P form)	Seugeta (formal gnereria NonD T form); isseumnida (formal D P form)	seugeta (formal general NonD T form); hayeosseumnida (formal D P form)
First trial: The high priest → Jesus (v. 60b)	ne; nohreul (lowest)	ne; nohreul (lowest)	nohneun (grade 3, lowest), Omission	nohneun; nohreul (lowest)	Tangsinege; tangsineun (formal limited NonD O form)	keudaege; keudaeineun (informal limited NonD N form)	keudaege (formal limited NonD O form)
	eomneunva; eotteohanva (lowest)	eomneunda (lowest) eojjiminvo (lowest)	eomneunva (grade 3, lowest T form) mueosinva (grade 3, lowest T form)	eomneunva; eothanva (lowest T form)	eopso (formal limited NonD O form)	eomneunga (informal limited NonD N form)	ansso (formal limited NonD O form)
Second trial: The high priest → Jesus (v. 61b)	Nega (lowest)	nega (lowest)	nega (grade 3, lowest)	nega (lowest)	Tangsinea (formal limited NonD O form)	Keudaeaga (informal limited NonD N form)	Keudaeineun (formal limited NonD O form)
	Kiristinva (lowest)	keurisudossin da (lowest)	geurisudonva (grade 3, lowest T form)	geurisudonva (lowest T form)	geurisudooyo (formal limited NonD O form)	Geurisudoinga (informal limited NonD N form)	geurisudooyo (formal limited NonD O form)
Reply: Jesus → the	Noheui (lowest)	ne (lowest)	noheuga (grade 3)	noheuga (lowest)	Noheuneun (formal gnereria NonD T form)	Noheuneun (formal gnereria NonD T form)	Tangsindeuineun (formal limited NonD O form)

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Mark 14:58-65	CNT (1887)	Mark by SJLee (1885)	KB (1911)	KRV (1938/1952/1961) / MKRV (1998)	KANTNT (1967)	CTHB (1977/1999)	NKSV (1993) / RAKSV (2001)
Sanhedrin (v. 62b)	Borira (lowest, archaic style)	Borira (lowest / archaic style)	naeroda; borira (grade 3, lowest T form / archaic style)	guinira; borira (lowest T form / archaic style)	guiida; geosida (formal gnerla NonD T form)	geurofta; geosida (formal gnerla NonD T form)	geuivo; geosio (formal limited NonD O form)
Reply: The high priest → the Sanhedrin (vv. 63b-64a)	noheui; noheui (lowest)	ne; noheui (lowest)	Noheuido; noheui (grade 3, lowest)	noheuiga; noheuineun (lowest)	Yeoreobuneun; yeoreobuneun (formal D)	omission	Yeoreobuneun; yeoreobuneun (formal limited NonD O form)
	Sseurivo (high) eotteohanva (lowest)	mueotharivo (high) Deureotnuni ra (lowest / archaic style); eotteohanveo (lowest)	sseurio (grade 2, polite O form / archaic style); Deureonssuui; eotteohanveo (grade 3, lowest T form / archaic style)	yoguharivo (polite O form / archaic style); deureokttoda (lowest T form / archaic style); senggakhaneunva (lowest T form)	Piyohagessseunikk a (formal D P form) deureosseuminida (formal D P form); senggakhassimnik ka (formal D P form)	Piyohagesso (formal limited NonD O form) annaseunnikka (formal D P form); jokesso (formal limited NonD O form)	Piyohagesso (formal limited NonD O form) Deuleosso; eotteoha (formal limited NonD O form)
Jeer: Some of them → Jesus (v. 65b)	ne (lowest)	ne (lowest)	hara (grade 3, lowest T form)	hara (lowest T form)	Keudaeleul (formal limited NonD O form)	Omission	
	Malhara (lowest / archaic style)	malhara (lowest / archaic style)	hara (grade 3, lowest T form)		Booh (formal limited NonD O form)	boara (formal general NonD T form)	Boara (formal general NonD T form)

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Samenvatting

Beleefdheid en eerbiedsvormen in bijbelvertalingen

Dit proefschrift behandelt de onvermijdelijke problemen die zich voordoen wanneer de Bijbel wordt vertaald in talen met honorifische grammaticale systemen. Op een paar honorifische titels na kent het Grieks van het Nieuwe Testament geen honorifica, noch in het voornaamwoordsysteem noch in de werkwoordsvormen, zoals het Koreaans en vele andere talen in de wereld.

Honorifische talen hebben speciale klassen van woorden of woorddelen die de sociale relaties tussen de spreker en de toehoorder(s) in de verbale communicatie aangeven. Bij afwezigheid van sociaal neutrale vormen in zulke talen moet de spreker een keuze maken uit de verschillende honorifische vormen waarbij de keuze altijd informatie geeft over de relatie tussen spreker en toehoorder(s), de communicatieve context en cultureel bepaalde verwachtingen. Derhalve leidt een vertaling met inadequate honorifische vormen niet alleen tot een fout begrip van de betekenislaag van de brontekst maar ook tot stijlproblemen in de doelttekst.

