

**Korean Honorifics:
A Case Study Analysis of
Korean Speech Levels
in Naturally Occurring Conversations**

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge, this thesis represents my own original research unless otherwise acknowledged in the text.

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Abstract

The Korean honorific system, one of the significant grammatical systems in Korean, indicates the hierarchical social status of participants and plays an essential role in social interaction. For example, the speech levels are forms of sentence final suffixes attached to verbs and adjectives. They can be grammatically organized according to speakers' relationships. Speakers must choose among these verb endings and/or vocabulary items during every interaction. Therefore, the proper use of speech levels is a key factor in the expression of social identities, speakers' interpersonal feelings, and relationships.

However, interpersonal feelings and relationships are hard to explain through actual use of speech levels. There are two aspects of interpersonal relationships between the participants in a conversation that affect the use of honorifics: vertical distance (gender, age) and horizontal distance (the degree of intimacy), and these two aspects of interpersonal relationships show the complexity of the use of speech levels.

Because of the complexity of the use of speech levels, many Korean language learners feel that it is difficult to learn Korean speech levels. Several researchers have examined Korean language textbooks and language teaching in terms of Korean honorifics. They have pointed out several problems in current teaching materials and emphasized the importance of pragmatic factors and the necessity of authentic data to fully reflect actual Korean honorific uses. Addressing these issues, the thesis demonstrates the need for teaching materials that introduce how honorific speech levels are used in naturally occurring conversation by showing the complexity of how one speaker can use and switch among speech levels depending on the interlocutors or situations in the conversational interaction.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction	1
1.0.	Introduction	1
1.1.	Politeness in Korea	3
1.2.	The Korean Honorifics	6
1.2.1.	Predicate Endings (Speech Levels, Hearer Honorifics)	6
1.2.2.	Honorific Particles	9
1.2.3.	Honorific Verbs/Nouns and Lexical Markers	10
1.2.4.	First Person Pronouns and Forms of Address	11
1.3.	Social Variables and Politeness	13
1.4.	Social Factors in the Choice of Speech Levels	15
1.4.1.	Age	16
1.4.2.	Gender	16
1.4.3.	Degree of Intimacy	17
1.5.	Teaching Speech Levels	18
1.6.	Research Questions	20
1.7.	Structure of the Thesis	21
Chapter 2	Data and Methodology	23
2.0.	Introduction	23
2.1.	Data Collection	24
2.2.	Setting and Participants	25
2.2.1.	Ethnographic Background of Main Participant (So-Yeong)	29
2.2.2.	Main Participant's Interactional Scenarios	29
2.3.	Transcription	32
2.4.	Conversation Analysis (CA)	33
2.4.1.	Adjacency Pairs	35
2.4.2.	Turn-taking	35
2.4.3.	Turn-taking in Korean	36
2.5.	Frequency of Speech Levels	37
2.6.	Chapter Summary	40

Chapter 3	The Use of Honorific Speech Levels	41
3.0.	Introduction	41
3.1.	The Use of the Deferential Speech Level in Conversation (- <i>(su)pnita</i>)	41
3.2.	The Use of the Polite Speech Level in Conversation (- <i>(a/e)yo</i>)	46
3.2.1.	Non-Reciprocal Use: Age and Intimacy	46
3.2.2.	Strategy for Interruption	55
3.2.3.	Recipient as Unspecified People	57
3.2.4.	The Relationship with Terms of Address	60
3.3.	Chapter Summary	65
Chapter 4	The Use of Non-Honorific Speech Levels	66
4.0.	Introduction	66
4.1.	The Use of the Intimate Speech Level in Conversation (- <i>a/e</i>)	66
4.1.1.	Reciprocity of Use	67
4.1.2.	Special Use: Talking to Oneself	74
4.2.	The Use of the Plain Speech Level in Conversation (- <i>ta</i>)	78
4.2.1.	The Meaning of Plain Speech Level Utterances	79
4.2.2.	The Sequential Position of the Plain Speech Level	87
4.2.3.	Age and Relationship of Interlocutors	96
4.3.	Chapter Summary	106
Chapter 5	Conclusion	108
5.0.	Introduction	108
5.1.	Summary of Findings	109
5.2.	Implications for Language Pedagogy	113
5.3.	Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research	115
References		117
Appendix 1: Intimacy Survey		128
Appendix 2: Conversation Analysis Transcription Conventions		129
Appendix 3: Interliner Gloss Abbreviations		130
Appendix 4: Teaching Korean Speech Levels in the Korean Classroom		131

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.0. Introduction

Everyday life entails a constant process of interacting with others through language. Each society has its own rules and norms, which are conventionalized and revealed through conversational interaction. Speakers choose what they think are proper forms to interact with their interlocutors based on these social rules and norms. Therefore, language learners should understand these rules and norms to use target language properly.

Korea is a vertical and hierarchical society (Yoon, 2004, p. 194). The Korean system of honorifics, which forms a significant part of the Korean language, is representative of the hierarchical social status of the interlocutors. It is commonly divided into two main groups: hearer and referent honorifics (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p. 6). These honorifics, more specifically, appear as speech levels (hearer honorifics), particles, lexical markers, honorific verbs, and nouns and pronouns, as well as address/reference terms (Sohn, 1999, p. 16). Honorifics play an essential role in social interaction (Wang, 1990, p. 25). For example, speech levels are sentence final suffixes attached to verbs and adjectives (Cho, Lee, Schulz, Sohn, & Sohn, 2010, p. 7). They can be systematically organized according to speakers' relationships. Speakers must choose among these verb endings and/or vocabulary items during every interaction. Therefore, the proper use of speech levels is a key factor in the expression of social identities and the relationships of speakers with addressees. The use of speech levels can provide insight into speakers' interpersonal feelings and relationships (Byon, 2006, p. 258).

However, interpersonal feelings and relationships are hard to explain based on the actual use of speech levels. Previous studies of speech levels (hearer honorifics) show that two aspects of interpersonal relationships between participants in a conversation affect the use of honorifics: vertical distance (social status, age, gender) and horizontal distance (the degree of intimacy) (Han, 2002; Hijirida & Sohn, 1986; Lee, 1994). In terms of using the speech levels, vertical distance (power) and horizontal distance (solidarity) are inversely related (Yoo, 1994). However, Lee (2012) argues that Yoo's explanation only partially explains how participants' relationships and speech situations influence honorific speech level use. Y. S. Park (1995, pp. 566–567) also argues that the use of speech levels is not related to solidarity. Similarly, in Japanese, which also has hearer honorifics, the use of speech levels can vary depending on interpersonal relationships, contextual features, or indexical meanings (Cook, 1996; Maynard, 1993; Okamoto, 2011). These studies, mentioned above, show the complexity of relationships on the use of speech levels.

For this reason, and because of the complexity of the honorific system, many Korean language learners feel that it is difficult to learn Korean speech levels (Byon, 2000, p. 275). Several researchers have examined Korean textbooks and language teaching in terms of Korean honorifics (e.g., Brown & Wen, 1994; Brown, 2010; Byon, 2000; Choo, 1999; Ha, 2010; E. K. Lee, 2005; J. B. Lee, 2005). They have pointed out several problems in current teaching materials and emphasized the importance of pragmatic factors and the necessity of authentic data to fully reflect actual Korean honorific use. For example, Brown (2010) explored the Korean honorific speech levels in second language teaching by analyzing three textbooks published in Seoul. He argues that the simplicity of textbooks' explanations leads to the use of speech levels being presented in

an inauthentic and inappropriate way that betrays preconceptions regarding the abilities and the social roles of Korean language learners. Thus, there is a need for teaching materials that introduce how honorific speech levels are used in ordinary speech and how one speaker can use and switch among speech levels depending on the interlocutors or situations in the conversational interaction.

This thesis examines the use of speech levels in Korean based on naturally occurring conversational data and analyzes the complexity and diversity of speech levels' use. In particular, by showing how one speaker uses and changes speech levels with a range of interlocutors and in different contexts, the study examines the actual use of Korean speech levels in detail.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 1.1 discusses linguistic politeness. In Section 1.2, I provide a general explanation of Korean honorifics including hearer honorifics (speech levels). Sections 1.3 focuses on social variables and politeness and Section 1.4 discuss social factors such as age, gender, and degree of intimacy. Section 1.5 presents the situation of teaching speech levels. In Section 1.6, I present the research questions of this thesis. The structure of the thesis is explained in Section 1.7.

1.1. Politeness in Korea

Linguistic politeness is closely linked to the concept of 'social distance', which is 'a composite of psychological factors' (age, gender, degree of intimacy, etc.), to show the 'degree of respect' within a given speech situation (Thomas, 1985, p. 766). It is also related to how language is used to control human interaction in order to establish mutual

comfort and rapport (Hill Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki, & Ogino, 1986). Lakoff (1972) also suggests that linguistic politeness is the speaker's action of presenting his/her status as lower than that of the addressee.

Linguistic politeness is categorized into two types: normative (discernment) and strategic (volitional) politeness (Sohn, 1999, p. 408). Normative politeness is closely related to social indexing, or social meaning in the contexts of relational interactions. Han (1988) explains that Korean honorifics are the linguistic encoding of politeness to show the speakers' relationship. Ide and Yoshida (1999, p. 448) argue that through the use of honorifics, Asian languages like Korean and Japanese mark a deferential relationship between the speaker, addressee, and referent. For example, in Korean hearer honorifics, the use of various speech levels indicates politeness, intimacy, and formality during interaction (Byon, 2006, p. 258). Thus, politeness tends to be conventionalized in language-specific ways.

Meanwhile, strategic politeness relates to speakers' strategic control of interactional speech act situations to achieve communicative goals (Sohn, 1999, p. 408). Speakers are considered main actors in interactive speech act situations. Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that speakers strategically make choices to save either the speakers' or another's face and that the use of linguistic politeness strategies¹ to save face is universal. However, such claims of universality have been made mainly by researchers studying politeness in Western societies. Scholars studying in non-Western societies have produced counter arguments. For example, Hwang (1990) argues that Korean politeness is experienced as a negative than a positive expression of hierarchy, because of 'reservedness', which has traditionally been assumed to indicate politeness in Korea. In

¹ Brown and Levinson (1987) introduce four politeness strategies: bald on record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off record.

contrast, in Japanese, a negative face seems to be a negligible element in politeness behavior (Doi, 1981). Moreover, Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that power, distance, and degree of imposition are the most important social variables in the performance of speech act politeness. That is, socially powerful people or low-distance societies are likely to use direct politeness strategies, whereas socially lower people or high-distance societies will more often use indirect politeness strategies. However, Byon (2006) claims that indirectness is one of the main stereotypical characteristics of Korea (a high-distance society), but that linguistic indirectness does not seem to be an important factor in the communication of Korean politeness. This research shows that strategic politeness can vary by each speaker or each society.

Although much research has been done on both normative and strategic politeness, it is not easy to define the relationship between them, and many scholars express different views on the matter. Cook (2006) argues that normative and strategic politeness are relevant in different ways to Western society and Japanese society. Similarly, Ambady, Koo, and Lee (1996) claim that Korean politeness strategies are more tied to relationships (normative politeness), whereas Americans' strategies are more influenced by the content of messages (strategic politeness). In addition, Sohn (1999) argues that these two types of linguistic politeness occur together in the same conversation. For example, politeness can be expressed either through showing deference to the addressee by using elevated speech levels, or through not imposing one's views on addressees and leaving decisions to them (Bak, 1983). Therefore, the two types of politeness occur at the same time and are expressed in various ways.

To sum up, in conversational interaction, two types of politeness occur at the same time and are not necessarily distinguishable when people actually interact in conversation.

For instance, in Korean, the use of speech levels is determined by the speaker's choices, but it is also governed by social politeness norms. The next section provides an explanation of Korean honorifics.

1.2. The Korean Honorifics

The Korean honorific system recognizes the hierarchical social status of participants with respect to the subject and/or the hearer. Speakers use honorifics to indicate their social relationship with the addressee and/or referent in regards to their age, social status, gender, degree of intimacy, and speech act situation. One basic rule of Korean honorifics is 'making oneself lower'; the speaker cannot use honorific forms him/herself, but rather can use humble forms to make him/herself lower (Han, 2002, p. 27). Honorific marking is manifested as honorific markers on verbs, or special honorific forms of verbs, honorific particles, a nominal suffix, or special honorific forms of nouns (Kim & Sells, 2007). Thus, the Korean honorific system has four components: predicate endings (which indicate speech levels), honorific particles, lexical markers, and forms of address.

1.2.1. Predicate Endings (Speech Levels, Hearer Honorifics)

Hearer honorifics are commonly referred to as 'speech levels' in Korean. The levels index the interpersonal relationship between speakers (Brown, 2010, p. 37). Thus, it is hard to be used without the speaker's knowledge of his social relationship with participants (Sohn, 1999, p. 16). There are six speech levels indicated by sentence-final suffixes attached to verbs and adjectives (Table 1.1) (Sohn, 1999). Among these six,

four are commonly in use in contemporary Korean society (Cho et al., 2010, p. 8). These have been termed (1) deferential (ending with *-supnita* or *-pnita*),² (2) polite (ending with *-(a/e) yo*), (3) intimate (no ending or ending with *-a/e*), and (4) plain (ending with *-ta*) (Sohn, 1999).³

Table 1.1. Four Korean speech levels in frequent use today (adapted from Sohn, 1999, pp. 236–237)

	Korean Speech Levels	Forms	Example
Honorifics	Deferential (formal)	<i>-(su) pnita</i>	갑 <u>니</u> 다 (<i>ka-pnita</i>)
	Polite (informal)	<i>-(a/e) yo</i>	가 <u>요</u> (<i>ka-yo</i>)
Non-honorifics	Intimate	<i>-a/-e</i>	가 <u>Ø</u> (<i>ka</i>)
	Plain	<i>-ta</i>	가 <u>다</u> (<i>ka-ta</i>)

The polite and deferential speech levels are categorized as honorific, whereas intimate and plain speech levels are considered non-honorific. The polite and deferential levels are used reciprocally between non-intimates and non-reciprocally by those subordinate to their superiors in terms of age or rank (Chang, 1996). The deferential speech level is reported to accompany strong statements of factual information in formal settings, such as broadcasting, public speech, or conference presentations (Eun & Strauss, 2004, p. 254). Because the deferential speech level conveys formality, many formulaic or fixed expressions use this speech level, such as *pankap-supnita* ‘nice to meet you’ and *chwukhaha-pnita* ‘congratulations’ (Byon, 2009, p. 30).

² The form varies depending on whether the morpheme to which the suffix is attached ends with a consonant (*-supnita*) or a vowel (*-pnita*).

³ Sohn (1999) included familiar (*-so*) and blunt (*-ney*) as Korean speech levels.

The polite speech level is the informal type of honorific speech and is used for expressing common knowledge, personal comments, and affect (Byon, 2006). This speech level is broadly used in any situation, such as addressing superiors in a casual way, any informal situation, or everyday conversation (Eun & Strauss, 2004, p. 254), and the polite speech level ending makes a conversation sound less formal (Byon, 2009, p. 32). The two honorific speech levels can, however, be used within a single interaction and with the same interlocutor (Strauss & Eun, 2005). For example, upon meeting for the first time, speakers might initially use the deferential speech level, but once they have been introduced, they may change to the polite speech level (Byon, 2009, p. 32).

Intimate and plain speech levels are non-honorific speech levels. The intimate speech level, also called *panmal* 'half-speech', is formed by removing the final *-yo* ending from the polite form (Sohn, 1999, p. 413) and is used reciprocally between similar age-rank intimates and non-reciprocally by age-rank superiors to subordinates and children (Chang, 1996; Sohn, 1999, p. 413).

The plain speech level is more blunt and direct than the other speech levels (Byon, 2010, p. 2). It is used in two distinct ways: the plain speech level is used in written form for nonspecific listeners (Byon, 2010, p. 2) and in spoken Korean it is used when the speaker is addressing intimates of a similar or younger age (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p. 178). It is also used to talk to express surprise over an event to oneself and a listener, or when the speaker wants to draw the listener's attention (Byon, 2010, p. 2). In addition, it is used for reported speech, when speakers emphasize something, or to express general exclamation (Yeon & Brown, 2011, pp. 178–179). Non-honorific speech levels also can be mixed with each other in conversation (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p. 176). It is common

to think of the deferential speech level as the most polite and the highest level of speech, and the plain speech level as the least polite and the lowest level of speech.

People often mix speech levels with the same interlocutors in the same conversation (National Institute for the Korean Language [NIKL], 2005, p. 225). Although, in general, speakers mainly use a certain speech level in a given situation, they sometimes switch among the levels within a single interaction. The choice of the forms is not straightforward. It depends upon the context of use, particularly the social relationships involved, and how the participants wish to represent those relationships (Byon, 2006). Therefore, the proper use of speech levels (hearer honorifics) is important in conversational interaction when being mindful of interpersonal feelings and the face of those involved in the interaction (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Byon, 2006).

1.2.2. Honorific Particles

Korean can also index deference toward a sentence referent in subject or dative position through the application of lexical choices such as honorific particles (Lee & Ramsey, 2000; Sohn, 1999) (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2. Honorific particles

Meaning	Plain Particles	Honorific Particles
subject particle	<i>-i/-ka</i>	<i>-kkeyse</i>
dative particle	<i>-ieykey</i>	<i>-kkey</i>

Particles are postpositional function words that are placed after nouns. They distinguish the nouns in a clause in terms of grammatical case, marking the subject and the dative (Sohn, 1999, pp. 212–213). For example, *sen sayng nim* ‘teacher’ is neutral, whereas *sen sayng nim-i* ‘teacher’ denotes the role of the noun as the subject of the sentence. Honorific particles have different forms, but the role of the particles in the sentence is the same. *sen sayng nim-kkeyse* still means ‘teacher’, but it indicates that the sentence in which it occurs is an honorific sentence and the speaker is treating the subject, *sen sayng nim*, courteously.

1.2.3. Honorific Verbs/Nouns and Lexical Markers (-si- / Change of the Stem + -si-)

Lexical markers are divided into subject honorifics and object honorifics. Lexical markers index the relationship between a speaker and a referent, which may be either the hearer or a third party (Brown, 2010, p. 37).

When a referent who is an age-rank superior to the speaker appears in subject position, Korean honorifics primarily index the subject by adding the honorific marker *-si-*. Although *-si-* bears the important functional load of indexing subject honorifics, for a limited set of expressions the verb stem itself has to be changed for a special honorific form. For example, speaking of him/herself, a speaker may say *hak kyo-ey ka-ta* ‘(I) go to school’, but when the speaker talks about a teacher, the speaker is likely to say *sen sayng nim-kkeyse hak kyo-ey ka-si-ta* ‘a teacher goes to school’. In the first sentence, the verb stem is *ka* ‘go’; but the second sentence uses the honorific form of the verb stem, *ka-si* ‘go’. In addition, for some nouns, there exist alternative lexical items that should be applied when referring to an age-rank superior (Table 1.3).

Table 1.3. Honorific verbs and nouns

Honorific Verbs				Honorific Nouns		
	Plain	Honorific	Meaning	Plain	Honorific	Meaning
-si-	<i>ka-ta</i>	<i>kasi-ta</i>	to go	<i>pap</i>	<i>cinci</i>	meal
	<i>mek-ta</i>	<i>mekusi-ta</i>	to eat	<i>cip</i>	<i>tayk</i>	house
Change of stem + -si	<i>iss-ta</i>	<i>kyeysi-ta</i>	to be (stay)	<i>mal</i>	<i>malssum</i>	words
	<i>cwuk-ta</i>	<i>tolakasi-ta</i>	to die	<i>nai</i>	<i>yensey</i>	age
	<i>mek-ta</i>	<i>capswusi-ta</i>	to eat			
	<i>aphu-ta</i>	<i>phyenchanhusi-ta</i>	to be sick			
	<i>ca-ta</i>	<i>cwumusi-ta</i>	to sleep			
Different verb forms (humble forms)	<i>cwu-ta</i>	<i>tuli-ta</i>	to give			
	<i>po-ta</i>	<i>poyp-ta</i>	to see, meet			

1.2.4. First Person Pronouns and Forms of Address

In the Korean language, forms of address index social relationships (Sohn, 1999). The first person pronouns of honorific form are humble forms, which make the speaker lower (Sohn, 1999, p. 409) (Table 1.4). That is, a speaker refers to him/herself with humble pronouns and humble verb forms to make him/herself lower.

Table 1.4. The first person pronouns

	Plain Form	Humble Form	Meaning
1 st person pronouns	<i>na</i>	<i>ce</i>	I
	<i>wuli</i>	<i>cehi</i>	we

The choice of Korean address and reference forms is complicated by restrictions on the use of pronouns and personal names (Tables 1.5). Generally, Korean's five second-person pronouns (*ne*, *caney*, *tangsin*, *kutay*, and *caki*) and personal names cannot be used toward socially higher or superior people (Sohn, 1999, p. 409). Korean second person pronouns do not appear in honorific conversation. Instead, professional titles, kinship terms or teknonymic items are applied (Brown, 2010, p. 38). The most common terms of address are kinship terms, which are divided into plain and honorific levels (Lee & Ramsey, 2000; Sohn, 1999). It is common to use kinship terms toward people who are not family members (Sohn, 2010, p. 117). In situations in which a name is appropriate, it is typically followed by the address suffix *-ssi*, or, between intimates, by the vocative marker *-a/-ya*.

