

Honorifics in the marketplace

A multimodal indexical analysis

Jiyeon Lee and Lucien Brown

Washington University in St. Louis | Monash University

This paper analyzes how vendors and customers in Korean marketplaces use three distinct levels of addressee honorifics: the deferential *-supnita* style, the polite *-yo* style and the so-called *panmal* ‘half speech’ style. The frequencies of these forms to some extent pattern with the relative ages of the participants; for example, vendors are more likely to use *panmal* towards customers who are relatively younger. However, the majority of interactions feature dynamic variation between different styles, which cannot be adequately explained by relative age. Rather, we see that participants use *-supnita* style and *-yo* to index that they are speaking in their prescribed roles as “vendors” or “customers”. Meanwhile, *panmal* was found to index two main forms of social meaning. It was used to mark stages of the interaction that were conversational, playful, or intimate, but also when speakers strategically indexed their authority or power as they tried to take the upper hand in price negotiations. This authoritative use of *panmal* was accompanied by non-verbal behaviors such as large body postures, high chin positions and the withholding of gaze and bodily orientation. The paper contributes towards a growing body of research adopting an indexical approach to the use of honorifics, and demonstrates the importance of including analysis of multimodal features alongside the honorific forms themselves.

Keywords: multimodality, indexicality, honorifics, marketplace, speech-styles, Panmal, Contaymal

1. Introduction

Korean and Japanese have attracted considerable attention in the pragmatics research for their highly developed honorifics systems. These honorifics systems were traditionally analyzed as marking static age-rank relations and having fixed social meanings such as “deference” and “respect” (Hwang 1990). However, recent

research has shown that the use of honorifics is in fact dynamic and varied, and that speakers often switch between multiple honorific levels within one speech event. Speakers use honorifics not just to mark deference, but also to foreground their institutional identities (e.g., Cook 2011, 2013; Dunn 2010), demarcate factual speech (Eun and Strauss 2004) and even to be sarcastic (Brown 2013a).

In order to capture the fluidity of honorifics usage, researchers have adopted the notion of indexicality (e.g. Silverstein 2003; Ochs 1993). From this perspective, honorifics are seen as having core underlying meanings or “direct indices” (Ochs 1993), which are broad epistemic and affective stances. These indexical meanings are then enriched into more concrete social meanings when honorifics are used in context. For instance, Brown (2015) claims that the Korean honorific form *-supnita* has the underlying meaning of “formal presentational stance”. When used by expert guests appearing on a TV talk show, this “direct index” translates into contextually produced meanings such as “expertise” and “authority”. However, when the same form is used in casual conversation, it instead might sound distancing, pretentious or theatrical.

Although a number of studies have looked at honorifics from the viewpoint of indexicality, some important limitations remain. First, although there have been a large number of studies on Japanese (e.g. Cook 2011; Geyer 2013), the indexical features of Korean honorifics have been examined to a much lesser extent. Until now, previous research on Korean honorifics and their indexical meanings has focused on the deferential *-supnita* and polite *-yo* honorific forms (e.g. Brown 2015; Lee 2001; Strauss & Eun 2005), and these studies focus has primarily been on standard language in public speech (Brown 2015) and in military language (Lee 2001). The current study addresses the need for investigations into other speech styles, especially across multiple contexts containing mixed styles, and how these patterns of indexicality are used to create social meanings.

Another important limitation of previous research is a tendency to focus almost entirely on analyzing honorific forms in isolation, with only passing attention to other linguistic and paralinguistic forms. Some studies do make fleeting observations about how other verbal and nonverbal cues pattern with variation in honorific levels. For instance, Dunn (1999) notes that verbal stylistic forms frame emotional intensity in Japanese. Cook (2011) for Japanese and Brown (2015) for Korean demonstrate how seating arrangements as well as formal dress work together with honorifics to mark a speaker’s rank, authority or expertise. These multimodal features need to be given more attention, particularly given a wave of recent research showing that honorific and non-honorific speech are acoustically and gesturally distinct in Korean (Winter & Grawunder 2012; Brown & Winter 2019) and Japanese (Sherr-Ziarko 2018). By using a multimodal approach, we can

decipher how these additional paralinguistic elements contribute to the indexing social meanings in an embodied fashion.

The current study addresses the need for indexical research into Korean honorifics that includes multimodal analysis by looking at a type of context not covered in existing indexical studies of Korean honorifics: the marketplace. The context of a marketplace is potentially a fertile environment where one would expect to encounter switching of honorific levels, as both customers and vendors are engaged in rapid-fire exchanges in hope of achieving their transactional goals. In this context, both parties are expected to manipulate their use of honorifics to index their roles as customers and vendors in order to build solidarity, express disdain for undesirable prices, think out loud, or to signal the opening and closing of transactions. Though there have been a few studies on honorific use in sales talk for both Japanese (Okamoto 1998) and Korean (Kim 2006), their focus has been on the use of referent honorifics, and these studies have not adopted the indexical approach. Nonetheless, the studies have found that the use of referent honorifics is dependent on the speakers' evaluation of the social context they are in (Kim 2006; Okamoto 1998), and on their sales tactics. One difficulty in performing a multimodal analysis of marketplace talk is the challenge of collecting authentic video data of such interactions. To overcome this problem, the current paper uses data collected from Korean reality television.

The goals of the paper are twofold. First, the paper aims to demonstrate how Korean vendors and customers make use of three distinct levels of addressee honorifics (or "speech styles") in interactions in the market: the *-supnita* style, the *-yo* style and the so-called *panmal* 'half speech' style. By doing so, we take an in-depth look at how vendors and customers use honorifics strategically to construct personas, index their roles, and achieve their interactional goals. Second, this paper will analyze how the participants in this context co-index their stances through other verbal and paralinguistic means, thus creating a multimodal description of speech style variation in Korean service talk and sales speech.

2. Indexical properties of Korean honorifics

2.1 Overview

Korean has a highly developed system of honorifics, the usage of which is most prototypically associated with the marking of age-rank hierarchies and the expression of social meanings such as respect. The system features both hearer honorifics (i.e. forms that prototypically mark the speaker's relationship with the hearer) and referent honorifics (i.e. forms that mark the speaker's relationship

with sentence referents). In the current paper, we focus on hearer honorifics, which are also commonly referred to as “speech styles”

Korean speech styles consist of verb-final morphemes. Traditional linguistic descriptions (e.g. Lee and Ramsey 2000) recognize six speech styles, as shown in the forms of the verb *eat* in declarative form presented in Table 1:

Table 1. Korean speech style taxonomy

	Examples eat-speech style	
<i>plain style</i> -(n/nun)ta	mek-nunta	<i>Panmal</i> – non-honorific
<i>intimate style</i> -e	mek-e	
<i>familiar style</i> -ney	mek-ney	
<i>semiformal style</i> -so	mek-so	
<i>polite style</i> -yo	mek-e-yo	<i>Contaymal</i> – honorific
<i>deferential style</i> -supnita	mek-supnita	

These traditional linguistic descriptions suggest that Korean speakers recognize six different levels of deference and non-deference. However, the reality in modern Korean is more straightforward. First, the *familiar* and the *semiformal* speech styles are antiquated and only occur in limited social environments among older generations (Park 2012). In addition, the difference between the two non-honorific styles (plain and intimate) is minimal. The plain style may be perceived as more condescending in some contexts (Choo 2006:136; Lee & Ramsey 2000:254). But more typically, the intimate and plain styles are used together, with the latter performing certain discourse pragmatic functions such as marking newly perceived or retrieved information that is noteworthy to the hearer (Lee 1991: 414–419). Most modern speakers of Korean thus maintain a three-way distinction between a mixed plain/intimate style (which is emically referred to as *panmal* ‘lit. half speech’), the polite *-yo* style, and the deferential *-supnita* style. The sections below outline previous claims regarding these three styles, which will form the basis for the analysis that follows.

2.2 The deferential *-supnita* style

The deferential *-supnita* style is one of two honorific styles in Korean, along with the polite *-yo* style. Together, these two styles are referred to in layman discourse as *contaymal* ‘lit. respect speech’.

The traditional description of the *-supnita* form makes three main observations about this form. First, *-supnita* is claimed to be higher than the polite

-*yo* form (e.g. Martin 1992; Lukoff 1982) and thus more suitable for addressing notable status superiors such as one's teacher or workplace superior. Second, the -*supnita* form is seen as a formal speech style (e.g. Suh 1984; Sung 1985), and thus the expected form in prototypical formal scenes such as public speeches and job interviews. Thirdly, the -*supnita* form is assumed to be more masculine and thus used predominantly by males (King and Yeon 2000). These attributed features reflect "emic ways in which Korean speakers rationalize their use of these styles" (Brown 2015, p. 45).

However, more recent studies that have adopted indexical analysis have found that these static attributes cannot account for all of the uses of the deferential speech style since even in formal registers of public speech, speakers frequently shift in and out of the -*supnita* style. Brown (2015) argues that -*supnita* has the underlying indexical meaning of formal presentational stance. In public speech, speakers use this style to mark their speech as occurring in their prescribed onstage role. For instance, doctors appearing on a television talk show will use -*supnita* in utterances where they are speaking in their role as medical professionals and relaying technical healthcare-related information. Through this usage, they create their personas as experts who are in positions of authority, and make their speech sound factual and believable. This persona is not something that they create in isolation, but in direct connection to how they project their relationship with the listener. Jo (2018) notes that -*supnita* is used when the speaker registers the other interactant in their institutional role. Contrary to traditional assumptions, none of these studies of public speech found gender differences (Eun & Strauss 2004; Strauss & Eun 2005; Brown 2015). However, Brown (2015) points out that the belief that -*supnita* is used more by males is connected to gendered assumptions that it should be men who occupy authoritative and formal on-stage roles.

2.3 -*yo*

The other honorific form that constitutes *contaymal* speech is the polite -*yo* style. Traditional descriptions of -*yo* regard it as not fully deferential. In other words, subordinate speakers should not address superiors with this speech style in certain contexts such as the military or in discourse with elder generations. Additionally, -*yo* is characterized as being *informal* and characteristic of more feminine speech (King and Yeon 2000).

This traditional view is challenged by recent studies adopting an indexical perspective. Brown (2015) claims that the underlying indexical meaning of -*yo* is "social distance stance", and notes that -*yo* lacks the presentational qualities of -*supnita*. When used in opposition to *panmal* (plain and intimate styles) in casual

conversation, this underlying stance typically gives rise to meanings related to reserve, reverence and detachment. However, when used in juxtaposition with *-supnita*, the comparative informality of *-yo* in opposition to *-supnita* leads to an association with a relatively casual and affect-laden way of talking, or what Strauss and Eun (2005) describe as a lack of boundaries and a stance of inclusion.

Another important distinction between *-yo* and *-supnita* concerns their syntactic properties. As pointed out by Brown (2015: 46), whereas *-supnita* is a prototypical verbal suffix, *-yo* is described in Korean grammars as an “auxiliary particle”. Unlike *-supnita*, *-yo* can occur after nouns. More importantly for our analysis, it can also occur after verbal suffixes, including interactional particles that mark information status and/or affect. These include *-ci* which marks shared information (Chang 1995) and/or speaker commitment (Lee 1999), *-ney* and *-kwun* which mark newly perceived unassimilated information (Strauss 2005), and *-ketun*, which marks unshared information (Park 1998). The propensity for *-yo* to occur with these interactional particles adds to the impression that *-yo* is a more affect-laden style than *-supnita*.

