A Discourse Approach to Korean Politeness:
Towards a Culture-specific Confucian Framework

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Abstract

This thesis examines the inter-relationship between face, face work, and cultural values, as they apply to strategic politeness in Korean institutional settings, specifically university contexts. This study also seeks to explore issues of methodology for culture-specific politeness research, given that previous researchers either neglected cultural values, which operate sometimes outside of linguistic presentations, or used methods that prevented them from noticing the role of cultural values, which can function as another means of face redress in the construction of culture-specific politeness.

The interactional aspects of language use demonstrate that the socio-pragmatics of cultural values/norms are essential elements in the construction of strategic politeness. However, previous researchers on politeness have never really looked into how culture-specific frameworks can function as both methodological and theoretical tools in the investigation of culture-specific politeness. Most politeness researchers have been mainly concerned with linguistic systems, and have paid less attention to cultural values that directly influence polite linguistic behavior. In this study, a Confucian framework was employed to explore both the linguistic forms and cultural values that are the core elements of Korean linguistic politeness.

Korean politeness shows that a Confucian frame is needed as an interactional supplement to politeness research, because the cultural frame that Korean speakers use plays a decisive role in their choice of politeness forms. A Confucian framework allows analysis of how socio-cultural values interact with culture-specific cognitive dimensions. The intent in using a Confucian framework is to analyze how Confucian

values can be realized through culture-specific discursive modes. Because Brown and Levinson's R variable cannot explain value oriented linguistic behavior, a Confucian cultural framework is required to interpret culture-specific linguistic behavior. In Korean contexts, social interaction would be impossible without attending to both Confucian values and sociological variables (power, distance, familiarity, gender etc.) in the negotiation of relational work. In order for a Confucian framework to become a functional and comprehensive tool, the frameworks of many researchers have also been integrated (e.g. Pan's use of a spoken discourse approach to find situation-specific usages, Locher's marked politeness, and Holmes' locally specific discursive approach) to analyze micro-level interactions that are regulated by the speaker's intentional control of cultural knowledge.

An integrated Confucian framework is then used to examine how politeness is manifested in Korean institutional contexts where power and distance variables are relatively great. Korean institutional face is grounded in the intentions of participants rather than regulated by the existent social conventions and the problems this causes for Matsumo and Ide's culture-specific discernment view is also analyzed.

The linguistic practices that are examined concentrate on marked linguistic behaviors such as non-conventional greetings and closings, and under polite/over polite linguistic forms. The conclusion reached is that participants employ marked linguistic forms when their goals deviate from the existent situational norms. These marked forms reveal intention, because marked linguistic forms are all inconsistent with social conventions. Most of the Korean marked forms in this study utilize Confucian values that exploit honorific usage.

In Korean, culturally shared thinking heavily influences the way Korean speakers use politeness. Cultural values are functional and as such can be used pragmatically to be either face threatening or face enhancing. Moreover, when linguistic forms are not sufficient, cultural values play a critical role in acting as a verbal redress mechanism. This is particularly effective when negotiating a difficult request because cultural values are often able to provide a link between linguistic presentation and social practice. A movement away from studies of linguistic presentation alone will help researchers better understand the multi-functional aspects of linguistic politeness.

Cultural knowledge can be used to influence the exercise of informal power in Korean contexts. The implications of the findings of this study reach far beyond the traditional bounds of linguistic politeness, and thus the case for a move towards the study of culture-specific values in cross-cultural or inter-cultural politeness research is clear. Korean politeness cannot be interpreted without understanding Confucian values because Confucianism is the 'common sense' that permeates all kinds of Korean social interactions.

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List of Abbreviations

ADVS = Average Deferential Verbal Suffix ('~yo, ~요')

ATTR 1= Attributive (Irrealis) ('~(û)l, ~을')

ATTR 2= Attributive (Realis) ('(û)n, ~은)

CIRCUM = Circumstantial ('(nû)ntey, ~는데')

CIRCUM = Circumstantial ('~(nû)ntey, ~는데')

COM = Comitative (hako/haku =~하고/~하구)

COMM = Committal (ci = ~지) (Positive meaning indicating that the speaker

　　　　　　　commits himself/herself to the truth of the

　　　　　　　proposition.)

COMP = Complementizer (ko/ku = ~고/~구) =

CONCESS = Concessive ('~ciman, ~지만'/~어도/~해도)

COND = Conditional ('~tamyen, ~다면, ~면')

CORREL = Correlative (kôtûn ~거든) indicates the existence of necessity

CONN 1 = Connective (ô/a ∼~어/~아) = connects verbs in serial verb

　　　　　　　constructions: used in the resultant

　　　　　　　state construction.

CONN 2 = Connective (~ko/~ku ~고/~구) = Connects clauses that express

　　　　　　　parallel actions used in progressive

　　　　　　　construction.

DA = Definite Article ('ku, ~그')

DECL = Declarative Verb ('~ta, ~다')

DM= Discourse Marker (kelay, keluntey/~그래/~그런데 …etc.)

DUB = Dubitative ('(nû)n, ~는가', '~/(û)l+ ka, ~을까')

EDVS = Extremely Deferential Verbal Suffix ('~supnita, ~습니다', '~sipsio,

~십시오', '~hapnita, ~합니다')

EXCL = Exclamatory ('~kwuna, ~구나')

Future = will ('~할/~ㄹ')

FR = Factual Realization indicates factual realization on the part of the speaker

(~keyss,~ 겠)

FRC = Free Choice ('~na, ~나')

HAT = Honorific Address Term

HDVP = Highly Deferential Verbal Predicate

HEARSAY = Hearsay Evidential ('~tæy', '~대')

HM = Honorific Marker ('~nim, ~님')

HNCM = Honorific Nominative Case Marker ('~kkeyse, ~께서')

HR = Honorific Reply/Reference ('~yey, ~예')

HRT = Honorific Reference Term

IMPER = Imperative ('~la, ~라', '~sio, ~시오, '~sipsio, ~십시오')

INCHOA = Inchoate ('~ci, ~지')

IND = Indicative ('~ni, ~니')

INDUC = Inductive ('~tolok, ~도록')

INT = Intentional ('~(û)lkkey, ~을께')

INTERR = Interrogative (의문문)

I = Interrogative (의문사)

KT = Kinship Term

LOC = Locative ('~ulo', '~ey', '~으로', '~에').

MP=Modal Particle (com/~좀).

NDAT = Non-deferential Address Term

NDPP = Non-deferential Personal Pronoun

NDRT = Non-deferential Reference Term

NDVP = Non-deferential Verbal Predicate

NDVS = Non-deferential Verbal Suffix ('~hanta, ~한다', '~hayla, ~해라')

NECESS = Necessitative ('(ô)ya, ~야')

NEG = Negative Particle ('~mos, ~못', '~an, ~안')

NHR = Non-deferential Honorific Reply (ung, kelay, 응, 그래 etc)

NOM = Nominative (~i, ~ka ~이, ~가)

NOML 1 = Nominalizer ('~ki', ~기')

OBJ= Object Case Marker ('~eykey, ~에게', '~ul, ~을', '~lul, ~를')

PASS = Passive ('~i, ~이', '~hi, ~히', '~li', ~리', '~ki, ~기')

PAST = Past tense ('~ess, ~었', '~ass, ~았)

PLU =Plural ('~tul, ~들')

POSS = Possessive ('~uy, ~의')

PRECED = Precedence ('~sô ~서', '~(ô) sô ~어서')

PRESUM = Presumptive ('(û)lkôl, ˜ 을껄')

PROG = Progressive

PROP = Proposition ('~ca, ~자', '~haca, ~하자')

PURP = Purposive ('~lyeko, ~려고', '~le, ~러').

Quote = Quote ('~lako, ~라고')

REASON = Reason ('~nikka', ~니까' '~ni, ~니').

RESUL = Resultative ('~key, ~게', '~hakey, ~하게')

SG = Singular

SH = Subject Honorific suffix ('~si, ~시')

SIMUL = Simultaneous ('(û)myônsô, ~면서')

SUS= Suspective ('~ci, ~지') (Negative meaning indicating that the speaker shows suspicion or uncertainty.)

TOP = Topic ('~nun, '~는', '~ un, ~ 은')

TRANS = Transferentive ('~lyetaka, ~려다가', '~hallyetaka, ~하려다가').

UNASSIM = Unassimilated ('~kwuna, ~구나', '~kwun, ~군', '~keney, ~거네')

VOC = Vocative ('~ya', '~yô', '~야', '~여').

Vol = Volitional ('~할래?')

Data Transcription Conventions

[ ] - indicates rising intonation, overlapping, or simultaneous talk

(.7) - length of pause in seconds

(…) - micropause

Hhh - indicates hearable aspiration; it may represent breathing, laughter, etc.

ABC… - Capital letters indicate material was uttered loudly.

⸨ ⸩ - indicates material that has been cut off due to unexpected situational features.

↑ - indicates rising intonation

↓ - indicates falling intonation

Korean Language Transcription Conventions

(Yale Romanization Type 5)

k - ㄱ

kh - ㅋ

kk - ㄲ

t - ㄷ

th - ㅌ

tt - ㄸ

p - ㅂ

ph - ㅍ

pp - ㅃ

c - ㅈ

ch - ㅊ

cc - ㅉ

s - ㅅ

ss - ㅆ

h - ㅎ

-, ng - ㅇ (ㅇ is not romanized initially, syllable-finally it is romanized ng)

n - ㄴ

l - ㄹ

m - ㅁ

a - ㅏ

e - ㅓ

o - ㅗ

wu - ㅜ

u - ㅡ

i - ㅣ

ay - ㅐ

ey - ㅔ

oy - ㅚ

ya - ㅑ

ye - ㅕ

yo - ㅛ

ywu - ㅠ

yay - ㅒ

yey - ㅖ

wa - ㅘ

we - ㅝ

wuy - ㅟ

way - ㅙ

wey - ㅞ

uy - ㅢ

Chapter 1

A New Approach to Politeness

1.1 Overview

Politeness research to date has generally adopted one of two views, the traditional view, which assumes that politeness is a function of social convention, and the postmodern view, which assumes politeness to be something that emerges from interactional discourse contexts. Brown and Levinson, who are closer to the traditional view, associate politeness with linguistic indirectness in which two notions of face, negative and positive (1987: 70), are essential elements that affect the choice of polite linguistic strategy (1978, 1987). Negative politeness means defending one's face and positive politeness means enhancing the other's face. According to the politeness theory they developed, linguistic strategies have to be proportionate to the level of power (P), distance (D) and rank of imposition (R) of the participants. A number of studies have employed Brown and Levinson's politeness framework but these politeness studies do not really examine how discernment politeness can be strategically exploited (Byon 2006: 258), especially in interactional discourse (Matsumoto 1988; Ide 1989). Studies based on Brown and Levinson's politeness theory also have not explored the role that cultural values play in the expression of discernment (Matsumoto 1988; Ide 1989; Watts 1992; 2003; Locher 2004; Byon 2006: 258).

It is interesting to note that there are very few studies that examine culture-specific politeness, especially in interactional discourse, or how cultural values affect politeness and power. In particular, there are few studies that pay attention to the role that interaction and Confucian cultural values play in Korean discourse. Many of the

previous studies fail to examine how culture-specific values affect both volition and discernment in the expression of politeness and power. Even more surprising is the complete dearth of research that examines culture-specific politeness and focuses on cultural values by taking a culture-specific theoretical perspective.

Neither Brown and Levinson nor Goffman acknowledge the role of cultural values in the negotiation of face. However, a specific cultural script—Confucianism—is ingrained in the minds of Korean speakers and controls Korean discernment politeness, which is manifested in the use (or non-use) of honorifics. Korean honorifics consist of two elements, morphological differentiation (e.g. speech levels, honorific suffixes, vocatives, euphemistic words, various discourse sentence-ending particles) (Byon 2006: 258) and cultural values (Hong 2008: 25). Because cultural values are intrinsically built into the use of honorific forms, linguistic politeness cannot be completely understood without comprehending Korean cultural values. These common cultural values function as a supplemental R variable and allow culturally shared knowledge (the cultural script) to ground individual frameworks, which directly control power and distance variables. The underlying principles of Korean relational work are based on these same Confucian cultural values (e.g. warmth and mutuality). Consequently, culturally shared knowledge often becomes a powerful constraint upon a participant's action. For example, when a speaker's strategic intentions are inconsistent with interactional norms, he/she utilizes both individual and cultural scripts in order to deflect a high R variable.

I argue that cultural values and locally specific contextual features are key elements when analyzing linguistic expressions of (im)politeness. In short, this study observes how cultural values are integrated into linguistic forms and used as verbal redress mechanisms in an institutional setting in Korea. The main cultural values in Korea are

grounded in Confucianism. The next section will therefore investigate how Confucian

cultural values play a critical role in the construction of face work in culture-specific

institutional contexts.

1.2 Why Institutional Face Work in Korea Requires Confucian Cultural Knowledge

Postmodern theorists claim that politeness is not wholly determined by socially

shared norms, rather "it is the individual who performs the action through which

societies and cultures arise" (Eelen, 2001: 216). For them, individual norms are also

regulating forces that allow a speaker's strategic intentions to control the discourse in

order to achieve specific pragmatic goals. Among the postmodern theorists, for example,

Watts regards politeness as a linguistic strategy. However, even if that were the case, a

great deal of strategic language use found in the Korean data in this study show that it is

quite possible for interactional goals to be non-explicit without them ceasing to be

linguistic in their realization. Watts explains this limitation by making a distinction

between 'politic behavior' and 'polite behavior'. For example, "Would you very much

mind vacating the seat for me?" is a statement that Watts (2003: 257-260) regards as

politic. It is polite on a lexical level and contains socio-culturally appropriate politeness

('politic'). However, Watts argues that politic behavior is not always polite: in the

example, the initial assumption is that the seat unambiguously belonged to the speaker.

The utterance is therefore a threat to the hearer's face. Since the strategic intention in this

utterance does not reveal friendliness, but gives imposition to the hearer, Watts regards

this type of strategic use to be a form of negative politeness. Watts thus associates

friendliness with polite behavior. Therefore strategic politeness cannot be considered

polite because it lacks friendliness. However, despite Watt's claims, strategic intention can be understood as either polite or impolite based on the use culture-specific discursive modes. Locher, for example, regards power as a mode of discourse. However, she neglects socio-cultural values that can become the most powerful variables in the negotiation of relational work. She also uses a poor theoretical framework to analyze how discourse can be realized through language. For example, Locher's use of relevance theory cannot capture values embedded in linguistic strategies on an interactional level. No politeness research so far has devised appropriate theoretical and methodological frameworks to explore micro-level interactions that are regulated by socio-cultural knowledge. In this respect, the current study will provide a better understanding of how cultural values can be mediated through language. It begins with Brown and Levinson's politeness formula but, since they do not see how cultural values—specifically Confucian values in the case of Korean—can be used as another R variable to influence politeness in action, their politeness formula is combined with a perspective that accounts for Confucian values. The current study takes a discourse approach in order to explore the cognitive aspects of socio-cultural values that influence culture-specific linguistic politeness.

In Confucianism, the foundation of Korean culture and politeness, the following values operate as basic principles for smooth social practice: 1) 'li' stresses ritual and etiquette 2) 'chih' means wisdom 3) 'i' stresses righteousness 4) 'jen' stresses warmth and humanism (Yum 1987: 74). Because Confucian cultural values stress hierarchical social relations between different social positions, Korean relational work can be characterized by hierarchical interactions in which the scope of roles and obligations must follow 'the five relations of Confucianism' as the various social contexts require:

e.g. loyalty between king and subject, filial piety between parents and child, distinction between husband and wife, precedence between senior and junior (in terms of age, sex, generation or social status), and confidence between friends (Sohn 1986: 45; see also Chang 1976: 154). Due to this emphasis on hierarchical power variables, Koreans are very sensitive to their social position in relationship to others. Confucian values emphasize the duties and obligations of one's social role in a given situation. They also focus on subordinate loyalty and respect toward super-ordinates and super-ordinate benevolence toward and protection of subordinates.

A Cultural script consists of norms or expectations that can be identified in a society's own language. Confucian value scripts stress 'warmth' and 'mutuality' by focusing on positive politeness. These cultural values are fundamentally built into the basics of Korean honorific devices. Brown (2005: 1) supports this by arguing, "[the] differences between the Korean and Japanese honorific systems allow for the former to be more easily considered as a positive politeness strategy." Due to the influence of Confucian values, the Korean honorific system is almost entirely composed of hearer elevation deference (subordinate-respect and super-ordinate benevolence) (Brown 2005: 4).

Confucian scripts are based on the idea of 'cheymyen', in which positive social values are more concerned with sociological face rather than personal face. However, in my naturally occurring data, institutional participants were concerned with both aspects of face. Because participants were concerned with local level interactions, they attended to both aspects of face depending on the constantly changing interactional norms. Note also that institutional members were very sensitive to situations in which their institutional face conflicted with interactional norms. Because institutional face is

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positively oriented, institutional members were very concerned with the violation of institutional conventions (e.g. rights, roles and obligations in terms of personal or marginally personal goals). The reason for this is that the violation of institutional conventions greatly threatens their positive face (the desire to be recognized by others). Losing positive face means also destroying their negative face. Because the local norms greatly threaten institutional identity as well as institutional conventions, institutional members employ strategic politeness in order to deflect the R variable that may result.

Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 162) argue that analysis of this should depend heavily on contextual information from a number of different levels, whether it is from the participant's or the analyst's perspective. In institutional contexts, there are a variety of contextual variables that the institutional members have to deal with (work roles, business related goals, institutional goal, personal goals, psychological and emotional stances, social relationships, etc.). Moreover, when institutional members are limited by their institutional role, especially in dealing with non-work related tasks, their institutional face is greatly threatened due to the potential violation of the institutional rules. In this case, an individual frame is not sufficient enough to control the R variable. Because suddenly their personal or marginally personal goals are greatly inconsistent with the institutional conventions, institutional members rely on cultural knowledge in order to maximize the effect of the R variable. The reason for using a Confucian cultural script is that an individual frame alone cannot explain culture-specific knowledge that exists on a cognitive dimension. Confucian cultural values directly influence the way linguistic interaction is understood (Kang, 2000: 305).

1.3 Korean Deference as an Important Face Prevention Strategy

   in Institutional Contexts

By only using P, D and R to calculate and predict politeness forms, to the exclusion of all other factors, Brown and Levinson seem to have neglected locally specific elements that have a complex effect on how politeness works, in general, and on redressive forms, in particular. An example is the fact that more powerful people are often very sensitive to locally specific contextual features when making requests toward less powerful people. In the current study, when the more powerful speaker's particular strategic intention goes far beyond the existent interactional norms (existent social norms in relationship to the scope of institutional roles and obligations as well as local contextual norms), he/she tries to utilize marked linguistic forms in order to better negotiate his/her request, despite the fact that such an action contradicts Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. This is because marked linguistic forms are inconsistent with normal registers, and are not regulated by social conventions. The deliberate flouting of the normal register is not a negotiated outcome of power and distance. For example, making a request toward someone less powerful, especially making a personal or marginally personal request, often creates a direct confrontation with institutionally defined duties. It is because of local norms that cultural values are integrated into the manipulation of linguistic forms as a verbal redress mechanism.

In an example from the data collected, a secretary uses highly formal forms with a student. This is primarily motivated by the knowledge that, since she is asking for someone to answer the phone for her, she is violating existent institutional norms (see Chapter 4). In another example, a professor asks a secretary, "wouldn't it be possible for

you to collect the papers?" which is a request that is inconsistent with Brown and Levinson's politeness formula, since the more powerful person's highly deferential strategy goes against Brown and Levinson's claim that P and D are proportionate to predicted linguistic strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987). Nevertheless, despite the theory, it is clear in the data collected that in each case the speakers are relying on cultural values, such as 'mutuality and warmth', in order to attenuate a high R variable. The more powerful person's highly deferential strategy combined with cultural values successfully minimizes the magnitude of the R variable (see Chapters 4, 5, and 6). This evidence runs completely counter to what Brown and Levinson's politeness model predicts for such a situation (Harris 2003: 40). Their theory cannot account for linguistic politeness that is regulated by cultural knowledge.

The amount of deviation from locally specific interactional norms also influences the degree of the honorific(s) and deference used. The speaker's choice of over-polite or under- polite forms marks the fact that his/her profit-oriented goals are inconsistent with the existent social norms. Korean deference is also based on Confucian values, but it should be noted that there is a difference between politeness and deference. The former emphasizes independent psychological reasoning in an individual's mind, whilst the latter emphasizes the relative status of the participants within a social hierarchy (Hwang 1990: 42). However, the strategic notion of deference in Korean data suggests that there are various social and psychological factors involved in the strategic use of deference. In this sense, deference can function beyond negative politeness because it pays particular attention to social position, power, age and in-group relationship (sociological face) as well as psychological/value-oriented factors in emotional, subjective and discursive

stances (individual face). Deference therefore plays a decisive role in the construction of culture-specific face.

The level of deference that is used in politeness forms is often proportional to the magnitude of R. The Korean use of deference, combined with honorific devices (e.g. verbal suffixes and honorific markers) and cultural values, helps to minimize the R variable. The complex nature of institutional contexts also promotes the functional use of cultural knowledge as a face preservation strategy. Locally specific politeness ('politeness that occurs from a particular context') is "interactionally achieved politeness that [is the] joint accomplishment of both the speaker and the hearer" (Haugh 2007: 306). These locally specific contextual features make great contributions to the use of socio-cultural values (e.g. in-group relationships, personal connections, the degree of familiarity) in the construction of linguistic politeness and raise questions about the validity of certain aspects of Brown and Levinson's politeness formula. My data demonstrate that a higher level of deference is used as a means of manipulating the appropriateness of a statement in order to minimize face threats. Speakers intentionally exploit Confucian cultural values and deference in order to be contextually appropriate. It is clear that the politeness strategies in all of the conversations gathered in this study commonly feature individual variations that are a result of a need to be consistent with particular local contexts.

Nonetheless, it's very interesting to note that politeness considerations become more important when requests are made of the less powerful. The reason for this is that institutional face is often based on local norms that necessitate the violation of institutional conventions. Breaking the institutional norms means risking the loss of their institutional identities. Speakers want to maintain their institutional identity without

violating institutional conventions. Therefore, in order to satisfy these two conflicting goals, institutional members employ strategic politeness.

Goal oriented behavior often highlights socio-cultural variables (e.g. in-group/out-group relations, personal connection, and familiarity) at the expense of power variables. Strategic motivations intrinsically violate social norms and institutional conventions. This is the reason why a more powerful professor may employ a highly deferential address term toward a less powerful secretary. This also applies when a less powerful younger secretary deliberately uses a positive strategy as a pre-request of someone older than her. These strategies use positive politeness to trigger either cooperation, or feelings of connection from the addressee (see Chapter 4).

Despite these limitations, Brown and Levinson's politeness framework for predicting linguistic strategies is, nevertheless, useful when analyzing linguistic politeness usage. This is particularly true when their framework is combined with Locher's (2004, 2006) discursive approach, which focuses on how interactants themselves evaluate the power variable of linguistic behavior. This is true despite the fact that Locher's methodology employs a simplistic encoding/decoding model of face that prevents Locher from noticing that the use of marked forms are motivated by both cultural values and locally specific concerns. Due to these methodological limitations, Locher is unable to explore conscious statements utilizing cultural values in the construction of (im)politeness made by participants during interactions (see Haugh 2007: 303). Analyzing linguistic behavior without exploring perceptions of the participants that is embedded in discursively negotiated politeness is useless (see Haugh 2007: 304). Politeness should be understood in relation to locally specific contexts. Natural language data should be viewed from a perspective that accounts for cultural values by using a

culture-specific framework so that both linguistic forms and cultural values can be explored in a way consistent with the multi-functional aspects of politeness.

1.4 Cultural Values as Face Redress Mechanisms Regarding Institutional Identity

Identity constructions in institutional contexts highlight the multi-functional aspects of contextual meanings because each participant displays a different identity according to the context of a given situation. Strategic intentions must take into account various contextual elements (institutional status, interactional goals in a given situation, locally specific contextual norms on a discursive level, discursive situations, and social conventions), all of which are regulated by the Confucian scripts that are fundamental to Korean society. Because institutional interaction must also attend to these various contextual features, institutional face must, therefore, also be contextually determined. Moreover, a variety of contexts also extend beyond the lexical dimension. For example, the 'two frames of knowledge' (the individual frame and the Confucian script) interact with the speaker's mental and cognitive dimension: the former helps to make the speaker's evaluation and judgments, whilst the latter informs the participant's perception of politeness. In other words, many layers of contexts closely interplay with the local level interaction. It is a discourse approach that enables us to see the contextually changing nature of social identity (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 11-12).

What is deemed appropriate in one culture may be regarded as inappropriate in another. Korean politeness is closely interlinked with culture-specific values and it is the importance of the local context that dictates how politeness is evaluated.

Brown and Levinson's claim that a speaker makes use of redressive verbal forms in order to effectively minimize face-threatening acts (FTAs) can only be applied to a situation in which a speaker follows the existent social norms. However, in the data in this study, when the speaker's particular strategic intentions go far beyond the existent interactional norms (existent social norms in relationship to the scope of roles and obligations, and local contextual norms), he/she utilizes cultural values to better negotiate his/her request. Because the strategic goal deviates considerably from existent social norms, basic linguistic forms are not sufficient enough to counteract the face threats. Therefore, Korean speakers often integrate cultural values into honorific devices that are then used as verbal redress mechanisms. Speakers adopt both negative and positive politeness strategies as required by their interactional goals. The more a speaker violates the existent situational norms, the more the speaker's choice of redressive verbal strategies become functional. That is why institutional members rely on strategic politeness. Cultural values are highlighted in the exploitation of honorific devices, which serve as a strategically polite way for conveying the speaker's intention. Strategic language use in Korean data suggests that cultural values are predominantly supportive and positive in the negotiation of relational work (see Chapters 6 and 7).

1.5 Aims and Objectives

Taking a situation-specific approach to politeness (Pan 2000), this study focuses primarily on the interactive patterns, discourse processes, and specific linguistic features of Korean. My intention is to examine spoken data that are derived from situation-specific contexts and analyze how situational features affect the adoption of polite linguistic strategies in relationship to the P, D, and R variables. This study specifically

seeks to explore how cultural values influence the way politeness is constructed in an institutional context. It also looks at how relative power is managed in the construction of culture-specific politeness forms, particularly modes of address and address reference terms, and how these relate to social discernment and deference in Korean. In addition, I intend to analyze the question of why in seemingly similar contexts different linguistic forms are employed. Questions about how the delicate balance between social conventions and the speaker's discursive identity is negotiated and how this negotiation affects local norms and institutional identity will also be addressed.

1.6 The Significance of the Current Study

Many linguists have rightly pointed out that maintaining one's own face and saving the face of others are the two basic components of face work (Durkheim 1915; Goffman 1967; Watts 1992; Harris 2001; 2003; Bargiela 2003; Holmes and Stubbe. 2003; Mullany 2003). However, Brown and Levinson (1987), the originators of this idea, neglected to explore the integrated aspects of these two elements in specific social interactions (1987). As a result their theory has met strong criticism, particularly, on the grounds of it being culturally biased (Lakoff 1973; Matsumoto 1988, 1989, 1993; Ide 1989; Watts 1989; Okamoto 1999; Eelen 2000; Fukushima 2000; Pan 2000; Harris 2001, 2003; Bargiela 2003; Culpeper *et al*. 2003; Pizziconi 2003; Locher 2004; Terkourafi 2005; Arundale 2006; Haugh 2007). Their emphasis on negative face has led to the common dimensions of cultural variation (e.g. individualism-collectivism, moral and philosophical/ideological aspects, affective-emotional feelings) becoming neglected.

Most research on politeness is still concerned with social norms rather than socio-pragmatic factors (Hill *et al*. 1986; Matsumoto 1988, 1989, 1993, 1997; Ide 1989;

Gu 1990; Hwang 1990; Lee 1991; Ehlich *et al.* 1992; Ide *et al.* 1992; Ide 1993; Watts 1992; Sifianou 1992; Mao 1992; 1994; LeeWong 1994). Moreover, the methodological approaches that many researchers have used include simulated data, such as discourse completion tests (Blum-Kulka 1989; Takahashi and Beebe 1993; Nakamura 1996; Okamoto 1997; Fukushima 2000; Okamura 2003), written questionnaires (Kim 1992; 1993; 1994; Fukushima 2000; Okamura 2003), and interactive role-playing (Fukushima 2000; Reiter 2000), rather than dynamic spoken data. I have, therefore, used dynamic spoken data in this study.

Furthermore, little attention has been given to how cultural values and social identity affect polite request strategies. Using Pan's situation-based approach to discursive analysis, this study attempts to highlight the situational variations of linguistic politeness in relationship to pragmatics. Kang's study (2000), derived from spoken data in Korean service organizations (Kang 2000: 53-54), has helped raise the profile of institutional culture-specific studies. My study was influenced by Kang's view of situation-specific politeness and is focused on the fusion of linguistic strategies and cultural identity. My aim is to provide a more comprehensive and universally applicable model of politeness by extending politeness research into previously ignored environments**.** Though useful, Brown and Levinson's politeness theory clearly needs to be re-examined to find a more comprehensive and interactional structure to explain politeness (Watts 1992; Meier 1995; Pan 2000; Eelen 2001; Bargiela 2003; Harris 2003). This will require the inclusion of cultural values and understanding their roles in situation-dependent politeness.

Because Confucianism is embedded in Korean cultural identity, it is relevant even in institutional contexts, making Korean institutional settings particularly interesting.

However, there is the complete dearth of culture-specific politeness research based on data derived from authentic interactions. An exception to this is Holmes and Stubbe. As Holms and Stubbe (2003) have observed, positive politeness is an essential element that is prevalent in institutional contexts. This is true in Korea also. Institutional settings are obvious opportunities to explore the dualistic nature of politeness and power, given the variety of contexts in most workplaces. Holmes and Stubbe's study (2003) shows that politeness does not simply emanate from power, but that surrounding contexts and the consideration of a hearer's feelings are often valued more highly than the P, D, or R variables.

Yet, so far, no research has attempted to integrate all the various methodologies to illuminate institutional politeness in a specific setting. The relevance of this study is enhanced by the fact that there are very few studies that examine the relationship of Korean politeness to Korean/Confucian culture. In addition, there is an almost complete absence of research that uses Korean spoken data to analyze culture-specific request strategies that focus on the dualistic aspects of politeness (i.e. negative vs. positive face wants and discernment vs. volitional aspects) derived from power sensitive institutional contexts.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 discusses the main theoretical and contextual background of the study with a review of previous literature. It gives an overview of politeness theories and commences with a detailed examination of the four strands of politeness research, including the traditional, the socio-pragmatic, the postmodern and spoken discourse approaches. A consideration of previous studies that have explored politeness and power follows with a

particular focus given to the work of the postmodern theorists. Locher's (2004, 2006) observations on power and politeness in relational work are reviewed, and the applicability of Locher's work is discussed. Modifications of Brown and Levinson's and Locher's methodological framework are then suggested in order to improve them.

Chapter 3 documents the methodology of the study, and includes a detailed explication of ethnographic and socio-pragmatic studies. The participatory approach taken in the study is then explained, and this is followed by an account of the data collection process. The university settings that make up the socio-pragmatic study data are also introduced. The problems raised by the observer's paradox are considered, and issues raised by the socio-pragmatic approach to data collection in institutional contexts are documented. In the final sections of Chapter 3, issues of data reliability are examined, along with a consideration of the applicability of culture-specific contexts.

The multi-functionality of Korean address reference terms and how they are used in Korean institutional contexts are specifically addressed in Chapter 4. This will support claims about cultural values embedded in language, because participants tend to make use of different Korean address reference terms grounded in different Confucian values depending on the particular discursive context. There is also a description of both the semantic and pragmatic uses of reference terms. The strategic function of Korean address reference terms is also defined and illustrated. In the later section of this chapter the results of a survey on address reference terms are given.

In Chapter 5, Korean request types are presented based on the taxonomy of Blum-Kulka *et al*. (1989: 18). Features and functions of Korean requests that focus specifically on cultural values are also discussed. Data presentation and analysis is also included. The results of the survey help the reader to understand how cultural values that are embedded

in Korean honorific usage can be employed according to various situational contexts. The survey will also enable the reader to see what is the common cultural knowledge of Korean politeness according to different situations in terms of (im) polite linguistic usage.

The functional aspects of Korean openings and closings, based on data gathered in university settings, are presented in Chapter 6. This chapter also deals with the relationship between the intentions of speakers, conventional and unconventional openings and closings, and marked linguistic forms in Korean institutional contexts. Chapter 6 deals further with the implications of culture-specific politeness. The final chapter provides conclusions and discusses how future research and methodologies can be developed that utilize a broader culture-specific framework.

Chapter 2

Theoretical and Contextual Background: A Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

Politeness has been a major concern for linguists since Lakoff's (1973) initial discussion of it in her groundbreaking publication, *The Logic of Politeness: Or, Minding Your P's and Q's*. Many theorists claim that politeness is an integral aspect of social interaction and plays a vital role in maintaining social order and stability. Nonetheless, the majority of researchers have insufficiently explored the multi-functionality of politeness that occurs in situation-specific contexts. This is an important oversight, since the elusive nature of polite behavior can only be assessed through research in a wide range of discursive contexts.

The argument here is that the Korean notion of 'face' operates in complex ways that integrate volition (linguistic strategies motivated by 'face wants' are volitional) (Byon 2006: 258) and discernment (indexing of social relationships) (Hong 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008). The functional notion of Korean discernment interacts with both socio-cultural and situational features. Politeness is also a very mutable feature of language. Since politeness has multifarious meanings, the depth and scope of politeness becomes further complicated in culture-specific settings with respect to both verbal and non-verbal forms. In everyday interactions, social encounters are not always such that one's own face and the face of the other person are maintained in equilibrium. Due to cognitive, cultural, and affective communication factors, this balance is often upset and face is sometimes threatened.

Furthermore, the meaning of politeness is not only culture dependent but also context-dependent. Whether or not an utterance can be interpreted as direct/indirect or polite/impolite depends on a wide range of social contexts. Supporting evidence is the fact that politeness can also be manipulated according to 'strategically appropriate behavior' (Locher's term is 'positively marked appropriate behavior') (Locher 2004: 86). In other words, socio-culturally appropriate behavior (discernment) is utilized as a functional mechanism for volitional strategies. Strategic politeness means that socially appropriate politeness (discernment) can be utilized as a functional mechanism for individual volitional strategies.

In order to capture this variability, the understanding of politeness used herein is based on Goffman's original notion of deference/demeanor that regards both negative ('to defend one's face') and positive politeness ('to protect/enhance the other's face') as mutually interactive[1] and comprising integral components of social interaction. The functional notion of Korean politeness in this study focuses on the reciprocation of face, the influence of situational contexts and the belief that goal-oriented behavior derived from egocentric or altruistic motivations counts as a strategic motivation for politeness. "Acting with demeanor (supporting one's own face) entails acting with deference to the other (supporting the other's face)" (Bargiela 2003: 15). Goffman's notion of inter-personal behavior will be applied to the basic notion of strategic politeness in which discernment and volition are complementary in the culture-specific construction of face (Bargiela 2003: 25-28).

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[1] In Brown and Levinson's framework, the two notions such as 'negative' and 'positive politeness' are mutually exclusive in the presentation of face work.

The model of politeness followed in this dissertation combines several strands. Brown and Levinson's politeness formula is followed, for the most part, but with the addition of individual volition as a regulating force vis-à-vis power (P), distance (D), and ranking of imposition (R) in the calculation of redressive forms. Blum-Kulka's (1990) and Pan's (2000) situation-specific approach to politeness is also used. I will also make use of Eelen's (2000) and Kang's (2000) theories, since their notions of politeness have enabled a socio-pragmatic approach that is both broader and more in-depth. Holmes and Stubbes (2003) claim that different situational contexts require different identity constructions has enabled exploration of locally specific linguistic behavior. Furthermore, Pizziconi's (2003: 1496) concept of strategic politeness that the acknowledgment of social norms can be a strategic device to express individual stances is adopted as the basic analytical stance of a functional conception of Korean politeness. Finally, Watts' and Locher's notion of marked linguistic behavior allows for the analysis of strategic intention in the choice of salient linguistic forms. This chapter discusses these different views of politeness and deals with the main problems in theorizing about politeness.

2.2 Overview of Politeness Theories

2.2.1 Traditional Theorists

Politeness research is based on four contrasting views: the traditional view (Grice and Searle), the socio-pragmatic view (Brown and Levinson, Blum-Kulka, Fukushima, Pizziconi, and Okamura), the postmodern view (Eelen, Watts, and Locher) and the spoken discourse view (Pan and Kang). The traditional theorists tend to employ Grice's four Maxims, which stress rule governed conversation. Grice's cooperative principle (CP) suggests that language is simply a separate, mechanical, and summative

encoding/decoding system (Arundale 2006: 196). However, Grice's CP overlooks how participants are jointly involved in issues of face (Arundale 2006: 194). Additionally, Grice's CP is only concerned with normative linguistic behavior, not deviant language use that is regulated by other dimensions (Arundale 2006: 194).

Traditional theorists use assumptions of cultural homogeneity and shared norms (Terkourafi 2005: 242) that stress prescriptive and descriptive analysis, whilst the postmodern view emphasizes the interactional/discursive, fluctuating, individualistic nature of politeness (Eelen 2001: 255; Terkourafi 2005: 255). Particularly, at the micro level, local interaction, where meaning is contextually dependent, is the locus of the postmodern approach (Terkourafi 2005: 255). However, the traditional view cannot wholly account for strategic politeness, since social norms do not allow for deliberate politeness or contextual impoliteness. Normativity[2] loses its explanatory grip on deliberateness. The traditional theories miss that when a speaker's face becomes flexible, social norms become interactional and functional (Arundale 2006: 202). Moreover, when this happens, an individual's underlying cultural knowledge and subjective stance can manipulate face in a functional and strategic way.

Postmodern theorists, on the other hand, emphasize the necessity of naturally occurring data (Terkourafi 2005: 248). But this 'process-oriented' approach still fails to capture either the interactional nature of these forms (Mills 2003: 38) or the fact that they change. They explore empirical norms from an analysts' perspective, not a participant's perspective. Consequently, perspectives on meta-linguistic behavior are usually disregarded (Terkourafi 2005: 248), even though those perspectives can often better accounts for locally changing interactional contexts (Terkourafi 2005: 244). Unlike

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[2] According to the traditional theories, "Norms are not relative to the individual, but become absolute, objective entities operating on the level of society/culture (Eelen 2001: 187).

socio-pragmatic theorists, who maintain the limitations of Brown and Levinson's definitions, the postmodern view focuses on empirical and contested norms that operate in discourse contexts (Terkourafi 2005: 243) without denying the existence of shared norms (Terkourafi 2005: 243). Norms are not homogeneous entities, but rather heterogeneous and versatile, since they are subjective, argumentative/discursive, operational and evaluative in nature (Eelen 2001: 243, 255). For the interactional achievement model, interaction is the basic unit of a process of constantly evolving face (Arundale 2006: 196) in which a speaker's strategic intention manipulates social norms through honorific forms and deviant linguistic forms in order to achieve a discursive pragmatic goal.

2.2.2 The Socio-Pragmatic Theorists

The traditional socio-pragmatic theorists claim that social face is functionally achieved. Brown and Levinson, for example, are the main politeness theorists of this idea, and their work forms the bedrock that most other researchers have built on and/or critique. Brown and Levinson should probably be included under the socio-pragmatic theorists, because they claim that individual face is interested in the exploitation of pragmatic strategies to mitigate face threats (Pizziconi 2003: 1472). However, they are not without their limitations. I will offer a detailed critique below in 2.3.2. The socio-linguistic school (Leech, Matsumoto, and Ide) developed out of Brown and Levinson's socio-pragmatic theory. Socio-linguists claim that social parameters come directly from structural hierarchy. As a part of this group, Matsumoto and Ide argue that individual face is regulated by mandatory social norms and not the strategically motivated stances of the speaker. This presents a clear separation between the external (social norms) and

internal (psychological motivations), which seem to co-occur (Pizziconi 2003: 1480).

Regarding the integration of both external and internal motivations, some scholars (Pizziconi and Okamura, in particular) even claim that social indexing can be used strategically through address terms. Pizziconi argues, "indexing of social ranking is not so much a relatively passive acknowledgment of absolute norms, but yet another strategic device to express individual personal stance" (2003: 1496). However, none of these researchers employ long stretches of data that enable exploration of participants' specific meanings in a specific context. Moreover, they regard politeness as only normative. Pizziconi, however, despite her single-minded concern with social parameters and disregard of culture-specific values (2003: 1499), does regard language use as strategic (2003: 1494). Nevertheless, her functional paradigm is only concerned with social parameters (P, D and R). It overlooks how systems, like the Korean culture-specific use of functional face, add cultural values as a constraint to Brown and Levinson's concept of face (see Arundale 2006: 202).

Because Pizziconi did not observe politeness on a discursive level, she could not see how deviant linguistic forms are used to maintain interactional face. A cultural script is shared knowledge and functions superbly in situations where the 'R variable is high (Pizziconi 2003: 1493; Brown and Levinson 1987: 181). Therefore, a speaker's intentions are often better negotiated through cultural knowledge (Pizziconi 2003: 1496-1497). Moreover, these strategic intentions can exploit honorific use. In Korean, for example, knowledge of both cultural values and verbal strategies is required to understand the construction of face (see Pizziconi 2003: 1496-1497).

Similarly, Okamura's (2005: 11) study uses particular local norms in particular contexts to analyze address terms. According to her socio-pragmatic view, language use

is mainly regulated by fixed social factors that affect the use of address terms. Okamura fails to see that a speaker's interactional goals often require the deliberate flouting of a normal register, violating P and D. Likewise, Fukushima is mainly concerned with social parameters in the use of linguistic forms, and does not see a speaker's choice as a verbal strategy for effective communication. Her study is less socio-pragmatic than Pizziconi's. This is evidenced in her argument, "I will test out Brown and Levinson's predictions, i.e. the bigger the face threat (computed by the three variables), the higher the number of the strategies employed by investigating the correlations between the perceptions of each variable and the requesting and responding strategies to off-record requests" (Fukushima 2000: 100).

A more apt assessment is Arundale's claim that Brown and Levinson's notion of face should be reinterpreted into a more socially interdependent conceptualization of face (2006: 193). Korean notions of 'face' are interactional and multi-functional. Because of this, the Korean notion of 'face' is multifarious and can be interpreted differently depending on situations, relationships and local contexts (2006: 193).

2.2.3 Spoken Discourse Theorists

Pan and Kang's studies evaluate speech based on sequential talk in particular settings and in particular cultural contexts (Harris 2004: 193-194). Pan's discourse approach explores politeness/social relationship (power, distance, ranking of imposition, familiarity etc.) without using conversational analysis (CA). However, she does not explore deviant language, focusing only on predominantly normative concepts. For instance, Pan's fixed social indexing view is based on an acknowledgment of rank difference and power relations (2000: 80, 102). But this does not capture the relevant

contextual cues required for the interpretation of a specific utterance that is derived from a changing interactional context.

Kang's approach uses Gumperz's 'contextualization cues' and focuses on how Confucianism becomes a methodological framework that influences social interactions through negotiation as well as manipulating politeness forms to reflect cultural values. The values associated with language use represent contextualization cues (Kang 2000: 312). Adding to these complexities is the fact that shifts in language are not constrained within a specific grammatical structure, but are intimately linked to patterns of use, as well as prior and progressive sequences (Kang 2000: 313).

Kang also argues that Brown and Levinson's notion of individual face does not see "Asian cultures' ideologies that are based on acknowledgement and maintenance of the relative position of others, rather than preservation of an individual's proper territory" (see Matsumoto 1988: 405). For Kang, ideas of face must be evaluated within relative cultural systems of personhood (2000: 95). Her notion is that "face should be defined in terms of others, externally, instead of from within" (2000: 94). Face is therefore influenced by extra-linguistic and extra contextual elements of social interaction (Kang 2000: 313).

Brown and Levinson's notion of face needs to be extended beyond an individual notion of face and integrate culture-specific paradigms into its methodological framework. A cultural framework can lead toward a more advanced version of politeness research that explores how culture-specific values influence linguistic choice and affect the interpretation of politeness (see Arundale 2006: 194). Face is multi-faceted (individualistic, altruistic, interactional, strategic, and cognitive/culture-specific) and because of this it forces participants to negotiate a constantly, contextually changing

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social identity (see Arundale 2006: 197).

2.2.4 The Postmodern Theorists

Traditional theorists have been mainly concerned with a Gricean framework and speech act theories (Terkourafi 2005: 238). Traditional theorists use assumptions of cultural homogeneity and shared norms that stress prescriptive and descriptive analyses (Terkourafi 2005: 242). However, the premises that the traditional theories have proposed (Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003) cannot explain politeness when social norms are manipulated for the benefit of the speaker's functional goals. Because traditional socio-linguistic studies have focused entirely on social parameters and systems of politeness, they have been wholly unable to deal with questions of individual variation, which are dependent on particular contexts. Consequently, most of the traditional analysis has focused only on power issues relevant to making requests and failed to look at the interactional aspects of socio-cultural norms that strongly influence the renegotiation of power and politeness. Though the formula created by Brown and Levinson, the socio-pragmatic theorists, is systematic and uses viable empirical data, it has focused on a specific culture's cultural, metaphysical definitions of control and power rather than rigid discursive and institutional definitions (Harris 2007: 4).

Departing from this traditional socio-linguistic model, the postmodern theorists have, instead, emphasized the role participants' own perceptions of politeness and on the discursive/interactional/individual aspects of politeness (Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003; Terkourafi 2005: 255). Postmodern theorists claim that one of the major shortcomings of traditional theories is to neglect the importance of empirical data (Terkourafi 2005: 240). As a result, the level of local interaction, where meaning is

contextually negotiated, is the locus of the postmodern approach (Terkourafi 2005: 255).

For postmodern theorists, norms are not homogeneous entities, but rather heterogeneous and versatile, since they are subjective, argumentative/discursive, operational and evaluative in nature (Eelen 2001: 243, 255). They stress the participants' particular interpretations and actions in specific contexts rather than the analyst's personal theoretical concepts (Arundale 2006: 210). They focus on empirical and contested norms that are derived from discourse contexts (Terkourafi 2005: 243). However, because Watts and Locher only observe politeness from existent social norms, they neglect to see that social norms can be functional entities that interact with constantly changing interactional norms (Mills 2003: 38).

Watt's and Locher's shortcomings can be mainly attributed to the fact that their model cannot see that 'perceptions reflected in meta-linguistic behavior' are regulated by culture-specific thinking (the cultural frame/script). Terkourafi's 'frame based' view is instructive (2005: 248), because cultural knowledge is interactional in nature and directly influences renegotiations of politeness and power. A speaker's 'scientific mechanism' is governed by two kinds of knowledge: the individual frame (Bourdieu's 'habitus') and a cultural script. These two frames of knowledge spontaneously work together to affect politeness and influence the ways that speakers conceptualize and perceive politeness especially on an interactional level. Meta-pragmatic discourse relies on culture-specific values that are sensitive to interactional norms. Cultural scripts, such as Confucianism, simultaneously work with verbal redress mechanisms and influence the ways people understand and talk about politeness (Arundale 2006: 194; Haugh 2007: 313). The variability of individual behavior therefore cannot be properly observed by looking at an individual frame alone, because the speaker's and the hearer's interpretations in

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particular interactional contexts heavily depend on culturally understood thinking.

Despite these limitations, Locher (2004) made great contributions to the existent concept of politeness, creating a more dynamic version by focusing on how marked forms are determined by local context. She also explored how strategic intention interplays with individual frames in the use of marked linguistic forms. Locher's study, "Power and Politeness in Action" (2004), argues that not only are politeness and power fluid from one situation to the next, but the very exercise of politeness and power requires the negotiation of relative status and identity. Postmodern researchers have thus had to shift to a more functional methodological framework. Theirs is a move away from the quantitative analyses of previous researchers to qualitative analyses that use naturally occurring data as the basis for a new functional approach. However, as noted earlier, there is no model yet that sees how politeness is able to function beyond existent social norms. Politeness models thus require a much more functionally advanced methodological framework.

In order to alleviate these weaknesses a perspective that accounts for Confucian values is taken in analyzing longer stretches of data to observe how and why Korean speakers employ deviant honorific forms, which are inconsistent with social norms, as they do. In the Korean data in the current study, speakers often manipulate social norms and exploit both honorific forms and cultural values in order to achieve profit oriented goals. Cultural values are employed in order to better negotiate requests in situations in which chances of imposition are very high. Because culturally understood knowledge has a strong impact on the perception of politeness in culture-specific ways, most of the requests in the current data were successfully fulfilled without causing offense.

A new model of politeness should integrate both individual and cultural frames in order to capture the interactional nature of discourse. Analyzing politeness in terms of how honorifics are actually used in a particular society depends on both cultural and individual variations. A more comprehensive paradigm should encompass the culture-specific dimension as another contextual variable in the computation of politeness.

2.3 The Road to the Pragmatic Approach

2.3.1 Leech's 'Tact Maxim'

Grice's (1975) essay, "Logic and Conversation" influenced the Anglo-American study of politeness pragmatics and led to the production of the second order politeness concepts (Watts 1992: 3; Fukushima 2000: 29). Grice developed explicit conversational rules based on what he called, the 'cooperative principle' (CP), as discussed above. Grice argued that conversational exchanges progressed cooperatively in pursuit of a common purpose or set of purposes in a mutually acceptable way (Grice 1975: 45; Fukushima 2000: 29). On the basis of this assumption, Grice defines the CP as the four maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner. This system uses limited rules to define conversational practice, because it assumes that the logic of conversation aims at the "maximally effective exchange of communication" (Fukushima 2000: 30). However, the problem with Grice's CP is that the functional goal of conversation is not always the maximally effective exchange of information.

Language in practice often does not strictly abide by the CP and often shows strategically uncooperative behavior. Often behavior may seem superficially cooperative, (or superficially uncooperative) but the details of this 'cooperation' and the resultant interpretation, is variable and dependent upon local contexts. Deviant language use can

be seen as highly uncooperative behavior on a lexical level, while the CP is maintained on the discursive level of interaction. The reason for this can be attributed to the fact that a speaker may employ different 'conversational tactics' (e.g. the flouting of a normal register.) (Fukushima 2000: 31). Moreover, the four maxims cannot account for culture-specific 'cooperation', because different communities have different ideas about what cooperation means. Moreover, some languages (such as Korean, Japanese, Chinese) demonstrate that culture-specific values are built into the structures of honorific devices. Grice's four maxims cannot explain how culture-specific values intervene in the interpretation of honorific forms.

Starting with Grice's CP, Lakoff suggests the addition of two pragmatic subrules: the clarity rule and the politeness rule. The politeness rule has three sub rules: "don't impose", "give options", and "make a person feel good" or "be friendly". Lakoff considers the politeness principle (PP) a strategic/volitional strategy. According to Lakoff's PP, any effort to not impinge on another person's freedom is regarded as polite. However, her PP seems oriented towards a rational strategic relationship. "Her rules only concern the relationship between speaker and addressee" (Yun 1993: 648).

Furthermore, her pragmatic rules lack a perspective on culture-specific deference. Korean deference highlights a multi-functionality that can focus on both positive and negative aspects of politeness, but Lakoff's pragmatic rules do not address this point. Because the functional notion of Korean politeness should be viewed organically from within the interactions of discourse, Lakoff's pre-determined politeness rules do not make sense at all. My position is therefore exactly opposite to Lakoff's, because the speaker's orientation toward the discursive goal renegotiates issues of politeness and power.