Table 1.5. Forms of address

2 nd person pronoun	Address/reference terms		Meaning
<i>ne</i> , <i>caney</i> , <i>tangsin</i> , <i>kutay</i> , <i>caki</i> (plain form)	General	name + <i>ssi</i>, <i>nim</i>	Mr/Ms/Miss
	Professional Title	(name) + <i>sunsayng-nim</i>	esteemed teacher
		(name) + <i>sajang-nim</i>	esteemed company president
		(name) + <i>kyosu-nim</i>	esteemed professor
Kinship term	name + <i>enni</i>	female's older sister	
	name + <i>nuna</i>	male's older sister	
	name + <i>oppa</i>	female's older brother	
	name + <i>hyeng</i>	male's older brother	

S. M. Park (1995) proposes that Korean speech levels are closely related to address terms. She argues that address terms should be taught to learners to facilitate their

understanding of Korean hearer honorifics. Hong (2009) affirms that speakers can strategically use address terms in combination with other honorifics to be polite in conversational situations.

1.3. Social Variables and Politeness

Politeness is closely related to the need or desire of interactants to recognize the social status of speakers and hearers (Sohn, 1999, p. 407). In Korea, a hierarchical society, Koreans' politeness strategies are influenced by relational cues and status (Ambady et al., p. 996), but 'relational cues and status' cannot be conceptualized as a fixed and immutable measure of social position (Agha, 1998, p. 189). Similarly, in Japanese, the actual use of honorifics is not directly linked with external factors such as formality and relative social status of participants (Cook, 2008). For example, in Korean conversation, even if the hearer is older than the speaker, the speaker can choose the intimate speech level (non-honorific) to show their closeness. In another situation, when the speaker is angry at the hearer, the speaker can choose the deferential or polite speech level to create distance and to show the importance of the issue being talked of, even when they are very close to each other. Strauss and Eun (2005) observe Korean speech style shift and discuss the relationship between honorific forms and politeness. They demonstrate that honorific forms are not simply a politeness marker but can be used strategically for various purposes. Lee and Ramsey (2000, p. 261) argue that speakers mix speech levels within the same discourse and with the same participants, depending on the feeling of situations and the atmosphere they want to create. Therefore, the way people speak is intrinsically formulated to both reflect and define social status within a society and indicate some state of affairs. In other words, honorific expressions, especially speech

levels, play a critical role in showing the relationship of the interlocutors, linking them to one another, and allowing their speech to be interpreted in order to understand social status and context in a dialogue (Agha, 1998, p. 152; Yoo, 1994, p. 315).

Thus, linguistic forms in daily conversation reflect to varying degrees the social characteristics of speech event participants, relationships between them, and the potential offensiveness of communicative acts and their message content. Brown and Gilman (1960) introduce a framework based on power and solidarity to explain linguistic choices and the concept of polite (V form) and familiar (T form) forms of the second person pronoun within the context of European languages such as French, Italian, and German. They define power as the degree of relative superiority or difference, which is constantly subject to redefinition according to the current situation, and solidarity as relative intimacy or distance between interlocutors, produced by frequency of contact and similarities. They argue that power dynamics are displayed in the non-reciprocal use of V forms, and that solidarity reigns when speakers address each other reciprocally with either T or V forms. For example, in French, traditionally, higher status people could choose the T form *tu* or the V form *vous* toward lower status people, who could only use *vous* toward higher status people. In addition, different languages measure solidarity in various ways (p. 193). For instance, family membership is the most important attribute for solidarity in German, unlike French and Italian.

T-V forms are one example of honorifics. Hudson (1980, pp. 125–127) notes that distinct verb forms like Korean honorifics linguistically show power-solidarity semantics. Park (1990, p. 124) confirms that Korean honorifics fit Brown and Gilman's power-solidarity semantics. Hijirida and Sohn (1986) draw on Brown and Gilman's framework when they divide Korean and Japanese honorific variables into two groups:

one for power and the other for solidarity. They categorize honorifics as showing ascribed power (kinship, age, and gender), achieved power (occupational rank, social status), interpersonal solidarity (intimacy and in- or out- groupness), and situational solidarity (casualness). They note, however, that social variables are differently ordered in the two languages. Korean honorific patterns are especially sensitive to age, whereas Japanese honorific patterns favor other variables such as social status, group membership, and intimacy. Similarly, Park (1990) argues that one difference between the two languages can be seen in the concept of group membership. Korean is unlike Japanese in paying no consideration to group membership as an aspect of the relationship between interlocutors. Korean speech level choice is based primarily on differences in age, and is thus relatively fixed and straightforward. These studies demonstrate that different social variables affect speakers' honorific language choices to different degrees in each society.

1.4. Social Factors in the Choice of Speech Levels

Now we turn to discussion of how social variables affect the choice of speech levels in Korean. According to Han (2002, pp. 215–231), age, social status, gender, degree of intimacy, family membership, and speech situations are the most important social factors in Korean. None of the social variables independently affects the choice of speech levels; rather, while one factor may be prioritized over the others in a given situation, they all can have an effect, together with the social contexts and speech situations (Han, 2002, p. 215). In addition, power-related social factors (gender and age) can take precedence over solidarity-related factors (degree of intimacy) and vice versa

at different times in societies (Sohn, 1986, p. 390). In the following subsections, I examine the social variables of age, gender, and degree of intimacy in Korean.

1.4.1. Age

Age is the most fundamental social factor in the choice of speech levels (Hijirida & Sohn, 1986, p. 382). Depending on speaker and listener's age group, and the difference in participants' ages, speakers use different speech levels (Bak, 1983; Han, 2002). In addition, speakers engage with speech levels differently depending on their time of life. People in their mid-20s can start to fully use speech levels, because at that time, they become new members of workplaces and family groups, where hierarchical relationships are essential (Han, 2002, p. 216). People thus gain broader knowledge of hearer honorifics at this age. However, age is not the foremost factor in the choice of speech levels. Intimacy can have priority over age in the speech levels' choice in close relationships (Han, 2002). In addition, as people grow older, age becomes less important to the choice of speech levels (Hijirida & Sohn, 1986, p. 384).

1.4.2. Gender

Gender also influences the choice of speech levels (Han, 2002; Hijirida & Sohn, 1986). In particular, sameness or difference of participants' gender is important (Han, 2002, p. 220). For example, if two interlocutors have the same age and social status, if the speaker is male, he tends to use the higher speech levels toward other males more than toward females (p. 221). In addition, female speakers more often use the polite speech level, which shows women's inferior status in traditional Korea (Bak, 1983; Koo, 1993). Sohn (1999) supports the claim that female speakers predominantly use the polite

speech level in daily conversation, whereas male speakers use both polite and deferential levels (p. 413). Similarly, wives more often use the honorific speech levels toward their husbands than vice versa (Hijirida & Sohn, 1986, p. 387). However, in Modern Korean, husbands and wives in the younger generations tend to use the speech levels reciprocally (Sohn, 1986, p. 405). Furthermore, male speakers in the younger generations tend to use the polite speech level like female speakers do, not only because younger people's speech practices are more strongly influenced by their mothers, but also because modern Korean society has become more egalitarian (Min, 1996). Moreover, Koo (1993) shows that the uses of speech levels are more related to the speaker's age, age difference between participants, and degree of intimacy, as well as the speaker's region, rather than gender itself. Therefore, compared with other factors, gender is relatively weak in terms of its effect on language choices in Korea, but it is still powerful compared with the gender effect on speech in Western societies (Hijirida & Sohn, 1986, p. 386).

1.4.3. Degree of Intimacy

The degree of intimacy is very important in choosing speech levels (Han, 2002). If participants are the same ages, speakers will use different speech levels depending on degree of intimacy. Similarly, if the speaker doesn't know the younger sibling of a close friend, the speaker can choose a higher speech level than s/he would use with the close friend. The less intimate, the greater use of higher speech levels (honorific levels), whereas the more intimate, the greater use of lower speech levels (non-honorific levels) (Han, 2002, p. 223). In addition, inferiors rarely reveal intimacy toward superiors in speech choices (Hijirida & Sohn, 1986). Therefore, intimacy has an effect on speech

choices among participants of equal power such as friends, or by superiors toward inferiors.

To sum up, although social factors (age, gender, and degree of intimacy) can affect the choice of speech levels, there are different pragmatic norms, and the choice of speech levels cannot be simply explained as direct one-to-one relationships between the choice of speech levels and social factors. The complexity between social factors and the choice of speech levels is an issue in Korean language pedagogy. I examine the teaching of speech levels to second language learners in the next section.

1.5. Teaching Speech Levels

A noticeable social phenomenon in recent years is the increase of the number of Korean language learners (Choi, Lim, Ahn, & Park, 2011, p. 261). Many Korean language learners feel difficulty to learn Korean honorifics because of the complexity of the honorific system (Byon, 2000, p. 275).

A number of authors have analyzed the presentation of honorifics in Korean language textbooks and teaching materials and have described several problems in current teaching practices (e.g., Brown, 2010; Brown & Wen, 1994; Byon, 2000; Choo, 1999; Ha, 2010; E. K. Lee, 2005; J. B. Lee, 2005). These researchers have claimed that students should be exposed to materials that reflect the actual use of Korean honorifics, emphasizing the importance of pragmatic factors and the necessity of authentic data. For example, Brown (2010) argues that the simplicity of textbooks' explanations leads to students using inappropriate honorifics. Similarly, Choo (1999) claims that textbooks

provide only grammatical guidelines on when to use honorifics, neither mentioning pragmatic factors nor reflecting changes in Korean society. Byon (2000) emphasizes authentic texts, and linking classroom learning to the needs of language learners and their real-world experiences in the teaching and learning of Korean honorifics.

In addition, several authors have emphasized the importance of real-life interaction. Ha (2010) proposes that research based on real-life language could help resolve the difference between learners' needs and Korean grammar education. She asserts that the instructional method of learner-based inquiry study can solve the lack of learners' communication. J. B. Lee (2005) argues that honorifics are linguistic reflection of the real-world, and claims that the most important element in the use of honorifics is not their linguistic form but people involved, which is not thoroughly considered in education. Moreover, E. K. Lee (2005) agrees that honorifics can be fully explained by considering contexts and relationship between participants and emphasizes that authentic language use and contexts should be presented in classes for Korean learners to learn hearer honorifics properly. However, even in these studies, the authentic speech data that are compared with textbooks come from corpora of linguistic data from television drama scripts and broadcast monologues. The authors rely on data that still do not fully reflect real honorific usages in spite of their insistence on the importance of authentic data and actual interaction to teach and to learn Korean honorifics.

To sum up, I have presented background information on Korean politeness and honorifics and discussed social variables, social factors, and the importance of authentic data for research on honorifics for Korean language pedagogy.

1.6. Research Questions

The previous literature shows that one of the important means of expressing linguistic politeness in Korean is honorifics (Han, 1988). The literature also demonstrates that the choice of speech levels is deeply affected by social factors, and that speakers strategically use speech levels to show varying degrees of respect within speech situations (Sohn, 1999, p. 408). For example, one speaker can change speech levels while communicating with the same interlocutor in the same conversation. These studies (e.g., Bak, 1983; Hijirida & Sohn, 1986; Sohn, 1986) show that there are different preferences for using speech levels depending on speakers' social norms in the speech situation.

The complexity and diversity of the choice of speech levels is not emphasized in textbooks or teaching materials. In most Korean language textbooks, there are only one or two sentences to explain that one speaker can choose or change speech levels within the same conversation. The lack of detailed and appropriate materials contributes to the difficulty many Korean language learners experience in learning honorifics (Byon, 2000). Furthermore, most of the existing research on the choice of Korean speech levels utilizes corpus data from media, which is pre-designed, or from surveys or interviews asking about how people think they should use honorifics rather than how people actually use it (e.g., Heo, 2010; J. B. Lee, 2005). There is a scarcity of research on the actual use of Korean honorifics based on naturally occurring conversations.

In this thesis, the following research question guides the examination of the use of Korean honorifics, especially the use of speech levels (hearer honorifics):

How do gender, age, and degree of intimacy affect Korean speakers' choice of speech levels?

This thesis is a case study that examines everyday conversation to see how one speaker uses and changes speech levels depending on various social factors. The thesis not only employs a quantitative analysis to examine how often one speaker generally uses speech levels, but also qualitatively analyzes how that speaker chooses and changes speech levels within the conversational interactions. Thus, the mixed methodology can give a chance to understand the phenomenon in macro-level and, at the same time, to closely examine individual cases in micro-level.

1.7. Structure of the Thesis

This chapter has introduced Korean honorifics and provided an overview of previous studies on Korean honorifics relevant to my research question. It has discussed how social variables affect speakers' language choices, and pointed out the importance of research on honorifics for Korean language pedagogy.

Chapter 2 describes the process of collecting the data and choosing one main participant, as well as the range of interactions she had with her interlocutors. In the chapter I discuss the participants' use of speech levels from a quantitative perspective, and I examine data transcription and the approaches (conversation analysis) selected for data analysis.

Chapter 3 seeks to explain how age, gender, and degree of intimacy interact to influence one speaker's use of honorific speech levels, and examines how this honorific speech level usage occurs in naturally occurring conversations. The analysis shows that honorific speech levels (deferential and polite) are used to express appreciation and to show the degree of power (age) and solidarity (intimacy) between the participants depending on interlocutors. The analysis qualitatively discusses non-reciprocal use, strategy for interruption, recipient as unspecified people, and the relationship with terms of address.

Chapter 4 shows how one speaker variously uses non-honorific speech levels (intimate and plain) with her interlocutors. The analysis shows reciprocity of use. The plain speech level's meaning and the sequential position of the conversation in which it appears are examined, before discussing lastly the relation to the respective age of the interlocutors.

Chapter 5 is the conclusion of this thesis. It presents a summary of the findings and discusses the implications for teaching and designing textbooks, as well as making some suggestions for future studies in the area of Korean speech levels.

Chapter 2 Data and Methodology

2.0. Introduction

The previous chapter provided a general discussion of linguistic politeness, Korean honorifics, and social variables. This chapter describes the data collection procedures, participants, transcription, and the analytical methodology, conversation analysis. It also includes a quantitative analysis of the use of speech levels by the main participant and her interlocutors.

This thesis focuses on one case in order to examine how Korean speakers' use of speech levels is affected by social factors (age, gender, and degree of intimacy) by analyzing everyday conversations in detail. The case study explores the topic in depth by examining the complexity of one speaker's practices (Stake, 1995). In every conversation, participants use various devices and strategies to accomplish a particular action (Schegloff, 1987). Therefore, instead of observing a broad range of participants' use of language, this thesis explores in detail how one participant in several conversations changes her strategies for using speech levels and how her strategies are influenced by social variables.

In Chapter 2, Section 2.1 presents the process of data collection and explains how the main participant was chosen. Section 2.2 gives an overview of the setting and all participants who interacted with the main participant, as well as a detailed explanation of the main participant's interactional scenarios in the study's data. Section 2.3 explains the data transcription, and Section 2.4 discusses conversation analysis (CA) as the

methodology for this thesis. Section 2.5 quantitatively analyzes the frequency of the main participant's use of particular speech levels. The chapter is summarized in Section 2.6.

2.1. Data Collection

The data collection was conducted in 2013 in Seoul. Altogether, the recorded data consist of 21 hours, 47 minutes, and 48 seconds from 28 conversations during the participants⁴' daily interactions. All data come from naturally occurring two-party conversations. The data collection methodology used in this thesis was approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Australian National University.

Before the data were collected, each participant was given a consent form and an information sheet about the thesis, and all gave permission to record their talk during their daily conversations. I then made appointments with participants to collect data or asked them to record their own conversations during daily activities.

Conversations were recorded in two ways: (1) I stayed with two participants during their daily activities, recording at some point during that time. I generally moved slightly away or left the room at the moment of recording. The participants, while aware that recording might be taking place, were not aware of the exact time of recording, and so the recording was covert in this sense. Afterwards, I told the participants that their talk had been recorded. (2) Participants recorded their own conversation during their everyday activities without my presence.

⁴ 'The participants' mean everybody (22 people) participated in the data collection before I chose the main participant.

When the researcher was present, the recording device was a ZoomH2. When the participants recorded themselves, they used their own mobile phones. None of the recorded conversations extends beyond an hour and a half (ranging from 17 min. 39 sec to 85 min. 21 sec.).

Following the recording of naturally occurring conversations, an intimacy survey was conducted with each of the main participant. The survey, in the form of a questionnaire, asked participants about their perception of their level of intimacy with their interlocutors in the recorded conversations (Appendix 1). The survey asked the participants to evaluate their degree of intimacy with each of their interlocutors by choosing a number on a scale of 1 to 10. The survey contained two items: ‘Please mark the appropriate degree of intimacy with the person below (0: no intimacy, 10: the closest)’ and ‘Please describe your relationship with this person’. Therefore, the survey collected the participants’ ratings of the level of intimacy in their relationships with their interlocutors and the participants’ descriptions of their relationships as well.

The recorded data were categorized by participant, so that each conversation was considered to be an interaction between a main participant and an interlocutor. One participant stood out because she provided recorded interactions with far more interlocutors than any of the others. She was therefore chosen as the main focus of the case study. In addition, all the collected recordings provided supportive data that contributed to my understanding of the main participant’s conversational interactions.

2.2. Setting and Participants

This section briefly discusses the participants in general, and explains how the one main participant was chosen for the case study in this thesis. Heigham and Croker (2009, p. 266) emphasize the importance of understanding participants' viewpoints. Wolfson (1976) suggests that a researcher's own community is the best research site for examining natural conversation. Such closeness to the participants allows the researcher to examine various conversational situations and have an in-depth view of how a variable is used (p. 205). All the participants are from the researcher's social network (family members or friends of the researcher) and live in Seoul, the capital city of South Korea, where the researcher also lived for over 30 years.

There were 8 male and 14 female participants. The participants' ages ranged between 27 and 70. Previous research shows that participants' gender, age, educational level, and place of residence affect the use of honorific expressions (Han, 2002; Koo, 1993; Park, 1976). All 22 participants in this thesis are native Korean speakers who have lived no more than one year outside of Korea. They are all university graduates and are middle-class Koreans who live in Seoul, where all have resided for over 20 years. Seoul is the capital city of Korea and most people there speak standard Korean.

This thesis is about how social factors (gender, relative age, degree of intimacy) are present in everyday conversation in terms of the choice of speech levels and how an individual Korean speaker can change his/her speech levels depending on contexts and speech situations. To examine this phenomenon, the thesis categorizes the participants into 'main participants' and 'interlocutors'. The social relationships between main participants and their interlocutors are categorized depending on their gender, their relative age, and their degree of intimacy (see Table 2.1). The information on gender

and relative age comes from the participants' consent forms, and that on intimacy levels comes from participants' intimacy surveys, as described in the previous section.

Table 2.1. All participants and recorded interactional scenarios

Possible Main Participants	Interlocutors					Setting (Researcher recording or Self-recording)
		Gender	Age	Intimacy Level (1-10)	Relationship	
F1 ⁵ (36, Female)	M1	Male	39 (older)	10	Husband	Home (Self-recording)
	F2	Female	36 (same)	9	Friend from high school	Friend's house (Self-recording)
	F3	Female	41 (older)	7	Senior at university and workplace ⁶	Eun-Jeong's car (Self-recording)
	F4	Female	35 (Younger)	5	Neighbour, and wife of So-Yeong's husband's colleague	Myung-Joo's house (Self-recording)
F5 (42, Female)	F6	Female	40 (Younger)	9	Younger friend from university	Café (Researcher recording)
	F7	Female	41 (Younger)	7	Younger friend from high school	Workplace (Self-recording)
	F8	Female	34 (Younger)	5	Colleague at school	Car (Self-recording)
M2 (39, Male)	M3	Male	41 (Older)	10	Older friend	Older friend's office/Café (Self-recording)
	F9	Female	35 (Younger)	8	Junior at university	Café (Self-recording)
	M4	Male	42 (Older)	10	Elder brother	Home, café, restaurant (Self-recording)
F7 (41, Female)	F5	Female	70 (Older)	9	Mother-in-law	Mother in law's house (Self-recording)
	M8	Male	27 (Young)	5	Junior from university	Café (Researcher)

⁵ F1–14: Female participants 1–14, M1–8: Male participants 1–8

⁶ One's 'senior' at university is a person who started school a year earlier than oneself, whether older or younger.

			er)			recording)
	F5	Female	42 (Older)	7	Older friend from high school	Workplace (Self-recording)
F8 (41, Female)	M5	Male	41 (Same)	8	Friend from university	Café (Researcher recording)
	M6	Male	41 (Same)	8	Friend from university	Restaurant (Researcher recording)
	F1 0	Female	46 (Older)	9	Elder sister	Sister's house (Self-recording)
M1 (39, Male)	M7	Male	67 (Older)	10	Father	Restaurant (Self-recording)
	M1	Female	36 (Young er)	10	Wife	Home (Self-recording)
F6 (40, Female)	F5	Female	42	10	Older friend from university	Café (Researcher recording)
	21	Female	65 (Older)	10	Mother	Home (Self-recording)
F11 (46, Female)	F1 0	Female	46 (Older)	6.5	Mother of daughter's friend	F10's house (Researcher recording)

Table 2.1 shows participants' interaction scenarios in the collected data. The first column lists the main participants (F1, F5, M2, F7, F8, M1, F6, and F11) as well as their age and gender. These main participants' interlocutors are listed, and their social factors (gender, age, intimacy, and the relationship with each main participant) are explained in the following five columns. The last column describes the recorded speech situations and the type of recording (by the researcher or by the participants themselves). From all the collected data, the data of participant F1 was chosen as the focus of analysis, because she had the largest range of interactions in the data (four interactions). F1 is called the main participant hereafter.