2.4 *Panmal*

The *panmal* speech style typically consists of a mixture of the plain *-ta* form and intimate *-e*. Like *-supnita*, plain *-ta* is syntactically restricted such that it cannot occur with interactional particles. In spoken discourse, Kim (2010) found that *-ta* is used to indicate that the speaker is announcing new, and noteworthy information to the recipient, particularly when it is accompanied by a high boundary tone.

Panmal exhibits two distinct usage patterns: (1) reciprocal usage, which most typically occurs between intimates of similar age, children and extended family members (Park 2012; Brown 2013c), and (2) non-reciprocal usage, when the speaker is indicating their seniority. Although *panmal* is typically associated with intimacy, this is not necessarily the case in the second pattern. The use of *panmal* when used towards non-intimates outside of certain social circles can be viewed as impolite (Park 2012; Brown 2013c).

There are multiple contextually-derived social functions of *panmal* for building and maintaining intimate relationships. Most notably are its functions to (1) pragmatically reduce the social distance between two interlocutors by creating a less socially restricted atmosphere in order to express interpersonal closeness and solidarity, and (2) to allow speakers to express their affect more directly in discourse (Park 2012; Yoon 2010). In other words, the speaker can also use *panmal* to express criticisms, negative feelings, or complaints (Yoon 2010).

There have been relatively few studies investigating *panmal*'s use within communicative practices (e.g. Kim and Suh 2007; Lee 2000; Park 2012; Yoon 2010). Park (2012) and Kim and Suh (2007) found that teachers in Korean language classrooms use *panmal* speech to reduce social distance with their students. The use of *panmal* renders the teachers' utterances of discipline, heeds of warning, and advice less blunt and commanding by creating a more casual atmosphere (Kim and Suh 2007). Park (2012) found that the teacher's use of *panmal* indicated "the speaker's internal thoughts" and "the speaker's expression of solidarity with listeners".

Use of *panmal* in a public setting was investigated by Lee (2000). By looking at discourse occurring in a television talk show, he found that a guest on the program used *panmal* when joking with the audience. Lee (2000) argues that the use of *panmal*, even in public settings, can be used to shift the context of discourse from a more serious tone to more casual conversation. Similarly, Lee and Yu Cho (2015) found that *panmal* occurred with private talk and banter, even in the midst of public debate. *Panmal* can make conversation more dynamic and fun (Yoon 2015).

2.5 Other verbal and non-verbal features

Korean speech styles exhibit other linguistic and paralinguistic features that demarcate honorific speech (*contaymal*) from non-honorific speech (*panmal*).

Firstly, *contaymal* is distinguished by its strict application of referent honorifics (i.e. honorific forms used to show deference to the sentence referent). This includes the grammaticized honorific markers (e.g. *-si-*, *-kkeyse*), as well as suppletive lexical terms (e.g. using *capswusi-* rather than *mek-* for 'eat'). These forms are used in *contaymal* both when the hearer appears as a sentence referent, and when referring to a third person notable superior. These forms can also be used in *panmal* for referring to third person superiors, although usage tends not to be as strict (Brown 2013c).

Another distinguishing feature of *panmal* and *contaymal* is exhibited through each speech style's backchannel markers, which are phatic expressions signaling the hearer's attention to the speaker. *Contaymal* uses the backchannel markers *ney/yey*, whereas *panmal* uses the markers *ung/e*.

The use of address terms also patterns with the *panmal/contaymal* distinction. Korean speakers display a general tendency to avoid second person pronouns and personal names, and this particularly applies to interactions with age/rank superiors. Instead of names, Korean speakers prefer to use kinship terms (e.g. *enni/nwuna* 'older sister', *oppa/hyeng* 'older brother') and titles (e.g. *kokayknim* 'customer') in conversation (Brown 2013b). Kinship terms tend to feature

more in intimate, casual and non-institutional interactions, whereas titles are the norm in more formal and corporate contexts.

The *panmal/contaymal* distinction is furthermore connected somewhat to more general distinctions between informal and formal register. Formal speech in Korean is characterized by increased wordiness (Winter & Grawunder 2012), and other lexical and morphological changes (Kim & Biber 1994), as well as by avoidance of slang. Kim (2013) furthermore found that dialectal speakers tended to associate the use of dialect with informal interaction, whereas they reported using standard Korean in public speech.

Nonverbal and non-linguistic dimensions of formality also need to be taken into account when describing the features of Korean speech styles. *Contaymal* is phonetically different from *panmal* due to its lower pitch, lower intensity and reduced acoustic variation (Winter & Grawunder 2012). When status inferiors are interacting with superiors, they use distinct nonverbal behaviors such as more erect postures, orienting the body and gaze towards the superior and iconic displays of deference such as bowing and giving and receiving with two hands (Brown & Winter 2019). Meanwhile, status superiors exhibit “power posing” through adopting wide body positions, withholding bodily orientation and gaze at will, and initiating casual behaviors (such as touching the inferior and pointing), which are not reciprocated by the inferior. In contrast, interactions between intimates feature reciprocal usage of casual behaviors, and synchronization of nonverbal behaviors (see Paxton, Brown and Winter 2018).

Finally, those in positions of power may be positioned in more central or prominent positions (such as at the front, or in the middle), and dress in ways that index their superiority. Brown (2015) showed that participants in a Korean talk show with more formal roles tended to stand in the middle of the studio, and dress in formal suits.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data

Data of marketplace interactions were obtained from Korean reality television broadcasts¹ which aired between March 2009 and April 2017. Seventeen clips were

1. The Korean television shows used were: (1) 채널A 관찰카메라, 24시간 chaynelA kwan-chalkhameyla, 24sikan, (2) tvN 예림이네 만물트릭 tvN yeyliminey manmwulthulek, (3) JTBC 최고의 사랑 JTBC choykouy salang, (4) KBS 맘마미아 KBS mammamia, (5) MBN 사노라면 MBN sanolamyen, (6) MBC 사남일녀 MBC sanamilnye, (7) 채널A 아빠 본색 chaynelA appa

used, with a total length of 14 minutes 51 seconds. All interlocutors in the clips are native Korean speakers, and of the 38 interlocutors, 15 of them are Korean celebrities.² Of the 17 analyzed clips, seven take place indoors, and the other ten outdoors. Of the seven indoor clips, one took place in corporate franchises, whereas the other six occur in independent businesses. Among the ten outdoor clips, the interactions occurred in conventional markets (4 clips), flea markets (4 clips), at a truck vendor (1 clip), and a food cart (1 clip). 11 clips were filmed in Seoul, while the other six clips were filmed in provincial towns.

Television data has been used extensively to examine (im)politeness (Bousfield 2008; Culpeper 2005), including honorifics in Korean (Brown 2013a; Brown 2015) and in Japanese (Barke 2010). As pointed out by Brown and Winter (2019) television data is useful for politeness research due to the rich range of (im)politeness-related contexts that it depicts, including conflict and aggression, which is otherwise difficult to capture. Marketplace interactions would be difficult to record in a naturalistic setting due to problems of gaining the consent of vendors and customers without disrupting the interaction. Extracts from reality TV programs provide a viable alternative, since the language is unscripted. Another strength is that the high quality of the filming allows us to witness and analyze paralinguistic features (e.g. gesture, expression). However, as Bousfield (2008) asserts, “such data suffers from the Observer’s Paradox given that a full film crew happens to be present, and recording, during the unfolding of the otherwise ‘everyday’ discourses, activities and utterances...” which can affect the actions of the participants (p.7). However, the ease of access and availability of these clips, and the superior audio and visual quality allow us to select and examine the use of *contaymal* and *panmal* in great detail.

3.2 Analysis

Since relative age is known to be vital in explicating the use of honorifics, we divided the clips into three categories: (1) clips where the customers are older than the vendors (7 clips at 8 minutes 2 seconds), (2) clips where the customers and vendors are of a similar age (5 clips at 2 minutes 32 seconds), and (3) clips where the customers are younger than the vendors (5 clips at 4 minutes 17 seconds).

The clips were transcribed in full. They were then coded for *contaymal* and *panmal* speech styles, and *contaymal* was subcategorized into deferential *-supnita* and polite *-yo*, and the *panmal* plain and intimate forms uttered by (1) vendor(s),

ponsayk, (8) KBS 1박 2일 KBS 1pak 2il, (9) MBC 무한도전 MBC mwuhantocen, (10) MBC 아빠! 어디 가? MBC appa! eti ka?, (11) TV조선 엄마가 뭐길래 TVcosen emmaka mwekillay.

2. “Celebrity” here includes regularly appearing family members of celebrities.

and (2) customer(s). Additionally, we recorded the use of: (1) referent honorifics *-si-* without *-yo* forms, (2) incomplete utterances, (3) *contaymal* backchannel markers *ney/yey*, (4) *panmal* backchannel markers *ung/e*, (5) kinship terms and other address terms, and (6) interjections. This coding was then used to create a quantitative overview of the honorific forms in the three categories of data (older, younger, same age).

Following the creation of the quantitative overview, we then performed a qualitative analysis of the appearance of three styles of speech: deferential *-supnita*, polite *-yo* and *panmal*. We appended notes to the transcripts regarding speech style shifts, contextual factors, and co-occurring non-verbal behaviors, based on Brown and Winter (2019).

4. Data presentation

The data presentation begins with the quantitative overview of the honorific forms occurring in the data, before moving to the qualitative analysis of three levels of speech: deferential *-supnita*, polite *-yo* and non-honorific *panmal*.

4.1 Quantitative overview

The quantitative analysis (Table 2) indicates honorifics usage in marketplace interactions are mixed and dynamic and only partially patterned according to relative age. Overall, the speech style that is used most frequently is non-honorific *panmal* (60% for customers; 49% for vendors). The frequency of *panmal* usage increases when the speaker is the older party. Customers use *panmal* at 76% when they are the older party compared to 35% when they are younger; vendors use *panmal* at 64% when they are older, and 42% when they are younger. However, the fact that speech style usage is not strictly tied to age is shown by the fact that all three speech styles can be found in every interaction type for both vendors and customers, the one exception being that customers never use *-supnita* to older vendors. It is noteworthy that younger vendors use *panmal* towards older customers 42% of the time, which equates to nearly half of all speech style utterances in those clips, while younger customers use *panmal* towards older vendors 35% of the time.