Although the CP can be used for explaining the regular patterns of linguistic behavior, it cannot provide insights into how the flouting of the normal register displays socio-pragmatic evidence of conversational tactics. Leech's general pragmatic approach to politeness is a good starting point for viewing politeness from a socio-pragmatic perspective. Leech (1983: 80) argues that Grice's CP neglects culture-specific variability and how real language use depends on different cultural norms that are used in culturally different ways. Leech illustrates this below, by showing how British and Korean cultural differences affect the understanding of the following examples:

(1) a. *Have another sandwich.*

   b. *Would you like a sandwich?* (Leech 1983: 107-108)

In British English (1b) is regarded as more polite than the imperative (1a), where the speaker seems to be almost coercing or forcing the hearer to eat. In Korean, however, it is polite for the speaker to appear to be almost coercing the hearer to eat. It is a breach of courtesy if the speaker does not do this strongly enough and the hearer may end up feeling offended or ignored (Hong 2005: 43). (1a) is therefore considered more polite than (1b). The CP cannot account for such culture-specific variability or conflicts between the literal meaning (*'sense'*) and the speaker's pragmatic goal *('pragmatic force').* A hearer might, for example, be conflicted between answering straightforwardly and wishing not to impinge on others as shown in the following:

(2) a. *Where did the secretary go?*

b. *I'm not sure.*

Let us suppose that a female professor came to see a secretary in regards to a previous personal request. However, the secretary had been unable to carry out the request and was therefore intentionally avoiding the professor. Knowing this, a different secretary (2b) pretends not to know her colleague's whereabouts. In doing so, she fails to observe the maxim of quantity (giving the right amount of information[3]), because providing detailed information would threaten the absent secretary's face. According to Leech, in such cases the PP can redeem the CP and account for the violation of the quantity maxim (Leech 1983: 80). The PP is in this way shown to be more functional and interactional than CP, since it can explain the CP violations in such examples. The PP also helps maintain inter-personal equilibrium in social interaction (Leech 1983: 82), as shown in the following example:

(3) *Can you give me a lift?*

In (3), according to Leech (1983), pragmatic force (F) can be achieved by the hearer's (H) understanding of the speaker's (S) implication that S means F ('force') by utterance (U). The literal meaning of the utterance is whether the hearer is able to give a lift to the speaker (question). However, the pragmatic force is that S wants H to give her/him a lift

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[3] Quantity maxim: 1) make your contribution as informative as is required, and 2) do not make your contribution more informative than is required (Leech 1983: 8).

(a request). Here, the pragmatic force is indirect, since it is derived by implicatures[4].

Leech argues that this indirectness provides a valid reason for the CP to be violated.

Leech views politeness as residing in this kind of indirectness. Indirect illocutions tend

to be more polite because they increase the degree of optionality (Leech 1983: 108). The

PP is thus a socio-pragmatic version of the CP that tries to mitigate face-threatening acts

(FTAs) and thus maintains the social equilibrium required for smooth social interaction

(Leech 1983: 82).

As part of his theory of politeness, Leech (1983: 107-108) introduces three

pragmatic scales as well as two maxims. The three pragmatic scales are as follows: 1) the

cost-benefit scale (i.e. the speaker's assumption of the possible cost or benefit of the

request to either the speaker or the hearer) 2) the optionality scale (i.e. the degree of

freedom afforded to the speaker or the addressee) and 3) the indirectness scale (i.e. the

degree to which the statement is biased toward the positive choice). He views these

scales on a continuum with polite/impolite, directness/indirectness and negative/positive

poles. As for his two maxims, they are the 'tact maxim' and the 'generosity maxim'.

According to Leech's original conceptualization of this theory, the first maxim is

understood as other centered and the second as self-centered. The tact maxim maximizes

the need to minimize cost to the other or to maximize benefit to the other. The generosity

maxim stresses the need to minimize benefit to self or to maximize cost to self. However,

he tends to view politeness maxims from a dyadic interactional perspective rather than a

triadic social interaction. This dyadic interactional perspective has been criticized for

ignoring the need to show deference to third person referents, which is also required in

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[4] The illocutionary force will be represented as a set of implicatures. The observable conditions, the utterance and the context, are determinants of what S means by the utterance U; it is the task of H to diagnose the most likely interpretations (Leech 1983: 30).

the construction of polite behavior.

Moreover, there is little need to distinguish the 'other-centered' maxim of tact from the self-centered' maxim of generosity, at least not in study of politeness in the Korean context (see Chapter 3). Both maxims can be incorporated into the Korean notion of discernment, or, 'pwunpyelseng'. This notion has its origin in Confucian values where mutuality and warmth are basic elements in social interaction. Leech, however, does not deal with this, and as a result, a fundamental problem is that he never explicates how the maxims are formulated with reference to locally specific politeness use.

Leech's general PP excludes local norms that constantly affect situation-specific language use (Eelen 2000: 53). Rather than working as automatic rules, as Leech's maxims suggest, principles of politeness are actually observable and dependent upon locally specific contextual features (Eelen 2000: 55). The PP fails to explore the socio-pragmatic nature of culture specific principles that determine polite language use. Leech, himself, was indeed well aware that his model only accounted for "the study of the general conditions of the communicative use of language" and that it excluded "the more specific 'local' conditions on language use" (Leech 1983: 10).

2.3.2 A Critique of Brown and Levinson's 'Face-Saving' View

The most influential publications on politeness have been Brown and Levinson's work (1978, 1987) based on the importance of maintaining 'face'. Brown and Levinson regard face as the basic psychological desire of everybody in society (Brown and Levinson 1987: 62). Brown and Levinson borrow the term from Goffman as well as the notions of ceremonial rituals (deference and demeanor[5]). These notions, in turn, are

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[5] Goffman (1959) points out two aspects of presentational rituals, deference (the appreciation carried by an act,

derived from Durkheim's two religious notions: 'presentational rituals' (positive element) and 'avoidance rituals' (negative element) (Durkheim 1915; Bargiela 2003: 16-17). The critique of Brown and Levinson's theory that follows begins by deconstructing this notion of face.

Brown and Levinson's notion of face lacks the interactive character of Goffman's original theory. In Goffman's (1967: 5) original notion of face, he asserts that face can be characterized by the dual axis of 'self-evaluation' and recognition ('other's evaluation'). These two elements appear to be complementary in the construction of face work. Nonetheless, according to Brown and Levinson's theory, positive and negative politeness are seen as separate and oppositional. The separation of these two concepts means Brown and Levinson's notion of face falls somewhat short of Goffman's original theory (Durkheim 1915; Bargiela 2003: 16-17). To solve this misunderstanding, Brown and Levinson's face theory should therefore include an explanation of the relationship between positive face to both discernment (socio-cultural norms) and volition (face-threatening acts). Moreover, they do not associate positive politeness with FTAs: e.g. elevating somebody's positive face can be an FTA, if the deferential verbal strategy exploits social factors within linguistic forms (see Brown and Levinson 1987: 179).

Brown and Levinson argue that politeness forms are associated with the mitigation of FTAs. If an individual's personal interest infringes upon another person's autonomy, Brown and Levinson regard this as a potential FTA. According to Brown and Levinson's politeness formula, the more threatening the speaker perceives the FTA to be, the more indirect linguistic strategies he/she will adopt (Brown and Levinson 1987: 60). They

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showing regard for the recipient) and demeanor (individuals' ceremonial behavior) (Pan 2000: 102).

propose the following scheme for calculating the amount of polite redress that the speaker will need to apply.

Figure 1

The Weightiness of an FTA

Wx=D (S.H) + P (H.S) +Rx

    Wx = the weightiness of the FTAx

    D (S.H) = the social distance between the speaker and the addressee

    P (S.H) = the power that the addressee has over the speaker

    Rx = the degree to which the FTAx is rated as an imposition in that culture

According to this model, the selection of strategies for reducing the threat to face varies depending on the estimated degree of risk for loss of face (Wx). Factors that influence Wx are the level of power the addressee has over the speaker (P), the horizontal social distance (D) between S and H, and the degree of imposition (R) of the speech act as perceived within the culture of discourse. Based on this calculation of face threat, the speaker must then choose between various general politeness strategies. The basic strategy involves whether they should make an utterance that is on-record or off-record. An off-record strategy enables a speaker to mitigate the threat by either utilizing conversational implicatures or by being strategically ambiguous. If deciding to use an on- record strategy, speakers then have to decide whether to perform the FTA without any redressive action (i.e. going baldly on-record) or using redressive actions to attend to the hearer's face needs.

Brown and Levinson include a discussion of honorifics under the strategy entitled 'Give Deference'. Their claim is that honorifics are actually used to strategically soften FTAs. However, the problem with this notion of deference is that they only look at strategic honorifics in address term usage and not at strategic honorifics use that manipulates social norms (Brown and Levinson 1987: 178). In the data from the current study, if the strategic intention is not consistent with the rights and obligations of the speaker's role, as defined by institutional norms, the speaker can manipulate social norms by exploiting address terms. An example is a more powerful professor's using an over polite address term toward a less powerful secretary for a marginally personal request (see Chapter 4).

Brown and Levinson do recognize strategic honorific use by analyzing culture-specific deference in relationship to redressive action in the languages of Tamil and Tzeltal (as well as other languages). However, Brown and Levinson's politeness formula only associates honorifics with negative face, perhaps influenced by the fact that English has no variants of deferential verbal endings. Brown and Levinson do not recognize that cultural values embedded in the honorific devices function as either face threatening acts or face enhancing acts (FEAs). Pizziconi regards an FEA as a face respecting act in order to achieve situationally appropriate behavior (2003: 1498). For example, in the previous example of the professor asking the secretary for a personal request, the professor's recognition of the secretary as a person of authority by the use of honorific devices elevates the secretary's positive face want (2003: 1486). Culturally shared thinking combined with honorific devices can intentionally create either an FTA or an FEA. Notice, however, that the culture-specific R variable, essential in the use of honorific forms, can function as both FTA and FEA. Confucian values are closely interlocked with

honorific usages when interpreting politeness/impoliteness. Although a speaker may employ a highly deferential honorific forms, he/she does not primarily rely on the meanings of honorific forms, depending instead on Confucian thinking in the interpretation of a speaker's meaning (see Chapter 6).

In this study, Brown and Levinson's P, D and R variables are maintained as the basic factors that determine the level of face threat. However, Brown and Levinson are criticized for under-analyzing these three variables, especially R. It seems that a variety of cultural and contextual factors may influence the extant to which an FTA is rated as an imposition, and these cannot be captured by Brown and Levinson's framework. For instance, in a Korean context, in-group relationships are based on culturally understood paradigms that play a large role in determining whether something is thought of as an imposition. People who graduate from the same university, or who are from the same town, are regarded as having in-group relationships (Pan's term is 'personal connection' 2000: 71). Once in-group relationships are established, people are expected to be involved in an exchange of face, whereby they receive special favors and consideration from each other. Without this mutual face interaction, in-group relationships cannot be sustained (Pan 2000: 71).

Korean cultural emphasis on mutuality strongly mitigates the magnitude of the R variable in the negotiation of politeness and power. The professor's request for help can be understood as less weighty, because face giving and retaining is a pre-requisite social practice between in-group members (Pan 2000: 71). In Korea, such Confucian thinking forms a foundation for a commonsense knowledge that underlies social practice. This strongly influences how Korean people interact and employ linguistic forms. My data shows how the application of strategic honorific devices combined with an awareness of

cultural values affects the magnitude of R (see Chapter 4).

Brown and Levinson, however, do not explore how such values affect the perception of R in the use of honorific forms and other polite language. In Korean, speakers may strategically choose to elevate a hearer's positive face when performing requests, which can function as either an FTA or an FEA. If a superior, for example, wishes to make a request that is beyond the scope of hearer's rank or role, the superior's use of culturally known ways of thinking (e.g. the super-ordinate warmth/generosity and the subordinate obedience/loyalty) combined with deferential linguistic forms creates solidarity, because culture-specific values make the hearer feel that he/she is being treated as an in-group member. The super-ordinate's use of deferential honorific forms, combined with culture-specific values, acknowledges the hearer's skills, authority or expertise: because the hearer feels that he/she is not entitled to be appreciated as a person of authority, his/her face is elevated. Especially in power laden institutional contexts, institutional members exploit this pursuit of power.

In summary, there are problems with Brown and Levinson's face-threatening view of politeness, namely, their emphasis on the strategic notion of FTAs and their volitional linguistic strategies. However, this criticism does not deny their pioneering contribution to relational face work. I will retain their strategic notion of face as a baseline hypothesis to analyze the functional notion of Korean institutional politeness.

2.3.3 Matsumoto's and Ide's Discernment View ('Wakimae')

Ide's ideas were intended as a direct reaction to Brown and Levinson's ideas about the volitional aspects of politeness. In particular she makes a distinction between wakimae (social indexing) and volition (strategic language use). Ide states that there are

two kinds of politeness (volition and discernment). Ide criticizes "Lakoff, Leech, and Brown and Levinson for being overly concerned with volition" (Ide 1989: 223-224). Ide focuses on the 'wakimae' ('discernment' = social indexing) aspect of politeness (1989: 230-231), because she associates discernment with Japanese/East Asian ideas of politeness and volition with Western ideas of it.

Ide's notion of 'wakimae/discernment' is based on the use of honorific forms, for which Brown and Levinson are said to be unable to provide an adequate explanatory account (1989: 230). For Ide, the use of honorifics can be defined as absolute, because it is not motivated by the speaker's free will ('volition'), but it is instead determined by social conventions (Ide 1989: 230). She defines 'wakimae as "indexing socio-structural characteristics of S and H" (1989: 230). In contrast, Ide (1989: 350) regards 'volition' as a rational mechanism that functions as a psychological reality in a speaker's mind.

Similarly, Matsumoto does not regard deference "as deriving from negative politeness strategies of minimizing the imposition on the addressee's action." (1988: 421). She claims that the use of honorifics is "more strongly constrained by the nature of social order and social stratification than by the need of redressing FTAs." (Matsumoto 1988: 424; Pizziconi 2003: 1475). Japanese notions of imposition are different from Brown and Levinson's in that "the speaker lowers himself/herself and the hearer is elevated in the manifestation of honorific devices" (Fukushima 2000: 49). Therefore, the concept of imposition, even in a situation where someone is making a request, enhances the face of the addressee. She thus claims that discernment is unrelated to FTAs (Matsumoto 1997: 733). Korean institutional data in this study clearly demonstrates that institutional members strategically adopt honorific forms to give FTAs derived from both negative and positive face wants. Inappropriate use of honorific forms is also used

to change the R variable (see Chapters 5 and 6). This brings into question Matsumoto's claim that honorific use has nothing to do with the R variable (1997: 733). The following utterance (4) is understood in strategic ways that depend on the speaker's pragmatic goals and how honorific forms are exploited.

(4) a. *Onul-un toyoil-ipnita*

Today -TOP Saturday-be- EDVS -DECL.

"Today is Saturday." [extremely deferential form)

b. *Onul-un toyoil-ita*

Today -TOP Saturday- be- NDVS- DECL.

"Today is Saturday." [Non-deferential form)

As indicated in (4), for example, honorific forms can be used differently depending on the context of the utterances (interpersonal relationships between speaker, hearer, bystanders, and referents) (Matsumoto 1988: 213; Pizziconi 2003: 1476). However, Matsumoto's notion of 'the context of the utterance' mainly concentrates on interpersonal relationships regulated by power and distance. She therefore does not notice that local contextual norms come into play in the selection of honorifics. Because Matsumoto totally overlooked functional aspects of politeness, she cannot explain why (4) can be strategically used to try to infringe on the hearer's face.

For instance, according to Matsumoto, honorific forms are used for rank acknowledging devices. By this measure (4a) would always be used to a more powerful person, whilst (4b) always be applied to a less powerful person. However, in Korea, if a

landlady employs (4a) to a tenant who cannot afford to pay the rent, because it will be perceived as considerably threat the tenant's face. On the other hand, if a new entrant says (4b) when encountering his/her colleague in the morning at a work place, then it will be interpreted as a friendly greeting. Matsumoto's claim that the role of appropriateness has nothing to do with individual volition is not valid. Nor is the claim that honorific use has nothing to do with skilful redress of FTAs (Matsumoto 1988: 409; Pizziconi 2003: 1475). The principles regulating manipulative use of Korean honorifics display universality in that speakers strategically adopt honorific forms to give imposition derived from both negative and positive face wants.

Deference is not simply associated with differences in rank (Matsumoto 1988: 424; Pizziconi 2003: 1475). The Korean notion of 'pwunpyelseng' is radically different from the Japanese concept of 'wakimae' in that the former is not only syntactically/ linguistically manifested, but is also used multi-functionally. Matsumoto's view of 'wakimae' is in line with Brown and Levinson's stance in that both argue that honorific devices are constrained by social norms (P and D). They both acknowledge that politeness includes both volition and culture-specific discernment. However, Matsumoto mainly focuses on discernment and disregards the FTA, whilst Brown and Levinson primarily concentrate on volition, especially FTAs. Moreover, they share the weakness of not using longer stretches of spoken data. Similarly, Ide (1989: 231) stresses the importance of discernment ('wakimae') rather than volitional aspects of politeness. However, the current study claims that discernment and volition are not as mutually exclusive as Matsumoto and Ide have claimed. All polite language is equally constrained by both discernment and volition (cf. Ide's claim that honorifics are always discernment

and "the discernment aspects of linguistic politeness is a matter of constant concern in the use of language" (Ide 1989: 231). Discernment is more complex than simply following societal norms, because local contextual norms, that can run counter to the larger societal norms, are often the controlling patterns.

Although Matsumoto and Ide associate honorifics with politeness by discernment, my spoken data shows that Korean honorific use integrates both discernment and volition. Social rank is indexed according to the speaker's strategic intention within the confines of situation-specific local norms. However, Ide claims discernment rather than face is the motivating force behind Japanese politeness (1989: 223; Fukushima 2000: 51), but this claim overlooks the fact that individual motivation takes precedence over discernment at the discursive level. Therefore, rather than being obligatory, honorific usage is often socio-pragmatically optional.

Matsumoto and Ide fail to consider the fact that 'wakimae' functions with pragmatic force (F) on a discursive level. Ide (1989: 227) claims that the use of honorifics is socio-pragmatically obligatory", but does not provide clear evidence to support her argument. Matsumoto and Ide seem to regard 'wakimae' as a 'conversational contract' (CC): i.e. a fixed social convention rather than a 'pragmatic device'. The functional version of Korean 'pwunpyelseng' is more advanced than that of 'wakimae', because it is not always only a socially obligatory indexing tool. It can also be used as a self defense mechanism to achieve the speaker's goal. Korean 'pwunpyelseng' is used for indicating the speaker's various interactional stances. Korean honorific forms are used as strategic devices to express the speaker's intention by exploiting the normal register. The choice of honorifics is not simply regulated by the social norms: there is also a volitional component to them.

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2.4 The Socio-Pragmatic Approach (Blum-Kulka, Fukushima, Pizziconi, and Okamura)

2.4.1 Blum-Kulka

The commonality between all the theories of the socio-pragmatic theorists (Blum-Kulka 1987, Fukushima 2000, Pizziconi 2003, and Okamura 2003) is that the interpretation of politeness comes from the psychological realities of ordinary speakers and not from the researcher's theoretical framework (Eelen 2001: 60). However, their research seems to lack a theoretical background and does not employ longer stretches of data in the examination of politeness.

Despite this, the work of Blum-Kulka *et al.*'s is particularly vital to the current study, because she clearly shows how the functional aspects of discernment can be analyzed through interactional discourse data. Blum-Kulka *et al.*'s work illustrates that how 'politeness 1' (common sense politeness) can also be observed in culturally specific interactional data. By exploring culture-specific features of discourse and culturally distinct interactional styles, Blum-Kulka *et al.*'s socio-pragmatic view highlights how language use is closely interconnected with locally occurring socio-cultural norms and can be visible in discursive situations (1989: 5).

Blum-Kulka *et al.*'s analytical framework employed artificially manipulated data such as a discourse-completion test (DCT), a questionnaire and an interview, all of which tend to represent part of "the informants' opinions". The Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) data collection procedures have a number of limitations, because the use of written elicitation techniques prevents researchers from seeing how the informants actually used politeness forms in real-life contextual discourse (Eelen

2001: 60; Fukushima 2000: 134). A linguistic choice that is evaluated as inappropriate on a form may be functionally appropriate in certain actual discourse contexts.

Of utmost importance to Blum-Kulka *et al.*'s socio-pragmatic approach is the idea that situation and culturally specific factors influence the choice of speech styles. Blum-Kulka *et al.* (1990) significantly emphasize that directness and indirectness should be reinterpreted to include the influence of cultural ethos and situational contexts (see also Blum-Kulka 1993). Blum-Kulka *et al.* show that Israeli cultural ethos intervenes in determining the use of polite linguistic strategies. Although Blum-Kulka *et al.* can be praised for their emphasis on culturally specific factors, cultural convention is, at times, highlighted at the expense of volition. In order to reinforce Blum-Kulka's claim, the scope of her investigation needs to be widened enough to highlight volitional use in different situational settings.

Blum-Kulka uses four parameters to analyze culture specific speech styles: social motivations (culture-specific norms), expressive modes (verbal and non-verbal expressions), social differentials (culture-specific P, D, and R), and social meanings (contextual interpretation of conventionalized forms). However, the scope of these cultural parameters is not wide enough to analyze specific cultural norms. Common cultural knowledge is also interactional and therefore instrumental in the achievement of a discursive goal. This study will therefore expand Blum-Kulka's socio-pragmatic approach to cultural ethos to include culture-specific values (e.g. psychological, affective) as another situational variable affecting the functional aspects of politeness.

2.4.2 Fukushima

Fukushima's socio-pragmatic approach to politeness stresses situation sensitivity, cultural specificity, and multi-functionality. Particularly important is Fukushima's claim that Brown and Levinson's face-saving view provides a basic politeness formula for situational language use (Fukushima 2000:47). Fukushima's view is that the components of Brown and Levinson's three variables are important when observing culture-specific politeness forms (Fukushima 2000: 99-100). Fukushima claims that honorific use should not concentrate only on the syntax level when examining discernment aspects of honorific use. Fukushima's socio-pragmatic view recognizes that "politeness is not manifested by those obligatory linguistic choices alone" (2000: 54), because politeness forms incorporate various dimensions (ideological, mental, cognitive, interactional, and multi-functional dimensions).

Using the dichotomy of individualism versus collectivism as a starting point, Fukushima (2000: 79) employs Brown and Levinson's three variables (P, D, and R) and argues that the previous socio-pragmatic studies rarely defined these variables in the examination of politeness. Fukushima (2000: 85) argues, "The degree of importance of each component may vary from culture to culture or from situation to situation." Then she extends these variables to culture-specific variables such as age and gender, which seem to be predominant in Japanese culture (Fukushima 2000: 85). Fukushima's culture-specific viewpoint is that "the factors compounded to estimate the three variables are certainly culture-specific" (Fukushima 2000: 99). Fukushima goes further, claiming that people in different cultures may differ in their choice of requesting strategies. In reviewing requesting strategies, Fukushima chooses off- record (the most indirect linguistic strategies) in order to check how two distinct cultural groups respond

differently to changes of Brown and Levinson's three variables.

However, despite this, Fukushima's approach contains a number of limitations. These include her dependence on artificially controlled data such as written questionnaires (Fukushima borrowed Blum-Kulka *et al.*'s CCSARP and DCT) (see section 2.4.1). These data collection techniques are insufficient for capturing the dynamic nature of politeness, especially interactional and value-oriented dimensions. As Fukushima herself admits, only naturally occurring data can provide for in-depth analysis of the kind of interactional norms she is looking to identify. Written data is controlled, therefore Fukushima could not observe spontaneous utterances that show how participants act and behave in normal discourse contexts (2000: 140).

Fukushima's analytical viewpoint is static, but P, D, and R variables are more flexible in discourse contexts than in situational ones. The pragmatic meaning exchanged between the speaker and the hearer can be seen more clearly in local contexts (2000: 210). Fukushima restricts her data collection to written questionnaires, which prevents her data from capturing the dynamic nature of politeness. Fukushima's approach fails to capture the discursive aspects of politeness in a number of ways. This can be seen in her claim that an off-record linguistic strategy is intrinsically the most polite strategy (2000: 212). Such a statement shows a failure to recognize that the use of any politeness strategy, including an off –record linguistic strategy, is dependent upon the speaker's interactional goals in the discursive context in question. Moreover, her underlying argument that the speaker's interpretation of P, D and R influences the speaker's selection of politeness forms is indicative of the same oversight (Fukushima 2000: 56, 99; Eelen 2001: 255). In this study's data, the speaker's utilization of surrounding situational variables (e.g. P, D and R, discursive, situation-specific, interactional, the

scope of roles and obligations) are motivated by his/her own interests.

Also of note is that the 'R' variable is determined by factors that are within the speakers' control, such as, control of the magnitude of the FTAs through the use of honorific devices, mitigation of the imposition to the hearer by deliberately flouting the normal honorific use, use of culturally shared values and variation in the magnitude of R that is natural and inherent as the sequential flow of utterances continue. When all these facts are taken into consideration, it can be seen that Fukushima's empirical research cannot capture argumentative and evaluative aspects of politeness, because her culture-specific level does not see that socio-cultural phenomena have already been crystallized in conventionalized honorific usages (Pizziconi, 2006: 683). Because she is only concerned with P, D, and R, Fukushima's negative and positive politeness view is limited. Moreover, Fukushima's negative politeness is associated with social distance, whilst positive politeness is associated with familiarity. Fukushima's misunderstanding is that the speaker's choice of highly deferential honorific forms (negative politeness strategies) can threaten the hearer's positive face.

Fukushima's distance –closeness parameters are only concerned with social conventions (discernment) and not with the speaker's intentional manipulation of interactional behavior (2000: 87). Regarding the R variable, she does not observe the fact that a single act[6] in a local context displays individual variability rather than simply conforming to socially appropriate politeness/impoliteness (2000: 90). Whether the expression is polite or not depend heavily on the local norms, but on a discursive level, it also depends on the local conditions (2000: 90).

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[6] Fukushima claims that, "FTAs do not necessarily inhere in single acts" (Fukushima 2000: 90).

Fukushima is essentially correct in her view that acknowledging rank differences (discernment) can be associated with positive face wants. It seems reasonable to assume that speakers can feel that their positive face is being threatened when such norms are not adhered to and that this threat may increase for those of higher institutional status. However, Fukushima's view of positive face fails to see the other side of the coin. In other words, speakers can strategically violate social norms in order to threaten the hearer's positive face. Because Fukushima does not employ longer stretches of spoken data, she cannot see that the most direct linguistic strategies can be perceived as polite in a particular discursive context.

Another point worth noting is that in an institutional context, positive politeness can be strategically used to support negative face want. Positive politeness is essentially required, because institutional talk inherently involves constraints that might cause face conflicts. Examples include hierarchical power relationships between participants. Conflicts often occur in the conflict between formal roles and obligations on the one hand, and personal requests on the other. There are also struggles inherent in power relationships. In Korea, Confucian thinking, combined with positive politeness strategies can mitigate any FTAs embedded in negative linguistic forms (Fukushima 2000: 87, 197) (see Chapter 4). For example, although a super-ordinate's request may greatly impose on a subordinate's face, Korean cultural values which focus on mutuality and warmth within hierarchical power relationships strongly influence the hearer's acceptance or denial of the request (see Wierzbicka 2003: 194; see also Chapter 5).

In the naturally occurring data collected here, discernment (understood as 'pwunpyelseng' in Korean) acts as a pragmatic indicator rather than a social indexing device (Eelen 2001: 22-23). It is through the pragmatic nature of culture-specific values

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that a speaker's strategic intention can be directly linked to semantic connotations. Because Confucian vales are inherent in the lexical meaning of honorific devices, lexical components cannot be sufficiently interpreted without referring to the value oriented nature of honorific forms (Eelen 2001: 251). Because of this, studies of functional language use need to integrate the notion of politeness with culture-specific values, thereby encompassing a more advanced socio-pragmatic approach. Fukushima's notion of functional politeness is too limited framework for the speaker's rational evaluation accounts for a large array of social linguistic behavior, but lacks any analysis of the wider social order (Eelen 2001: 251).

2.4.3 Pizziconi

Following the broad framework of Brown and Levinson's model, Pizziconi (2003: 1472-1473) claims that the principles regulating politeness in the Japanese language are not inconsistent with the notion of face. Similar to Fukushima, Pizziconi (2003: 1473, 1498) presents an approach to politeness that combines both negative and positive politeness as well as discernment and volition aspects. Pizziconi follows Fukushima's argument that negative and positive politeness is intertwined and cannot be separated from each other. As Pizziconi puts it, "negative strategies are eventually subsumed under positive strategies" (2003: 1498). The want to be recognized from others can be directly linked to the speaker's wish to maintain and/or raise his/her status.

Pizziconi also follows Fukushima in acknowledging that social indexing forms are used not only to acknowledge absolute social norms, but also as strategic tools for expressing individual stances vis-à-vis the mitigation of FTAs (2003: 1474, 1496). According to Fukushima, the choice of an honorific form is sensitive to an FTA and

discernment can be used as a means of maintaining the face of both speaker and hearer (2000: 58-59). However, Pizziconi's functional approach is more comprehensive than Fukushima's, because her socio-pragmatic approach associates contextual conditions with the discursive level. Starting with Ikuta's discursive position, Pizziconi (2003: 1488, 1490) associates contextual variables with discursive level interaction, arguing that style shifting is one of the functions that help to prevent FTAs. However, Fukushima's functional approach is only concerned with the lexical level analysis and only uses written questionnaires.

Unlike Fukushima, Pizziconi's framework is concerned with contextual norms in relation to cultures, and uses the speakers' evaluation of their own utterances (Pizziconi 2003: 1490). The result is a functional approach that is very different from Fukushima's, because the former takes a more discursive stance. An initial example of this is Pizziconi's analysis of how identical propositional contents can produce different interpretations of politeness according to the relevant situational features. Moreover, Pizziconi also explores how linguistic choices become more complex when current communicative goals conflict with the corresponding interactional goal (2003: 1494). When this happens, discernment and volition are integrated into linguistic devices in order to maintain face (2003: 1494).

In contrast, Fukushima (2000: 87) is concerned with discernment but not with the speaker's volition in the use of controlling linguistic strategies. Pizziconi goes a step farther explaining that discernment cannot always be associated with P and D. According to Pizziconi, the use of a strategic device is the result of using discernment in a particular context (2003: 1495). Also, indexed rank differences (discernment) can be combined with strategic devices to clearly express a speaker's meaning or personal stance (2003:

1494-1496). On the other hand, Fukushima only associates discernment with social norms. For Pizziconi, polite behavior is subject to the speaker's subjective stance (Pizziconi says that the "speaker's parameter that is the result of the speaker's own experience of socialization") (2003: 1496) and this is what makes her study so dynamic and comprehensive.

The crucial difference between Fukushima and Pizziconi is that the latter views linguistic behavior as contextually variable and dependent upon the speaker's own subjective evaluations. However, the former sees linguistic behavior as merely conforming to social indexing rules. For example, Fukushima deems off-record utterances to be merely conventional indirect requests (2000: 90). Moreover, Fukushima's situational assessment includes only P, D and R, whilst Pizziconi (2003: 1493) links these three variables to individual variability in a wider social world (e.g. the socio-cultural dimension and discursive interaction) (2003: 1493). Fukushima's analytical framework is only concerned with dualistic relationships (e.g. individualism vs. collectivism) (2000: 126). According to Fukushima (2000: 58) positive politeness is limited to acknowledging social relationships. Fukushima neglects to distinguish the interactional dimensions closely interconnected with meta-discourse. In contrast, Pizziconi stresses the speaker's subjective, contextual stances rather than only looking at conventionally appropriate language use (2003: 1496).

Nonetheless, it is quite unfortunate that Pizziconi does not elaborate on functional politeness because of a lack of longer stretches of actual spoken data. Because of this lapse, her analysis is limited and she is unable to further elaborate on culture-specific discursive strategies in the construction of polite behavior and also unable to include culture-specific values as another R variable that can be used to control the magnitude of

an FTA (2003: 1473). Moreover, though Pizziconi's notion of strategic politeness (2003: 1494) argues that verbal strategies become strategic when a speaker's meaning conflicts with the locally specific interactional goals, she does not demonstrate how the conflicting contextual features lead to the production of strategic politeness nor does she illustrate how positive politeness can be created from within locally specific contextual discourse (2003: 1473). Lastly, the lack of longer stretches of spoken data means that despite her claims that discernment and volition are not separate, she does not explore the intersection of these two aspects (2003: 1495).

My notion of strategic politeness is more functional than Pizziconi's and Fukushima's. It encompasses all kinds of interactional dimensions (including shared cultural values) and explores the relationships between the speaker's intentions, strategic use of language and interactional norms. Additionally, the data for this is derived from longer stretches of natural language data. Based on this, it is clear that the local level discursive goal is the speaker's major concern. It strongly influences the use of discernment in the choice of appropriate linguistic forms (Pizziconi 2003: 1489). Also clear is the fact that discernment and volition are simultaneously used as a means of achieving strategic linguistic goals.

2.4.4 Okamura

Okamura's socio-pragmatic approach employs power, solidarity, and local norms to explore address term usages (2005: 3). Okamura's study demonstrates that the use of address terms is sensitive to local norm. For example, English speakers employ Japanese norms (last name + san) in Japanese contexts. Okamura argues, convincingly, that people in particular contexts follow particular local norms. For instance, Japanese people follow

Western norms when working in Europe. In contrast, in a Japanese context, the working norm seems to be Japanese (2005: 11). Okamura's view that the use of locally sensitive functional address terms follows local norms and produces pragmatic force is pertinent to the current study.

However, her analytical framework is only concerned with P and D and ignores interactional norms (Braun 1988; Okamura 2005: 2). In particular, Okamura's fixed view is that interpersonal relationships are only regulated by the P variable (2005: 11). Okamura argues that people in a particular context follow the particular local norms. For example, Japanese people working in the United States were more likely to adopt English names than were those working in Europe (2005: 11).

Okamura uses P to explain the fact that when non-English speakers have power over English speakers, native English speakers follow Japanese norms for the more powerful Japanese super-ordinates. In another example, a female Japanese employee followed Japanese norms, even though her manager was American (Hijirida and Sohn 1983; Ishikawa 1981; Okamura 2005: 11). This seems to result in an inability to consider the more dynamic aspects of address term usage. Her chosen method of research, artificially manipulated interviews, prevents the researcher from examining actual usages of address terms in discourse contexts. Okamura fails to see how the socio-pragmatic aspects of local norms can have an effect far beyond situational parameters of P and D. Local norms encompass contexts that range from the situational to broader culture-specific values embedded in the discourse. Due to methodological limitations, Okamura also does not employ naturally occurring data. Instead she uses interviews, a choice that prevents her from examining address term usage in natural discourse contexts.

Nevertheless, Okamura's theories about the strategic notion of local norms, especially when the speaker chooses to deliberately mark the address terms, (Okamura 2005: 11; see Chapter 4 in the current study) are helpful here. For instance, Okamura (2005: 8-9) claims that Japanese super-ordinates tend to use the formal address term, 'LN + san' rather than informal forms when asking a favor of their subordinates. In Korean institutional contexts, super-ordinates also employ marked address terms for marginally personal requests (see also Chapter 5 in the current study).

2.5 The Spoken Discourse Approach to Politeness

Traditional content-descriptive accounts of politeness are limited in their ability to analyze the interactional/empirical nature of politeness (e.g. the argumentative, discursive, and contested aspects) (Eelen 2001: 254-256). Politeness research requires a theoretical framework, because empirical analyses are always and necessarily theoretically informed (Eelen 2001: 254). Quite fortunately, a few researchers have also proposed an approach to spoken discourse that emphasizes different methodologies from previous approaches for analyzing politeness forms.

Among these researchers are Pan, Kang and Holmes and Stubbe who describe the argumentative and discursive nature of politeness by focusing on the interactional effect of evaluation. It is notable that they emphasize the importance of real-life spontaneously occurring data. Notice, however, that interactions do not always elicit evaluations of politeness (Eelen 2001: 254). To address this, Holmes and Stubbe's use of informal interviews shows one way of effectively gathering empirical data. Informal interviews do not involve actual interactions; nevertheless, they provide possible interpretations that can be observed in natural settings (Eelen 2001: 256). All three researchers employ long

stretches of naturally occurring data from natural settings. They also demonstrate how recording techniques are an important part of gathering empirical data (Eelen 2001: 255). Nonetheless, a possible limitation of Pan and Holmes and Stubbe's research is that they do not adopt a theoretical framework to validate their empirical analyses; it is only Kang who employs a solid theoretical base through her Confucian cultural framework.

2.5.1 Pan's Situation Specific Approach to the Use of Discourse Analysis

Pan's situation based discursive approach is fundamental to the understanding of the strategic notion of Korean politeness. This is because Pan's notion of situation-specific politeness brings situational features to the conscious level of interactional discourse (2000: 17). According to Pan, "If we do not take into account the situation in which an interaction takes place, it is quite superficial to examine whether an act is polite or not" (2000: 7). Pan's situation-specific politeness argues that since the speaker's social variables are constantly changing in face-to-face interaction, power relations should be in accord with the choice of politeness strategies and that the speaker's social variables determine the politeness strategy, and should be taken into consideration from setting to setting (2000: 17).

Taking a discursive approach, Pan (2000: 17) explores politeness forms on a discursive level. Pan (2000: xiii) argues that discursive features mean more to the signaling of politeness than the syntactic or lexical level. In other words, Pan argues that discursive features, including topic introduction, conflict management, question and answer patterns go beyond the syntactic level (Pan 2000: 17). Pan's methodological framework incorporates power, distance and ranking of imposition in relationship to ideological and cultural values (2000: xiii). Her framework employs social context.

However, it does not employ cultural thinking shared between all community members. Pan associates Confucian values with social parameters. However, she does not take into account that, when choosing linguistic forms, Confucianism is a kind of common sense knowledge that is exploitable by the speaker's intention. Consequently, in Pan's study "politeness is determined by a set of socially shared norms independent of speaker and hearer" (Eelen 2001: 244).

In Pan's study, Chinese cultural specificity has never been substantiated in terms of the relationships between subjective evaluation, functional language use, and social norms, especially during situated discourse. Pan argues, "Politeness behavior is a social practice that encodes the ideology and cultural values in a particular society" (2000: xiii). Despite her extensive analysis of Confucianism, she does not incorporate it into a theoretical base. Consequently, she cannot examine how Chinese speakers are influenced by its values in their choice of linguistic forms. Nor does she attempt to examine internal motivation on situation specific language uses. However, it is clear that Confucian values are "part of a language user's every day concepts of politeness" (Eelen 2001: 56).

Despite these limitations, Pan's situation based discursive approach provides insight into how situational features closely interact with the speaker's interactional goals. Discursive strategies are often more influenced by interactional norms rather than the existent social norms. Pan's emphasis on situation-specific and socio-cultural features combined with a situation-dependent definition of politeness behavior offers a more advanced version of discursive analysis.

2.5.2 Kang's Cultural Identity and Contextual Discourse Analysis

Because a cultural framework is a basic part of an individual's assessment of social action, Kang's Confucian framework can be used to analyze culture-specific discursive strategies. Korean people utilize cultural values as a culture-specific way of realizing social interactional goals (2000: 304). Kang's framework is relevant here because cultural values are an integral aspect of language use. These cultural values are ingrained in Korean minds and function as a behavioral conduct for the Confucian way of doing things (2000: 304). The Confucian framework enables Koreans to interpret how social actions are expressed and take meanings in the language practice.

Confucianism is of particular relevance to my study. A Confucian cultural script is ingrained in the Korean mind as "a cultural ideology of personhood which is used as a means of interpreting the meanings of utterances in interaction" (2000: 244). As Kang argues, "Cultural identity can be identified as the interactional patterns that constitute linguistic practice and must be used in interpreting how social actions come to take on social meanings" (Kang 2000: 304; Kim 1990; Kroskrity 1993). Therefore this Confucian model is the nexus of language, cultural values and Korean face. Kang (2000) claims that linguistic codes strongly correlate to cultural identity. My data illustrates that Korean cultural values are incorporated in the use of Korean honorific forms as well as in the construction of institutional identity. Confucian thinking is the basis of the Korean concept of politeness; Koreans negotiate via Confucian values in order to achieve their pragmatic goals. Confucian meaning is clearly reflected in the hierarchical use of honorifics. Korean values, such as relative age and status, are influenced by Confucianism and can be directly linked to honorific usage.

For example, honorific markers such as 'nim' and 'si', originate in the Confucian

concept of 'rank difference', in which 'lowering one's face and elevating the hearer's face is highlighted. This is clearly reflected in the use of honorific forms that are classified according to various levels of deference. The extremely deferential interrogative suffix, '~supnikka', can be applied to a more powerful or older person, whilst the most non-deferential suffix, '~hani', can be used toward a less powerful or a younger person. '~hanayo' stands in the middle. Another example is the common use of kinship terms, which clearly represent cultural values[7] of 'seniority' or 'familiarity'. These cultural values can be used as a means of achieving a speaker's pragmatic goal (see also Chapters 4 and 5). Korean honorifics are thus connected to Confucian values through the use of honorific forms.

Also of note is that Kang has borrowed Gumperz' concept of contextualization cues that serve as interconnecting between linguistic strategies and 'the context of interaction' (Kang 2000: 243). Kang further argues that among the contextualization cues are prosodic, gestural, and kinesics etc. (Kang 2000: 243). She strongly argues that contextualization is "one way of making relevant certain aspects of the context" with respect to discourse contexts, linguistic strategies, and contextual features. Kang's contextualization cues focus on language alternation and are divided into three functions: 1) language use as an ideological practice—'conceptually different linguistic practice' (2000: 248) 2) language use as a functional practice (to convey speaker's meaning) (2000: 244) and 3) language use as a socio-cultural identity practice (2000: 248). Kinship terms, for instance, reflect Korean cultural values and identity, which can also be seen as a contextualization cue that is used as a means of conveying a speaker's meaning in a particular context.

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[7] Kang (2000: 79-80) also suggests three domains for her ideologies: 1) relative age and status, 2) the notion of face, 3) group harmony or attachment.

Kang's contextualization framework originates in a Confucian cultural script, which is built into Korean minds and persists in their choice of English forms when Koreans speak English (2000: 245). It is because of these commonly understood cultural ideas that particular forms (such as, perhaps, kinship terms) are used as contextualization cues that "serve to make relevant certain aspects of the context of interaction" (Kang 2000: 243-244). Kang's cultural framework has thus enabled us to see a more functional version of a discursive approach that is based on conversational analysis (CA), and this is because she regards language use as a part of the interactional context.

Although Kang uses longer stretches of naturally occurring data and attempts to use CA in sequential utterances, her language alternation is mainly concerned with lexical switches, transfer, and kinship terms, which were interpreted from within predetermined social conventions. Kang (2000: 261, 300) argues that her findings demonstrate how participants are contextualizing language alternation in a culturally meaningful way. However, she only focuses on lexical analyses rather than analyzing contextually changing functional language use. These limitations can be attributed to the fact that Kang's framework is regulated by fixed social conventions rather than constrained by speakers' intentions, which are constantly changing the contexts of utterances. This can be seen in her argument that, "social relationships become relevant in interactions between members, even in the context of organizational meetings" (2000: 206).

The current study, however, is more functional than Kang's, because the former views language use as something regulated only by a speaker's strategic intention whilst the latter concentrates on language use in relationship to social conventions.

2.5.3 Holmes' Language Use as a Local Identity

Holmes and Stubbe's study of politeness in action uses naturally occurring institutional data collected at the Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand as part of a workplace (LWP) project. Their LWP corpus includes recordings of social talk ranging from task-oriented talk from both formal and informal meetings, to casual interactions (e.g. telephone calls and brief interactional meetings) (2003: 20-21). The research was designed to explore how people at work communicate with their colleagues and how they employ language to overcome tensions between various professional and social roles (2003: 12). Following a social constructionist view, Holmes and Stubbe's locally specific viewpoint originates in the notion of a community of practice, in which power and politeness are displayed in locally specific identity constructions (2003: 11). Holmes and Stubbe's emphasis on contextual language use is particularly concerned with the relationship of positive politeness to the exercise of power in both situation-specific roles and language use (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 9).

The strengths of Holmes and Stubbe's approach are her recognition of the complex nature of work place environments and her acknowledgement of the importance of locally specific discourse situations. According to Holmes and Stubbe's view of institutional interaction, local interactions at the workplace are multi-functional, multifarious and complex in nature. In such contexts, local identity competes against various interactional norms (2003: 9). Holmes and Stubbe's analytical viewpoint is broad enough to consider both the role of local factors in discourse contexts and the negotiation of social identity in particular encounters (2003: 11). In their theory, the speaker's intentions or meanings are the result of when local level interactional norms, interpersonal relationships and the background knowledge of the participants are

negotiated in a particular context (2003: 11). In institutional contexts, the scope of the roles and obligations are the anchoring network set against the local level interactions (e.g. work roles, institutional identity, social identity, interactional goals, emotional stances, business related goals, the nature of interactional norms), which are differently assessed according to different local norms.

Holmes and Stubbe's interactional model of negative politeness states that relative power needs to be assessed not only in the particular social context in which an interaction takes place, but more particularly in the specific discourse context of any contribution (the 'situated nature of workplace interaction') (2003: 17). Notice also that Holmes and Stubbe's functional notion of positive politeness claims that it is not only used for increasing solidarity, but also functions as a verbal redress mechanism in mitigating negative face threats (2003: 5, 111-112, 134). Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 16) particularly emphasize how affective elements (e.g. sensitivity and collegiality) are employed in order to achieve work related tasks. Her observation, when analyzing the strategic use of positive politeness forms, that the speaker employs positive considerations, not only to maintain good work relationships, but also to promote efficiency, is especially insightful (2003: 39). For instance, Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 39) claim that the positive effects of humor strategically counteract the impositions incurred from business related goals.

Holmes and Stubbe's view of language is that it is a locally specific identity construction, because different contextual norms require different contextual identities in which the choice of a discourse strategy depends heavily on locally specific norms. Their emphasis on the importance of local contexts and the situated nature of work place interaction will be taken into account when analyzing the discursive nature of politeness

that occurs in sequential contexts (2003: 17). Moreover, Holmes and Stubbe's locally specific discursive approach claim that work related roles in institutional contexts involve the consideration of multiple kinds of contextual features such as social identity at any particular moment, the interpersonal relationship of the interlocutors, context specific aspects and individual's psychological and affective postures (e.g. affective elements embedded in humor) (2003: 15-16). Notice, however, that Holmes and Stubbe overlook the effects of cultural values, which can also be used along with linguistic forms, to maintain flexible discursive identities.

In my spoken data, when the speaker's discursive goal is assessed against interactional norms, institutional participants employ commonly shared cultural knowledge as a functional tool to maximize the effects of mitigation. It is because of the multi-functional nature of discursive face/identities that indirect linguistic forms alone cannot sufficiently mitigate FTAs derived from interactional level discourse (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 96). Because Holmes and Stubbe lack this theoretical/cognitive framework, her locally specific interactional model will be integrated into a culture-specific Confucian paradigm following Kang for analyzing culture-specific face on an interactional level.

2.6 The Postmodern View of Politeness Theory (Watts, Locher, Eelen, Schegloff)

The postmodern view stresses the contested nature of politeness norms and focuses on the heterogeneity in the evaluation of politeness (Eelen 2001: 255; Terkourafi 2005: 238). Unlike the traditional view, it acknowledges the role of the hearer in micro level discursive interactions (Terkourafi 2005: 238). However, the postmodern view highlights

hearer-oriented behavior at the expense of the speaker's intentions in the computation of politeness (Terkourafi 2005: 241). Nonetheless, the postmodern view's emphasis on the speaker's perception of politeness as well as the discursive nature of politeness (Terkourafi 2005: 237) have strongly influenced my own analytical viewpoint. Let us now examine the postmodern theorists who have appeared since Brown and Levinson.

2.6.1 Watts' Self-Interested Politeness Model

As the founding father of the postmodern view of politeness, Richard Watts argues strongly that no linguistic form is inherently polite or impolite. As Watts puts it, "participants assess their own behavior and the behavior of others as (im)polite, and that (im)politeness does not reside in a language or in the individual structures of a language" (Watts 2003: 98). Such statements represent a radical shift and belie the attempts of other researchers (including Brown and Levinson) to link linguistic politeness to particular normative structures (Harris 2007: 7). Rather than statistically connecting politeness to the inclusion or exclusion of certain linguistic forms, Watts views politeness as being situated in speakers' manipulation of linguistic forms to achieve specific goals related to personal interest.

In some ways Watts' use of 'politic' and 'polite' is analogous to Ide's discernment/volition distinction. Watts' notion of 'politic' can be associated with Ide's 'discernment' in that "it is automatic socially appropriate behavior (2003: 257)." Similarly, Ide's notion of 'volition' can be associated with the speaker's free choice of verbal strategies, which corresponds with Watts' notion of polite behavior (Eelen 2001: 75). Thus, discernment constitutes politic behavior, while volition strategies are polite behavior. For example, terms of address are primarily politic, because they can be seen

as "socio-culturally determined in that the appropriateness of their choice is often more a matter of social contextual factors than the speaker's free will. The notion of 'polite' is a marked form and it does more social interactional work than mere politic behavior" (Eelen 2001: 73-74).

However, Watts claims that "polite can be regarded as essentially egocentric behavior" (1992: 73). He notes how being extra friendly can be regarded as polite and when motivated by the speaker's strategic intention to be polite. Polite behavior involves the interactional manipulation of linguistic forms (such as honorifics and terms of address) and can therefore be said to represent volition (Watts 1992: 52; Eelen 2001: 75). In contrast, Ide does not associate polite behavior with friendliness, because Japanese cultural ideas about politeness are more closely associated with "appropriateness and casualness than with considerateness or friendliness" (Eelen 2001: 75). In other words, Watts' marked version of polite behavior means that politeness is motivated by goal-oriented strategic behavior. He therefore considers "politeness as putting in a more than casual effort" (a marked form) (Eelen 2001: 75). However, Ide only regards polite behavior as socio-culturally appropriate behavior ('discernment'). She therefore regards politeness as unmarked socially appropriate behavior, which precisely corresponds with Watts' notion of 'politic', but not with 'polite behavior'. Because Watts' marked version of 'polite behavior' does stress interactional work more than merely politic behavior, the deliberate flouting of a normal register (a marked form) is motivated by the speaker's strategic intention to deviate from an ordinary speakers' subjective assessment (Eelen 2001: 75). Consequently, Watts' concept of politeness seems to have a more nuanced perspective of polite behavior than Ide's.

Watts' notion of 'marked behavior' is valuable when analyzing a speaker's intention,

because the decision as to whether the speaker employs marked or unmarked linguistic behavior depends on socially agreed upon rules (e.g. in Korean 'Pwunpyelseng'). Conventionally appropriate behavior utilizes cultural knowledge in the use of linguistic forms to show the speaker's intention (Eelen 2001: 127). Because marked linguistic forms arise from the violation of the existent social norms, the hearer presumes that there must be a strategic intention behind the distinct forms. Watts' view of politeness seems to be less dynamic, because marked forms cannot be precisely interpreted without referring to various human conceptual dimensions that are regulated by local norms (Wierzbicka 2003: 198-199). But Watts' notion of face is only concerned with individual face, because Watts' polite behavior means a speaker's consciously intended behavior (considerateness or friendliness) that is aimed at achieving his/her egocentric goal. He therefore overlooks relational face, which incorporates individual face as well as altruistic face (Watts 1992: 69; Locher 2004: 73). Korean face, however, is not always self-centered, but often relational and culture-specific (Arundale 2006: 193).

