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The Use of Final Suffixes in the Negotiation of Interactional Identity and Listenership: A Study of the Endings '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' in Korean Institutional Conversations

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A Study of the Endings '-*supnita/-supnikka*' and '-*eyo*'

in Korean Institutional Conversations

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Jaehyun Jo

2020

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Use of Final Suffixes in the Negotiation of Interactional Identity and Listenership:

A Study of the Endings '-*supnita/-supnikka*' and '-*eyo*'

in Korean Institutional Conversations

by

Jaehyun Jo

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Sung-Ock Shin Sohn, Chair

What makes the rich verbal inflection system in Korean grammar even more tangled

is the reported presence of formal ('-supnita/-supnikka') and casual ('-eyo') endings.

Many scholars have traditionally categorized them in terms of formality or the level of

deference and affection. This approach, however, has paid little attention to how Korean

speakers actually 'code-switch' between the two forms in a rather dynamic manner at

each turn at talk. More recent studies from a more functional perspective mainly focus on

the speaker's side of the interaction. This dissertation analyzes spontaneous

conversational data from various institutional settings such as the news interview, variety

show, parliamentary hearing, courtroom conversation, and presidential TV debate in an

attempt to examine the interactional role of the two Korean endings, '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo,' in the service of social action. I first transcribed the data following the conventions widely used in Conversation Analysis, then marked all the endings employed in 1st pair part questions and 2nd pair part answers by who issued it, and in which pair part and with what local context it was issued. It has been argued that different languages employ different linguistic devices to project and reshape identities of the other(s) present in real-time interaction. My analyses show that in the institutional conversation of Korean, speakers use the two endings in a highly selective manner to achieve the interactional goal of properly registering the other interactant(s) either as an ordinary person (i.e. **INTERPERSONAL** use coupled with '-eyo') or as one of his/her social roles (i.e. **INSTITUTIONAL** use paired with '-supnita/-supnikka'). This view helps us understand why speakers code-switch between the two endings even when both the situational and the topical formality remain unchanged. Especially, the institutional use can further explain, in a sense that it is a type of non-personal use, the interesting mobilization of '-supnita' in delivering unidirectional notification that does not require any responses from the recipient even within the sequence in which the interpersonal use of '-eyo' is predominant by the same speaker. This unidirectional type of '-supnita' addresses 'detached' listenership (i.e. **IMPERSONAL** use). Also, when these endings appear in a mixed manner, there are distinct sets of co-occurring linguistic devices for different positions in which each ending appears within the same sequence of talk. This study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamic grammar use driven by the interactional goal of negotiating the moment-by-moment identities of the listener through ongoing talk. It is also demonstrated in this study that by focusing on the

ways in which the speaker carefully projects the listener, we can explain and incorporate

two seemingly different types: bidirectional usage (interpersonal '-eyo' and institutional

'-supnita') and unidirectional usage (impersonal '-supnita') of the endings into one

comprehensive model in relation to different interactional identities and distinct types of

listenership.

The dissertation of Jaehyun Jo is approved.

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2020

To my family, friends, and mentors

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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.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As is well known, Korean has a rich verbal ending[1] system; accordingly, there has

long been an intricate problem of how to distinguish some of the various endings that are

interchangeable and how to make the distinction easily understandable to the language

learners of Korean. Unlike most European languages where proper verbal conjugation

has to be made in terms of the person and number of the subject, one of the most

important factors which triggers the different conjugation in Korean is the relationship

between the speaker and the listener in terms of age and social status[2].

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[1] 'Ending' (or 'ender') is a grammatical unit which refers to linguistic elements that are mandatorily used to syntactically complete the verbal conjugation of sentences in Korean. These grammatical particles are attached to the stem of any verbs, adjectives, or the copula '-ita'. These endings well represent the agglutinative characteristic of Korean.

[2] When a younger person with a relatively lower social status talks to an elderly person with a higher social status or to someone she/he does not know well, honorific (or polite) endings are employed. On the other hand, when an elderly person with a higher social status talks to a younger person with a relatively lower social status, non-honorific (or plain) endings are used. The same is true for someone talking to a person who is of a similar age or bears a close relationship to the speaker.