Although vendors frequently used *panmal* speech styles towards customers, they applied other forms to communicate deference. There were 16 utterances where the vendor used the elevated referent honorific *-si-* without the *-yo* form with older customers (see Table 3). Vendors also frequently used kinship terms to older customers (see Table 4). Here, 16 out of the 18 kinship terms were ones for

Table 2. Occurrences of *contaymal* and *panmal* among vendors and customers

Age relationship	Vendor				Customer			
	<i>-supnita</i>	<i>-yo</i>	<i>panmal</i>	Incomplete	<i>-supnita</i>	<i>-yo</i>	<i>panmal</i>	Incomplete
1 Customer older than vendor	9 (8%)	50 (44%)	48 (42%)	7 (6%)	1 (1%)	16 (21%)	57 (76%)	1 (1%)
2 Customer and vendor similar age	2 (11%)	9 (47%)	6 (32%)	2 (11%)	3 (11%)	9 (32%)	16 (57%)	0 (0%)
3 Customer younger than vendor	2 (3%)	21 (30%)	44 (64%)	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	30 (65%)	16 (35%)	0 (0%)
4 Total	13 (6%)	80 (40%)	98 (49%)	11 (5%)	4 (3%)	55 (37%)	89 (60%)	1 (1%)

parents or grandparents (*emma* ‘mom’, *emeni* ‘mother’ or *halmeni* ‘grandmother’). The kinship term used towards younger customers was *enni* ‘older sister of a woman’, which violates the normed usage of this expression since it literally connotes an older party. However, the usage of *enni* as a general term of address for younger females has been previously noted (e.g. Kim 1998). Vendors also used the *contaymal* affirmative marker *ney/yey* at high frequencies interactions with older customers, whereas customers tend to the *panmal ung/e* (Table 5).

Table 3. Occurrences of *panmal* with -si-

	Vendor	Customer
1 Customer older than vendor	16	0
2 Customer and vendor similar age	3	1
3 Customer younger than vendor	0	0
4 Total	19	1

Table 4. Occurrences of kinship terms and other address terms

	Vendor	Customer
1 Customer older than vendor	18	2
2 Customer and vendor similar age	1	1
3 Customer younger than vendor	4	1
4 Total	23	4

Table 5. Occurrences of affirmative markers

		Vendor		Customer	
		<i>ney/yey</i>	<i>ung/e</i>	<i>ney/yey</i>	<i>ung/e</i>
1	Customer older than vendor	18	2	4	19
2	Customer and vendor similar age	1	1	5	2
3	Customer younger than vendor	4	1	3	0
4	Total	23	4	4	19

The quantitative analysis presented in Tables 2–4 shows that age does play a role in the use of *panmal* and *contaymal* usage in sales-speech. However, the analysis also points to anomalies that suggests that there are factors beyond age and status that affect the diverged use of *panmal*, *contaymal*, and kinship terms. The specific examples of divergence and variation will be examined in depth in Section 4.2.

4.2 Qualitative analysis

We now look in detail at usage patterns of the three levels of speech in turn: deferential *-supnita*, polite *-yo* and non-honorific *panmal*.

4.2.1 *-supnita*

The deferential *-supnita* form is used less frequently than the other speech-styles in the marketplace data, with only 17 occurrences in total. Ten of these occurrences were with fixed expressions of greeting, thanking and apologizing.

The *-supnita* form appeared a total of five times in Video 6 (customer older than vendor), making it the clip with the most frequent use of the deferential form. Notably, Video 6 was qualitatively different to the other videos in that it took place within a corporate franchise, namely a concessions stand in a movie theatre in Seoul. All other videos were filmed in independent enterprises or conventional markets.

In this video, an elderly Korean woman dressed in *hanbok*, the mother of the Korean comedian Lee Young-ja, places an order for an Americano and popcorn with a university-aged employee at a movie theater. The elderly customer is unfamiliar with the ordering process and menu items at the theater. She struggles and becomes frustrated with making decisions about the size of items and the flavor of the popcorn, as evinced by her responses in lines 12–13 ('Well, I don't know. Give me whatever.'). Despite recognizing the customer's confusion with the process, the vendor continues to present options, repeat questions and maintain a smiling demeanour. In the following transcription, notes on the nonverbal features accompanying the interaction are on the right.

Example 1. Video 6 (customer older than vendor)

1	Vendor	<p> 감사합니다, 고객님. <i>kamsahapnita, kokayknim.</i> ‘Thank you, respected customer’ </p>	(Vendor smiles while maintaining eye contact with the customer)
2		<p> 주문 도와드리겠습니다. <i>cwumwun towatulikeysssupnita</i> ‘Let me help you with your order.’ </p>	
3	Customer	<p> 이이. <i>ii</i> ‘Yeah’ </p>	(Customer glances at the vendor while holding her hand in the air to signal one, then turning to look at the cameraman to confirm that the order was correct)
4		<p> 아메리카노 뭐 하나 <i>ameylikhano mwe hana</i> ‘One Americano’ </p>	
5		<p> 팝콘 한 잔? <i>phapkhon han can?</i> ‘One cup of popcorn?’ </p>	
6	Vendor	<p> 따뜻한 아메리카노랑 팝콘 하나 맞으 세요? <i>ttattushan ameylikhanolang phapkhon hana macuseyyo?</i> ‘Is that correct, a hot Americano and a popcorn?’ </p>	(Vendor leans forward and continuing to smile and look at the customer, while continuing to type in the order into the monitor)
7	Customer	<p> 이이 <i>ii</i> ‘Yeah.’ </p>	(Customer briefly looking at the vendor while placing her hand on the counter)
8	Vendor	<p> 팝콘은 어떤 사이즈로 하시겠어요? <i>phapkhonun etten saiculo</i> <i>hasikeysseyo? khun saiculang cakun saicu issuseyyo.</i> ‘For the popcorn, which size would you like?’ </p>	(Vendor leans slightly towards the customer with her chin down and head forward, torso slightly bowed, but still maintaining eye contact with a smile)
9		<p> 큰 사이즈랑 작은 사이즈 있으세요. There is a large size and a small size. ‘There is a large size and a small size.’ </p>	
10	Customer	<p> 작은 사이즈. <i>cakun saicu.</i> ‘Small size.’ </p>	(Customer moves hand downwards to signal “small size” without making eye contact)

Example 1. (continued)

11	Vendor	작은 사이즈, 어떤 맛으로 드릴까요? <i>cakun saicu, etten masulo tulilkkayo?</i> 'Small size - which flavor would you like?'	(Out of shot)
12	Customer	글쎄, 모르겠어. <i>kulssey, mollukesse.</i> 'Well, I don't know.'	(Customer breaks eye contact and looks down)
13		지비가 알아서 줘. <i>cipika alase cwe.</i> 'Give me whatever.'	(Customer moves right hand forward in finger pointing gesture)
14	Vendor	오리지널, 카라멜, 어니언, 치즈 맛 있습니다. <i>olicinel, khalameyl, enien, chicu mas issupnita.</i> 'We have original, caramel, onion, and cheese flavor.'	(Vendor leans forward and continuing to smile and look at the customer)
15	Customer	그려. <i>kulye.</i> 'Right.'	(Customer jerks hand upwards seemingly to signal indifference)
16		그걸로 줘. <i>kukello cwe.</i> 'Give me that.'	
17	Vendor	어떤 맛으로 드릴까요? <i>etten masulo tulilkkayo?</i> 'Which flavor would you like?'	(Vendor leans forward and continues to smile and look at the customer)
18	Customer	좋은 거 맛으로 내가, 내가 아나! <i>cohun ke masulo nayka, nayka ana!</i> 'A good flavored one. How would I know?'	(Customer moves right hand forward in finger pointing gesture)
19	Vendor	달콤한 맛 괜찮으세요? <i>talkhomhan mas kwaynchanhuseyyo?</i> 'Is the sweet flavor alright with you?'	(Vendor leans forward and continuing to smile and look at the customer; hands clasped in front of body)
20	Customer	이, 달콤한 거. <i>i, talkhomhan ke.</i> 'Yeah. The sweet one.'	(Customer nods head)
21	Vendor	작은 거 맞으세요? <i>cakun ke macuseyyo?</i> 'Small, correct?'	(Vendor continues to make eye contact)

Example 1. (continued)

22	Customer	이이, 알았어. <i>ii, alasse.</i> 'Yeah, okay.'	(Customer nods head)
23	Vendor	8,500원이시구요. <i>8,500wenisikwuyo.</i> 'It's 8,500won.'	(Vendor leans even further forward, while still maintaining eye contact)
24		멤버십 카드 있으세요? <i>meympesip khatu issuseyyo?</i> 'Do you have a membership card?'	
25	Customer	응? 아, 그렇게만 줘. <i>ung? a, kulehkeyman cwe.</i> 'Huh? Ah, just give it to me as is.'	(Customer looks at camera, then moves right hand forward in finger pointing gesture)
26		응? 아, 그렇게만 줘. <i>ung? a, kulehkeyman cwe.</i> 'Huh? Ah, just give it to me as is.'	
27	Vendor	결제 도와드릴게요. <i>kyelcey towatulilkeyyo.</i> 'I will help you with payment.'	(Vendor slides credit card, while still maintaining eye contact)
28	Customer	이. <i>i.</i> 'Okay.'	(Customer looks away)

The extract above displays the vendor's usage of *-supnita* in lines 1, 2 and 14, whereas other utterances occur in *-yo*. Notably, *-supnita* occurs in utterances that constitute set performatives (the greetings in lines 1 and 2), as well as statements of fact (listing the flavors of popcorn in line 14), whereas utterances that are more interactional and interlocutor-oriented such as questions (lines 6, 8, 11, 17, 19, 21, 24) and offers of assistance (line 27) occur with *-yo*. The use of *-supnita* in performative utterances in which the speaker is establishing their onstage role confirms the claim of Brown (2015) the underlying indexical meaning of *-supnita* is "formal presentational stance".

In addition to the use of *-supnita* and *-yo*, the vendor also indexes her corporate sales identity through her frequent use of referent honorifics including the subject honorific *-si-* (lines 6, 8, 9, 19, 21) and the suppletive verb form *tulita* 'give (to a status superior)' (lines 2, 11, 17, 27). Notably, the second usage of *-si-* in line 9 is in a context where it is not strictly needed, since the grammatical subject of the sentence is not the customer but the popcorn being sold by the concession stand. This "overdone honorification" is closely associated with sales talk, particularly in



Figure 1. Customer avoids eye contact and uses finger to indicate her order (line 4)



Figure 2. Vendor maintains eye contact with forward-leaning posture (line 6)

large franchises (Kim 2006; Lee 2010). The vendor continuously refers to the customer with the title *kokayk-nim* 'customer', which is also a marker of franchised sales talk.

Accompanying the use of the *-supnita* and other honorific forms, the vendor exhibits deferential non-verbal behaviors associated with sales talk. The vendor maintains a perpetual smile and consistent eye contact, which remains unbroken even while entering the order into the register (Figure 1), reflecting the fact that

gaze is an important signal of deference in Korea (Brown & Winter 2019). When the vendor receives the customer's credit card, she handles it with two hands, which is characteristically considered a gesture for deference in Korea (Brown & Winter 2019). When it comes time for the customer to sign for the transaction, the vendor directs the elderly woman's attention to the electronic pad with an open right-hand point while her left hand is touching her chest near her right arm (Figure 3). She exhibits this behavior again when presenting the customer with her credit card and when she passes her the receipt. Open palm points are considered more deferential in Korea and many other cultures (see Brown & Prieto 2017: 367), whereas using two-handed gestures when pointing, receiving or giving is also a marker of respect (Brown & Winter 2019). In sum, the vendor's use of *-supnita* is part of a package of verbal and non-verbal behavior that the vendor uses to index her role as an employee of a corporate franchise adhering to company protocol.