Watts does not discuss how culture-specific values are embedded in social conventions that are closely interconnected with language use. But, as I argue, linguistic forms can reflect culture-specific values. Notice also that Watts' politeness approach fails to see individual variability occurring from a contextual discourse in which the speaker and the hearer are jointly involved to maintain interpersonal equilibrium (Eelen 2001: 73). Another point worth mentioning is that Watts' notion of politeness does not account for positive politeness (e.g. humor, small talk, friendliness, praise etc.) that is motivated by negative face wants, wherein an emotional stance within a specific local context plays a crucial role in a distancing strategy to negotiate work-related tasks.

Taking a different position from Watts' framework, my notion of strategic behavior

is more comprehensive than Watts, because it is not only interested in the socio-cultural norms, but also concerned with various kinds of locally specific interactional norms. 'Discernment' is more complex than simply following societal norms. Local contextual norms also come into play. Additionally, locally specific contextual norms strongly require a spoken discourse approach to unveil how interactional, multi-functional, and meta-pragmatic features are embedded in strategic behavior (Eelen 2001: 251, 256).

2.6.2 Locher's Broader Concept of Functional Model

The difference between Watts' and Locher's notions of conventionally appropriate behavior can be found in the fact that by focusing on individual subjectivity and variation, Locher concentrates on both egocentric and altruistic applications of politeness (2004: 80) rather than just egocentric behavior like Watts (Watts 1992: 51; Eelen 2001: 20). Recognition of the need to focus more on the role of the speaker in relation to the social conventions of the larger group meant that Locher was able to focus on how context affects the role that politeness plays in interaction. Locher emphasizes micro-level local interaction where meaning is contextually dependent (Terkourafi 2005: 255). In attaching more importance to individual subjectivity and variation, Locher argues, "Every individual has his or her own ideas of what is appropriate and what is not" (2004: 89-90). This more advanced theory suggests that conventionally appropriate behavior is strongly influenced by the local situation, particularly, "local context, the speaker's intention, and local norms" (2004: 91).

For Locher, the dynamics of context, what Locher calls, 'emergent networks' (Locher 2004: 27-28; see Watts 1991: 154-155) emphasize an individual's subjective evaluation that is adjusted to the constantly changing interaction being negotiated in a

particular context (2004: 28-30). The arbiters of these emergent networks are 'frames',

expectations, cultural values, experience, any specific knowledge that is used as a

resource to determine and interpret the meaning and appropriateness of an utterance.

This individual frame "is acquired while growing up in a specific culture, [and] cannot

easily be dismissed after having been learnt [and therefore] the response becomes

automatic and readily comes out when a speaker interprets other's behavior" (2004: 48).

Locher's frames also "evolve through our experiences while growing up in a specific

culture" (2004: 48). Although a speaker's behavior can be assessed against shared social

norms, "these norms do not immediately reveal themselves in actual empirical practice"

(Eelen 2001: 158). Instead, they become evident in progressive interactions that display

both utterances and reactions thereby highlighting both marked (positively marked) and

unmarked (normal behavior) linguistic behavior (2004: 85-86). Locher's emphasis on a

dualistic notion of politeness (Holmes 1995: 5; Locher 2004: 76) is significant. Locher's

marked version of positive polite behavior argues that sincere face considerations often

can function as FEAs (2004: 88). Locher regards positive politeness as a purely pro-

social act (2004: 76, 91), but the current study's data shows that insincere, overly

strategic politeness is often employed in order to achieve a functional goal. This suggests

that positive politeness may not always be motivated by positive concern for others: it

might instead be motivated by the speaker's self-interest.

The relevance of Locher's notions of appropriateness and non-appropriateness are

most noticeable when interpreting value oriented polite behavior. The reason for this can

be seen when dealing with issues of formality (negative politeness) and strategic

politeness (2004: 90). Formality is normally associated with distancing (Brown and

Levinson 1987: 70). But because politeness is mainly concerned with interactional

discourse, formality is not always a synonym of politeness. Instead, formality is linked to particular occasions in which transactional goals are primarily important. Because they can be effectively exploited in interactional discourse, cultural values can be employed to display strategic politeness when linguistic politeness is not sufficiently enough to convey the speaker's intention in a particular context. Constructing a new model of politeness by only looking at the linguistic level interaction is not convincing. Analyzing politeness as perceptions of behavior that are beyond what is expected in a particular society requires a more comprehensive paradigm that can embrace the totality of interaction.

Locher overlooks the fact that "ideology is also a main resource for the linguistic cues in the organization of context" (Duranti and Goodwin 1992: 8). Locher's idea of individual frames that are formed through personal experience (like Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus', which claims that the way an individual uses language manifests his/her own linguistic habit) is directly linked to the choices available for verbal redress strategies. Locher's idea of local level interaction (2004: 91) seems entirely too narrow to capture the kind of value oriented linguistic behavior described in the current study. Locher is less clear about the role of culture and its relation to frames. As a result she tends to over-simplify and places culture under the rubric of 'local norm'. As shown here, the functional role of culture clearly demonstrates that it plays an active role and, exactly like an individual frame, "influences both the interpretation and the production of utterances" (Locher 2004: 48). A speaker's choice of a marked linguistic form, for example, depends in large part on thinking motivated by goal-oriented strategic intentions. This allows the maintenance of interactional face on a discursive level.

Although Locher employs longer stretches of naturally occurring data, her methodological framework is based on 'habitus' (empirically acquired social practice through a participant's own past experiences) (see Escandell-Vidal 1996: 629; Schank and Abelson 1997: 37) rather than cultural script. Locher overlooked the fact that culture-specific thinking can be used to support face redress mechanisms. Locher concentrates too much on linguistic politeness rather than the fact that culture-specific knowledge can be regarded as another frame that renegotiates power relationships (Eelen 2001: 145; Arundale 2006: 198).

Nevertheless, Locher's description of status as "a complex, negotiable variable" (2004: 31) and power as "relational, dynamic, and contestable" (2004: 37) represent the kind of conclusions that could not have been reached by previous researchers. Locher's claim that what is appropriate and normal is not static, but a dynamic and changeable entity that is heavily dependent on the 'speech event at hand, is a revolutionary view that other researchers have not made (2004: 85-90). Locher's dynamic view, inspired by recent postmodern research, has made insightful inroads into the study of power and its relationship to politeness and bodes well for more functional version of future research in the field.

Her work helps to demonstrate why Korean honorific forms can only be understood in relation to local norms, e.g. marked politeness that is based on situational appropriateness. The data in the current study shows that it is the 'frame' ('a psychological concept' or 'cognitive interpretive devices' that is necessary to interpret meanings in communication (Locher 2004: 48). This cognitive frame also helps to determine whether a choice of honorific form is appropriate or not in a particular context. A cultural script is an essential part of an individual frame and influences both the

interpretation and the production of utterances (Locher 2004: 48). Norms, individual

frames and the context of the interaction are anchored in feedback that is regulated by

cultural script. Because the use of honorific forms and cultural values are closely linked

to semantic connotations, understanding the values embedded in Korean honorific forms

requires understanding of the underlying Confucian frameworks (the cultural script).

Confucian values are built into the highly asymmetrically used Korean honorific devices,

'nim' and 'si'. These are obvious examples of how "verbal signs which, when processed

in co-occurrence with symbolic grammatical and lexical signs, serve to construct the

contextual ground for situated interpretation, and thereby affect how constituent

messages are understood" (Locher 2004: 49). Though Locher does not acknowledge the

way cultural values can mark language linguistically, she does admit to the inverse,

stating, "since language and society are interconnected, use of language can reflect a

society's ideologies" (2004: 37). The Korean system of politeness is further evidence of

Locher's functional notion that integrates aspects of both language and cultural values by

focusing on the contextual appropriateness of speech events (Locher, 2004: 87-90) (see

Chapter 6).

2.6.3 Eelen's Comprehensive Version of Socio-Pragmatic Approach

Eelen's view of politeness is very different from Locher's, because Eelen's is based

on the separation of the subjective and inherently judgmental form of politeness

('politeness 1') from the more simple (and stable) social practice of differentiating polite

from impolite (2001: 43-44). Eelen's approach is very socio-pragmatic, essentially

allowing each speaker or hearer to be the judge of when and how marked/unmarked[8]

behavior needs to be used. The implication is that if individuals are the arbiters of politeness, politeness can be used as a mutable option to achieve specific linguistic goals within specific situations/social norms. Politeness loses its place as a standard and becomes a strategy that is dependent only on the social practices within a particular local context.

Most importantly, Eelen's socio-pragmatic approach stresses three elements: individual variability, naturally occurring data, and updated methodological tools to capture the empirical and transformable politeness forms. Eelen claims that individual norms' should be observed from within discourse contexts (Eelen 2001: 145-147). He also argues that individual variability cannot be directly understood from the spoken data, it must be analyzed by using methodological tools (Eelen 2001: 158). However, he is not actually concerned with culture-specific values, which are inherently embedded in discursive practice.

The empirical reality reflecting individual norms in Korea can be interpreted through a Confucian framework. Because Confucian cultural values are core elements in the semantic realizations of Korean honorific usages, a Confucian framework can account for Korean behavioral patterns as reflected in the manifestation of linguistic forms. Using culture-specific expressions in the use of honorifics is part of how interactants shape and present their identity. Because language and values are interconnected, the use of honorific forms can reflect one's own identity. In order to extend Eelen's framework, I wish to follow Kang's culture-specific Confucian framework, because as Kang argues, linguistic codes can be strongly connected to

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[8] "Politic behavior is intended to cover socio-culturally appropriate behavior, geared towards the maintenance of the interpersonal equilibrium, while polite behavior is seen as 'more than merely appropriate' behavior." (Watts *et al.* 1992: 50-51) Thus, whereas politic behavior is unmarked socially appropriate behavior, politeness is 'marked' in that it does more social interactional work than mere politic behavior (Cited in Eelen 2001: 73).

cultural identity (2000: 304). Language cannot be separated from socio-cultural values, because language and socio- cultural values are closely interconnected. Lexical analysis alone is not sufficient without also describing culture-specific values embedded in honorific usages.

Another point worth mentioning is that value- oriented meta-discourse (e.g. ideological, deliberate, epistemological and philosophical features) can be observed outside of social practice (Eelen 2001: 255-256). For this research a Confucian framework was integrated into Brown and Levinson's politeness formula and then a questionnaire and a spoken discourse approach was used to capture the qualitative characteristics of various kinds of interactional contexts.

The post modern researchers (Eelen, Watts and Locher) focus on qualitative analysis and the necessity of using natural language data. This has changed the way politeness is studied and thereby, the conclusions that are reached. The new methods of in-depth analyses of relatively long interactive discourse extracts has moved the field away from the weaknesses of Brown and Levinson's model towards innovative and exciting paths. As Locher points out, "status is a complex, negotiable variable and power is regarded as relational, dynamic, and contestable" (2004: 31, 37). This is a conclusion that previous researchers could not have been reached, focused as they were on linguistic politeness and power as organic, inherent, stable, as well as nonreciprocal forms that originated in the asymmetry of hierarchical social structures. This revolution, inspired by recent postmodern research, has made insightful inroads into the study of power and its relationship to politeness.

2.6.4 Schegloff's Conversational Analysis and Sequential Utterances

From an analytical perspective, conversational analysis (CA) assumes that conversation is not only an isolated linguistic interaction, but is also a social action that is sensitive to all aspects of real world human interactions (Schegloff 1992a: 192). Schegloff (2007: 2-3) claims that "CA should be viewed in terms of 'sequential organization'" (structures that are used to co-produce and speak an orderly stretch of talk), because on-going utterances display 'courses of action' that can be seen through an analysis of "the relative ordering of speakers, of turn constructional units (the building blocks of turns), and of the different types of utterance". Schegloff (2007: 2) argues, "Turn taking is a type of sequential organization" in which overall structural organization is used as a means to get a speaker's action accomplished. 'Sequential organization' not only provides a sequence of relevant action or utterance that supports appropriate interpretation, it is also a coordinated social action that integrates multiple interactional contexts.

Talk in interaction is locally sensitive, since the participant's goal oriented actions must relate to the various contexts that govern all social conduct (Schegloff 1992a: 197, 214). CA has to coordinate a diverse set of situational contexts, in particular:

1) External factors or social norms: power, distance, age, gender, and

familiarity.

2) Institutional conventions: the scope of roles and obligations.

3) Discursive contexts: specific contextual features that occur on a discursive

level.

4) Internal contexts: the speaker's profit oriented motivations/goals

5) Intra-interactional cultural values.

In order to expose a speaker's intention, Schegloff's notion of 'proximateness' (the relevance of context) will be applied to the use of linguistic strategies. This is the idea that when an 'intra-interactional discourse' or 'proximate context' is highlighted at the expense of an external (distal) one, the marked linguistic forms must have been chosen for strategic reasons (1992a: 196).

Schegloff (1992a: 197) claims that contexts affecting social action are relevant to both external and intra-interactional contexts and provide a proximate background for understanding the local action. However, when conflicting stances interact with the speaker's pragmatic goal, the interactional context becomes dominant at the expense of the other contexts. e.g. participants often neglect social conventions and focus on their profit oriented goals in order to maintain a particular discursive stance. Schegloff calls this the "paradox of proximateness" and explains that it occurs when an external context can be shown to be proximately/intra-interactionally relevant to the participants (1992a: 197). In such a case, its external status is rendered beside the point.

Sequential utterances are determined by local context and in such cases individual norms are primarily determined by local circumstances rather than pre-existent social

structures (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 35). The variability of the structural organization of openings/closings is displayed in the individual norms that are used according to the interactional and sequential parameters of the conversation. Speakers employ openings or closings as objects that are used to accomplish particular linguistic goals from within the confines of the local context (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 19).

Through a review of previous research, a critical view of CA as a methodological approach will be offered. As CA is primarily concerned with local features of discursive interaction (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Schegloff 1990; 1992a, 1992b; Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998; ten Have 1999), the aim is to investigate language use as a social action by looking at the openings and closing structures of encounters and their relationship to various contexts relevant to the participant's linguistic behavior in the analytical data segments (Schegloff 1992b: 104). My main goal is to emphasize the importance of local context with respect to politeness and demonstrate that cultural values are an essential part of conventionalized linguistic expressions (see Chapter 6). These expressions are often used to para-linguistically express a speakers' emotional and attitudinal stance and various types of interactions (Culpeper *et al.* 2003: 1568).

In Chapter 6, the patterns of Korean openings or closings will be analyzed from the perspective of particular local contexts. These will be studied through the socio-pragmatic analysis of extracts taken from actual conversations and they will show how openings and closings exploited can achieve specific linguistic goals via cultural values.

2.6.5 Review of the Literature on Openings and Closings

It is through the context of interaction that CA becomes a functional tool for the analysis of communication (Schegloff 1990, 1991a, 1991b,1992a, 1992b; Sacks 1992;

Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 20). Hutchby and Wooffitt argue that the methodic character of CA can be characterized by two vital elements: the interactional/sequential contexts and the participant's goal orientation (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 20). These two properties characterize the strategic nature of linguistic behavior.

Similarly, Schegloff (1992b: 109) argues that when analyzing interactional data, how the participant is characterized demonstrates the ways in which local contexts can be relevant for the production and interpretation of a participant's linguistic behavior. Participants are demonstrably oriented towards the local identities provided by a particular context and are focused on the context of that interaction (Schegloff 1992b: 113). For example, openings and closings in institutional speech usually exhibit the participant's ideas about how variations of identification/recognition connect with various illocutionary goals (ten Have 1999: 206). Moreover, the pragmatic goals of the participants tend to promote strategic exploitation of linguistic forms (e.g. openings and closings) and often are the very things that characterize the local functioning of institutional talk (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 40).

In dealing with strategic elements embedded in the choice of openings and closings, for the purposes of this paper, Schegloff's (1992 b: 110) strategic viewpoint will be followed, in particular as it relates to the participants' own orientation towards the relevant contexts (e.g. strategic goals) and how a particular identity located in a particular context shows concern for local norms (e.g., discursive/ interactional identity) (Schegloff 1992 b: 113). These marked forms show the orientation of the participants as well as highlight various discursive contexts (local, socio-cultural, discursive, etc.). The talk produced is closely relevant to the local context and shows how the participants characterize and produce the context (Schegloff's term is "procedural consequentiality of

context" (1992b:111). The characterization of context can therefore be viewed in the participants' discursive behavior and linguistic forms that are used in particular discursive contexts. Schegloff implies that social structure functions as a link that aids the participant's production and interpretation of contextual behavior (1992b: 111). The characterization of context depends not only upon the pre-existent social structure, it also relies upon the participants' discursive orientation (1992b: 116). For example, participants relate talk to socio-structural or work-organizational contexts while at the same time making sense of the changing details of that context through discursive interaction (1992b: 118). The results of this procedure are dependent upon the participants' orientation, because "the participants procedurally realize that context through their activities" (1992b: 116). However, despite Schegloff's emphasis on interactional context, his notion of context in interaction seems to be concerned with the artificially controlled talk in courtroom sessions or in doctor-patient interactions. In these contexts, the more powerful person's discursive orientation is abnormally dominant, because, linguistically, the less powerful person cannot take the initiative.

Schegloff (1992b: 111) argues that when analyzing the details of talk, there must be an underlying mechanism (Wierzbicka's term, 'cultural script') through which context can be perceived and commonly acknowledged as relevant. This mechanism plays a pivotal role in making a particular context understandable to the participants in the interaction (Schegloff 1992b: 111). Nonetheless, Schegloff does not explore how culture-specific thinking is interactionally relevant to the participants and can function as a link in the understanding of literal meanings (1992b: 111; 1992b: 117-118). He also does not examine the other side of power relationships in which the less powerful person (e.g. a secretary or a subordinate) takes the lead in characterizing the context being examined

(1992b: 117). Most previous research on CA has not generally taken into account the pragmatic relevance of cultural values for the analysis of linguistic forms, which this study has shown to be a crucial part of understanding the functional usage of openings and closings used in Korean (see Chapter 6).

Sacks acknowledges, "There are many cases which are not governed by social orders" (Hutchby and Wooffitt: 1998: 22). Korean cultural values are inherently embedded in the semantic understanding of honorific usage. Common cultural knowledge—in this case Confucianism—is linked to metaphorical thinking (e.g., philosophical, epistemological and ethno-methodological) that influences the participant's linguistic behavior. Cultural values are thus a relevant part of linguistic behavior and should therefore be incorporated into any analysis of spoken institutional discourse (see Schegloff 1992a: 215).

An essential starting point for analyzing institutional discourse is the realization that conversation is primarily a social act (Psathas 1995; Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 164). Drew and Heritage (1992: 21-5; ten Have 1999: 165) characterize institutional talk as goal-oriented conversation with constraints to account for specific institutional contexts, as is necessary for business related tasks, as well as inferential frameworks and procedures that are peculiar to specific institutions (Drew and Heritage 1992: 21; Heritage 1997: 163-4; ten Have 1999: 165). In other words, institutional talk cannot be understood without looking at local action, since each speaker's discursive practices depend heavily upon local norms that are relative to institutional identities, roles, and/or relationships (ten Have 1999: 106-108). It is for this reason that identity in institutional talk is locally constructed (ten Have 1999: 165). In order to explore the functional nature of Korean openings and closings, Schegloff's view that language is an interactive

phenomenon and "intra-interactionally relevant" to the participant is apropos (1992a: 197). Because of this, openings often display intentional strategies that depend upon interactional norms to be fully understood. As Schegloff has rightly pointed out, "an opening is a context-sensitive interactional achievement" (1992a: 199).

An equally important fact is that Confucian values are also an "intra-interactionally relevant" context for the participant's language use in Korea. As Wierzbicka argues, "cultural norms and values exist from within rather than from outside" (2003: 196). These cultural norms and values are acquired through social interaction and become a part of every language. Wierzbicka's notion of cultural script is a kind of methodology ("Natural Semantic Meta-language") (Wierzbicka 2003: 191) in which the theory of culture-specific values hinge on the meta-pragmatic use of linguistic forms (2003: 196). She claims that cultural scripts reflect culturally shared thinking that can be seen in empirically acquired universal human concepts (2003: 196-197).

For the Korean language this means that cultural norms and values that are ingrained in the minds of Korean speakers can function as complete hermetic semantic units, like idioms, conversational routines, or conventionalized expressions (Wierzbicka 2003: 196- 197). A cultural script is a culture's 'common sense' and is the paradigm by which members of a society understand their social world (Schegloff 1992c: 1299). Because this cultural knowledge often powerfully constrains the participant's actions, it can be used strategically to avoid confrontation with the discursive stances of others.

Schegloff (1992a: 195) partitions these discursive contexts into two kinds: external/distal and intra-interactional/discourse contexts. Schegloff regards the former as socio-cultural norms whilst regarding the latter as contextual elements that cannot be used independently; instead they are dependent upon interactionally relevant

information/situations that are directly connected to the participant's interests. These contextual elements, therefore, allow for deliberate flouting of the normal register in order to facilitate the achievement of the speaker's pragmatic goal (1992a: 197).

Following Schegloff, Kang associates culturally shared knowledge with 'contextualization cues' from which "cultural knowledge becomes a main resource for the linguistic cues in the organization of context" (Kang 2000: 308). However, cultural knowledge can be extended far beyond Kang's static version and seen instead as an 'intra-interactionally relevant context'. In my naturally occurring data, cultural values are interactional and functional in nature: e.g. cultural values can be exploited and influence politeness in action in order to maintain discursive identities on an interactional level. Koreans utilize Confucian values regulated by their pragmatic goals and thereby maintain a discursive stance.

Schegloff argues, "Language is a context-sensitive interactional achievement" (1992a: 199). Nonetheless, the relevance of cultural values and its effect on language use needs to be added to Schegloff's view that language is context-sensitive, and interactionally achieved in the renegotiation of contexts. CA has established a set of methodologies, which, on principle, exclude cultural values except as they can be established through explicit features of the data. With various modifications added in order to fully incorporate relevant cultural values, the new methodical principles of a socio-pragmatic CA, which are used in this study (see Chapter 6), are stated below:

1) CA is concerned with naturally occurring interactional data and focuses on local interaction, local context and local norms (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 31-35).

2) CA views language and cultural values as mutually supportive in the construction of culture-specific discursive strategies.

3) CA takes the view that cultural concepts are inherent in a speaker's verbal redress mechanisms and are considered the core elements in the functional aspects of Korean honorific usage.

4) For Korean CA, a Confucian framework must be seen as relevant to conversation analytical methods in order to fully explore value oriented linguistic behavior (Hutchby and Wooffit 1998: 37; Kang 2000).

5) CA regards social structure as a feature of interactional reality, and not as an external source of constraint (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 4).

6) CA regards culture-specific expressions to be freed from power and distance variables making them particularly useful for controlling the degree of imposition (Culpeper 1996: 353).

7) CA regards the use of cultural values as strategic and context dependent.

8) CA also regards the use of the conventionalized /non-conventionalized rituals to be context sensitive.

This study's data show how value- oriented linguistic behavior strategically exploits commonly shared cultural knowledge. It also shows how culturally specific beliefs, rooted in Confucian values, influence the speaker's linguistic choices (see Kang 2000: 78). Because these values are so widely understood among Korean speakers, this cultural knowledge activates meta-pragmatic thinking that influences the speaker's linguistic behavior in a culturally specific way. Commonly understood knowledge becomes a socio- pragmatic tool that can be used in all kinds of social interactions (Kang 2000: 79-80). This is why cultural knowledge is often used strategically to elicit powerful constraints upon the participant's actions.

2.6.6 A Final Comment on Discursive Orderliness as the Analytical Aspect of CA

'Discursive orderliness' is any act of marked linguistic behavior that makes the participant's discursive activities relevant. Discursive orderliness is also responsible for localizing and assisting in the interpretation of the intentions of an utterance. This analytic method recognizes that contexts are not fixed, but rather mutable and influenced by the participant's discursive goals as well as the interactional norms involved; it is against this interactional norm that participants often employ marked linguistic forms when personal goals are inconsistent with the social conventions. The marked forms therefore become easily analyzable as instances of revealed intentionality (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 20).

Fairclough defines orderliness as the coherence of interaction. Examples include smooth turn taking, the use of appropriate social markers for deference, and appropriate registers. In contrast, disorderliness can result in incoherence from problems such as interruptions of the turn-taking sequence, inappropriate registers, and the inappropriate use of deference markers (Thornborrow 2002: 38-39). Unlike Fairclough's static notion of orderliness, Thornborrow (2002: 39) takes a more dynamic approach claiming that orderliness does not necessarily depend upon shared assumptions of interactional customs, but relies instead upon the interactional norms (turn-taking sequences, adjacency pairs, etc.) that speakers use as they participate in the conversation.

The local production of orderliness is the result of the negotiation between the local norms/circumstances, commonly shared cultural values, institutional identities, institutional relationships, and the intentions of all the participants. Naturally occurring data demonstrate that this orderliness displays two kinds of linguistic forms, normative and deviant (ten Have 1999: 40). The former can be seen in the use of normal register whilst the latter can be seen in marked linguistic behavior.

Schegloff and Sacks' contextual approach to CA argues that sequential orderliness can be seen in adjacency pairs (closely ordered utterances), since utterances are methodically produced to maintain 'ongoing orderliness' (1973: 294). Interactional talk, in particular, tries to maintain discursive orderliness, which is contained in the idea of coherence and comes from the ongoing relationship of successive utterances. The resultant adjacency pair sequences should reflect a significant inter-relatedness between the first and second pair parts. However, adjacency pairs often display inconsistencies when individual interests motivate the speaker. For example, one of the adjacency pair parts may reveal disorderliness in order to be functionally coherent within the

interactional norms. These 'adjacency pair formats' can be used when looking for disorderly talk (Thornborrow 2002: 38-39) and usually reflect the speaker's pragmatic intentions.

There is order at all points of interactive communication (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 21). The order of conversation is governed by the participant's concern. In order to avoid 'disorderliness', participants often strategically employ marked linguistic forms (e.g. over -politeness or under politeness) as face redress mechanisms. Hutchby and Wooffitt's multi-functional view of CA claims that the local features of interactional talk display a conflict between context-sensitive applications and context-free resources (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 35-36). The former are concerned with locally specific contextual language use and the latter are based on individual intentions within different local contexts (Schegloff and Sacks1973; Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 35). It is when the intentions of the speaker conflict with local norms that violations of the normal register are often employed in order to be functionally coherent to the sequences of the talk.

When analyzing marked linguistic forms, Heritage's concept of 'deviant cases' is quite helpful. Moreover, a modified version of his concept of 'three consecutive analytic phases', used in this study to classify the 'markedness' of a form (see Chapter 6), is outlined below:

1. Normative utterances, which are anchored by social conventions, are regular patterns of linguistic behavior.

2. The speaker's discursive orientation when confronting conflicting social norms affects the choice of marked linguistic forms.

3. The institutional participant employs functionally coherent 'marked linguistic forms' in order to keep 'orderliness' for sequentially appropriate discursive identities (ten Have 1999: 40).

2.7 Beyond the Four Approaches on Politeness

2.7.1 Individual Face vs. Group Face

This section discusses how the individualism vs. collectivism dichotomy is insufficient as a description of linguistic politeness. Politeness is not a matter of language (Pizziconi 2006: 683), but includes culture-specific levels including conscious, mental, psychological and value-oriented factors. Although Locher has recently proposed the task of analyzing the interactional nature of politeness, her pragmatic approach to politeness still needs to acknowledge that the interactional nature of politeness focuses on variability derived from cultural values. Politeness utilizing culture-specific thinking (Confucianism in the current study) can control variability due to its having universally/culturally shared thinking. The variability of Korean politeness is thus based on culturally known ways of thinking in which individual variability cannot be understood without referring to socio- cultural knowledge.

In order to explore socio-cultural values of individual variability, I basically follow Eelen's pragmatic view. Eelen's socio-pragmatic approach stresses individual variability

in the construction of social behavior. This is because social norms are built into an individual's mind and are acquired over time through social practice. And because each individual experiences social norms differently, he/she has different concepts of individual norms. Due to the abstractness of social norms they cannot be seen at the individual level (2001: 217). Rather they must be read through the behavioral patterns of social practice (linguistic forms). Typical social norms function as the link from an individual to a social group through language use. In this way, social norms impose a socializing effect on the individual (2001: 217). On the other hand the varieties of individual norms function to produce individual variability in the production of linguistic politeness.

Because of this, an individualism/collectivism dichotomy should not be made. Rather this dichotomy should be integrated wholly so as to capture the variability of politeness forms. According to one definition, 'individualism' underlines the subordination of a group's goals to a person's own goals, while 'collectivism' emphasizes individuals subordinating their personal goals to goals of some collectives. The former is concerned with individual norm-governed behavior; whereas the latter is concerned with satisfying the expectations of the society (Brislin, Hui, and Triandis 1980: 269).

However, the various forms of polite behavior that focus on rights and duties cannot be properly explained by using either of these two poles. Since a functional description of politeness requires an acknowledgement of the variability that emerges from the complexity of interactional contexts, the binary distinction[9] between 'individualism' and

[9] The individualism-collectivism dimension of cultural variation is often used as an explanation for politeness, and provides a normative explanation for it (Bargiela 2003: 35).

'collectivism' is not helpful in analyzing the complex reality of politeness. For this reason, a wholly normative version of politeness cannot capture its variability (Bargiela 2003: 35-36).

Eelen regards politeness as not emerging from fixed social norms but largely determined by interactive dynamics. According to Eelen, the notion of 'appropriate politeness' should be comprehensive so as to encompass the possible deviant nature of any individual's behavior in a specific context. It is the speaker's strategic intention that extends the appropriate politeness to various other options. The division between the two dimensions is therefore flawed. The traditional social norm view cannot explain how in the current study a higher-ranking speaker appeals to notions of magnanimity toward his/her subordinate nor can it explain the lower-ranking person's acknowledging dependence/reliance toward his/her super-ordinate in the combination of both aspects of politeness forms (negative or positive politeness strategies) (see Chapters 5 and 6).

For example, in my data set, a university professor's use of a highly redressive form towards a secretary goes beyond the normal expectation of politeness. It is clearly a subjective and strategic device emanating from the individual's own judgment and values. It must be said that politeness constrained by a 'socially regulative force' cannot capture the specific nature of negative and positive strategies. As variability is mainly caused by the discursive nature of politeness in real-life situational contexts, any analysis needs to employ particular elicitation procedures in which the notion of social reality can be better analyzed from argumentative, evaluative and discursive positions (Eelen 2001: 255; Harris 2003: 2). From this point of view, it is not useful to classify 'individualism' and 'collectivism' as mutually exclusive. In order to examine the variability of politeness,

researchers must go beyond these traditional categories and reconsider their

appropriateness and validity in conjunction with situation-specific features, since the

various forms of polite behavior exist beyond intra-cultural and situational settings. The

particular variability of Korean face in the following section will show why this is the

case.

2.7.2 Variability of Korean Face

Korean 'chemyen[10]' is a socio-culturally given that is based on cultural values. The

Korean conception of 'face[11]' shows concern for both aspects of face (i.e. 'negative' vs.

'positive' face). It is notable that Korean face can be characterized as both positive and

negative in nature. Additionally, Korean 'face' ('chemyen') has volitional features and

can be individually negotiated with regard to power and distance. 'Chemyen' is also

sensitive to emotional elements (e.g. intimacy and warmth) in the construction of

politeness and power (Lim and Choi 1996: 124).

My spoken data often demonstrates how Korean 'face' functions multi-functionally

and transactionally, according to the speaker's pragmatic goals. Korean politeness

radically deviates from traditional conceptions of the 'collective self' in that the

speaker's standpoint takes precedence over the hearer's expectations. It is because of

these multi-functional elements that Korean face seems to exhibit more diversity than its

Western counterparts. Furthermore, the certain cultural traits have strong positive

implications and are often used as a means of controlling the weightiness of an FTA.

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[10] Chemyen, like face, is the image of self. However, while the Western concept of face is mostly the image of personal or psychological self, chemyen is the image of sociological self more than that of personal self (Lim and Choi 1996: 123).

[11] Koreans often prefer positive implications and overlook negative face in consideration of hearer's face (see Lim and Choi 1996: 124).

Speakers can disguise FTAs in the cloak of 'deference', which can then be combined

with culture-specific knowledge. For instance, a strategically motivated individual may

employ value-laden kinship terms in order to maintain institutional as well as discursive

face. The variability of Korean 'face' therefore cannot be viewed from a single side

(either 'negative' or 'positive face'). Individualism and collectivism are not bipolar: both

cut across situational settings. For instance, in her research, Wierzbicka (1992: 19)

argues "The use of unique and yet comparable cultural scripts allows us to develop a

typology of communication patterns which does not necessitate trying to fit cultures into

the strait jackets of binary categories such as "collectivist/individualist" or "high-

context/low-context". Any specific occurrence of politeness in my data transcends any

binary definitions of politeness.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has critically reviewed key areas of linguistic politeness in conjunction with culture-specific norms and has questioned the theoretical and methodological approaches that have been used in previous studies in order to provide a more comprehensive model. Politeness reveals itself to be a very complex phenomenon that cannot be scrutinized from conventional norms. This is because it is incredibly dynamic process that is grounded in local contexts and therefore, exceptionally difficult to locate in empirical data, especially from data gleaned in controlled situations. This complexity becomes more complicated when analyzing institutional talk, because in institutional contexts power and politeness operate in complex ways due to the discrepancy between the institutional roles of authority, the nature of the required tasks, and local norms.

In order to capture the complex reality of politeness, Eelen (2001) asserts that politeness research should cover the whole range of dyads such as normative/non-normative, culture /sharedness, and politeness/impoliteness so that politeness can be researched as an end product of integrated disciplines. However, the existent research on politeness tends to highlight culturally predominant social norms rather than observing the variability of politeness. In this respect Kang's Confucian framework provides a welcome shift toward a comprehensive understanding of politeness suggests that culture-specific values is a pre-requisite of social practice. Therefore, this study integrates a Confucian framework into a spoken discourse approach, in order to parse out the empirical nature of culture-specific thinking. A perspective that accounts for Confucianism in Korean cultural values will enable me to gain a deeper insight into politeness using both: common sense and formal analysis (see Eelen 2001: 251, 256).

In order to achieve a strengthened socio-pragmatic approach I have borrowed from

Blum-Kulka's (1987), Blum-Kulka and Scheffer's (1993), and Pan's (2000) situation-based discourse approaches. Holmes and Stubbe's (2003) language as a local identity construction has enabled me to observe politeness as an aspect of identity construction in particular contexts. Most importantly, Eelen's view of variability has strongly influenced my socio-pragmatic approach. Eelen's socio-pragmatic perspective is based on Bourdieu's notion of habitus. This will enable observation of social conventions, social identities and particular situational settings. Eelen's socio-pragmatic view provides useful insight for observing politeness as an inherently culture-specific linguistic behavior.

Kang's study has also helped promote institutional settings as an observable arena where politeness as a social practice is still largely un-researched. Kang and Eelen both anticipated that a more comprehensive and advanced framework might offer a possible way forward in order to produce a more functional version of politeness (to check what is unique about this study see sections 7.2 and 7.3). Further theoretical considerations concerning the state of the art version of Confucian framework will be the topic of the ensuing chapter.

Chapter 3

A Situational Approach to Korean Politeness: Methodology and Data Collection

3.1 Introduction

This chapter acts as an introduction to the methodology used to collect data that is analyzed and discussed in subsequent chapters. As a first step, it looks critically at previous politeness and power studies and considers the advantages and shortcomings of their respective methodologies in light of the research aims of this thesis. This will build on the various politeness theories discussed in Chapter 2. This will be followed by a discussion of the different methodological issues that have influenced my research, and a brief justification of the methodology employed. The key issue on which the choice of methodology appears to hinge is the question of whether politeness is local or cultural; that is, is it under the direct control of participants or is it something that is predetermined by their cultural background and the normative behavior associated with it? The solution I propose is rather complex: I argue that politeness is a local realization of culture-specific values, but that, rather like conversational maxims, these can be flouted to achieve specific effects. As a result, I advocate a rather complex approach to understanding the culture-specific institutional contexts represented in the data, which includes a close examination of Confucian cultural values in Korea. This provides a backdrop for the data collected in institutional contexts on which the study relies and will help the reader better understand some of the issues and problems associated with the research. Some of these are not specifically Korean, such as audio recording issues, but others are peculiar to a Korean context, such as those associated with the structure of Korean universities. Still others, like politeness itself, are both local and general at the

same time.

This chapter is particularly interested in the relationship between status, power and socio-cultural variables that influence the exercise of power and the production of linguistic forms. The next section will describe the research aims of the current study, which can be directly linked to the methodological viewpoint of this study and its relevance for a spoken discourse approach to Korean politeness.

3.2 Research Aims

Brown and Levinson's politeness formula claims that power (P), distance (D), and ranking of imposition (R) are universal variables applicable to all kinds of culturally specific paradigms (Brown and Levinson 1987: 16). A number of experiments on cross-cultural politeness have demonstrated that these three sociological factors influence the level of politeness a speaker adopts (Brown and Levinson 1987: 16-17; Blum-Kulka 1987; 1990; 1992; Wierzbicka 1991; Holtgraves and Yang 1992; Sifianou 1992; Kim 1993; 1994; Fukushima 2000; Reiter 2000; Holmes and Stubbe 2003). However, a number of scholars of Asian languages have argued against the universality of Brown and Levinson's model. Matsumoto (1988; 1989) and Ide (1989; 1993) claim that Japanese honorific use has nothing to do with the R variable (Matsumoto 1997: 733), instead associating honorific usage with non-imposition. This thesis agrees with Brown and Levinson's politeness formula in so far as appropriate honorific usage in Korean is intrinsically linked to issues of politeness and concerns with face (see also Brown 2005: 1).

Brown and Levinson themselves conceded that the P, D, and R variables alone are not enough to capture the complexities of culturally specific variables, because different

cultures depend upon different methods of assessing culturally specific social determinants (Brown and Levinson 1987: 16). However, despite their culture-specific viewpoints, there is a dearth of research focusing on how the R dimension deals with culturally specific values that is embedded in honorific usage. Although there is a plethora of actual spoken data, obtained from naturally occurring interactions, it is difficult to find any culture-specific institutional data that involves real-life interactions and also focuses on politeness and power. Matsumoto and Ide explore culture-specific Japanese politeness. However, their concept of non-imposition neglects the culturally specific value oriented aspects of the R variable. This thesis is a modest attempt to remedy this situation by attempting to provide a description of the culturally specific values embedded in Korean honorific usage. Additionally, the source material for this thesis is actual spoken data obtained from real life interactions.

The principal research aim is to consider whether and how politeness is mediated by cultural values on the one hand and personal intentions on the other. Because this is a broad research aim, the approach will be broadly qualitative rather than narrowly quantitative and heuristic, preferring hypothesis generation to deduction and hypothesis testing. In an attempt to overcome the contradiction between thinkers who locate power and politeness beyond the control of participants and those who insist that it is under their direct control, the data needs to be examined on four different levels. Naturally occurring conversational data, which was recorded at Korean universities, is examined using the following methodological framework:

1. Strategic language use is examined on an interactional level. This is because, as will be discussed in the ensuing section, consideration of the power variable is under the intentional control of the participants in an interaction rather than an all-pervasive dynamic phenomenon that operates outside the understanding and beyond the control of participants**.** Through analyzing interactions, it may be possible to separate the mutable options from those that are pre-determined by cultural values.

2. Strategic language use will be examined situationally**.** Without careful consideration of situations, politeness is unpredictable. This is not simply because it varies with the speaker's intentions and with the hearer's personal interests, nor is it merely because the speaker's initial intentions hinge on mental and philosophical dimensions, there is also the fact that all of these aspects interact with surrounding situational norms (i.e. social and transactional discursive situations) and are reflected in the adoption of Korean linguistic forms.

3. Brown and Levinson's universalistic, rational approach to analyzing politeness forms presents an obvious starting point. The question then becomes whether Brown and Levinson's concept of R (level and nature of imposition) can explain both Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and Face Elevating Acts (FEAs) found in the Korean politeness forms gathered in the data.

4. Brown and Levinson associate linguistic forms with FTAs but not with cultural values. Confucian values will therefore be added as a further component to explain polite linguistic strategies in Korea. This will demonstrate that Confucian values create a cultural framework for linguistic behavior that guides how Korean speakers relate to each other with language. Korean face strategies in Korean institutional contexts illustrate that these Confucian values are an essential variable in the negotiation of the participants' identities, and are included in the actual interaction of politeness and power.

In order to explore culturally specific linguistic behavior in Korean culture, further areas of research on politeness and power studies are discussed in the following section.

3.3 Politeness and Power Studies

A number of previous studies on politeness have touched on politeness research in the use of a culturally specific R variable as a linguistic strategy (Lakoff 1973; Coulmas 1981; House and Kasper 1981; Scollon and Scollon 1981; Leech 1983; Barnlund and Araki 1985; Wierzbicka 1985; Blum-Kulka 1987, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1993; Matsumoto 1988; Ide 1989; Watts 1989; 1992; 2003; Fraser 1990; Gu 1990; Sifianou 1992; Pan 2000; Reiter 2000; Eelen 2001; Pizziconi 2003; Spencer-Oatey 2003; Brown 2005; Ryoo 2005). However, there has been a lack of research on value oriented linguistic strategies using actual spoken data from culture-specific institutional settings. My approach to politeness is methodologically and theoretically different from these previous politeness studies because this thesis shows politeness to be a culturally specific construction.

Politeness cannot be sufficiently parsed without understanding the culture-specific

theoretical framework from which it originates. Therefore, because Confucianism is a

part of Korean social identity, a Confucian theoretical framework must be taken into

consideration when analyzing spoken discourse data. Nevertheless, previous research on

politeness did not integrate awareness of cultural frameworks into the methodologies

used. Consequently, there is an absence of research exploring how culture-specific

politeness utilizes common cultural knowledge to directly interact with politeness and

power in relational work. The next section will serve as a point of reference by

examining previous studies into power and politeness. Later on you'll see that my

criticism towards previous studies includes both; it stems not only from the differences

between Korean language (culture) and other language but also from the differences in

terms of theoretical and methodological positions as well.

3.3.1 Previous Studies Dealing with Local and Cultural Control

Brown and Levinson's politeness formula regards P as an essential component in the

computation, and hence the maintenance of face. However, Brown and Levinson are

chiefly concerned with explaining polite linguistic strategies in terms of FTAs rather than

the integration of power and values necessary to understand those linguistic strategies.

Brown and Levinson do not elaborate on culture-specific politeness or variability; their

emphasis is on the universality of the three variables.

Other scholars, notably those of Asian languages, have attempted to supplement

Brown and Levinson's framework. According to Ide, social discernment (the linguistic

discernment of the Japanese concept of 'wakimae') is necessary to compute how polite a

speaker needs to be. Ide (1993: 8) regards 'wakimae' as "obligatory grammatical usages"

through which the speaker is expected to show "conformity to the social norm" (Ide 1993: 9-10) rather than pursue individual wants. In this way, Ide supplies a culturally specific mechanism for the computation of the weightiness of an FTA and also introduces a way to mitigate it. Matsumoto goes on to argue that in a Japanese context, "one's commitment to the social structure and to the other members of a group is so strong that one's actions become meaningful and comprehended only in relation to others" (1988: 408). Both Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1989) share the view that 'wakimae' is an essential element that provides an adequate account of Japanese linguistic behavior, social reality, and cultural values using Japanese honorific forms as compelling evidence. However though both Matsumoto and Ide stress the cultural specificity of such values, they do not discuss how this honorific language functions as an integral part of face strategy in relational work. Neither do they explore cultural values as a volitional mechanism, used in an FTA.

Kang (2000), another Asian language scholar, who is also a critic of Brown and Levinson, similarly claims language represents both individual identity and culturally shared thinking. Kang adopts a Korean cultural framework of personhood based on the "Confucian ideologies of relative age, status, notions of face, and concerns about group harmony and/or attachment" (Kang 2000: 79-80). Kang claims that these cultural values affect the language use, implications, and social interaction of Korean speakers. Kang claims that Korean in-group relationships strongly influence language use between speakers of different power levels, especially when there is an age difference. Kang (2000: 263) admits, however, that culturally specific language use cannot be separated from functional motivation.

Watts takes seriously the emphasis that some scholars, such as Matsumoto, Ide, and Kang, have focused on cultural specificity. However, in his view, both Brown and Levinson and the Asian critics have committed the same fundamental error of objectifying politeness/impoliteness and thus placing it out of reach of the actual participants in social interaction. Instead of attributing politeness to universal formulae or culture-specific norms, Watts (2003: 254) asserts that power is dynamic and interactively negotiable, taking the form of emergent networks that are only observable during ongoing interactions, limited in duration and under the direct control of the participants (see further Locher 2004: 28). Based on this view of power, Watts argues, "Attributions of politeness or impoliteness can be seen to co-occur with the exercise of power in the ongoing development of an emergent social network" (2003: 253). For Watts, there is no objective method to predict which forms of behavior in a social interaction will be 'politic' (2003: 258) (see Chapter 2).

For instance, Watts imagines being seated in a theatre and then being approached by someone who, instead of saying something like, "I'm sorry, but are you sure you've got the right seats?" instead makes the linguistically polite but nevertheless aggressive utterance, "I'm sorry to bother you, but would you very much mind vacating our seats?" Although this utterance is strategically polite, it assumes that the seats unambiguously belong to the speaker and is thus not a 'politic' thing to say. As Watts would have it, it goes beyond what can be expected in this situation.

In this way, Watts appears to deny that politeness incorporates cultural values in the computation of politeness and denies that the speaker's action can be understood through culturally shared thinking. In his emphasis on the autonomy enjoyed by interactants, Watts appears to downplay the cultural values, which, in the view of Matsumoto, Ide and

even Brown and Levinson, play decisive roles in the construction of polite interaction. Instead, Watts suggests politeness is always under the direct control of the participants.

Like Watts, Thornborrow (2002) regards language as a locally constructed practice; social meanings are produced by participants' language use within a situated local context. Unlike the 'social norms' studies of Asian language scholars (and also Eelen (2001)), Thornborrow stresses that language is a contextually sensitive interactional practice, because it is the result of locally constructed phenomenon under the participants' direct control. Interactional language use is therefore concerned with the participants' relationship as well as their social structure (Thornborrow 2002: 22). Instead of focusing on prescribed social structures, as might be expected in work-anchored in institutional discourse, her study of contextual language use focuses on the relationships of the participants in terms of contextual language use, specifically the scope of rights and obligations arising from the participants' relative status and the participants' actions as they relate to the contextual stream of talk (Thornborrow 2002: 33). Like Watts, Thornborrow associates relational work with emergent networks. Thornborrow, therefore, also does not explore how culturally specific values are embedded in the negotiation of power, though she implicitly rejects Brown and Levinson, since she questions the extent to which personal motivation leads to the production of politeness (see Locher 2004: 73).

Her rejection of both the calculus of Brown and Levinson (see Figure 1 in Chapter 2) and the explanatory value of cultural values (Thornborrow 2002: 30-35), which is usually cited by critics of Brown and Levinson, is easily explained. A participant's discursive identity depends on various kinds of locally specific contextual features on a discursive level (Thornborrow 2002: 37). In order to remain consistent with 'norms of

interaction' on a discursive level, she claims that participants rely on two key concepts in order to maintain their discursive positions: "ideological coherence" and "orderliness" (Thornborrow 2002: 39). Thornborrow (2002: 43) bases the former on Fairclough's idea of "ideologically based coherence", but substitutes the term, "shared ideological coherence". Like Fairclough, Thornborrow claims that the ideological coherence that underlies discursive strategies depends on a shared background knowledge that is ideological (Thornborrow 2002: 37-38). The ideological coherence is made up of what Thornborrow calls "orderliness", and what she calls the shared sense and feeling of the participants involved (Thornborrow 2002: 38). This common sense knowledge dictates the discursive rules, which in turn determine the interactional norms of conversation, because 'mutually assumed common sense knowledge' is the "discursive concord" that assesses whether discourse is appropriate or inappropriate (Thornborrow 2002: 37-38). However, unlike Fairclough, Thornborrow does not see mutually shared background knowledge as stemming from the fixed social relationships, but rather from locally specific interactional features.

The strength of Thornborrow's 'critical discourse analysis' (CDA) is that she uses it to combine locally derived features with both institutional and social features. Thus she stresses that power in talk should be analyzed through the details of the conversation rather than simply observing either asymmetrical social relationships or underlying ideological knowledge. My research follows Thornborrow's situation-specific approach to CDA, but unlike Thornborrow, it integrates the details of institutional talk with culturally shared thinking. Commonly shared values can be recognized as a prompt to make utterances acceptable in a culturally specific way. Thornborrow does not acknowledge that cultural specificity reveals cultural values and influences participants'

negotiation of power through locally constructed language use.

Cameron *et al.*'s (1992) cognitive ideological approach concentrates on the roles of personal motivations, pre-occupations and self-consciousness. According to Cameron *et al.* "data is self-consciously constructed by the participants or respondents themselves, as an ideal" (1992: 98). Cameron's ideological approach has diverted my attention to how social realities interact with ideology (1992: 58). However, she stresses that research methodology should integrate interpersonal interaction with a larger social reality (i.e. the supra-cognitive reality) (Cameron *et al.* 1992: 58-59). My research adopts aspects of Cameron's cognitive ideological approach, since Korean honorific usage is in a certain sense ideologically motivated in that it is based on commonly shared values that are sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious. However, I disagree with Cameron's view that "linguistic utterances cannot be abstracted in the collection of the data" (1992: 74). The fact that relational work requires culturally specific ideological norms, which can be expressed themselves in linguistic form, is not explored in Cameron's work.

Is it the case that politeness is entirely pre-determined by homogenous cultural values and norms, as Kang contends? Or is it the case that politeness is situational, entirely determined by the participants themselves in real time interactions, as Watts and Thornborrow appear to suggest? Eelen appears to believe that these two positions are not as contradictory as they might seem. He suggests "as cultural entities that cause the individual to behave in a specific way, cultural scripts are at the same time cultural and individual in the speaker's head" (2001: 129). Cultural norms can therefore be realized as individual norms. This reasoning can be seen in his argument that, "the system is essentially cultural in nature, since within a culture, sharedness remains intact" (Eelen 2001: 159).

Eelen appears to be able to reconcile politeness as a culturally specific social practice with the variability observed in emergent networks of power.

However, there is a price. Eelen claims that the existent politeness model cannot analyze cultural values, because it does not represent empirical reality. Eelen argues that although "the speaker's behavior is evaluated against a (shared) system of norms, these norms do not readily reveal themselves in actual empirical practice" (2001: 158). To make sense of the variability that the researcher encounters, Eelen therefore suggests "special methodological practices are called upon to reduce it to manageable levels" (2001: 158). Eelen thus does not empirically demonstrate how cultural values enter into the computation of politeness. Neither does he suggest valid empirical methodologies to evaluate cultural values.

It would seem that while Eelen recognizes that politeness may be situated in a matrix of shared cultural values and still be under the direct control of interactants in theory, he does not provide a way to separate the two empirically. However, the work of Locher provides a possible way out of this impasse. Locher maintains that individual interest is useful in the computation of polite linguistic behavior. She argues "the notion of interest is an essential component in the exercise of power, because the exercise of power is motivated by personal interest" (Locher 2004: 19). By the simple means of reintroducing individual interest as a central concern and using a fine-grained analysis of interactions with both individual interest and shared cultural norms in mind, Locher shows a methodological way forward.