In addition to this distinction between polite and plain endings, what makes the

Korean verbal inflection system even more tangled is the reported presence of the

formal and casual endings. For instance, there are two possible ways in which a

declarative sentence can be completed in Korean. Without making any propositional

changes, one can use '-supnita' or '-eyo'[3] with falling intonation at the end of the

sentence. Also, for interrogative sentences, '-supnikka' and '-eyo' with rising intonation

can be employed interchangeably at the sentential end without causing substantial

alteration in its propositional content.

Many Korean scholars[4] have categorized these alternative endings in terms of

formality or the level of deference and affection. This approach holds tenable in many of

the archetypal cases. However, it has been facing criticism since there seem to exist

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[3] This dissertation follows the Yale Romanization system of Korean, except for proper nouns such as names of places or participants in the data under examination. The Yale system is widely used in linguistics for its phonemic accuracy in terms of transliterating each alphabet in Korean into its counterpart symbol in the Roman alphabet notation without obscuring the phonemic value of each consonant and vowel. All proper nouns, however, follow the Revised Romanization of Korean proclaimed by Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Republic of Korea (hereafter South Korea).

[4] Suh (1980, 1984), Sung (1985), Nam and Ko (1993), and Nam (2001), among others.

many cases where the 'formal' (i.e. '-supnita/-supnikka') and 'casual' (i.e. '-eyo') endings

are employed dynamically in a mixed manner even within the same speech turn.

In naturally occurring conversations, native speakers of Korean often use 'casual'

endings in formal situations such as in the news interview or courtroom conversation.

This suggests that the way in which Korean speakers actually use these two endings in

conversation may be more complicated than what have been described and categorized

in the traditional view. This implies that the distinction between them should be assessed

from a more flexible perspective to take into consideration more diverse interactional

factors. Revisiting the issue while keeping these aspects in mind will help us more

accurately grasp the real picture of the usage of these 'seemingly analogous' endings in

Korean.

More recently there have been a notable number of studies[5] which show interesting

findings from the functional and interactional perspective.[6] These studies, however, also

have several drawbacks of having a considerable amount of counter examples; thus,

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[5] Eun and Strauss (2004), Strauss and Eun (2005), Kim (2014), Brown (2015), and Jo (2018),
among others.

[6] Refer to the next chapter for a detailed discussion of the relevant literature.

significant modification to the existing models is needed. In the short example below,[7]

the male interviewer (MIR) in the news interview uses '-eyo,' whereas one of the two

interviewees (DJN) uses '-supnita'. This behavior is in stark contrast to what would be

expected following the previous studies in that in this 'formal' situation the very person

with an official, formal, presentational, and authoritative role keeps using the 'casual'

ending.

Example (1)

```
01  HDN:  cheumulo   ilehkey solcikhan yaykitaylo han pen
          first:time this    honest    story:as    one time

02        →nanwe polkka   hapnita.    yey:
          share try-PURP do-supnita. Yeah:
          "{We} are going to share candid stories for the
          first time-supnita."

03  FIR:  a:
          "ah:"

04  MIR:  a  cengmal solcikhan yaykilul  hasil
          ah really  honest    story-ACC do-HON-ATTR

05        →cwunpika      ta  toysyesseyo?
          readiness-NOM all become-HON-PST-eyo?
          "Are {you} really ready to tell us {your} candid stories-eyo?"
```

In other words, with what actual communicative goals to achieve each linguistic form

from the two Korean endings gets to be used is still vastly unknown. Therefore, the

research questions that this study deals with are: (1) what is the interactional role of the

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[7] Refer to Chapter 3, Data and Methodology, for detailed information regarding the data
examined in this study.

two endings, '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo,' in Korean in the service of social action; and

(2) what factors trigger which linguistic form to be selectively used (i.e., how and in what

order, if there is any, do Korean speakers deploy these endings when they are mixed) in

real-time interaction. The interesting findings from this research will certainly shed new

light on the small yet significant puzzle of the sophisticated Korean ending system and

ultimately contribute to a better understanding and education of the multi-layered Korean

ending system.