Figure 3. Vendor uses an open-hand point to direct the customer to the electronic pad

In contrast to the vendor's use of *-supnita* in this clip, the customer omits honorifics all together, as her utterances contain no verbs (lines 4, 5 and 10). In lines 3, 22, and 28 she uses *i* in backchannels, which is a dialectal variant of the *panmal* form *ung/e*, and in line 13 she uses the intimate dialectal second person pronoun *cipi* to refer to the vendor. The customer's nonverbal behavior is also in stark contrast with the vendor: she does not maintain eye contact, and uses intermittent finger points (see Figure 1), and slides her credit card towards the vendor with one finger. Her use of incomplete utterances and lack of deferential nonverbal behavior index her status as a customer of advanced age and social standing, and also as

a rather uncultured elderly person who is unfamiliar with polite corporate interactions.

In other encounters outside of corporate franchises, *-supnita* occasionally features when vendors invoke a formal frame of sales talk. In Video 9 (customer and vendor of similar age), male actor Lee Han-wi enters a small independent grocery store intending to purchase eggs. As he walks to the counter, he comments to the vendor on the lack of eggs using the *-yo* form (line 1). The vendor then provides an explanation as to why there are so few eggs in the store reciprocating the use of *-yo* (lines 2–3). Lee places the items down on the counter, and after the vendor has rung everything up, she shifts her speech style to *-supnita* to announce the price of the items (line 5). Lee then also shifts his speech style to *-supnita* as he pays for the items (line 6). The use of *-supnita* here indexes a shift from a conversational mode of language usage in lines 1–2 as the participants discuss the eggs, to a new activity of paying for the goods where the institutional roles of the vendor and the customer become foregrounded.

Example 2. Video 9 (customer and vendor similar age)

1	Customer	계란이 많이 없네요? <i>kyeylani manhi epsneyyo?</i> ‘There aren’t many eggs.’	(Customer looks down at the eggs in his hands, draws a loud breath and shakes head to the side with a slight smile)
2	Vendor	네, 지금 요즘 계란이 비싸가지고 <i>ney, cikum yocum kyeylani pissakaciko</i> ‘Yes, since eggs are expensive these days...’	(Vendor looks down at the eggs)
3	Customer	예, 예, 예. <i>yey, yey, yey.</i> ‘Yes, yes, yes.’	(Customer sets items on the counter while looking down at them)
4	Vendor	조금씩 갖다 놓고 <i>cokumssik kacta nohko</i> ‘... we are bringing few in...’	(Out of shot)
5	Customer	아, 예, 예. <i>a, yey, yey.</i> ‘Ah, yes, yes.’	(Customer continues to look at eggs)
6	Vendor	팔고 있어요. <i>phalko isseyo.</i> ‘... and selling them.’	(Out of shot)
7		6,400원 나왔습니다. <i>6,400wen nawasssupnita.</i> ‘They are 6,400won.’	(Vendor looks at cash register and reads out price, before turning to face Customer)

Example 2. (continued)

8 Customer 네, 여깁습니다.
ney, yekissupnita.
‘Okay, here it is.’

(Customer leans whole body forward stiffly to hand the cash to the vendor, but when realizing that her hands are full, he places the money on the counter)



Figure 4. Customer audibly inhaling, smiling, and slanting head while withdrawing eye-contact while commenting on the lack of eggs (line 1)



Figure 5. Customer leaning body forward while paying (line 8)

The shift from *-yo* style to *-supnita* style is accompanied by an abrupt shift in nonverbal marking. Lines 1–3 feature a number of casual nonverbal features. Lee withdraws his gaze (he looks down at the eggs, Figure 4), audibly inhales, smiles and slants his head to the side as he comments on the lack of eggs (line 1). The casual but ponderous nonverbal behavior accompanied by his calm monotonal voice frame the sentence as a mere observation on the lack of eggs, rather than a complaint. The vendor reciprocates this mode of behavior as she amicably offers an explanation as to why there are few eggs (lines 2–3). But as the speech style shifts to *-supnita* in lines 7 and 8, Lee drops his smile and makes eye contact. As he is handing money to the vendor, he leans his whole body forwards as if to bow (Figure 5), in an iconic display of deference. Lee also lowers his pitch, which is known to be associated with honorific speech in Korean (Winter & Grawunder 2012).

In sum, these videos show how vendors and their customers in service encounters can use *-supnita* as an indexical resource to shift from conversational interaction to a more formalized operational interaction. The *-supnita* ending does not operate on its own to mark such shifts, but rather as part of an embodied indexical network.

4.2.2 *-yo*

Polite-*yo* occurs frequently in the marketplace data, accounting for 40% and 37% of vendor and customer speech styles respectively. In this section, we will show that *-yo* can be used to index an institutional persona much like the *-supnita* form; however, *-yo* does so in more casual and non-corporate situations or with younger customers.

Video 14 (vendor older than customer) occurs in an outdoor flea market in early spring in Seoul. Actress Lee Sang-ah is selling items from her personal wardrobe, and she interacts with a younger female customer interested in buying a winter coat and sandals.

Example 3. Video 14 (customer younger than vendor)

1	Vendor	얼마까지 해드려요? <i>elmakkaci haytulyeyo?</i> 'How much do you want it for?	(Vendor raises chin)
2		흥정하자. <i>hungcenghaca.</i> 'Let's negotiate.'	(Vendor looks away)
3		집에 가야지 이제. <i>cipey kayaci icye.</i> 'I have to go home now.'	(Vendor makes eye contact)

Example 3. (continued)

4	Customer	이거는 겨울 떨이잖아요. <i>ikenun kyewul ttelicanhayo.</i> 'This is winter surplus.'	(Customer smiles)
5	Vendor	네. <i>ney.</i> 'Yes.'	(Out of shot)
6	Customer	이제 신을 거잖아요. <i>icey sinul kecanhayo.</i> 'I will wear these later on.'	(Out of shot)
7	Vendor	네. <i>ney.</i> 'Yes.'	(Out of shot)
8	Customer	요거 두개 해서 <i>yoke twukay hayse</i> 'For these two...'	(Customer points to items; maintains eye contact with vendor)
9	Vendor	무섭다. <i>mwusepta</i> 'Scary'	(Vendor steps backwards, moves head backwards and opens eyes widely in display of being shocked or frightened; Customer smiles)
10		언니 어디서 오셨어요? <i>enni etise osyesseyo?</i> 'Enni, where did you come from?'	(Vendor steps forwards again and raises chin)
11	Customer	이거랑 <i>ikelang</i> 'this and..'	(Customer) points to item while withdrawing eye contact)
12	Vendor	응, 무섭다. <i>ung, mwusepta.</i> 'Yes, scary.'	(Out of shot)
13	Customer	이거랑 <i>ikelang</i> 'this...'	(Customer points to item while withdrawing eye contact)
14	Vendor	응. <i>ung.</i> 'Yes.'	(Vendor nods)
15	Customer	10,000원? <i>10,000owen?</i> '10,000won?'	(Customer makes eye contact, jerks head back and smiles)

Example 3. (continued)

16	Vendor	응? <i>ung?</i> 'Huh?'	(Vendor holds coat and looks down at it; Customer also touches coat)
17		이거 언니 지금 딱 입기 좋은 거야. <i>ike enni cikum ttak ipki cohun keya.</i> 'This, sister, is perfect to wear right now.'	
18		겨울 게 아니야. <i>kyewul key aniya.</i> 'It's not for winter.'	
19	Customer	정말요? 이게요? <i>cengmalyo? ikeyyo?</i> 'Really? This is?'	(Customer looks down at coat)
20	Vendor	그럼. <i>kulem.</i> 'Of course.'	(Out of shot)
21	Customer	겨울 다 지났는데 지금. <i>kyewul ta cinassnuntey cikum.</i> 'Winter's over now.'	(Customer smiles then looks up at vendor)
22	Vendor	아니야, 이거 이거 이거. <i>aniya, ike ike ike</i> 'No, this this this...'	(Vendor looks down at coat)
23	Customer	겨울 다 지났어요. <i>kyewul ta cinasseyo.</i> 'Winter's over.' (...)	(Customer looks down at coat)
24	Customer	그럼 이것만 주세요. <i>kulem ikesman cwuseyyo.</i> 'Then I will just take this.'	(Customer points at item)
25	Vendor	이것만? <i>ikesman?</i> 'Just this?'	(Vendor points at item)
26	Customer	10,000원! <i>10,000wen!</i> '10,000won!'	(Customer looks up to make eye contact)
27	Vendor	10,000원? <i>10,000wen?</i> '10,000won?'	(Out of shot)

Example 3. (continued)

28	오케이, 콜! <i>okkeyi, khol!</i> 'Okay, call!'	(Nods head vigorously)
29	자, 추우니까 언니 입고 가세요. <i>ca, chwuwnikka enni ipko kaseyyo.</i> 'Here, it's cold, so you wear it now, <i>enni</i> '	(Hands coat to customer)
30	입고 가세요. <i>ipko kaseyyo</i> 'Put it on now and go.'	
31	감사합니다. <i>kamsahapnita.</i> 'Thank you.'	(Receives money with two hands and bows while maintaining eye contact)
32	네예~ <i>neyey~</i> 'Yes.'	(Continues to hold money with two hands and bows again)

Whereas the clips analyzed in the previous sub-section displayed switching between *-supnita* and *-yo*, Video 14 shows alternation between *-yo* and *panmal*. Lee uses *-yo* to index her persona as the vendor as she transitions through various stages of the sale, such as greeting the customer, confirming the price of items (not shown in extract), initiating price negotiations (line 1) and, finally, when closing the transaction (lines 29–30). On the other hand, she uses *panmal* when negotiating the price (lines 2, 3, 17, 18 and 22). The use of *panmal* demarcates this more casual mode of interaction, and also potentially gives Lee an advantage in the transaction with the younger customer, who sticks to *-yo* throughout.

Although Lee is using *-yo* to demarcate speech that belongs to her institutional identity, this mode of interaction is qualitatively different to the more formalized corporate identities described in discussions of *-supnita* in Section 4.2.1. This difference can be observed at both the verbal and non-verbal levels. Instead of using the formal address term *kokayknim* preferred in corporate sales talk, Lee addresses the younger customer as *enni*. Although this term literally means 'older sister of a woman', it is frequently used in marketplace interactions regardless of relative age, seemingly for its strong connotations of female solidarity. Lee's use of *-yo* is also accompanied by informal language, such as the expression *khol* 'call' (a pseudo-loan word taken from English poker terminology to mean 'okay') when amicably agreeing on the negotiated price (line 28). In terms of non-verbal cues, the behavior of the vendor is much more fluid than that observed in the previous

sub-section. Rather than being positioned behind a cash register and maintaining bodily orientation with the customer, Lee walks around during the interaction, including walking behind the customer's back. During the price bargaining, she displays nonverbal signs of disaffiliation such as walking backwards away from the customer (line 9; Figure 6) when the customer is haggling.