Daarom is het hoofddoel van deze studie om een aanzet te geven tot een theoretisch kader waarbinnen problemen met honorifica in bijbelvertalingen begrepen en opgelost kunnen worden. Daartoe worden in het eerste hoofdstuk de verschijnselen, functies en sociale factoren van het Koreaanse grammaticale systeem van honorifica besproken. In het tweede hoofdstuk worden criteria geformuleerd voor de evaluatie van beleefheidsverschijnselen en voor de keuze van honorifische vormen terwijl in hoofdstuk 3 een kader wordt geformuleerd voor de vertaling in talen met honorifica. Vervolgens worden in hoofdstuk vier en vijf deze kaders toegepast en getest op honorifische verschijnselen in Markus 14:58-65 in bestaande Koreaanse vertalingen, gevolgd door voorstellen voor nieuwe vertalingen met een kerkelijke functie.

Hoofdstuk 1 beschrijft het complexe honorifische systeem van het moderne Koreaans tegen de achtergrond van het gebruik in eerdere fasen van de geschiedenis van het Koreaans. Relevante sociale factoren voor de keuze van honorifische vormen zijn de leeftijd, status en geslacht van spreker en toehoorder, mate van vertrouwdheid en familiale omgang en de mate van formaliteit van de situatie.

Op grond van de analyse van de functie van de honorifische vormen van pronomina van de 2e persoon en de grammaticale relatie tussen de pronomina en de vormen van het werkwoord, worden 6 honorifische niveaus voor het moderne Koreaans voorgesteld: (1) formeel, eerbiedig (*yeoreobun, tangsin, keudae + -pnita* [P]), (2) formeel, beperkt, niet-eerbiedig (*tangsin, keudae + -o* [O]), (3) formeel, algemeen, niet-eerbiedig (*noh + -ta* [T]), (4) informeel, eerbiedig (*tangsin, keudae + -yo* [Y]), (5) informeel, beperkt, niet-eerbiedig (*keudae, chane + -ne* [N]), en (6) formeel, algemeen, niet-eerbiedig (*noh + -e* [E]).

Terwijl hoofdstuk 1 vooral naar de grammaticale onderscheidingen kijkt in het Koreaanse taalsysteem, richt hoofdstuk 2 zich op de pragmatiek, de beleefdheidsdimensie van het taalgebruik, vanuit de begrippen en kaders ontwikkeld door R. Brown en A. Gilman, R. T. Lakoff, P. Brown and S. C. Levinson en G. N. Leech. Daarbij komen de volgende factoren aan bod: (1) dialoogsituaties; (2) factoren die de sociale relaties bepalen tussen spreker en hoorder(s); (3) culturele verwachtingen; (4) de aannames van de spreker over de hoorder(s); en (5) non-verbale aspecten van communicatie.

Hoofdstuk 3 behandelt relevante vertaaltheoretische kaders, het literalisme, de dynamische equivalentie, functionele equivalentie, literaire functionele equivalentie, en de skopos benadering en concludeert dat de skopos theorie de beste perspectieven biedt voor het analyseren en oplossen van vertaalproblemen op het terrein van de honorifica omdat die zijn uitgangspunt neemt in de functie van de vertaling in de doelcultuur en het pragmatische aspect centraal stelt.

Vanuit de skopos theorie stelt de studie de volgende factoren centraal bij de vertaling in talen met honorifica: (1) de behoeften van de lezer, (2) de rol van de opdrachtgever, (3) de functie van de vertaler, (4) analyse van de brontekst en (5) de functie van de doelttekst.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt de vertaalgeschiedenis van honorifica in Koreaanse Bijbels vanuit de historische en sociale contexten waarin die Koreaanse Bijbels functioneerden. Omdat er geen theoretisch kader is voor het nemen van honorifische vertaalbeslissingen is het toepassen van moderne

honorifische vormen in bijbelvertalingen nog steeds een probleem in Koreaanse vertalingen, vooral in de dialogen van Jezus. Toekomstige vertalingen zouden de archaïsche vormen niet moeten handhaven en horen de veranderingen in het gebruik van eerbiedsvormen te weerspiegelen.

In hoofdstuk 5 worden de dialogen geanalyseerd tussen Jezus en de hogepriester en het Sanhedrin (Mk 14:58-65) vanuit de theoretische kaders geformuleerd in de eerdere hoofdstukken en specifieke vertaalbeslissingen voorgesteld op het terrein van de keuze van eerbiedsvormen. Hoewel de brontekst niet genoeg informatie bevat over leeftijd, status en geslacht van de getuigen (vers 58a) en het gehoor van Jezus in de passage over de valse getuigenissen (vers 58b), kunnen vertalers vanuit hun exegese sociale variabelen veronderstellen zoals machtsverschil, status en rang, afstand tussen gesprekspartners en de bedoelingen van sprekers in elke dialoog.