CHAPTER 2

RELEVANT LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will summarize how previous studies have dealt with the issue of

distinguishing between the two alternative linguistic forms in Korean, '-supnita/-supnikka'

and '-eyo'. First, I will start by looking at how previous research defined the historical

development of these two endings from a diachronic perspective. Then I will move on to

the studies which focused on the synchrony of the two forms in attempts to shed light on

how to distinguish between those endings in modern Korean.

Historical linguistic studies of different endings in Korean revealed that we can trace

the origin of '-supnita/-supnikka' further back than the one of '-eyo'. Ko and Koo (2008:

449-457) argues that '-eyo' and '-e' appeared in the early 20th century, and that in the

1930's only women and children used '-eyo' and '-e'. Only later they got stabilized

among different people across genders and generations. This might be incongruent with

the presupposition of many people who speak or have learnt the Korean language since

'-e(yo)' is one of the most frequently, if not predominantly, used conversational ending in

Modern Korean. However, their research reveals that '-e(yo)' had not gotten its dominant

status in the Korean ending system until fairly recently. Another interesting study, Lee

(2007: 183-196, 288-292), traces back the first advent of '-e(yo)' a bit further to the early-

mid 19th century. According to this study, slightly older forms of '-e(yo),' such as '-@yyo'[8]

and '-@y,' appeared in the early-mid 19th century. She, however, claims that '-supnita'

has much longer history as seen in the diachronic development of the ending below.

'-@pnaita' (15th c.) > '-@pnayta' (17th c.) > '-pn@yta' (19th c.)

From a historical point of view, in the 19th to the early 20th century, a raging torrent of

modernization swept through every level of social system toward the end of Joseon[9]

dynasty. One of the reformative movements which took place was the abolition of

slavery. This yielded a massive change in society, from hierarchical and vertical to more

equal and horizontal one. Therefore, this is noteworthy that a huge change in society

has been encapsulated and has left its footprints into different use of various endings in

the case of Korean.

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[8] @ represents a simple vowel, called 'arae a,' in Middle Korean.

[9] Joseon was a dynastic kingdom in the Korean peninsula that lasted for approximately five centuries (1392 - 1897).

A good deal of studies have been conducted using the synchronic approach to

analyze the Korean ending system. I will closely examine the more traditional view first

and then discuss recent studies that have been conducted from a more functional

perspective. As noted in the introduction, the more traditional view of categorizing

different endings in Korean in addition to the 'honorific' and 'non- honorific' distinction is

the 'formal' and 'casual' dimension. Some of the prominent advocates of this view are

Suh (1980, 1984), Sung (1985), Nam and Ko (1993), and Nam (2001). According to this

view, the Korean verbal ending system could be modeled as is shown in the table below.

	HONORIFIC	NON-HONORIFIC
CASUAL	-eyo (declarative / interrogative / imperative)	-e (declarative / interrogative / imperative)
FORMAL	-supnita (declarative) -supnikka (interrogative) -usipsio (imperative)	-nunta (declarative) -nya/ni (interrogative) -ela (imperative)

Table 1. The casual and formal categorization of Korean endings

In the table above, the casual polite ending '-eyo' and the casual plain ending '-e'

can be versatilely declarative, interrogative, or imperative depending on the intonation

and context in which it appears. Each ending in the table is the representative form and

thus includes all other allomorphs. For instance, the formal polite declarative '-supnita' in

the table includes the allomorphs of '-supnita' and '-pnita,' which selectively occur with

different phonological conditions.[10]

In one of the influential and exhaustive studies of Korean grammar, Nam and Ko

(1993) explain the difference between the formal ending '-supnita/-supnikka' and the

casual '-eyo' as follows:

- The distinction between the two endings in Nam and Ko (1993: 331-336)

    '-supnita' and '-supnikka' (formal) – direct, objective, expressing respect

    '-eyo' (casual) – soft, subjective, cordial, narrowing social distance

This explanation holds true in many situations. However, there are many other

'deviant' cases in which these distinctions do not seem to hold its tenability. We can

easily find counter examples if we look at natural conversations. In other words, while

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[10] If the stem of the preceding component ends in a consonant, '-supnita' is used. For verbs and adjectives with stems ending in a vowel, '-pnita' is used.

the traditional formal/casual view explains many intuitive examples, since it did not pay

proper attention to naturally occurring discourse, more functional and interactional

aspects of these endings, i.e. when and how Korean speakers actually use these

linguistic forms in conversation, have been largely neglected.