Figure 6. Vendor walks backwards in a display of surprise and disaffiliation

The use of *-yo* to signal a more casual institutional persona can also be seen in Video 8 (customer and vendor of similar age). In this clip, Korean singer Kim Min-jong negotiates with a female vendor of similar age over the price of candy and puffed rice at a snack booth in an outdoor market:

Example 4. Video 8 (customer and vendor similar age)

1	Customer	옛하구요 <i>yeshakwuyo</i> , 'Korean taffy'	(Customer picks up item; withholds eye contact)
2		사탕은? <i>sathangun?</i> 'And how about the candies?'	(Customer points to item; withholds eye contact)
3	Vendor	사탕 한 바구니에 3,000원씩 9,000원 어치 사셨어요. <i>sathang han pakwuniey 3,000wenssik</i> <i>9,000wenechi sasyeseyo.</i> 'One basket of candy is 3,000won – You bought 9,000won worth.'	(Out of shot)

Example 4. (continued)

		(...)	
9	Vendor	오케이 'Okay.'	(Vendor leans forward smiling and looking at Customer; extends right hand to receive money)
10	Customer	오케이 'Okay.'	(Customer takes money out of wallet and hands to Vendor with right hand; makes eye contact)
11	Vendor	아유~ 그걸 뭘 까고 그러나? <i>ayu~ kukel mwel kkakkkko kulena?</i> 'Come on. No need to fuss over the price of these items.'	(Vendor takes the money, laughing and quickly puts it into her apron; maintains eye contact)
12	Customer	아유~ 또 시장의 오일장에 깎는 맛도 있고 그러는 거지. <i>ayu~ tto sicanguy oilcangey kkakknun masto issko kulenun keci.</i> 'Come on, in a 5-day market, it's fun to negotiate, or there is no merit in coming.'	(Customer smiles; Vendor laughs and looks to side, presumably at other vendor)
13	Vendor	많이 사셨네. <i>manhi sasyessney.</i> 'You bought a lot.'	(Vendor hands bag to Customer while smiling)
14	Customer	새해에 복 더 많이 받으시구요. <i>Sayhayey pok te manhi patusikwuyo.</i> 'I wish you more luck in the new year and...'	(Customer bows slightly at the vendor; maintains eye contact)
15	Vendor	네. <i>ney.</i> 'Yes.'	(Vendor smiles; maintains eye contact)
16	Customer	돈 많이 버세요. <i>ton manhi peseyyo.</i> 'Hope you make a lot of money.'	(Customer moves hands wide apart from each other to signal 'a lot')
17	Vendor	네, 감사합니다. <i>ney, kamsahapnita.</i> 'Yes, thank you.'	(Vendor bows with head tilted deeply; Customer reciprocates bow)
18	Customer	또 올게요. <i>tto olkeyyo.</i> 'I will come again.'	(Customer bends down to pick up bag; maintains eye contact)

The interaction opens and closes with reciprocation of the *-yo* form. In lines 1–3, Kim and the vendor use *-yo* in the initial inquiry about the price, and they then return to honorific language in the final greeting exchange from line 14. In contrast, the section where they briefly haggle over the price (lines 4–13) features an absence of *-yo*, although the vendor does maintain referent honorifics in line 13. The use of *-yo* here brackets the interaction by marking the beginning and ending of the transaction, when Kim and the vendor are playing out their institutional roles as customer and sales person.

In this encounter as well, the switching between different modes of interaction is marked in a multimodal fashion beyond the use of speech styles. The haggling stage features reciprocal laughter. This not only indexes the casualness of the exchange, but also marks the vendor's comment on Kim's negotiation (line 11) as teasing rather than a genuine criticism (see Haugh 2010). When use of *-yo* resurfaces in line 14, we see a distinct change in nonverbal behavior. Both participants orient their body positions towards each other and reciprocate a bow as they take leave (Figure 7).

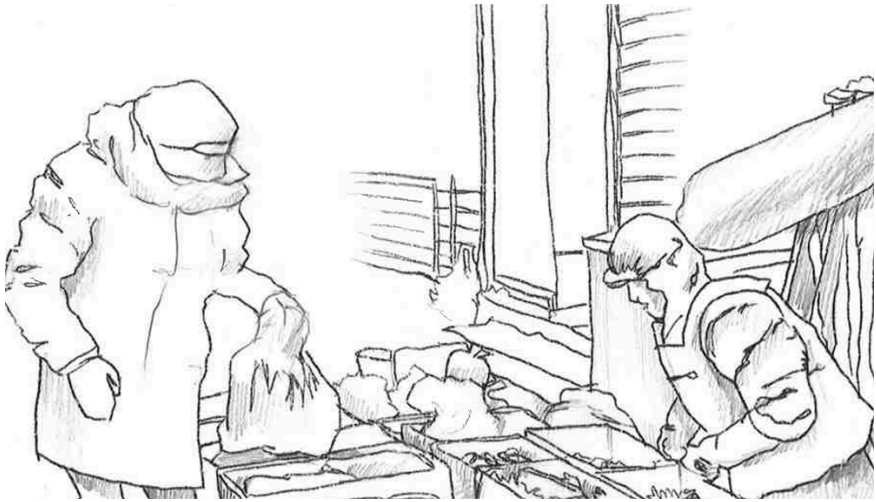


Figure 7. Kim reciprocating a deferential bow with the candy vendor (line 16)

In summary, in this section we have seen that the *-yo* speech style can actually work similarly to the *-supnita* style to mark stages of sales talk interactions where the participants are speaking in their roles as vendors, and/or as customers. However, the stance marked by *-yo* presents a less formalized and corporate identity than *-supnita*.

4.2.3 Panmal

Indeed, in contrast to normative descriptions of *panmal* as a style used only between intimates, *panmal* was the most commonly occurring style in the data (49% of vendor utterance units and 60% of customer utterance units). In this section, we look more closely at the indexical qualities of the *panmal* style.

Video 1 features an intense interaction between a middle-aged female vendor and a seemingly passive elderly woman customer in an outdoor market in Gyeongbuk province (customer older than vendor), neither of whom are celebrities. The elderly customer initiates *panmal* as she asks the inquires on the price of Yeondeok snow crabs, a much-prized local delicacy. The vendor also uses *panmal*, but shifts momentarily to honorific *-yo* as she tries to maintain the flagging negotiation with the seemingly uninterested elderly customer (lines 10, 11).

Example 5. Video 1 (customer older than vendor)

1	Customer	요건 얼마고? <i>yoken elmako?</i> 'How much is this one?'	(Customer looks down at items)
2	Vendor	아, 10만원, 열 두 마리. <i>a, 10manwen,</i> 'Ah, 100,000 won for 12 crabs.'	(Vendor leans forward over items; looks at customer; Customer begins to walk away)
3		어디 가 열 두 마리짜리 없다. <i>yel twu mali. eti ka yel twu maliccali epsta.</i> 'Nowhere else sells 12 crabs.'	(Vendor shakes head)
4		영덕 대게고. <i>yengtek taykeyko.</i> 'Also, they are Youngdeok crabs.'	(Vendor leans to pick up item)
5	Customer	너무 비싸다. <i>nemwu pissata.</i> 'Too expensive.'	(Customer looks down and then to the side; turns her body away; starts to walk away)
6	Vendor	이걸 비싸다카면 엄마들 어떤 거 사가 잡수실 건데? <i>ikel pissatakhamyen emmatul etten ke saka capswusilkentey?</i> 'If you say it's expensive, then what are you moms going to buy and eat?'	(Out of shot)
7		어떤 걸 사가 잡수실건데? <i>etten kel saka capswusilkentey?</i> 'What are you going to buy and eat?'	

Example 5. (continued)

8	자, 그카면 다 5만원. <i>ca, kukhamyen ta 5manwen.</i> 'Alright, then all for 50,000won.'	(Vendor leans forward over items; waves hand over items)
9	다 5만원. <i>ta 5manwen.</i> 'All for 50,000won.'	
10	Customer 요건 몇 마리야? <i>yoken myech maliya?</i> 'How many crabs are in here?'	(Customer points at item, still looks down)
11	Vendor 열 두마리요. <i>yel twumaliyo.</i> 'Twelve.'	(Vendor bobs head up and down)
12	열 두 마리예, 자요. <i>yel twu maliey, cayo.</i> 'Twelve, and here.'	(Vendor adds two additional crabs to the box)
13	그럼 이거 5만원 갖고 가면 되겠네. <i>kulem ike 5manwen kacko kamyen toykeyssney.</i> 'You should take the deal for 50,000 won.'	(Points to crabs)
14	이게 영덕 대게야. <i>ikey yengtek taykeyya.</i> 'These are Youngdeok crabs.'	(Out of shot)
15	먹어 보면 달달하고. <i>meke pomyen taltalhako.</i> 'If you eat them, they will taste sweet.'	
16	아따, 참말로. <i>atta, chammallo.</i> 'Ugh, seriously.'	

The profusion of *panmal* in this extract indexes the informal and emotionally intense atmosphere of the market interaction. But in addition to this, it represents attempts by both the customer and the vendor to stake claims to their authority and maintain the upper hand in the interaction. As the customer comments in *panmal* on how expensive the crabs are (line 5), her attempt at starting to haggle on the price is accompanied by nonverbal behavior associated with the expression of power. She breaks bodily orientation with the vendor by stepping back from the merchandise, turning towards the rest of the market and putting her arms behind

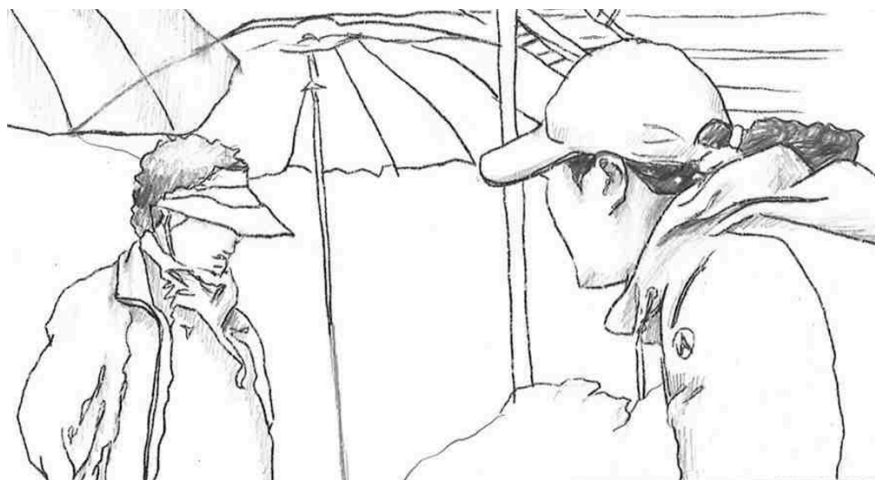


Figure 8. Customer (left) withholding eye contact and starting to move away (Line 2)

her back. As noted by Brown and Winter (2019: 5), status superiors have the power to break eye contact and bodily orientation, whereas direct bodily orientation and gaze are markers of deference. By turning away from the vendor, the customer also manages to show (feigned) disinterest in continuing with the purchase. Her verbal and nonverbal behavior index her power as a valuable customer, who can walk away from the purchase if the price is not lowered. Her ability to adopt this role is facilitated by her advanced age over the vendor.