2.2.1. Ethnographic Background of Main Participant (So-Yeong⁷)

This subsection provides background information on the main participant, So-Yeong (F1). She is a female native Korean speaker living in Korea. At the time of the study, she was 36 years old and had been a resident of Seoul, the capital city of Korea, for over 20 years. She has a postgraduate degree, and was working as a research administrator, so she is considered middle class, as opposed to upper class or working class. She speaks standard Korean and has never lived in a foreign country. Han (2002, pp. 212–213) claims that people in their 30s or older freely use honorific speech levels. Yoon's (2001) study supports the same idea, explaining that working experience contributes to a person's ability to use honorifics, because in the workplace people are naturally exposed to situations where a vertical social structure is a crucial factor in communication (Yoon, 2001).

2.2.2. Main Participant's Interactional Scenarios

This subsection describes the social relationships between the main participant and her four interlocutors in terms of age, gender, and degree of intimacy. The social relationships between So-Yeong and her interlocutors are summarized in Table 2.2.

⁷ Her name was changed to pseudonyms to preserve her anonymity.

Table 2.2. Social relationships between main participant and her interlocutors

Main participant	Interlocutors				Speech situation	Recording Time	
	Gender	Age	Intimacy Level (1-10)	Relationship (Name ⁸)			
So-Yeong (36, Female)	1	Male	39 (older)	10	So-Yeong's husband (Jeong-Hoon)	At home	17 min. 39 sec.
	2	Female	36 (same)	9	Friend from high school (Min-Hye)	At So-Yeong's house	36 min. 22 sec.
	3	Female	41 (older)	7	Senior at university and workplace (Eun-Jeong)	In Eun-Jeong's car	20 min. 16 sec.
	4	Female	35 (Younger)	5	Neighbour, and wife of So-Yeong's husband's colleague (Myung-Joo)	At Myung-Joo's house	43 min. 48 sec.

The table presents the main participant and her interlocutors' social factors (age and gender), degree of intimacy, and relationships. The table also shows the recorded speech situation as well as the length of the recordings.

All four interlocutors are So-Yeong's acquaintances: one is a family member, one is a close friend, one is a more distant friend who is also a neighbour and the wife of her husband's colleague, and one is a colleague who has been a senior (*sunbae*) to So-Yeong since their university days. The first interlocutor is her husband (Jeong-Hoon; male and older than So-Yeong). As explained in the previous section, an intimacy survey was conducted in which participants rated their intimacy level with their interlocutors. On the intimacy survey, So-Yeong marked 10 out of 10, the highest

⁸ All interlocutors' names were changed to pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity.

degree of intimacy, for her husband (Jeong-Hoon).

The second interlocutor is So-Yeong's close friend (Min-Hye; female and same age) since their high school days. She also shares a high degree of intimacy with So-Yeong. So-Yeong marked her level of intimacy with Min-Hye as 9 out of 10.

The third interlocutor (Eun-Jeong; female and older) is a colleague who has been So-Yeong's senior since their university days. Her relation with So-Yeong is less intimate, marked by So-Yeong as 7 out of 10.

The fourth interlocutor (Myung-Joo; female and younger) is So-Yeong's neighbour who is also the wife of So-Yeong's husband's colleague. She is younger, and again, has a less intimate relationship with So-Yeong, marked as 5 out of 10 by So-Yeong.

In each conversation, therefore, speakers are in relationships that may be perceived as hierarchical in terms of age, sameness or difference of gender, and degree of intimacy. So-Yeong's husband and close friend have a similar degree of intimacy with her (10 out of 10 for her husband, 9 out of 10 for her close friend), but they differ from each other in age and gender. Her husband and her senior are both older than So-Yeong, but differ from each other by gender and level of intimacy (10 out of 10 for her husband, 7 out of 10 for her senior). Her husband differs from her neighbour by gender, age, and level of intimacy (5 out of 10 for her neighbor). Her close friend, her senior, and her neighbour all share So-Yeong's gender, but differ in age: her close friend is the same age, her senior is older, and her neighbour is younger than So-Yeong. Her close friend has a higher degree of intimacy than her senior and her neighbour have with So-Yeong. Therefore, these four conversations are social interactions that differ according to the

interactants' age, gender, and degree of intimacy.

2.3. Transcription

This section explains the procedure of transcription. After the recordings were made, first, all recorded conversations were roughly transcribed in Korean to gain a general sense of the conversational interactions. VoiceWalker (from the University of California, Santa Barbara) and Audacity programs were used in transcribing the recorded conversations. All participants' names were changed to pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity. As explained above, from all the recorded data, the participant who had the greatest range of interactions was chosen as the main participant. The main participant's conversations were transcribed in detail and translated into English based on CA transcription conventions (Appendix 2). The transcripts consist of three lines (Example 2.1).

Example 2.1. Transcription sample

1→	Son:	<i>masiss-<u>eyo</u>.</i>	[Romanized Korean]
		delicious- <u>POL</u>	[Literal English translation]
		'It is delicious.'	[Idiomatic English translation]

The top line shows romanized Korean. The second line displays grammatical glosses (Appendix 3) and literal English translations of each word. The third line provides an idiomatic English translation. The use of speech levels is marked with boldface in lines 1 and 2. The focus of discussion is marked by an arrow (→) to the left and underlining in the transcripts.

2.4. Conversation Analysis (CA)

This thesis aims to investigate the use of Korean speech levels in ordinary conversation based on the analysis of forms, conversational environments, and interactional structures when the speech levels occur. Conversation analysis (CA) is utilized as the main approach in this thesis because, first, CA considers that naturally occurring talk is significant for understanding social order (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) and there is order at all points in interaction (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 704). The basic question for CA is *why that now?* (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Verbal activities are locally organized and interactionally negotiated, and involve participants' collaborative efforts to contribute to conversational interaction on a turn-by-turn basis (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 727). So, CA can explain the process in which speakers rely on their co-participants' interpretation of current conversational actions in order to project relevant 'next' contributions (Schegloff, 1986, p. 118). Therefore, CA can be useful to show how participants organize and negotiate the use of speech levels as social action.

Second, CA posits that action is meaningful in context as it is created by participants through their talk. The data for CA is talk in actual contexts (Heritage, 1995). With this data, CA examines how participants in talk manage how speakers take turns during conversation (Sacks et al., 1974). Turn-taking organization is sensitive to 'whatever is occurring in the context' (Psathas, 1995, p. 36). Sidnell (2001) argues that participants in a conversation review one another's talk in progress, expect the endings of a turn, and continue the talk through multi-turn construction units. For Sidnell, conversational organization can be considered in terms of a 'species-specific adaptation to the contingencies of human intercourse' (p. 1286). Speakers' knowledge in conversation shows how social action works, and this context is built intrinsically through talk.

Therefore, with naturally occurring conversations, CA is helpful for seeking deeply contextualized accounts of how participants do things with words (in this case, speech levels) and other actions.

Third, CA considers that the order of detail cannot be dismissed as irrelevant (Heritage, 1984, p. 341). The fundamental aim of CA is to be able to adequately describe singular events and event-sequences (Sacks, 1968). It therefore supports the use of highly detailed transcription and micro analysis of data. In order to show the process of interaction by the participants, CA transcripts can provide detailed information, such as *what is being said, how it is being said, and what the hearer is doing while it is being said* (Neville & Rendle-Short, 2007, p. 30.4). Thus, in a single case, as in this case study, CA can explain in detail, with transcribed data, general features and patterns in talk and show how speech activities, such as those involving the use of speech levels, are related and organized to produce ordered interaction.

Fourth, CA does not bring prior theoretical assumptions into the analysis: it is bottom-up and data driven (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 167). This means that CA engages with the details of conversational interactions by participants and examines participants' own local management of interaction in talk. Schegloff (1992) argues that social categories and relationships (external context) cannot be directly relevant to actual interaction by participants, and social factors are only revealed in actual interactional context. In addition, as Seedhouse (2004, p. 16) emphasizes, what CA asks is, *Why that, in that way, right now?*, which means that CA's interest is in why an action happened with linguistic or non-linguistic forms in a developing sequence. Therefore, through analyzing naturally occurring conversational data, CA can explain how Korean speakers choose speech levels moment-by-moment.

CA has developed many important concepts and paradigms for the analysis of talk in interaction. In the next section, important notions about adjacency pairs, turn-taking, turn construction units, and transition relevance places that are relevant to the analysis in the following chapters are discussed.

2.4.1. Adjacency Pairs

Adjacency pairs consist of two utterances that are adjacently positioned and produced by different speakers (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, pp. 295–296). The two utterances are called the first pair part (FPP) and the second pair part (SPP) (Schegloff, 2007, p. 13). An FPP such as a greeting or question is designed to initiate interaction; an SPP is the response to the action of the FPP, such as a greeting or answer (pp. 13–14) (Example 2.2).

Example 2.2

(question-answer)

So-Yeong: What did you eat in the morning? [First Pair Part]

Jeong-Hoon: I ate a banana. [Second Pair Part]

2.4.2. Turn-taking

The major concern of turn-taking organization is how participants manage the opportunities to talk during conversational interaction (Sacks et al., 1974). Turn-taking is locally managed by participants in an interaction as it progresses, rather than previously allocated. People do not always talk in sentences. They use various structures

to construct their talk. According to Sacks et al. (1974), a turn construction unit (TCU), the basic unit of talk, can be a word, phrase, clause, or sentence; turns are made up of units, and these units are closely related to context. In other words, context determines when a TCU is recognized as possibly complete. Thus, the listener can project when a TCU will be possibly completed and does not always wait until the talk is actually complete (Sacks et al., 1974). Grammatical and syntactic elements are not enough to complete a turn; intonational and pragmatic markers are also important to indicate the end-point of a turn (Ford & Thompson, 1996).

A place in talk where there is possible turn exchange is called a transition relevance place (TRP). A TRP is not a place where the speaker should change, but rather a place where speaker change could occur. Therefore, at a TRP, the speakers interactionally negotiate the next turn. Sacks et al. (1974, p. 704) propose turn allocation rules that construct turns in relation to the change of speakers. Turn allocations rules provide an order of two possible options for speaker's selection. For instance, if a current speaker selects a next speaker, the selected speaker has the right to take the next turn. However, a current speaker can continue the talk if a next speaker does not self-select. Thus, turn-taking is controlled by the participants themselves during conversational interaction. These basic rules also apply to the examination of Korean's turn allocation structure.

2.4.3. Turn-taking in Korean

The concepts of turn-taking are employed in the analysis of speech level use throughout this thesis. Korean is a verb-final language (Subject-Object-Verb), which creates different turn structures from those in English, which has Subject-Verb-Object order. The verb-final element in Korean plays an important role in shaping turns, because the

speaker could be warranted to continue a current TCU until the verb occurs (Kim, 2007, p. 575). Thus, within intra-turn unit boundaries in Korean conversation, the speaker and recipient delicately interact while the speaker is speaking (Kim, 1999, p. 439). Within these intra-turn unit boundaries, the speaker and recipient's hierarchical interactional order can be examined (Kim & Suh, 1998). For instance, during the speaker's talk, the recipient has the pressure to respond (Kim, 1999, p. 440), but until the verb occurs, the recipient waits to take the next turn. Therefore, the typical word order influences the shape of turns in Korean conversation; the recipient has a potential burden to respond and to take the upcoming turn, and the speaker can also be interrupted at the intra-turn boundaries by the recipient.

2.5. Frequency of Speech Levels

Before qualitatively analyzing the data with CA in the following chapters, this section quantitatively examines how often the main participant uses the different speech levels with her various interlocutors.

A speaker can choose among four speech levels (deferential, polite, intimate, and plain) when talking with an interlocutor, but the speaker doesn't necessarily use the same speech levels for a whole conversation (NIKL, 2005, P. 225). During any conversation, the speaker can choose either to use only one speech level or to shift among speech levels; every time a speaker produces a predicate, s/he must make a choice of speech level. The use of speech levels can be understood as an outcome of the honorific system itself and is an essential element of the sociocultural system of the Korean-speaking community (Wang, 1990, p. 36).

The frequencies of the use of each speech level by the main participant (So-Yeong) and her interlocutors are shown in Table 2.3. For each conversation, I first quantitatively analyzed the use of speech levels. The speech level is marked by the predicate suffix, so the number of occurrences of each speech level is counted by each sentence in each person's turns.

Table 2.3. Participants' frequency of use of speech levels in conversation

Main participant	Interlocutor			Degree of intimacy (1–10)	Speech level	Main participant	Interlocutor	
	Gender	Age	Relationship					
So-Yeong	1	Male	Older	So-Yeong's husband	10	Deferential	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
						Polite	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
						Intimate	135 (99%)	65 (100%)
						Plain	1 (1%)	0 (0%)
	2	Female	Same	Friend from high school	9	Deferential	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
						Polite	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
						Intimate	191 (92%)	134 (82%)
						Plain	16 (8%)	29 (18%)
	3	Female	Older	Senior at university and workplace	7	Deferential	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)
						Polite	28 (74%)	2 (2%)
						Intimate	8 (21%)	79 (89%)
						Plain	1 (2.5%)	8 (9%)
	4	Female	Younger	Neighbour, and wife of So-Yeong's husband's colleague	5	Deferential	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
						Polite	0 (0%)	6 (7%)
						Intimate	129 (91%)	77 (89%)
						Plain	13 (9%)	4 (4%)

In each of So-Yeong's recorded and transcribed conversations with her four interlocutors, the number of instances of each use of speech levels by each person was counted to examine which speech level is mainly used when the main speaker talks with different interlocutors. Because the lengths of the recorded conversations are all different, percentages of frequency in the use of each speech level by the main participant and each interlocutor were calculated.

All participants except So-Yeong's husband use at least two speech levels. The main speaker does not use only one speech level in any of the conversations. So-Yeong uses two speech levels with her husband, close friend, and husband's colleague's wife, but with her university/workplace senior, she uses four speech levels in one conversation.

The percentage of use of a certain speech level varies between the interlocutors. In So-Yeong's case, although the percentage of use of the intimate speech level with her husband (99%) is very close to that with her close friend (92%) and her neighbour (91%), the use of the intimate speech level with her senior is only 21%. In addition, speech level use varies between participants even within the same conversation, and where the participants share the same age and gender. For example, So-Yeong and her close friend are both the same gender and the same age, and are close to each other, but in their conversation, So-Yeong uses the plain speech level for only 8% of her utterances, whereas her close friend uses the plain speech level in 18% of her utterances.

To sum up, the speakers mostly use the intimate speech level, but also mix speech levels in their conversational interactions. The ratio of speech levels varies depending on the interlocutors and the conversational interaction.

2.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter has described how the data were collected and how the one main participant was chosen from among all the participants in the collected data. Information on the main participant was provided, and background of the main participant and her interlocutors in terms of social factors that this thesis focuses on (gender, age, and degree of intimacy) was discussed. The chapter also explained the analytical methodology employed in this research, namely conversation analysis. Finally, it presented a brief quantitative analysis of the use of honorific and non-honorific speech levels by the main participant and her interlocutors.

In the next chapter, I will qualitatively analyze the use of honorific speech levels (deferential and polite speech levels) by the main participant and her interlocutors. Given that speakers vary their use of speech levels, as the quantitative analysis of speech level use in this chapter showed, I next examine the environments and the purposes of the uses of honorific speech levels in Chapter 3 and non-honorific speech levels in Chapter 4, closely analyzing occurrences of speech level use to understand when two speakers in a single conversation use the same or different speech levels and when individual speakers switch from one speech level to another.

Chapter 3 The Use of Honorific Speech Levels

3.0. Introduction

The previous chapter described the processes of collecting the data and choosing the main participant for this thesis. It also presented the results of a quantitative analysis of the participants' use of speech levels. This chapter provides a qualitative analysis of the participants' actual use of honorific speech levels, discussing first the deferential and then the polite speech level. The analytical approach is conversation analysis (CA), as described in Chapter 2. The basic purpose of CA is to be able to analyze singular events and event-sequences in detail (Sacks, 1968) showing general features and patterns in talk.

This chapter begins to answer the research question, which asks how gender, age, and the degree of intimacy affect how one Korean speaker chooses speech levels. To do so, Section 3.1 qualitatively analyzes several data excerpts, focusing on the participants' use of the deferential speech level. Section 3.2 presents the analysis of the polite speech level's use. Section 3.3 summarizes the chapter.

3.1. The Use of the Deferential Speech Level in Conversation (*-(su)pnita*)

The deferential speech level is the most formal of speech levels (Yeon & Brown, 2011, pp. 173–174). This speech level is normally used by social inferiors toward their superiors, as well as by people who are meeting for the first time, regardless of

differences in age or social rank (Han, 2002, p. 196). There is no conversation in my data collection in which the deferential speech level is the main speech level used by the participants.⁹ Rather, speakers intentionally change to the deferential speech level on occasion to convey a special meaning such as appreciation.

Even so, the use of the deferential speech level does not occur often. There is only one instance of it in the main participant's data (Table 3.1), and only one other instance of it in the supportive data. The latter was in a conversation between a younger (M2) and an older male (M3). In both cases, the deferential speech level was used to show the speaker's appreciation for the ride and borrowing a pen.

Table 3.1. Participants' frequency of use of deferential speech levels in conversation

Main participant	Interlocutor			Relationship (Name)	Main participant	Interlocutor	
	Gender	Age	Degree of intimacy (1–10)				
So-Yeong	1	Male	Older	10	So-Yeong's husband (Jeong-Hoon)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	2	Female	Same	9	Friend from high school (Min-Hye)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	3	Female	Older	7	Senior at university and workplace (Eun-Jeong)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)
	4	Female	Younger	5	Neighbour and wife of SY's husband's colleague (Myung-Joo)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

⁹ This is also because I did not collect data from interactions between strangers.

- 4 Eun-Jeong: *ung::*
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’
- 5 So-Yeong: *enni* *nayil* *poy-yo*
 sister (add. term) tomorrow see-POL
 ‘Sister, see you tomorrow.’
- 6 Eun-Jeong: *ung::*
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’

The deferential speech level is only used when So-Yeong expresses appreciation toward her senior. In the conversation between So-Yeong and Eun-Jeong, So-Yeong mainly uses the polite speech level (74%), as shown in Chapter 2 (Table 2.3). However, when she expresses her appreciation, she shifts to the deferential speech level. In line 1, So-Yeong asks her senior if she can get out of the car at the corner. This indicates that it is almost time to close the conversation. As also discussed in Chapter 2, Korean is a verb-final language with Subject-Object-Verb word order (Sohn, 1999). Because of this word order, turn design tends to guarantee the possibility of continuing the current TCU until the verb occurs (Kim, 2007, p. 574). Although So-Yeong could continue to speak at the end of the sentence in line 1, she produces the request, and then waits. Eun-Jeong does not take a turn for 4.2 seconds in line 2, so So-Yeong takes a turn again. At a TRP, when the other speaker does not take the next turn, the current speaker may need to continue her talk (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 704). So-Yeong says *komapsupnita* ‘thank you’, shifting to the deferential speech level and speaking more slowly in line 3. Appreciations can be inserted within a closing sequence without affecting the trajectory of the closing (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 276). In the prior talk, So-Yeong has used the polite speech level in her turns. She could have said *komaweyo* in line 3, which has the same meaning, ‘thank

you', but with the polite speech level. However, she chooses not to use the polite speech level and instead uses the deferential speech level, which, along with the change in speed and the routinized expression of thanks, exaggerates her appreciation. She may use the deferential form here because her earlier request received no response. The deferential speech level may be preferred in honorific speech when the speaker wishes to add formality (Brown, 2010, p. 42). The deferential speech level conveys formality. Thus, many fixed expressions are in the deferential speech level (Byon, 2009, p. 30).