For instance, in judicial testimony or a parliamentary hearing, a prosecutor or

examiner can indeed use the '-eyo' ending while conducting highly adversarial

interrogation in a high-handed or coercive manner. In these cases, the cross-examiner

who employs '-eyo' in his/her questions is in no way trying to sound more "soft" or

"cordial." Also, considering the inherent adversarial nature of these situations, it is hard

to imagine that the questioner in these cases is attempting to narrow the social distance

between him/her and the questioned party.

Consider the short example below from a parliamentary hearing conducted in South

Korea in September 2016.[11] In this example, the Minister of Education (MOE) is

advocating their recent governmental investigation on an undue admittance of a girl from

a politically powerful family to Ewha Womans University. And the Congressman (CGM)

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[11] Refer to Chapter 3, Data and Methodology, for more information regarding this set of data. Also, a detailed discussion about the findings from this type of institutional talk can be found in Chapter 4, Data Analyses.

is interrogating the minister in an adversarial tone. While maintaining his accusatory and

hostile attitude toward the Minister and asserting that the investigation conducted by the

Ministry of Education was done iniquitously in favor of the powerful family, the

Congressman uses the '-eyo' ending. These tokens of '-eyo' do not seem to have any of

the characteristics attributed to the ending by Nam and Ko (1993).

Example (2)

```
01  CGM:  cenkwuk: (.) cenkwuk tayhak-ul ta  thongthul-eto
            whole:nation    university-ACC all check:through:even
            "Even though {I} checked through all the universities in the na:tion"

02  MOE:  yey:
            "Yes:"

03  CGM:→kulen hakchik-i eps-eyo:,
            that  rule-NOM  there:is:no-eyo
            "there is no such school rule-eyo:,"

04  MOE:→a iss-supnita.       kathu- kka   sokupha-yse       cekyongha-nun
            oh there:is-supnita same- I:mean in:retrospect:CNN apply-ATTR

05          hakchik-tul-ul cehuy-ka talu-n     hakkyo-hako pikyoha-yse,
            rule-PL-ACC     we-NOM    other-ATTR school:with compare-CNN

06      →[cehuy-ka chac-a pw-ass-supnita.
             we-NOM   find-EXPRN-PST-supnita
            "Oh there is-supnita. The same- I mean we have found-supnita
            such policies that exert its effect in a retrospective manner
            after comparing other schools' regulations."

07  CGM:→[ani:, (.) ani way engttwungha-n    soli-lul ha-se-yyo:,
             no         no  why ridiculous-ATTR word-ACC do-HON-eyo
            "No. No. Why are you giving-eyo ridiculous answers?"

08          (1.0) cey malkwi-lul cal  mos alatul-ese
                  my  word-ACC    well not understand:because

09      →ha-si-nun   malssum-i-eyyo?
            do-HON-ATTR answer-COP-eyo
            "You don't understand what I'm saying-eyo?"
```

Recently there have been a notable number of studies that have attempted to revisit

the traditional distinction. These studies include Eun and Strauss (2004), Strauss and

Eun (2005), Kim (2014), Brown (2015) Yoon (2015), Lee and Yu (2015) and Jo (2018).

These researchers can be labelled 'non-advocates' of the traditional formality model in

the sense that all of them have attempted to shed new light on how to better distinguish

the traditionally labelled formal and casual endings. I will discuss the limitations of the

most recent and relevant study in the rest of this chapter.

Brown (2015) provides interactional insights into the direct and indirect indexicalities

of '-yo'[12] and formal polite ending '-supnita'.[13] The main focus of his paper was finding

the indexical differences and related stances associated with each form, but he also

conducted multimodal analyses that included gestures, physical positions, and even the

clothing of each speaker. According to him, the direct indexical meaning of '-supnita' is

'formal presentational stance' and that of '-yo' is "something along the lines of social

distance stance."[14]

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[12] This includes the casual polite ending '-eyo'.