According to socially normative convention, we may expect the vendor to use honorific language towards the elderly customer. But despite the age difference, the vendor predominantly uses *panmal*. When the customer comments that the crabs are too expensive and begins to look away, the vendor abruptly counters the customer's utterance by saying in line 6 what literally translates as 'If you say it's expensive, then what are you going to buy and eat?', implying that the customer will not find anything else worth eating at a cheaper price. The sentence lacks an honorific speech style ending and thus represents *panmal*, although it does display a degree of recognition for the customer's advanced age through the use of the referent honorifics *capswusi* 'eat', as well as the kinship term *emma-tul* 'moms' to refer to the elderly customer and her companions. The reciprocation of *panmal* shows a reluctance for the vendor to forfeit the upper hand in the interaction, and indexes her authority as a professional vendor who is knowledgeable about pricing structures at the market. Her strategic use of *panmal* also functions as a way to grab the attention of the disinterested customer, who might feel more obliged to respond to this kind of blunt and provocative utterance.

Coupled with her use of *panmal*, the vendor used abrupt and non-constricted body language throughout her interaction to maintain her authority and keep the customer's attention on the merchandise. The vendor perpetually leans far over the crabs while intently trying to maintain eye-contact with the customer. She uses her arms to abruptly snatch, point at, and pat her merchandise in sharp movements, and her voice when using *panmal* is vibrato-laden and features fluctuating pitch. These strategic paralinguistic features combined with her language use seem to act as a way of anchoring the customer's attention on the merchandise and hastening the deal.

Video 2 also contains clear examples of the strategic use of *panmal* to index age and authority in a marketplace transaction (customer older than vendor). In this clip, the Korean comedian Lee Kyung-kyu, and his daughter Lee Ye-rim appear as travelling truck vendors selling various household goods at a rural community center in a remote village in Jeolla Province. The elderly woman begins to negotiate with the vendor over the price of a saucepan using *panmal* to index her age/status superiority to gain the upper hand in negotiation.

Example 6. Video 2 (customer older than vendor)

1	Customer	이런 건 얼마나 할까? <i>ilen ken elmana halkka?</i> 'How much will something like this be?'	(Customer has back to camera; faces vendor)
2	Vendor (F)	7,900원이에요. <i>7,900 weniyo.</i> 'It's 7,900 won.'	(Male Vendor has gaze on Customer's face)
3	Customer	어? <i>e?</i> 'Huh?'	(Customer jerks head backwards)
4	Vendor (F)	7,900원. <i>7,900 wen.</i> '7,900 won.'	(Out of shot)
5	Customer	어? <i>e?</i> 'Huh?'	(Customer jerks head backwards)
6	Vendor (M)	7,000... <i>7,000...</i> '7,000...'	(Male Vendor has gaze on Customer's face)
7	Customer	900원? <i>900 wen?</i> '900 won?'	(Customer has back to camera; faces vendor)

Example 6. (continued)

8	Vendor (M)	7,900원. <i>7,900 wen.</i> '7,900 won.'	(Male Vendor has gaze on Customer's face; torso bent forwards)
9	Customer	7,500원? <i>7,500 wen?</i> '7,500 won?'	(Customer maintains eye contact with vendor; jerks head backwards; holds rustic walking stick in left hand)
10	Vendor (M)	차야. <i>chyaa.</i> 'Ugh.'	(Vendor maintains eye contact)
11	Customer	7,000... <i>7,000...</i> '7,000...'	(Customer maintains eye contact)
12	Vendor (M)	아, 할머니, 알면서도 그러시는 거죠? <i>a, halmeni, almyenseto kulesinun kecyo?</i> 'Ah, grandma, you are doing it on purpose, aren't you?'	(Male Vendor leans slightly forward)
13	Customer	900원? <i>900wen?</i> '900 won?'	(Customer bobs head down then up; maintains eye contact)
14	Vendor (M)	네, 7,900원. <i>ney, 7,900wen.</i> 'Yes, 7,900won.'	(Male Vendor moves head and torso down and then up)
15	Customer	그럼 뭇하러 거기다 백원을 한다고 거기 다 그 지랄 하고 <i>kulem mweshale kekita paykwenul hantako kekita ku cilal hako</i> 'Then why the heck did you put the hundred won back there, that bullshit you did there.'	(Customer raises chin)
16		어서 7천원에 해볼지! <i>ese 7chenweney haypwulci!</i> 'You should have made it 7,000won!'	(Customer bobs chine downwards, then raises it again; Vendor has mouth wide open in surprise)
16	Vendor (M)	아, 아, 7,000원! 7,000원! 7,000원! <i>a, a, 7,000wen, 7,000wen, 7,000wen.</i> 'Ah, okay, 7,000won, 7,000won, 7,000won!'	(Male Vendor maintains gaze on Customer's face; Customer looks down)

Example 6. (continued)

17	Customer	6,500원만 주야겠다. 6,500원만 주야겠어. 6,500wenman cwuyakessta. 6,500wenman cwuyakesse. 'I'm only giving you 6,500won. I'm only giving you 6,500won.'	(Customer out of shot; vendor has eyes wide open in surprise)
18	Vendor (M)	6.... 6,500원이요? 6.... 6,500weniyo? '6.... 6,500won?'	(Male Vendor smiles; leans body forwards; Female Vendor laughs)
19	Customer	7,000원잉께. 7,000weningkkey. 'Because it's 7,000won.	(Customer jerks head backwards and maintains high chin position and eye contact)
20		6,500원. '6,500wen.' '6,500won.'	
21		500원 두고! '500wen twuko!' 'Taking 500won off!'	
22	Vendor (M)	그래, 6,500원. kulay, 6,500wen. 'Okay, 6,500won.'	(Male Vendor smiles and hands item to Customer)



Figure 9. Elderly customer jerking head back and cursing at vendor (line 15)

In this transaction, the customer's blunt use of *panmal* accompanied by her aggressive paralinguistic behaviors assert her authority and allow her to win the bargain. The customer feigns to misunderstand the price quoted for the saucepan,

repeating back 7,500 won, when the price she heard was 7,900. When Lee challenges her on this and repeats the stated price of 7,900 won (line 14), the customer not only uses *panmal* but also the curse word *cilal* ‘bullshit’ as she tells him to remove the extra 900 won (line 15). Still not satisfied with the discount, she continues in *panmal* as she demands a further reduction to 6,500 won (lines 7–8, 10–13). The inexperienced vendors are left dumbfounded at the older woman’s insistence and agree to the new price of 6,500 (line 14). The customer’s use of *panmal* and swearing is accompanied by casual and aggressive nonverbal behaviors. She points at the vendors with her right hand, and jerks her head backwards as she curses at the vendors (see Figure 9). By jerking her head backwards, her chin assumes a raised position which is known to be a marker of aggression, whereas a lowered chin patterns with deference (George 2011: 113). The customer’s adoption of the upper hand in this interaction is also reinforced by multimodal markers of her advanced age. She leans on a rustic walking stick throughout the interaction, and her display of being hard of hearing also marks creates an impression of her being old and fragile. As noted by Yoon (2004) and Brown (2011: 49–50), elderly people (*noin*) are afforded particular respect in the Korean social hierarchy and contradicting them or causing them discomfort is considered highly taboo.

In addition to marking authority, *panmal* can also be used to index intimacy in marketplace encounters. In Video 5 (customer older than vendor), an elderly woman is inquiring about the price of wild ginseng in a conventional market. None of the three interlocutors are celebrities. During the negotiation, the customer expresses her need for the ginseng, which is a high-priced delicacy, due to her recent health problems. The male and female vendors listen as she explains her hardship, and they offer her support and advice by shifting their speech style to *panmal*. After building the customer’s trust, the vendors are able to finalize the sale.

Example 7. Video 5 (customer older than vendor)

1	Vendor (M)	이런 건 이제 제가 받는 게 한, 돈 천만 원 정도 되거든요? <i>ilen ken icye ceyka patnun key han, ton chenmanwen cengto toyketunyo?</i> ‘Something like this costs 10 million won.’	(Male Vendor holds out hands with splayed fingers signaling at item; turns head to make eye contact with customer)
2	Customer	근데 내가... <i>kuntey nayka...</i> ‘Well, I...’	(Customer looks down at item)
3	Vendor (M)	네 <i>ney.</i> ‘Yes.’	(Male Vendor looks down at item)

Example 7. (continued)

4	Customer	이거 저기 우리 아들이... <i>ike ceki wuli atuli...</i> 'This, you know, my son...'	(Customer looks up; make eye contact with Female Vendor)
5	Vendor (M)	네 <i>ney.</i> 'Yes.'	(Male Vendor looks down at item)
6	Customer	내가 이걸 먹나? <i>nayka ikel mekna?</i> 'Do I eat it?'	(Customer maintains eye contact with female vendor)
7		못 먹지! <i>mos mekci!</i> 'Of course I can't!'	
8	Vendor (M)	네 <i>ney.</i> 'Yes.'	(Male Vendor looks down at item)
9	Customer	우리 아들이, 내가... <i>wuli atuli, nayka</i> 'My son, I...'	(Customer gestures with right hand; looks away)
10	Vendor (M)	잡썬야지! <i>capsweyaci!</i> 'You need to eat it!'	(Male Vendor continues to look down at item; withholds eye contact)
11	Customer	어. <i>e.</i> 'Yeah.'	(Customer still gesturing with right hand; withholds eye contact)
12	Vendor (F)	아니, 어머니가 잡썬야돼! <i>ani, emenika capsweyatway!</i> 'No, mother you have to eat it!'	(Female Vendor leans torso forwards towards Customer)
13	Customer	한 달을 내가 밥을 못 먹고 암만 밥 먹 는 약을 먹어도 못 먹겠더라고요, 밥 을. <i>han talul nayka papul mos mekko</i> <i>amman pap meknun yakul meketo mos</i> <i>mekkeysstelakoyo, papul.</i> 'For a month, I couldn't eat food, no matter what medicine I took for appetite, I couldn't eat food.'	(Customer gestures with both hands)
14	Vendor (M)	네. <i>ney.</i> 'Yes.'	(Male Vendor turns head towards customer; makes eye contact)

Example 7. (continued)

15	Customer	그래서 내가 6킬로가 빠졌어요. <i>kulayse nayka 6khilloka ppacyesseyo.</i> 'So I've lost 6kg.'	(Customer makes pointing gesture with right hand)
16	Vendor (M)	네. <i>ney.</i> 'Yes.'	(Male Vendor looks down again)
17	Customer	그러니까 우리 아들이 나를 돈을 몇 백을 보내주면서, <i>kulenikka wuli atuli nalul tonul myech</i> <i>paykul ponaycwumyense,</i> 'So my son sent me a few million won.'	(Customer makes eye contact with Female Vendor; pats the items with her right hand)
18		엄마 좋은 것 좀 잡숫고 <i>emma cohun kes com capswusko</i> 'And (insisted) I eat good food...	(Customer gestures with her right hand)
19	Vendor (F)	어어. <i>ee.</i> 'Yeah yeah.'	(Female Vendor maintains eye contact on Customer)
20	Customer	저거 하래요. <i>ceke halayyo.</i> 'And take care of myself.'	(Customer brings closed fist of right hand towards her chest)
21		엄마가 아이들 키우느냐고, 그러니까 6남매를 내가 키웠거든. <i>emmaka aitul khiwununyako,</i> <i>kulenikka 6nammaylul nayka</i> <i>khiwessketun.</i> 'Since I raised kids, you know, I raised six children.'	(Customer gestures with her right hand)
22	Vendor (M)	응응. <i>ungung.</i> 'Yeah yeah.'	(Male Vendor continues to look down)
23	Customer	그랬더니... <i>kulayssteni...</i> 'Then...'	(Customer touches own chest with right hand)
24	Vendor (F)	어머니 있잖아, 어머니. <i>emeni isscanha, emeni.</i> 'Mother, you know what, mother.'	(Holds hand out, palm upwards as if to say "stop talking")
25	Vendor (M)	그러니까 아무 소리 말고 <i>kulenikka amwu soli malko</i> 'So don't say a word...'	(Male Vendor continues to look down)