The one other instance of the deferential speech level is used in the supportive data is also an expression of appreciation, *kamsaha-pnita* 'thank you'. Although the deferential speech level is mainly used in formal situations (Sohn, 1999, p. 413), unlike this personal conversation (Excerpt 3.1), So-Yeong changes the mood of the conversation by speaking more slowly when she switches to the deferential to express her appreciation for the ride. Thus, other factors like intonation and speed interact with speech levels in context. For example, an interviewer on a formal TV programme is normally expected to use the formal speech forms, but can simultaneously use an animated voice to make the interview sound fresh and give a certain effect (Cook, 1999, pp. 97–99). Similarly, when So-Yeong uses a different speed with the deferential speech level exaggerates the appreciation that the speech level change expresses, but also makes the utterance sound less formal than it might.

The infrequency of the deferential speech level in my data can be explained by the speech situations' informality and social factors such as gender. Byon (2007) explains that the deferential speech level rarely occurs except in formal situations, and would be an unlikely choice for the main speech level in a personal conversation. In informal situations, the deferential speech level is used to emphasize or insert certain speech acts

such as appreciation, as in Excerpt 3.1. Moreover, Sohn (1999, p. 413) claims that female speakers predominantly use the polite speech level in daily conversation. Because my data are recorded daily conversations, and mainly between females, it is not unexpected that the deferential speech level appears so rarely. The polite speech level, while not the predominant speech level in these conversations, is used more frequently than the deferential in my data.

3.2. The Use of the Polite Speech Level in Conversation *-(a/e)yo*

This section explores the participants' use of the polite speech level in their conversations. The data analysis discusses the polite speech level in terms of (1) non-reciprocal use in terms of the relationship between age and intimacy; (2) a strategy for interruption; (3) talk oriented toward recipients as an unspecified group of people; and (4) its correlation with terms of address.

3.2.1. Non-Reciprocal Use: Age and Intimacy

The polite speech level is the most widely used toward both superiors and similar or younger age people (in relationships of less intimacy) (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p. 172). The use of the polite speech level occurs between So-Yeong and her senior and by Myung-Joo toward So-Yeong (Table 3.2). In addition, So-Yeong mainly uses the polite speech level in the conversation with her senior (74%), whereas her senior and Myung-Joo only use this speech level at rates of 2% and 7%, respectively, toward So-Yeong.

Table 3.2. Participants' frequency of use of polite speech levels in conversation

Main participant	Interlocutor			Relationship (Name)	Main participant	Interlocutor	
	Gender	Age	Degree of intimacy (1-10)				
So-Yeong	1	Male	Older	10	So-Yeong's husband (Jeong-Hoon)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	2	Female	Same	9	Friend from high school (Min-Hye)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	3	Female	Older	7	Senior at university and workplace (Eun-Jeong)	28 (74%)	2 (2%)
	4	Female	Younger	5	Neighbour, and wife of SY's husband's colleague (Myung-Joo)	0 (0%)	6 (7%)

The traditional explanation cannot fully account for the use of the polite speech level in my data. According to Sohn (1999, p. 413), the polite speech level is used toward equal or older adult close friends, but my data do not support this description. So-Yeong did not use the polite speech level toward her husband, who is older than she is, or to her friend, even though she is close to both of them and of the same social position. If age were the only factor in the use of the polite speech level, there would be three possibilities for its use in this data: So-Yeong toward her older husband (Jeong-Hoon); So-Yeong toward her senior (Eun-Jeong), and Myung-Joo toward her older friend (So-Yeong). However, So-Yeong does not use the polite speech level toward her husband, but only to her senior, while Myung-Joo uses the polite speech level toward So-Yeong, she more often uses the intimate speech level.

However, if intimacy is also taken into account, these patterns can be explained and compared. The degree of intimacy is one of the important factors in the use of honorific speech levels (Han, 2002). When the recipient is older than the speaker, the speaker can choose an honorific speech level or the non-honorific intimate speech level depending on the degree of intimacy (NIKL, 2005, p. 225). So-Yeong shows different uses of the polite speech level depending on her interlocutors. With her two older interlocutors, she uses the polite speech level often toward her senior (Eun-Jeong), but never toward her husband (Jeong-Hoon). Excerpt 3.2 shows that when So-Yeong talks with her senior (Eun-Jeong), she non-reciprocally uses the polite speech level and rarely overlaps or interrupts Eun-Jeong's speech, although her senior interrupts So-Yeong's talk. This excerpt illustrates the most common pattern of speech level use between So-Yeong and Eun-Jeong. Recall that So-Yeong rated her level of intimacy with her senior as 7 out of 10. In the whole recorded conversation between these two speakers (Table 3.2; Table 2.3 in Chapter 2), So-Yeong mainly uses the polite speech level (74%) toward her senior, but her senior (Eun-Jeong) mainly uses the intimate speech level (89%) toward her junior (So-Yeong).

Excerpt 3.2

- 1 Eun-Jeong: *ku tongsayng minsang-i mwucikay aphathu-ey*
the younger sibling Min-Sang-NOM rainbow apartment-LOC
- 2 *sa-ntay kyay-ka*
live-CRCM-INT¹² he-NOM
‘Min-Sang, the younger brother is living in the Rainbow Apartments.’
- 3→ So-Yeong: *hhhh enni yeysnal-e sal-ten [tey-canha-yo]*
(laugh) sister(ref. term) previous-DAT live-VP [place-CRCM-**POL**
(laugh) ‘(That apartment) is the place you lived before.’

¹² INT: Intimate speech level

- 4 Eun-Jeong: [e::: hhh
[yeah (laugh)
[‘yeah’ (laugh)
- 5 *kuliko kya-yuy ttal-un cikum::: cimini-pota*
and his-GEN daughter-TOP now Ji-Min-than
- 6 *han haknyen alay-telako; 3 haknyen-i-lay.*
one school year below-CRCM 3 school year-be-CRCM-INT
‘And his daughter is one year younger than Ji-Min, so now it is
the third year.’
- 7 So-Yeong: (.)*chotunghakkyo-to kulem*
(.)primary school-ADD so
- 8→ *kathun [tey-yey-yo?*
same [place-be-**POL**?
‘Are they in the same primary school, too?’
- 9 Eun-Jeong: [e↑ *ta sei chotunghakkyo tani[-ko:::*
[yeah all Seo-I primary school go-CRCM
‘Yeah they all go to the Seo-I primary school, and’
- 10 So-Yeong: [↑*wa::::*
[wow
[‘Wow!’
- 11 Eun-Jeong: *kulen ay-tul-i com myech myeng iss-nun ke-ya*
such person-PL-NOM some several people there-NP thing-INT
‘There are several people like this.’

Excerpt 3.2 begins with Eun-Jeong telling So-Yeong about running into an old friend by coincidence. Because Korean is a verb-final language with Subject-Object--Verb word order (Sohn, 1999), when Eun-Jeong reaches the verb (*santay* ‘live’) at the end of the sentence with the intimate speech level in lines 1–2, this is a possible TRP, which marks a point where speaker change can occur. However, Eun-Jeong adds a subject, *kyay-ka*

'he', after the verb in line 2; this addition creates the likelihood of overlap between Eun-Jeong's additional utterance (*kyay-ka* 'he') and So-Yeong's next turn. It is called increment, which adds a post-positioned element after reaching a TCU (Schegloff, 1996). However, no overlap occurs; So-Yeong first laughs, and then starts talking in line 3. Although Eun-Jeong uses the intimate speech level in line 2, So-Yeong answers her with the polite speech level in line 3; thus, the polite speech level is non-reciprocally used in this exchange. So-Yeong's line 3 utterance ends with *canha(yo)*, which is a suffix to confirm or check information with the listener (NIKL, 2005, p. 874) along with the polite suffix *-yo*. Although So-Yeong has not yet reached the predicate, and therefore is still within the boundaries of her turn, Eun-Jeong begins to reply to So-Yeong's request for information, with *e* 'yeah' in line 4, and then continues to take the next turn using the intimate speech level, in lines 5–6. The utterance *e* 'yeah' is only used toward interlocutors of the same age or younger (Park, 2005, p. 20). So-Yeong asks a question in lines 7–8, with the polite speech level. And again, Eun-Jeong does not wait for So-Yeong to finish the question, which is the possible TRP, but creates another overlap when she begins her response with *e* 'yeah' in line 9, and then continues to talk with the intimate speech level in lines 10–11. Throughout this interaction, then, So-Yeong uses the polite speech level non-reciprocally with her senior, who uses the intimate speech level and although her senior interrupts So-Yeong's talk, So-Yeong does not interrupt her senior's talk.

In contrast, So-Yeong chooses the intimate speech level toward her husband and overlaps often occur. So-Yeong rated her level of intimacy as 10 out of 10 with her husband. Throughout, they both use the intimate speech level, which is the main speech level used by So-Yeong (99%) and Jeong-Hoon (100%) (see Table 2.3 in Chapter 2). Excerpt 3.3 illustrates that an important difference exists between So-Yeong's speech

level use with her senior and her husband, although both of them are older than So-Yeong: She non-reciprocally uses the polite speech level with her senior without overlap, whereas she reciprocally uses the intimate speech level with her husband with overlap.

In Excerpt 3.3, in which the polite speech level does not occur, the two speakers are talking about the friend's establishment of the corporate body.

Excerpt 3.3

- 1 Jeong-Hoon: *kuntey, ku hyengun kuke ttaymwuney::: keuy:::*
 but the brother(ref. term) that because almost
- 2 *ku ccok pepin sellipha-nuntey, =*
 that side corporate body establish-CRCM
 'But because of that, to establish the corporate body,'
- 3 So-Yeong: *ku[chi*
 right
 'Right.'
- 4 Jeong-Hoon: [*meympe-chelem ka-n ke-canh-a cikum::: kulenikka(.)*]
 [member-like go-NP thing-CRCM-INT [now so
 'So, he went to (Japan) as a member, now.'
- 5 So-Yeong: [*uung*
 [yeah
 'Yeah.'
- 6 *oppa-ka kyeysook pepin selliphakicen-pwuthe ka-se*
 brother-NOM continuously corporate-body establish before-from go-CONN
- 7 *kyeysook mithcakepha-ko =*
 continuously base work-CONN
 'Before establishing the corporate body, he went to Japan and worked on
 the basic things, and'
- 8 Jeong-Hoon: *=ung*
 =yeah

- =‘Yeah.’
- 9→ So-Yeong: =*ta ha-nkey-a*
 =all do-CRCM-INT
 = ‘All he did.’
- 10 Jeong-Hoon: *ung kulikka pwutam-i::: sengkongha-myen (.)=*
 yeah so burden-NOM success-SUPP
 ‘Yeah. So if he succeeds,’
- 11→ So-Yeong: =*wancen taypak-in key-a*
 =perfectly taypak¹³-NP thing-INT
 =‘It’s great success.’

In this conversation between husband and wife, there is no use of the polite speech level, and overlap and interruption frequently appear, although interruption is universally considered to be impolite in conversation (Hutchby, 2008, p. 238). In Excerpt 3.3, Jeong-Hoon is explaining about the advantages and disadvantages of working to establish a corporate body. In lines 1–2 and 4, Jeong-Hoon uses the intimate speech level. After saying *kulenikka* ‘so’, Jeong-Hoon tries to continue to say more in line 4. Stories in conversation are produced as multi-unit, extended turns at talk (Sacks, 1974). A story often cannot be completed in a single TCU, and the organization of speaker change would be difficult before the story-teller finishes telling the story. However, as Jeong-Hoon tells his story, So-Yeong contributes utterances in lines 3, 5–7, 9, and 11. So-Yeong not only offers minimal response tokens (lines 3 and 5), but uses the intimate speech level to elaborate on and add more detail to Jeong-Hoon’s story (lines 5, 7, 9, and 11). First, So-Yeong says *kuchi* ‘right’ in line 3, adding it to the end of Jeong-Hoon’s prepositional phrase in line 2. In line 4, after Jeong-Hoon reaches a predicate with the intimate speech level, So-Yeong says *uung* ‘yeah’ in line 5 instead of the

¹³ *Taypak* is a new Korean word for ‘great success’.

response token *ney* ‘yeah’ that she uses toward her senior. *Kuchi* ‘right’ and *uung* ‘yeah’ are both response tokens, commonly used toward younger and same age interlocutors (Park, 2005, p. 20). So-Yeong substantially talks more in lines 5–7 and 9; when this talk arrives at a TRP in line 9, Jeong-Hoon takes a turn in line 10, uttering a suppositional phrase. His turn does not arrive at the end of a TCU, because the main clause has not appeared yet. However, in line 11, So-Yeong collaboratively completes the sentence with the intimate speech level. Min (1996) argues that avoidance of interruption or overlap is one of women’s politeness characteristics, but this does not apply to So-Yeong’s case in this talk with her husband. During this conversation with Jeong-Hoon, So-Yeong uses the intimate speech level and response tokens that are traditionally described as being used with same age or younger people, and she frequently overlaps with and interrupts Jeong-Hoon’s turns. This contrasts with her conversation with Eun-Jeong, in which So-Yeong rarely interrupts or overlaps with her senior. Clearly, So-Yeong indexes solidarity based on the level of intimacy rather than age difference by her choices in these conversations.

So-Yeong’s different use of speech levels toward her older interlocutors can be explained in terms of power and solidarity. So-Yeong sometimes uses honorific speech levels with her senior colleague, but always uses non-honorific speech levels with her husband. Brown and Gilman (1960) discuss how power and solidarity are indexed in linguistic choices of ‘polite’ and ‘familiar’ forms. They argue that the verbal expression of power compels a continuing coding of power (p. 267); the social structure places every individual in a unique power rank (p. 255), and the non-reciprocal use of linguistic forms occurs between superiors and inferiors. For example, a French army officer uses *tu* (‘you’, familiar form) to the soldiers, but they use *vous* (‘you’, polite form) to him. According to Yoo (1994, p. 297), Korean speakers use the polite speech

level when, first, the speaker is subordinate to the listener in terms of power and, second, the relationship between participants is not close in terms of solidarity. In terms of power, Eun-Jeong is older and ranks higher at the workplace than So-Yeong. Although So-Yeong marked their relationship's intimacy level as 7 out of 10 in the intimacy survey, So-Yeong's use of the polite speech level non-reciprocally to Eun-Jeong implies that Eun-Jeong's age and social rank are more important factors than intimacy in So-Yeong's choice of speech level. However, she uses the intimate speech level reciprocally with her husband. Although her husband is older than So-Yeong, the solidarity dynamic reigns: solidarity is the more important factor in her choice of speech level in this case. Similarly, in European languages, relationships between spouses or lovers show reciprocal use of familiar or intimate forms (Brown & Gilman, 1960, p. 271).

In the supportive data, one female speaker (F5) interacts with two younger female interlocutors: a younger colleague at school (F8) and a close friend from university (F6). She does not use the polite speech level toward her close friend, but she uses it in 62% of her speech directed toward her younger colleague. She rated her degree of intimacy with her colleague at school as 5 out of 10 and with her close friend from university as 9 out of 10. Here, too, speech level choice reflects the speaker's different power-solidarity relations with her two different interlocutors.

The data presented in this subsection demonstrate non-reciprocal use of the polite speech level that is partly in accord with Brown's (2010, p. 37) claim that the honorific speech levels are used non-reciprocally by age-rank subordinates to superiors. The polite speech level does not solely index either age or degree of intimacy. As discussed previously, age and degree of intimacy must both be considered in the use of the polite

- 6 So-Yeong: *han 8-si(.) 7-si pan? [kulehkey wa-s-ko,*
 about eight-hour seven thirty? [like that come-PST-CONN
 ‘About eight or seven thirty? Like those people came, and.’
- 7 Myung-Joo: [a:::
 [ah
 [‘Ah...’
- 8 So-Yeong: *kuleko [nan taum cenyek-ul mek-ko,*
 and [then after dinner-ACC eat-CONN
 ‘and then, (we) ate dinner’
- 9→ Myung-Joo: [\gg]*kathi cenyek meke-ss-eyo?*<<
 [together dinner eat-PST-**POL**?
 ‘Did you (all) eat together?’
- 10 So-Yeong: \gg *yeca-tul-un mence mek-[ko::<<*
 woman-PL-TOP first eat- [CONN
 ‘The women ate dinner first, and.’
- 11→ Myung-Joo: [a::: *kulem chalyecwe-ss-eyo namcatulun?*
 [ah so prepare-PST-**POL** man-PL-TOP
 ‘Ah...so, did the women prepare dinner
 for the men?’
- 12 So-Yeong: *uung*
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’

In lines 3, 9, and 11, Myung-Joo uses the polite speech level, although she mainly uses the intimate speech level in the whole recorded conversation (see Table 2.3 in Chapter 2). In line 1, So-Yeong does not complete a single TCU, but Myung-Joo suddenly says *a* ‘ah’ in line 2 and directly asks a question to get information, speaking very quickly, in line 3. A ‘ah’ is a change of state token, which indicates that the recipient has moved from a state of un-knowing to a state of knowing after getting information (Heritage,

1984). After getting the new information, Myung-Joo's overlap occurs at a point prior to the TRP, although So-Yeong does not finish her current utterance yet. Similarly, after getting information in line 7, Myung-Joo interrupts So-Yeong's talk with the polite speech level in line 9, after So-Yeong utters only the conjunction *kuleko* 'and' in line 8. In line 10, So-Yeong changes the speed of her speech to answer Myung-Joo's question; she begins to answer and reaches a connective (*ko* 'and'), but Myung-Joo again interrupts with another question with the polite speech level in line 11. Overlapping talk is an interactional outcome which is produced by all participants together (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 82), but overlapping and interruption is considered to be rude in Korean conversation with older people (Lee, 2009, p. 15). When interrupting So-Yeong's talk, Myung-Joo uses the higher speech level, the polite speech level, rather than the intimate one, to indicate the higher status of the listener (So-Yeong). Because of this change of speech level, Myung-Joo's interruption is not interpreted as rudeness. Yoo (1994) explains that the speaker's intention to balance between power and solidarity is reflected in speech levels in Korean.

To sum up, in these examples, we saw that in circumstances where a speaker mainly uses the intimate speech level, the speaker can strategically change to the polite speech level to avoid rudeness when interrupting an older interlocutor's talk. When the higher speech levels are used to interrupt talk, question forms are used, as in Excerpt 3.3. Question forms are directed to older recipients more often than descriptions of facts or expressions of feelings. Thus, the younger speaker changes to a higher speech level (the polite) to avoid rudeness when asking questions.

3.2.3. Recipient as Unspecified People

Although the polite speech level is the one most widely used toward social superiors (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p. 172), speakers may also use the polite speech level in conversation with younger intimate interlocutors, if the recipients are a group of people who are an unspecified general audience. For instance, teachers might use the polite speech level when they address a class (Cook, 1996). One interesting finding is that Eun-Jeong also sometimes uses the polite speech level in conversation with So-Yeong, but when she does, she is focused on a group audience of unspecified individuals, not on So-Yeong. Excerpt 3.5 is a conversation about uploading a photo on Facebook after Eun-Jeong met a friend at the village bus station by chance. Eun-Jeong mainly uses the intimate speech level (89%) toward her junior (So-Yeong) (see Table 2.3 in Chapter 2), but in this case, she uses the polite speech level for a special purpose.

Excerpt 3.5

- 1 Eun-Jeong: *kulekosenun wuli-n mak incungsyas ccik-ese olli-ko*
 then we-TOP just *inchung* photo¹⁴ take-CONN upload-CONN
 ‘Then, we took a photo and uploaded it (on Facebook).’
- 2 So-Yeong: *hhh onul yekise manna-ss-eyo =*
 (laugh) today here meet-PST-POL=
 (laugh) ‘we met here today.’
- 3→ Eun-Jeong: *=wuli maul pesu cenglyucang-eyse wuyenhi manna-ss-eyo, hh .hh*
 =we village bus stop-LOC by chance meet-PST-POL (laugh)
 =‘we met at a village bus station by chance.’
- 4 So-Yeong: *hhhh*
 (laugh)

When Eun-Jeong says she uploaded a photo on Facebook in line 1, So-Yeong describes

¹⁴ *Incungsyas* (*inchung* photo) is a new Korean word, meaning a photo that provides evidence of doing something.

the content of the photo with the polite speech level by saying ‘we met here today’ in line 2. Then, also with the polite speech level, Eun-Jeong elaborates on So-Yeong’s comment, adding more detail to the description, in line 3. Both of their utterances are formulated as if they are providing a caption for the photo, rather than as if she is exchanging information with So-Yeong. Eun-Jeong is describing the content of the photo uploaded on her church group’s Facebook page. Therefore, the audience in this case is not So-Yeong, but the unspecified listeners who are the members of her church group on Facebook. Cook (1999, p. 89) explains that language is not interpreted by the sentence meaning, but by the situational meaning that happens in communicative practice. According to Yoo (1994, p. 302), the main factor controlling the relationship between the speaker and a group of unspecified listeners is power, not solidarity; the greater number of the listeners gives them greater power than the speaker. For example, a radio disk jockey (DJ) mainly uses the polite speech level, because the unspecified listeners, as a group, have more power than the DJ (p. 301). Han (2002, p. 227) also provides evidence that speakers in the media mainly use the deferential speech level and the polite speech level, not the intimate speech level. In my data, Eun-Jeong does not specify particular members of the church group on Facebook, but rather treats them as general members of the group. It is hard to define a clear relationship between Eun-Jeong and all the other group members. Therefore, although Eun-Jeong mainly uses the intimate speech level toward So-Yeong, in this case, the audience changes from So-Yeong to the unspecified listeners, and Eun-Jeong also changes her speech level to the polite speech level.