[13] In his paper, '-yo' is labelled as "polite," and '-supnita' as "deferential" respectively.
[14] As for this vague definition, the author writes that this is the best definition for '-yo' he could give at the time. He admits the necessity for further research on this matter.

Although the indexicality of '-yo' is dealt with in his paper, the major focus of his

study is on indexical meanings of '-supnita,' which are described as "presentational," "on

stage," "objective," and "authoritative" for its direct indices, and "theatrical," "deferential,"

and "distancing" for its indirect indices. According to Brown's study, the difference

between the 'deferential' ending '-supnita' and the 'polite' '-yo' can be explained as

follows:

- The distinction between '-supnita' and '-yo' in Brown (2015)

  '-supnita' (deferential) – presentational, authoritative, deferential

  '-yo' (polite) – difficult to pin down, but it seems to lack a presentational quality

This study gives insights into how Koreans use these two linguistic forms at the end

of each sentential unit in broadcasted conversation. However, it also appears to have a

few critical drawbacks. First, the most significant limitation of the study is that it

compared the ending '-supnita' with the affix '-yo' instead of comparing it with '-eyo' as if

'-supnita' and '-yo' are the same grammatical unit. The most noticeable syntactic feature

of '-yo' as an affix is its attachability. When '-yo' is attached to other "interactional

particles"[15] in conversation, it is extremely difficult to tease apart the claimed indexical

meaning of '-yo' from the interactional particle to which '-yo' is attached. For this reason,

it seems that the author had no other option than to define the indexical meaning of '-yo'

in a fairly loose manner as "something along the lines of social distance stance." Also,

this study seems to mainly focus on the speaker side of interaction. In order to bring in

richer insights into a fuller picture of naturally occurring discourse, close attention has to

be paid to the other side of interaction, the listener, at each turn at talk.

Albeit focusing on different endings, Yoon (2015) and Lee and Yu (2015) attempt to

show the dynamic social meanings of the honorific and non-honorific endings in Korean.

While supporting the idea that honorifics do not simply convey the meaning of politeness

or deference, each of the studies gives us interesting insights into how Korean speakers

manage to selectively use and 'intermix' these endings in regard to its pragmatic import

by resorting to the notion of change of footing (Yoon, 2015), and indexical order (Lee

and Yu, 2015).

These studies focused on the switches between the honorific and non-honorific

forms. It has yet to be investigated the precise ways in which we can theorize the fluid

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[15] This term, 'interactional particle,' is as used in Brown (2015).

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shifts between the two alternative endings both in the honorific category of the Korean

language, namely '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo,' in naturally occurring conversations

within different institutional settings.

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This study analyzes spontaneous conversational data from various institutional

settings such as the news interview, variety show, parliamentary hearing, courtroom

conversation, and presidential TV debate to examine the interactional role of the two

endings, '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo,' in the service of social action. In order to

conduct both qualitative and quantitative analyses, I transcribed the data using the

widely accepted transcription conventions found in Conversation Analysis (CA).[16]

As for the selection of appropriate scope of conversational data for analysis,

institutional conversations where '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' can be employed in a

mixed manner were deemed suitable for the research purpose of the current study since

ordinary daily conversations with, for example, close friends or family members rarely

contain '-supnita/-supnikka'.

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[16] A full glossary of these transcription conventions can be found in Atkinson, J. M. and Heritage, J. (ed.) (1984). Structures of Social Action, Cambridge University Press, pp. ix-xvi.

In the process of analyzing the data, I first divided 1st pair part questions and

sequential 2nd pair part answers in each subset of the data. Each pair part in the data

may consist of more than two turn construction units (TCU) and sometimes it gets fairly

long with multiple turns due to the inherent characteristics of the discourse. For instance,

in the news interview 2nd pair part answers often contain multiple turns because the

questioner is expected to be more patient for the other interactant(s) to complete his/her

action (Clayman and Heritage, 2002). Interjecting into the current turn or intrusively

taking over the speakership for the next turn occurs less frequently in those settings than

in ordinary conversation.