Following Watts' definition of power, Locher builds her theoretical framework based on the dynamic notion of an 'emergent network'. Locher (2004: 37) argues that the emergent network is the place where these aspects of power are negotiated. Locher

follows Brown and Levinson in assuming that FTAs provide the initial motivation for politeness and that power is a significant factor in computing the weightiness of FTAs. The wish to maintain the social equilibrium between the two interactants makes both the speaker and hearer assert their identities in such a way so that the exercise of power cannot cause social conflict. Locher emphasizes the importance of power in the negotiation of relational work by focusing on the ways in which power is relational, dynamic and contestable.

Quite appropriately, Locher focuses on relational work in relation to both politeness and power. Locher claims that power and politeness are usually expressed through interactional discourse, arguing that "the exercise of power in everyday life rarely occurs in its most blunt form, which is physical force" and that "since power is often expressed linguistically, people have the possibility of covering up its exercise" (2004: 61). How can individual interest, as expressed through intentionality and power, be reconciled with the shared cultural norms that allow the interpretation of actions as polite or impolite? Locher's concept of interpretative frames that are grounded in an individual's psychology is useful for understanding these frames as cognitive interpretive devices without which we cannot interpret anyone else's behavior (Locher 2004: 48). Locher emphasizes the role of culture in developing a person's understanding of frame by arguing, "knowledge of frames, which is acquired while growing up in a specific culture, cannot easily be dismissed after having been learnt" (2004:48). These culturally learned social norms and frames affect the way a participant interacts and negotiates social meaning in situated contexts. 'Contextualization cues', existing on the perceptual level, the level of local assessment, and the more global level of framing, act as a locally

specific situational frame (Locher 2004: 49). Habitus functions as an individual frame which helps make Confucian values as part of individual identity.

Following Locher, I will associate 'habitus' with cognitive interpretive devices. Because it functions as rational mechanism, without which we cannot interpret other people's linguistic behavior (Locher 2004: 48). I'll also associate a 'Confucian frame' with 'knowledge of cultural frame', which is acquired throughout one's life and can be developed in a culture specific contexts. A Confucian frame is ingrained in Korean people's minds as a culture-specific knowledge. The Confucian frame can be employed as a rational mechanism in the functional use of linguistic forms. The habitus is not regulated by the cognitive cultural values that anchor on the cultural dimension, but can be directly regulated by an individual's personal beliefs or evaluations, which are personally acquired through social practice (Eelen 2001: 201-203).

The habitus frame can be constantly developed during the socialization processes and can be influenced by the past and present social practices. The difference between the habitus frame and Confucian frame is that the former can be used as a resource to interpret possible future experiences based on established memories. The habitus frame therefore functions as judging and interpreting linguistic behaviour viewed from the past and present experiences. I will therefore regard it as an individual frame, which resides in the minds of Koreans, without which we cannot judge or interpret linguistic politeness.

For dealing with culturally specific linguistic strategies, Ryoo's study (2005) has provided a welcome change of direction. Ryoo has borrowed Gumperz and Tannen's notion that different speech communities presuppose different cultural assumptions and their discourse reflects culturally specific speech styles; different cultures have different cultural frameworks and therefore different discursive conventions (Ryoo 2005: 81).

Following Sarangi's (1994a, 1994b) and Bailey's (1997) emphases on positive face in interactional data, Ryoo uses interactional data to explore the positive face strategies of cross-cultural discourse. Her claim that interactional discourse in business encounters clearly displays positive face strategies has strongly influenced my methodological perspectives for analyzing conversational discourse in institutional settings.

Taking the concept of culturally specific, interpretive frames based on intention and personal interest, I wish to explore empirically how power and politeness become symbiotic in relational work. In institutional contexts, the social roles of institutional members are clearly contextually and institutionally defined and it is for this reason that institutional participants are concerned with roles and obligations in the construction of individual identity. The identity thereby constructed, however, is individual identity. Thus even in a harmoniously arranged institution in a hypothetically homogeneous cultural setting, personal goals motivated by individual interests may endanger the hearer's face, since the speaker's personal motivation may not be consistent with the hearer's interest. Politeness is one of the strategies that are used to attenuate these potentially strong FTAs.

To close this discussion of previous and relevant research, let me present a hypothetical example, which is nevertheless, consistent with the data collected. During a break at a conference in South Korea, two female professors have a conversation. The older woman asks the younger woman, who has just returned from a sabbatical, to present a paper at an upcoming conference. The older professor is in her fifties, but the younger woman professor is in her twenties. Despite this, the older professor chooses the highly deferential address term, Professor Kim, combined with the honorific marker

'nim' to refer to the younger professor.

How are we to interpret this? One way, consistent with the cultural norms view is to say that this is the culturally normative way in which a conference chair would address a potential presenter, and there is nothing remarkable here. Another way, consistent with the view that politeness is always under the participants' direct control, would focus on the speaker's goal oriented strategic motivation. An address term of 'teacher' alone or 'teacher Kim' would be sufficient for an older person to address a younger person (see Chapter 4). The use of 'nim' thus displays an egocentric desire to persuade the junior professor to make an arduous conference presentation. Methodologically, it would seem impossible to combine the two interpretations. Either politeness and power are under the direct control of the participants and are personally motivated and orientated towards manipulation, or, cultural norms and cultural values, which are beyond individual control, mediate them. One important goal of this methodological chapter is to hypothesize a way in which they might simultaneously be both.

The formal use of Professor Kim and even the politeness marker 'nim' is unmarked, but non-obligatory, thanks to the age of the elder professor. It would be possible for her to use 'teacher', but this would be marked behavior in this situation. (The relevant identity of the hearer in this situation is not her age but the fact that she is a potential conference presenter, and this is much better reflected by the title 'professor' than by the title 'teacher'.) It might even be possible (though this would be rather highly marked) for her to omit the deferential suffix 'nim'. For this professor to use 'teacher' would not necessarily be impolite, but it would be less formal; it might express the intimacy of a staff room rather than a conference venue, and it might express friendship rather than the relationship of a conference chair and a prospective presenter. For the professor to omit

the deferential suffix 'nim' would also not necessarily be impolite (in fact, this is the standard form for written language) but in this situation it would be highly marked. Whereas someone like a national Korean hero such as Kim Gu is regularly referred to in writing as 'teacher Kim' without the suffix 'nim', in our hypothetical example, this would be highly marked, and the younger professor might examine the utterance for signs of strategic motivation. If these were then found to include animosity or hostility, the younger professor might take offense and at the very least would be unlikely to accede to the request to present at the older professor's conference.

In this example, then, we can clearly see that all of the elements raised by researchers in politeness research are present. Power, distance, and rank are clearly present in the request and politeness is used to mitigate the FTA. The actual form the politeness strategy takes, the use of 'professor' rather than 'teacher' and the use of a 'nim' to indicate deference, is specific to this Korean cultural environment. Although, in this example, the elder professor does not flout the cultural norm, the option of flouting it is certainly there, and in that sense the interaction and even the emergent power network may said to be under the participants' control, though the norms themselves are not.

3.3.2 Norms, Markedness and Egocentric Intentions

As argued in the previous section, marked/unmarked politeness, culture-specific frames and shared assumptions acquired through social interaction in the community are all based on culturally shared knowledge. These are all acquired abilities that are needed to evaluate positions and expectations in an emergent network. In this respect, an individual's linguistic behaviour can be evaluated against communal ideas of normalcy

that originate in social norms (Locher 2004: 88). For this reason, norms and strategic intentions are integral elements that contribute to the generation of marked politeness.

A polite utterance represents a speaker's marked intentional, strategic, and functionally appropriate attempt to display situational concern. The motivation for this lies in the egocentric desire of the speaker to align his/her constantly changing discursive situation with his/her institutional identity. Such strategic politeness can thus be regarded as a marked version of discursively appropriate behaviour, or 'politic' behaviour.

This raises the methodological question of how to evaluate a marked utterance in Korean. To do this, conversational analysis (CA) is used in the current study. First, the surrounding situational/contextual conditions are noted. Next, as the intentions or functional motivations of the participants' are examined and compared to Confucian values, discursive orderliness is used to see if there is anything unusual about the sequence of the utterances. Then, the surrounding contextual features are compared to the linguistic politeness as determined by Confucian cultural values. Next, the speaker's own evaluations are used to assess the situation (see Chapters 5 and 6).

CA combined with a Confucian framework captures value oriented linguistic behaviour by exposing culturally marked forms. Adjacency pairs (see Chapter 6), which are an important part of CA, are also very effective at highlighting linguistically marked forms. This is because marked forms are inconsistent with discursive orderliness. Examples include inappropriate use of address terms, inappropriate register, etc.

Because strategically appropriate behaviour is functional and contextually sensitive, interpretations depend on constantly changing discursive situations. For instance, over-deference may be interpreted as rude whilst less polite address terms may not be perceived as appropriate. Methodologically, this suggests that my research will need to

establish the unmarked, 'default' norms of politeness in a given cultural environment, then, find instances of both marked and unmarked behaviour—both observance and flouting of the cultural norms—and also explain such occurrences using both how the extant cultural norms are understood as well as how they are flouted or manipulated (as opposed to how they could be flouted or manipulated) to achieve a specific, desired effect.

As already stated, the general premise underlying this study is that the highly developed Korean honorific system has been strongly influenced by Confucianism (see Chapter 4). It is so crucial to remember that Korean honorific usage is generated by the combination of Confucian values and sociological variables. The next section explores Confucianism and its influence on Korean culture in order to provide guidelines to facilitate discussion of marked linguistic behavior.

3.4 Korean Cultural Contexts

3.4.1 Korean Cultural Values

Confucian philosophy, which is key to understanding Korean interaction, consists of four human attributes: *'jen'* (humanitarian warmth), *'i[1]'* (faithfulness), *'li[2]'* (politeness/social hierarchy and order), and *'chih'* (wisdom or liberal education). According to Yum (1987: 77), humanitarian warmth, 'jen', is the core element that determines the level of intimacy in a particular context. Kang (2000: 100) also maintains that the Korean sentiment of warmth is a crucial element for Korean notions of 'face'.

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[1] betterment of the common good and opposition to the idea of personal or individual interest and profit (Yum 1987).

[2] 'Li' (politeness) is dualistic in nature. It refers to both politeness and social hierarchy because it assumes that politeness both expresses and stabilizes the hierarchy and order (Gu 1990: 239).

Among these four factors, *'jen'* is the link between interactants and socio-situational norms (Yum 1987: 77). However *'jen'*, also necessitates the practice of the other three elements. *'i'* is a pre-requisite for *'jen'*, because it transcends personal interest and leads to 'goodness'. The fundamental regulatory etiquette of human behavior, *'li'*, stems from *'i'* (faithfulness), because *'li'* (politeness/social hierarchy and order) without faithfulness is useless and vain (Yum 1987: 77). Confucianism is also the cultural paradigm for the four interconnected values that Korean culture believes are vital to human interaction: implicitness, warmth, reciprocity, and respect for in-group relationships.[3] *Chih* is a basic element that can be directly interconnected with the other Confucian values (*'i'*, *'li'* and *'jen'*) (Yum 1987: 77).

According to Spickard, this cultural sense of harmony in Korea also percolates into individual minds and can become very deeply embedded. Spickard (2003: 192) maintains that when family identities (such as kinship terms) are used with in-group members, they can further promote a ritualized sense of obligation and mutual harmony (in other words, *'li'*). These cultural values create a framework that shows the underlying culture-specific mechanisms of how Korean institutional participants employ value-oriented language use in accordance with various interactional contexts.

Korean politeness emphasizes positive politeness through ideas of warmth and harmony. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, the Korean honorific system is more heavily focussed on positive politeness, because it is concerned with elevating the hearer's face (Brown 2005: 4; Hong 2005: 11). In Korean, it is polite for a speaker to appear to be coercing or forcing a hearer to eat. It is even a breach of courtesy, if the

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[3] This cultural framework is similar to that presented by Kang (2000) in her study of a Korean-American organization. Kang (2000: 94-96) claims that the Confucian emphasis on morality incorporates 'magnanimity', reciprocity, and mutual obligations.

speaker does not do this strongly enough; and the hearer may end up feeling offended or ignored. For instance, "sandwich te an tu sikeyssupnikka?" ("Would you mind having another sandwich?") despite being indirect, would not be very polite. However, "sandwich ha na te tusyeyahapnita" ("You have to eat another sandwich") is more polite in most situations (Hong 2005: 42). Other examples are the utterances "Citolul patulswu issta myen khun yeng kwangikeyssupnita" ("I'd be greatly honoured, if I could receive your guidance") and "anyeng hasipnikka?" ("How is your health?"), which are good examples of FEAs. These utterances reveal warmth and acknowledge the hearer's face.

The importance of warmth is also illustrated by the avoidance of cold, calculated exactness in Korean interaction. Both Kang (2000) and Suh (1996) note the preference of Koreans for blanket quantifiers rather than exact numbers, because "the use of precision gives them a chill as an expression of being too practical and calculating and of a mind being too geared to maximum profit and efficiency, while neglecting the warm-hearted sentiment of ceng[4]" (Kang 2000: 102). Suh (1996: 42-43) claims that Korean speakers often employ phrases such as "about one or two pieces", "about three, four or five persons" and that in business encounters, employees often ask customers, "About how many pieces shall I give you?" to which the customers often reply by saying: "Give me about one, two, three, or four pieces." Suh (1984: 43) goes on to argue, "Koreans also prefer ambiguous numbers to count things." Examples are the common phrases, "about seven to or so eight million won", "about fifteen to sixteen months", "around two or three o'clock." These implicit expressions make a negotiation more effective by

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[4] Jung ('ceng') is a kind of psychological bond that connects two persons in a relationship, but it is much more comprehensive and diverse than its Western counterpart, "love" or "emotional attachment" (Lim and Choi 1996: 123).

avoiding explicitness. Yum (1987: 77) asserts that Korean cultural ethos on magnanimity and warmth is reflected in these blanket quantifiers.

According to Kang and Yum, culture is a kind of essence, which permeates all members of that culture. This kind of thinking reveals a static and fixed idea of culture and identity, not the interactional and situation-specific view of it that is the methodological foundation of this thesis. In one situation a person may be a professor, in another a consumer, in still another a conference presenter. The multiplicity of identity is locally negotiable and to some extent under individual control, and this is how the apparent contradiction between cultural norms and rationalistic explanations of politeness phenomena can be solved. Power does not directly emanate from institutional status; power relations instead display a variability that is closely linked to corresponding situational features embedded in the local context.

Let us consider an example of a conference in which presenter A wants to switch presentation times with presenter B. Presenter B may feel that only the conference chair has the authority to allow the switch. This assumption follows the academic convention that only the conference chair can make changes to the conference program. B therefore hesitates to agree to the request and defers to academic convention by asking, "Could you ask the conference chair about it?" The conference chair, C, suggests that a switch of the presentation times would be possible if both A and B agree to it. C listens to A's reasons for wanting to switch and B finally accepts A's request. This is more or less what Locher is commenting on when she talks about emergent networks. Locher defines emergent networks as being the specific context where power is being exercised and (2004: 28) claims that emergent networks are only visible during on-going interactions. It is these emergent networks that allow us to capture the dynamics of an ongoing

conversation more readily. She even partly acknowledges the fact that power can be intentional when it is goal-oriented (Locher 2004: 25).

However, Locher overlooks the fact that invisible factors, such as culturally specific values, affect relational work (Locher 2004: 25-26). This evidence can be clearly seen in her statement, "it can be difficult to pinpoint restriction of action-alternatives in the case of influence (rather than force or coercion) and any kind of subtle ideological and normative moves[…] Participants are unconsciously influenced by the socio-cultural norms" (Locher 2004: 26-27). Because language is a strategic and situation-specific reality (Locher 2004: 59), Locher is correct when she claims that status is a complex, negotiable variable that is not synonymous with power (Locher 2004: 31). However, because Korean notions of status are intertwined with Confucian values, I have integrated Locher's concept of relational work with a Confucian framework in order to better analyze value oriented linguistic behavior. The focus is primarily on value-oriented linguistic behaviour as it changes during interactional discourse. The next sections demonstrate that power is in fact not closely linked to institutional status but instead closely correlates with situation-specific cultural variables.

3.4.2 The Structure of Korean Universities

The previous section noted that Confucian values have significantly influenced Korean culture, politeness and honorific usage. Confucianism also influences the scope of roles and obligations of existing hierarchical relationships. In order to explore relational work in power laden Korean institutions, let us first look at organizational

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[5] Korean face, 'cheymyon' consists of two kinds: personalized and socialized. The former is very dynamic and transitional and is negotiated through interaction. However, the latter is a normative face that is defined by the societal rules and norms. It is static, because it is defined socially (Lim and Choi 1996: 124-127).

structure of the Korean university. As with many universities, Korean universities

generally have a strict hierarchical structure as shown below:

Table 3.1

Academic Structure

Chairman of the Board of Trustees

President

Vice president

Graduate School Deans (A)

Faculty Deans (B)

Administrative Deans (C)
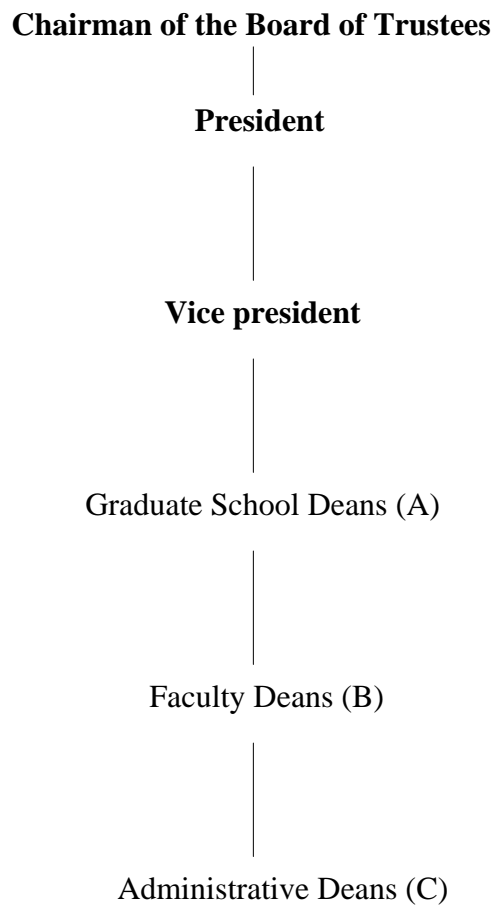
It is possible to see from this diagram that the university consists of three central

organizations, which include the university administrative offices, graduate schools, and

colleges. For instance, if the dean of academic affairs has an in-group relationship with

the chairman, this special bond leads to a change of the P and D variables so that the

dean of academic affairs moves up in the hierarchy to just below the chairman. In other words, the dean of academic affairs can exercise more power than the president, when the former is in special relationship[6]with the chairman (e.g. having the same alma mater). These examples illustrate why Korean relational work cannot be explained without referring to a Confucian model of relationships. The next section explores how Confucian values influence the way relational work is realized in institutional contexts.

3.4.3 Towards a Definition of Power

In order to get a firm understanding of how power is exercised through relational work, a discussion about why mandatory social norms are not the only variables in the actual realization of power, especially in institutional contexts, is needed. As stated above, Korean universities have a very hierarchical structure that reflects Confucian values (e.g. super-ordinate protection and subordinate loyalty). It is for this reason that institutional face work depends heavily upon Confucian values. These shared values provide the essential face saving mechanism for relational work.

First of all, let us look at Locher's definition of power. Locher separates power into two different parts: 'power to', and 'power over' (Locher 2004: 11). By borrowing Watts' concept of emergent networks, Locher's (2004: 28) concept of P explores the relational aspects of power during ongoing interactions. In every single interaction participants are motivated by individual interest to exercise power and do things that are in their specific linguistic control, in other words, 'power to'. The participants also utilize asymmetrical power relationships to exercise power over others, hence, 'power over'. As a result, Locher's notion of relational frames, which includes 'power-to' and

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[6] This is equivalent to Pan's term, 'personal connection' (Pan 2000: 49), because, like Chinese culture, Korean culture also originates in Confucianism.

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'power-over', is useful when specifically looking at status and power in relational work. Locher's concept of 'latent networks' is also relevant when analyzing how participants establish discursive identities within an emergent network through strategically motivated discourse.

Let me illustrate how the notion of power influences the actualization of relational work in Korean academic contexts. There are two kinds of power, formal and informal. The former emanates from organizational structure, which determines the speaker's official power and status. Informal power is linked to 'personalized face[7]' and is often used in discursive interactions when socialized face[8] is under threat on an interactional level. The following cases demonstrate how the exercise of formal power in Korea is based on a very hierarchical institutional organization. Faculty administrators cannot exercise formal power over secretaries, despite the fact that they are of higher status than the secretaries. Instead, the dean of academic affairs and the head of the department are managers of the secretaries. Moreover, although professors have higher positions than secretaries, they too cannot exercise formal power over secretaries because only the head of the department has direct control over a secretary.

However, informal power is locally specific, situation sensitive, and negotiable. This informal power, or influence, is anchored in Confucian thinking, in that it emanates not only from status variables within the university hierarchy, but also from special bonds, such as the in-group relationships between teachers and students, older graduates and younger graduates, or between people who attended the same school or university. The

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[7] Personalized 'chemyon' ('face') is easily threatened or damaged in any kind of social interaction (Lim and Choi 1996: 126).
[8] Socialized or normative 'chemyon' is the socially expected quality of a person in association with his or her particular social position or status (Lim and Choi 1996: 126).

difference between these two types of power is that formal power is static and regulated by social rules whereas informal power is flexible and contextually determined.

The effect of Confucian values on Korean face work can be most clearly seen in the realization of informal power. For example, if a female professor is unmarried, she may be regarded as having lower status. If, however, the same professor shares an in-group relationship with the chairman, nobody would attempt to exercise power over her. Occasionally, former students and former teachers end up working together at the same university. The teachers often exercise informal power over their former students by offering suggestions or advice. Because teachers and students share an in-group relationship, the teachers can use their influence to help resolve difficult problems.

Statements such as, "I attended the same university as the president" are heavy with implications of informal power due to culturally shared notions of familiarity created by the in-group relationship. Confucianism prescribes certain obligations between in-group members and once in an in-group relationship, the reciprocation of face for both parties is required (Pan 2000: 68-71). Confucian values can thus be used as a means of face protection. This is because in Confucianism, familiarity and in-group relationships are a crucial element for smooth social interaction (see Chapter 5).

For Korean relational work, as P increases, D decreases because Confucian values require that the more powerful individual provide support and the less powerful individual receive protection (Kang 2000: 89). For this reason, in order to protect their face, Korean people intentionally look for in-group affiliations. Confucian values thus become a sort of culturally specific common sense, which permeates all social interactions.

3.4.4 The Role of Secretaries in Determining Politeness and Power

The previous section explored a definition of power in which status was not synonymous with power due to culturally shared variables. This section discusses secretaries, because they are at the centre of this research due to the methodological approach taken (see section 3.5). This section explores the relationship between the roles and obligations of secretaries and the actual amount of power that they wield in different contexts. Roles and obligations vary according to the institution, but in Korean institutional settings institutional status is not the major determinant of how power is actually used. Confucian values, particularly age differences and in-group relationships, often take precedence over institutional conventions and hierarchies in the exercise of informal power. For example, secretaries in the faculty office are of equal status to those working in either individual departments or in the administrative offices. However, older secretaries can exercise influence over younger secretaries, if they are in an in-group relationship, regardless of where either of them works. Once a special bond has been made between them, an older secretary can exert informal power over a younger one, even when dealing with non-work related tasks. Moreover, though nominally the head of the department, as manager for the secretaries, has ultimate control over the secretaries, if an older secretary is in an in-group relationship with a younger secretary, he/she may encroach upon the role of the manager. Additionally, if a former student becomes a secretary working within the same department as a former teacher, the latter is able to wield considerable influence over the secretary. This is because teacher-student relationships have their own power dynamics within a university setting. Teachers are seen as academic mentors who have assisted their former students in achieving their academic goals. The former students, therefore, want to reciprocate their indebtedness by

acceding to requests made upon them by these former teachers. Appeals to this special in-group sentiment triggers a shared sympathy and renegotiates the power relationship between them.

In sum, Confucian values influence P, D and R variables and re-establish power relationships in institutional relationships concerning secretaries. Due to the Confucian emphasis on age and in-group relationships, violations of institutional responsibilities are accepted and even expected when there is a cultural need for it

3.5 A Socio-pragmatic Approach to Data Collection in Institutional contexts

3.5.1 Data Collection

This study utilizes authentic data collected from faculty and department office secretaries. I have chosen to use secretaries because they are ubiquitous, unobtrusive members of their communities and, as such, are well suited to observe, collect and record interactions as well as clarify the information they gather. The intention was to get culture-specific phenomena that represented the Korean institutional communities under study. In their field observations, the secretaries were required to closely examine the socio-cultural situation and collect all contextual information related to the spoken data they collected. Over eighteen months, ten secretaries participated in the recording process and collected a total of 48 tapes in three different locations: one college (the College of Bio-science and Engineering), three departments (Food Science and Nutrition, International Trade, and Chemical Engineering), and a dormitory on campus.

I choose the non-participant method (Milroy 1987: 59), because, as the data suggests, the strategic language use of institutional participants is very sensitive to power

dynamics (see Chapter 4). The presence of the researcher would likely make the interactants hesitate to express their thoughts, feelings or subjective stances. The non-participant method enables the researcher to collect natural language data because it allows the data to be collected as unobtrusively as possible and not interfere with the interactants' usual patterns of communication (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 28). The non-participant method in the current study substitutes the secretaries for the researcher as the data collectors to maintain an environment that is as natural as possible, particularly in relation to power relationships. The secretaries closely examined the contexts in which the recordings took place and took notes so that the locally specific contextual features (e.g. intentions/motivations, specific use of marked linguistic forms, extra-linguistic features, etc.) would help made the collected data more comprehensible.

Secretaries acted as mediators in two ways: they collected authentic spoken data by interacting with various people from within and outside of the institution and they elicited functional motivations and intentions from the participants more effectively than someone of higher status could when they conducted questionnaires, feedback sessions, and interview sessions after recording data. Secretaries were able to improve my eclectic data collection and greatly reinforce the qualitative and functional aspects of the spoken data collected. This eclectic method reinforced my functional approach to Korean politeness. The secretaries were able to collect data and contextual information with great subtlety so that the particular contextual features that directly connect to the functional aspects of linguistic politeness could be better understood. The secretaries were also able to provide ethnographic data, which was collected by means of contextual notes, that the participants provided at the time of recording. Use of secretaries as "field workers" was also useful for unobtrusively dealing with any problems that arose and for

collecting background data, which helped in the interpretation of spoken data (see Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 23).

The fact that the researcher was not present when the recordings were made was done to minimize the effects of the 'observer's paradox' (Milroy 1987: 59). I chose to abide by Milroy's non-participant method for recording institutional data, because my institutional identity might influence the interactants and make them conscious of being watched. As Cameron *et al.* (1992: 83-84) have rightly pointed out, the participants' perception of power and identity is a central obstacle in collecting natural spoken data. Since the perception of power relationships influences authentic data collection, fieldwork can become the negotiated outcome of the interactions between the researcher and the researched instead of an authentic interaction (Cameron *et al*. 1992: 72). In light of all this, it was clear that secretaries were best positioned to carry out the data collection. Secretaries are in a much more neutral position than the researcher and able to normally and naturally interact with people of all levels in all types of environments.

Another reason I have employed the non-participant method is that Confucian-based linguistic behavior is visible through discourse. Korean honorific devices are very sensitive to situation-specific contextual features and culture-specific values (see Chapter 4). Confucian values can therefore be recovered from culturally specific linguistic behavior, thereby making my presence unnecessary.

A variety of problems were encountered while negotiating access to the research sites and satisfying ethical concerns. Due to the fact that Koreans consider recording conversations an invasion of privacy, secretaries were very reluctant to allow recordings in their offices. I was only able to gain permission after negotiating with faculty deans.

Because of such problems, there was a considerable time gap between the initial recordings, which were made in June 2002, and the second set from the winter of 2003. After gaining permission, it was also difficult to satisfy the secretaries' concerns about the effect that the obvious presence of the tape recorder would have on their daily interactions. In the end, I left it to the discretion of the secretaries as to whether or not they told interactants that they were being recorded. The tape recorders were not hidden. If the interactants asked about the tape recorders, secretaries were told to get permission from the interactants. However, when interactants did not ask or notice, the secretaries did not explain the situation to them. Secretaries were told to tell the participants that every effort would be made to protect everyone's anonymity. Secretaries were also told not to force anyone to get involved in the recording, if they did not want to be.

I do not believe that the authenticity of the recordings was greatly contaminated by the presence of the tape recorder. Although the secretaries were aware that I was carrying out a study, I purposefully did not foreground linguistics or politeness as the focus of study. I also instructed secretaries not to tell any of the interactants exactly which conversations were being recorded. This technique worked well; interactants forgot about the tape recorder, and conversed normally (Wood and Kroger 2000: 59). In the next section I will elaborate on how my data collection methods relate to the qualitative approach that I used.

3.5.2 Reliability

This section discusses how collection methods were designed to maximize reliability by focusing on two complementary elements: accuracy and consistency (Mullany 2003: 74). Hammersley argues, "reliability refers to the degree of consistency

with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions" (1992: 67). His claim clearly suggests that qualitative analysis should be based on reliable analytical methods that accentuate both aspects (Mullany 2003: 74). In order to maintain consistency for the statistical samplings the researcher collected naturally spoken data within various institutional settings. In order to strengthen further consistency, I attempted to establish equal conditions by using secretaries in her/his own departmental offices, and selecting secretarial offices performing similar roles (see Cameron *et al.* 1992: 84-85).

Maintaining the accuracy of the transcribed data is also an integral part of maintaining reliability. In order to achieve this, I adopted several methods, including a quantitative method to examine the participants' language use on a lexical level, and a qualitative method to explore how the participants' functional motivations were influenced by culture-specific values (see section 3.4.3). To gather more information about value orientation and intention embedded in the functional language use, I had secretaries conduct personal interviews and double-check each participant's intentions by inquiring about their use of specific linguistic forms. Non-verbal features such as pauses, tones, and physical gestures were noted and all recorded data was listened to repeatedly before the transcripts were finalized. When recording the data, the secretaries also closely observed extra-linguistic and/or physical gestures and noted them. After each conversation was recorded, the secretaries also noted as much contextual information as possible. As Mullany states, "Researchers should not forget that they should continue correcting transcripts until they have a perfect version to improve on them" (Mullany 2003: 74; Silverman 2001: 231).

3.5.3 Validity

In order to ensure validity, Hammersley's (1992: 185) ethnographic research suggests that naturally occurring data should be gathered using collection methods that are oriented towards the informants. (see also Mullany 2003: 50). However his socio-linguistic method does not include subjective evaluations, such as an individual's beliefs and attitudes that are embedded in functional linguistic behavior. This is because his research is focused on how social groups creates conformity, rather than analyzing the variability of individual linguistic patterns during interactions (Eelen 2001: 212). In order to strengthen the validity of my data I also concentrated on qualitative methods by analyzing value oriented linguistic behavior as accurately as possible and following Mullany's (2003: 51) qualitative approach (e.g. informal talk as well as interviews) (see 3.5.4).

To verify that my data was valid, I employed various kinds of methods. In addition to the recorded data, both written and oral interviews were conducted. For the written interviews, I was able to reduce the 'observer's paradox' to a minimum, because informants generally felt more comfortable in circumstances in which they were not being directly observed (see Sifianou 1992: 4). However, informants responding to surveys, or even answering questions in face-to-face interviews can react differently than in real-life situations. For example, in a tête-à-tête interview informants often try to please the interviewer by giving an answer that they think is expected of them, whether consciously or not, but in real life, responding to similar questions, they may act very differently.

I concentrated on analyzing the same speaker's linguistic behavior in contextually different situations. An example of this would be the use of both deferential and non-

deferential linguistic strategies in sequential utterance. For instance, the same secretary can be referred to as 'secretary Pak' without the highly asymmetrically used honorific marker, 'nim' or 'Full name' alone, when the speaker feels offended in a particular context. However, the same speaker (a more powerful professor) often employs 'secretary teacher' combined with the highly asymmetrically used honorific marker, 'nim', when he/she is motivated by a profit-oriented goal (see Chapters 4 and 5). Similarly, the same professor can be referred to as more or non-deferential title according to the speaker's emotional stances. For example, the more powerful professor employs highly deferential address term, 'Last Name' combined with 'professor' and with the highly asymmetrically used honorific marker, 'nim'. However, the speaker also employs full name without 'nim' in the same sequential utterances (see Chapter 6 extract 5).

Locally specific linguistic behavior and deliberate flouting of the normal register showed how the violation of normal register could embed goal-oriented strategic politeness. Examining interactions turn-by-turn in actual encounters also strengthened validity, because it allowed me to examine how locally specific usage changes as it tries to match the fluctuating linguistic context (see Kasper 1992). Further in order to provide understanding of how Korean honorifics are used in address reference terms I conducted a secondary survey (see Chapter 4). The next section will discuss the two interview questionnaires and how feedback sessions were used to strengthen both reliability and validity.

3.5.4 Conducting Interviews

In order to gauge the intentions behind the linguistic strategies of the participants, I had secretaries interview participants (see appendices A and B) right after the tape recordings were made in 2003. These interviews were designed to reveal the cultural values of the interactants (see Cameron *et al*. 1992: 22-23). It was not possible to totally recover a participant's intentions through linguistic forms alone. In order to overcome these problems, using interviews is very common practice to obtain more flexible data (Mullany 2003: 56).

Due to Korean cultural emphasis on tentativeness, informants were hesitant to express their feelings and subjective attitudes in front of another person. For this reason a written interview was used to elicit what the thought process of the informants was (see Cameron et al. 1992: 67). For the interviews, informants were presented with a series of limited, artificially structured, pre-planned questions (Duranti and Goodwin 1997: 103; Mullany 2003: 56). When analyzing subjective and ideological data, Cameron claims that "since the data is self-consciously constructed by the participants or respondents themselves, as an ideal, a closed schedule questionnaire, or even an in-depth interview, is more likely to elicit from respondents' unitary and articulated opinion, attitude or belief" (Cameron et al. 1992: 99). In order to reduce these weaknesses, I mixed standardized questions with open-ended questions so that participants would be able to freely express themselves about perceptions of politeness, strategic intentions, and cultural values, etc.

There were 27 informants from Andong University and 45 informants from various conference venues. The questionnaire was identical to the questionnaire conducted by secretaries with recorded interactants at Inje University. However, the purpose of the secondary survey was to provide some empirical evidence for my claims about

Confucian cultural values embedded in their choices of honorifics analyzed in the tape recorded sessions. The open-ended questions were based on Mullany's (2003: 57) interview format (see also Bargiela and Harris 1997). The questions are divided into two sections. The first section was used to highlight Korean politeness and the traits of Korean culture that Korean speakers think of when they converse. The second focused more specifically on the relationship between intentions, situational features, and address term usage. The findings from the interviews from the secondary survey demonstrated that linguistic interaction is not simply a social interaction but also a manifestation of cultural values. Values are often the guiding force behind how interactional norms are interpreted (see Chapter 5).

3.5.5 Feedback Sessions

Cameron *et al.* (1992: 42-45) claim that feedback sessions can help the researcher gain additional information by reinforcing accuracy and refining informants' information. Also, the ways in which higher-level linguistic behavior interacts with cognitive dynamics (i.e. a participant's rational, emotional, and psychological state) cannot be explained based on a limited number of inter-personal interactions. Instead, multi-dimensional interactions in a specific situation are needed (Cameron *et al*. 1989: 8-9). Lastly, locally explosive issues that the researcher cannot work on benefit from feedback sessions. I used Cameron's idea of feedback sessions (Cameron *et al*. 1992: 44), which enabled me to augment my qualitative analysis.

Feedback sessions that incorporate question and answer sessions can unveil information that the researcher is not aware of (Cameron *et al*. 1992: 43). I conducted feedback sessions with some of the participants who had been interviewed by secretaries

with written questionnaires. I asked things such as why the participants adopted marked forms of politeness that they used. I inquired about highly deferential honorific forms that were adopted when speaking with close intimates. I was curious about situations in which participants employed non-deferential language with more powerful people. The feedback sessions also enabled me to conduct qualitative analysis by exploring the participants' internal motivations to better understand particular, locally specific linguistic features, and to better grasp the context features of the conversation (Cameron *et al.* 1992: 45). Respondents, who ranged from undergraduate students to professors, were very interested in these sessions and offered information sincerely and cooperatively.

About the importance of qualitative research, Cameron argues that "linguistic interaction is social interaction" (1992: 4) and should not be simply viewed as social reality but rather as value-laden variables that interact with higher-level social structures as well as cognitive dynamics (Cameron *et al.* 1992: 8-9). In this sense, feedback sessions enabled me to see the social actor's rational, emotional, and psychological dimensions (Cameron *et al.* 1992: 8-9). These qualitative methods were helpful for minimizing the 'observer paradox' as well as enhancing qualitative analysis (Milroy 1987: 59). Despite a cultural bias towards tentativeness, participants regarded feedback sessions as normal and made great contributions to the exploration of how multi-functionality—feelings, thoughts, personal motivations, intentionality and beliefs—is embedded in linguistic behaviors.

3.5.6 Other Methodological Considerations

Two particular methodological considerations need to be noted clearly. When analyzing request strategies in Chapter 5, aspects of Blum-Kulka's socio-pragmatic approach (see section 2.4.1) will be taken up in the form of a taxonomy for request strategies (see section 5.1). Further, when analyzing openings and closings in Chapter 6, Schegloff's conversational analysis and sequential utterances (see section 2.6.4) will be given particular consideration in examining adjacency pairs (see section 6.1).

3.6 Summary

This chapter has critically examined a wide range of politeness and power studies, some of which choose to locate politeness and power within the control of the participants, and others which choose to locate it in cultural norms. Many researchers have developed methodologies to explore one or the other of those two options. However, what is needed for Korean is an approach that will do both, where both the default forms of politeness and exercise of power are located in cultural norms, specifically in Confucian cultural values, but where these forms may be flouted by individuals in order to achieve specific ends. To show how this is done, a close analysis of transcripts, which were gathered by secretaries in various departments, and supplemented by contextual notes taken by the participants themselves were used as a basis for analysis. A secondary questionnaire was used on a second set of Korean informants to provide empirical evidence of the claims made about Confucian values (see Chapter 4).

In sum, my research in Korean university settings adopts a modified version of Brown and Levinson's politeness formula that incorporates a Confucian value-system. I've also modified Brown and Levinson's politeness formula by integrating it with Locher's concept of relational work and a perspective that accounts for Confucian thinking.

Chapter 4

The Multi-functionality of Korean Address Reference Terms

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 examines Korean honorifics and how they are used in address reference terms (A-R). First, tabulated data of a survey conducted asking participants about their ordinary use of honorifics in various situations is provided. Second, various recorded examples that highlight honorifics and A-R term usage are provided. This chapter gives the reader some empirical evidence for the claim I make about the role of cultural values in interpreting Korean politeness, which will be taken up in the ensuing Chapter 5. For the theoretical basis for the work in this chapter see Chapter 2. For the methodological basis see Chapter 3. The first part of this chapter provides quantitative data to support my claim about cultural values. The second of this chapter looks at more qualitative case studies. Before the data is presented, the relevance of A-R terms to the study of cultural values will be reviewed and various kinds of A-R terms will be discussed in detail.

4.2 The Functional Use of Cultural Values Regarding Address Reference
   Terms Usages

The use of address reference terms (A-R terms) is integral parts of polite linguistic strategies. Korean A-R terms display situation sensitivity and multi-functionality that reflect cultural values. Previous studies of A-R terms are mainly concerned with social conventions in the choice of linguistic strategies and fail to understand that A-R terms are constrained by the speaker's strategic intentions rather

than concern for FTAs. However, it is problematic to view social conventions as the only or the most important variable affecting the usages of A-R terms (Brown and Gilman 1960; Hwang 1975; 1990; Sohn 1983; 1986, 2006; Wang 1984; Braun 1988; Kim 1990; Kroger and Wood 1991; Kim 1992; Lee 1994a, 1994b, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2001; Chang 1996; Lee 2001; Okamura 2005; Koh and Tsay 2006; Byon 2006).

As previously mentioned, the Confucian notion of 'Korean deference' basically hinges on the Confucian concept of 'self-humbling and hearer elevation'. Hearers' elevating deferential strategies associated with formal deference contribute to the mitigation of FTAs especially between power differentials (Pan 2000: 78). For instance, a professor's deliberate use of over-politeness 'cokyo sensayng nim' (e.g. 'secretary teacher + nim') is a marked form, since 'Lee cokyo' ('secretary Lee') or 'Lee sensayng' ('teacher Lee') is considered the normal register. The address term is inconsistent with social conventions, but consistent with locally specific discursive norms. Here in lies strategic intention in context. The participant's deliberate flouting of the normal register is possible because of relative discursive face and institutional face based on the local context. A younger secretary may often be referred to as 'Title + Title + the highly reciprocally used honorific marker 'nim' ('secretary + teacher + nim') when a marginally personal request by a senior professor is made of her (see Chapter 5).

Although Pan (2000), Ryoo (2002), Holmes and Stubbe (2003) and Locher (2004) focus on the importance of situational discourse, they barely addressed culturally specific values affecting strategic politeness. Interestingly, in her spoken discourse approach to studying A-Rs, among English and Japanese speakers working in Japanese business contexts, Okamura's findings demonstrate that both English and Japanese

speakers used local norms of English A-Rs. The English speaker's choice of marked forms (e.g. 'LN + san') was often motivated by feelings of solidarity rather than to acknowledge rank differences (Okamura 2005: 15). Okamura's notion of marked form seems to highlight the reasons underlying a strategic choice of A-R terms.

Wood and Ryan (1991) make the important assertion that when analyzing discursive strategies the flouting of the normal register in terms of A-R should be viewed with an eye toward emotional state, since affective utterances also exhibit FTA sensitivity (Wood and Ryan 1991: 182). Wood and Ryan (1991: 183) further argue that the multiple meanings of particular address terms usages depend on specific discursive situations rather than on stereotypes of social norms. To give an example, a younger professor's inappropriate use of 'sensayngnim' ('teacher + nim') when addressing a senior professor is aimed at offending the senior professor. Notice, however, that 'sensayngnim' ('nim' is an honorific suffix) is more deferential than 'kyoswunim' ('professor + nim' = 'honorable professor') (Sohn 2006: 148; Okamura 2005: 149), because the usages of A-Rs are situationally different[1].

Kroger and Wood (1991: 166) point out that politeness strategies should be analyzed in segments of discourse, not simply in isolated linguistic utterances (1991: 16). They argue that A-R terms also follow the basic propositions of Brown and Levinson's politeness formula in which A-R usages are functionally employed as a face redress mechanism (1992: 160). Kroger and Wood strongly insist that Brown and Levinson's politeness formula should equally take account of solidarity (i.e. affective and emotional aspects) in the computation of politeness (1991: 164-165). They further argue that whether any specific positive politeness strategy is more polite or less polite

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[1] 'Sensayngnim' is regarded as more polite than 'kyoswunim' in Seoul and Choog Cheng area. However, 'Kyoswunim' is regarded as more polite in the southern part of Korea especially in Kyungsangdo area.

depends upon the function of the strategy (e.g. whether an address term is used for FTAs or non-FTAs), the direction of the threat—whether the threat is to positive or negative face and whether it is to the speaker's or the hearer's face—and finally it depends upon the linguistic devices used (e.g. whether the politeness strategy is syntactically bound or syntactically free) (Kroger and Wood 1991: 163).

However, the limitations of their data lie in the fact that they investigated address exchanges that involved limited interactions (e.g. dyadic interactions) (Kroger and Wood 1991: 154). In order to investigate functional usages of A-R terms, their experimental method should be made more comprehensive so as to encompass all kinds of interactional data occurring on a discursive level. Nonetheless, Kroger and Wood's (1991: 164) emphasis on multi-functionality in terms of positive politeness suggests the use of A-R terms as positive verbal redress mechanisms. Kroger and Wood's work also provides an insight into the nature of A-R usages and it is a significant step toward a more socio-pragmatic approach in the field of politeness studies.

4.3 Korean Address Reference Terms and Situation Sensitivity

Korean A-R terms display situation sensitivity. For example, A-R terms can be employed according to the various pragmatic purposes by using locally specific contextual features as shown below.

Table 4.1
Pronominal Forms

2ⁿᵈ person pronoun 'you'	'kwiha' ('귀하') 'Elusin' ('어르신')-deferential forms
	'kutay' ('그대') 'caki' ('자기') 'imca' ('임자') 'tayk' ('댁')- average deferential form 'caney' ('자네')
2ⁿᵈ person pronoun	'ne' ('너')- non-deferential form 'tangsin'('당신')-non-deferential form
2ⁿᵈ person pronoun (plural) 'you'	'yelepwun' ('여러분')-deferential form 'nehuytul'('너희들'='you') -'non-deferential('들' ('tul') is a plural suffix)

3ʳᵈ person pronoun 'he/she'	'ku' ('그')-'he' kunye ('그녀')-'she'
3ʳᵈ person pronoun (plural) 'they'	'kutul' ('그들') 'tul' is a plural suffix.

Koo's (1992) field study collected 64 second person pronoun A-R terms and found the most commonly used to be 'kwiha' and 'elusin/elusine' from the deferential forms; 'kutay', 'caki', 'imca', and 'caney' from the middle register; and 'tangsin' and 'ne' from the non-deferential forms. The use of a second person pronoun in Korean is highly situation-dependent. The A-R 'tangsin' is normally used to refer to either an adult inferior (e.g. subordinate adult) or one's spouse (it carries the implication of an affectionate connotation), whilst 'ne' is employed to address or refer to a child or equivalent (e.g. one's own child or grandchildren) (Koh and Tsay 2006: 185). The many variants of addressing pronouns have deferential connotations that are dependent upon the local norms. For example, kinship terms in Korean display the Confucian value of deference, because the Confucian emphasis on super-ordinate protection and subordinate loyalty is embedded in those kinship terms (see section 4.3.2).

The Korean honorific system consists of addressee honorifics and third party referent honorifics. For the former the speaker is sensitive to the person to whom they are speaking and this sensitivity is expressed in the choice of verbal suffix. However, the latter has to do with the person about whom they are speaking and the referent–related honorific suffix is encoded with or without indexing '-(u) si' (Sohn 2006: 140-141). Note, though, that Korean speakers are more attentive to the former than to the latter, because in the former case participants are all exposed to a particular context (Hong 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008; see also Pan 2000: 72). On the contrary, for the latter, the hearer or the third person referent is absent from the particular situation. The evidence in the data that follows in this chapter clearly reveals that addressee honorifics are more situation-sensitive than referent honorifics.

4.3.1 Defining Address Terms

Address terms can be defined as vocatives, direct references to the addressees, such as Mr. or Mrs. They are used to refer to the addressee or call the attention of the addressee or both (Hwang 1975; Okamura 2005: 1-2). According to the Oxford English Dictionary, address terms are defined as "the style by which a person is addressed especially formally" (1989: 146).

Korean address terms are very hierarchical and reflect both formal and informal traits (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). 'Paksa'('Dr'.) 'kyoswu' ('professor'), 'wencang/kwukcang' ('director'), 'hoycang/sacang' ('president'), 'sangsa' ('boss'), and 'sensayng' ('teacher') can be identified as formal, whilst 'kwun' ('Mr.') and 'yang' ('Miss') can be classified as informal and derogatory due to the culture-specific connotations. They are generally used as vocatives and can be applied differently according to situational features. Notice, however, that the connotations of these A-Rs depend on locally specific contexts. In Korean business encounters 'Mr.' and 'Miss' can be commonly employed as A-Rs. However, in institutional contexts the connotation can be different. Korean traditional address terms 'kwun', 'ssi', 'yesa', and 'yang' have been introduced from English counterparts (e.g. 'Mr.', ' Mrs', 'Miss') and all can be used as marked address terms and carry specific meanings (e.g. disparaging, scorn, insult, gender differentiation) (Okamura 2003: 17). English counterparts seem to be much less complex and hierarchical than the Korean terms.

Table 4.2

Faculty Address Terms

Deferential levels	Address term + personal name
Very formal and deferential	Professor Park Young Soo + 'nim'
Average deferential	Professor Park + 'nim'
Moderately raised and formal deference	Professor Park
Moderately raised and informal deference	Teacher Park + 'nim'
Lowering and non-deferential	Teacher Park

Table 4.3

Sohn's Address Term Framework

Patterns	Examples
T + HT	'His excellency the President'
FN 1+ T + HM	Dr. Young Hi Kim Minister Cheol Soo Park
LN + PT + HM	Dr. Kim, Professor Kim Director Park, Teacher Kim
PT + PT + HM	Director + Teacher + 'nim' Doctor + Teacher + 'nim' Secretary + Teacher + 'nim'
T + HM	Judge + HM Director + HM
LN + IFHM	Ms. Park + HM , Ms. Choy + HM
LN + T	Dr. Hong, Director Joo Teacher + Kim without HM
LN + IFHM	Mr. Kim, Miss Lee

GN 1+ IFHT	Mi Young Kim 'ssi' Min Soo Choy 'ssi'
LN + IFHT	Miss Kim Mr Choy
FN 2	Jin-ok, Jin Ju, Soon Dal, Byung Ho, Jae Bong

PT = Professional Title, HM = Honorific Morpheme, HT= Honorific Title, GN =
Given Name, LN = Last Name, PT + PT = Professional Title plus Professional
Title, IFHM= Informal Honorific Morpheme, IFHT = Informal Honorific Title
(Sohn 1986: 417).

In Korean, 'ssi' (Mr.) is used for both single and married persons (Sohn 2006:

150-151). This neutral title, 'ssi', can be applied to a person who appears to be slightly older than the speaker himself/herself (e.g. at most two or three years older) and with whom she/he is not close (Sohn 2006: 150). The title, 'ssi', can be also applied to addressing adults of lower status (Sohn 2006: 151). 'Ssi' can be combined with LN + FN, as in Hong Jin-ok 'ssi' (Ms. Jin-ok Hong) or with FN only, as in Jin-ok 'ssi', Soondal 'ssi' (Mr. 'Soondal'). This title is also employed when addressing people of lower status such as a street cleaner, a janitor, a merchant, a technician, a cleaner etc. Note here that 'ssi' is more deferential than 'kwun' ('Mr.')/'yang' ('Miss').

In Korean, 'kwun' ('Mr.') and 'yang' ('Miss') are employed especially toward younger adults who are of lower ranks than the speaker. Miss is often used when a male super-ordinate addresses his female secretary or receptionist at business organizations (Sohn 2006: 151). However, these A-R terms can be deliberately manipulated in situations where the speaker wants to convey strategic meanings. For example, a male professor can address a female professor as 'Lee Su-mi ssi' (LN + FN + 'ssi') in order to downgrade her institutional face. The deferential level of 'ssi' is Full Name +'ssi', Family Name +'ssi', First Name + 'ssi' in descending order of deference: e.g. 'Hong Kil Dong ssi', 'Hong ssi' and 'Kil Dong 'ssi'. However, as noted earlier, the speaker's intention is the prevalent regulating criterion in the use of address terms. The same professor can be differently referred to according to the speaker's intentionality and the interpretations therefore depend heavily upon locally specific contextual features.

4.3.2 The Use of First Name

The first name (FN) is used selectively in Korean. Adults tend to use FN when they address children. When a personal name is used as a vocative, it is always with vocative endings (Koh and Tsay's term is 'intimate vocative'). The intimate vocative particle has phonological variations: if it is after names that end in consonants, the vocative ending 'a' and 'i' follow after names: e.g. Jin-ok + *i*, Soon Dal + *a*, Seon-ok + *a*. However, if it is after names that end in vowels, the vocative ending, '-ya' is followed after names: Soon Ho + *ya*, Jin Ju + *ya*, Sen-i + *ya*, Rang-a + *ya* (Sohn 2006: 151). Neither of these endings is used with deferential/honorific forms.