Interestingly, in my supportive data, an older male speaker (M3) strategically uses the polite speech level to convey a humorous message in a conversation with a younger male friend (M2). He mainly uses the intimate speech level (97%). However, when he

makes a humorous comment about the recipient's 7-year old daughter, he switches to the polite speech level (2%), which would not be expected in an utterance describing a child. Specifically, when the younger speaker talks about his mischievous daughter, the older speaker replies *miwun 7salisey-yo* 'she is a naughty 7-year-old.' The older speaker doesn't need to use the polite speech level to give an assessment of the child, but by changing to the higher speech level (the polite speech level), he can emphasize his humorous manner about the child. Kang (2005) agrees that the speaker changes to higher form, to convey humorous message.

To sum up, even in conversation with a younger intimate person, an older speaker may switch to the polite speech level for specific reasons, as when the talk is oriented to unspecified people (rather than the immediate interlocutor), or to add affect such as humour to a message.

3.2.4. The Relationship with Terms of Address

This section examines the relationship between terms of address and speech level. The Korean language is a 'situation-oriented language', which means contextually understood elements can often be omitted (Cho et al., 2010, p. 4). For example, *mwe mekeyo?* means 'what do (you) eat?' (*mwe* 'what': *mekeyo* 'to eat' [polite speech level, interrogative]). If the speaker asks this question directly of the recipient in a face-to-face conversation or telephone conversation, it is understood that the question is about the recipient. In addition, the second person pronouns ('you') are hardly used toward an equal or senior (Cho et al., 2010, p. 7). Therefore, in Korean, the subject is often omitted; instead, however, terms of address are often used (S. M. Park, 1995, p. 2). There are extensive sets of address terms, such as professional titles (*sensayngnim*

‘teacher’) and kinship terms used for both relatives and non-relatives (Sohn, 1999, p. 409). For example, older non-relatives are commonly addressed as *hyeng* ‘male’s older brother’ or *oppa* ‘female’s older brother’ and *nwuna* ‘male’s older sister’ or *enni* ‘female’s older sister’. Terms of address in combination with other honorific forms can be strategically used by speakers to be polite in their conversational situation (Hong, 2009). S. M. Park (1995) also agrees that Korean speech levels are closely related with address terms. Therefore, the proper use of terms of address is as important as the use of speech levels in Korean honorifics. In dyadic conversations, address terms do not need to ensure reciprocity in the talk (Lerner, 2003, p. 178), but when they are used, the address terms are correlated with the use of the polite speech level.

So-Yeong shows different uses of address terms¹⁵ in circumstances where she uses the polite speech level compared to circumstances where she uses the intimate speech level. She addresses her senior as *enni* ‘female’s sister’ nine times in the course of their conversation, whereas she uses an address term, *oppa* ‘female’s brother’, only twice in the conversation with her husband. Speaking with her husband, when she mostly uses the intimate speech level (99%), she only uses the address term to start a new topic in the conversation. Therefore, the address term functions as a topic initiator when she uses it while speaking in the intimate speech level. Similarly, in political news interviews, journalists use pre-TCU address terms to initiate topics (Rendle-Short, 2007). In contrast, in the circumstance of mostly using the polite speech level (74%) with her senior, So-Yeong uses the address term, *enni* ‘female’s sister’, in a greater variety of ways, such as for interruption, seeking agreement, greeting, and making a request, as well as opening the conversation (Table 3.3).

¹⁵ Among terms of address, I focus on address terms.

Table 3.3. The use of an address terms

Type of address term	Examples
Interruption	(In the middle of her senior’s talk) S: <i>enni</i> <i>yeycen-ey sal-ten tey-canha-yo</i> , sister before-DAT live-NP place-CRCM-POL ‘Sister! That is the place where you lived before.’
Seeking Agreement	S: <i>macc-yo, enni?</i> right-POL, sister ‘Am I right, sister?’
Closing environment	S: <i>enni nayil poy-yo</i> sister tomorrow meet(HON)-POL ‘Sister, see you tomorrow.’
Instruction	S: <i>enni seyw-e cwu-sey-yo</i> sister stop-CONN give-HON-POL ‘Sister, please stop.’

Similarly, Myung-Joo, So-Yeong’s younger interlocutor, also strategically uses the address term *enni* ‘female’s sister’ together with the polite speech level in the conversation with So-Yeong, in which she mainly uses the intimate speech level (89%) and only sometimes the polite speech level (7%) (see Table 2.3 in Chapter 2). In total, she uses the polite speech level six times in the conversation, and four of those times she also uses the address terms. At that time, Myung-Joo seems to use the address term to maintain closeness with So-Yeong when she switches to the more distant polite speech level. Previous researchers examine address terms in everyday conversation in terms of power and solidarity (e.g., Brown & Gilman, 1960; Ervin-Tripp, 1972). Some types of address terms can show the speaker’s view of the recipient’s social status (Duranti, 1992). Excerpt 3.6 shows how Myung-Joo accompanies her change of speech level with the address term in her conversation with So-Yeong.

Excerpt 3.6

- 1 (7.2)
- 2→ Myung-Joo: *enni!* *Osong ka-se* *mwe-ha-yss-eyo?*
sister (add. term) Osong go-CONN what-do-PST-**POL**
 ‘Sister, what did you do in Osong?’
- 3 So-Yeong: *keki chwungchengpwukto[::: cochiwen kun[che....*
 there Chungcheongbuk-province Jochiwon near
 ‘It is near Jochiwon, Chungcheongbukdo province...’
- 4 Myung-Joo: [kuchi [e e maca(Ø)
 right yeah, right-INT
 ‘Right... Yeah, that’s right.’
- 5 So-Yeong: °kimchika ileh-kwuna°
 kimchi-NOM like this-PLA
 ‘Kimchi is like this...’
- 6 Myung-Joo: *osong-i mwusun tanci-canha(Ø)::*
 Osong-NOM what kind of complex-CRCM-INT
 ‘Osong is a kind of complex, isn’t it?’
- 7 =ku::: uylyo tanci any-a?
 =the medical complex not to be-INT
 ‘Isn’t it the medical complex?’
- 8 So-Yeong: e::: a maca(Ø) maca(Ø) maca(Ø)
 hmm ah right-INT right-INT right-INT
 ‘Hmmm, ah! That’s right!’

After a pause of 7.2 seconds, in line 2 Myung-Joo addresses So-Yeong as *enni* ‘sister’ before asking a question. After this address term, Myung-Joo uses the polite speech level. The address term in line 2 is used to start a new topic. Speakers use terms of address to appeal directly to their recipient (Jucker & Taavitsainen, 2003, p. 1). Thus, it is used to change topics. In addition, *enni* ‘sister’ is categorized as a non-honorific

address term (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p. 38). A kinship term as an address term makes a recipient feel like a member of the speaker's family, thus, the use of a kinship term can create an intimate feeling in a conversation (Sohn, 2010, p. 118). Therefore, when Myung-Joo uses the polite speech level, accompanying it with this address term makes the utterance less formal and more intimate. So-Yeong responds to Myung-Joo's question in line 3. Then, Myung-Joo switches back to the intimate speech level without an address term in line 4. In line 5, So-Yeong is talking to herself, because the form of *kwuna* is used when the speaker talks to him/herself (NIKL, 2005, p. 61). In the final lines of this segment, Myung-Joo uses the intimate speech level in lines 6–7 and So-Yeong responds to her with the intimate speech level in line 8.

In addition, in my supportive data, speakers show similar uses of terms of address together with the polite speech level. For instance, a female speaker (F5) uses the address term *sensayngnim* 'teacher' toward her younger female colleague (F8) seven times, always while using the polite speech level, for example, when starting a new topic such as asking about F8's baby or a movie. However, the same speaker uses no address terms in a conversation with a younger friends (F6 & F7), in which the intimate speech level is mainly used (98% & 97% each).

To sum up, the data show how a speaker strategically uses terms of address when she switches into the polite speech level in conversations in which the intimate speech level is mainly used. Although the polite speech level is more formal than the intimate speech level, using the kinship term as an address term, the speaker strategically shows her closeness with her interlocutors.

3.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter aimed to show how one speaker uses honorific speech levels (deferential and polite speech levels) with her interlocutors in daily conversation and how various social factors play a role in her speech level choices.

The deferential speech level does not occur frequently in the data, only being used specifically to express appreciation. Speakers more often use the polite speech level in the speech contexts of these data. When the polite speech level is mainly used, the age factor (power) can have more influence than the degree of intimacy (solidarity), as shown by its non-reciprocal use by the younger speaker. Moreover, when a non-honorific speech level is mainly used, speakers may switch to the polite for specific purposes: the older speaker in a conversation changes to the polite speech level, when her talk is directed toward unspecified people; other speakers strategically change to the higher speech level (the polite) to interrupt another's talk. Speakers also seem to use address terms with the polite speech level to show intimacy.

In the next chapter, I will analyze the use of non-honorific speech levels (intimate and plain) and explore how the speaker uses non-honorific speech levels in conversational interaction. As the quantitative analysis in Chapter 2 showed, the main participant and her interlocutors use non-honorific speech levels much more than honorific speech levels in the recorded conversations. Chapter 4 will explore differences between the uses of intimate and plain speech levels, as well as considering whether these differences are mirrored in the participants' interactions.

Chapter 4 The Use of Non-Honorific Speech Levels

4.0. Introduction

The previous chapter showed how the main participant uses honorific speech, the deferential and polite levels, with her interlocutors. The focus of this chapter lies on how this main participant uses non-honorific speech, the intimate and plain levels, in conversational interaction with her interlocutors.

Section 4.1 focuses on the intimate and Section 4.2 on the plain speech level, examining the environments in which these speech levels are used. A summary of the chapter is in Section 4.3.

4.1. The Use of the Intimate Speech Level in Conversation (-a/e)

The intimate speech level takes the form of utterances without the polite speech level sentence ending *-yo* (Sohn, 1999, p. 413). The intimate and the polite speech levels are the most commonly used in modern spoken Korean (Han, 2002, p. 180). The symmetry between two speech levels is commonly recognized in various expressions (Lee & Ramsey, 2000, p. 260). Seo (1984, p. 40) shows that intimate speech level is used by people under the age of 50 in 65% of their conversations compared to the polite speech, which they use in 35% of their conversations. The intimate level is normally used by older people to younger ones or between people with close relationships (Sohn, 1999, p. 414). This section explores the participants' use of the intimate speech level in the

conversations. The number of times participants used of the intimate speech level is shown in Table 4.1. As the table shows, in this informal conversational data, the participants use the intimate speech level very frequently. The data presented in this section demonstrate the use of the intimate speech level (1) in relation to reciprocity; and (2) when talking to oneself.

Table 4.1. Participants' frequency of use of intimate speech levels in conversation

Main participant	Interlocutor			Relationship (Name)	Main participant	Interlocutor	
	Gender	Age	Degree of intimacy (1–10)				
So-Yeong	1	Male	Older	10	So-Yeong's husband (Jeong-Hoon)	135 (99%)	65 (100%)
	2	Female	Same	9	Friend from high school (Min-Hye)	191 (92%)	134 (82%)
	3	Female	Older	7	Senior at university and workplace (Eun-Jeong)	8 (21%)	79 (89%)
	4	Female	Younger	5	Neighbour and wife of SY's husband's colleague (Myung-Joo)	129 (91%)	77 (89%)

4.1.1. Reciprocity of Use

The age of interlocutors is the fundamental element in the choice of Korean speech levels (Hijirida & Sohn, 1986, p. 382). As mentioned, Sohn (1999, p. 414) explains that the intimate speech level is generally used toward same or younger age interlocutors. Byon (2009, p. 1) supports this description of the intimate speech level, claiming that it

is generally used by adults toward children, by parents toward their children of any age, and between close friends. In addition, the intimate speech level conveys a relatively softer and more subjective tone than the honorific speech levels, thus it is used in cases of close relationship (Ihm et al., 2001, p. 207). Brown (2010, p. 37) claims that this speech level is reciprocally used between similar age intimates, because similarity produces solidarity, and solidarity is symmetrical (Sohn, 1986). In this study, So-Yeong reciprocally uses the intimate speech level with her close friend of the same age (Min-Hye), her neighbour of a younger age (Myung-Joo), and her husband of an older age (Jeong-Hoon), but not with her senior (Eun-Jeong).

Excerpt 4.1 is from So-Yeong's conversation with her close friend. So-Yeong has known Min-Hye since they were high-school students. They are the same gender and same age. So-Yeong marked their relationship's intimacy level as 9 out of 10 in the intimacy survey. They are at So-Yeong's house, talking about a famous Korean cartoon.

Excerpt 4.1

- 1→ So-Yeong: *i saithu nay-ka oppa-hanthey lingkhu pat-ase cwu-lkey-(Ø)*
 this site I-NOM brother-LOC link receive-CONN give-CRCMINT
 'I will give you the information of this website, after receiving it
 from my brother (ref. term).'
- 2→ So-Yeong: *ike solsolhakey caymiiss-e.*
 this quite interest-INT
 'This is quite interesting.'
- 3 Min-Hye: *(.) a yayney al-a*
 (.) ah! these people know-INT
 'Ah! (I) know these people.'
- 4→ So-Yeong: *al-a?*
 know-INT

- ‘Do you know them?’
- 5 *kulaykaciko* (3.2) *wuli oppa(ref. term)-ka maynnal ike say sutholi-ka*
 so (3.2) our brother-NOM everyday this new story-NOM
- 6→ *nao-myen aiphaytu-lul ttak cwuketun(Ø).*
 release-SUPP i-Pad-ACC just give-CRCM-**INT**
 ‘So, if a new story is released, my husband usually gives me an i-Pad.’
- 7 *kulem syasyasyasak po-ko hhh*
 so entirely read-CONN (laugh)
 ‘So, I read all the new stories. (laugh)’
- 8 (4.1)
- 9 So-Yeong: *yakkan oppa-ka kuleko nan taumey*
 little brother(ref. term)-NOM that after next
- 10 *nay-ka yeysnal-ey lukhulwucey sako siph-tako kule-myen*
 I-ACC before-DAT Le Creuset buy want-QUOT say-SUPP
- 11 *cincca sul tey epsta-ko*
 really useless not to be-QUOT
- 12 *ha-yss-nuntey:::[icey*
 do-PST-CONN now
 ‘When I said that I would like to buy Leucreuset before, my husband said
 that was really useless, but after that, now...’
- 13→ Min-Hye: *[icey-nun com ihayha-y?*
 [now-TOP little understand-**INT**
 [‘Now, does he understand a little?’
- 14 So-Yeong: *e:::*
yeah:::
 ‘Yeah.’

In lines 1–2, So-Yeong uses the intimate speech level while talking about her interest in the cartoon. At that point, Min-Hye suddenly realizes that she knows the writers. In line

3, Min-Hye says *a* ‘oh’, a change of state token, which indicates that, as the recipient of the previous utterance, she moves from a state of not-knowing to a state of knowing after receiving the information in that utterance (Heritage, 1984). Instead of replying to So-Yeong’s suggestion, Min-Hye then says that she knows these writers, using the same speech level, the intimate speech level, in line 3. This utterance interrupts the current activity, but is still relevant to the current action. Min-Hye’s utterance in line 3 is relevant to the Korean cartoon which So-Yeong is talking about. Then, in line 4, So-Yeong asks Min-Hye a confirmation question with the same predicate form, thus using the intimate speech level. In this speech level, the declarative and interrogative in spoken Korean are morphologically the same (Sohn, 1999, p. 413). The only difference is that the interrogative is generally accompanied by raised intonation at the end of the sentence (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p. 5). This is a simple response to unexpected news. With the same speech level as in lines 1–2, So-Yeong then returns to talk about the Korean cartoon and her husband’s attitude toward this cartoon in lines 5–7. After finishing the first TCU in line 6, So-Yeong continues to talk, producing the second TCU with laughter in line 7. For 4.1 seconds, nobody takes the turn, so So-Yeong selects her turn again in line 9; thus, the current speaker continues the talk. The turn of So-Yeong does not arrive at the end of a TCU in line 12, because the change of her husband’s attitude has not been explained yet, but Min-Hye again interrupts So-Yeong’s turn with the same speech level in line 13. Although overlapping talk is a common interactional phenomenon, because of the Korean word order (Subject-Object-Verb; Kim, 1999, p. 440), Min-Hye’s overlap occurs before So-Yeong talks more about the change of her husband’s attitude. The interruption is quickly resolved by So-Yeong not continuing her turn. After Min-Hye’s question, instead of continuing to talk, So-Yeong simply replies to Min-Hye’s question in line 14, with *e* ‘yeah’, which is generally used toward same age or younger interlocutors (Park, 2005, p. 20). This conversation between So-Yeong

and Min-Hye shows these same age speakers reciprocally using the same speech level during each other's talk.

Similarly, So-Yeong mostly uses the intimate speech level (91%) toward her younger interlocutor (see Table 4.1), her neighbour (Myung-Joo), with whom So-Yeong marked her intimacy level as 5 out of 10. Myung-Joo also mainly uses the intimate speech level in this conversation (89%; Table 4.1). Excerpt 4.2 is drawn from the conversation between So-Yeong and Myung-Joo, in which they are discussing So-Yeong's lunch.

Excerpt 4.2

- 1→ Myung-Joo: *cemsim mwe meke-ss-e?*
 lunch what eat-PST-**INT**
 'What did you eat for lunch?'
- 2→ *>an meke-ss-ci(∅),<*
 NEG eat-PST-CRCM-**INT**
 'Didn't you eat lunch?'
- 3→ So-Yeong: *ani meke-ss-e*
 no eat-PST-**INT**
 'Yes, I did.'
- 4 Myung-Joo: *mwe?*
 what
 'What (did you eat)?'
- 5→ So-Yeong: *cemsim ku::: kuntey cemsim ppang-ulo meke-ss-e; ku:: (2.8)*
 lunch the by the way lunch bread-INS eat-PST-**INT** the
 'Lunch...by the way I ate bread for my lunch, and...'
- 6→ *ppang-hako saylletu-ka isse-ss-ketun(∅)::: (.) saylletu-hako:::*
 bread-COM salad-NOM be-PST-CRCM-**INT** salad-COM
 'There was bread and salad. With salad...'

Reciprocal use of the intimate speech level is a general feature of the conversation between So-Yeong and Myung-Joo, as shown in Table 4.1. In line 1, with the intimate speech level, Myung-Joo asks a direct question about whether So-Yeong has eaten lunch or not. Indirectness is typically used to indicate politeness in Korea (Byon, 2006, p. 247), whereas direct questions are often considered to be rude, especially when asked by a younger speaker toward an older one (Sohn, 1999, p. 418). However, in close relationships, people often directly ask questions regardless of the interlocutor's age. The end of the question is a possible completion of a TCU, that is, there is a possibility of a change of speaker at this point. At the TRP, the current speaker can continue after the initial TCU, if nobody takes the next turn (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 704). However, Myung-Joo takes the next turn to ask a second question with the intimate speech level. She speaks quickly, without waiting for an answer from So-Yeong again in line 2. Change of speaking speed is one strategy to take the next turn before the listener does (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 92). In addition, Myung-Joo could have said *an mekess-e?* 'didn't you eat lunch?' which is a simple question with the intimate speech level and has the same meaning as *an mekess-ci*. Instead, she uses the interrogative suffix *-ci-* in line 2; the use of *-ci* in the interrogative indicates that the speaker is confirming his/her thought or anticipation (NIKL, 2005, p. 882). Instead of simply asking a question, Myung-Joo wants to get So-Yeong's confirmation.

In line 3, So-Yeong uses the intimate speech level to give an answer, and then Myung-Joo directly asks another question, *Mwe?* 'What?'. In Korean conversation, longer sentences are considered to be more polite (Sohn, 1999, p. 418). In addition, toward higher status or older interlocutors, a speaker would be expected to add the *-yo* suffix (polite speech level). Myung-Joo could have asked *Mwe mekesse-yo?* 'What did you

eat?', for a longer sentence in the polite speech level, but instead she uses the short, one-word question. However, So-Yeong simply answers Myung-Joo in detail, also with the intimate speech level, in lines 5–6. In this conversation, So-Yeong and Myung-Joo both use the intimate speech level reciprocally and Myung-Joo takes her turn by changing her speech speed as well as asking direct or short questions to the older So-Yeong.

Similarly, So-Yeong also reciprocally uses the intimate speech level with her husband, who is older (see Table 4.1). Their conversation also includes overlapping of talk and direct questions, as seen in Excerpts 3.3. In addition, in my supportive data, a male speaker (M2) reciprocally uses the intimate speech level with his elder brother (M4), but mainly uses the polite speech level (96%) toward his older male friend (M3). In M2's conversation with his elder brother (M4), interruption and overlap occur, whereas, with his older friend (M3), he mainly listens to M3's talk without interrupting. Interestingly, M2 marked his level of intimacy as 10 out of 10 for both of these interlocutors.