In the news interview data, for example, 1st pair part questions were given by male

and female interviewers; and 2nd pair part answers were given by the interviewees.[17]

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[17] Due to the characteristics of the news interview, it was extremely rare in the data for the interviewees to ask questions to the interviewers except for a few tokens. And even in those instances what was asked could not be considered a real question. These instances are cases in which the question raised is a rhetorical question or not really seeking for information from the question recipient. Therefore, 5 tokens in total including the example below were excluded in the analysis of the study.

```
01  DJN:  etil pwaya toycyo?
          "Where should I look?"
02  FIR:  aphey: [posiko
          "Look up front:"
03  DJN:        [ney o penikwun- yuk penikwunyo, yey
          "Okay Oh (camera number) five- no six, alright"
```

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Subsequently, all of the endings in each pair part were marked and counted by who

issued it, and in which pair part and with what local context it was issued.

Essentially, all the tokens of endings were analyzed in terms of the two research

questions. (1) What is the interactional role of each of the two endings in Korean

presently under examination, '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo,' in the service of social

action? In an effort to answer the first research question, attention was paid to the

conversation's both general and local topic with which each turn at talk was dealing,

what each member in the conversation mentions about each other and the

circumstance, and the person reference forms each speaker uses when addressing the

other interactant(s). (2) When employing the two endings within the same sequence in a

mixed manner by the same speaker, what are the specific ways in which Korean

speakers deploy those linguistic forms? As for the second research question, in order to

understand the functional and interactional usage patterns of each of the two endings

within a sequence, various co-occurring linguistic devices – such as falling or rising

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In the case above, DJN's question in line 1 was actually not a real question in so far as it is fair to
speculate that even before getting any answer he had already known or at least been able to
figure out on his own which camera to look at. This is shown in that DJN interjected in even
before FIR finished her answer and also that he went on showing off his high epistemic status by
specifying which camera he was supposed to look at, which was not a piece of information that
FIR offered.

intonation, and immediately preceding and/or following silence – with which the two

endings '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' appeared in the data were analyzed.

In the rest of the current chapter, I will provide detailed demographic information

about each set of the data used in this dissertation. I will also discuss the factors that

make each data set interesting to be analyzed. All of the five sets of data under analysis

contain institutional conversations with varying degrees of conflict that are specifically

good sources to show dynamic turn variations between speech participants in attempts

to achieve certain institutional and personal goals in different social contexts. In spite of

the heterogeneous types of interactional settings, the type of social action to be

observed, i.e. questions and answers, was consistently maintained. Stabilizing the

characteristic of sequences of actions to be analyzed that are played out in different

social settings allows us to focus on the specific ways in which speakers mobilize the

two Korean endings in the service of a particular social action.

The first subset is from the news interview. Two separate episodes from the same

live news interview TV program, YTN *Issue and People*, with the same interviewers but

different interviewees were analyzed. *Issue and People* is shown on the prominent

South Korean news broadcasting company YTN. On the show, a male interviewer and a

female interviewer ask invited guests questions about various issues at hand.

Figure 1. Episode A (left) and Episode B (right) in the news interview

In the first episode, hereafter Episode A, a project music band consisting of a famous

comedian/singer (Hyeongdon) and a rapper (Daejun, also called Depeukon in the same

interview) was invited to the show to trade their gossip and unofficial anecdotes about

how they got to know each other and ended up forming a music band. This interview

was broadcasted in June 2012, shortly before which these interviewees had released

their music album. The title track song 'An Cohul Ttay Tulumyen Te An Cohun Nolay' ('A

Song That Will Make You Feel Even Worse If You Listen To It When Feeling Sad') went

viral in South Korea at that time for its comic elements. The entire show consists of a 26

and a half minute interview with HDN (Hyeongdon), DJN (Daejun), MIR (male interviewer), and FIR (female interviewer).