Pragmatisch gezien zijn er dialogen waarin een spreker gepresenteerd wordt als informatie delend met zijn toehoorders en lezers, en dialogen waarin vanuit vertellersperspectief de spreker bepaalde informatie alleen met de lezers deelt. In de toespraak van Jezus in de passage over de valse getuigenissen (vers 58b) en zijn verklaringen ten overstaan van de hogepriester en het gehele Sanhedrin (vers 62b), wordt de werkelijke boodschap van Jezus en zijn werkelijke identiteit niet gedeeld met zijn toehoorders maar alleen met de lezers van het evangelie van Marcus. Maar de getuigenissen van enkele getuigen (vers 58a) en de toespraak van de hogepriester (verzen 63b-64a) worden gedeeld met de hele Sanhedrin en als beleefd aanvaard door de toehoorders maar functioneren in het kader van de samenzwering tegen Jezus. De ondervragingen van de hogepriester (verzen 60bc-61a, 61b) en de volgende bespotting (65b) zijn ook onbeleefd en benadrukken het tragische lijden van Jezus en het onbegrip van de sprekers van zijn werkelijke identiteit. Aldus wordt de beleefdheidsdimensie van de dialogen in de brontekst opgevat door vertalers. Maar de keuze van de honorifische vormen in de Koreaanse vertaling wordt niet alleen bepaald op grond van de exegese door de vertalers van de beleefdheidsdimensie van de brontekst. De verwachtingen van de ontvangers van de vertaling, gebaseerd op de functie van de vertaling in hun gemeenschap, speelt ook een rol.

In het proefschrift wordt de formele, eerbiedige P vorm voorgesteld voor de valse getuigenissen (vers 58a) en voor de toespraak van de hogepriester tot de leden van het Sanhedrin (63b-64a) die als beleefde uitdrukkingen zijn geanalyseerd. Dit is van belang omdat de P vorm de enige vorm is die het gezag van de leden van het Sanhedrin kan uitdrukken, als

rechters in een formeel rechtsgeding. Wat betreft de andere, onbeleefde dialogen, zijn er twee typen vormen gekozen, de formele, algemene, niet-eerbiedige T vorm voor zowel Jezus' toespraak in vers 58b en voor de bespottling in vers 63b-64a, terwijl de formele, beperkte, niet-eerbiedige vorm tansin en O vormen zijn gebruikt voor de ondervragingen door de hogepriester (60b-61a, 61b) en het antwoord van Jezus. (62b).

De formele, algemene, niet-eerbiedige T vorm in de weergave van Jezus' woorden in de valse getuigenissen drukt brutale arrogantie uit in de indirecte rede van vers 58b maar in de spotpassage drukt de vorm het tragische lijden van Jezus uit (65b). Echter, omdat een rechter of aanklager die vorm niet kan gebruiken voor enige deelnemer in het rechtsgeding, inclusief de beklagde, zijn ze niet geschikt voor de ondervragingen door de hogepriester of voor het antwoord van Jezus. De formele, beperkte niet-eerbiedige tansin en O vormen worden niet vaak gebruikt in de rechtzaal, maar zij drukken de belediging van Jezus door de hogepriester uit, en ook de gezaghebbende en machtige verklaring van Jezus ten overstaan van de hogepriester en het Sanhedrin, en de spanning van het proces. Maar bovenal toont de consistente keuze van deze honorifische vormen de samenhang van de eerste en de tweede ondervraging; en zij behoudt het evenwicht tussen de spreekstijlen van de hogepriester als de tegenwoordige rechter en Jezus als de toekomstige rechter (binnen het perspectief van verteller en lezer).

Samenvattend, het proefschrift tracht de geschikste honorifische vormen te vinden voor een nieuwe vertaling met een brede kerkelijke functie die de informatie van de brontekst in honorifisch opzicht zo natuurlijk mogelijk weergeeft vanuit het pragmatische perspectief van modern taalgebruik in de doelcultuur. Uiteraard wordt de informatie uit de brontekst onvermijdelijk getransformeerd in dat proces van honorifische keuzen, door de taalsystematische en pragmatische verschillen tussen talen zonder en met honorifica. Adequate keuze van honorifica geeft aan de lezers nuances door van de brontekst zoals de onoprechtheid van de deelnemers aan het proces van Jezus, de confrontatie tussen Jezus en zijn tegenstanders en de agressiviteit van zijn bespotters. Een stelselmatig kader voor het vertalen in talen met honorifische systemen draagt bij aan het overbrengen van zulke dimensies in de brontekst en aan een natuurlijke honorifische stijl in de doelttekst.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Ji-Youn Cho was born in 1971 in Seoul, Korea. She graduated from Ewha Womans University of Korea (1990-1993, Christian Studies, B.A.; 1999-2001, New Testament Studies, Th.M.) and continued her postgraduate study in Bible Translation at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam under scholarship with the Netherlands Bible Society (September, 2001-August, 2002). She joined the Korean Bible Society in 1996, and is currently working at the Translation Department as a researcher and deputy manager. In 2006, she became one of members of “the Honorifics Committee” and “the Human Concerns Text Committee” in the Asia Pacific Region of the United Bible Societies. From March 2008, she began teaching “New Testament and its Translation” and “Study of Greek” at Westminster Graduate School of Theology (Korea) as a part time professor.