To sum up, So-Yeong reciprocally uses the intimate speech level with the same age, younger, and older interlocutors. Reciprocal use of the intimate speech level regardless of age is possible because of other factors of similarity. Similarity between speakers is subjective, and its basis can vary. For example, they may have gone to the same school, they may live in the same place, or they may be husband and wife or siblings. Similarity produce solidarity, and solidarity is symmetrical (Sohn, 1986). Such symmetry is revealed in the reciprocal use of the intimate speech level by So-Yeong and Min-Hye. They have known each other for over 15 years; they went to high school together, and are close in age, as well as being the same gender. In the case of So-Yeong and Myung-Joo, they are of different ages but they are of the same gender and living in the same apartment building, and their husbands work for the same company. Also, in So-Yeong's

conversation with her husband, they are members of the family, living in the same place, and they went to the same university. These factors contribute to their choice to use reciprocal speech levels in spite of the age differences between them.

4.1.2. Special Use: Talking to Oneself

Speakers should use non-honorific forms or humble forms when describing or talking to themselves. One basic rule of Korean honorifics is ‘making oneself lower’: The speaker cannot use honorific forms for him/herself, but can use humble forms to make him/herself lower (Han, 2002, p. 27). This is different than talk directed toward unspecified people, in which case the speaker can change to the polite speech level even in conversation with a younger interlocutor (see Section 3.2.3 in Chapter 3). In my data, when So-Yeong talks with her senior (Eun-Jeong) in Excerpt 4.3, she normally uses the polite speech level (74%), only sometimes switching into the intimate speech level (21%), although her senior mostly uses the intimate speech level (89%). As Excerpt 4.3 begins, Eun-Jeong is telling a story about how she unexpectedly met her friend, who lives in Philadelphia, on the street.

Excerpt 4.3

- 1 Eun-Jeong: *kekise ttak po-nikkan:::*
 there just see-CRCM
 ‘When I just saw (something) in there,’
- 2→ So-Yeong: *ku oppa-ka isse[-yo?*
 the brother-NOM be-POL
 ‘Was Brother (ref. term) there (in the place)?’
- 3 Eun-Jeong: *[ku minsang-i iss-nun ke-ya;=*
 [the MinSang-NOM be-VP thing-INT
- 4 *=ku oppa tongsayng-i=*

- =the brother younger brother-NOM
 ‘MinSang, Brother’s (ref. term) younger brother was there.’
- 5 So-Yeong: = *hhhh*
 = (laugh)
 = (laugh)
- 6 Eun-Jeong: *o; ha-ko minsang yeph-ul po-nikkan*
 uh do-CONN MinSang next-ACC see-CRCM
- 7 *sangmin oppa-ka [iss-nun ke-ya.*
 SangMin brother-NOM [be-VP thing-INT
 ‘When I said “uh” looking next to MinSang, there was SangMin.’
- 8 So-Yeong: [o:::::
 [oh
 [‘Oh.’
- 9 Eun-Jeong: *hhh kulayse nay-ka sangmin oppa kula-yss-teni*
 (laugh) so I-NOM SangMin brother to say like that-PST-CRCM
- 10 *ku oppa-ka e ya::::: ile-myense*
 the brother-NOM uh hey to say like this-CONN
 (Laugh) ‘So I said SangMin Brother (ref. term) and he also said hey, and...’
- 11 *[kekise nemwu*
 [there very
 ‘In there, I was very....’
- 12→ So-Yeong: [^o*cincca ettehkey [kulehkey manna-ci(Ø)?^o*
 [really how like that meet-CRCM-INT
 ‘How did (you) meet like that?’
- 13 Eun-Jeong: [*nemwu wusky-ese twuli mak wus-un ke-ya*
 [very laugh-RESN two people just laugh-VP thing-INT
 ‘Because the situation was so funny, we just laughed.’

In line 1, Eun-Jeong finishes a subordinate clause and is prolonging a segment of the talk to make the story more interesting. Although the main clause has not appeared yet,

So-Yeong asks a relevant question to her senior with the polite speech level in line 2. So-Yeong's question requires a yes or no answer as an SPP of the question, but within So-Yeong's turn, Eun-Jeong continues her talk with the intimate speech level in line 3 without answering. In lines 3–4, 6–7, and 9–11, with the intimate speech level, Eun-Jeong talks about her coincidental encounter, while So-Yeong simply offers laughter and a response token to show her careful listening attitude in lines 5 and 8. In Korean conversation, the word order (Subject-Object-Verb) produces the hierarchical interaction between the speaker and the recipient; the younger speaker has the pressure to respond (Kim, 1999, p. 440). In lines 9–11, Eun-Jeong continues to talk about her and her friend's reactions when they met. At the end of line 10, Eun-Jeong uses the connective *-myense* 'do, and/while', and so avoids reaching the end of a TCU. However, in the middle of Eun-Jeong's continuing talk in line 11, So-Yeong suddenly interrupts with a quiet voice, switching from the polite speech level to the intimate speech level in line 12. At the time of this utterance, So-Yeong does not seem to be considering the interruption of her senior; interruption is universally considered to be impolite in Korean conversation (Lee, 2009, p. 15), and So-Yeong rarely interrupts Eun-Jeong. The form *-ci* is often used when speakers express their own thoughts in soliloquy-like utterances (NIKL, 2005, p. 882). Her use of the intimate with the form *-ci* and her quiet voice demonstrate that So-Yeong's utterance is an expression of her thought, more directed to herself than to her senior; the form of the utterance shows that she is focused on her own thoughts rather than listening to her senior's talk. Thus, the listener is not her senior, but So-Yeong herself. In Korean, one does not use honorific expressions toward oneself (Ihm et al., 2001, p. 210). Generally, So-Yeong chooses the polite speech level to speak to Eun-Jeong, based on her relationship with her senior, and when she switches into the intimate speech level in this case, it is because the recipient is not in fact her senior, but herself.

Another, similar use of the intimate speech level by So-Yeong occurs in Excerpt 4.4. This excerpt is drawn from the same conversation between So-Yeong and her senior Eun-Jeong.

Excerpt 4.4

- 1 Eun-Jeong: *hhh nay-ka kuntey oppa solcikli po-myen*
 (Laugh) I-NOM by the way brother frankly see-SUPP
- 2 *minsangi-ka hwelssin te(.) kyengkenha-ko:::*
 MinSang-NOM much more reverent-CONN
 (Laugh) ‘I said to Brother (ref. term) that MinSang is much more reverent, frankly speaking.’
- 3 So-Yeong: *hhhh*
 (Laugh)
- 4 Eun-Jeong: *cey-ka moksanim kathta-ko:::*
 that person priest like-QUOT
 ‘(I said) he looks much more like a priest.’
- 5 (3.9)
- 6→ So-Yeong: *onul welyoil-intey way yeki-k ilehkey pokcapha-ci(Ø)?*
 today Monday-CRCM why here-NOM like this crowd-CRCM-**INT**
 ‘Today is Monday, but why is it so crowded here?’
- 7 (4.3)
- 8 Eun-Jeong: *eyhyu:: amthun; kulayse achim-pwuthe nemwu-*
 oh anyway so morning-from very
 ‘Anyway, from this morning, it was very....’

So-Yeong uses the intimate speech level in line 6. The timing of this utterance is interesting. Before and after So-Yeong’s utterance in line 6, there are long pauses of 3.9 seconds and 4.3 seconds. Eun-Jeong is closing her story in this excerpt, but So-Yeong’s

utterance is not connected with Eun-Jeong's story; it is about the traffic jam they can see from the car where the conversation occurred. So-Yeong uses the intimate speech level to express a thought about the traffic jam. Again, although it occurred during a conversation with Eun-Jeong, this particular utterance is directed toward So-Yeong herself. Han (2002) asserts that mixed uses of the polite and the intimate speech level in one conversation rarely occur, and that the use of the intimate speech level is for soliloquy-like utterances (Han, 2002, p. 189). After her utterance in line 6, nobody takes the next turn for 4.3 seconds. Eun-Jeong does not answer and So-Yeong also does not continue to talk, because it is the talk to herself. Instead, after 4.3 seconds, Eun-Jeong uses *amthun* 'anyway' to summarize her story and to change the topic in line 8.

In a conversation in which the polite speech is mainly used, a speaker's change to the intimate speech level indicates that the speaker is more focused on herself. Thus, it is when she is producing soliloquy-like utterances that So-Yeong uses the intimate speech level in the conversation with her senior. Therefore, the recipient of this utterance is not her senior, but So-Yeong herself, and so the use of the intimate speech level is appropriate for this situation.

4.2. The Use of the Plain Speech Level in Conversation (-ta)

This section explores the participants' use of the plain speech level in their conversation in terms of (1) the meaning of plain speech level utterances; (2) the sequential position of the talk in which plain speech level utterances occur; and (3) the age and relationship of interlocutors.

4.2.1. The Meaning of Plain Speech Level Utterances

The participants in my data do not mainly use the plain speech level, as shown in Chapter 2 (Table 2.3). Instead, the plain speech level is purposely used to convey a particular meaning. The plain speech level is one of the non-honorific speech levels. It is used in two distinct ways, in writing for nonspecific listeners and in speech for specific listeners. In written Korean, it is mainly used when the writer is addressing a general audience, as in newspapers or written announcements. Thus, the use of the plain speech level conveys neutral facts (NIKL, 2005, p. 277). In contrast, in spoken Korean, it is used when the speaker is addressing intimates of a similar or younger age (Yeon & Brown, 2011, p. 178). Speakers choose a certain speech level in order to convey their personal meaning (NIKL, 2005, p. 222). According to the literature, there are four situations that call for the use of the plain speech level. First, the plain speech level is used when the speaker wants to boast or emphasize a particular fact (NIKL, 2005, pp. 276–277; Yeon & Brown, 2011, pp. 178–179). Byon (2010, p. 2) states that the speaker uses the plain speech level to draw the listener’s attention to noteworthy information. Second, this speech level is used when speakers deliver their own inner thoughts, such as conjectures, intentions, and decisions, with the suffixes *-kess-* or *-ass-* (NIKL, 2005, pp. 276–277). Third, it occurs in exclamations or soliloquy-like utterances, which are not aimed directly at the listener (Han, 2002, p. 207; Yeon & Brown, 2011, pp. 178–179). Fourth, the plain speech level is used when the speaker delivers a common saying, quotation, or reported speech (Yeon & Brown, 2011, pp. 178–179). The “Korean Language and Literature Data Dictionary” (Lee et al., 2002) provides evidence that the plain speech level is used in indirect quotation in spoken Korean. Thus, the plain speech level is purposely used to convey certain specific meanings, unlike the intimate speech level that is widely used in various conversational situations.

- as it is my house-LOC come-PST-PLN¹⁶ (laugh)
 ‘It came to my house as it is.’
- 7 Min-Hye: *yeysalop-ci anh-un kulim-chey-wa hhhh*
 common-CRCM NEG-NP picture-style-COM (laugh)
 ‘This picture is not common, and...’
- 8 So-Yeong: *yunyengi-nun coha.: yunyengi-ka*
 YunYeong-TOP like YunYengi-NOM
- 9 *cohaha-nun suthail-in kes kath-a.*
 like-NP style-NP thing like-INT
 ‘(I think) Yun-Yeong likes this kind of style.’

In line 1, So-Yeong slowly starts her explanation of the book, beginning with a subordinate clause first to draw Min-Hye’s attention. The form *-i* that appears after Yun-Yeong’s name is used as a suffix when a Korean name ends with a consonant and no term of address (e.g., *-ssi* ‘Mr, Ms, Mrs’; *-enni* ‘sister’; *-sunsaengnim* ‘esteemed teacher’) is added, thus this suffix is at a lower level of politeness than the professional title or kinship terms (Lee & Ramsey, 2000, p. 235). Min-Hye responds in line 2 with the response token *ung* ‘uh-huh’, conveying the meaning that she is listening and waiting for So-Yeong’s next turn. Stories do not simply occur; rather, the story-teller must interactionally deal with the interlocutor to start a story (Sack, 1974). Min-Hye’s response token indicates that she does not know the story about the book, thus the story is legitimate in the conversation. After this response, So-Yeong provides a direct explanation of the book’s presence in her house in lines 3–6. So-Yeong quickly says five sentences using connectives at the end of each. Because of the use of connectives, there is no TRP to allow a change of speaker in these lines. She thus finishes her explanation rapidly, while laughing, and ending with the plain speech level in line 6.

¹⁶ PLA: Plan speech level

- ‘If it was not having dinner together, he did not often go out drinking.’
- 3 Min-Hye: *eee*
 uh-huh
 ‘Uh-huh.’
- 4→ So-Yeong: ↑*onul-i* *hoysik-ilako* *ha-n kes kath-ta* (*hhhhh*)
 today-NOM get.together-QUOT do-NP thing like-**PLA** (laugh)
 ‘It seems that he said there is a get-together today.’
- 5 Min-Hye: *yocum* *hoysik* *cacwu hay-(Ø)?*
 these days get.together often do-**INT**?
 ‘These days, does he often go to such get-togethers?’
- 6 So-Yeong: *il cwuil-ey* *hanpenssik-un kkok* *swul masi-nun kes kath-a*.
 one week-DAT once-TOP certainly alcohol drink-NP thing like-**INT**
 ‘It seems that he certainly goes out drinking at least once a week.’

In lines 1–2, with the intimate speech level, So-Yeong is explaining to Min-Hye that her husband did not previously go out for drinks often. In line 3, Min-Hye only uses a response token, *ee* ‘uh-huh’, to show her understanding of the previous turn and her intention not to take the next turn. So-Yeong suddenly realizes that her husband has said that there is a get-together today, but she is not sure about this information. To convey her uncertainty and conjecture about the information, she uses *-kes kath-ta* ‘it seems that’ with the plain speech level in line 4. This sudden conjecture is not closely connected with the previous turn, which is describing her husband’s habits, but instead is a sudden recalling of a current situation by So-Yeong. Thus, it is not talk mainly directed toward her interlocutor, but the expression of her sudden inner thought. Instead of using the intimate speech level, which is normally used by So-Yeong (92%) and Min-Hye (82%), she uses the plain speech level. In line 4, So-Yeong starts her utterance with a high pitch. Changes in volume, length, and pitch of speech mark surprise, newsworthiness, or unexpectedness (Heritage, 1984). So-Yeong’s use of a high pitch suggests her surprise

So-Yeong is trying to explain about a child's item for drinking milk, but Min-Hye does not understand her. So-Yeong continues to explain the item in lines 1–2. In line 3, finally, Min-Hye says *a* 'oh' to show her understanding. The expression *a* 'oh' is used to register a speaker's receipt of information that changes his/her position (Heritage, 1984). Min-Hye adds *kulay* 'right' after *a* 'oh', speaking in a high pitch, to show that she suddenly understands the meaning of So-Yeong's explanation. Heritage (1984) also notes that features such as volume, length, or pitch are important for marking surprise or importance, or registering the unexpectedness of the news. In line 3, Min-Hye says more to show her change of status from unknowing to knowing. So-Yeong then uses the suffix *-kess-* together with the plain speech level to express her sudden decision to ask the babies' mothers where to buy the item in line 4. This sudden decision is not directly connected with the process of explaining or understanding what the item is, but with So-Yeong's own thought to decide to ask where to purchase the item.

Fourth, the plain speech level is used to express exclamations or soliloquy-like utterances at the moment. In my data, the use of the plain speech level for this meaning occurs in the conversation between close friends (So-Yeong and Min-Hye) and in the conversation between So-Yeong and Myung-Joo, So-Yeong's younger neighbour. Excerpt 4.8 is drawn from the conversation between So-Yeong and Min-Hye. So-Yeong is talking about a robot toy made of paper.

Excerpt 4.8

- 1 So-Yeong: *ikey cong-i-lo ilehkey mantu-nun key isse-ss-e::*
 this paper-INS like this make-NP thing be-PST-INT
 'There was one like that made with paper like this.'
- 2 *kuke-n khu-ko yeyppu-ntey::*

expressing her exclamation as an immediate reaction.

The supportive data shows other participants using the plain speech level to convey meanings in similar ways as So-Yeong and her interlocutors. In addition, the use of the plain speech level for delivering quotations is also found. For example, two male speakers (M2 & M3) talk about the reconstruction of a rural area. M3, explaining how a company approaches the people living in the area, quotes an utterance of an officer of the company by using the plain speech level.

To sum up, speakers use the plain speech level to express four meanings. First, this speech level is used to draw the listener's attention to facts or information. Second, this speech level conveys the speaker's thoughts, such as conjecture, when it occurs with the suffix *-kess-* or an expression like *-kes kathta* 'it seems that'. Third, it shows the speaker's intention or decision when it occurs with the suffix *-kess-* 'will'. Fourth and last, the plain speech level is used to express exclamations or soliloquy-like utterances at the moment. The speakers in my data use the plain speech level to convey these various meanings.

4.2.2. The Sequential Position of the Plain Speech Level

In a conversational interaction, each turn can be considered in terms of the answer to the question '*why that now?*' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Seedhouse, 2004). In other words, there is a reason for why people act, select certain words, and hesitate at a particular moment as they interact with their interlocutors. All verbal or non-verbal activities involve participants' collaborative efforts to contribute to them on a turn-by-turn basis in the conversation (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 727). Topics are also co-constructed in this

way by the participants in the conversational interaction (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 38). Therefore, speakers rely on their co-participants' interpretations of current conversational actions in order to project relevant 'next' contributions (Schegloff, 1986, p. 118). The most common way of raising an issue is to fit it to the prior talk (Schegloff, 2007), but this may not always happen in this way (Button & Casey, 1984).

In the conversations between So-Yeong and her interlocutors, the plain speech level functions to initiate un-important but still relevant topics to convey specific meanings (see Section 4.2.1). This function affects the sequential organization of the verbal exchange. The plain speech level is applied to answers in three sequential positions: facilitating the opening new topic, initiating topic without changing the trajectory of the conversation, and topic initiation that changes the trajectory of the conversation.

First, at the beginning of the topic, the use of the plain speech level plays a role in initiating topic. Excerpt 4.9 is drawn from the conversation between So-Yeong and her senior (Eun-Jeong). This excerpt is the beginning of the recording, so it is considered the beginning of the first topic.

Excerpt 4.9

- 1→ Eun-Jeong: *a:: onul-to toykey himtu-n halwu-yess-ta.*
 ah today-ADD very hard-NP day-PST-**PLA**
 'Ah, today was a very hard day.'
- 2 *toykey (hh) papp-un ilceng-ey::*
 very (hh) busy-NP schedule-DAT
 'I had a busy schedule, and...'
- 3 So-Yeong: ((yawning))
- 4 Eun-Jeong: *wuli kyoho-yey::*

- our church-DAT
‘In our church,’
- 5 So-Yeong: *ung*
uh-huh
‘Uh-huh.’
- 6 Eun-Jeong: *ku::: ku:: wuli ku pheysisupwuk khaphey-eyse yeytnal-ey*
the the our hmm Facebook café-LOC the old day-DAT
- 7 *ku tayhakkyo tayhak-pwu talakpang ku tany-ess-ten salam-tul:::*
the university university-part Talakpang the go-PST-NP people-pl
‘At the Facebook café, the people who were members of the university-part
called “Talakpang”...’
- 8 So-Yeong: *ney.*
yeah
‘Yeah.’
- 9 Eun-Jeong: *tasi moy-ese toykey chinha-key cinay-canha(Ø)=*
again gather-CONN very close-ADV spend-CRCM-INT
‘(We) met together again and are on friendly terms with each other.’

In Excerpt 4.9, Eun-Jeong opens the conversation with the plain speech level to talk about her hard day in line 1, although Eun-Jeong otherwise mainly uses the intimate speech level (89%) in her talk with So-Yeong. Next, in line 2, Eun-Jeong adds a reason (her busy schedule) after arriving at the TRP of line 1. Although a predicate has already occurred at the end of line 1, So-Yeong only yawns, without responding to her senior’s utterance even while Eun-Jeong adds the reason in line 2. In line 4, Eun-Jeong starts a new story about her church’s café on Facebook. This story covers three-fourths of the whole recorded conversation between So-Yeong and Eun-Jeong; that is, its recount is the main action of their conversation. In line 4, Eun-Jeong only produces a prepositional phrase, which means the talk has not reached a TRP yet, but So-Yeong responds with a

response token, *ung* ‘uh-huh’ (line 5). This delivers a message to the previous speaker to continue to talk, passing up So-Yeong’s full turn. So, Eun-Jeong continues to tell the story in line 6. Storytellers often have to deal with the interactional problems associated with placing a story in conversation, and how the stories come to be told is an important interactional issue (Sacks, 1974).