Example 7. (continued)

26	Vendor (F)	아무 소리 말고 그냥 500에 잡썬. <i>amwu soli malko kunyang 500ey</i> <i>capswē.</i> 'Don't say a word, and eat it for 5 million won.'	(Out of shot)
27	Vendor (M)	산삼 팔자에 있으니까 500에 드세요. <i>sansam phalcaey issunikka 500ey</i> <i>tuseyyo.</i> '... You are fated to have ginseng, so eat it for 5 million won.'	(Male Vendor continues to look down; touches products)
28	Vendor (F)	요건 손주들 주시고. <i>yoken soncwutul cwusiko.</i> 'And give these to your grandchildren.	(Female Vendor moves a box of products towards the customer; maintains gaze on Customer)
29	Customer	그럼 그렇게 합시다. <i>kulem kulehkey hapsita.</i> 'Then let's do it.'	(Customer gently touches the product with right hand; no eye contact)

In this episode, the customer and vendors momentarily exit from their institutional roles to engage in more personal discussion of the customer's health issues. The vendors break from their use of honorific language after the customer explains that her son has provided her with money to purchase something nice to eat (from line 9). The male vendor uses *panmal* as he interjects to say that she should eat the ginseng (line 10), which is immediately followed by the female vendor repeating the same sentiment, also in *panmal* (line 12). Both the male and the female utterances use the verb form *capswu-* for 'eat', which may be considered more deferential than the plain *mek-*. However, both usages are devoid of explicit honorific marking, rendering them *panmal*. The customer continues to elaborate about her health shifting to *contaymal* until the female vendor once again interrupts her telling her to eat the ginseng for five million won (line 26), to which the customer readily agrees. The vendors' suggestions for the customer to eat the ginseng index their intimacy and understanding of her situation, and appear to soften the sale of the high-priced item.

Both the customer and the two vendors exhibit reciprocal nonverbal behaviours that are associated with intimacy, and the vendors also display behaviours that mark emotional concern. The male vendor's posture mirrors the customer's as they are standing side by side, both with their right hands on boxes in the vendor's booth. This is reminiscent of Paxton, Brown and Winter's (2018) finding that Korean speakers synchronize their behaviors in intimate interactions. Additionally, the female and male vendor's non-verbal behavior of head nodding and

somber expressions while listening to the customer's tales of hardship indicate their concern, which prompts both vendors to direct the customer to purchase the ginseng for her well-being. The intimacy exhibited by the vendors through the use of *panmal* and their non-linguistic behaviors helps to quickly build family-like trust and support for the customer.

5. Discussion

The current study has shown that Korean speech style usage in marketplace encounters is only partially linked to the marking of static factors such as age and assumed status, and additionally index more fluid aspects of interaction. Crucially, the fluid variation of speech styles co-occurs with other verbal and nonverbal patterns that have not been given sufficient focus in previous studies on the indexical properties of speech styles.

The study provided a comprehensive picture of speech style variation in the marketplace by looking at three speech styles: deferential *-supnita*, polite *-yo* and *panmal*. The *-supnita* style was used by participants as a resource to shift from parts of the interaction that were conversational to parts of the interaction that were functional and institutional. Use of *-supnita* by vendors was shown to possess a feeling of corporate transaction, which explains its low frequency in the current data which mostly featured conventional markets. These findings largely corroborate previous claims in the literature that *-supnita* indexes a "formal presentational stance" (Brown 2015) and is used when participants shift to their prescribed institutional roles in the interaction (Strauss & Eun 2005; Jo 2018; see also Raymond 2016 for French). These "on-stage" roles are co-indexed by iconic deferential behaviors, including two-handed gestures of giving and receiving, bowing or head-lowering and direct bodily orientation.

The social meanings of polite *-yo* were shown to differ markedly depending on the other speech styles that it occurred alongside. When *-yo* occurred in juxtaposition to *-supnita*, it appeared with parts of the interaction that were more conversational and/or where the participants strayed from their institutional roles. Conversely, when it occurred alongside non-honorific *panmal* in more informal market situations, it took on the opposite indexical quality of marking speech that occurred when participants were speaking in prescribed roles. Although this second usage was similar to deferential *-supnita*, we established that *-yo* lacks the feeling of corporate transaction that is associated with *-supnita*. The two distinct usages of *-yo* were marked by contrasting nonverbal behaviors. When juxtaposed with *-supnita*, nonverbal behavior accompanying *-yo* was comparatively casual, whereas when used in opposition with *panmal* behaviors accompanying *-yo* were

relatively deferential. These findings challenge some previous claims that *-yo* has an underlying meaning of “inclusion” (Strauss & Eun 2005). Rather, it supports Brown’s (2015: 56) observation that the core indexical meanings of *-yo* are “difficult to pin down”, as will be discussed further below.

Non-honorific *panmal* was found to index two main forms of social meaning. First, it was used to mark stages of the interaction that were conversational, playful, or intimate. In such usages, it was accompanied by reciprocal and synchronized casual behaviors. Second, speakers strategically used *panmal* to index their authority or power as they tried to take the upper hand in price negotiations. This authoritative use of *panmal* was accompanied by non-verbal behaviors associated with power posing such as large body postures, high chin positions and the withholding of gaze and bodily orientation. Interestingly, we observed authoritative use of *panmal* not just by older customers towards vendors, but also by the vendors (even towards elders) as they refused to concede the upper hand in negotiations.

The findings have important implications for our understanding of the indexical meanings of speech styles. Firstly, the results for *panmal* and particularly for *-yo* show that the social meanings indexed by speech styles might be even more fluid than previously assumed. The notion of indexicality assumes that indexical forms such as honorifics have core underlying meanings known as “direct indices” (Ochs 1993: 289), which are then enriched into more specific social meanings known as “indirect indices” when they are used in context. For *-supnita*, we follow Brown (2015) in seeing this form as directly indexing “formal presentational stance”, which leads to context-specific indirect indexical meanings such as the marking of institutional identity observed in the current paper. As for *panmal*, the two separate functions of this form uncovered in this paper (i.e. intimacy and authority) can be seen as coming from the same source: an underlying direct indexical meaning related to a lack of social distance. This lack of social distance appears intimate when used in a friendly and reciprocal way, but authoritative when used non-reciprocally or when other markers of an intimate context are absent.

Applying this model of indexicality to the usage of *-yo* becomes more difficult, however. On the face of it, the results reveal *-yo* to possess two contradictory functions: marking a conversational mode of interaction when juxtaposed with *-supnita*, but indexing institutional role when appearing alongside *panmal*. The Janus-faced nature of *-yo* was previously noted in Brown (2015), who proposed that the most plausible solution is to assume that *-yo*, as an honorific form, has an underlying meaning associated with the expression of social distance. Although this underlying meaning of social distance would appear to translate into the marking of institutional role in quite a straightforward way, how can the meaning

of social distance translate into the opposite meaning when occurring alongside *-supnita*? Following Brown (2015), the answer appears to be that these meanings are communicated via the contrast with the more formal and presentational *-supnita*. In other words, parts of the interaction that occur with *-yo* appear more casual and friendly not due to the fact that *-yo* itself directly marks friendliness, but through the comparatively less formal nature of *-yo* in comparison to *-supnita*. Although indexical meanings are known to be sensitive to context, the fact that indexical meanings can be arrived in this comparative manner has not been widely explored in the previous literature (but see Winter, Sobrino & Brown 2019).

Another important contribution of this paper is that we have demonstrated that honorific forms do not work in isolation to index social meanings, but rather do so alongside other modalities. Although speech style variation has attracted significant attention both for Korean and Japanese, previous studies tend to look at speech styles in isolation, with only passing reference to other variations that are taking place in terms of other areas of the language such as the lexicon (Dunn 1999), or multimodal factors such as seating arrangements (Cook 2011), attire (Brown 2015) and so forth. The current paper has shown that indexicality is embodied in a robust cross-modal fashion. In particular, we demonstrated that distinct alternations in non-verbal behaviors including gaze, bodily orientation and head position co-indexed the variations between institutional and interpersonal identities found in our data. In addition, the authoritative use of *panmal* was accompanied by power-posing behaviors. These findings call into question the validity of analyzing speech style variation as an isolated, disembodied, monomodal phenomenon. Moreover, they provide additional evidence for claims that social contrasts are communicated simultaneously through multiple channels, in a similar way to how linguistic contrasts are encoded through multiple channels (see Brown & Winter 2019; Mason, Domínguez, Winter and Grignolio 2015). This multimodal encoding ensures that important social meanings are robustly and efficiently encoded and decoded in communicative events.

Finally, some words are needed about the type of data used in this study, which came from reality TV shows. Although these depict unscripted interactions, the clips have evidently been curated and edited for the purposes of entertainment. Furthermore, due to the nature of reality television, the customers and vendors, especially those of celebrity status, are certain to be conscious of the public gaze in the way they present their behaviors. Although it is unclear how these materials may compare to authentic interactions, one thing that we can say for certain is that the presence of the camera did not result in participants sticking faithfully to socially normative convention in their linguistic behavior. This can be observed particularly in the proliferation of *panmal* in interactions

between speakers who were unfamiliar with each other, and even when addressing customers who were elders. The usage patterns clearly violate the prescriptive description of *panmal* that this level of speech is reserved for intimate of similar or younger age, and that mutual agreement is needed to initiate *panmal* after reaching adulthood. The proliferation of *panmal* also goes against the prescription of the Korean Communications Standards Commission (KCSC) that *panmal* should be avoided or used carefully on TV (Lee 2020). In sum, although the language usage in the clips may have been dramatized, the speakers were certainly using language in a dynamic and vibrant way rather than following social convention.

5. Conclusion

The current study has used reality TV data to demonstrate the dynamic indexical meanings of Korean speech styles in marketplace interactions. We have attempted to offer a holistic approach by looking at three speech styles together in the same paper, as well as also analyzing co-occurring nonverbal behavior and multimodal channels.

The findings have shown that the indexical meanings of *-supnita*, *-yo* and *panmal* are highly context dependent, particularly in the case of *-yo*. Crucially, the indexical meanings of speech styles rely heavily on what other speech styles occur in the same interactions, as well as in the appearance of co-occurring nonverbal cues. The paper lays the ground for further exploration of the indexical properties of honorifics speech in a wider range of context.

The reality TV data that was used comes with some limitations, notably questions about its authenticity. These limitations notwithstanding, the analysis of the data clearly shows that these materials provide rich evidence of the dynamic indexical qualities of honorific forms in marketplace interactions.