However, in business encounters such as at a bank or post office when a woman cashier/post clerk addresses her/his customer by FN, then the use of a non-reciprocal honorific marker, 'nim', is affixed to the customer's FN. The choice of 'nim' combined with FN can be employed in order to show emotional attitudes toward a more powerful person. A student using FN without a professional title to address his/her professor in a formal classroom setting will likely to incur a social sanction. However, it is locally dependent. For example, although FN alone tends to be applied to children, FNs are used in different situations for people of various ages: e.g. a man can address a woman he loves by using FN. Parents and teachers can address their children/students with FN-a/-ya, indexing familiarity.

At school, teachers tend to call students by their FN alone. However, at the college level professors address students using their FN or LN with address terms such as 'yang' ('Miss') or 'kwun' ('Mr.) (e.g. 'Miss Lee', 'Mr. Kim'). In junior and secondary schools, older students may address younger students by using their FN and receive a kinship term (KT) from the younger students (e.g. FN +enni = Su-mi

enni = sister Su-mi). FN + ~a/~ya/~i are also used at the college level between students. In social interactions if the younger speaker uses only an FN to address an adult, she/he will cause a social conflict and receive a warning and/or an insult from an elder. However, after children get married, Korean parents use the address term 'teknonymy[2]'.

Koh and Tsay (2006) claim that an honorific professional title can be used when referring to one's schoolteacher, because she views honorific usages from power and solidarity dyads (see also Hijirida and Sohn 1983; Sohn 1999, 2006). However, the focus on Korean honorific forms should be shifted from politeness and solidarity to politeness and goal-oriented solidarity embedded with value-oriented thinking. According to my spoken data, students often address their professor by using his/her FN such as 'Choy Young Soo' rather than PT + FN ('Professor Choy Young Soo') in order to show their emotional stances (i.e. solidarity and warmth) in front of their classmates. Yet, students also use these address terms toward their professors when intentionally maligning or criticizing their professors. The usage of FN thus heavily depends on the speaker's intentionality according to the nature of contextual discourse.

Note that the use of FN can be reciprocally or non-reciprocally used even between equals or siblings: elder brother or sister can refer to his/her younger siblings by using FN and an appropriate KT. The classmates also exchange FNs with each other (Hwang 1975: 44). Although interactants are not siblings, FN or KT can be employed between older and younger students. The reciprocal use of FN can also be applied to intimate friends whose friendship originates in childhood or

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[2] Once their offspring get married and are initiated to parenthood, teknonymy takes the place of FN. In their interim between their offspring's marriage and parenthood, the parents usually avoid calling them by any names (Hwang 1975: 43).

primary/secondary school (Hwang 1975: 44). However, it will be reciprocally

employed between different power relationships. Professors can be referred to as FN

when students express intimacy or scorn.

4.3.3 The Use of Last Name and/or Title

Last name-title (LNT) plus 'nim' and 'Title + nim' can be categorized as normal

A-R terms between power differentials. LNT (Professor Kim) and LNT + honorific

morpheme 'nim' are commonly used. However, the latter is regarded as more

deferential than the former due to the deferential meaning embedded in 'nim'. The

honorific marker, 'nim' is metaphorically used, since its implication is honorable

person and reflects positive politeness effects such as enhancing and supporting face

(Lim and Choi 1996: 129). 'Kim wencang nim' ('Director Kim + 'nim'') is seen as

more deferential than 'Kim wencang' ('Director Kim'). Professional title (PT) without

the honorific suffix-'nim' such as 'sensayng' ('teacher') and 'kyoswu' ('professor')

often reveals emotional implications (e.g. blaming, scorn, condemnation etc.) despite

its professional title. Nonetheless, LNT-nim or FN can be used either non-reciprocally

or reciprocally depending on the speaker's intentionality.

The connotations of LNT without 'nim' depend on the local norms. If a speaker

employs this A-R with an angry voice, the contextual interpretation will be perceived

as very rude. However, when a student addresses his/her professor with affection, the

contextual meaning can be interpreted as being very friendly. Title plus LN (i.e.

'Professor Kim'/'Kim kyoswu') is much more lowering than Title plus LN + the

highly asymmetrically used honorific marker, 'nim' (i.e. 'Professor Kim' + 'nim'/

'Kim kyoswu + nim') (see Table 4.2). However, the choice of 'Kim kyoswu' with

'nim' can be perceived as either intimate or disregarding depending on the local norms (see section 5.5).

As noted above, LN alone can hardly be used as an A-R, because it does not reveal any deference without a PT. Most of the PTs employ the non-reciprocally used honorific marker, 'nim'. However, teacher without 'nim' is not interpreted as impolite due to its cultural origin (i.e. 'teacher' is culturally a term of respect). For instance, 'LN + teacher + nim' or 'LN + teacher without nim' becomes the norm even between hierarchal institutional positions: e.g. how a younger dean of academic affairs can address a significantly older male/female professor in institutional contexts. It is because of this cultural knowledge that 'teacher' is prevalently used in all walks of life in Korean contexts. It is because of this cultural knowledge that LN + teacher with 'nim' is also used between colleagues/in-group members.

4.3.4 Reference Terms (Third Party Terms)

Reference terms are variants that index proper names or noun phrases and denote the addressees or addressee referents. Hwang excludes pronouns from the A-R category, because pronouns are only used in rare cases in Korean (Hwang 1975: 19). By that logic pronouns should therefore be classified as reference terms, since the second person pronouns not only indicate the addressees but also refer to the addressee referents: e.g. 'tangsin' can be referred to by mourners in a funeral ceremony, whilst 'kwiha' can be employed to show deference for the addressee referent by a sender of a letter.

Due to the cultural difficulty of referring explicitly to addressee by FN, a speaker can employ reference terms relevant to a particular context. It is for this reason that

reference terms have replaced FN or pronouns. It is also due to the pragmatic

functions of Korean reference terms that Korean speakers want to employ referents.

For instance, Korean speakers often employ referents in order to indicate the hearers

implicitly in a particular context. However, he/she employs reference terms rather

than pronouns in order to explicitly index the degree of emotional closeness (Bargiela

and Harris 1997: 158).

It is notable that Korean reference terms often replace pronouns in order to

convey more deferential meanings. For example, 'samonim' (a wife of his/her

teacher) is highly marked and allows the speaker to pay the same extreme deference

to the addressee, or addressee referents, as he/she would show to the wife of his/her

own teacher. When addressing a woman: a wife can be referred to as 'pwuin' ('wife').

But if the woman's husband is of a lower status, then neutral forms are employed (e.g.

'acwumeni') which mean married woman. 'Samonim', 'pwuin', and 'acwumeni'

show a decreasing level of deference.

Notice here that 'acwumeni' ('the most degrading form of woman') is a variant

for addressing a woman and is often used in degrading combinations:

e.g.'chengsopwu acwumeni' (cleaning woman), 'phachwul pwu acwumeni' (part time

house maid), etc. Reference terms such as 'samonim' or 'sensayngnim' (teacher) can

be employed as a marked form of deference due to Confucian values. Mrs. ('yesa'),

'pwuin' and 'acwumeni' show a decreasing level of deference referring to a woman

but these reference terms can be perceived as either deferential or non-deferential

depending on the situational features. In Korean an ordinary woman and the First

Lady can be equally referred to as 'yesa'. However, these address terms can be

interpreted differently depending on the particular contextual features and can often

be deliberately used to reveal scorn due to culture-specific pejorative connotations. It often displays scorn when used to address unmarried women.

Reference terms are used when a third person's name is defocalized. The choice of reference terms depends on a variety of situational features according to the speaker's intention. There are various options according to the ranks of the addressees: e.g. 'young pwuin' (the first lady), 'samonim' (a wife whose husband holds an achieved social status in a society), 'manim' (a wife of the upper class during the 'Chosun dynasty'), and 'yesa' (an older woman who has achieved a higher position in society or a woman who has married). All of these represent women of different social ranks and reflect Confucian values. However, the use of these reference terms depends on the situation-specific features according to speaker's pragmatic goal.

Koo's (1992) study points out that Korean reference terms display situation sensitivities in various local contexts: e.g. a husband/male speaker can address his spouse/female friend by her childhood's name if the addressee is married and has a child. However, a female speaker tends to address a male friend as 'appa' or 'apeci' attached to the addressee's name rather than using the name of his child. It should be noted that the positive nature of reference terms are useful in the manipulation of honorific forms in relation to FTAs or FEAs. For instance, in the data collected in the current study, one student preferred formal address terms (e.g. Title + LN = professor Park) for FEA, whilst another student preferred informal address terms (FN = Suk Ki) for the same purpose.

Due to situation sensitivity, there are multitudinous variants of reference terms for indexing a woman: e.g. 'haksayng' (student),'yeca' (she), 'agassi' (young woman),

'acwumeni' (aunt), 'imo' (aunt), 'enni' (elder sister), 'chenye' (maiden), 'kongcwu' (princess). All of these refer to a woman depending on the context. For example, 'kongcwu' (princess) refers to a woman who thinks he/she is a distinguished person. 'Yeca' implies a negative connotation in a certain context. In an institutional context a male professor who addresses a senior woman professor as 'yeca' will insult her, because gender differentiation plays a crucial role in the interpretation of this reference term.

English reference terms seem to be less complex than the Korean counterparts. For instance, in English institutional settings, a secretary can be referred to by her/his first name. In English, FN is often used for referring to a third person referent. However, in Korean there are many variants to indicate third party referents according to contextual features as well as emotional attitude as indicated in Table 4.4 below with the example of a secretary.

Table 4.4
Reference Terms for Secretaries

Deferential levels	Address term + personal name
Very formal and deferential	Secretary teacher + 'nim'
Average deferential	Full name + teacher + 'nim'
Moderately raised and deferential	LN + teacher + 'nim'
Intimate but non-deferential	LN + teacher
Intimate and moderately lowering	LN + secretary
Rude and blunt	Full Name

A professor's personal goal, regardless of roles and obligations, may prompt the professor to employ over politeness, for example, 'Title + title + 'nim' (i.e. secretary + teacher + the highly non-reciprocally used 'nim') in order to dilute the negative face threats caused by his/her personal request. On the other hand, a department head may refer to the same secretary by FN in order to reveal emotional feelings (e.g. indignation, condemnation, or closeness).

4.3.5 Personal Deixis

From a socio-pragmatic perspective, the Korean deictic system is closely interlinked with locally specific contextual features. Korean honorifics can be classified as either personal deixis (e.g. personal pronouns such as 1st person pronouns, 2nd person pronouns, 3rd person pronouns, and vocatives) or social deixis. Personal deixis is personal pronouns and are grouped into four categories, the first person pronouns, the second person pronouns, the third person pronouns, and vocatives (Byon 2000). There are two kinds of deferential levels in Korean first person pronouns:

Table 4.5
First Person Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
Plain	na	uli (tul)
Humble	ce	cehuy (tul)

Table 4.6
Second Person Pronouns

	Singular	Plural	
Neutral	tangsin	tangsintul	
Formal	caney	caneytul	
Informal	ne	nehuy	(tul)

Korean pronouns obviously display situation sensitivity. For example, the humble form 'cehuytul' ('we') can be used as a means of denoting self-deprecation. The humble form 'ce' ('I') also connotes self-denigration. However, the problem occurs when it is used for situation specific purposes. Neither 'cehuytul' nor 'wulitul' ('we') can be understood as polite. The former (the self-deprecating form of 'we') does not elevate the addressee who is now involved in the group. Nor does the latter downgrade the speaker himself/herself, because she/he is within the group boundary. Korean pronouns are thus sensitive to situation-specific features.

The second person pronoun is a case in point. The second person pronoun is used non-reciprocally. It is due to the intrinsic limitations that there are prolific replacements for the second person pronouns. From a socio-linguistic point of view Koreans use pronouns to index relative status on a hierarchical social dimension. However, as shown in interactional data, the actual use of pronouns is locally sensitive. For instance, the second person subject 'you' is often deleted in order to achieve a socio-pragmatic goal (e.g. de-focalization) as exemplified below.

(1) *Ku sensayng po-ass-ni?*
    The teacher-NDHM see-PAST-NDVS-INTERR?
    "Have you seen the teacher?"

In (1) the subject 'you' is missing, because the speaker wants to implicitly mark the intended addressee.

(2) *Mos-po-ass-nuntey-yo.*
    NEG-see-PAST –CIRCUM-ADVS.
    "I haven't seen him."

In English the pronoun 'I' and 'him' are evidently marked in the sentence as shown in (2) above. However, (2) includes neither subject nor object marker in Korean. Hence, the connotations depend on situational implications. The deletion of a subject and/or an object implies the speaker's intention in a particular context. The contextual sensitivity in the use of deixis has thus resulted in a wide variety of reference terms.

4.3.6 Kinship Terms

Kinship terms (KT) are terms asymmetrically used between family members (Sohn 1986: 403): the lower ranking speaker is supposed to refer to an elder with an appropriate KT. If a younger sibling refers to his/her elder by FN, then that flout carries pragmatic weight (implying insult, anger, contempt, etc.). However, we shall see that the use of KT is regarded as the most crucial FTA redress mechanism due to its metaphorical emphasis on in-group solidarity. Sohn (1983: 149) argues that English and Japanese do not delineate either the father's or the mother's side, nor between older and younger siblings, nor between consanguinity and in-law, all of

which are differentiated in Korean. For instance, the speaker addresses his older brother's wife as 'hyengswu' and refers to by his older sister's husband as 'hyengnim'. The man's older sister's husband is referred to as 'cahyeng'. On the other hand, a woman's younger sister's husband is referred to as 'ceypwu'. Moreover a woman's older sister's husband can be referred to as 'hyengpwu' (Sohn 1986: 425-427). This is very different from American siblings and their spouses who regarded each other as equal and use FN reciprocally.

Kinship terms appeal to the Korean cultural emphasis on in-group solidarity (e.g. elderly benevolence/love and younger dependence). They play vital roles in persuading the hearer to contribute to the proposed request.

(3) *Senpay enni hyuka cal ponay-ess-supnikka?*
    Senior student elder sister, holiday well spend-PAST-EDVM -INTERR?
    "Senior elder sister, have you had a good holiday?"

In (3), the speaker uses KT, 'senpay' (an elder) to establish closeness. The elder superior has key Korean value implications, because Korean culture stresses personal connections such as in-group relationships to exercise power. This metaphorical extension of a family relationship to a secretary appears to be an effort to achieve a strategic goal by establishing family like solidarity in FTA sensitive institutional contexts.

Interestingly, in Korean universities 'senpay' and 'hwupay' are prevalently favored between students of different grades. 'Enni' ('elder sister'), 'oppa' ('elder brother') or FN + ~a/~i/~ya are also used among students. 'Senpay' is employed as both a direct address and third party reference term, and can be combined with LN, FN or both as in 'Hong senpay', 'Jin-ok senpay', and 'Hong Jin-ok senpay'. This A-R

term is based on the year of college entry. 'Enni' and 'oppa' are extensively used

among Korean speakers, even if there is no blood relationship. These terms are

employed in order to establish family-like solidarity during business encounters.

Despite the fact that 'oppa' means older brother, women often refer to their

sweethearts or husbands as 'oppa'.

4.4 Address Reference Terms in the Questionnaire Survey

4.4.1 Data Collection

I conducted a survey to explore how Korean secretaries use address and reference

terms in various institutional contexts. At first 90 secretaries participated in the first

questionnaire survey: i.e. 30 respondents each from An Dong University, In Je

University, and conference venues. However, the problem was, except for a few male

counterparts, most of the respondents were female. Notice here that Korean university

offices, especially the departmental offices, mainly consist of female secretaries. The

secretaries in the departmental offices consist of 20 through 30 year- old secretaries,

because most of the secretaries are university graduates and start working as

secretaries right after they graduate from their universities. Secretaries' jobs are

temporary and they should resign after three years[3] of working contracts. After that

the secretaries should leave school and find other jobs. That is why the respondents of

the questionnaires mainly range from 20 through 30 years in age. Due to the lack of

male respondents, I conducted a second round of the questionnaire survey to secure

equitable numbers between male and female respondents in August 2004. I especially

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[3] When I conducted this survey, a secretary's temporary contract lasted for five years. However, the length of the
standard contract has been shortened to three years now.

asked academic staff from other universities to search for male secretaries at their universities in order to obtain equality of gender.

Fortunately, several universities helped me resolve this problem. Soon Cheon College of Education, Han Nam University, Choong Ang University, Kyung Sang University, and Soong Sil University all helped me to successfully obtain questionnaires from male respondents. Once I had a large number of both male and female respondents (approximately 500 total), I tabulated data responses based on two variables. From the general pool of responses, I selected 68 males and 68 females and tabulated their responses. Then from the general pool of responses I selected 68 respondents in their 20s and 68 respondents in their 30s. They were all secretaries. The tables are divided into two kinds. Some tables are divided according to gender whereas other tables are divided by age.

The questionnaire format was written in both English and Korean (see appendices A and B). This survey aims to assess how the secretaries employed A-R terms according to socio-cultural variables (e.g. power, age, gender, familiarity, in-group relationship etc.) and how politeness and power interconnect with social variables in terms of A-R usages. Secretaries are seen to be respecting Confucian values expressed in power hierarchies (evidencing the Confucian emphasis on subordinate loyalty-super-ordinate prevention). The results of these data demonstrate that power, age, and gender variables affected A-R usages in all manner of institutional contexts. However, power appears to be the dominant variable in the choice of A-R, because respondents mostly employed deferential forms with 'nim' even between less powerful secretaries.

It has to be noted that I didn't conduct Chi-square test analysis (X^2 test analysis), because the figure that is expressed as a percentage is sufficient to compare quantitatively regarding the difference of the A-R terms usages between different groups. Because the aim of this chapter is to do a lexical level analysis, the percentage analysis will clearly reveal the difference of the A-R terms usages when corresponding with various social variables.

4.4.2 Data Analysis

Table 4.7

Addressing a Significantly Older Professor in the Third Person

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	Professor + without nim	Others	Totals
20's	56 (82.35)	2 (2.94)	2 (2.94)	2 (2.94)	68 (100.00)
30's	39 (57.35)	14 (20.59)	3 (4.41)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
Totals	95 (69.85)	16 (11.76)	5 (3.68)	7 (5.15)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.8

Addressing a Younger Male Department Head by Age Group

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	DH + nim	Head + nim	Teacher	Others	Totals
20's	40 (58.82)	7 (10.29)	11 (16.18)	4 (5.88)	0	2 (2.94)	68 (100.00)
30's	23 (33.82)	15 (22.06)	10 (14.71)	7 (10.29)	3 (4.41)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
Totals	63 (46.32)	22 (16.18)	21 (15.44)	11 (8.09)	3 (2.21)	7 (5.15)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.9

Addressing a Younger Male Department Head by Gender Group

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	DH + nim	Head + nim	Teacher without + nim	Others	Totals
M	18 (26.47)	15 (22.06)	14 (20.59)	6 (8.82)	3 (4.41)	6 (8.82)	68 (100.00)
F	45 (66.18)	7 (10.29)	7 (10.29)	5 (7.35)	0	1 (1.47)	68 (100.00)
Totals	63 (46.32)	22 (16.18)	21 (15.44)	11 (8.09)	3 (2.21)	7 (5.15)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.10

Addressing a Younger Female Department Head

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	DH + nim	Head + nim	Teacher without + nim	Others	Totals
M	17 (25.00)	16 (23.53)	14 (20.59)	6 (8.82)	3 (4.41)	6 (8.82)	68 (100.00)
F	45 (66.18)	7 (10.29)	7 (10.29)	5 (7.35)	0	1 (1.47)	68 (100.00)
Totals	62 (45.59)	23 (16.91)	21 (15.44)	11 (8.09)	3 (2.21)	7 (5.15)	136 (100.00)

Tables 4.9 and 4.10 above show that respondents made gender distinctions addressing both male and female department heads (DHs). For example, when addressing a younger female DH, respondents made a gender distinction: e.g. the male respondents employed a considerably lower percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward a younger male DH (25%) than the female counterparts (66.18%) (Table 4.10). Similarly, when addressing a younger male DH, respondents made a gender distinction: e.g. the male respondents employed a considerably lower percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward a younger male DH (26.47%) than the female respondents (66.18%) (Table 4.9). This means that there is a gender distinction when choosing address terms. However, a gender distinction hardly appears when addressing indirectly the less powerful secretary as can be seen in Tables 4.11 and 4.12 below.

Table 4.11

Addressing a Male Secretary from Another Department

	Teacher + nim	Secretary + Teacher + nim	Secretary + nim	Teacher + without + nim	Saym	Others	Totals
20's	43 (63.24)	10 (14.71)	5 (7.35)	1 (1.47)	2 (2.94)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
30's	35 (51.47)	8 (11.76)	8 (11.76)	8 (11.76)	1 (1.47)	7 (10.29)	68 (100.00)
Totals	78 (57.35)	18 (13.24)	13 (9.56)	9 (6.62)	3 (2.21)	12 (8.82)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.12

Addressing a Female Secretary from Another Department

	Teacher + nim	Secretary + Teacher + nim	Secretary + nim	Teacher + without + nim	Saym	Nwuna (elder sister)	Others	Totals
20's	40 (58.82)	10 (14.71)	5 (7.35)	1 (1.47)	3 (4.41)	0	7 (10.29)	68 (100.00)
30's	35 (51.47)	7 (10.29)	8 (11.76)	8 (11.76)	1 (1.47)	3 (4.41)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
Totals	75 (55.15)	17 (12.50)	13 (9.56)	9 (6.62)	4 (2.94)	3 (2.21)	12 (8.82)	136 (100.00)

When addressing secretaries of lower ranks indirectly, gender hardly influences A-R choice. However, secretaries of lower institutional ranks are very concerned with power in terms of A-R choice. For instance, the younger respondents showed similar percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward a male (63.24%) and a female counterparts (58.82%) due to the same institutional rank (Tables 4.11 and 4.12). Similarly, the female respondents also showed similar percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward the male (69.12%)and female counterparts (64.71%) as shown below (Tables 4.13 and 4.14).

Table 4.13
Addressing a Male Secretary from Another Department

	Teacher + nim	Secretary Teacher + nim	Secretary + nim	Teacher + without nim	Saym	Others	Totals
M	31 (45.59)	8 (11.76)	13 (19.12)	9 (13.24)	1 (1.47)	6 (8.82)	68 (100.00)
F	47 (69.12)	10 (14.71)	0	0	2 (2.94)	6 (8.82)	68 (100.00)
Totals	78 (57.35)	18 (13.24)	13 (9.56)	9 (6.62)	3 (2.21)	12 (8.82)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.14

Addressing a Female Secretary from Another Department

	Teacher + nim	Secretary Teacher + nim	Secretary + nim	Teacher + without nim	Saym	Elder sister	Others	Totals
M	31 (45.59)	7 (10.29)	13 (19.12)	9 (13.24)	1 (1.47)	3 (4.41)	4 (5.88)	68 (100.00)
F	44 (64.71)	10 (14.71)	0	0	3 (4.41)	0	8 (11.76)	68 (100.00)
Totals	75 (55.15)	17 (12.50)	13 (9.56)	9 (6.62)	4 (2.94)	3 (2.21)	12 (8.82)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.15

Addressing a Male Secretary in the Third Person

	Teacher + nim	Secretary	Teacher	Secretary Teacher + nim	Secretary + nim	Ssi	Saym	Others	Totals
20's	37 (54.41)	8 (11.76)	0	5 (7.35)	3 (4.41)	2 (2.94)	3 (4.41)	5 (7.36)	68 (100.00)
30's	26 (38.24)	15 (22.06)	8 (11.76)	2 (2.94)	2 (2.94)	3 (4.41)	1 (1.47)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
Totals	63 (46.32)	23 (16.91)	8 (5.88)	7 (5.15)	5 (3.68)	5 (3.68)	4 (2.94)	10 (7.35)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.16

Addressing a Female Secretary in the Third Person

	Teacher + nim	Secretary	Teacher	Secretary Teacher + nim	Secretary + nim	Saym	Ssi	Others	Totals
20's	34 (50.00)	8 (11.76)	0	5 (7.35)	3 (4.41)	4 (5.88)	2 (2.94)	7 (10.29)	68 (100.00)
30's	26 (38.24)	15 (22.06)	8 (11.76)	2 (2.94)	2 (2.94)	1 (1.47)	3 (4.41)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
Totals	60 (44.12)	23 (16.91)	8 (5.88)	7 (5.15)	5 (3.68)	5 (3.68)	5 (3.68)	12 (8.82)	136 (100.00)

The different age groups did not make a gender distinction when addressing both male and female secretaries as the third person referent. For example, the younger group employed similar percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward the male secretary (54.41%) and toward the female counterpart (50%). The older group also employed similar percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward the male (38.24%) and the female (38.24%) counterparts (Tables 4.15 and 4.16). Notice, however, that when secretaries directly address other secretaries, gender influences A-R choices. For example, the female respondents employed a much higher percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward a male secretary (57.35%) than the male counterparts (35.29%) as shown in Table 4.17 below.

Table 4.17

Addressing a Male Secretary

	Teacher + nim	Secretary	Teacher	Secretary Teacher + nim	Ssi	Secretary + nim	Saym	Others	Totals
M	24 (35.29)	15 (22.06)	8 (11.76)	1 (1.47)	2 (2.94)	5 (7.35)	1 (1.47)	6 (8.83)	68 (100.00)
F	39 (57.35)	8 (11.76)	0	6 (8.82)	3 (4.41)	0	3 (4.41)	4 (5.88)	68 (100.00)
Totals	63 (46.32)	23 (16.91)	8 (5.88)	7 (5.15)	5 (3.68)	5 (3.68)	4 (2.94)	10 (7.35)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.18

Addressing a Female Secretary

	Teacher + nim	Secretary	Teacher	Secretary Teacher + nim	Ssi	Saym	Secretary + nim	Others	Totals
M	23 (33.82)	15 (22.06)	8 (11.76)	1 (1.47)	2 (2.94)	1 (1.47)	5 (7.35)	7 (10.29)	68 (100.00)
F	37 (54.41)	8 (11.76)	0	6 (8.82)	3 (4.41)	4 (5.88)	0	5 (7.36)	68 (100.00)
Totals	60 (44.12)	23 (16.91)	8 (5.88)	7 (5.15)	5 (3.68)	5 (3.68)	5 (3.68)	12 (8.82)	136 (100.00)

Similarly, the male respondents showed a significantly lower percentage of using 'sensayngnim' toward the female secretaries (33.82%) in comparison to the female counterparts (54.41%) (Table 4.18). The gender distinction thus remained prevalent even toward the less powerful people. Notice, however, that when addressing

graduate students, age groups did not make gender distinction between the older male

and older female students: e.g. the respondents employed similar percentage of 'ssi

('Mr') toward both the older male graduate student (OMGS) (32.35%) and the older

female graduate student (OFGS) (30.88 %) and (Tables 4.19 and 4.20). The solidarity

building positive politeness strategies 'enni' (e.g. sister's elder sister) and 'nwuna'

(e.g. brother's elder sister) were also used to refer to OFGS. They also employed the

non-deferential A-R, 'sensayng' ('teacher without nim'), and first name (FN) when

addressing OFGS. The implication here is that respondents employed positive

politeness strategies rather than formal deference toward the OGS.

This evidence shows that respondents were less sensitive to persons who do not

directly belong to institutional power hierarchies.

Table 4.19
Addressing a Male Older Graduate Student

	Ssi	Teacher + nim	Student	Elder Student	First Name	Elder brother	Teacher + without nim	Elder Student + nim	Others	Totals
20s	22 (32.35)	9 (13.24)	10 (14.71)	12 (17.65)	1 (1.47)	4 (5.88)	0	1 (1.47)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
30s	22 (32.35)	18 (26.47)	6 (8.82)	0	5 (7.35)	2 (2.94)	6 (8.82)	3 (4.41)	3 (4.42)	68 (100.00)
Totals	44 (32.35)	27 (19.85)	16 (11.76)	12 (8.82)	6 (4.41)	6 (4.41)	6 (4.41)	4 (2.94)	8 (5.88)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.20

Addressing a Female Older Graduate Student

	Ssi	Teacher + nim	Student	Elder Student	Elder sister	First Name	Teacher + without + nim	Nwuna (Elder sister)	Senpay + nim (Elder student + nim)	Others	Totals
20s	22 (32.35)	9 (13.24)	10 (14.71)	11 (16.18)	7 (10.29)	1 (1.47)	0	3 (4.41)	0	1 (1.47)	68 (100.00)
30s	21 (30.88)	18 (26.47)	6 (8.82)	0	1 (1.47)	5 (7.35)	6 (8.82)	2 (2.94)	3 (4.41)	3 (4.42)	68 (100.00)
Totals	43 (31.62)	27 (19.85)	16 (11.76)	11 (8.09)	8 (5.88)	6 (4.41)	6 (4.41)	5 (3.68)	3 (2.21)	4 (2.94)	136 (100.00)

It is very interesting to note that age takes precedence over gender when addressing the less powerful secretaries. For example, both young and old respondents showed similar percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward both male and female secretaries (e.g. the younger respondents showed 54.41% of 'sensayngnim' toward a male secretary, whilst they employed 50% of 'sensayngnim' toward a female secretary. See Tables 4.15 and 4.16). However, power is an underlying variable in the use of A-R. Power was often the predominant variable when respondents addressed their fellow secretaries. For instance, 'sensayngnim' is reciprocally or non-reciprocally used in institutional contexts. According to institutional power hierarchy, a secretary can be referred to as 'Miss Kim', 'Miss Lee', or 'cokyo' (secretary without 'nim'), 'cokyo sensayngnim' (secretary + teacher + 'nim'). Nonetheless,

'sensayngnim' is commonly used toward a secretary. This provides evidence that power is ubiquitous in all kinds of institutional hierarchies.

Quite importantly, however, power is also the underlying variable when addressing the less powerful secretaries. For example, the non-deferential form, 'cokyo' ('secretary') without 'nim' showed a significantly lower percentage (11.76%) in Tables 4.15 and 4.16. Also the higher forms, 'cokyo sensangnim' (secretary + teacher + nim), and 'cokyonim' ('secretary + nim') preceded 'sensayng' ('teacher without nim') or 'saym' (shortened form for 'sensayngnim') when addressing directly (see Tables 4.11, 4.12, 4.14, 4.15 and 4.16). This evidence can also be seen when addressing colleagues as shown below.

Table 4.21
Addressing a Male Secretary from Another Department

	Teacher + nim	Secretary + Teacher + nim	Secretary + nim	Teacher + without + nim	Saym	Others	Totals
20s	43 (63.24)	10 (14.71)	5 (7.35)	1 (1.47)	2 (2.94)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
30s	35 (51.47)	8 (11.76)	8 (11.76)	8 (11.76)	1 (1.47)	7 (10.29)	68 (100.00)
Totals	78 (57.35)	18 (13.24)	13 (9.56)	9 (6.62)	3 (2.21)	12 (8.82)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.22

Addressing a Female Secretary from Another Department

	Teacher + nim	Secretary + Teacher + nim	Secretary + nim	Teacher + without + nim	Saym	Nwuna (elder sister)	Others	Totals
20s	40 (58.82)	10 (14.71)	5 (7.35)	1 (1.47)	3 (4.41)	0	7 (10.29)	68 (100.00)
30s	35 (51.47)	7 (10.29)	8 (11.76)	8 (11.76)	1 (1.47)	3 (4.41)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
Totals	75 (55.15)	17 (12.50)	13 (9.56)	9 (6.62)	4 (2.94)	3 (2.21)	12 (8.82)	136 (100.00)

The implication here is that secretaries prefer formal A-Rs rather than informal ones (see all Tables). This evidence also shows that power variables permeate institutional contexts. Secretaries are very sensitive to Confucian values expressed in power hierarchies despite those values are being strategically manipulated.

A more interesting fact is that respondents who were themselves secretaries treated secretaries as being on a par with the academic staff. This seems to imply that secretaries play decisive roles in mediating work related tasks between academic and non-academic staff. Due to this institutional role secretaries are often given a deferential A-R equal as those who hold the higher formal institutional positions. In this respect, 'sensayngnim' is a marked A-R when applied toward a secretary: it can be reciprocally used between secretaries, academic and non-academic staff. However, when 'sensayngnim' is non-reciprocally used between different power ranks; it can be seen as a marked form. Thus A-Rs can easily be used between different institutional

positions to represent a power hierarchy.

The A-R is employed differently when secretaries address part-time lecturers and non-academic staff. Respondents employed 'kyoswunim' (33.82%) toward a part-time lecturer (Table 4.23). However, toward the non-academic staff they did not employ 'kyoswunim', but mostly used, 'sensayngnim' (73.53%) as can be seen in Table 4.24 below. 'Sensayngnim' can be perceived as more deferential than 'ssi': e.g. the former connotes deference originating from Confucian values, whilst the latter implies downgrading or closeness due to culture-specific conventionalized routines. Although 'sensayngnim is the normal register used between both academic and non-academic staff, it can be interpreted as less deferential due to its informality. It is for this reason that the use of 'sensayngnim' can often be interpreted as rude when used toward a much old powerful DH. Respondents in all groups employed the more formal A-R, 'kyoswunim' toward the full-time professor than toward the part-time lecturer (The younger group showed 73.53% for the former and 33.82% for the latter, whilst the older group employed 67.65% for the former and 8.82% for the latter. See Tables 4.25 and 4.23.). This evidence clearly shows that secretaries tend to choose the higher deferential A-R, 'kyoswunim' toward a full-time professor than toward the part-time lecturer.

Table 4.23

Addressing a Part Time Lecturer in the Third Person

	Teacher + nim	Professor + nim	Teacher + without + nim	Professor + without + nim	Others	Totals
20s	34 (50.00)	23 (33.82)	2 (2.94)	0	3 (4.41)	68 (100.00)
30s	41 (60.29)	6 (8.82)	7 (10.29)	3 (4.41)	4 (5.88)	68 (100.00)
Totals	75 (55.15)	29 (21.32)	9 (6.62)	3 (2.21)	7 (5.15)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.24

Addressing a Non-academic Staff Member in the Third Person

	Teacher + nim	Teacher + without + nim	Ssi	Saym	Others	Totals
20s	50 (73.53)	1 (1.47)	1 (1.47)	3 (4.41)	7 (10.29)	68 (100.00)
30s	44 (64.71)	8 (11.76)	3 (4.41)	0	6 (8.82)	68 (100.00)
Totals	94 (69.12)	9 (6.62)	4 (2.94)	3 (2.21)	13 (9.56)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.25

Addressing a Professor with a Five Year Age Difference

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	Totals
20s	50 (73.53)	10 (14.71)	68 (100.00)
30s	46 (67.65)	21 (30.88)	68 (100.00)
Totals	96 (70.59)	31 (22.79)	136 (100.00)

The older respondents also made a distinction between a professor and a part-time lecturer in the use of address terms. For instance, the use of the informal A-R, 'sensayngnim' was relatively higher than addressing the part-time lecturer (60.29%) and the informal use of 'sensayngnim' was significantly decreased when addressing the full-time professor (30.88%) (Tables 4.23 and 4.25). This evidence also suggests that secretaries tend to employ the more deferential form, 'kyoswunim' rather than the informal form, 'sensayngnim' toward the full- time professors than toward the part-time lecturers.

Table 4.26

Addressing a Part Time Lecturer

	Teacher + nim	Professor + nim	Others	Totals
M	50 (73.53)	12 (17.65)	6 (8.82)	68 (100.00)
F	32 (47.06)	34 (50.00)	2 (2.94)	68 (100.00)
Totals	82 (60.29)	46 (33.82)	8 (5.89)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.27

Addressing a Professor with a Five Year Age Difference

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	Totals
M	43 (63.24)	23 (33.82)	68 (100.00)
F	53 (77.94)	8 (11.76)	68 (100.00)
Totals	96 (70.59)	31 (22.79)	136 (100.00)

Similarly, power sensitivity can also be seen in Tables 4.26 and 4.27. For example, both gender groups employed a remarkably higher rate of 'kyoswunim' (e.g. male respondents employed (63.24%) toward a professor with a five year age difference, whilst they employed 17.65 % toward a part-time lecturer. The use of 'kyoswunim' was thus significantly decreased when addressing a part-time lecturer (Tables 4.27 and 4.26). The male respondents chose a remarkably higher percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward a part-time lecturer (73.53%) than toward a professor with a five-age difference (33.82%) (Tables 4.26 and 4.27). Similary, the female respondents also employed a considerably higher percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward the former (47.06%) than toward the latter (11.76%) (Tables 4.26 and 4.27).

Another notable fact is that the female respondents also employed 'sensayngnim' (47.06 %) just as often as 'kyoswunim' (50%) when addressing a part-time lecturer (Table 4.26). This evidence clearly reveals that respondents tended to employ 'kyoswunim' toward a person of a higher status. However, both informal ('sensayngnim') and formal use ('kyoswunim') were employed when addressing the part- time lecturers who are often of higher status than the respondents as secretaries. Power sensitivity thus becomes severe when the P variable increases.

Notice, however, that respondents tend to employ similar percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward both non-academic staff (secretaries) and a part-time lecturer (the younger respondents employed 63.24% of 'sensayngnim' toward a male secretary and 58.82% of 'sensayngnim' toward a female counterpart whilst they employed 50% of 'sensayngnim' toward a part-time lecturer. Similarly, the older respondents employed 51.47% of 'sensayngnim' toward both male and female secretaries from another departments whilst they employed 60.29% 'sensayngnim' toward a part-time

lecturer (Tables 4.21, 4.22 and 4.23). This evidence shows that respondents are more sensitive to a direct institutional hierarchy than to an external one. However, the use of 'sensayngnim' was significantly decreased when addressing full-time professors (30.88%) (Table 4.25). The choice of A-R clearly signifies that secretaries regard full-time professors as being much higher in status than part-time lecturers.

It is also notable that respondents employ A-Rs differently when addressing part-time lecturers and graduate students. Regarding 'sensayngnim', the respondents employed a relatively lower rate toward older graduate students (OGS). For instance, both male and female respondents tend to employ relatively higher rates of 'sensayngnim' toward the part time lecturers (73.53 % for the male respondents and 47.06 % for the female respondents (Table 4.26) than toward older graduate students (OGS) (13.24% for the younger group and 26.47% for the older group) (Table 4.19). This evidence implies that respondents regarded OGS as being much lower than part-time lecturers regarding power variable (e.g. OGS, part- time lecturers and full-time professors receive a more deferential A-R in that order.).

Table 4.28
Addressing a Significantly Older Professor in the Third Person

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	Professor	Others	Totals
M	39 (57.35)	13 (19.12)	4 (5.88)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
F	55 (80.88)	5 (7.35)	2 (2.94)	1 (1.47)	68 (100.00)
Totals	94 (69.12)	18 (13.24)	6 (4.41)	6 (4.41)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.29

Addressing a Significantly Older Professor

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	Professor + without nim	Others	Totals
20s	56 (82.35)	2 (2.94)	2 (2.94)	2 (2.94)	68 (100.00)
30s	39 (57.35)	14 (20.59)	3 (4.41)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
Totals	95 (69.85)	16 (11.76)	5 (3.68)	7 (5.15)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.30

Addressing a Younger Male Department Head

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	DH + nim	Head + nim	Teacher	Others	Totals
20s	40 (58.82)	7 (10.29)	11 (16.18)	4 (5.88)	0	2 (2.94)	68 (100.00)
30s	23 (33.82)	15 (22.06)	10 (14.71)	7 (10.29)	3 (4.41)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
Totals	63 (46.32)	22 (16.18)	21 (15.44)	11 (8.09)	3 (2.21)	7 (5.15)	136 (100.00)

The younger respondents were more sensitive to power than the older

counterparts in the choice of A-R. For example, younger group employed

'kyoswunim' a considerably higher percentage (82.35%) toward a significantly older

professor than the older group (57.35%) (Table 4.7). Similarly, when addressing a

younger male DH, the younger group employed a considerably higher percentage of

'kyoswunim' (58.82%) than the older counterpart (33.82%) (Table 4.8).

Notice also that the female respondents were more sensitive to age than the male

counterparts when choosing A-R. For instance, the female respondents highly

preferred 'kyoswunim' (80.88%) to 'sensayngnim' (7.35%), when addressing a

significantly older professor. However, the male counterparts employed relatively

lower rates of 'kyoswunim' (57.35%) than that of the female counterparts (Table 4.28).

Similarly, the female respondents are also more sensitive to the power variable in

comparison to the male counterparts. For example, the male group employed a

considerably lower percentage of 'kyoswunim' (e.g. 26.47% toward a younger male

department head and 25% toward a younger female department head). However, the

female group did employ a relatively higher percentage of 'kyoswunim' (66.18%)

toward both younger male and younger female DHs (see Tables 4.9 and 4.10).

Quite interestingly, unlike the female respondents, the male group was less

sensitive to power than the female counterpart: e.g. the male group employed nearly

the same percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward a much older male and female DHs

(30.88 % for the male and 27.94 % for the female DHs (Tables 4.34 and 4.35)).

However, they were sensitive to the age variable. For instance, the male group

employed a relatively lower percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward a young male DH

(26.47%) than toward the much older male counterpart (30.88%) (Tables 4.9 and

4.34). Age is thus as equally important a variable as power when choosing A-R especially in institutional contexts. Age strongly influences power when choosing A-R. The age variable was ubiquitous to both age groups (e.g. younger and older groups) when choosing A-R. For instance, the younger respondents employed the highly deferential A-R 'kyoswunim' relatively more toward the older male DH (63.24%) than toward the younger female DH (57.35%) when addressing older powerful DHs. Similarly, the older respondents employed the highly deferential A-R 'kyoswunim' relatively more toward the old male DH (38.24%) than toward the young female DH (33.82%) (Tables 4.31 and 4.36 below). This evidence implies that age is another underlying variable when choosing A-R. Age is also an important Confucian value.

Table 4.31
Addressing an Older Male Department Head

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	DH + nim	Head + nim	Others	Totals
20s	43 (63.24)	8 (11.76)	10 (14.71)	4 (5.88)	3 (4.41)	68 (100.00)
30s	26 (38.24)	17 (25.00)	9 (13.24)	8 (11.76)	8 (11.76)	68 (100.00)
Totals	69 (50.74)	25 (18.38)	19 (13.97)	12 (8.82)	11 (8.09)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.32

Addressing an Older Female Department Head

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	DH + nim	Head + nim	Others	Totals
20s	41 (60.29)	8 (11.76)	12 (17.65)	4 (5.88)	3 (4.42)	68 (100.00)
30s	24 (35.29)	19 (27.94)	9 (13.24)	8 (11.76)	8 (11.76)	68 (100.00)
Totals	65 (47.79)	27 (18.85)	21 (15.44)	12 (8.82)	11 (8.10)	136 (100.00)

Quite surprisingly, however, gender hardly influences the choice of A-R when addressing persons of higher institutional positions. For example, both older and younger groups did not make gender distinction in the use of 'kyoswunim' when addressing an older male and female DHs: e.g. when addressing an older male DH, the younger group showed similar percentage of 'kyoswunim' (63.24% for the older male DH and 60.29% for the older female DH (Table 4.31 and 4.32).

Similarly, the older group also employed similar percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward the same counterpart (38.24% for the older male department head and 35.29% for the older female DH) (Tables 4.31 and 4.32). This evidence clearly shows that the gender variable is hardly an influence when the power variable increases. Similarly, when addressing a younger male and a female DH, the gender groups did not make a distinction between a younger male and a younger female counterparts: e.g. the male group showed nearly the same percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward both male and female counterparts (26.47% for the younger male DH and 25% for the younger

female DH). Similarly, the female groups employed the same percentage of 'kyoswunim' (66.18%) toward the younger male and female DHs (Tables 4.9 and 4.10).

Notice further that age often takes precedence over gender in the choice of A-R. The older group showed little gender discrimination employing a similar percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward the older male DH (38.24%) and toward the older female DH (35.29%) as shown in Tables 4.31 and 4.32. Gender hardly influences the choice of A-R when age increases. The male respondents employed similar rates of 'kyoswunim' toward older male DH (30.88%) and toward the older female DH (27.94%) (Tables 4.34 and 4.35).

Table 4.33

Addressing a Significantly Older Professor in the Third Person

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	Professor	Others	Totals
M	39 (57.35)	13 (19.12)	4 (5.88)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
F	55 (80.88)	5 (7.35)	2 (2.94)	1 (1.47)	68 (100.00)
Totals	94 (69.12)	18 (13.24)	6 (4.41)	6 (4.41)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.34

Addressing a Significantly Older Male Department Head

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	DH + nim	Head + nim	Others	Totals
M	21 (30.88)	18 (26.47)	13 (19.12)	7 (10.29)	9 (13.24)	68 (100.00)
F	48 (70.59)	7 (10.29)	6 (8.82)	5 (7.35)	2 (2.95)	68 (100.00)
Totals	69 (50.74)	25 (18.38)	19 (13.97)	12 (8.82)	11 (8.09)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.35

Addressing a Significantly Older Female Department Head

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	DH + nim	Head + nim	Others	Totals
M	19 (27.94)	20 (29.41)	13 (19.12)	7 (10.29)	9 (13.24)	68 (100.00)
F	46 (67.65)	9 (13.24)	6 (8.82)	5 (7.35)	2 (2.94)	68 (100.00)
Totals	65 (47.79)	29 (21.32)	19 (13.97)	12 (8.82)	11 (8.10)	136 (100.00)

Table 4.36

Addressing a Significantly Younger Female Department Head

	Professor + nim	Teacher + nim	DH + nim	Head + nim	Teacher	Others	Totals
20s	39 (57.35)	8 (11.76)	11 (16.18)	4 (5.88)	0	2 (2.94)	68 (100.00)
30s	23 (33.82)	15 (22.06)	10 (14.71)	7 (10.29)	3 (4.41)	5 (7.35)	68 (100.00)
Totals	62 (45.59)	23 (16.91)	21 (15.44)	11 (8.09)	3 (2.21)	7 (5.15)	136 (100.00)

In the tables above we saw evidence of the frequency of honorific use related to Confucian cultural values in various situations. The next section of this chapter will look at several case studies of naturally occurring data that highlights similar honorific usage. For the details of how the recording was conducted see section 3.5.1.

4.5 Address Reference Terms in Naturally Occurring Data

4.5.1 The Functional Aspects of Korean Address Reference Terms

As noted above, gender and age variables are pre-requisite elements in the choice of A-R terms. Korean A-R terms have many variants that are dependent on age and gender. For example, regarding age variables, a bridegroom addressees his father in law as 'cangin' or 'cangin elun'. However, if the addressee is much older, he/she can be referred to as 'chwunpwucang'. An equally significant fact is that A-R terms are

also employed in positive politeness strategies. For example, less powerful secretaries are often addressed as 'secretary sisters' when institutional participants ask for marginally personal requests to secretaries.

Korean A-R terms display a dualistic nature (i.e. negative and positive aspects) reflecting multi-functionality. Korean has many variants of A-R terms that are used for strategic purposes. Situation sensitivity as reflected in naturally occurring data clearly shows this multi-functionality as in the following:

(4) *A, Swu-hi sensayng-nim-i- issta. Kim Swu-hi kangcwa-ka issta. Kim Swu-hi sichengkak yenge swuep ku-sensayng acwu cohta. Acwu cal kaluchinta.*
Ah! Swu-hi teacher –HM-NOM be: exist-NDVS-DECL.
Kim Swu-hi class-NOM exist-NDVS-DECL.
Kim Swu-hi video special English classes the teacher-NDRT-very nice-NDVS -DECL.
Very well teach-ATTR2-NDVS -DECL.
"Ah! Here is the class Miss. Swu-hi teaches. It is Kim Swu-hi's class. Kim Swu-hi teaches a special video English class. She is very nice. She teaches very well."

This conversation was recorded in the secretary's office. In this situation Korean students are selecting classes for the next semester and they are looking for the most lenient professors in order to get good grades. It is notable that Korean students tend to prefer positive politeness strategies in order to show familiarity and affection toward a professor: e.g. the students in (4) uses a variety of A-Rs to refer to the lecturer Kim Swu-hi: 1) First Name + Title ('teacher') + HM (Honorific Marker, 'nim'); 2) Full Name without honorific markers; 3) Title alone ('teacher') without 'nim'.

Notice also that the speaker focuses on either formal deference (i.e. Title ('teacher') + HM (Honorific Marker, 'nim')) or solidarity (Full Name alone) in the use of honorific forms. The speaker's emotional focus produces the various Reference terms. Korean honorific devices also focus on positive politeness. The Korean honorific system can be characterized as elevating the hearer's face (Brown 2005: 4). For instance, Korean honorific markers such as 'nim' are placed before the nominative case marker 'kkeyse' for subject honorification. And the honorific pre-final ending marker 'si' is attached to a verbal predicate. These two honorific markers satisfy the hearer's face want as a superior or an expert. These honorific markers imply that the speaker recognizes and respects the hearer as an important person. In the power-laden institutional settings, the deviations from the institutional norms can be regarded as more threatening than any other situations. It is for this reason that institutional participants employ over-deference (i.e. marked politeness) in order to mitigate negative face threats. The positive effects embedded in the over-deference clearly influences the hearer's way of doing things due to common socialization routines (e.g. mutual cooperation between hierarchical positions) (Wierzbicka 2003: 214).

When a request is not consistent with institutional norms, the speaker incorporates Confucian concepts of deference into the use of honorifics: i.e. the honorific markers, 'nim' and 'si' imply that the speaker treats the hearer as a superior and recognizes himself/herself to be an inferior. Thereby the speaker pleases the hearer's positive face. If the request is inconsistent with the expected local norms, the more powerful person employs an extremely deferential address term such as professional title (PT) + additional PT + highly non-reciprocally used 'nim'

('secretary + teacher + nim') in order to trigger sympathy toward the hearer's difficult situation and mitigate the negative face threat (Wierzbicka 2003: 196) (see Chapters 4 and 5).

'Sensayngnim' ('teacher'), 'hyengnim[4]' ('elder brother'), 'sacangnim' ('boss') and 'senpay' (i.e., an elder student attending the same university) connote the culturally shared Confucian concept of 'in-group relationship' (i.e. superior-prevention and an inferior-obedience). This culturally shared knowledge functions to mitigate FTAs. The kinship term in the following is a good example of mitigating an FTA through the use of KT:

(5) *Cokyo nwuna-eykey mwul-ese hakcem cal cwu-nun kangcwa-lul sincheng hay-la.*
    Secretary elder sister-ACC ask-PRECED credit well- give- ATTR2 class-OBJ request- do-NDVS- IMPER.
    "You must ask the secretary elder sister to request the easy module."

This spoken data was collected from the secretary's office where several students were registering for the new semester. One student suggests the other student should ask for the secretary's help in the selection of easy classes. The speaker's evocation of 'nwuna' ('elder sister') focusing on 'brotherhood' directly influences the way the hearer perceives the request. Although a secretary is not a sibling in Korean society, 'nwuna' (older sister) can be metaphorically employed to aim at establishing family-like solidarity for the benefit of one's goal. This family-like solidarity, once established, may produce a sense of obligation: the older sibling, 'elder sister', receives the respect of the younger person but must also reciprocate by providing

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[4] 'Hyengnim' is used for collegiality and refers to a male person. However, recently it has been extended to a female..

whatever the younger person may need (Pan 2000: 71). Family-like solidarity can be regarded as another kind of establishing in-group relationship (personal connection). Once within in-group boundary, in-group members exchange reciprocity in order to enhance the face need of the other (Pan 2000: 71). In other words, the speaker's adoption of a KT appeals to the idea of 'brotherly love' ingrained in the hearer's mind so as to trigger the hearer's sympathy toward the speaker's situation. The use of a KT clearly shows that the traditional studies of Korean should be shifted from politeness and solidarity to politeness and culture, since intimacy-embedding cultural values also play crucial roles in the negotiation of face.