Eun-Jeong’s utterance with the plain speech level in line 1 is not closely connected with the main action (storytelling) of this conversation, but expresses or emphasizes the fact of Eun-Jeong’s hard day and functions as a story preface to start the new topic. Stories are usually preceded by pre-telling; story preface (Sacks, 1992). A story preface deals with the tellability of a story (Sacks, 1974) and the plain speech level is used as story preface. It could have been the FPP at the beginning of the topic, if So-Yeong had responded more actively, but she did not. Eun-Jeong’s utterance in line 1 makes the opening of the conversation before starting the main topic. Then, Eun-Jeong moves on, starting with a prepositional phrase first in line 4 to reconfirm the tellability. When So-Yeong provides a response token in line 5, she shows her readiness to hear Eun-Jeong’s story, and Eun-Jeong starts telling the story in earnest from line 6.

Second, in the middle of the conversation, the plain speech level plays a role in additional utterances which are relevant to the conversation’s main action, but not considerably connected to it. Thus, the speakers return to the main topic after the utterance with the plain speech level. While this use is similar to the first use described above, the location is different; the former occurs at the beginning of the topic¹⁷, whereas the latter occurs in the middle of the talk. The former initiates a new topic or facilitates starting a talk’s main action and the latter is used for additional utterances that

¹⁷ The talk is recorded at beginning of the recording, so it is considered the beginning of the first topic.

- ‘My mother also looks through everything, even drawers.’
- 10 So-Yeong: *ceyl mwuncey-ka ospang-ilamyense:::*
 most problem-NOM clothing room-QUOT
 ‘(She always said) the biggest problem is the dressing room.’
- 11 Min-Hye: *ung*
 uh-huh
 ‘Uh-huh’
- 12 So-Yeong: *iltan kyewul-os-un cwungkan-ey mathky-ekaci-ko, (.)*
 once winter-clothes-TOP middle-DAT leave-CRCM-CONN
 ‘First, I will take the winter clothes to a laundry, and...’
- 13 Min-Hye: *ung*
 uh-huh
 ‘Uh-huh’
- 14 So-Yeong: *iltan os-i an po-i-myen tway(Ø) (hhh)*
 once clothes-NOM NEG see-PASS-CRCM become-INT
 ‘First, it is okay to hide clothes.’

So-Yeong and Min-Hye are talking about the cleaning of So-Yeong’s house, because of So-Yeong’s mother’s visit. In lines 2, 4, 5, and 6, So-Yeong and Min-Hye reciprocally use the intimate speech level, which is the level used the most by So-Yeong (92%) and Min-Hye (82%) in this conversation. In line 8, So-Yeong explains why she has to clean the house very well. She has only begun her turn, with the subject (*emma-ka* ‘mother’), and an adverb (*nul* ‘always’), when Min-Hye interrupts So-Yeong’s talk with an utterance in the plain speech level in line 9. This utterance is both related to the cleanliness of So-Yeong’s house and also So-Yeong’s explanation in line 8. Min-Hye describes how her own mother’s behaviour is similar to So-Yeong’s mother’s behaviour. This utterance with the plain speech level, which is not directly connected with the current action of So-Yeong’s explanation, is like an aside. That is, this utterance is about a fact that the speaker suddenly comes up with, and the speaker does not expect to get a

response. Thus, So-Yeong continues to talk without responding to Min-Hye's utterance (lines 10, 12, 14) and Min-Hye also produces response tokens (lines 11, 13) to So-Yeong's explanation without expecting to get a reply from So-Yeong. This extract shows how the plain speech level can be used as an aside, after which the two speakers return to their original action.

The third sequential function of the plain speech level also occurs when it is used in the midst of the conversational interaction, but in this case, the utterance in the plain speech level changes trajectory of the talk. Excerpt 4.11 is from the conversation between close friends So-Yeong and Min-Hye. This excerpt is the expanded conversation that includes Excerpt 4.7.

Excerpt 4.11

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---|
| 1 | So-Yeong: | <i>ike soncapi kathun ke iss-tentey</i>
this handle like thing be-CRCM
'There is a handle-like part, and...' |
| 2 | Min-Hye: | <i>mwe?</i>
what
'Pardon?' |
| 3 | So-Yeong: | <i>wuyu::: ike kakwuyu</i>
milk this milkbox
'at this milk box...' |
| 4 | Min-Hye: | <i>ike-l::: kkiwu-nun[::: soncapi-ka iss-nun ke-y-a?]</i>
this-ACC insert-NP handle-NOM be-NP thing-CRCM-INT?
'Do you mean there is handle to insert?' |
| 5 | So-Yeong: | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; margin-bottom: 5px;"> [e [e eee </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; margin-bottom: 5px;"> [yeah [yeah right </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> 'Yeah.' 'Yeah, that's right.' </div> |
| 6 | | <i>kuke iss-tela-(Ø)</i> |

17 Min-Hye: *ee*
 Yeah
 ‘Yeah.’

So-Yeong starts her talk by trying to describe a child’s item for drinking milk in line 1. Min-Hye does not understand what the item is and ask a question with only the interrogative pronoun in line 2. In line 3, So-Yeong continues to explain using only a subordinate conjunction. With the intimate speech level, Min-Hye asks another question to clarify her understanding in line 4. So-Yeong uses response tokens to confirm Min-Hye’s understanding in line 5. As explained earlier in Excerpt 4.7, So-Yeong further explains the item and Min-Hye finally shows her understanding in line 8.

So-Yeong then uses the plain speech level, showing her sudden thought of asking the babies’ mothers about the place to buy the item for drinking milk in line 9. The plain speech level here is used for the expression of her decision, together with the suffix, *-keyss-*. This sudden decision is not directly connected with the process of explaining the item to Min-Hye; rather, it is So-Yeong’s inner thought about her intention and decision to ask where to purchase the item. So, although it is relevant to the main action of this conversation, it is not closely linked to it. This is also an aside. So-Yeong inverts the predicate and the object in line 9, saying more about babies’ mothers, so the end of line 9 is a possible place for a change of speaker, but she starts another utterance about another topic in line 10. Therefore, this utterance is overlapped by Min-Hye’s utterance in line 11. Min-Hye, speaking with the intimate speech level, responds, but in an indirect way, to So-Yeong’s utterance about asking where to buy the item, describing the easiness of finding out where to buy it by searching for it online. So-Yeong is interrupted by Min-Hye in line 10. She changes her tone as she re-starts the story in line

12. With her close friend, she negotiates the position to start her story again by changing her tone. So-Yeong also uses the intimate speech level again, speaking in an animated tone about how mothers end up purchasing the same items, although they use different items at the beginning. The topic is related to the previous one of the child's item for drinking milk, but is slightly different, that is, mothers' tendencies in the purchase of children's items. Therefore, in this excerpt, So-Yeong's use of the plain speech level leads to a topic change.

These excerpts show *why* the plain speech level is used *in that way* at that time. The use of the plain speech level has three sequential positions. At the beginning of the topic, the plain speech level can play a role in facilitating the opening of a new topic, before the talk's main action has begun. In the middle of the talk, the plain speech level is used as an aside which is still relevant to the main action, but not directly connected with it. In this case, after the plain speech level, the talk can return to the original topic or change to another topic.

4.2.3. Age and Relationship of Interlocutors

The plain speech level is more direct than the other speech levels, and the plain speech level is used toward children, childhood friends, and younger siblings (Byon, 2010, p. 2). In my data, including the supportive data, most of the speakers use the plain speech level in their conversations, although the intimate speech level is most frequently used. It is used most often when speaking to an interlocutor of the same age or younger, regardless of the degree of intimacy. Because it is a non-honorific speech level, its use places the speakers in a position of equality (Han, 2002, pp. 206–207). Yeon and Brown (2011, p. 178) confirm that the plain speech level is used as a form of non-honorific

speech toward intimates of similar or younger ages. Thus, people of the same social status often use this speech level with each other, but a speaker would hesitate to use it toward a listener of older age or socially higher status, because its use would imply that their status was equal. Moreover, in the sequential position, as shown above, the plain speech level is used to facilitate to open new topic or when giving an aside, which sometimes can have the effect of changing the current action. It would be socially inappropriate for a younger interlocutor to take control of a conversation in this way; therefore, this speech level is more often used by older speakers toward younger speakers or between same-age interlocutors. According to Yeon and Brown (2011, p. 178), the repeated use of the plain speech level by older speakers to younger hearers is more appropriate than by younger speakers to older hearers, because this speech level is considered to be less honorific than the intimate speech level.

Table 4.2 shows participants' frequency of use of plain speech levels. In Table 4.2, So-Yeong only uses the plain speech level once toward each of her older interlocutors, her husband (1%) and her senior (2.5%), and she uses it relatively more often toward her friend (8%) and her younger neighbour (9%). Similarly, So-Yeong's friend uses the plain speech level relatively often (18%) to So-Yeong, as does her senior (9%), but her younger neighbour (Myung-Joo) rarely uses the plain speech level toward So-Yeong (4%). This shows that age is a more important factor than the degree of intimacy in the use of the plain speech level. For example, So-Yeong only uses the plain speech level once (1%) to her husband, who is the closest to So-Yeong, but she uses it several times (9%) toward her younger interlocutor (Myung-Joo), who is the least close to her.

Table 4.2. Participants' frequency of use of plain speech levels in conversation

Main participant	Interlocutor			Relationship (Name)	Main participant	Interlocutor	
	Gender	Age	Degree of intimacy (1–10)				
So-Yeong	1	Male	Older	10	So-Yeong's husband (Jeong-Hoon)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)
	2	Female	Same	9	Friend from high school (Min-Hye)	16 (8%)	29 (18%)
	3	Female	Older	7	Senior at university and workplace (Eun-Jeong)	1 (2.5%)	8 (9%)
	4	Female	Younger	5	Neighbour and wife of SY's husband's colleague (Myung-Joo)	13 (9%)	4 (4%)

Although So-Yeong uses the plain speech level at a similar frequency in her conversation with her two older interlocutors, the conversational interactions differ. Excerpt 4.12 is drawn from the conversation between So-Yeong and her husband, Jeong-Hoon. This is the only time she uses the plain speech level when talking to him. As explained, So-Yeong marked her intimacy with her husband as 10 out of 10 in the intimacy survey.

Excerpt 4.12

- 1 Jeong-Hoon: *pheyisupwuk mwe-ka UI-ka com isang-hay*
 Facebook what-NOM UI-NOM little strange-INT
 'The UI of Facebook is a little strange.'
- 2 So-Yeong: *kuliko:: kuletaka po-myen ettel ttayn po-myen:::*
 and so look-SUPP certain time look-SUPP
 'And, sometimes or at a certain time'

- 3 Jeong-Hoon: *ung*
uh-huh
'Uh-huh.'
- 4 So-Yeong: *ikey, kongthongcek-ulo a-nun salam-i iss-nuntey*
this common-INS know-NP people-NOM be-CRCM
'There is someone whom I and someone else both know, but'
- 5 *na-nun i salam-kwa chinpwun-ul ssah-ko*
I-TOP this people-COM friendship-ACC relationship-CONN
- 6 *siphci anh-nuntey kyeysook ku salam-ey tayhan cengpo-to*
want don't-CRCM continuously the people-GEN about information-ADD
- 7→ *alkey toynun kyengwu-ka iss-ta;*
know become case-NOM be-**PLA**
'I don't want to have a friendship with this person, but the situation is
such that I learn information about the person continuously.'
- 8 Jeong-Hoon: *ung*
yeah
'Yeah.'
- 9 So-Yeong: *na-nun pheysisupwuk-uy kacang napp-un cem-i (hhh)*
I-TOP Facebook-GEN most bad-NP point-NOM (laugh)
- 10 *nay-ka wenhaci anh-tun cohaha-tun kwankyeymang-ul*
I-NOM want NEG-CRCM like-CRCM relationship-ACC
- 11 *nemwu nelphye cwunta-nuntey(hhh) iss-nun kes kath-a*
very wide give-CRCM (laugh)be-NP thing like-INT
'I think that the worst thing about Facebook is that whether I want to or not,
it widens the set of my relationships.'

Before this conversation, they have been talking about Facebook and both speakers freely express their opinions. At the beginning, Jeong-Hoon evaluates Facebook with the intimate speech level in line 1. So-Yeong does not just listen to Jeong-Hoon's opinion, but actively takes part in the conversation, describing her situation in relation

to Facebook in lines 2 and 4–7. Her utterance is not a response to Jeong-Hoon's previous turn, but an explanation of her own situation. Because So-Yeong finishes line 2 with a subordinate clause, she does not reach a TRP at the end of line 2. Jeong-Hoon offers a minimal response in line 3, not showing an intention to interrupt, but providing the response token *ung* 'uh-huh', which is considered to be a continuer used toward same-age or younger interlocutors. Schegloff (1982) argues that speakers use continuers to show that they understand the talk under way as not completed. So-Yeong thus continues to talk in lines 4–7.

In the whole conversation between So-Yeong and Jeong-Hoon, both of them almost always use the intimate speech level; the use of the intimate speech level is 100% by Jeong-Hoon and 99% by So-Yeong. However, in line 7, So-Yeong produces one utterance in the plain speech level with a rising intonation to explain an unwanted situation when she uses Facebook, instead of asking her husband about UI on Facebook. Here, So-Yeong's use of the plain speech level seems intended to draw the recipient's attention to noteworthy information (Byon, 2010, p. 2), which is an aside. Her rising intonation on the verb is marked. In a Subject-Object-Verb sentence, the verb form's appearance is considered to complete a TCU. At the end of a TCU, the intonation should fall to indicate that the utterance is finished. The rising intonation here therefore has sequential consequences which are quite different from those of the expected falling intonation (Schegloff, 1979, p. 51). Liddicoat (2005) explains that the rising intonation makes the recipient participate in the talk. In lines 4-7, So-Yeong's rising intonation, along with her change in speech level, emphasizes her explanation about the situation to make the recipient participate in the talk. It is not closely relevant to Jeong-Hoon's previous utterance in line 1, about the strangeness of the UI of Facebook. But when Jeong-Hoon simply says *ung* 'yeah' to show his understanding of So-Yeong's previous

turn in line 8, So-Yeong changes the topic and continues her turn in lines 9–11, switching back to the intimate speech level to deliver a new topic, which she almost always uses in the conversation with Jeong-Hoon.

In contrast, Excerpt 4.13 shows a different interactional phenomenon when So-Yeong uses the plain speech level toward her senior, Eun-Jeong. In this segment, Eun-Jeong is expressing her surprise that so many people still live in the village where she grew up. So-Yeong marked her degree of intimacy with her senior as 7 out of 10 in the intimacy survey.

Excerpt 4.13

- 1 Eun-Jeong: *E ta sei-chotunghakkyo tani-ko:::*
 yeah all SeI-primaryschool go-CONN
 ‘Yeah, all of them go to SeI primary school, and...’
- 2 So-Yeong: *w↑a*
 wow
 ‘Wow.’
- 3 Eun-Jeong: *kulen ay-tul-i com myechmyech iss-nun key-a=*
 that child-PL-NOM some several be-VP thing-INT
 ‘There are some children like that.’
- 4 *=wuli:::tongn-ey namcaay-ntey:::ilum-i cwuni-lanun ay-ka iss-e=*
 =we village-DAT boy-CRCM name-NOM Jun-QUOT child-NOM be-INT
 ‘In our village, there is a boy called Jun.’
- 5 *= cwuni-lanun ay-to(.) nay-ka al-kilonun mwucikay-ey sal-ko*
 = Jun-QUOT child-ADD I-NOM know-CRCM rainbow-LOC live-CONN
 ‘As I have known, Jun is also living in a Rainbow apartment, and.’
- 6 *mwe::: kulaysse-ss-ketun(∅)?*
 what like that-PST-CRCM-INT?
 ‘It was like that’

- 7 So-Yeong: °*uung*°(0.5) *ENNI* *ku tongney-to*
 yeah (0.5) sister(add. term) the village-ADD
- 8→ *salam-tul cham an ttena-nun tongney-ta*. =
 people-PL really NEG leave-NP village-**PLA**
 ‘Eun-Jeong, your village is a place people do not leave.’
- 9 Eun-Jeong: = *U↑NG*
 = yeah
 = ‘Yeah.’
- 10 So-Yeong: = *kuc-yo?*
 =to be like-**POL?**
 =‘Isn’t it?’
- 11 Eun-Jeong: *UNG::*
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’
- 12 *kulaykaciko yayki-lul ha-ko isse-ss-nuntey*
 so talk-ACC do-CONN be-PST-CRCM
 ‘So, we talked with each other, and...’
- 13 *nemwu pankapta ile-ko isse-ss-nuntey*
 very glad like this-CONN be-PST-CRCM
 ‘(We said) it is so nice to meet you, and...’

In line 1, Eun-Jeong is talking about the people whose children go to her daughter’s primary school. Eun-Jeong uses the connective to indicate that she has not completed her turn yet in line 1. So-Yeong only shows her surprise, saying *wa* ‘wow’ with a high pitch, rather than taking a full turn in line 2. With the intimate speech level, Eun-Jeong continues to talk in lines 3–6. Within lines 3–6, there are three possible TRPs at the ends of lines 3, 4, and 6, but as soon as she reaches a TRP, Eun-Jeong continues directly to the next turn, pausing only in the middle of a TCU. For example, Eun-Jeong immediately starts her next turn after reaching the TRP in line 4, not giving enough time

for So-Yeong to take the next turn before she begins another TRP in line 5. Therefore, So-Yeong does not take a turn, and only listens to Eun-Jeong's story. Finally, when Eun-Jeong summarizes her previous words in line 6 using the intimate speech level, So-Yeong uses the response token *uung* 'yeah' to show she is listening, and then suddenly elaborates using the plain speech level in lines 7–8. This is her opinion based on the previous talk, but it is not closely connected with the main action (storytelling), topic aside, although the topic is still related to it. Instead of using the polite speech level, So-Yeong uses the plain speech level for this aside. She could use the polite speech level in this place, but the use of the plain speech level elaborates upon Eun-Jeong's story by expressing So-Yeong's soliloquy-like exclamations. So-Yeong's utterance in line 7–8 is a spontaneous expression of her thought about Eun-Jeong's previous talk, an aside. The use of the plain speech level conveys the speaker's surprise in an effective manner (Okamoto, 2011, p. 3983). Han (2002, p. 207) explains that the plain speech level is used in exclamations of inner-thought or soliloquy-like utterances.

Because of So-Yeong's exclamation, Eun-Jeong doesn't need to respond to So-Yeong's utterance and can continue to talk, but in line 9, Eun-Jeong answers loudly to show her strong agreement with So-Yeong's soliloquy-like utterance. Switching back to the polite speech level, the speaker then engages in a process of seeking agreement. So-Yeong interrupts Eun-Jeong's talk by her soliloquy-like exclamations with the plain speech level and wants to confirm her utterance from Eun-Jeong with the polite speech level to be polite. So-Yeong responds again with the tag question, *kucyo?* 'isn't it?' (line 10), and Eun-Jeong again says *ung* 'yeah' (line 11). Then, in lines 12–13, Eun-Jeong returns to her main action (storytelling) and explains more about the story. Thus, after So-Yeong's utterance with the plain speech level, the talk returns to the main action. As this excerpt shows, the plain speech level can be used as an aside. So-Yeong uses the plain

speech level to express her thought about her senior's story, providing an expected reaction without interrupting her senior's talk.

As discussed above, because of the meaning of the plain speech level, speakers use it more often toward younger than toward older people. One of the meanings of the plain speech level is the expression of the speaker's immediate inner thought based on the given information at the moment. Politeness is closely correlated with linguistic indirectness, and linguistic indirectness is an important strategy to express politeness in Korean (Byon, 2006, p. 247; Sohn, 1986). Speakers try to show politeness to listeners of higher social status in various social contexts (Cook, 2006, p. 286). For this reason, speakers do not usually directly express their thoughts when they are speaking to higher-status people. In my data, the use of the plain speech level to express the speaker's exclamation of immediate inner thought only occurs in the conversation between close friends (So-Yeong and Min-Hye) and by an older person toward a younger person in the conversation between So-Yeong and Myung-Joo. Table 4.3 shows examples of the use of the plain speech level to express the speaker's immediate inner thought.

Table 4.3. Examples of plain speech level as an assessment

Conversation			Examples
	Speaker	Listener	
1	So-Yeong	Husband (Jeong-Hoon)	.
2	Min-Hye	Close friends (So-Yeong)	<i>um... masiss-ta</i> (Um... It is delicious.) <i>tahayngi-ta</i> (It is a good thing!) <i>cohkeyss-ta</i> (It is good.) <i>pissa-ta</i> (It's expensive!) <i>a cip coh-ta</i> (Ah... This house is good!)

3	So-Yeong	Senior (Eun-Jeong)	.
4	So-Yeong	Younger neighbour (Myung-Joo)	<i>masiss-ta</i> (It's delicious.)
	Myung-Joo	Older neighbour (So-Yeong)	<i>paypwulu-ta</i> (I am full.)