Funding

This work was supported by the Core University Program for Korean Studies through the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and Korean Studies Promotion Service of the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2017-OLU-2250002).

References

- Barke, Andrew. 2010. Manipulating honorifics in the construction of social identities in Japanese television drama. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 14(4). 456–476.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2010.00451.x>
- Biber, Douglas and Edward Finegan. 1994. *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. New York: OUP.
- Bousfield, Derek. 2008. *Impoliteness in Interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.167>
- Brown, Lucien. 2011. *Korean Honorifics and Politeness in Second Language Learning*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.206>
- Brown, Lucien. 2013a. “Mind your own esteemed business”: Sarcastic Honorifics Use and Impoliteness in Korean TV Dramas. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 9(2). 159–186.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/pr-2013-0008>
- Brown, Lucien. 2013b. “Oppa, hold my purse”: A Sociocultural Study of Identity and Indexicality in the Perception and Use of Oppa ‘Older Brother’ by Second Language Learners. *The Korean Language in America*, 18. 1–22.
- Brown, Lucien. 2013c. Teaching ‘Casual’ and/or ‘Impolite’ Language through Multimedia: The Case of Non-Honorific Panmal Speech Styles in Korean. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 26(1). 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2012.745551>
- Brown, Lucien. 2015. Revisiting “polite” –yo and “deferential” –supnita speech style shifting in Korean from the viewpoint of indexicality. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 79. 43–59.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.01.009>
- Brown, Lucien and Pilar Prieto. 2017. (Im) politeness: Prosody and gesture. In Jonathan Culpeper, Michael Haugh and Daniel Kadar, eds., 357–379.
- Brown, Lucien and Bodo Winter. 2019. Multimodal indexicality in Korean: “Doing deference” and “performing intimacy” through nonverbal behavior. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 15(1). 25–54. <https://doi.org/10.1515/pr-2016-0042>
- Chang, Kyung-Hee. 1995. Kwuke yangthay pemcwu-uy selceng-kwa ku cheykyey. *Ene (Korean Journal of Linguistics)*, 20. 191–205.
- Choo, Miho. 2006. The Structure and Use of Korean Honorifics. In Sohn, ed., 132–154.
- Cook, Haruko. 2011. Are honorifics polite? Uses of referent honorifics in a Japanese committee meeting. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(15). 3655–3672.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2011.08.008>
- Cook, Haruko. 2013. A scientist or salesman? Identity construction through referent honorifics on a Japanese shopping channel program. *Multilingua-Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 32(2). 177–202. <https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2013-0009>
- Culpeper, Jonathan. 2005. Impoliteness and entertainment in the television quiz show: The Weakest Link. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1(1). 35–72.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2005.1.1.35>
- Culpeper, Jonathan, Haugh, Michael & Kadar, Daniel. 2017. *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-37508-7>
- Dunn, Cynthia. 1999. Public and private voices: Japanese style shifting and the display of affective intensity. In Gary Palmer and Debra Occhi, eds., 107–127.

- Dunn, Cynthia. 2010. Information structure and discourse stance in a monologic "public speaking" register of Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(7). 1890–1911. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2009.12.024>
- Eun, Jong-oh and Susan Strauss. 2004. The primacy of information status in the alternation between deferential and polite forms in Korean public discourse. *Language Sciences*, 26. 251–272. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2003.02.003>
- George, Johnny. 2011. Politeness in Japanese Sign Language (JSL): Polite JSL expression as evidence for intermodal language contact influence. Berkeley, CA: University of California dissertation.
- Geyer, Naomi. 2013. Discernment and variation: The action-oriented use of Japanese addressee honorifics. *Multilingua*, 32(2). 155–176. <https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2013-0008>
- Haug, Michael. 2010. Jocular mockery and face in Anglo-Australian interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(8). 2106–2119. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2009.12.018>
- Hwang, Juck-ryoon. 1990. "Deference" versus "politeness" in Korean speech. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 82: Aspects of Korean Sociolinguistics. 41–55. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1990.82.41>
- Jo, Jaehyun. 2018. Korean 'Formality' endings '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' in the negotiation of interactional identity in the news interview. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 136. 20–38. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.08.004>
- Kim, Minju. 1998. Cross-adoption of language between different genders: The case of the Korean kinship terms *hyeng* and *enni*. *Proceedings from the Fifth Berkeley Women and Communication Conference*, 271–284. Berkeley, CA: University of California.
- Kim, Hye Ri Stephanie. 2010. A high boundary tone as a resource for a social action: The Korean sentence-ender-ta. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(11). 3055–3077. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.022>
- Kim, Soung-U. 2013. Language attitudes on Jeju Island – an analysis of attitudes towards language choice from an ethnographic perspective. London: SOAS (University of London) dissertation.
- Kim, Eun Hye. 2006. Hankwuke senemal emi '-si-'uy samwul contay kinung: paykhwacem, tayhyengmathu, caylaysicang phanmaywen-uy palhwa-lul cwungsim-ulo [The inanimate object function of Korean verb ending '-si-': focussing on the utterances of sales personnel in department store, supermarkets and markets]. *Sahoyenehak* [The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korean] 24(1). 91–113.
- Kim, Eun Hye. 2006. Hankwuke senemal emi '-si-'uy samwul contay kinung: paykhwacem, tayhyengmathu, caylaysicang phanmaywen-uy palhwa-lul cwungsim-ulo [The inanimate object function of Korean verb ending '-si-': focussing on the utterances of sales personnel in department store, supermarkets and markets]. *Sahoyenehak* [Sociolinguistics] 24(1). 91–113.
- Kim, Young-Jin and Douglas Biber. 1994. A corpus-based analysis of register variation in Korean. In Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, eds., 45–70.
- Kim, Kyu-hyun and Kyung-Hee Suh. 2007. Style shift in Korean pedagogical discourse. *Sahoyenehak* [The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korean], 15(2). 1–29.
- King, Ross and Jaehoon Yeon. 2000. *Elementary Korean*. Boston, Mass: Tuttle.
- Lee, Hyo Sang. 1999. A discourse-pragmatic analysis of the committal-ci in Korean: A synthetic approach to the form-meaning relation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31(2). 243–275. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(98\)00066-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(98)00066-6)

- Lee, Chang Soo. 2000. A Frame-based analysis of Korean talk shows. *Ene-wa Enehak* [Language and Linguistics], 25, 177–197.
- Lee, Hyo Sang. 1991. Tense, aspect and modality: A discourse pragmatic analysis of verbal affixes in Korean from a typological perspective. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California, Los Angeles.
- Lee, Jungbok. 2010. Sanghwang cwuchey nophim ‘-si-’ uy hwaksan-kwa paykyeng [The Diffusion of Honorific Ending ‘-si-’ for the Situation Subject and its Backgrounds]. *Enekwahakyenkwu* [The Journal of Linguistic Science] 55, 217–246.
- Lee, Jung-bok. 2001. *Kwukeye kyengepep sayong-uy cenlyakcek thukseng* (The Characteristics of the Strategic Use of Korean Honorifics). Seoul: Thaeaks.
- Lee, Keunyoung. 2020. Impoliteness, identity and power in Korean: Critical discourse analysis and perception study of impoliteness. Eugene, OR: University of Oregon PhD dissertation.
- Lee, Kiri and Young-mee Yu Cho. 2015. Social meanings of honorific/non-honorific alternations in Korean and Japanese. *Korean Linguistics*, 17(2). 207–241.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/kl.17.2.03lee>
- Lee, Iksoo and S. Robert Ramsey. 2000. *The Korean Language*. Albany, NY: Suny Press.
- Lukoff, Fred. 1982. *An Introductory Course in Korean*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.
- Martin, Samuel. 1992. *A Reference Grammar of Korean: A Complete Guide to the Grammar and History of the Korean language*. Boston, Mass: Tuttle.
- Mason, Paul, Juan Domínguez, Bodo Winter and Andrea Grignolio. 2015. Hidden in plain view: degeneracy in complex systems. *Biosystems*, 128, 1–8.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biosystems.2014.12.003>
- Ochs, Elinor. 1993. Constructing Social Identity: A Language Socialization Perspective. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26(3). 287–306.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi2603_3
- Okamoto, Shigeko. 1998. The use and non-use of honorifics in sales talk in Kyoto and Osaka: Are they rude or friendly. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*, 7, 141–157.
- Palmer, Gary and Debra Occhi. 2010. *The Languages of Sentiment*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/aicr.18>
- Park, Yong-Yae. 1998. A discourse analysis of the Korean connective ketun in conversation. *Crossroads of Language, Interaction, and Culture*, 1, 71–89.
- Park, Mi Yung. 2012. Teachers’ use of the intimate speech style in the Korean language classroom. *Korean Language in America*, 17, 55–83.
- Paxton, Alex, Lucien Brown and Bodo Winter. 2018. Complex coordination: How power dynamics and task demands shape interpersonal motor synchrony. Paper presented at CogSci 2018, Madison, WI.
- Raymond, Chase Wesley. 2016. Linguistic reference in the negotiation of identity and action: Revisiting the T/V distinction. *Language*, 92(3). 636–670.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2016.0053>
- Sherr-Ziarko, Ethan. 2018. Prosodic properties of formality in conversational Japanese. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 49(3). 331–352.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025100318000117>
- Silverstein, Michael. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication*, 23(3–4). 193–229. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309\(03\)00013-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(03)00013-2)
- Sohn, Ho-min. 2006. *Korean Language in Culture and Society*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- Strauss, Susan and Jong-oh Eun. 2005. Indexicality and honorific speech level choice in Korean. *Linguistics*, 43(3). 611–651. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.2005.43.3.611>
- Suh, Cheong-soo. 1984. *Contaypep yenkwu*. Seoul: Hanshin.
- Sung, Ky-chull. 1985. *Hyentay taywupep yenkwu* (Research on Contemporary Honorifics). Seoul: Kaymwunsa.
- Winter, Bodo and Sven Grawunder. 2012. The phonetic profile of Korean formality. *Journal of Phonetics*, 40. 808–815. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wocn.2012.08.006>
- Winter, Bodo, Paula Pérez-Sobrino and Lucien Brown. 2019. The sound of soft alcohol. *PLOS ONE*, 14(8). e0220449. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0220449>
- Yoon, Kyung-joo. 2004. “Not just words: Korean social modes and the use of honorifics.” *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 1(2). 189–210. <https://doi.org/10.1515/iprg.2004.1.2.189>
- Yoon, Sangseok. 2010. Situational Meanings and Functions of Korean Speech Styles. Manoa, Hawaii: University of Hawaii dissertation.
- Yoon, Sang-Seok. 2015. Korean honorifics beyond politeness markers. In Marina Terkourafi (Ed.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Im/politeness*, 97–120. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/aals.14.06seo>

Address for correspondence

Jiyeon Lee
 East Asian Languages and Cultures
 Washington University in St. Louis
 MSC 1111-107-115
 One Brookings Drive
 St. Louis, MO 63130-4899
 USA
jiyeon@wustl.edu

Co-author information

Lucien Brown
 Monash University
 School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics
lucien.brown@monash.edu

Publication history

Date received: 17 February 2020

Date accepted: 11 October 2020