The core concept of Confucian thinking (i.e. mutual support and warmth) mitigates negative face threats. For example, the asymmetrically used honorific marker 'nim' reminds the hearer of the Confucian value and the need for harmonious relationships between hierarchical positions (e.g. 'nim' means honorable person usually attached to the super-ordinate who is in an in-group relationship.). Positive face concern toward the less powerful person mitigates the magnitude of FTAs through "culturally known ways of thinking" (Wierzbicka 2003: 196). The honorific marker 'nim' is attached to the addressee's /addressee referent's titles or names and used as either an honorific vocatives or honorific referents.

(6) *Ku-kyoswu-ka motun haksayng- tul ilum-ul ta-kiek-hanta.*
    The professor-NOM all student -PLU name- OBJ all memorize- do
    –NDVS-DECL.
    "The professor memorizes all the students' names."

In this context, a student talks about his favourite professor and praises the professor, claiming that the professor memorizes all the students' names. Although the student does not employ the honorific marker 'nim', the use of A-R is nevertheless understood as polite. The student's focusing on solidarity in the use of non-deference does not reveal rudeness toward the more powerful professor. This evidence belies Fukada and Asato's (2004) claim that "utterances that are intrinsically 'impolite' cannot be marked politely without sounding bizarre" (Pizziconi 2003: 1495).

Honorific forms often function as strategic tools rather than relation-acknowledging devices. For example, a younger subordinate can employ FN or TLN without the honorific morpheme 'nim' towards an elder super-ordinate to show deliberate rudeness. The younger speaker can also employ FN without 'nim' in order to show respect toward the person of a higher status. Also it can be used as a positive strategy to display civility even between different hierarchical positions. 'Title + LN' ('Professor Kim') is the normal register in a faculty meeting. Nonetheless, Professor Kim combined with honorific morpheme 'nim' cannot always be interpreted as polite in a formal meeting. The interpretations can be either rude or polite depending on interactional features. For example, the address term, Title + LN' ('Professor Kim'+ 'nim'), can be perceived as either polite or rude depending on the situation where the actual interaction takes place.

The following example shows how a highly deferential A-R can also be employed toward a less powerful person to meet the speaker's strategic goals.

(7) *Cokyo sensayng-nim cikum ka-myen coh-keyss- nuntey...*
Secretary teacher- nim -HM now go-COND good-FR- CIRCUM.
"Secretary teacher it would be best if you went now."

In this context, the more powerful professor, the female department head (DH), asks the less powerful secretary to carry out her personal request. The female DH deliberately employs an overly marked form,' secretary teacher' (PT + PT) combined with the honorific marker 'nim' in order to mitigate the FTA imposed upon the secretary by her personal request. The more powerful DH also tentatively employs, 'I'd like you to~' and 'please' in order to mitigate the imposition derived from the marginally personal request.

The super-ordinate's use of over-deference strongly evokes a common cultural emphasis on mutual support that is easily inferred by the hearer (Wierzbicka 2003: 214). This represents a kind of a culturally shared knowledge (e.g. super-ordinate prevention and subordinate loyalty) and strongly affects each participant's linguistic behaviour on an interactional level. The cultural script of 'over deference', which is based on Confucian values is thus key to understanding Korean honorific usages. The over deference is not observed in Japan. The Korean honorific system is composed almost entirely of hearer elevation deference. Unlike Japanese, there is no productive system of self-humbling, only a very limited set of lexical substitutions (Brown 2005: 4). According to the Korean cultural emphasis on hearer elevation deference, natural language data demonstrates that the culturally shared value of over-deference strongly influences positive politeness strategies and is applied to interaction with both intimates and non-intimates[5].

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[5] According to Brown and Levinson, positive politeness strategies can be applied to intimates (1987: 103-104, 107-110).

(8) *Pak-cokyo nay-key i-lul swu isse? Pak Mi-swuk canen nay ceyca- yesse.*
    Park secretary I-OBJ like this-ATTR1method exist-NDVS-INTERR?
    Park Mi-swuk you: SG –NDPP-TOP I-POSS student Be: PAST-NDVS.
    "Secretary Pak, how can you treat me like this? You were my student."

In this situation, the professor felt offended by the secretary's way of handling a work-related task. Note here that the professor references the Confucian concept of in-group relationship (i.e. teacher-student relationship) whilst the professor is expressing offensiveness. Because in-group relationships stress a specific bond between power differentials, the professor's use of Confucian values effectively conveys a clearly marked complaint toward the less powerful person.

Notice, however, that 'cokyo' and 'sensayng' are normal registers. The former, however, is often a negatively marked form whilst the latter is a positively marked form (e.g. the speaker's token of respect is attended to the hearer's face) due to its cultural origin: e.g. 'sensayng' (teacher) indexes deference in its semantic connotation. It is therefore prevalently used as a token of deference in Korean society. (9) and (10) show that Korean A-Rs have many variants used for various situational features. Another point worth mentioning is that any marked A-R that extends the normal register is deliberate in order to indicate either an FEA or an FTA.

(9) *Kang kyoswu-nim, yenge-wa kwanlyen-toyn il-ul ilehkey cheli hal swu iss-e-yo Kang sensayng-i na-lul mwusi ha-nun kepnikka?*
    Kang Professor HAT-HM, English-related thing- OBJ like this resolve-do-ATTR1 method exist-ADVS-INTERR?
    Kang Teacher-NOM I-OBJ disregard do –TOP-thing-EDVS -INTERR?
    "Professor Kang, how can you deal with English related things this way? Teacher Kang, why do you disrespect me like this?"

In this situation, a senior female professor protests the way a younger female professor carries out English related matters. The speaker's choice of various A-R terms displays the speaker's constantly changing emotional stances: e.g. 'Kang kyoswunim' (LN + PT + honorific marker 'nim') reveals formal deference whereas 'Kang sensayng' (LN + teach without 'nim') and Professor Kang without 'nim' displays offensiveness (e.g. disregarding, scorn, indignation, blaming etc.). It has to be noted that non- deference can be clearly seen in the choice of 'Kang sensayng' which is less deferential than 'teacher Kang + the asymmetrically used nim'. In Korean institutional contexts, 'teacher Kang with 'nim' is the normal register between colleagues. The speaker therefore employs under-politeness motivated by a strategic intention.

(10) *Kim chongcang-nim-i cokyo-lul talun tayhakkyo-ey yenge kwanlyun program-ul poko ola-ko ponayss- na?*
Ku chongcang phantanlyek-i-epney.
Talun tayhakkyo-ey sengkong-han yenge program-ul pol-lyeko hanta-myen kyoswu cenmwunka-lul ponay-ss-eya-ci.
Ku-salam Kim-ka papo-anya?
Kim President-HM-NOM secretary-OBJ other university-LOC English related program-OBJ observe-CONN2-come-CONN2 send: PAST-NDVS-INTERR?
The president judgment ability-NOM not: exist-NDVS.
Other university-LOC successful-ATTR2 English program -OBJ see -ATTR1-PURP-CONN2 do-ATTR2-COND professor expertise-OBJ send: PAST-NECESS-COMM.
The person-NDRT Kim -NOM stupid person not: be-NDVS-INTERR?
"Did President Kim send a secretary to the other universities to observe their English programs?
The president isn't very smart. He should have sent a professor in order to properly assess the successful English program there. Mr. Kim is a fool, isn't he?"

In this example a female professor complains about the president's handling of an English related matter. She criticizes the president's decision to send a secretary to observe another university's English programs, since the professor believes that a Korean English professor will be better suited to do the job. The professor's emotional attitude can be clearly seen in her use of various downgrading A-R terms. She repeatedly employs non-deferential A-R terms even in the same sequential utterances, as she becomes more emotional (e.g. the president without 'nim', the downgrading reference, 'kusalam' (he) and Kimka ('the person named Kim'). The speaker also employs the most derogatory A-R term, FN or LN alone. The FN can be selectively used especially toward an adult or a person of a higher rank depending on the pragmatic intentions of the speaker.

4.6 Summary of Findings

4.6.1.Gender Influences the Choice of A-R.

Different genders are sensitive to age and institutional rank (power) in different ways. Gender influences the choice of A-R when addressing a person of a lower status: e.g. respondents made gender distinction when addressing secretaries directly. For example, the male respondents showed a significantly lower percentage of using 'sensayngnim' toward the female secretaries (33.82%) in comparison to the female counterpart (54.41%) (Table 4.18). Similarly, the female respondents employed a much higher percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward the male secretary (57.35%) than the female counterparts (35.29%) (Table 4.17). Gender distinction was thus made when addressing less powerful secretaries. However, when addressing secretaries

from another department, respondents did not make a distinction between male and female secretaries. For instance, respondents employed the similar rates of the deferential A-R 'sensayngnim' toward male secretaries (63.24% and 51.47%) and toward a female counterpart (58.82% and 51.47%) (Tables 4.11 and 4.12). This evidence shows that when addressing secretaries directly, gender influences A-R choice. However, when addressing secretaries indirectly, gender does not virtually influence the choice of A-R.

It is notable that a gender distinction is strongly interconnected with the age variable. For example, the male respondents employed a considerably lower percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward a younger female DH (25%) than the female respondents (66.18%) (Table 4.10). Similarly, when addressing a younger male DH, respondents made gender distinction: e.g. the male respondents employed a considerably lower percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward a younger male DH (26.47%) than the female respondents (66.18%) (Table 4.9). This means that gender is sensitive to age when choosing A-R. However, it is interesting to note that gender hardly influence the choice of A-R when addressing an older powerful institutional person. For example, when addressing older DHs, the younger group showed similar percentage of 'kyoswunim' (63.24% for the older male DH and 60.29% for the older female DH). Similarly, the older group also employed similar percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward the same counterparts (38.24% for the older male DH and 35.29% for the older female DH) (Tables 4.31 and 4.32). It seems that gender influence becomes weak when the power variable increases.

Notice also that gender was often sensitive to power. The female respondents were more sensitive to power than the male counterpart. For example, the male group

employed a considerably lower percentage of 'kyoswunim' (e.g. 26.47% toward a younger male DH, whilst 25% toward a younger female DH). However, the female group did employ considerably higher percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward both younger male (66.18%) and younger female DHs (66.18%) (Tables 4.9 and 4.10). The findings reveal that female respondents are more sensitive to power in comparison to male counterparts. Another noticeable fact is that female respondents were also sensitive to the age variable. For instance, the female respondents highly preferred 'kyoswunim' (80.88%) to 'sensayngnim' (7.35%) when addressing a significantly older professor. However, the male counterparts employed relatively lower rates of 'kyoswunim' (57.35%) and 'sensayngnim' (19.12%) than those of the female counterparts (Table 4.28).

Equally important is the fact that gender hardly influences the choice of A-R when addressing persons of higher institutional positions. For example, both older and younger groups did not make gender distinction in the use of 'kyoswunim' when addressing an older male and female DHs: e.g. when addressing an older male DH, the younger group showed similar percentage of 'kyoswunim' (63.24% for the older male DH and 60.29% for the older female DH). Similarly, the older group also employed similar percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward the same counterpart (38.24% for the older male department head and 35.29% for the older female DH) (Tables 4.31 and 4.32).

Similarly, when addressing younger male and female DH, the gender groups did not make distinction between younger male and younger female counterparts: e.g. the male group showed nearly same percentage of 'kyoswunim' toward both male and female counterparts (26.47% for the younger male DH and 25% for the younger

female DH). Simialry, the female groups employed the same percentage of 'kyoswunim' (66.18%) toward the younger male and female DHs (Tables 4.9 and 4.10). This evidence signifies that gender does not influence the choice of A-R when power variable increases (Tables 4.9, 4.10, 4.31, and 4.32). This is contrary to Confucian values wherein gender is more important than anything else. For example, Confucianism stresses the five moral codes which require mutual obligations for maintaining social order: father-love, son-filiality; elder brother-brotherly love, younger brother-reverence; king-justice, subject-loyalty; husband-initiative, wife-obedience; and friends-mutual faith (Yum 1988: 75). The primary focus in Confucian rule emphasizes that the more powerful (e.g. king and husband) precedes the less powerful (subject and wife). This aspect has led to strengthening power as well as gender distinctions (e.g. different degrees of social status in terms of gender and power variables as shown in the five Confucian rules above (see Yum 1988: 76)).

4.6.2. The Use of A-R Represents the Institutional Power Hierarchy.

The higher the institutional position is, the more deferential the A-R becomes. Power is the underlying variable in the choice of A-R terms. Institutional members are very sensitive to power. Respondents made distinctions between part-time lecturers, academic staff, and non-academic staff. Respondents in all groups employed more formal A-Rs toward the full-time professors. For example, both gender groups employed a remarkably higher rate of 'kyoswunim' (e.g. male respondents employed 63.24%) toward a professor with a five year age difference, whilst they employed 17.65 % toward a part-time lecturer. However, the use of 'kyoswunim' was significantly decreased when addressing a part-time lecturer. Instead the male respondents chose a remarkably higher

percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward a part-time lecturer (73.53%) than toward a professor with a five-age difference (33.82%). Similarly, the female respondents also employed a considerably higher percentage of 'sensayngnim' toward the former 47.06% than toward the latter (11.76%) (Tables 4.26 and 4.27).

For another instance, when addressing a part-time lecturer as a third person referent, the younger group showed 50% of 'sensayngnim' toward a part-time lecturer, whilst they showed 73.53% of 'sensayngnim' toward a non-academic staff (Tables 4.23 and 4.24). This evidence clearly shows that power is the predominant variable in institutional contexts. The use of 'kyoswunim' is employed toward a person of higher status. However, they preferred a less deferential form, 'sensayngnim' when addressing a person of relatively lower position. For instance, respondents employed relatively lower rates of 'sensayngnim', when addressing the academic staff. However, The use of 'sensayngnim' was increased when addressing the non-academic staff.

Moreover, the use of 'sensayngnim' was considerably decreased when addressing those who do not directly belong to the institutional power hierarchy. Power differentiation thus becomes severe when the P variable decreases. Respondents also made distinctions between a part time-lecturer and a graduate student when choosing A-Rs. Respondents employed a relatively lower rate of 'sensayngnim' toward OGS (male): e.g. younger group (13.24%) and older group (26.47%) (Tables 4.19, 4.20). However, both groups showed significantly higher rates of 'sensayngnim' when addressing part-time lecturers (male group 73.53% and female group 47.06%) (Table 4.26). This evidence seems to imply that respondents regarded OGS as being much lower than part time-lecturers in terms of institutional hierarchy. The kind of hierarchical awareness is also a typical Confucian value.

A more notable fact is that older respondents are often less sensitive to power in the choice of A-R terms. The older group showed gender discrimination employing a relatively higher percentage of 'kyoswunim' (38.24%) toward the older male DH than toward the older female DH (35.29%) (Tables 4.31 and 4.32). This evidence seems to imply that gender often takes precedence over power when employing A-R terms.

4.6.3. Respondents Consider the Age Variable to be a Basic Determinant in A-R Choice

1) Seniority plays a decisive role in choosing A-R.

The younger group usually employed a highly formal form, 'kyoswunim' (82.35%) rather than the informal form, 'sensayngnim' (2.94%) when addressing much older professors (Table 4.7). However, they used 'kyoswunim' (58.82%) toward a young male DH at a substantially lower rate (Table 4.8). This phenomenon becomes severe when older respondents address the same counterparts. For instance, the older respondents employed relatively higher rates of 'kyoswunim' (57.35%) toward an older male DH. However, they used 'kyoswunim' (33.82%) toward a younger male DH at a considerably lower rate (Tables 4.7 and 4.8). Notice also that female respondents were more sensitive to an old powerful person than the male counterparts were. For example, the female respondents used 'kyoswunim' (80.88%) rather than 'sensayngnim' (7.35%) when addressing professors with significant age differences (Table 4.28). This attests to the fact that seniority plays a vital role in the choice of A-R. The older the addressee becomes, the more formal the A-R (e.g. 'kyoswunim') is employed. This evidence is clearly seen when addressing a much older male DH (70.59%) in comparison to a young male DH (66.18%) (Tables 4.34 and 4.9). Age is also important Confucian value.

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2) Age is closely interconnected with the gender variable in the choice of A-R.

Quite interestingly, when addressing a significantly older professor, both groups showed a considerably higher rates of 'kyoswunim' rather than 'sensayngnim': e.g. the younger group (82.35%) and the older group (57.35%) for the former. However, the younger group showed 2.94% and the older group chose 20.59% for the latter (Table 4.7). Similarly, when addressing the DH, for instance, the younger group employed the highly deferential A-R, 'kyoswunim', relatively more toward an older male DH (63.24%) than toward a younger male DH (58.82%) (Tables 4.31 and 4.30). Notice also that the older group employed the highly deferential A-R, 'kyoswunim', relatively more toward the former (38.24%) than toward the latter (33.82%) (Tables 4. 31 and 4.30). The age variable thus becomes a stronger factor when the age difference increases. Note here that female respondents are more sensitive to gender and age variables than the male counterparts. For example, when addressing a much older male DH, the female respondents showed significantly higher use of 'Kyoswunim' (70.59%) than the male counterpart (30.88%) (Table 4.34). Similarly, the younger respondents were more sensitive to power and age variables when using A-Rs: e.g. the younger respondents employed the highly deferential A-R, 'kyoswunim', relatively more toward the old male DH (63.24%) than toward the young female DH (57.35%). This evidence can also be applied to old respondents: e.g. the older respondents employed the highly deferential A-R, 'kyoswunim', relatively more toward the old male DH (38.24%) than toward the young female DH (33.82%) (Tables 4.31 and 4.36). Female and older respondents were more sensitive to age and power variables when choosing A-R terms.

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A more surprising fact is that the age variable is often more important than the power variable, although it is a power laden institutional context. For example, the younger group employed the highly deferential A-R 'kyoswunim' relatively more toward the significantly older professor (82.35%) than toward the younger DH (58.82%) (Tables 4.29 and 4.30). Similarly, the older group showed 57.35% for the former and 33.82% for the latter (Tables 4.29 and 4.30). This can be more clearly seen in Tables 4.29 and 4.31 in that the younger group showed considerably higher rates of 'kyoswunim' toward a significantly older professor (82.35%) than toward an older DH (63.24%). This evidence signifies that the more age increases, the higher the use of 'kyoswunim' Koreans prefer.

3) Power is an underlying variable in institutional contexts.

Power is a basic determinant when choosing A-R terms in an institutional context: e.g. 'teacher + 'nim' are prevalently used even among secretaries (Tables 4.11, 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.17, and 4.18). Respondents preferred more formal forms: e.g. 'kyoswunim', 'Department Head + nim', and 'Head + nim' when choosing A-Rs. Moreover, respondents tend to employ formal deference if the addressee belongs to the institutional hierarchy. However, they do not employ negative politeness but positive politeness strategies toward a person who does not directly belong to institutional hierarchy (e.g. graduate students belong to neither academic nor non-academic staff). For instance, although some graduate students are older than secretaries, secretaries do not employ formal deference toward the OGS. Instead, they prefer solidarity building positive politeness strategies toward OGS. For instance, the younger group employed 'ssi' (32.35%), which is less formal than 'sensayngnim' (13.24%) toward the male OGS (Table 4.19). The younger group also showed the

same phenomenon when addressing female OGS (32.35%). The use of 'sensayngnim' (13.24%) showed much lower rates than other A-R (Table 4.20): e.g. the younger group employed 'elder student' (17. 65%) and (16.18%) toward both male and female OGS (Tables 4.19 and 4.20) The young group also employed 'student' (14.71%) toward both male and female OGS (Tables 4.19 and 4.20). This implies that respondents are sensitive only to power emerging directly from the institutional hierarchy.

4.7 Overall Summary

This chapter has shown how highly deferential/non-deferential linguistic forms can be strategically employed on an interactional level when the speaker intends to express his/her emotional feelings (e.g. contempt, scorn or condemnation). Also notice that with Korean honorific forms, a culturally established paradigm (common cultural knowledge) functions as another R variable either mitigating or threatening the hearer's face. It should also be noted that Korean cultural values embedded in A-R terms concentrate on negative politeness that have positive implications (i.e. warmth and mutuality).

It is notable that participants employ culturally embedded A-R terms when choosing face redress mechanisms. When their personal goals are inconsistent with situational features, participants take into account two volitional mechanisms: 1) the manipulation of politeness levels by using honorific devices and 2) the exploitation of Confucian values in the adoption of verbal strategies. Because Korean honorific devices display situation sensitivity, intentional manipulation of socio- cultural norms is visible on a discursive level and is marked by the multi-functionality of inappropriate language use. For example, Min-swu 'ssi' (FN + 'Mr.), 'Choy kyoswu' (Professor Choy), and 'kyoswunim' (professor + 'nim') represent the same identical person on a discursive level but each variant reflects the speaker's intention in the constantly changing interactional norms (Ryoo 2002: 125, 138). It is the local sensitivity of an FTA that causes Korean A-R terms to have such a large number of variants for a multitude of pragmatic goals.

Thus in this chapter I concentrated on linguistic forms of expressing (im)politeness especially regarding the use of address reference terms. The findings demonstrate that

the Confucian scripts that reside in Korean people's minds function as another rational mechanism for using and interpreting linguistic forms. Linguistic presentation of Korean honorific forms consists of two elements: 1) the notion of Korean deference 2) Confucian values that are intrinsically built into Korean honorific forms. The former focuses on self-humbling and hearer elevation and combines with honorific forms to influence the perception of politeness. Due to its positive politeness effect, Korean deference is often employed as a functional mechanism in controlling linguistic strategies. The hearer elevating deference that is embedded in the honorific forms (e.g. 'nim' and 'si') can be strategically used as an indication that displays the speaker's strategic intention(s) (Hong 2008: 4). The functional notion of Korean 'deference' is not exclusively regulated by predetermined social norms, but anchored by subjective individual frames. Because Confucian thinking is a kind of common sense knowledge, Korean people use Confucian cultural values by integrating them into their choices of linguistic forms.

The choice a speaker makes to express his/her speaker's meaning depends not only on the deferential level of honorific forms but also on factors such as the cultural values involved in using the different honorific devices, such usage attends to particular situational conditions (e.g. warmth and mutuality) and depends on the speaker's intentions on a discursive level.

Chapter 5

A New Functional Approach to Korean Request Strategies

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of Korean politeness in request strategies. For this study, Blum-Kulka *et al.*'s taxonomy was used as a starting point for the classification of request strategies because her taxonomy deals directly with Brown and Levinson's work on the relationship between directness/indirectness and politeness (see section 5.3). They claim that certain communicative acts (requests, orders, suggestions, advice etc,) intrinsically threaten the addressee's negative face want, and thus must be counterbalanced by an appropriate amount of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987: 65; Byon 2006: 256). The intrinsic FTA of a request motivates speakers to employ elaborate linguistic forms to reduce the FTA. There is a direct correlation between request strategies and linguistic indirectness, because the magnitude of the FTA is based on the P and D variables.

In the data that follows, common cultural rules and socialization routines directly influence the way linguistic politeness is negotiated. Blum-Kulka's three levels of politeness are used as a basis for devising a typology of requests in order to compare how these situational components correlate with the P, D and R variables in predicted linguistic strategies. Before data is analyzed, several examples highlighting the relationship between politeness and indirectness are discussed.

5.2 Requests in Korean and Indirectness

Korean 'face' involves an affective element called 'ceng' (warm-hearted sentiment that is derived from human relationships), which is embedded with the cultural

implications of warmth and mutuality (Kang 2000: 100-101). This is particularly

important because Confucianism considers warmth and mutuality to be obligatory

aspects of social practice. Confucianism regards production of the affective element of

'ceng' to be the purpose for all social interactions.

Choi and Choi (1990) identify four characteristics required for substantial 'ceng':

altruism, empathy, tenderness, and innocence (Lim and Choi 1996: 134). They insist that

due to the concepts inherent in 'ceng', negative politeness strategies often have positive

implications. Kang argues, "This sentiment lies at the heart of all Korean interactions,

guiding how the interaction affects the participants' relationship to one another" (2000:

101). For instance, in Korean requests, the negatively marked particle 'an' ('no/not')

displays an emotional stance and is a culturally sensitive marker. Although it is a

negative particle, and seems to go against the Korean cultural ethos of 'warmth', in fact,

it pragmatically does the opposite, asking whether the hearer can cooperate with the

speaker's request or not. 'An' is a negative particle, but one that begs reciprocal warmth

('positive face') from the hearer. Because mutuality and warmth are essential in

understanding Korean politeness behavior, to deny even a negative request means to

refuse a harmonious relationship. The hearer can, therefore, hardly refuse to comply,

because without mutuality of face, social interaction would be impossible (Pan 2000: 71;

Kang 2000: 100-101).

Affective predicates such as 'antoykeyss' (*wouldn't it be possible?* an + become +

keyss?) and 'anhasikeyss' (*aren't you going to do?* an + to do + honorific marker 'si' +

keyss?) are highly conventionalized predicates and negotiate the role of benefactor in the

request. These conventionalized predicates can function as both aspects of face (negative

and positive). The particle 'keyss' asks the hearer's volition to comply with a request.

The predicate 'anhasikeyss', therefore, simultaneously asks for the hearer's volitional—through the use of 'keyss'—and affective—through the use of 'an'—stances on whether he/she is willing to help. Using these predicates to involve both aspects (volitional and affective) is considered to be very polite. Because these predicates ask for the hearer's willingness, availability and mutuality, to deny a request structured this way would be to deny an offer of 'ceng', an option only available to the socially maladjusted. Despite this, these requests do not force an imposition on the hearer. These request predicates are phrased in the form of a question making them less imposing than request predicates in the form of an imperative ('haseyyo'/ 'hayla'). This is possible because they reference a culturally accepted idea of what social relationships should be like.

The following example, in which a professor makes a request of a university secretary, demonstrates this.

(1) *Samwu cheli-lul ppalli hay-cwu-si-myen an- toy-keyss-supnikka?*
   Work-related jobs handling-OBJ promptly do-give-HM-COND NEG:
    become -FR-EDVM- INTERR?
   "Can't you please deal with this straight away?"

In (1) the professor is asking a special favor of the secretary that is outside her normal duties. The predicate, 'antoykeyss' ('wouldn't it be possible?') is an affective predicate, because it is asking whether the hearer is concerned with giving warmth or not, as indicated by the particle 'an'.

It also asks if the hearer has the desire ('keyss') to do so. This culturally sensitive predicate makes the hearer want to comply with the request, since a denial on the part of the hearer would be interpreted as cold and impolite (see Kang 2000: 103). English tends to work in the opposite way. For most English speakers, example (2a) would probably be

regarded as more polite than (2b), because it is consistent with Western notions of autonomy (Wierzbicka 2003: 202).

(2a) *Cenhwa sayong-ha-nun-kes sile-sip-nikka?*
Phone use do-TOP-thing dislike-SH- EDVS- INTERR.
"Would you mind if I use the phone."

(2b) *Cenhwa sayong-ha-myen an-toy-keyss-supnikka?*
Phone use do-COND no: become –FR- EDVM INTERR.
"Wouldn't it be possible for me to use the phone?"

However, (2b) is preferable to Korean speakers because of the cultural associations contained within the particle 'an. Additional examples of how cultural values can be used strategically can also be seen in example (3). In a difficult request situation, 'cwuseyyo' is often a better strategy than 'antoykeyss' for achieving a pragmatic goal, because the culturally conventionalized predicate, 'cwuseyyo' triggers a sense of reciprocity. The idea of reciprocity is contained in this conventionalized phrase because the hearer knows that what he/she has done for the speaker will be returned, and thereby, the hearer feels more closely involved in the speaker's situation. We should note here that 'antoykeyss' is also used for achieving a strategic goal. However, because 'antoykeyss' displays negative meaning ('an' means 'no' in Korean), it can often be used in negative situations (e.g. scorn, complain, reproach …etc.). Nonetheless, it is also notable that the interpretation depends on the locally specific contextual features in which a department head is complaining about the way a professor has handled a work-related task.

(3a) *Professor: Samwu cheli-lul cenghwak-hakey hay-cwu-sey-yo.*
   Work handling-OBJ precisely do-CONN1-give-SH-ADVS.
   "I'd like you make sure it gets done thoroughly."

(3b) *Department head: Samwu cheli-lul cenghwak-hakey hay-cwu-si-myen an-*
   toy-keyss-supnikka?
   Work handling-OBJ precisely do-CONN1-give -SH-COND Not: become-
   INT- EDVS- INTERR?
   "Wouldn't it be possible for you to take care of it precisely?"

The response of the department head, (3b), is more face threatening than the professor's comment (3a). The use of a highly formal form (over-politeness) seriously questions the professor's judgment, whilst the use of the negatively marked request predicate 'an' questions the professor's attitude. The response (3b) appeals to both the emotional and rational attitude of the hearer, and if it is said with a pitch or a change in intonation, the prosodic features can function as a discernment politeness act. Local pitch change para-linguistically indicates the speaker's emotional stance (rudeness in the current study), especially when pitch and intonation changes work against Korean ideas of discernment. Pitch and intonation change is an essential element of naturally occurring discourse and influences whole sequential utterances or strings of utterances in actual discourse contexts (Culpeper 2003: 1568). Notice also that because (3b) includes a culturally sensitive marker displaying negative meaning, 'an', the professor is obliged to accept the department head's request on cultural grounds.

A speaker can also use meta-pragmatics to mitigate FTAs. Patterns, which make explicit reference to the concept of face, can be used to persuade a hearer to accept a request.

The following common phrase shows this:

(4) *Cheymyen eps-supnita-man…*
(Face not: exist-EDVS-DECL-CONCESS)
a. "Despite losing my face ['cheymyen']…"
b. "I have no face ['cheymyen'] but…"

However, the Korean concept of 'cheymyen' is more comprehensive than the Western idea of 'face', since 'cheymyen' attaches a strong ethical value to self-image, and relates directly to personality. If one loses 'cheymyen', one may become socially isolated and unable to interact with others with dignity. Therefore, refusing a request in this pattern would be perceived as a fatal flaw to the hearer's social face.

Everyone has his/her own 'normative cheymyen', which can be indexed within social relationships. The higher the speaker's status is, the more 'normative cheymyen' he/she has. 'Normative cheymyen' is sensitive to Confucian moral codes in which higher positions of rank carry with them an obligation towards people of lower position as well as an expectation of higher ethical behavior, especially in regards to social interactions.

The sense of moral obligation also strongly influences the hearer and can create in the hearer a sense of obligation towards the speaker for the speaker's sacrifice of 'cheymyen'. Since 'normative cheymyen' is directly linked to one's identity, more powerful people tend to strategically employ expressions involving 'normative cheymyen', such as example (4), more frequently than less powerful people. However, a less powerful person can also exploit the more powerful person's 'cheymyen' in order to better negotiate his/her profit-oriented request.

Notice also that the speakers in these examples (1, 2, 3, and 4) often employ 'over-deference' when their interactional goals go beyond the scope of expected institutional

norms. The more distant the goals are from those expectations (based on the scope of roles and obligations, the professional role, personal relationships, etc.), the higher the level of deference employed by the speaker. Hwang (1990: 42) regards deference as a socio-linguistic reality and politeness as a linguistic strategy used to achieve various pragmatic goals. However, examples collected in the current study on Korean demonstrate how deference can be used as a means of achieving pragmatic goals. Because deference can be used functionally, it is not always guaranteed that the situation will be understood as polite, as exemplified below.

(5) *Conham-ul ice-pely-ess-supnita.*
    Honorable name-OBJ forget-CONN1-throw away-PAST-EDVS-DECL.
    "I have forgotten your honorable name."

In (5) the use of honorifics is an attempt at a face threatening act rather than a face-enhancing act, even though a highly deferential verbal suffix, '~supnita', is deliberately employed. Since the hearer holds a highly respectable position, the speaker's suggestion that he does not know the hearer's honorable name is disrespectful to the hearer's face and seriously infringes on the hearer's positive face want. Example (6) is a request that employs deference but is, nevertheless, impolite.

(6) *Malssum-ul samka-hay cwu-sip-sio.*
    Words-OBJ be careful-do-CONN1 give -SH-HDVP-IMPERR.
    "Please don't use that kind of language with me."

A comment of this kind towards a person of higher status in an institutional setting is very rude, even though the speaker uses the deferential form 'malssum' (the deferential form of the word for speech), 'samka' (the deferential verbal form of 'be

careful') and the highly deferential predicate, 'cwusipsio'. However, the interpretation depends on the particular contextual features. This example challenges Matsumoto's claim that the use of honorifics is always intended to benefit the hearer rather than causing the hearer to lose face (Matsumoto 1997: 733). On the other hand, a request is not always perceived as an imposition as in the following.

(7) *Kwiha-kkeysse kkok chamsuk-hay cwu-si-myen komap-keyss-supnita.*
Honorable person-HNCM necessarily attend-do-CONN1 give-SH-COND appreciate-FR- EDVS-DECL.
"For an honorable person, such as yourself, attendance is required."

Example (7) seems to impose on the hearer, because 'required' is semantically an imperative. Nonetheless, it shows high deference towards the hearer's positive face, since the connotation suggests that the presence of the hearer would create a great sense of honour for the speaker. On the other hand, (8) shows how occasionally highly deferential honorific devices are employed to impose on the speaker's face in order to benefit the hearer.

(8) *Cey-ka ohilye mian-hapnita.*
I NDPP- NDCM rather sorry -do-EDVS-DECL.
"On the contrary, I am the one who feels sorry."

This example is a highly conventionalized expression that creates a positive effect. In this example, the hearer (a director) apologized a moment before (8) was said for not having recommended the speaker (a professor) for a professional honour. Nonetheless, the speaker stresses that she is to blame rather than the hearer (the director). The speaker also uses the self-deprecating personal pronoun, 'cey', which should be an inappropriate address term, given that the speaker is older than the director. However, it is used

strategically to elevate the younger director's face.

All the examples above highlight the relationship between indirectness and requests in Korean. The next section will look at Blum-Kulka's taxonomy for request strategies, which will be taken up in order to further analyze Korean request strategies.

Blum-Kulka's Taxonomy

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Table 5.1
Blum-Kulka's Taxonomy

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Mood derivable
Performatives
Hedged performative
Obligation statements
Want statements
Suggestory formulae
Query preparatory
Hints (strong hints)
Hints (weak hints)

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(Blum-Kulka *et al.* 1989: 18)

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As the above chart shows, Blum-Kulka *et al.'s* taxonomy consists of three main categories that are ranked starting with the most direct and moving downward to the least direct. The categories are 1) direct (mood derivable), 2) query preparatory (conventional cultural usage) and 3) indirect (hints) (Blum-Kulka *et al*. 1989: 18). For the purposes of this study, I have further subdivided the most direct strategies into 'mood

derivable', 'obligation statements' and 'want statements'; and her second category, 'indirect requests', has also been further subdivided into 'interrogative embedding', 'negative embedding', 'suggestory statements', 'query preparatory'; 'forms of embedding' and 'dependence acknowledging'. The expansion of the indirect category was necessary, because 'negative politeness strategies' clearly serve institutional as well as interpersonal goals in order to avoid confrontations between power differentials" (Harris 2003: 48). That is, indirectness is highly appreciated where "given power is obviously vested in institutional interactional norms" (Harris 2003: 37). These indirect scales will therefore enable exploration of how indirectness is understood in different institutional contexts.

Table 5.2

Taxonomy of Polite Request Categories

Direct	Ⅰ. Direct request	1. Mood derivable
		2. Obligation statements
		3. Want statements
Indirect	Ⅱ. Indirect request	4. Interrogative embedding
		5. Negative embedding
		6. Suggestory statements
		7. Query preparatory
		8. Forms of embedding
		9. Dependence acknowledging
	Ⅲ. Hints	10. Hints 1
		11. Hints 2

Following Blum-Kulka *et al.*'s taxonomy, a new system is needed to analyze the variability of Korean politeness. The current analysis moves the focus from directness versus indirectness, so that how contextual variability affects locally specific directness/ indirectness can become the focal point of attention. In Blum-Kulka *et al.*'s research, 'immediate concerns of local context' (Blum-Kulka and Kampf 2007: 34) were not investigated in relationship to culture-specific values. Nor was the variability of situation-specific politeness in relation to honorific usages. My aim is to look at the functional variability of honorific usages that are used in local contexts and explore contextual meanings on an interactional level.

5.3 Features of Korean Requests: Function and Form

The taxonomy of Korean requests, as shown below, will be used to analyze request

forms of Korean spoken data.

Table 5.3

Taxonomy of Korean Requests

1. Mood derivable- Utterances in which the grammatical mood of the verb signals

illocutionary force, including performatives.

Nal manna-le o-nela.
1NDPP-OBJ see-PURP come –NDVS- IMPER.
"Come see me."

Nay-key cenhwa hay-la.
1NDPP-OBJ phone do- NDVS- IMPER.
"Call me."

2. Obligation statements- Utterances which state the obligation of the hearer to carry

out an act.

Swukcey onul-pam-ey hay-ya-tway.
Assignment tonight- LOC do- NECESS –become- NDVS.
"You must do your assignment tonight."

Na cikum kaya-hay.
I NDPP now go- NECESS do- NDVS.
"I must go now."

3. Want statements- Utterances which state the speaker's desire that the hearer carries

out an act.

Sincheng-se swucip hay okil palan-ta.

Application form collect do- CONN1 come –NOML- ATTR1 want-NDVS

-DECL.

"I want you get an application form."

Ttetunun-kes kuman twe/twu-kil-palan-ta.

Making noises- ATTR2- thing stop-NDVS/stop -NOML –ATTR1 want –

NDVS-DECL.

"I wish you'd stop making noise."

4. Interrogative embedding-Utterances which embed a request in an interrogative

frame.

Sincheng makam yencang-hay cwu-si-keysse-yo?

Application deadline extension -do- CONN1 give -SH- FR-ADVS- INTERR?

"Can you extend the submission deadline, please?"

Cey-key imeil-ul ponay-e cwusinun-kes-i kanung-ha-keyss-supnikka?

1NDPP-OBJ email-OBJ send-CONN1 give -SH-ATTR2- thing-NOM

possible- do –FR- EDVS- INTERR?

"Would it be possible for you to email me?"

5. Negative embedding- Utterances which embed a request in a negative interrogative

frame.

Tule-o-si-ci anhu-si-keysse-yo?
Enter-CONN1 come-SH- SUS be: NOT-SH-FR-ADVS-INTERR?
"Won't you come in?"

Tasi cenhwa hay po-si-ci anu-si-keysse-yo?
Again phone call do-CONN1 try –SH-SUS be: NOT –SH- FR-ADVS
-INTERR?
"Can't you try and call them again?"

6. Suggestory statements- Utterances which contain a suggestion to do something.

Cha masi-nun-kes ette-sip-nikka?
Tea drink- ATTR2- thing how –SH- EDVS -INTERR?
"How about some tea?"

Ney namtongsayng-eykey hwakin-hay-poca.
You- SG-NDRT-POSS brother-OBJ confirmation-do-PRECED-try-PROP.
"We should check on your brother."

7. Query preparatory- Utterances which prepare the hearer for a request, which is not

made explicit.

Cey pwuthak tule cwul swu iss-supnikka?
1NDPP favor grant–ATTR1 method exist -EDVS -INTERR?
"Could you do me a favor?"

Cel towa-cwul swu iss-nun-ci-yo?
1NDPP-ATTR1 help-CONN1-give-ATTR1 method exist- ATTR2- SUS –
ADVS- INTERR?
"I wonder if you could help me?"

8. Tentative embedding- Utterances in which the explicit request is preceded by a mitigating phrase.

> *Taum cwu-ey ceychwul hal swu iss-nun-ci kwungkum-hapni-ta.*
> Nextweek-LOC submit-do-ATTR1 method exist-ATTR2 -SUS
> worry -do –EDVS-DECL.
> "I wonder if it would be okay if I submitted it to you next week."

> *Ce-lul manna cwu-sil-swu issu-myen komap-keyss-supni-ta.*
> 1NDPP-OBJ see-CONN1 give -SH-ATTR1 method exist -COND grateful-
> FR- EDVS-DECL.
> "I would appreciate it if you would come and see me."

> *Hwantungki nayil pannap-hay cwu-sil swu issu-myen coh-keyss-nuntey-yo.*
> Overhead projector tomorrow return-do-CONN1 give-SH-ATTR1
> method exist- COND good -FR -CIRCUM -ADVS.
> "It would be helpful if you could return the overhead projector tomorrow."

9. Dependence acknowledging (specific to Korean)– Utterances which take the form of an imperative, combined with a deferential verbal ending.

> *Kyeycwa penho hana cwu-si-kwuyo/cwu-sey-yo.*
> Account number one give –HM - ADVS.
> "Give me your account number." ['cwuseyyo' (average deferential)]

> *Mwul hancan cwu-sip-sio.*
> Water one cup give -SH- HDVP- IMPER.
> "Give me a cup of water." ['cwusip-sio' (higher deferential)]

10. Hints 1-Utterances containing partial reference to an object or element that is

required for the implementation of an act.

Cha an-camku-ko yele noh-ass-ney-yo.
Car not: lock-COM open – CONN1 leave: PAST -ADVS.
"You left the car unlocked."

Cey cemsim kapang-ey neh-ess-supnikka?
1NDPP lunch bag -LOC put: PAST- EDVS- INTERR?
"Have you put my lunch in the bag?"

11. Hints 2- Utterances that make no reference to the request proper (or any of its

elements) but where requests are contextually implied.

Yekin taptap-ha-kwun. (In a room where the windows are shut.)
Here –TOP stuffy-do –UNASSIM.
"It's stuffy in here."

Cincca paykopu-kwun. (Said by a husband to a wife who hasn't started
preparing dinner.
Really hungry-UNASSIM.
"I'm really hungry."

In sum, Korean politeness consists of three elements: honorifics, deference, and cultural values. When a speaker is motivated by a functional goal, honorifics and exploitation of culture are used to indicate deference and in doing so can facilitate the achievement of interactional goals.

5.4 Data Analysis

The data are comprised of six request types: interrogative embedding (4), tentative embedding (2), query preparatory (1), mood derivable (4), want statement (2), and dependence acknowledging (3). Functional shifts between levels often denote that the speaker is motivated by both work and personal goals. In the data samples, Brown and Levinson's P and D variables were predictive of specific request strategies.

Working against Brown and Levinson's formula was the fact that work-related requests often relied on both negative and positive face wants. Additionally, speakers occasionally used over-deference as an FTA redress. Furthermore, the more sensitive and difficult to achieve the request was, the more the speakers flouted the normal register. When the requests deviated from the expected institutional norms, speakers utilized marked linguistic forms as FEAs to mitigate FTAs. Data showed that these marked formal forms greatly decreased FTAs. Moreover, positive face embedded in over-deference was usually indicative of how great a degree the request deviated from expected situational norms.

Evidence for this starts with the following extract.

Extract 1

Participants:

L: administrative employee (Male, aged 32)

P: technician (Male, aged 30)

K: secretary (Female, aged 24)

Summary: This extract shows that when participants are motivated by strategic goals, mutual deference is preferred rather than simply following the social norms in the use of linguistic forms. In this extract a 30-year-old male technician, P, enters the dormitory office to check how many driers need to be fixed. The 32-year-old male office employee, L, employs tentativeness toward the less powerful younger technician, because L cannot pay the repair bill without the permission of his line manager. The absence of his manager forces L to use very polite forms (forms of embedding) to a relatively less powerful and younger technician, P.

1. *P: Kocang-nan-key yetulp-tay-ipnikka?*
   (Broken –ATTR2-thing 8 drier be –EDVS-INTERR?)
   "Are eight driers broken?"

2. *L: Yey, yetulp-tay-intey-yey. Hantay-nun swuli an-hayto toy-nuntey.*
   HR, 8 drier be: ATTR2-CIRCUM- HR. One drier-NOM repair not: do-
   CONCESS become –ATTR2- CIRCUM.
   "Yes, eight are broken, but one does not need to be fixed."

   (P repairs the driers and 10 minutes later returns to continue the conversation.)

3. *P: Ike-nun kocang-nan-key an-ipnikka? Mothe-nun yeses-kay*
   kala-neh-ess-ko.
   This thing -TOP broken ATTR2-thing NEG- be-
   EDVS-INTERR?
   Motors-TOP 6 driers replace- CONN1-put: PAST- CONN2.
   "Isn't this broken? I replaced the six other drier motors, though."

4. *L: Yey*
   HR.
   "Okay."

5. *P: Isipiman-wen-ipnita.*
   220000 won be-EDVS-DECL.
   "It costs 220000 won."

6. *L: Kwacang-nim-i an-kyey-sin-tey-yey.*
   Section chief-HM-NOM not: exist- SH-HDVP-CIRCUM -HR.
   "The manager is not here, I am afraid."

7. *P: Cwuso-ha-ko ceke-cwuiso.*
   Address -do-COM write- CONN1 –give- ADVS.
   "Then please give me your address."

8. *L: Yey.*
   HR.
   "Okay."

9. *K: A, wupyen-ulo pwuchi-sil kepnikka?*
   EXCL, post LOC send-SH- Future- thing- be: EDVS- INTERR?
   "Are you going to send the bill by post?"

10. *P: Wupyen-ulo ponay-ya-ci-yey.*
    Post LOC send –CONN1- NECESS-COMM- HR.
    "Yeah, I'll have to send it by post."

(10)

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11. *P: Kyeysanse-nun icwuso-lo ponay-myen toy-ci-yey?*
    Cheque-TOP this address –LOC send -COND become-
    COMM–HR- INTERR?
    "It's okay if I send the bill to this address, yeah?"

12. *K: kyeysanse-nun icwuso-lo ha-si-myen-toy-ko. wupyenu-lo pwuchi-sil-*
    ttay-ey-nun Gimhay-lo hay-cwu-sey-yo. Acham, keycwa penho-hana
    cwu-si-kwuyo.
    Cikum songkum-hay-tu-lil-kke-ke-tun-yo.
    Cheque -NOM this address-LOC do-HM- COND- become –CONN2.
    Post -LOC–send- SH- Future- when- LOC-NOM Gim Hae-LOC
    do -give- SH- ADVS.
    EXCL, account number one give SH-HDVP-ADVS. Now wire transfer-
    do- CONN1 -give HDVP-ATTR1-thing –CORREL- ADVS.
    "I'd like you to send the bill to this address. When you send it by post,
    write Gimhae on the address. Give me an account number ['cwuiso'].
    I will send the payment to you online now."

13. *P: Kyeycwa penho-ka ttokkatu-myen toy-ci-yey?*
    (Account number -NOM same-COND become –COMM- HR
    -INTERR?)
    "It's okay if I use the same account number, isn't it? "

14. *P and L: Hakkyo-hako ilum-hako.*
    School - COM name -COM.
    "Write the school and your name."

15. *P: Palo kyeycwa penho ceke-kaci-ko pwuchi-myen toy-ci-yo?*
    Shortly account number write-CONN1-take-CONN2 post –COND
    become- COMM-ADVS- INTERR?
    "I'll write down the account number straight away and then post it.
    Is that okay?"

16. *K: Yey.*
    HR.
    "Yeah."

17. *L and K: Swuko hasip-si-o. Komap-supni-ta.*
　　　　　　　　Good job do –SH-HDVP-IMPER. Thank you- HDVP-DECL.
　　　　　　　　"THANK YOU FOR ALL YOUR TROUBLE. Thank you."

In this extract, all the participants employ mutual deference motivated by their functional goals, even though the requests are all work related. Also, cultural values create positive politeness and work to mitigate the FTAs. The request cannot be perceived as face threatening, because the dependence acknowledging device '~cwuseyyo' ('give me the favor of' = verbal suffix 'yo') triggers cultural values (e.g. warmth and mutuality triggering sympathy and mutual cooperation) and thereby counteract the weightiness of FTAs. In this extract, local norms take precedence over the situational/social norms (such as power, distance, age, gender, familiarity etc.) as can be seen in lines 6, 7 , 11 and 12. The technician is well known to both employees and is two years younger than L. The powerful employees and the less powerful technician use a variety of both mitigating and non-mitigating request strategies, which include:

Interrogatives—establishing in some detail the grounds of the request and its

　　　　　　　justification (lines 1 and 3)

Tentative Embedding—seeking favor as a pre-request (line 6)

Dependence Acknowledging—requests that show generosity and favor (lines 7 and 12)

Want Statement—the contents of the request (line 12)

There are many instances where strategic politeness displays the speaker's personal interests. In line 6, L employs tentativeness, embedding the phrase, "I'm afraid" in order to ask a specific favor from the younger technician. Because L realizes the absence of his

boss makes it difficult for him to pay for the replaced driers, L employs highly formal deference in order to receive the technician's magnanimity according to a cultural value and get an extension for the payment of the replacement motors.

In line 7, the technician, P, realizing L's situation, mentions that he is going to send a bill (line 11). The technician follows institutional norms, and employs formal deference towards the younger secretary. He employs the average deferential verbal suffix, 'cwuiso' (line 7) but he also employs the honorific reply marker, 'yey' in lines 11 and 13.

Social distance exists between the technician and the dormitory staff. However, both participants use 'deference' that is not consistent with Brown and Levinson's politeness formula. Power and distance are not proportional to the adoption of the politeness forms that they use. Although the secretary, K, is of a higher status than the technician, in line 12, the secretary employs the highly asymmetrically used honorific marker, 'si', infixed into the predicates ('hasi', do + 'si', and 'pwuchisil', post + 'si' + ATTR1) of both the conditional and the WH-clause (as well as using do + 'cwuseyyo' as the main verb). The secretary thus manipulates the level of deference, since she needs the good will of the technician in order to get the bill sent to them.

Noteworthy is the fact that the 'dependence acknowledging device', 'cwuiso' (a dialectal form of 'cwuseyyo'/ 'cwusipsio') promotes collegiality so that the work-related request can be successfully achieved. Because 'cwuiso' suggests the speaker's dependence on the hearer's warmth and mutuality, it encourages favor and cooperation on the part of the patron. It is this cultural value that prevents 'cwuiso' from being perceived as impolite, despite its directness. The following extract illustrates that linguistic forms are not always consistent with power and distance on a discursive level. It shows that directness can be perceived as polite between people who have established

a close relationship.

Extract 2

Participants:

C: Secretary (Female aged 26),

M: Graduate student (Male aged 30)

Summary: This conversation takes place in the secretary's office between a 26-year old female secretary, C, and a 30-year-old male graduate student, M. This extract is intriguing, because Korean cultural values ('mutuality' and 'warmth') are exploited as a way to accomplish a work-related goal. Cultural values are used to influence the development of the majority of the conversation. The secretary also exploits the power variable in order to rationalize not meeting her obligations, because receiving phone calls is a major part of her job. However, this extract clearly shows that this can be acceptable in a Korean institutional context when appealing to cultural values (e.g. 'mutuality'). This is because culturally shared knowledge alleviates the perception of imposition on the part of both participants.

1. *M: Siwen-han mwul-ina hancan-cwue.*
   Cold water-CONCESS one cup give- IMPER.
   "Give me a cup of cold water."

2. *C: Silon-ti ilun-kes tu-sey-yo?*
   Ceylon tea such thing drink–HDVP-ADVS- INTERR?
   "Would 'Ceylon tea' be okay?"

3. *M: Amwu-kena*
   Anything FRC
   "Anything is okay."