As shown in Table 4.3, all the utterances are like expressions of assessment of the speakers. Such expressions with the plain speech level do not occur in speech directed toward the older interlocutors (Jeong-Hoon or Eun-Jeong). The speakers hesitate to express their direct thoughts to their older listeners regardless of their degree of intimacy.

To sum up, its sequential position, such as in asides, interacts with age and degree of intimacy to limit the use of the plain speech level. This level is rarely used toward older listeners. In my data, when So-Yeong did use the plain speech level toward her older interlocutors, her use of it differed depending on the level of intimacy: So-Yeong uses the plain speech level toward her husband to participate actively in the conversation; she also changes her intonation to emphasize her explanation, leading to a change of topic after the plain speech level. In contrast, in the conversation with her senior colleague, So-Yeong does not interrupt Eun-Jeong's storytelling, mainly producing response tokens. Her single use of the plain speech level is to express her surprise as a way of elaborating on Eun-Jeong's story by providing an emotional response; thus, this use of the plain speech level does not initiate topic change. Moreover, when used for assessment, the plain speech level occurs more often between people of similar social status such as close friends, or toward younger persons.

4.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter showed how one speaker uses non-honorific speech levels (intimate and plain speech levels) with her interlocutors in conversational interactions and how various social factors play a role in her speech level choices. In the data reviewed, the intimate speech level is the most commonly used speech level in my data. The speakers reciprocally use this speech level regardless of age, especially when they share similarities such as living in the same place, having gone to the same school, or same family member. Moreover, even in a situation in which the polite speech level is mainly used, a speaker sometimes changes to the intimate speech level when she focuses on herself.

The plain speech level is used less in conversation. When the plain speech level is used in the conversation, it has various meanings. The plain speech level is used to draw the recipient's attention to facts or information. In addition, speakers use this speech level to convey their thoughts, and it may express conjecture, intention, or decision, in combination with a suffix such as *-kess-* or an expression like *-kes kathta* 'it seems that'. Speakers also make exclamations or soliloquy-like utterances using this speech level.

These meanings are conveyed in the various sequential positions of the plain speech level. At the beginning of the talk, the plain speech level functions as a facilitator to open the conversation before starting the main topic. In the middle of the talk, this speech level is used for asides that are still relevant to the main topic, but not particularly important. The topic can return to the original topic or change to another topic after the plain speech level utterance.

Younger speakers in a conversation rarely use the plain speech level toward older interlocutors because, first, the plain speech level is categorized as non-honorific. Second, as mentioned, the sequential structure affects the use of the plain speech level by younger speakers. That is, the plain speech level functions as an aside, which sometimes can change the current trajectory. Younger speakers usually do not want to interrupt the older speaker's current action. However, when younger speakers do use this speech level toward older interlocutors, their use is different depending on the degree of intimacy: With an older intimate, the use of the plain speech level can change the current trajectory, whereas with an older non-intimate, this speech level is used to elaborate the talk, but not to change its trajectory. However, as an assessment, the plain speech level is more often used between people of similar social status.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

5.0. Introduction

Korean honorifics are one of the important resources for expressing linguistic politeness in Korean. Honorifics, including speech levels, are clearly related to speakers' social relationships. The choice of forms varies depending on social relationships and how the participants wish to show those relationships. For example, although speakers mainly use a certain speech level in a given speech situation, they sometimes switch among the levels within a single interaction. However, the diversity of speech level usage is not fully explained in current textbooks and teaching materials. Moreover, very little research focuses on the actual use of Korean speech levels based on data of daily conversation. This thesis explored the use of speech levels in Korean conversation through a case study that focused in detail on how one speaker uses and changes speech levels during naturally occurring conversation and how that usage is influenced by gender, age, and degree of intimacy of the interlocutors. The thesis initially quantitatively analyzed one speaker's general use of speech levels in conversation with her interlocutors, and then used a CA methodological framework to qualitatively show the various ways in which one speaker uses and changes speech levels within conversational contexts.

This chapter summarizes the main findings of the previous chapters (5.1) and discusses the study's implications for Korean language pedagogy (5.2). It ends by explaining the limitations of the study and suggesting directions for future research on Korean speech levels (5.3).

5.1. Summary of Findings

The findings of this thesis fall into three categories. First, the case study gave insight into the details of the use of Korean speech levels by one speaker. Conversations by different speakers cannot be compared with each other, because one speaker's strategies and understanding of the use of speech levels are not the same as those of others. Thus, this case study, by investigating one speaker's strategies and understanding of conceptualized norms for using speech levels, showed how the speaker used speech levels to index various social factors depending on both the social factors and the speech contexts.

Second, the analysis showed that one speaker uses a range of speech levels. The main participant used a single speech level with her interlocutors most of the time (over 74%), but changed speech levels at relatively low rates, from 1% to 21%. For example, the main participant tended to use the polite speech level with her female senior, but even within that conversation, she changed speech levels. She would use the deferential, the intimate, or even the plain speech level in conversations to achieve specific goals of communicative interactions. The case study's illustration of one speaker's use of different speech levels at various rates in conversations in relation with social factors of gender, age, and degree of intimacy partially agreed with textbook explanations of the mixed use of speech levels. However, the case study also made it clear that textbook explanations are simplistic and ambiguous. Textbooks' tendency to introduce only honorific speech levels does not properly reflect real-life interactions. Thus, this study supports previous research that argues that the lack of detailed and appropriate teaching materials contributes to learners' difficulties in acquiring the use of speech levels (Brown, 2010; Byon, 2000; Choo, 1999).

Third, the thesis provided a detailed description of how the main speaker's choice of speech levels was influenced by context. For example, in the conversation where she mainly used the polite speech level, she switched to the deferential speech level to convey a message of appreciation to her senior for driving her home. At the same time, she changed the speed of her talk, which made the deferential speech level sound less formal as well as emphasizing her appreciation.

In addition, the main participant employed social deixis in different ways in distinct contexts, with her choices influenced by the relationship between age and intimacy. She non-reciprocally used the polite speech level toward her female senior, with whom she ranked her intimacy as 7 out of 10, but she never used the polite level toward her husband, with whom she ranked her intimacy as 10 out of 10. Further, the main speaker rarely produced overlaps and interruptions while using mainly the polite speech level (74%) with her senior, but frequently overlapped with or interrupted her husband, while using the (non-honorific) intimate speech level (99%). This finding supports Yoo's (1994) suggestion that a speaker's intention to balance between power and solidarity is reflected in speech levels. For example, for the main participant, age (power) was indexed in her choice to use the polite speech level with her senior, whereas intimacy (solidarity) was indexed in her use of the intimate speech level with her husband.

The data also demonstrate how speakers strategically changed to the polite speech level when the intimate speech level was otherwise the main choice. Speakers switched to the polite level to avoid rudeness in conversation with an older interlocutor, sometimes strategically accompanying that switch with certain terms of address to show closeness with the interlocutor. The switch from intimate to polite (i.e., from a non-honorific to an honorific level) indicates the higher status of the older interlocutor (Sohn, 1999). At the

same time, the use of kinship terms as terms of address make a recipient feel like a member of the speaker's family; thus, speakers can use such terms to maintain an intimate feeling in a conversation (Sohn, 2010, p. 118) even while switching to a more formal speech level.

A switch from the intimate to the polite speech level occurred in another situation, when, in conversation with a younger interlocutor, the orientation of the speaker's talk switched from her actual interlocutor to a group of unspecified people. This example resonates with Yoo's (1994, p. 302) explanation that the main factor controlling the relationship between a speaker and unspecified listeners is power: in this case, the speaker's change to an honorific speech level indexed the greater power that a group has over a single individual.

Switching in the other direction, from the (honorific) polite speech level to the (non-honorific) intimate speech level, also occurred in the data. The main speaker, while mainly using the polite speech level in conversation with her senior, produced an utterance in the intimate level. In Korean, people do not use honorific expressions for themselves (Ihm et al., 2001, p. 210). Thus, she switched to the intimate speech level to express her surprise, indicating that she was more focused on herself in that specific speech situation; the recipient at the moment was not her older interlocutor, but herself.

Although the plain speech level was used by most participants in my data, the frequency of its use was low: between 1% and 18%. The usage of the plain speech level in my data supports the claims of previous research (e.g., Byon, 2010; Han 2002; Yeon & Brown, 2011) that this speech level is strategically used to convey particular meanings: (1) describing/explaining information to draw the listener's attention; (2) conveying the

speaker's conjecture, when used in combination with the suffix *-kess-* or expressions like *-kes kathta* 'it seems that'; (3) conveying the speaker's decision, again with the suffix *-kess-*; (4) making exclamations or soliloquy-like utterances. These data also revealed that the use of the plain speech level has three sequential locations. At the beginning of talk, the plain speech level can facilitate the opening of a new topic, before the talk's main action has begun. In the middle of talk, this speech level can be used as an aside that is still relevant to the main topic but not directly connected with it; the talk can then return to the original topic or change to another topic after the utterance with the plain speech level.

In terms of social relationships, speakers in these data did not often use the plain speech level toward older recipients. This tendency can be explained by, first, the plain speech level being non-honorific (Han, 2002, pp. 206–207), and, second, the effect of opening new topics or making asides, which may be a change of the current action; that is, taking control of the conversation, which is not socially appropriate for younger interlocutors. Nevertheless, according to these data, speakers do use the plain speech level toward older interlocutors on occasion. The main speaker's rare use of it (1–2.5%) showed different features when directed to an older person with whom she was very intimate (husband) and to an older person with whom she was less intimate (her senior). With her husband, she used the plain speech level to emphasize a story and lead to a topic change. With her senior, she used this speech level to provide an emotional response to contribute to the senior's story-telling without changing the trajectory of talk. In general, in this data, plain speech level expressions of emotional inner thoughts tended to be directed more often toward same age or younger interlocutors.

5.2. Implications for Language Pedagogy

The analysis in this thesis has important implications for the understanding of Korean politeness in general, and of the use of Korean speech levels in daily conversation in particular. It also has methodological implications for Korean language pedagogy.

First, Korean language textbooks could be better designed to help language learners understand the use and the choice of speech levels. Ur (1991, p. 184) claims that textbooks provide clear frameworks for structuring language learning and supporting the progress of learning. However, textbooks often do not reflect linguistic and interactional features that are present in naturally occurring conversation (Cook, 2008, pp. 185–186). For example, textbooks mainly introduce only the honorific speech levels (the deferential and polite) as markers of politeness. However, politeness is not dependent only on the use of the honorific speech levels. In addition, many other important elements of politeness such as the use of non-verbal actions or overlapping talk are not fully explained in textbooks.

The communicative language teaching approach emphasizes the importance of authentic teaching materials (Bardovi-Harling et al., 1991; Wong, 2002). Authentic conversations can provide meaningful exposure to language as it is used in context, and illustrate target structures in context (Ellis, 1999, p. 68). Authentic data in textbooks can motivate learners, prepare them for real-world interaction, and provide cultural information (Cook, 2008, p. 186). For these reasons, textbooks should reflect the actual use of speech levels and the contexts of their use. For example, textbooks could provide authentic dialogues that show the mixing of speech levels found in this thesis. In addition to explaining grammatical meanings of speech levels, textbooks could discuss

social factors, speech situations, interactional phenomena, and the purpose of changing among speech levels. If textbooks included this kind of information, Korean language learners would be exposed to the idea of using speech levels in various speech contexts and with various people in order to achieve communicative goals in given situations.

Second, teachers can design their teaching of speech levels to better reflect real-life interaction if they are aware of how contexts and social factors affect speech level choice, as discussed in this thesis. Instead of limiting their explications to the grammatical and conventionalized meanings of each speech level, teachers could use authentic conversational data to demonstrate how speakers mainly use certain speech levels within speech situations, but sometimes change to other speech levels to achieve communicative goals. In addition, social deixis in the use of speech levels can be introduced in terms of gender, age, and degree of intimacy. For example, teachers can illustrate how age and gender may have less effect on speech level choices in close relationships, while in more distant relationships speakers can use a greater variety of speech levels to show politeness, as shown in the thesis. Enabling students to understand social deixis as a factor in the use of speech levels could increase their pragmatic understanding, and authentic data could provide a valuable tool for teachers to introduce how to use speech levels.

Another example is that teachers can lead students to compare two languages in order to understand socio-pragmatic behavior in the use of speech levels in various contexts (Appendix 4). Such activities can provide information on how speech levels are chosen to build up contexts and are changed to convey certain messages, as well as on the interactional structures in which speech levels are used in various contextual situations. In addition, by changing roles between initiators and recipients in role plays, students

can develop their skills for speaking with and responding to interlocutors in given speech situations. Using authentic data in such a way, teachers can guide students to develop the ability to understand the use of speech levels in various contexts in activities that reveal the diverse nature of speech levels.

Third, Korean language learners should have access to materials to facilitate their understanding of the varying uses of speech levels in conversational interactions. One difficulty for Korean language learners is to understand the purpose of changing speech levels, because they do not learn about the change of speech levels in the classroom (Kang, 2005, p. 83). Moreover, current textbooks do not fully explain the choice of speech levels in detail (Yoon, 2004, p. 193). This thesis provides examples of the use and the change of speech levels in daily interactions by highlighting one speaker's different uses of speech levels depending on various interlocutors and speech contexts. In addition, the thesis focuses on one case study, applying a CA methodology to examine how one speaker's interactions are constructed with interlocutors in terms of gender, age, and degree of intimacy. CA can provide a framework to show how people may respond to people in different contexts (Wang & Rendle-Short, 2013, p. 130). Thus, the analysis in this thesis makes available examples of the use of speech levels in natural conversation, which could help Korean language learners to reflect on their own use of speech levels.

5.3. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis presented a detailed analysis of a single case, but by relying on audio recorded data, it ignored visual information. Only verbal elements in the interactions

were considered in the analysis. Audio recording inevitably misses non-verbal interactions such as eye movements, facial expressions, or gestures (Dornyei, 2007, p. 139). In Sohn's (1999, p. 408) discussion of Korean linguistic politeness, he argues that non-verbal behaviour is also important to achieve communicative goals. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to include analysis of non-verbal elements in future research on the use of Korean speech levels in daily conversation.

In addition, this study is limited in the contexts it examines because it is tightly focused on one woman's use of speech levels with her interlocutors in daily conversational interaction and on the effects of gender, age, and degree of intimacy. Future studies could include one speaker's behaviour in more diverse speech contexts and consider a greater variety of social factors. For example, the main participant in this thesis was female, and most of her interlocutors were also female. The use of speech levels by male speakers should also be examined in detail in future research. Further, while this thesis focuses on daily conversation, institutional talk might show different interactional phenomena, for example in non-reciprocal use of polite speech levels or reciprocal use of intimate speech levels by one speaker. Future research on a wider range of social contexts of one speaker would contribute to understanding the use of Korean speech levels as well as Korean language pedagogy.

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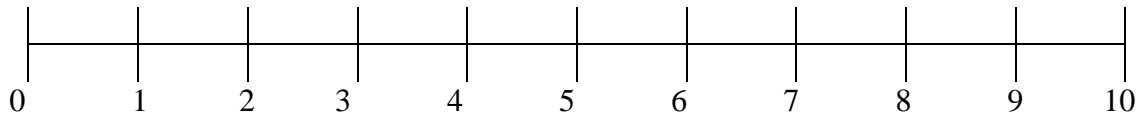
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Appendix 1. Intimacy Survey

Intimacy Survey (Name: _____)

Please rate your degree of intimacy with the person below (0: no intimacy, 10: the closest)

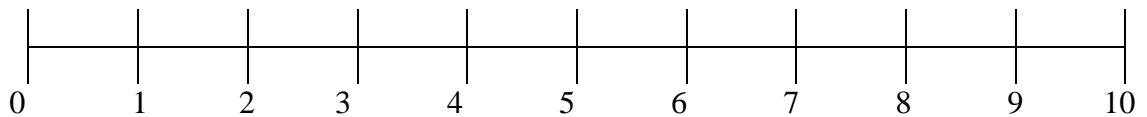
1. Eun-Jeong



Please describe your relationship with this person.

(_____)

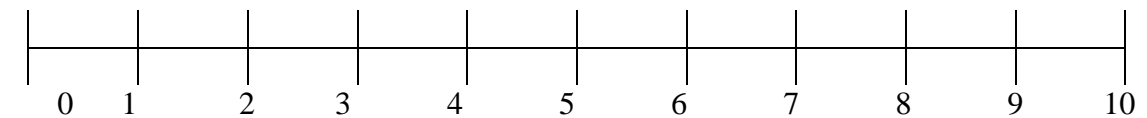
2. Jeong-Hoon



Please describe your relationship with this person.

(_____)

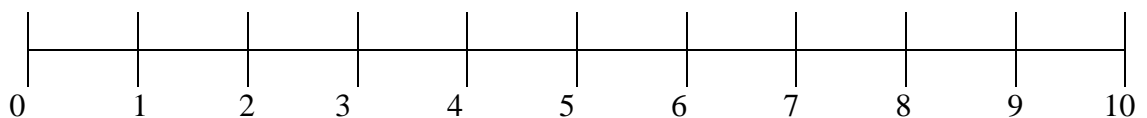
3. Myung-Joo



Please describe your relationship with this person.

(_____)

4. Min-Hye



Please describe your relationship with this person.

(_____)

Appendix 2. Conversation Analysis Transcription Conventions

hello.	falling terminal
hello;	slight fall
hello_	level pitch terminally
,	slight rise
ˊ	rising intonation, weaker than that indicated by a question mark
?	strongly rising terminal
=	latched talk
hel-	talk that is cut off
>hello<	talk is faster than surrounding talk
»hello«	very fast talk
<hello>	talk is slower than surrounding talk
HELLO	talk is louder than surrounding talk
°hello°	talk is quieter than surrounding talk
↓↑	marked falling and rising shifts in pitch
he::llo	an extension of a sound or syllable
hello	emphasis
(1.0)	timed intervals
(.)	a short untimed pause
.hh	audible inhalations
hh	audible exhalations
he he	laughter pulses
[]	overlapping talk
()	uncertainty or transcription doubt
(())	analyst's comments
→	point of interest

Appendix 3. Interlinear Gloss Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative	MOD	Modal
ADD	Additive	NEG	Negative
ADV	Adverb	NOM	Nominative
COM	Comitative	NP	Noun phrase
CONN	Connective	PL	Plural
CRCM	Circumstantial	PST	Past tense
DAT	Dative	QUOT	Quotative
GEN	Genitive	RESN	Reason connective
HON	Honorific suffix	SUPP	Suppositional
INS	Instrumental	TOP	Topic
LOC	Locative particle	VP	Verbal phrase

Appendix 4. Teaching Korean Speech Levels in the Korean Classroom (adapted from Wang & Rendle-Short, 2013, pp. 135–136).

Activity	Teaching Focus	Outcomes
Teacher explains Korean speech levels.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduce students to the general concept of using Korean speech levels. 2. Introduce students to using one main speech level with the interlocutor and changing to other speech levels to achieve communicative goals with the same interlocutor. 3. Introduce students to various uses of the speech levels depending on the various contexts and social factors. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students know grammatical meanings of Korean speech levels. 2. Students understand the use of the speech levels in general and for particular purposes. 3. Students understand contextual meanings of the speech levels.
Teacher shows video recordings with a wide range of conversations between Korean speakers.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Encourage discussion of the relationships between the speakers, and of contexts such as speech timing and situations. 2. Encourage discussion of reasons to choose a certain speech level at a given moment; also examine non-verbal factors and interactional factors. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students develop pragmatic understanding of the use of speech levels.
Students role play a conversation in L1.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ask students to think about the speech situation, the relationship between the two speakers, and the timing of talk for the role play. 2. Ask students to write out the L1 conversation they designed. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students develop their ability to make connections between L1 and target language.
Students role play a conversation in Korean 1.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ask students to write out the Korean conversation they designed, with the relationships, speech situations, and the timing of the talk. 2. Ask students to discuss why they used certain speech levels in that situation and why they changed in the conversation. 3. Ask students to discuss what other non-verbal or interactional factors can affect the use of the speech 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students learn to notice differences between L1 and target language. 2. Students continue to develop the use of Korean speech levels.

	<p>levels in the given situations.</p> <p>4. Ask students to compare the L1 and Korean (L2).</p>	
<p>Students role play a conversation in Korean 2.</p>	<p>1. Ask students to talk with their partners using speech levels, with one student as an initiator and the partner as a recipient.</p> <p>2. Ask students to talk again, giving a different context and social relationship.</p> <p>3. Ask students to change their roles as initiators/recipients.</p> <p>4. Ask students to manage the talk in various social relationships and speech contexts.</p> <p>5. Encourage students to discuss their reflections.</p>	<p>1. Students can recognize the use of Korean speech levels in other contexts and can apply their recognition to analyze conversations.</p> <p>2. Students take responsibility for making a contribution to understanding Korean conversations.</p>
<p>Teacher again shows video recordings with a wide range of conversations between Korean speakers.</p>	<p>1. Encourage students to discuss the social relationships, speech situations, and the reasons to choose certain speech levels.</p>	<p>1. Students increase their ability to understand the use of Korean speech levels.</p>