4. *C: Yey?*
   Yey HR INTERR?
   "Yeah?"

5. *M: Amwu-kena*
   Anything FRC
   "Anything ."

6. *C: Haksayng-tul-i MT kassta-ka namassten-kes han box kacye-wasse-yo.*
   Student- PLU- NOM MT- go: PAST TRANS remain: PAST-ATTR2-
   thing one box bring-CONN1-come: PAST- ADVS.
   "The students went for MT [membership training] and they brought a
   box of it for me."

7. *M: Kulay?*
   DM Really- INTERR?
   "Really?"

8. *C: Cenyek-ey hanpen o-sey-yo nal-to tewun-tey...*
   Evening-LOC once come –SH-ADVS. Weather- also -hot-CIRCUM.
   "You should come over some evening. It's very hot."

9. *M: Hyuka kassta wasse?*
   Holiday go: PAST-CONN1 come: PAST-NDVS-INTERR?
   "Did you go somewhere on holiday?"

10. *C: Hyuka-yo? Kenyang cip-eyse swiesse-yo.*
    Holiday-ADVS- INTERR? Just home-LOC take a rest: PAST-ADVS.
    "Holiday? I just rested at home."

11. *M: Cip-eyse?*

   Home-LOC -INTERR?

   "At home?"

12. *C: Yey nal-to tep-ko...*

   HR, day-also hot –CONN2.

   "Yeah, it's very hot."

13. *M: Na-nun kass-nuntey...*

    I-NDPP-TOP go: PAST-CIRCUM.

    "I went somewhere."

14. *C: Eti-kasse-yo?*

   Where go: PAST-ADVS-INTERR?

   "Where did you go?"

15. *M: Jilisan-ey ka kass-ko.*

    Jili mountain-LOC go-CONN1 go: PAST- CONN2.

    "I went to Mt. Jili."

16. *C: Jilisan pi- mani wasse-yo. Na-nun Jilisan kal-lye-ta chwiso-toye kaci-ko*
    Cip-eyse swiesse-yo.

    Jili mountain rain much come: PAST-ADVS.

    I NDPP TOP Jili mountain go-ATTR1-TRANS cancel- PASS- CONN1

    take- CONN2 home -LOC take a rest-PAST-ADVS.

    "It rained a lot there. I was going to go to mount Jili too, but those plans
      got cancelled so I just stayed home and rested."

17. *M: Kulay kaci-ko sipoil-nal nol-ko.*

    DM so- take- CONN2 15th day play-CONN2.

    "Also, I took the 15th off."

18. *C: Wenlay kulen-ke-yey-yo. Hakkyo-ka ceil-coh-ci.*
     Senpay yeki issta-ka cenhwa com pata cwu-sil-lay-yo?
     Hoksi cenhwa o-myen Kim Hyung Ki kyoswu-nim-i nemwu
     apase yak-sale kassta-ko cen-hay cwe-yo.
     Yak sa ol-kkey-yo.
     Originally such thing- be- ADVS.
     School-NOM the best –COMM.
     Elder graduate, here exist -TRANS Phone please –MP receive-
     CONN1 give- SH-VOL-ADVS?
     Possibly, phone- come- COND Kim Hyung Ki Professor -HM
     -NOM too sick –PRECED medicine-purchase-PURP Go:
     PAST-QUOT give my word- CONN1-give -ADVS.
     Medicine purchase- CONN1 come-ATTR1-INT -ADVS.
     "That's just the way it is. School is the best place to take a rest.
     Elder graduate, could you stay here and please answer the phone for me?
     Probably, if somebody calls, please tell him/her that I went out to buy
     medicine for Professor Kim who is very sick. I'll be back shortly with
     the medicine."

19. *M: Al-ass-ta. Nay swuep-un wucca-no?*
     I see: PAST -DECL.
     1: NDPP POSS lesson -TOP what should I do –NDVS- INTERR?
     "I see. What should I do about my class?"

20. *C: Swuep-issu-myen kato-toy-ko.*
     Lesson exist-COND go- CONCESS- become –CONN2.
     "If you have a class, you can go."

This extract demonstrates that Brown and Levinson's politeness formula cannot account for the fact that a directive can be regarded as polite despite its directness. The positive strategy in line 8 is very direct ('mood derivable') but 'oseyyo' (come + the average deferential verbal suffix 'yo') is hearer-enhancing. More important is the fact that the secretary employs 'oseyyo' as a pre-request. The request in line 8 benefits the

hearer, because it indicates warmth and implies the secretary's fulfillment of the student's initial request for water. Her strategic intention is to build rapport and solidarity with M and her consciously marked behavior seems to directly correlate to this strategic goal. In line 18, it becomes clear that this was all done so that she could establish a sense of reciprocity in the mind of the graduate student so that she could make a weighty request of him.

Kang argues that there is a close relationship between linguistic codes and cultural ideology. She argues, "Speaking Korean evokes certain cultural ideologies of personhood that also evoke a way of thinking about interaction" (2000: 79). The 'cwuseyyo' predicate cannot always be perceived as an FTA, because it appeals to the Korean cultural ethos of warmth. This extract provides an interesting insight into how culture-specific conventionalized expressions play vital roles in mitigating the FTAs of work-related goals. These expressions include:

Involvement strategy- 'want statements' such as "Give me a cup of cold water."
(line 1)

Creating commonality and solidarity- lengthy exchange of small talk (lines 2-17)

Pre-request- showing extra concern for the other's face with a request prompt
(lines 8-17)

Directive with indirect embedding- decreasing the force of the main request (line 18)

Hesitation to refuse- 'What should I do?' (line 19)

Optionality for possible refusal- 'If you have a class, you can go' (line 20)

An additional cultural social aspect of this exchange is that the secretary and the graduate student are from the same university, have known each other for a long time and are very close. This makes them in-group members. In Korean culture, high school and university alumni have strong in-group relationships. They have a strong mutual desire to give and receive face in order to maintain the harmony of the group. Though the secretary's request questions Brown and Levinson's politeness formula, because the conventionalized predicate, 'cweyo' ('give me' + the average deferential verbal suffix, 'yo') evokes warmth, it cannot always be perceived as an imposition despite the fact that answering the phone is the secretary's responsibility, not the graduate student's.

Also, when making a request, these honorific devices are not limited to negative politeness acts. The secretary attempts to achieve her work-oriented goal by constructing collegiality. For instance, her positive face work (e.g. repeated offering in line 2 and showing hospitality, in lines 6 and 8) establishes a good rapport between her and the graduate student, functioning as a sort of extended pre-request. Moreover, the elder student's use of non-deference (use of the low form, 'pan-mal', in the want statement in line 1) is not perceived as rude, because of the social relationship between the secretary and the older graduate student.

The secretary also uses cultural values, such as kinship terms, for positive effect. The kinship term, 'senpay' ('elder graduate'), helps to mitigate possible face threats caused by her request. The kinship term evokes an in-group relationship and encourages solidarity. The elder student is able to show generosity while the younger secretary displays subordination.

The request-signaling predicate 'cweyo' displays a deferential pleading, and because it is a culturally sensitive conventionalized predicate, it produces an effect of positive

politeness. This is because the speaker is utilizing the hearer's shared cultural assumptions in the proposed request (line 18). Consequently, the hearer does not perceive the request as an imposition, but instead responds favorably ("I see" in line 19), despite having a class. To increase feelings of solidarity, all aspects of the secretary's display of collegiality are geared toward achieving the work-related request in line 18, and the success of the strategy is clear when the graduate student commits to the request even though he is unable to fulfill it. His agreement to the request is the result of the power of culturally embedded positive politeness. The next extract looks at how the Confucian value of mutuality is operative in Korean request strategies.

Extract 3

Participants:

C: Secretary (Female aged 26)

F1, F2, F3, and F4: Four students (Females aged from 20 through 22)

Summary: This conversation takes place in the secretary's office of the International Trade department. Four students, (F1, F2, F3, and F4) aged between 20 and 22 years, are registering for classes for the upcoming semester. The 26-year-old female secretary, C, is helping a female student (F1), who is having a difficulty filling out her class schedule. This extract is notable because the secretary asks one of the students to answer the phones for her. Like Extract 2, this extract shows that common cultural values can mitigate face threats that are parts of requests (Culpeper 1996: 353). This also shows how in Korean, mutuality is recognized as a basic rule for smooth social interaction.

1. *C: Mi Young-a, sikanpyo cwe-pwa.*

   towa cwul-kkey.

   Ne mokyoil-to an-toyko. 3,4 kyosi-to an-toyko 5, 6 kyosito an-toyko.

   Kulem, cwungkwuke-nun mos-tut-nun-keney.

   Mi young VOC, timetable give - CONN1-see –CONN1-NDVS-IMPER.

   Help-CONN1–give-ATTR1- INT.

   You: SG -NDPP Thursday also not: available- CONN2 3rd or 4th class room

   hour – also not: available –CONN2. 5th or 6th class room hour- also not:

   available -CONN 2.

   DM, then Chinese-TOP NEG: take a course –ATTR2-thing-EXCL.

   "Hey, Mi Young, let me see the time table. I'll help you. The Thursday

   classes are not available, third or fourth classroom hours are not

   available and neither are fifth and sixth classroom hours .

   It seems you won't be able to take the Chinese class."

2. *F1: Yey.*

   HR.

   "Yeah."

3. *F2: Na Cwungkwuk-e mos-tut-nun-ta.*

   I -NDPP Chinese NEG: take a course- ATTR2-NDVS-DECL.

   "I cannot attend the Chinese class."

4. *F3: Way?*

   Because -INTERR?

   "Why?"

5. *F2: Sikanpyo-ka an-macta.*
   Seykay-ka ta mokyoil-in-tey...
   Haphili-myen sikanpyo-ka 2, 4, 6 kyosi ilehkey-toye-issta.
   Timetable-NOM not: suitable-NDVS-DECL.
   Three thing-NOM all Thursday-be-CIRCUM.
   How in the world time table-NOM 2nd, 4th and 6th class room hours
   such become-CONN1-exist-NDVS-DECL.
   "It is not offered during a time that fits your time table. The three
   classes are all on Thursday. They are only available second, fourth,
   and sixth class room hours."

6. *F3: Camkkan-man 2 kyosi, 4 kyosi, 6, 7, 5, 6 kyosi-ci-yo?*
   A second. 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 5th, 6th class room hours –COMM-be
   -AVDS-INTERR?
   "Just a second, they are offered second, fourth, sixth, seventh, fifth,
   and sixth class room hours , aren't they?"

7. *F2: Ettehkey-ha-ci?*
   How -do -SUS-INTERR?
   "How should I organize it?"

8. *F3: Kulum i-kes tule-ya toy-nun-keka ? 6th , 7th , and 8th kyosi ilpone-nun?*
   (DM then this-thing attend-NECESS become-ATTR2-thing-NDVS
   INTERR? 6, 7, 8 -classroom hours Japanese-TOP- INTERR?)
   "Then, should I attend this class? The Japanese classes offered
   during the sixth, seventh, and eighth classroom hours?"

9. *F4: Nay ilpone swuep-issta.*
   I-NDPP-POSS Japanese class-exist-NDVS-DECL!
   "There's my Japanese class!"

10. *C: Ya onul yele-pwun encey-kkaci isse-cwul-swu isse-yo?*
    Hey VOC, today you-PLU-HRT when-until exist-CONN1–give-ATTR1
    method exist-ADVS-INTERR?
    "Hey, how long are you able to stay today?"

11. *F4: Wuli incey i-kes senthayk hako-na-myen kal-kkentey...*
    We PLU now this-thing select-do-CONN2 after-COND go-ATTR1
    thing-CIRCUM.
    "After we decide this, we're going home, I'm afraid."

12. *C: Yaksok-issna? An-hay-ss-na?*
    Appointment exist-NDVS-INTERR? Not: do: PAST-NDVS-INTERR?
    "Do you have an appointment? No other commitments?"

13. *F1: Cen il-hale ka-ya toy-nuntey Kwaynchana-yo.*
    I -NDPP work-do-PURP go-NECESS become: CIRCUM okay- ADVS.
    "I have to go to work, it is okay."

14. C: *Arbeit ha-na? Eti-se?*
    Arbeit do-NDVS-INTERR? Where-INTERR?
    "You work part-time? Where?"

15. *F1: Se-myen-eyse-yo.*
    Se-myen-LOC-ADVS.
    "In Se-myen."

16. *C: Se-myen eti-ey iss-nuntey?*
    Se-myen where-LOC exist ATTR2–CIRCUM- INTERR?
    "Where in Semyen?"

17. *F1: Se-myen Yeng Kwang-tose macun-pyen-ey-yo. O-sey-yo.*
    Se-myen Young Kwang bookstore opposite side-LOC-ADVS.
    Come-SH-ADVS- IMPER.
    "Opposite the Yong Kwang bookstore. You should come sometime."

18. *C: YengKwang tose macun-pyen-ey eti?*
    Young Kwang book store opposite side –LOC, where- INTERR?
    "Opposite Young Kwang bookstore, where?"

19. *F1: Hoy-kwukswu cip-ilako iss-ketun-yo.*
     Raw fish noodle house-QUOTE exist-CORREL-ADVS.
     "There is a restaurant called, 'The Raw Fish Noodle Restaurant'"

20. *C: Myechsi-kkaci il-ha-nuntey?*
     What time until work-do-ATTR2- CIRCUM-INTERR?
     "How late do you work?"

21. *F1: 9 sipan-kkaci imo-kakey-lase pyello himtu-nun il-i ani-yey-yo.*
      9: 30-until aunt restaurant REASON particularly difficult-ATTR2
      job-NOM not: ADVS.
      "I work until 9:30. My aunt runs the restaurant, so it's not a hard job."

        (-)

22. *C: Cenhwa-lul pat-ul ttay-nun "Ney mwuyek hakkwa samwusil-ipnita-lako*
      ha-ko. Pantusi memo-lul hay-nohko.
      Sinipsayng OT-ttaymwun-ey camkkan naka-syess-nuntey-yo-lako
      hay-la.
      Phone-OBJ take-ATTR1-when-TOP yes: HR Trade Department
      office be DECL-QUOTE do-COM .
      Necessarily memorandum- OBJ do-CONN1-put-CONN2.
      Freshmen induction -REASON a second go out: PAST-SH-HDVP
      -ATTR2- CIRCUM-ADVS -QUOTE do-NDVS- IMPER.
      "When you answer the phone, tell the caller,
      'Hello, this is the International Trade Department office' and be sure to
      take a message and tell them the secretary had to step out for
      freshman orientation."

23. *F1: Enni, cikum kal-lay-yo?*
      Elder sister, now go -VOL-ADVS-INTERR?
      "Are you leaving now?"

24. *C: Eng nay kal-lye-ko.*
      NHR, 1-NDPP go- Future- PURP-CONN2.
      "Yes, I'm leaving."

The secretary's request of the students to stay longer in her office during her absence, in line 10, is clearly a substantial face-threatening act. The secretary therefore must employ both negative and positive face strategies. To do this, the secretary uses the 'are you able to' form combined with the deferential verbal suffix, 'yo' and an honorific address term, 'you' ('yelepwun'), despite being older and more powerful, when setting up the weighty request. She also never states the request directly, only hinting at it in line 10, she then solidifies compliance by employing direct imperatives (mood derivable, line 22) to the student who has accepted her request.

For a secretary to ask a student to take over her job temporarily is outside the scope of performable requests in a British context, but such a favor is possible between close intimates in a Korean university. The secretary's request appears not to have been perceived as unreasonable in this specific context and the student complies with the request by asking, "what do you need?" suggesting a special empathy through her voice tone toward the interlocutor's situation. The student shows her mutuality (in line 17) by inviting the secretary to the restaurant where she works. The fact that the student received the secretary's assistance in registering classes for the next semester commits the student to repay her obligation in return. The mutuality of the interaction triggers a powerful constraint upon the student's action (lines 13 and 17).

In line 13, the student who received the secretary's help volunteers to accept the secretary's request. The student's affective use of the term 'elder graduate' ('senpay') and continued conversation (as revealed lines 13, 17, and 21) clearly indicates that the student views the request favorably. Nevertheless, this example contrasts with the previous one (see Extract 3) in that the secretary in this extract uses fewer redressive forms in the exercise of power which seems to be more in accordance with Brown and

Levinson's politeness formula. In sum, the cultural value of 'mutuality' does not produce FTAs, rather, it functions to promote fulfillment of difficult requests. It is mutuality that promotes the successful achievement of request in the above situation. The next extract demonstrates how the Confucian value of personal connection benefits request strategies on the part of the speaker and promotes the acceptance of a request on the hearer as well.

Extract 4

Participants:

P: Director from an external private institute (Male aged 33)

L: Secretary (Female aged 23)

Summary: This conversation takes place in the secretary's office of the Department of Food and Nutrition Science. It is interesting, because the 33-year-old male director of an institute, P, tries to exploit Korean ideas of 'personal connection' in his attempt to get the 23-year-old female secretary, L, to fulfill his weighty request. Personal connections are often an effective way for Koreans lacking in formal power to gain influence and informal power. Being associated with someone who has power can give a person considerable credibility and respect in Korea, sometimes to the point where the 'friend' and the legitimate authority figure are *de facto* equals.

Notice here that the cultural value, 'personal connection', acts as another functional mechanism that enables the director to control imposition. The director's use of a positive politeness strategy (small talk) helps mitigate the imposition involved in the weighty request.

1. *P: Cehuy-nun silhum cangpi hoysa-intey.*

   Pak Mi Hi sensayng-nim-in-ka kyey-sey-yo?

   Ku-pwun-kkeyse ku kikyey-lul kwuip-hal-lye-ko hayss-ketun-yo.

   Camsi manna poyp-ko-sipuntey……

   Samil-cen-ey cehuy-ka seminar hayss-ketun-yo.

   Pak sensayng-nim-ul cal-al-ketun-yo.

   Ku-ttay Pak Mi Hi sensayng-nim-i o-sye-kaci-ko iyaki-lul tutko

   kwuip-ul hako-sipta-ko hayse.

   Cenhwa-na fax penho tuli-l-lyeko wass-nuntey.

   Taytanhi-coysong-hapnita-man, Penho com mal-hay cwu-si-keysse-yo?

   We PLU-NDPP-TOP experiment equipment corporation-be-ATTR2
   -CIRCUM.

   Pak Mi Hi teacher-HM- be-ATTR2-DUB exist-HDVP-SH-INTERR-ADVS?

   DA-person-HRT- HNCM DA- machine OBJ purchase-do-Future-PURP
   -CONN2. Do: PAST-CORREL-ADVS.

   Shortly meet –CONN1 see-HDVP-CONN2- want CIRCUM……

   Three days before-LOC We: PLU-NDPP-NOM seminar do: PAST CORREL
   -ADVS.

   Pak teacher HAT-OBJ well- know- ATTR1-CORREL- ADVS.

   DM At that time Pak Mi Hi teacher- HAT- HM-NOM come –SH-HDVP
   -CONN1 take-CONN2 story-OBJ hear-CONN2 purchase-OBJ do
   -CONN2 want-CONN2 do-PRECED.

   Phone -FRC fax number give-HDVP-ATTR1-PURP-CONN2 come-PAST
   -ATTR2-CIRCUM.

   Very sorry-do-EDVS-CONCESS, phone number a little-MP speak-do
   -CONN1 give-SH-FR-ADVS-INTERR?

   "I'm from a laboratory equipment company and I am wondering if
   teacher Pak Mi Hi is here?

   She wanted to purchase the equipment. I want to see her shortly.

   Three days ago, we had a seminar and I know teacher Pak very well.

   At that time she attended our seminar and heard about the equipment and
   told me she was interested in making a purchase. I came here to give her my
   phone or fax number.

   I'm very sorry, but could you please tell me her phone number?"

2. *L: Yeki RRC ha-ko yenkwan-toyn-ke-ci-yo?*

   RRC-nun cakep-i kkut-nass-ta-ko ha-tentey.

   Here RRC do-COM connection-become-ATTR2-thing-COMM
   -ADVS-INTERR?

   RRC -TOP work-NOM finish: PAST- QUOTE do –CIRCUM.

   "Does the equipment have something to do with the RRC?"

   [Regional Research Center]

   I was told that the RRC had finished all its work for the year."

3. *P: Sensayng-nim hoksi kikyey-sil cokyo-inka-yo?*

   Teacher -HM possibly technical room assistant -be –ATTR2
   -ADVS- INTERR?

   "Are you an assistant secretary in the technical room?"

4. *L: Ce-nun hayngceng cokyo-intey-yo.*

   I-NDPP-TOP administrative assistant-be-ATTR2-CIRCUM-ADVS.

   "I'm an administrative assistant."

5. *P: Kulayto com nassney-yo.*

   Kikeyeysil cokyo-tul-un ekswulo himtule ha-si-nun pwun manh-tentey...
   Swuep-to-ha-ko
   kikyey-to-talwu-ko...

   However, a little better-ADVS.

   Technical room assistant-PLU-TOP considerably hard-CONN1 do-SH
   -ATTR2 person-HRT many-CIRCUM.

   Class-also do- CONN2

   Machine -also handle- CONN2.

   "That is much better. There are many technical secretaries who feel that their jobs are very hard.

   Having to both attend class and conduct research is difficult…"

6. *L: A, kukey yenkwu cokyo malssum isey-yo?*

   A- EXCL, that thing research assistant word- HM be –SH-ADVS
   -INTERR?

   "Do you mean research assistants?"

7. *P: Yey, Yey, Yenkwu cokyo yeki yenkwu cokyo-lako ha-myen.*
   Yeah-HR, Yeah-HR, research assistant here research assistant- QUOT do
   - COND.
   "Yeah, Yeah, research assistants, I mean research assistants here."

8. *L: Ta yenkwu cokyo-yey-yo.*
   Tayhakwensayng-un yenkwu cokyo-yey-yo.
   All research assistant be -ADVS.
   Graduates-TOP research assistant be -ADVS.
   "They are all research assistants. All the graduate students are research
   assistants."

9.*P: A, kuleh-supnikka?*
   A, kulem welkup nanwue patnun-ka po-ci-o?
   A -EXCL really-EDVS -INTERR?
   A-EXCL, then-DM, salary divide-CONN1 receive –ATTR2- NOM seem
   - COMM -ADVS-INTERR?
   "Ah, really? Then they're all sharing a salary?"

10. *L: ANI-YO.*
    Not DECL-ADVS.
    "No."

11. Hhhhh

   ⎰   ⎱

In this extract familiarity is used as a means of promoting a request. As Scollon and

Scollon (1995) maintain, Asians tend to be more aware of social connections, in

particular, whether someone is in-group or out-group. In this sequence, the institute

director uses a request strategy specifically to demonstrate the importance of these

interpersonal connections. In line 1, he uses this social relationship (a personal

connection with Professor Pak Mi Hi) to get information and connect himself to the person he is looking for. He uses various methods to establish himself, including a rambling introduction (line 1), a pre-request ('want statement' and 'deductive discourse strategy' also in line 1), a main request ('query preparatory', "Could you please tell me her phone number?" in line 1 again), and then finally, to solidify the established connection and increase the likelihood of getting the information, he needs he uses a lengthy involvement strategy ('inductive discourse strategy' lines 2-11).

Kang argues, "The notion of 'relative status' is a cultural ideology that pervades Korean thinking to the extent that conceptualizing the individual without a collective is difficult to do" (2000: 92). In this context, the collective face of Korean cultural identity affects interpersonal interaction. In Korean cultural ideology "one does not exist alone, but rather depends upon, and is seen in relation to others" (Kang 2000: 93). This is used as a tool for creating linguistic cues in the organization of interaction. In this extract, the company employee consciously employs a cultural value (connection) in order to achieve a business-oriented task. P introduces a group identity rather than himself as an individual (line 1). In line 1, he explains that it was not originally his intention to visit, but Professor Pak had wanted to purchase some equipment. This utterance is a 'pre-sequence' in that it sets up a conditional relevance, which pre-figures an upcoming action. By utilizing cultural values, P gains 'ratified access' to an extended turn-at-talk as revealed in line 1. He uses the opportunity to make a 'want statement' as a pre-request.

Clearly, power and distance play a less important role than appealing to cultural values (in this case familiarity) for the successful fulfillment of this request. The speaker's work-oriented goal influences the adoption of redressive forms, since to disclose someone's phone number to a stranger is not a part of the secretary's job as

well as being an imposition (assuming she is even inclined to want to do it). This weighty request has motivated P to use highly deferential forms. This is the reason for the over-deference, which underlies the deferential mechanism (line 1) that P employs. These highly deferential forms are prefaced with tentativeness ("I'm very sorry, but…" in line 1) towards the younger secretary. He uses a highly deferential verbal form, 'poyp' (the extremely deferential form of the verb 'to see'). He makes use of a highly asymmetrical plural pronoun, 'cehuy' ('we'), the honorific reference term, 'pwun' ('person'), the honorific address term, ('sensayngnim') (teacher combined with 'nim'), and the highly asymmetrical marker, 'si'. All of these forms, especially in combination, are way above the normal register for a situation like this, if he was not making a weighty request.

P uses both negative and positive linguistic strategies in order to mitigate the force of his directives and make his request polite. He tries to minimize the imposition by employing expressions such as "I'm very sorry", and "very well" in line 1, as well as using the Korean word 'com' in line 1. 'Com' literally means 'a little bit' and it is often used as a way to mitigate the negative face threat that comes with a request. It is also commonly used with 'cwuseyyo' and suggests that the speaker only wants to be 'given a little bit', even if what is 'given' is an action.

P also utilizes the culture-specific predicate, 'cwusikeyss' in line 1. Moreover, as noted earlier, he makes extensive use of familiarity. The cultural emphasis on familiarity (close relationship) is used as a means of achieving his work related goal. For instance, the pre-request in line 1 indicates that the 'social relationship' is strategically used to achieve the speaker's pragmatic goal. He reduces the unwelcome effect of his request by rationalizing that it was teacher Pak, not he, who desired the meeting.

Positive linguistic strategies (small talk and involvement strategies) function effectively to decrease the FTA of a request. Small talk also makes a great contribution to decreasing FTAs, because it establishes solidarity. P's use of small talk in line 5 creates empathy and rapport with the secretary. In line 6, the secretary's question, "Don't you mean research assistant?" indicates that the secretary is involved in his solidarity strategy and shows a common interest in the topic. Also, whenever the secretary corrects or clarifies what he says, P reinforces his involvement strategy with an affective (and slightly self-deprecating) tone, by saying, "yeah, yeah". Through this, both a degree of familiarity and an establishment of common ground are established between interlocutors. At the end, the co-occurrence of their laughter reinforces the small talk strategy and adds the positive distance-bridging element of humour to the conversation. As Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 111) argues, shared humor indicates that the speaker shares with others a common view about what is amusing.

5.5 Summary of Request Strategies

Brown and Levinson's politeness formula does not deal with individual variations that constantly change within interactional discourse. According to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, the higher the speaker perceives the risk of face-threatening acts to be, the more indirect the strategies that they employ to counteract them will have to be (1987: 73). The Korean data in the current study is not altogether consistent with their emphasis on the direct/indirect bifurcation. A speaker's choice of honorific forms is very dynamic, especially in the case of local level interaction.

The Korean data herein shows that institutional participants are very sensitive to interactional norms in the negotiation of relational work. For instance, the more powerful person is often the one more sensitive to locally specific interactional norms when making requests toward a less powerful person (Extract 1). These interactional norms motivate Korean speakers to employ both negative and positive politeness strategies. The Korean data herein shows that institutional participants often also employ double structures (exploiting both 'negative' and 'positive' face wants) to get work-related requests processed more effectively. Holmes and Stubbe (2003) argue that the pressures of negative face threats can often be effectively minimized with positive politeness strategies (collegiality, humor and small talk) in dealing with work related tasks (see Extracts 2, 3 and 4).

Importantly, Brown and Levinson's functional paradigm is only concerned with social parameters (P, D and R) and overlooks how cultural values can be a linguistic constraint (Arundale 2006: 202). Korean cultural scripts incorporate a framework of personhood into the construction of polite linguistic behavior (Kang 2000: 305). When cultural values function as a face redress mechanism, they enable control of the social

constraints (power, distance and imposition variables). The greater the imposition, the more the speaker tends to rely on the cultural values (see Extracts 2, 3 and 4) in order to achieve his/her strategic goal. Brown and Levinson claim that requests always involve an element of face-threat cannot explain culture-specific face that depends primarily on values (such as familiarly, in-group relationship, and warmth and mutuality in Korea) to mitigate the face threat of a request (see Extracts 2, 3, and 4).

Most importantly, Brown and Levinson do not consider how positive politeness can be strategically used as an FTA redress through the manipulation of cultural values and/or honorific forms appeals to cultural values are well suited to mitigating high R variables. Korean speakers tend to utilize them in order to better negotiate requests. Conventionalized predicates such as 'cwuseyyo' ('dependence acknowledging'), 'cwusikeyss' ('interrogative embedding'), play critical roles in negotiating the role of benefactor and influence how the hearer thinks of the speaker thereby influencing the willingness of the hearer to fulfill the request. All of these conventionalized predicates appeal to the hearer's positive face (see Extracts 2 and 3), since they call on cultural notions of warmth, mutual cooperation, and virtue. Despite its directness, Korean speakers prefer 'cwuseyyo' because it utilizes a shared cultural value.

Brown and Levinson's claim that a speaker makes use of redressive verbal forms in order to effectively minimize the FTAs can only be applied to situations in which the speaker follows the existent social norms. However, in Korean, when the speaker's particular strategic intention runs counter to interactional norms he/she can utilize cultural values combined with honorific forms in order to better negotiate his/her request. The reason for this is that if the strategic goals deviate substantially from the existent social norms, linguistic forms alone are not sufficient enough to counteract the face

threats. As a result, speakers often incorporate cultural values combined with honorific devices in order to successfully make requests (see Extracts 2 and 3).

In sum, politeness strategies in all the institutional contexts herein commonly feature individual variations. Negative politeness strategies are occasionally employed to mitigate imposition by a person of a higher status. A more powerful speaker also may adopt a highly mitigating strategy such as 'negative embedding' or 'tentative embedding' towards a less powerful addressee (see Extracts 1 and 4; see also Chapter 4). However, when requesting, both less powerful and more powerful participants employ deference, something that is inconsistent with Brown and Levinson's politeness formula. Also, in Korean, highly deferential honorific forms can function as either face enhancing or face-threatening acts. This multi-functional nature of Korean discernment allows Korean speakers to control imposition and make successful requests.

Chapter 6

A New Functional Approach of Conversational Analysis for Korean Openings and Closings

6.1 Introduction

Institutional participants are very sensitive to power relationships. Rank is strictly determined by the structure of the institution, whilst power may be contextually assigned. An example of the difference might be a secretary who is low in rank, but high in clout. The practical requirements for achieving a goal are what determine discursive identity and local context, not institutional rank (though rank is relevant, it is simply a contributing factor, not a determining factor). The local context created within institutional settings is often asymmetrical, because there often exists a conflict between the formal obligations, roles, rights and positions, and the assigned power and status differentials between the people involved (Thornborrow 2002: 22).

This asymmetry is what motivates speakers to use conversation strategically. The two asymmetrical constraints (rank and power) display 'inherent inequalities' that institutional participants must refer to when they converse. This is because the formal roles and structurally assigned power relationships play a major role in the context of institutional conversation (Thornborrow 2002: 22). This asymmetrical constraint often arouses strategic encounters. A strategic encounter occurs when institutional and discursive roles conflict as a result of the negotiation of local institutional, discursive, and interactional identities (Thornborrow 2002: 5). Strategic motivation can be clearly seen through adjacency pairs, which confirm a participant's discursive orientation.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 295; 1990: 59) state that adjacency pairs are two component utterances that are positioned adjacently with different speakers producing each utterance. The major types are question-answer, greeting-greeting and offer-acceptance/refusal (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 296). In this chapter it will be shown that the contextual implications of each pair display the speaker's discursive orientation and the way cultural values are used.

Schegloff (1990: 53-55) claims that coherence and topic help "a single topic-focused spate of talk" maintain the structural integrity of on going sequential talk (1990: 59) and regards the adjacency pair as a basic unit for checking whether sequential construction is maintaining orderliness. According to Schegloff, 'orderliness' means the same thing as relatedness and reflects sequential cohesion between ongoing and successive utterances.

If the two pair parts have no relevance in terms of sequential organization, it creates a deviation in the on-going orderliness of the juxtaposed utterances (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 297-298). When this happens the deviation will exhibit strategic implications (e.g. disagreement, refusal, etc.) as the sequence continues (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 296-298). It is through deliberate flouting of the normal register that the speaker of the initial utterance begins to understand that what was intended was not accepted, or inferred, by the speaker of the second half of the paired sequence (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 297-298).

The inconsistencies between the two-adjacency pair parts (in terms of either topic or language use) may also cause disorderliness and exhibit marked linguistic forms or address terms (see Extracts 3 and 5). If this is the case, it will be interpreted as a strategic action that reflects particular intentions (Schegloff 1990: 53). Local norms are what determine the speaker's use of adjacency pairs (whether normal register or marked). They

are more influential than existent social norms, because "talk is always grounded within a specific local context" (Thornborrow 2002: 9). It is thus the local context of the strategic encounter that determines whether participants employ marked/unmarked or conventional/non-conventional forms in the corresponding contexts. Adjacency pairs can thus be employed to check specific contextual implications (e.g. a speaker's particular intention or pragmatic purposes and the way cultural values are used to achieve these), because adjacency pairs are basic elements that consist of sequential utterances which are employed to signal pragmatic implications rather than just being used merely as a way to replace opening or closing formats (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 20, 72-73). As Schegloff and Sacks state, adjacency pairs are often used as a means of projecting the speaker's desired goals through a group of utterances (1973: 19-20).

Another noticeable fact is that "the concept of adjacency pairs is based on the core idea of CA in that utterances in interactional talk are sequentially organized" (Have 1999: 113). The basic rule of CA is that "it is an essential part of the adjacency pair format that the relationship between the two pair parts is a normative one" (Have 1999: 113). This means that after a first pair-part, the next utterance should be a relevant response to the first 'as a fitting second part' (Have 1999: 113). For example, in the normal context conventionalized rituals are employed but, in some contexts, participants may exploit this aspect of adjacency pairs in order to mark the utterance. This can be seen as the flouting of discursive orderliness to show the speaker's intentions. In order to support these abrupt shifts, unconventional rituals and para-linguistic features are employed in order to avoid the attendant face conflicts that might result from such an interaction. In strategic encounters of this type, the opening exchange will often display the speaker's intention to achieve a specific functional goal and display of strategic politeness through the

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utilization of both prosodic features such as loudness, pitch (intonation), speed, and voice quality) (see also Culpeper *et al*. 2003: 1568) and cultural values. The importance of these two aspects (cultural values and extra-linguistic effects) with respect to politeness is one of the primary focal points of this chapter.

In order to explore these socio-pragmatic aspects of natural language data, I will use the utterance length of the pairs and the adjacent positioning of the component utterances to analyze how openings and closings depend on interactional discourse contexts and how they are strongly motivated by the participants' strategic intention to be strategically polite/impolite. Also, how adjacency pairs are sequentially interconnected will be explored to examine the participants' intentional uses of unconventional rituals. This is because the close ordering of utterances is implicative (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 297-298). By being methodically and systematically sequential, first pair parts and second pair parts maintain their orderliness. In order to observe contextual implications of the surrounding adjacency pairs, the adjacency pairs will be listed after each extract and then explicated. But first, examination of the conventional rituals of Korean openings and closings is necessary.

6.2 Conventional Openings and Closings in Korean Context Data

To begin with, specific sequences will be used to show how particular linguistic/social actions (such as openings and closings) display individual variability that reflect the speaker's intentions (Schegloff 1990: 1078). Lindstrom (1994: 248) claims that the choice of opening depends on cultural or situational norms and can even simple be a matter of individual preference. An example of this variability is the fact that American openings usually stress institutionalized preferences for other-recognition rather than self-identification. On the other hand, Dutch openings prefer to focus on

institutionalized preferences for self-identification rather than other-recognition. Lindstrom (1994: 249) further argues that the choice of whether the speaker employs self-identification or other- recognition depends on his/her attitude toward formality or informality.

The choice of whether the speaker employs self-identification or other-recognition is, of course, dependent on his/her intentions within the local context. Conventional openings and closings in Korean often start with "annyenghasipnikka?" or "annyenghaseyyo?" ("hi", "good morning", "good afternoon", or "good evening" / "good night") and end with "annyenghikyeysipsio" or "annyenghikyeyseyyo" ("bye", "I'm going for now", "goodbye"). These conventional rituals are unmarked and are used in nearly all Korean contexts. However, even these conventional rituals can become context sensitive. Conventional rituals may contain pragmatic connotations, depending on the contextual features of the local context. For example, "annyenghasipnikka?" in a particular institutional context may denote "despite the recent troubles, are you safe?" However, in another situation it may be interpreted as, "Are you okay?" rather than a conventional greeting.

Examples of Korean conventional openings and closings will be discussed first and then unconventional openings and closings—which are often linked to impoliteness— will be dealt with. The following extract clearly shows us why conventional rituals are situation sensitive and this will also help us to understand what is conventional and why.

Extract 1

Participants:

L: secretary 1 (Female aged 23)

S1: student (Female aged 20)

S2: student (Female aged 21)

Summary: The following recorded conversation occurred in the Food Science and Nutrition Department office. Two female students, one, who is 20 years old, (S1), and another, who is 21 years old, (S2), have come to the secretary's office to fill out job applications. The 23-year-old female secretary, L, shows them how to enter the data into the computer. The sequence as a whole is a weave of the secretary's use of imperatives, repeated questions and reinforcement of what she said in previous turns which brings about seniority and characterizes her as following conventional language use. Similarly, the students show formal deference toward the secretary, and this gives the conversation its defining character. Throughout, openings and closings that are conventional for a Korean institutional setting are used. In this extract the linguistic choices of the participants are constrained by existent social norms because no one breaks from expected norms.

1. *S1 and S2: Annyeng-ha-sey-yo?*
   Well do-SH-ADVS-INTERR?
   "Good morning."

2. *L: Kyoswu-nim Thaykwuk-ey ka-syess-ketun camkkan-man poca.*

Professor-HM Thailand-LOC go:-SH-PAST-CORREL a second only see-PROP-NDVS.

"The professor has gone to Thailand. Please, give me a moment, let's see…"

3. S1: *Ce chwiep-kwanlyen selyu cakseng hal-lyeko wass-e-yo.*

Ce hakcem molu-nuntey.

I-NDPP employment-related form fill out do-PURP come: PAST-ADVS.

I-NDPP grades not: know-ATTR2-CIRCUM.

"We came here to fill out job applications but I'm afraid I don't know my grades."

4. *L: Hakcem-ul molla?*

Kyoswu-nim-i cenghwak-hakey malssum an-ha-si-tena?

Ilun-kes motwu ta-ssula.

Cikum cenpwu ta-ssuko cenghwak-hakey 16 pen wiey ssu-ko ilun-kes ta- ssula.

Hakcem-un enni-ka kaluchye cwul-kkey.

Hakcem-ul molu-nun salam ilun-kes pwala.

Kuliko chongtay-ka mal hal kken-tey…computersang-ey-to iplyek-ul hay-ya tway.

Nayka cikum kaluchye cwul-kkey.

Haksayng-tul-i mwule po-myen, nika iltan kaluchye cwe-la.

Hakkyo homepage-ey tule-ka-myen, haksayng-tul-hanthey hakkwa Samwusil-ey naye-lako hay-la.

Yeki tule ka-la.

Chwiep cengposil-ey tule-ka-myen, yeki ID wa pass word-ka iss-ko.

ID-nun hakpen-intey hakpen-i mwen-tey?

Password-nun cwumintunglok penho twis cali-intey.

Mwen-tey?

Grades-OBJ not: know NDVS-INTERR?
Professor-HM-NOM correctly word-HM not: do-SH-NDVS-INTERR?
Like this-thing all fill out-NDVS-IMPERR.
Now all write-CONN2 correctly 16 number above write-CONN2.
Like this -thing all fill out -NDVS-IMPER.
Grades-TOP sister-NOM teach-CONN1 give-ATTR1-INT.
Grades-OBJ not: know-ATTR2-person like this-thing see-NDVS-IMPER.
And student representative-NOM speak-Future thing-CIRCUM…
Computer-above-LOC-also put-OBJ do-NECESS become-NDVS-IMPER.
I- NDPP-NOM now teach-CONN1 give-ATTR1-INT.
Student-PLU-NOM ask-CONN1 see-COND, you: SG-NDPP-NOM once teach-CONN1 give-NDVS-IMPERR.
School homepage-LOC enter-CONN1 go-COND, student-PLU-OBJ department office-LOC submit-Quote do-NDVS-IMPER.
Here enter-CONN1 go-NDVS-IMPER.
Placement assistance site-LOC enter-COND, here ID-COM password NOM exist-COM.
ID-TOP student ID-CIRCUM Student ID-NOM what- be-ATTR2-CIRCUM- NDVS-INTERR?
Password-TOP resident number suffix number-be-ATTR2-CIRCUM.
What-be-ATTR2-CIRCUM-NDVS-INTERR?

"You don't know your grades? Your professor hasn't told you precisely yet?
Fill out all of these.
Right now write all of these.
Write precisely on number 16.
Write all of these.
I will tell you what your grades are.
If you don't know your grades, look at like this.
And your student representative will tell you.
You must input the data into the computer.
I'll show you now.
If students ask you, show them how.
Once you enter school homepage…Tell students to submit it to the department office.

Enter here.

If you enter the placement assistance site, here are the IDs and pass words.

IDs are students' IDs.

What is your ID?

Your password is the last six digits of your resident registration number .

What is your pass word?"

5. *S1: 21200311ipnita.*

    21200311-EDVS-DECL.

    "It's 21200311."

    (…)

6. *L: Hompage-ey kase ni-ka iplyek hal-lye-myen cali yeses-pokika-issta.*

    Kayin-ilyekse tunglok-ilang caki-sokay tunglok-ul ha-ko.

    Yeki po-myen sacin skanhayse ollye-ya ha-ketun.

    Swuyoil-kkaci kumbang halswu isscayay?

    I-kes kkok hay-la.

    Swuyo-il achim-ey hwakin hal-kke-ketun.

Homepage-LOC go-PROCED you: SG-NDPP-NOM put-do-ATTR1-PURP- COND digit 6 -blank-NOM exist-NDVS-DECL.

Personal history registration- COM self-introduction registration-OBJ do -CONN2.

Here see-COND picture scan do-PROCED put-ATTR1-NECESS-do-CORREL. Wednesday -until straight away do-ATTR1 method exist-COMM-NDVS-INTERR?

This necessarily do-NDVS-IMPER.

Wednesday morning-LOC confirmation do-ATTR1-thing-CORREL.

    "Go to the homepage here.

    If you try to put the information into the computer, there is the box for entering your six-digit ID login information.

    You must input your personal rèsumé and then register yourself.

    Look here, scan   the picture and you have to upload your picture here.

    You can do it by Wednesday?

    Make sure to do this.

    I'll check on Wednesday morning."

7. *S1: Swuyo-il achim-kkaci hay-ya tway-yo?*

Wednesday morning-until do-NECESS become-ADVS-INTERR?

"It must be done by Wednesday morning?"

8. *L: Ani, hwayo-il-kkaci-ta.*

Nay-ka swuyo-il ahop-si-pan-ey kal-kke-nikka.

I-kes hayss-nun-ci an-hayss-nun-ci chekh-lul-hayse ceychwul
-hay-ya-tway.

Welyoil-nal sihem pol-ttay nay-ka hanpen-te mal-hal-kke-ya.

No-NHR, Tuesday until-NDVS-DECL.

I- NDPP Wednesday nine hour half-LOC go-ATTR1-thing-Reason.

This do: PAST-ATTR2-SUS not: do-PAST-ATTR2-SUS check-OBJ

do-PRECED submit-do-NECESS become-NDVS.

Monday exam take-ATTR1-when I-NDPP-NOM once more speak do

-ATTR1-thing-NDVS.

"No, by Tuesday.

I will be arriving at the office here at half past nine on Wednesday.

You must check to make sure this is finished or not and then should

submit it.

I'll remind you when you take exams on Monday."

9. *S1: Ni hakcem motwu ta-ana? (Looking at S2)*

You: SG-NDPP grade all know-NDVS-INTERR?

"Do you know all your grades?"

10. *L: Cenghwakhakey an-hay-to toy-ketun.*

Correctly not: do-CONCESS become-CORREL.

"It's okay if it is not perfect."

11. *S1: A, cengmal-yo? (Looking at the secretary)*

Ah-EXCL, really-ADVS-INTERR?

"Ah, really?"

12. *L: Ung, TOEIC cemswu na-wass-e?*

    Ung -NHR, TOEIC score come out: PAST-NDVS-INTERR?

    "Yeah, have the TOEIC scores come out yet?"

13. *S1: Yey, kyonay-kken-tey-yo.*

    Oypwu-kke-nun an-hayss-nuntey-yo.

    Yes-HR, internal thing-ATTR2-CIRCUM-ADVS.

    External thing-TOP not: do PAST-CIRCUM-ADVS.

    "Yes, I took it through the university, not a testing agency."

14. *L: Oypwu-kke-nun an-hayss-e?*

    External thing-TOP not: do PAST-NDVS-INTERR?

    "You did not take a testing agency exam?"

15. *S2: Kyonay-eyse sengcekpyo-lul ilhe-peli-myen ettehkey-hay-yo?*

    Sangkwan epsse-yo?

    Internal-LOC transcript-OBJ lose-COND how-do-ADVS-INTERR?

    Matter not: exist-ADVS-INTERR?

    "What if I lost the test results that the university sent?

    Doesn't it matter?"

16. *L: Sangkwan ep-nuntey. Echapi pinkhan-un Chaywe-ya toy-nun keya.*

    Matter not: exist-CIRCUM. In any case blank-TOP fill out-NECESS

    become- thing-NDVS.

    "It shouldn't matter. In any case, you will have to fill in the blanks

    yourself."

17. *S1: Epcong cikcong-un mwen-tey-yo?*

    Business kind job kind-TOP what-be-ATTR2-CIRCUM-ADVS

    -INTERR?

    "What kind of job is it?"

18. *L: Huymang epcong-man wi-ey ssu-la.*

    Huymang imkum-un ilehkey ssu-myen ettehkey-hay?

    Desired job only above write-NDVS-IMPER.

    Desired wage-TOP like this write-COND How-do-NDVS-INTERR?

    "Just write the job you want in the space provided. Why are you writing
    the wage you want like that?"

19. *S1: A, khukey ssu-ya tway-yo?*

    Ah-EXCL, largely write-NECESS become-ADVS-INTERR?

    "Should it be written large?"

20. *L: Nehuy-tul kkok computer-wa online sang-ey-to hay-ya toynta.*

    You: PLU-NDPP necessarily computer-COM online- above-LOC -also

    do-NECESS become-ATTR2-NDVS-DECL.

    "You'll have to do it online."

21. *S1 and S2: Yey, al-keyss-supnita. Annyenghi kyey-sey-yo.*

    Yes-HR, know-ATTR1-FR-EDVS-DECL. Well exist-HDVP

    -ADVS.

    "Yes, I see. Bye."

The adjacency pairs that are employed to display speakers' meanings in this data extract

can be described as follows:

Greetings (S1 and S2) (line 1)

The first adjacency pair
1) Indirect request (S1) (line 3)
2) Implicit acceptance (L) (line 4)

Request (L) (line 6)

The second adjacency pair
1) Confirmation (S1) (line 7)
2) Confirmation (L) (line 8)

Question and answer (L, S1 and S2) (lines 9 ~19)
Additional request (L) (line 20)
Closing (L) (line 21)

In this extract the linguistic forms of the participants are regulated entirely by Korean

social norms (e.g. age, power and familiarity). The students employ a conventional

greeting and closing in lines 1 and 21, but the secretary, who is older, responds with

locally specific information, "The professor has gone to Thailand. Please give me a

moment, let's see". The older secretary also employs a non-deferential verbal suffix,

'poca' (the least deferential form of 'see') instead of 'popsita' (the extremely deferential

form of 'see'). The two-adjacency pairs (e.g. see first and second adjacency pairs) in this

extract clearly display conventional use of Korean deference (super-ordinate benevolence

and subordinate respect): the secretary employs non-deference and the students use

highly deferential linguistic forms). Despite the secretary's use of non-deference, her

linguistic strategies does not display impoliteness. Rather it can be perceived as very

polite and kind in this situation. For example, the first student makes an indirect request

by using 'I'm afraid' (hedge) in line 3. The secretary in the next turn clarifies by saying,

"You don't know your grades? Your professor hasn't told you yet?" The secretary then

gives an implicit acceptance and says "Fill out all of these". The secretary makes a

further request and tells them to complete their forms quickly in line 6. It is notable that

the secretary always employs non-deferential linguistic forms, whilst the students always

abide by Korean deference (the speaker-lowering and the hearer–elevating). For example,

the older secretary employs Korean variant of a non-deferential second person pronoun

(e.g. 'ni' belongs to one of the least deferential variants of 'you') toward the younger students in line 4. the secretary always employs non-deferential verbal suffixes such as 'hayla' (the imperative form of 'do'), in line 6. In line 20, She also uses the verbal suffix 'hayyatoynta ('must do'), which has a strong illocutionary force.

Although the secretary employs non-deferential linguistic forms, she gives detailed information so that the students can make online application to get their jobs. It is important to note that Koreans often avoid using pronouns in institutional environments, since it is not speaker lowering, hearer-elevating. According to Koo's findings (1992), there are many variants of 'you' in Korean ('tangsin', 'ni', 'ne', 'caney'/ 'imca', etc.) and 'tangsin', 'ni', 'ne' are the least deferential (see Table 4.1). For this reason, 'ni'/'ne' is usually only applicable to children and close intimates. In this sense, the secretary's choice of this term is appropriate, since only a higher status person can use it.

As noted above, the two students consistently employ formal deference (e.g. S1 employs tentative embedding, 'I'm afraid' and the deferential verbal suffix, 'yo' throughout). In sum, this extract is a good example of socially conventional linguistic forms. The participants abide by social variables (age, gender, familiarity, power) rather than some underlying goals.

When exploring openings and closings in the ensuing section, I shall abide by Schegloff's suggestion that the researcher should focus on what is actually happening in the context. In addition, the type of context is important as it refers to the intra-interactional context constituted by a course of action (e.g., 'relevant contextedness') (1992a: 199). To do this, further examination of 'sequence organization' (meaningful successions or sequences of actions) (Schegloff 2007: 2) and how participants respond to

each other in order to get their interactional goals accomplished is required. This will be done by looking at unconventional types of openings and closings.

6.3 Unconventional Openings and Closings in Korean Context Data

This section discusses why institutional discourse often employs unconventional rituals that reflect context sensitivity. These rituals are especially relevant in institutional discourse, because institutional discourse negotiates the scope of rights, obligations and expectations within a particular institutional identity. Because contextual features directly influence unconventional rituals, which are useful to lessen any conflicts between an institutional participant's profit oriented goals and their institutional identity (Have 1999: 109). When this happens, participants become strategic in order to maintain both interactional and institutional identities. That is why institutional participants often employ unconventional rituals in the exploitation of normal registers. In this chapter the goal is to explore why institutional participants employ unconventional rituals in particular discourse contexts and how institutional participants associate unconventional rituals with (im)politeness in particular discourse contexts.

Impoliteness is based on two elements: the intention and the interpretation of cultural value. When analyzing the pragmatic aspects of impoliteness, Culpeper *et al.*'s framework on impoliteness (2003: 1554) makes for a good starting point. Their impoliteness framework is partly taken from Brown and Levinson's politeness framework in which positive aggravation and negative aggravation originate from Brown and Levinson's dualistic face wants (Culpeper *et al.* 2003: 1553). However, Brown and Levinson's politeness theory fails to capture how intention can directly influence the politeness or impoliteness of linguistic forms.

According to Culpeper *et al.* (2003), a malicious act of impoliteness is different from face maintaining (negative politeness) or enhancing acts (positive politeness) and cannot be explained within Brown and Levinson's framework. Many intentional malicious expressions have become conventionalized cultural expressions that are considered impolite even though they are also quite indirect. As such they tend to "short-circuit the indirectness scales" (Culpeper *et al.* 2003: 1549) (see Extracts 3 and 5). Because of this, Brown and Levinson's "comments on impoliteness are descriptively inadequate and often conceptually biased" (Culpeper *et al.* 2003: 1546). The natural language data herein, consist of both negative and positive impoliteness acts. The negative impoliteness acts are similar to Culpeper *et al.*'s concept of 'bald on record impoliteness', but both are aimed at achieving strategic conversational goals.

Openings and closings are associated with the local circumstances of the specific occasion. These circumstances strongly influence the speaker's goal and produce a variety of conventional/unconventional rituals. This influence can be clearly seen in the way closings are exchanged because maintaining orderliness is also influenced by specific contextual norms. The typical terminal phrase, "goodbye", is therefore not actually used as a predominant conversational closing, due to the functional inflexibility of the character of terminal exchanges.

The para-linguistic dimension should also be included in analyzing opening and closing rituals, because "no utterance can be spoken without prosody" (Culpeper *et al.* 2003: 1568). Adjacency pairs alone may not clearly reveal the ongoing progression of the action. In such cases, para-linguistic features that are embedded in the contextual discourse often directly influence the closing ritual (Schegloff 2007: 10).

As noted earlier, greetings and terminal exchanges do not always begin with conventionalized forms. Exchanges often end with other sequentially relevant utterances such as: "I'll let you know about it tomorrow", "I'd like you to do it as soon as possible", and so on. Typical expressions are, ironically, not predominantly used as instances of openings or closings in naturally occurring conversations (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 298). The following extract clearly demonstrates that openings are often motivated by the speaker's strategic intention:

Extract 2

K: Part time lecturer (Male 45)

L: Secretary (Female 25)

Summary: This is an example of a strategic encounter in which a functional goal directly influences the production and the characterization of the talk (particularly the opening and the closing). In this context a 45-year-old male senior lecturer (K) is visiting a 25-year-old female secretary (L) to move up an exam date. This is a short and complete extract. This extract shows how an urgent work-related request necessitates simple expressions relevant to the present conversation rather than conventional routines. The adjacency pairs clearly show how the discursive positions are sequentially negotiated so as to successfully achieve the request.

1. *K: Sihem kamtok-ttaymwuney wass-nuntey towa cwu-sil swu iss-keyss*
   -supnikka, Lee sensayng-nim?
   Exam proctoring-because come: PAST- ATTR2-CIRCUM help-
   CONN1 give-SH-ATTR1 Method exist-FR-EDVS-INTERR?
   Lee teacher-HAT-HM?
   "I need to find some to proctor these exams.
   Could you please help me, Teacher Lee?"

2. *L: Mokyoil-un wenley swuep-i ep-nun nal-intey thoyoil-hako...*
   Thursday-TOP originally classes-NOM not: exist-ATTR2 day- be
   -ATTR2-CIRCUM. Saturday -COM…
   "But there are no classes on Thursday and Saturday…"

3. *K: Cey-ka swuep tule ka-myen haksayng-tul-kwa sanguy-hayse sihem-sikan*
   -i cenghay-cil then-tey-yo.
   Cey-ka imeil-lo sihem-mwuncey-lul ponaye tuli-myen chwulyek-hay kaci-
   ko ku-sikan-ey macchwue sihem-kamtok-eykey tulil swu issupnikka?
   Taum-cwu welyoil-kkaci sihem mwuncey-nun tuli-keysse-yo.
   Ama cey-ka kanguy-nun kumyoil-intey haksayng-tul-i sihem-ul com ppali
   chiko-sipta-ko hayse-yo.
   I-NDPP class enter- CONN1 go: COND students-COM consultation-do-
   PRECED exam time-NOM decide: PASS –ATTR1- CIRCUM-ADVS.
   I-NDPP email-LOC exam item- OBJ send –CONN1 give: HDVP-COND
   print- do-CONN1 take-CONN2 the hour- LOC fit –CONN1 exam
   proctor- OBJ give: HDVP - ATTR1 method exist –EDVS- INTERR?
   Next week Monday-until testing questions-TOP give-HDVP-FR-ADVS.
   Perhaps I-NOM lecture-TOP Friday-be: CIRCUM.
   Student-PLU-NOM exam-OBJ a little early take-CONN2-wish-CONN2
   do-PRECED-ADVS.
   "When I go to my class, I will consult with my students and decide the
   exam time.
   If I send the test items to you by e-mail attachment, you can print them out
   and give them to the proctor in time?
   I'll send the test items to you by next Monday.
   Probably my class is on Friday, but the students want to take the exam
   earlier."

4. *L: Yey cenhwa tuli-keyss-supnita.*
     Yes-HR, phone give-HDVP-FR- EDVS-DECL.
     "Okay, I'll give you a ring."

5. *K: Kuliko kanguysil-un capa-ya toy-ketun-yo.*
     Ku swuep sikan-ey sihem-ul an-chi-myen...
     And lecture room-TOP reserve-NECESS become-CORREL-ADVS.
     DA class time-LOC exam-OBJ take: not-COND...
     "A room also needs to be reserved if the exam takes place outside of
     the usual class time."

6. *L : Kuken cey-ka ala po-keyss-supnita.*
      The thing- TOP I-NDPP-NOM check –CONN1-see –FR- EDVS-DECL.
      "I'll check it out."

7. *K: al-keyss-supnita*
     Understand ATTR1-FR-EDVS-DECL.
     "I see."

The adjacency pairs that are employed to display speakers' meanings in this

data extract can be described as follows:

First adjacency pair
1) Request (K)   (line 1)
2) Implicit refusal (L) (line 2)

Account (K) (line 3)

Second adjacency pair
1) More specific re-request (K)   (line 5)
2) Acceptance (L) (line 6)

Closing (K)   (line 7)

The opening shows an atypical greeting formula. Because the final exam is very soon, the lecturer, K, needs to make an urgent request to a secretary whom he knows very well. It is the secretary's normal institutional role to rearrange testing times, but, nevertheless, the more powerful lecturer employs the highly deferential address term (LN + 'sensayngnim') toward the less powerful secretary, despite the fact that 'sensayngnim' (without LN) is the normal register reciprocally used between people of equal status, whether academic or not. As shown in the first adjacency pair, the more powerful lecturer employs non-conventional use of linguistic form: e.g. this higher form is due to the fact that the lecturer's request is unusual in that he wants to have the test either on Thursday or on Saturday, as per the request of the students. Because it is a personally motivated request, the secretary gives an implicit refusal by reminding him "there are no classes Thursday and Saturday". The senior lecturer employs over-politeness motivated by a strategic intention. More specific requests are made in line 3. In this line, K employs the extremely deferential interrogative verbal suffix, '~ tulil swu issupnikka' as well as the declarative version of that suffix, '~supnita'.

Notice also that the secretary accepts the lecturer's request in the second adjacency pair, because the secretary thinks that the reservation of the classroom belongs to her obligation. This can be evidenced in her acceptance in line 6. After these long first pair parts, the secretary accepts the request by replying, "Okay, I'll give you a ring" in line 4. The lecturer then solidifies his request further by adding a request to reserve a room for the test. Also of note is the much older K's repeated use of the self-lowering, hearer-elevating first person singular pronoun, 'ceyka' in order to please the younger secretary. All these marked honorific forms are motivated by the exceptional nature of K's strategic goals. The next extract focuses on impoliteness.

Extract 3

Participants:

S--the president of a university (Male aged 50)

P--the son of the chairman of the board of directors (Male aged 41)

Summary: in this particular encounter, the 41-year-old son of the chairman of the board of directors, P, is nominally powerless compared to the 50-year-old university president (S). However, strange as it seems, he is actually in a better position to exercise real power. This is because in Korean culture, 'personal connection' permeates all kinds of social interactions. 'Personal connection' means "the reciprocal aspect of face giving" (Pan 2000: 71). Once personal connection is established, a special bond is created. The power of this bond is so powerful that it is transferred to any other person who shares such a bond. This dynamic is always true for family members and is particularly relevant for fathers and sons (especially eldest sons). For example, the face of the chairman would enhance the face need of his son who would then reflect any improvement of face back to the father (Pan 2000: 71). Because of this reciprocity of face and status, the son of the chairman is given a level of respect and deference equal to that of the chairman himself and so the son is able to exercise real informal power. Additionally, the president is on the verge of being fired for embezzlement. Because of this disgrace, the president has no influence whatsoever.

> 1. *P: Tangsin-i chongcang-i-sip-nikka?*
>   You: SG-NDPP- NOM president be-SH-EDVS- INTERR?
>   "Are you the president↑?"

> 2. *S: Nwukwu-sip-nikka? (Embarrassed)*
>   Who be-SH- EDVS-INTERR?
>   "Who are you?"

3. P: *Na-nun isacang atul-i-yo.*

    Somwun-ul tul-uni tangsin-ttaymwun-ey hakkyo-ka engmang-ulo toy-ess

    -tako ha-tentay. Hakyo-lul mangch-il cakceng-i-yo?

    I-NDPP-TOP Chairman- POSS son- be-ADVS.

    Rumor -OBJ hear- IND you-SG-NDPP- because- LOC school- NOM mess-

    LOC become:PAST- QUOTE do- HEARSAY.

    School- OBJ ruin –ATTR1 intention –be- ADVS- INTERR?

    "I'm the chairman's son.

    I was told that you have made a mess of this university.

    Are you planning to ruin the school?"

4. *S: Na kulen-il eps-supnita.*

    I-NDPP such thing not: exist –EDVS-DECL.

    "I have nothing to do with whatever you are talking about."

5. *P: Chongcang-nim-i kecismal-ul hay-to toyp-nikka? (Screaming)*

    Hakyo-eyse ccochkyena-ya cengsin chali-keyss-e?

    President-HAT-HM- NOM lie OBJ do-CONCESS become-EDVS

    -INTERR?

    School- from evict- PASS- NECESS mind recover- FR- NDVS- INTERR?

    "As president, how can you say that? WOULD YOU COME TO YOUR

    SENSES IF YOU WERE FIRED?"

6. *S: Nay-ka mwusun calmos-ul cecil-less-tan mal-ipnikka?*

    I-NDPP-NOM what mistake-OBJ commit: PAST-DECL- ATTR2

    word-be- EDVS- INTERR?

    "WHAT MISTAKES DO YOU THINK I HAVE DONE↑?"

    ⟨   ⟩

The adjacency pairs that are employed to display speakers' meanings in this data extract can be described as follows:

The first adjacency pair
Questions and answer (P and S) (line 1) (line 2)

The second adjacency pair
1) Self identification and Protest (P) (line 3)
2) Explicit denial (S) (line 4)
The third adjacency pair
Explicit protest (P) (line 5)
Implicit denial (S) (line 6)

The son of the chairman initially employs the highly deferential interrogative verbal suffix, '~isipnikka', (Be verb + highly asymmetrically used honorific marker 'si' + highly deferential interrogative marker, '~ ipnikka') but without a proper opening. Instead, the chairman's son bluntly asks the hearer's institutional identity. The utterance in line 1 is a serious attack on the president's face, because it suggests that a subordinate is questioning the president's ability to be president. The prosodic features (louder voice and intonation) embedded in the utterance reinforce this suggestion.

Since the president holds a highly respected position, the para-linguistic features of the utterance seriously infringe on the hearer's positive face want. Using a raised voice to speak to a super-ordinate can be a serious sign of disrespect. Culpeper *et al*. argue that para-linguistic behavior plays a major role in interpreting strategically intended impoliteness (Culpeper *et al.* 2003: 1548).

The three adjacency pairs show how Korean honorific usage can employ highly formal deference to create impolite linguistic behavior. Deference and (im)politeness thus are able to co-exist when a speaker's intention is aimed at threatening the hearer's face. This is often done through the use of culture-specific values that are integrated into linguistic strategies. For instance, when the son of the chairman screams, "As president,

how can you say that?" he is questioning the president's lack of morality, which is the

main value of Confucian thinking. This is particularly true in Korea because Confucian

values emphasize that a super ordinate's moral behavior should be a model for

subordinates and should be returned in the form of the subordinate's loyalty. This

contradicts the theories of Brown and Levinson, who only concentrated on the

conventional semantic values of linguistic strategies without looking at the cultural

context. Brown and Levinson claim that the more potentially threatening a particular

speech act becomes, the more indirect the linguistic strategy is (1987: 73). However,

politeness/impoliteness cannot be explained on a strict directness/indirectness scale

(Culpeper *et al.* 2003: 1549).

Also significant is that when the president gives an explicit denial and claims to be

not involved with whatever is angering the chairman's son, the son of the chairman

increases the level of insult by employing both deferential and non-deferential verbal

suffixes like '~toypnikka?' ('become + EDVS + INTERR?) and '~keysse?', (~INT

+NDVS +INTERR?') in order to increase the threat to the more powerful president's face.

Finally, the president hesitantly gives an implicit denial and uses the highly deferential

verbal predicate, '~ipnikka'? (Be verb + EDVS + INTERR?). Because the intention of

the chairman's son is to insult the president so that the president feels his abilities have

been called into question, the participants do not exchange closing rituals with each other.

Culpeper *et al.* (2003: 1546) argues that an utterance can be regarded as impolite when it

embeds a malicious intention. They argue, "the key difference between politeness and

impoliteness is intention" (2003: 1549). Their claim is that plausible intentions can be

identified in contextual discourse (2003: 1552), because para-linguistic information can

be better seen in sequential utterances, which exhibit prosodic features, such as pitch

(intonation), loudness, speed, and voice quality (2003: 1568).

The ensuing extract is notable, because telephone conversations prevent direct visual recognition of the participant's identity. This can lead to unintended behaviors that may threaten a hearer's face. The receiver might not recognize the identity of the caller, if the caller does not identify himself/herself in the beginning of the conversation. Culpeper *et al.*'s framework on impoliteness fails to grasp the essential nature of institutional contexts in which sensitivity to power differences obfuscates the differences between intentional and unintentional acts.

Though context is determined locally, it is only through complete understanding of that context that allows strategic language use to be revealed. The following extract shows that there are moments when a participant misreads the context and disrupts the sequence. This may result in a serious FTA, made worse because of its being unintentional, and therefore completely unmitigated.

In institutional contexts even unintentional behavior affects power issues, because power is structurally assigned and omnipresent. In this sense the extract clearly proves that (im)politeness is context dependent. These issues become particularly problematic during openings, before all the details of the context have been established. Moreover, because institutional contexts often rely on established routines, when the situation diverges from those routines, violations of institutional norms may occur and the possibility of disorder and insult is a likely result. The following extract is an example of this.

Extract 4

Participants:

P: female professor (Female aged 55)

S: non-academic staff (Female aged 28)

Summary: This is from a telephone conversation. This encounter shows how unintentional behavior can be face threatening in institutional contexts. The conversation involves a senior female professor, (P), who is calling an office at a university to speak to a particular secretary, (K). The secretary who initially receives the call (S), is a much younger female administrator and in a lower position than the professor. The secretary, ignorant of the caller's identity, makes the mistake of referring to the professor as 'yeca' (woman), which is very derogatory. Because of this the senior female professor feels that her institutional identity is being insulted and implicitly threatens the secretary. This extract is a clear example of the relevance of context to issues of politeness as well as the relevance of context to issues of intentionality.

      1. *P: Kim sensayng-nim com pakkwue cwu-si-keysse-yo?*
         Kim teacher-HAT-HM please change- CONN1 give-SH-FR
         -ADVS-INTERR?
         "May I speak to Miss Kim please↑?"

      2. *S: Kitalye cwu-sey-yo.*
         Kim sensayng-nim keki-ey-isse-yo?
         (To the other secretaries near her)
         Wait CONN1-give-SH- ADVS.
         Kim teacher -HAT-HM there- LOC exist: be-NDVP-ADVS- INTERR?
         "Just a moment please. Is teacher Kim around somewhere?"

3. *K: Ce-pnita nwukwu sey-yo?*

    I: SG NDPP- EDVS-DECL. Who SH-ADVS- INTERR?

    "Here I am. Who is calling↑?"

4. *S: Etten yecapwun-i ne-lul chass-nuntey. (On the phone, P overhears this.)*

    Certain –ATTR2 female –NHRT- person-HRT-NOM you: SG NDPP

    - OBJ look- CIRCUM.

    "Some woman ['yeca'] is looking for you."

5. *K: (S gives the phone to K) Yepo-sey-yo. Ce-pnita.*

    Hello-SH-ADVS. I: SG NDPP- be-EDVS-DECL.

    "Hello. This is Miss Kim."

6. *P: (K gives the phone back to S.) Mian hapnita-man, nay cenhwa-lul*
   cheum pat-ass-ten pwun com pakkwue cwu-sey-yo.

    Sorry do-EDVS-DECL-CONCESS. My call OBJ first receive: PAST-

    ATTR2 person HRT please change –CONN1-give –SH-ADVS.

    "I'm sorry about this but could you please give the phone back to

    the person who answered first?"

7. *S: Yepo-sey-yo cey-ka cheum cenhwa-lul pat-ass-ten salam-ipnita.*

    Hello, I-NDPP NOM first phone call- OBJ receive: PAST- ATTR2

    person-NDRT-be- EDVS-DECL.

    "Hello? I was the one who answered the phone first."

8. *P: Na Pak Swu Mi kyoswu-ipnita, nay-cenhwa-lul talun salam-eykey nemkye*
   cwul-ttay 'yeca'-lako hass-cio?
  Ilum-i mwes in-ka-yo?

    I: SG NDPP Pak Swu Mi professor-be-EDVS-DECL. My phone-OBJ

    other Person-OBJ pass-CONN1 give-ATTR1- when yeca-NDRT

    -QUOTE do: PAST- COMM-ADVS -INTERR?

    Name -NOM what be-ATTR2-NOM-ADVS-INTERR?

    "Hello, I am Professor Pak and when you passed the phone to other

    secretary…You said, 'woman' ['yeca'], didn't you?

    WHAT IS YOUR NAME, PLEASE?"

9. *S: Mian-hap-nita.*
   Sorry do-EDVS-DECL.
   "I'm sorry."
   (…..)

10. *P: Ilum-i mwues in-ci-yo?*
    Name NOM what be: verb-ATTR2-SUS-ADVS-INTERR?
    "WHAT IS YOUR NAME?"

11.   *(10)*

The adjacency pairs that are employed to display speakers' meanings in this

data extract can be described as follows:

The first adjacency pair
1) Request (line 1)
2) Acceptance (S) (line 2)

The second adjacency pair
1) Confirmations (line 3)
2) Explanation (line 4)

The Third adjacency pair
1) Confirmation (line 5)
2) Re-request (line 6)

The Fourth adjacency pair
1) Confirmation (K) (line 7)
2) Self-identification (P) (line 8)

Apology (S) (line 9)
Reconfirmation of identity (P) (line 10)
Silence (line 11)

In the first adjacency pair, secretary S inappropriately refers to the professor as 'yeca' (female), which is a negatively marked form often used during arguments. This mistake happens in part, because the caller does not identify herself initially. In this case, 'professor', combined with the highly asymmetrically used honorific marker, 'nim', is the proper address term. However, the use of a very derogatory under-polite reference term offends the female professor.

The second adjacency pair demonstrates that the receiver's use of an inappropriate linguistic form in line 4 offended the female academic, when passing the phone on to her colleague. It is for this reason that the female academic asks the receiver to give the phone back to the previous receiver. The third adjacency pair in line 8 clearly shows that the senior professor has taken offence as she implicitly threatens the offending secretary by asking for her name. It is very interesting to note that when the female professor clarifies her institutional identity and asks for the secretary's name the secretary avoids answering and instead just says, "I'm sorry". Asking for the secretary's name is an implicit censure of the secretary's language use, which has violated the institutional norm. The 10-second silence is notable as it displays the secretary's deliberate behavior (i.e. avoidance) at that point in the conversation. The negative atmosphere created by this deliberate silence is probably why the conversation ended without any additional words being exchanged between the secretary and the professor. The idea that conversation is heavily influenced by particular local norms is crucial to understanding the dynamics of this extract (Hutchby and Wooffit 1998: 22).

The following extract shows that closing sequences do not always abide by the conventionalized routines:

Extract 5

Participants:

S—the president of the university (Male aged 52)

K—a female professor (Female aged 55)

Summary: This is a complete encounter. The younger president (S) does not like a senior female professor, (K), who has criticized him in the past. In this context, the president is harassing the female academic by threatening to fire her because of a few negative emails he has received from students about her. This extract is interesting, because the president's personal goals exploit social norms. This can be seen in his utilization of marked linguistic forms which display under-politeness viewed from the pre-existent social norms. In institutional contexts, a younger President tends to employ the polite address term, 'LN + kyoswunim' especially towards a senior woman professor. The under-polite address terms such as 'sensayng' combined with the highly asymmetrically used honorific marker, nim' or 'LN combined with 'kyoswu without nim' is a marked form. The senior woman professor thinks that the President strategically employs the marked linguistic forms to insult her, because the younger President does not abide by the social convention.

> 1. *K: Annyeng ha-sip-nikka?*
>   Hello do-HM-EDVS-INTERR?.
>   "Hello."

2. *S: (10)*

   Kim sensayng-nim haksayng-tul pwulpyeng-ttaymwun-ey hakkyo-eyse
   Ccochkye-nakey toyl kes kat-supnita.
   Kim teacher-HAT-HM student -PLU complaint because LOC
   school from drive away: PASS-Resul Become: ATTR1- thing seem
   - EDVS –DECL.
   "Teacher Kim, it is likely that you will be removed from the school due to
   some complaints that have been made by the students."

3. *K: Mwusun-il-i sayngky-ess-supnikka?*
   What –ATTR2- thing -NOM happen: PAST- EDVS- INTERR?
   "What's wrong?"

4. *S: Haksayng-tul-i Kim kyoswu-lul pwulpyeng ha-nun*
   email-ul nay-key manhi ponaysse-yo.
   Nay-ka pol-ttay Kim kyoswu calmos-to ani-ko haksayng-tul calmos-to
   ani-ko seytay chai-in-kes kata-yo.
   Student –PL- NOM Kim kyoswu-OBJ complain-do- ATTR2 email
   -OBJ me-OBJ many Send: PAST-ADVS.
   I-NDPP-NOM see- ATTR1-when Kim professor mistake-also not: be
   CONN2 students PLU mistake-also-not: be- CONN2 generation gap be
   -ATTR2 thing seem- ADVS.
   "Students have been emailing me a lot of complaints about you.
   I am not saying it's Professor Kim's fault and I'm not saying it is the
   student's fault.
   Maybe it's because of the generation gap."

5. *K: (With a louder voice) Ce-nun pinan pat-ul cis han il-i ups-supnita.*
   I-NDPP-TOP censure receive- ATTR1 behavior do: ATTR2 thing
   –NOM not: exist- EDVS-DECL.
   "But I have done nothing wrong!"

6. *S: Haksayng-tul-eykey calmos han il-i issu-myen sakwa ha-sey-yo.*
    Manil pinan pat-ul cis-ul hayss-tamyen sakwa ha-si-ci-yo.
    Students PLU-OBJ wrong doing do-ATTR2 thing-NOM exist
    -COND apology do-SH-ADVS. If censure receive –ATTR1 behavior-
    -OBJ do: PAST-COND apology do -SH –COMM- ADVS.
    "If you have done something wrong toward the students, then you should
    apologize. And if you have done something wrong, you should apologize
    anyway."

7. K: *Cen sakwa hal il-i eps-supnita.*
    I- NDPP mistake do: ATTR1 thing- NOM not: exist -EDVS- DECL.
    "I HAVE DONE NOTHING THAT REQUIRES AN APOLOGY."

       ⟨   ⟩

The adjacency pairs that are employed to display speakers' meanings in this

data extract can be described as follows:

The first adjacency pair
1) Greeting (K) (line 1)
2) Face attacking act (S) (line 2)

The second adjacency pair
1) Response (K) (line 3)
2) Account and Implicit censure (S) (line 4)

The Third adjacency pair
1) Clarification (K) (line 5)
2) Explicit censure 1 (S) (line 6)

Explicit clarification (K) (line 7)

The extract starts with a conventional opening on the part of the professor but the greeting only meets with the president's silence. Culpeper *et al.* (2003: 1568) claim that prosodic features (intonation, loudness, voice quality and silence) can convey impoliteness, because these para-linguistic features display the speaker's attitudinal and emotional attitudes. In the first adjacency pair, the impoliteness of the president's silence is confirmed when the silence is followed by a threat against the female professor.

The president's intentional impoliteness can also be clearly seen in the second and third adjacency pairs. In the second adjacency pair, in line 4, the president starts to blame the senior female professor because of a few student complaints he has received by email. When the professor asks for clarification of the situation in line 3, the president backpedals and disavows his earlier threat in line 4. However, in the third adjacency pair, this changes again when the senior female professor defends herself against the suspicion in line 5. The president censures the professor and suggests she apologize in line 6. The third adjacency pair shows that the president is escalating the threat to the professor's face. The aggressiveness of the intentional face threatening action is excessive and unusual. The president's intention is not, despite the threat, to remove the professor (if he had more than some student complaints, one assumes that evidence would either be presented or the professor would already have been removed) but to linguistically intimidate the professor. His linguistic goal is simply to assert his own authority through intentional impoliteness.

This extract also demonstrates that a speaker's self-interested discursive strategies take precedence over social norms. This is seen in the speakers' linguistic strategies. The president employs the under-polite address term, 'sensayngnim' (teacher + 'nim'), despite the fact that 'kyoswunim' (professor + 'nim') is the normal register in this context,

given that the president is three years younger than the female professor. The president also uses the under-polite address term, 'Kim kyoswu' (LN + professor without 'nim'), rather than 'Kim kyoswunim' (LN + professor + 'nim'). This address term is strategically designed as an affront to the professor's face. Lindstrom's view is that a participant's choice of linguistic form goes beyond lexical analysis (Lindstrom, 1994: 248). Interactional contexts also need to be added to the equation, because patterns of openings or closings are very sensitive to interactional norms and they are not merely displays of self-recognition. This can also be seen in Extract 5.

6.4 Summary of the Findings for Openings and Closings

This chapter discusses conversational analysis and focuses on the multi-functionality of openings and closings in institutional discourse. Korean openings and closings display strategic aspects and employ a variety of identification resources. These findings show that a speaker's language use depends upon the particular local norms of the interaction and are subject to the speaker's linguistic intentions on an interactional level.

Because CA is interested in the local production of order, I have concentrated on a particular type of talk in a particular context in order to analyze locally specific linguistic forms (Have 1999: 19). My approach to CA has been to investigate institutional status/roles, as well as the rights, obligations and expectations associated with those roles, in relationship to sequential interactions (specifically openings and closings). Different contexts are used to show how local context affects a speaker's choice of linguistic forms, which vary according to local needs (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 14-17).

This reflects Sacks' methodological position that interactional talk is concerned with local norms and reflects contextual sensitivity (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 20). Sack's

notion of CA is premised on the idea of language as primarily a social interaction, thereby allowing individual norms to often override social conventions and produce variability, as when the same discourse strategy is used differently because of different local contexts (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 35-36).

The data reveals that institutional face is very sensitive to the discursive situation, including: the speaker's strategic intentions, the scope of roles and obligations of the participants, the institutional positions, discursive goals, and local norms. However, institutional interactions show that local norms often conflict with institutional conventions, since the speaker's goal-oriented action is often inconsistent with institutionally assigned rights and obligations and so linguistic methods for resolving these conflicts and constraints are also revealed in institutional interactions (see extracts 2, 3, 4, and 5). Consequently, strategic politeness is an essential tool for the speaker to achieve his/her profit-oriented goal as well as maintain institutional identities.

Previous research on CA has been generally unconcerned with the fact that cultural values can add semantic elements that reflect and contribute to the speaker's intentionality (Boden and Zimmerman 1991: 78; Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 158). Korean honorific devices originate in Confucian values (Hong 2007). These socio-cultural values, which focus on contextual identities, can be identified in institutional interactions. Contextual language use expresses the multiple linguistic identities of the participants in a way that allows them to bring their cultural background to bear as they construct these locally specific identities.

Institutional social structures are a feature of interactional reality, but they are not external sources of constraint (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1999: 4). Cultural values are also involved in the execution of discursive interactions (Boden and Zimmerman 1991: 77)

(see Extracts 3 and 5 in the current chapter). In Korean, Confucian values are often used as a self-righting mechanism that is built into the organization of a conversation, since commonly shared culture is a socialized outcome that provides a reasonable context for understanding ordinary social life. Confucian values are very sensitive to contextual features and are inherent in the Korean honorific system, allowing Korean speakers to utilize these common cultural concepts when their interactional goals are inconsistent with the local contexts. These culturally known ways of thinking become crucial to the organization of interactional talk (Schegloff 1992: 1299).

Chapter 7

A Spoken Discourse Approach with a Culture-specific Confucian Framework

7.1 The Claims to Originality

A spoken discourse approach to politeness research is not only a methodological position; it is a theoretical position as well. However, many of the previous studies have neglected to consider either the methodological aspects (Ide 1986, 1989, 1993; Brown and Levinson 1987; Blum-Kulka 1987, 1989; Matsumoto 1988, 1993, 1997; Hwang 1990; Lee 1991; Fukushima 2000; Pizziconi, 2003; Watts 2003; Byon 2006 etc.) (see section 3.3.1) or the theoretical perspectives (Ide 1986, 1989, 1993; Matsumoto 1988; Hwang 1990; Lee 1991; Watts 1992, 2003; Fukushima 2000; Pizziconi, 2003; Locher 2004; Byon 2006 etc.) when analyzing linguistic politeness (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.4.1).

The Korean language has a wealth of honorific devices. The values that are embedded in Korean honorific usage are invisible, mental and meta-pragmatic. Korean politeness displays a functionality that is interactional, strategic, and value-oriented. Its distinctiveness is based on socio-pragmatic norms/rules that reside at the discursive level and are regulated by Confucianism. This is why a Confucian framework needs to be employed in order to capture the qualitative aspects of these cultural values.

The approach taken in this study integrates a spoken discourse approach with the frameworks of other researchers in order to become more multi-functional (see Chapters 2 and 3). To strengthen this study's empirical research, I have used a discourse approach that includes natural language data, feedback sessions and interviews. All of these were employed to elicit the participants' intentions, subjective attitudes and functional motivations. Natural language data alone cannot sufficiently unveil a participant's

conscious perception of his/her own linguistic behavior. Specifically, feedback sessions that incorporate question and answer sessions can unveil information that the researcher may not be able to capture from lexical level analysis alone.

My approach provides a theoretical background for analyzing Korean discourse. Because Korean politeness is heavily value-oriented, a Confucian framework exposes how linguistic presentation and cultural values are complementary in the construction of culture-specific politeness. Let us look at the advantages the current study has over previous approaches.

7.2 An Improved Confucian Framework and Its Contribution to the Existent Politeness Research

The current approach is different from existing politeness research because it sees both language and cultural values as face redress mechanisms. Of the cultural values that affect linguistic behavior, none are more important than in-group relationships (see Chapter 3). The sense of in-group identity is more powerful than individual identity in the negotiation of relational work. For example, in order to show power, Korean speakers tend to say, "Our friend is a president" and "Our teacher is a well noted professor". These are used to show off an in-group relationship with a person who is very important and powerful. They suggest that the speaker is also a powerful person, because the prestigious in-group member is bound by mutuality to support the speaker (Kang 2000: 100). In-group relationships dominate Korean culture and language as a tacit socio-pragmatic imperative. In order to secure their place within these in-group relationships, Koreans are eager to "establish connections by creating an identity in the participation framework so that the speaker and the hearer can relate to each other" (Pan 2000: 68).

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In locally specific contexts, local norms are generally more influential than other variables. Participants often follow local norms at the expense of social variables in order to achieve their personal or marginally personal goals. In my study's data, senior professors often employed highly deferential address terms, such as 'secretary teacher', combined with the asymmetrically used honorific marker, 'nim', toward much younger secretaries when making personal requests, even though 'secretary Kim' or 'Miss Kim' would represent the normal register. However, because strategic politeness follows the particular local norms, professors often employ overly deferential address terms in order to mitigate high R variables, particularly when making requests that deviate from the secretary's normal roles and duties. The use of the address term, 'teacher', is based on Confucian values (superiors should be treated with a high level of deference), and it recognizes the hearer as a very respected person of authority. Cultural values that are embedded in the asymmetrically used honorific marker 'nim' are also used for hearer elevating deference. Because these marked forms deviate from an ordinary speaker's assessment of politeness (Eelen 2001: 72-73), their marked status can be clearly seen on a discursive level.

A perspective that accounts for Confucianism shows that relational work in Korea depends heavily upon socio-cultural variables. Once an in-group connection has been established, a new member gets protection and support from the more powerful members (Pan 2000: 68, 71). If a professor is graduated from the same university as the president did, he/she may be recommended for a higher position by the president, whether or not the professor and the president are close. Because the reciprocal face from the more powerful person allows a certain level of respect and deference be paid to the less powerful person, it is also notable but not surprising that personal connection is often

exceptionally more relevant than other social variables (see Chapter 6). Having an in-group relationship allows one to be considered equal in status to the more powerful members of the group and this encourages Koreans to try to extend these personal connections, which can give them an advantageous position over others during interactions.

This study adds to existing politeness research in two main ways. First, it is very multi-functional in its methodology, because it deals with all kinds of interactional dimensions as well as the meta-pragmatic aspects of politeness. The use of a theory and methods that account for cultural values allows us to see the speaker's functional motivations and strategic intentions through the use of marked linguistic behavior. Because the marked forms, whether over-politeness or under-politeness, deviate from common politeness forms (Eelen 2000: 73), the hearer knows that there might be some specific intentions being communicated. These intentions are easily identified by discursive orderliness, because the marked forms deviate from the normal register. Value-oriented linguistic behavior is also regarded as marked, because it is often inconsistent with actual Confucian cultural values in the Korean context that the data comes from.

A Confucian framework integrated into a spoken discourse approach also improves existing politeness research, because current research is often cognitively biased. Including cultural values allows for a better understanding of the meta-pragmatic aspects of politeness, particularly the subjective, empirical, operational, discursive, and evaluative aspects of linguistic politeness. Korean politeness research requires a spoken discourse approach combined with a Confucian framework. The meta-pragmatic nature of Korean politeness cannot be seen on a lexical level, but it can be seen through the lens

of a Confucian framework. When interpreting value-oriented linguistic behavior, both individual frame and cultural script are employed. To analyze a speaker's cultural knowledge, a hearer must use culture-specific knowledge. To understand Korean, linguistic presentation needs to be integrated into a Confucian framework to observe the socio-cultural values that are embedded in the Korean honorific forms.

Second, it is demonstrated that Confucian cultural values are the most powerful variables in Korean relational work. Korean face strategies demonstrate that Korean relational work requires Confucian cultural understanding and is a crucial element in the construction of individual identity. As Kang (2000: 77) argues, "All actions are accomplished through cultural ideology". Kang strongly argues that "Confucian values construct a cultural framework of meanings and ideologies that guide social interactions among Korean speakers" (2000: 79). The interpretation of relational work depends heavily upon Confucian cultural values. Personal connection therefore often supercedes P and D in social interactions (see Chapter 6).

The study shows that Confucian cultural values permeate all Korean social interactions. The notion of in-group identity is very prevalent in Korean relational work. Korean relational work is sensitive to in-group relationships, because the more the power variable increases, the more the distance variable decreases. In Korean society, if the speaker and the hearer are both in-group members, the P and D variables are minimized between them. We should also note that the magnitude of the R variable can be minimized between power differentials in these situations. It is for this reason that difficult requests are often not perceived as weighty between in-group members (see Chapter 5).

Equally important is the fact that the socio-pragmatic approach to politeness research requires an integrated model because of the cognitive aspects of intentional language use. This study starts with Brown and Levinson's politeness formula. Since Korean language data was collected, Kang's work on the Confucian nature of Korean interactional discourse is taken up. Locher's notion of marked politeness is added, because the data collected displays strategic politeness. Matsumoto and Ide's culture-specific discernment view is also referenced, as is Holmes and Stubbe's locally specific discursive approach. Blum-Kulka *et al.* provide a taxonomy for classifying request strategies and Schegloff provides a CA foundation for analyzing sequential utterances (in particular openings and closings). All this allows observation of the multi-functional aspects of Korean politeness.

7.3 A New Framework for a Culture-specific Approach to Politeness

Cultural values act as functional agents that provide a link between linguistic presentation and social practice. In the current study, the authority of Confucian scripts begins immediately and cognitively as the Korean speaker first considers the situational conditions. The speaker's utterance stimulates the hearer to evaluate the utterance, a process based on awareness of cultural values and individual personality. Korean cultural values are functional in a way that allows them to reflect a speaker's meaning, intention, emotional state, subjective perspective, and discursive stance. Then, based on context and frame, the hearer compares the normal level of politeness with the one used by the speaker to find any discrepancies or marked forms. He/she also compares the speaker's language use by comparing any marked forms with relevant Confucian ethical codes. If, for instance, as we saw in Chapter 3, when a landlady says, "Today is

Saturday" to a late paying tenant with a highly deferential linguistic form, though her language may be very polite, the hearer may be insulted. This is because the hearer implicitly understands her strategic intention and notes the lack of warmth her language displays. As discussed at length (in Chapter 3 section 3.4.1), warmth is an important cultural value in Korea.

A new framework that is an interactional supplement to existent politeness research should integrate both individual and cultural frames in order to better explore face, face work and politeness as it emerges from culture-specific interactional discourse. An improved culture-specific framework should also focus on both language and cultural values in the interpretation of politeness. The next section will look at the applicability and limitations of the current study .

7.4 Applications and Limitations

This study's functional Confucian framework focuses on Korean institutional contexts and can be widely applied to language use in any other Korean university. However, it should be also noted that different institutions in Korea and elsewhere (courts, medical contexts, political contexts, etc.) have very important differences as communities of practice and these are probably more important than their similarities. Nonetheless, cultural frames are not distinctive just to Korea. My cultural approach to discourse is applicable more generally to the analysis of linguistic politeness, modified to suit different cultures. A discourse approach can be taken with any culture when analyzing linguistic politeness. Because different cultures have their own cultural values, a spoken discourse approach with a culture-specific framework of personhood can capture culture-specific discursive strategies. Japan and China are also societies in which Confucianism is regarded as the foundation of their culture, but even so the current

approach would need to be modified specifically to each culture's idiosyncratic interpretation of Confucianism. In Korean contexts, reciprocal warmth, mutuality and sympathy make up the Korean framework of personhood and directly influence how relational work is negotiated.

Because strategic politeness is based on Brown and Levinson's rational mechanism and is mainly concerned with profit-oriented goals, it should be universally applicable. It can be applied to all kinds of real-life situations. It can essentially be applied to any society or context in which participants are strategically motivated. However, if a researcher is studying strategic politeness in a Confucian cultural context, for example, a Korean context, he/she should adopt a perspective that is consistent with the Korean culture. Moreover, it seems that the general approach taken in this study could be used to highlight the importance of cultural values in marked and unmarked forms of politeness in any culture.

A particular application of this study is for institutional settings where research of language use is in its infancy. This study demonstrates that both discernment and volition can be mutually supportive in the construction of institutional politeness. It also demonstrates that both negative and positive aspects of politeness can be employed to successfully maintain a constantly changing interactional face. But in general, the desire is to move politeness theory away from producing linguistic analysis associated with the strict application of the original Brown and Levinson model (1987) and instead produce a more context-specific, local-interaction-focused research that looks closely at particular politeness norms and conventions, as well as the cultural values that individual speakers use to produce and understand language.

7.5 Conclusions and Final Comments

This study explores politeness using natural language data. When interacting with situated discourse, speakers employ contextually appropriate language that must fluctuate in accordance with constantly changing sequential utterances. That is why the institutional identities of the participants must adapt to match these constantly changing contextual norms. Language use can therefore be used to understand locally specific norms, since institutional identities must maintain contextually relevant identities.

Korean speakers employ culturally shared knowledge to better negotiate their discursive stance on an interactional level. Politeness is a multi-functional interaction, because participants must struggle with various locally specific contextual elements. This makes institutional members very sensitive to local norms. As a result their discourse identities often change to correspond to local norms on an interactional level. The variability of politeness therefore cannot be captured using linguistic tools alone. Herein lies the essential importance of cultural values when they are strategically used for pragmatic purposes.

This study argues that politeness should be understood from a culture-specific perspective by using natural language data and that Korean honorific forms are sensitive to FTAs. The Korean honorific system represents both the negative and positive aspects of politeness and creates a system in which discernment and volition co-exist. Naturally occurring data demonstrate that the speaker's verbal redress options are not only affected by internal motivation, they are also influenced by external contexts, such as socio-cultural factors, situational components and the participants' own orientations to the local context.

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Appendix A
Terms of Address and Reference
Questionnaire

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this questionnaire. This questionnaire is designed to compare and contrast the different usages of Address Reference Terms between Korean and English. This survey is relevant to the main project in which cross-linguistic variations in terms of politeness forms should be analyzed. When you respond to each question, please ensure that you refer to the examples indicated below and select the form you actually use in the real-life situations.

Examples: Professor Lee + honorific marker 'nim', Minhee Professor + honorific marker 'nim', Professor Lee, Lee Soo-il, Soo-il, Shim Soon-ae, student Shim Soon-ae, Soon-ae 'ya' (vocative), Miss Shim, secretary, secretary teacher ('nim'), secretary Lee, teacher Lee, etc.

1. How do you address a person who is higher in status than you?
2. How do you address a professor who is older than you (within 5 years)?
3. How do you address a professor who is much older (more than 10 years) than you?
4. How do you address a secretary who works in your department?
5. How do you address a secretary who works in another department?
6. If you are a non-academic member of the staff, how do you address members of the academic staff?
    A. to a younger professor
    B. to an elder professor
7. If you are a member of the academic staff, how do you address members of the non-academic staff?
8. How do you address undergraduate students?
9. How do you address postgraduate students?
10. How do you address students during causal encounters outside the classroom?
11. How do you address your direct superior in a causal encounters outside work?

12. How do you address a younger director/department chair?

13. How do you address an elder director/department chair?

14. How do you address older postgraduate students?

15. How do you address older undergraduates?

16. Have you ever used different address-reference terms (A-R) towards your superiors while making professional, work-related requests?

17. Have you ever used different address reference terms when making job-related requests of a secretary or colleague? If so, please give examples.

18. Have you ever noticed a change in how you address or refer to your colleagues when you are emotional? If so, please give examples.

19. How do you refer to the following people?
    A. wife/husband
    B. colleagues (non-academic/academic staff)
    C. cleaning women/men
    D. wives of direct superiors

20. How do people address you?

Interview Questions

1. How would you characterize Korean culture?

2. What do you think are the main Korean cultural traits?

3. Do you think Korean politeness has changed? If so what are the important reasons for this change?

4. What makes a person's behavior polite?

5. Where do you think politeness in Korean culture comes from?

6. How do you think Korean politeness compares to Western politeness?

7. Has anyone ever treated you rudely? If so, what was the situation and what happened?

8. Do you think the person who is exact in everything they do can be regarded as polite? If not, why?

Situational Politeness Questions

9. When you use politeness forms, which one of the following items is most

important to consider?

   1)status

   2) age

   3)what you want

   4) situation/context

   5) 1, 2, 3, and 4 should all be considered

   6) it depends upon the attitude of the speaker (volition)

10. Do you always use identical politeness forms with the same people?
   If not, when do you use different forms? What about these situations?

1) a professor (a superior) towards a secretary (an inferior) –
   when the request is not relevant to work

2) a professor (a superior) towards a secretary (an inferior) –
   when the request is relevant to work

11. If the following people are addressed in the same context, to whom
   would you use the most polite honorific forms?

   1) non-academic staff

   2) secretary

   3) elder professors at the same department

   4) janitor

   5) cleaning woman

   6) younger director/department chair at the same department

12. If you often use informal rather than formal forms, please tell me the
   reason.

   If you think Korean politeness forms are more complex than those of
   English counterparts, Please tell me why you think that.

Appendix B

Terms of Address and Reference
Questionnaire

본 설문지에 협조를 해 주셔서 대단히 감사합니다. 본 설문지는 영어와 한국어 사이에 politeness forms 에 관한 cross-linguistic analysis 의 연구 과제와 관련하여 한국어와 영어에 **실제로 사용되고 있는** 호칭의 상이성을 비교 대조 분석하기위한 목적으로 작성 하였사오나 대학교에서 청자의 지위와 나이에 따라 귀하가 **평소에 사용하는 호칭의 유형을** 적어 주시면 대단히 고맙겠습니다.

아래의 예를 참고하시되 사용하는 다른 호칭이 있으면
적으셔도 됩니다.

예: 이 교수님, 수일 교수님, 이 교수, 수일 교수, 이 수일, 수일, 심 순애,
심 순애 학생, 순애야, Miss 심, 조교, 조교 선생(님), 이 조교, 이 선생
아주머니, 여사, 그분, 아줌마, 부인, 사모님, 여자 etc.

성별 _____ 나이 _____ 만 기재 해 주세요.

Address terms (호칭)

많이 사용하는 용어 1개만 써주세요.

1. 귀하의 직속 상사에게 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

2. 귀하보다 더 나이가 많은 교수에게 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

나이 차이가 5년 이내 (   )

3. 귀하보다 훨씬 나이 차이가 많이 나는 교수에게 어떤 호칭을 사용
하십니까?

나이 차이가 10년 이상 (   )
4. 다른 학과 사무실에 근무하는 조교에게 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

남자 조교에게:
여자 조교에게:

5.귀하의 학과에 근무하는 교수이외의 시간 강사나 행정 직원들에게는
어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

시간 강사 _____
행정 직원 _____

6. 나이가 많은 학부 학생에게 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

남자 학부 학생에게:
여자 학부 학생에게:

7. 나이가 많은 대학원 학생에게 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?
남자 대학원 생에게:
여자 대학원 생에게:

8. 캠프스 이외의 장소에서 학생들에게 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?
남자 학생에게:
여자 학생에게:

9. 귀하가 근무하는 학과의 나이가 젊은 학 과장/원장에게 어떤 호칭을
사용하십니까?

나이가 젊은 남자 학 과장/원장에게
나이가 젊은 여자 학 과장/원장에게

10. 귀하가 근무하는 학과의 나이가 많은 학 과장/원장에게 어떤 호칭을
사용하십니까?

나이가 많은 남자 학 과장/원장에게
나이가 많은 여자 학 과장/원장에게

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11. 업무관계로 상사에게 부탁드릴 때 평상시와는 다르게 호칭을 사용해 본적이 있습니까? 만일 그렇다면 실제의 예를 써 주십시오.

12. 업무와 관련이 없는 부탁을 동료 (다른 조교)/상사에게 부탁 드릴 때에 평상시와는 다르게 호칭을 사용 해 본적이 있습니까?
그렇다면 실제의 예를 써 주십시오.

   동료에게 부탁 할 때 _____
   상사에게 부탁 할 때 _____

13. 다음과 같은 청자의 경우 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

   1) 귀하의 아내/남편
   2) 동료 여 직원/여교수
   3) 연구실 또는 사무실을 청소하는 아주머니
   4) 상사의 아내

Reference Terms (지시어)

많이 사용하는 용어 1개만 써주세요.

1. 귀하의 직속 상사가 제 3자인 경우 어떤 호칭 을 사용하십니까?

2. 귀하보다 더 나이가 많은 교수가 제 3자인 경우 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

3. 귀하보다 훨씬 나이 차이가 많이 나는 교수가 제 3자인 경우 어떤 호칭을 사용 하십니까?

4. 다른 학과 사무실에 근무하는 조교가 제 3자인 경우 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

   남자 조교에게:
   여자 조교에게:

5. 귀하의 학과에 근무하는 교수이외의 시간 강사나 행정 직원들이
   제 3자인 경우 어떤 호칭을 사용 하십니까?

   시간 강사 _____
   행정 직원 _____

6. 나이가 많은 학부 학생이 제 3자인 경우 어떤 호칭을 사용
   하십니까?

   남자 학부 학생에게:
   여자 학부 학생에게:

7. 나이가 많은 대학원 학생이 제 3자인 경우 어떤 호칭을 사용
   하십니까?

   남자 대학원 생에게:
   여자 대학원 생에게:

8. 캠프스 이외의 장소에서 학생들을 제 3자로 지칭할 때 어떤 호칭을
   사용하십니까?

   남자 학생에게:
   여자 학생에게:

8. 귀하가 근무하는 학과의 나이가 젊은 학 과장/원장을 제 3자로
   지칭할 때 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

   나이가 젊은 남자 학 과장/원장에게
   나이가 젊은 여자 학 과장/원장에게

10. 귀하가 근무하는 학과의 나이가 많은 학 과장/원장을 제 3자로 지칭
    할 때 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까?

   나이가 많은 남자 학 과장/원장에게
   나이가 많은 남자 학 과장/원장에게

11. 다음과 같은 청자의 경우 어떤 호칭을 사용하십니까
    (제 3자인 경우)?

    1)귀하의 아내/남편
    2) 동료 여 직원/여교수
    3) 연구실 또는 사무실을 청소하는 아주머니
    4) 상사의 아내

인터뷰 문제

1. 한국 문화의 특징은 어떠합니까?
2. 한국 문화의 특징의 요소는 무엇이라고 생각합니까?
3. 한국의 공손 성이 변했다고 생각합니까?
   만일 그렇다면 중요 요인은 무엇이라고 생각합니까?
4. 공손한 사람의 정의를 내린다면 어떻게 하십니까?
5. 한국문화의 공손 성은 어디에서 유래한다고 봅니까?
6. 한국의 공손 성과 서구의 공손 성의 차이가 나는 특징은 무엇이라고
   생각합니까?
7. 타인으로부터 불손함을 경험했다면 ? 어떠했습니까?
    왜 불손했다고 봅니까
8. 모든 일에 정확한 사람이 공손하다고 봅니까? 아니라면 그 이유는?

Situational politeness

9. 공손을 위한 표현을 사용할 때 아래 어느 것을 가장 생각하십니까?

    1) 지위
    2) 나이
    3) 화자의 목적에 따라서
    4) 상황의 특징과 화자의 목적에 따라서
    5) 1, 2, 3, 4 모두
    6) 화자의 태도적인 의지에 따라서

10. 귀하가 동일한 공손 표현을 사용하십니까? 만일 그렇치않다면 어떻게 다르게 사용하십니까?

      1) 교수 (상급자) 조교에게 (하급자)

      (요청행위가 업무와 관련된 것이 아닐 때)

      2) 교수 (상급자) 조교에게 (하급자)

      (요청행위가 업무와 관련되었을 때)

11. 다음의 청자가 동일한 자리에 있을 때 누구에게 가장 공손한 경어체를 사용하시겠습니까?

      1) 행정 직원 **2)** 조교 **3)** 같은 과의 나이가 더 많은 교수에게 **4)** 수위

      5) 청소부 아주머니 **6)** 같은 과의 나이가 어린 학과장/원장에게

12. 귀하가 만일 **informal style** 를 사용 하게 된다면 그 이유는?

13. 한국어의 공손 체계가 영어보다 더 복잡하다면 그 이유는?