In the second episode, hereafter Episode B, a politician Jaecheon Choi, who was running as a candidate for the National Assembly in the 19th General Election in South Korea, was invited to talk about his official pledges and campaign promises. This interview was broadcasted in March 2012, and the entire show consists of a 7 min and 50 second interview with PTC (politician), MIR (male interviewer), and FIR (female interviewer). MIR and FIR of Episode B are the same people as those in Episode A.

There are two significant characteristics that make this interview program intriguing. First, these episodes are specifically good sources which show a vivid contrast between formalness of the situation and varying degrees of casualness of the topics being discussed. One of the most prominent features of the news interview is its inherent formality. It is a type of interview between professional reporter(s) and interviewee(s) that is intended to be broadcasted on television or written in a newspaper. In the episodes analyzed in this study, as is true in any other formal news interview, there are predetermined roles for the interviewers. However, the episodes in the data appear to

deal with different degrees of casualness in that the topics being discussed in Episode A

and Episode B are fairly distinctive from each other. Also, the guests of the show are not

fully formal figures in the first case, whereas in the second case the interviewee is a

national level politician.

In Episode A, the fact that MIR was having a hard time calibrating the proper

formalness/casualness for the interview became clear from the beginning of the show

when he introduced the two celebrities. He mentioned "I don't know if I could introduce

them as legitimate singers, but anyway we invited these two people whose song has

recently become extremely popular." Therefore, these episodes offer us a very

interesting contrast to look at in terms of the clash between the situational formalness

and topical casualness.

Second, each of the speakers has to deal with his/her own images of self and other

in the show in a spontaneous manner. These images could include what the news

program should be like, who they are, and who they think the other interactants are. This

issue is closely related to the rationale of recipient design in the field of Conversation

Analysis as quoted below.

Recipient design is a term referring to the "multitude of respects in which the talk by

a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an

orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants."

(Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974: 727)

The most interesting contrast in perceptions can be found between one of the

guests, HDN, and the male interviewer, MIR, in Episode A. This contrast is well

represented in what they mention about the show and in HDN's gestures throughout the

course of interview. HDN constantly questions the propriety of his being a part of the

interview (e.g. "I'm not sure if we can occupy this much time on this most prominent

news channel in Korea."), and frequently makes a hand gesture of face-palming out of

embarrassment as shown in the screen captured images below.

Figure 2. HDN face-palming in Episode A in the news interview

On the other hand, from MIR's point of view, the most plausible way to justify having

these 'less formal' guests on the news show is by probing into the interviewees'

unofficial and informal anecdotes, thereby offering the audience some intriguing gossip-

worthy news. At the very beginning of the show, MIR was a bit indecisive about the role

he was to take (e.g. "I haven't decided if I should ask you formal questions or rather fun

and casual questions yet,"), but as the interview unfolds, he maintained his stance of

making the interview as informal and gossipy as possible. This became clear when MIR

said "(I'm afraid) if you speak too logically, this will become just an ordinary news

interview," to the guests. By this point, MIR seems to have decided to project the

interviewees as ordinary people speaking about highly casual and personal topics.

Everyone has a multi-faceted identity in real life. And registering the other as either a

person or one of his/her many social/institutional roles (e.g. by jobs, titles, or even

his/her roles within family) depends on the impending interactional needs in the specific

moment of talk. With this in mind, one can imagine that the ways in which each speaker

perceives and projects the 'other(s)' in a precise moment will accordingly affect the use

of different endings, as part of the recipient design.

Raymond (2016b) informs us of a more dynamic and insightful view of varied

dimensions, i.e. status versus stance, of interactional identities in conversation

participants applying the distinction in Heritage (2013: 377), which was originally

designed for different epistemic levels between speakers. Through an analysis of

various second person reference forms in Spanish, Raymond (2016b: 642) distinguishes

the 'identity status' (i.e. "more or less settled aspects of individuals' identities,") and the

'identity stance' (i.e. "the moment-by-moment invocation of one or more of these

identities,"). This dynamic view is particularly relevant in that the current study attempts

to examine the interactional role of the two Korean verbal endings in the service of social

action in regard to the emerging interactional need to express the moment-by-moment

identity (i.e. 'identity stance') of the interlocutor(s) through on-going talk.

In an attempt to examine whether there are interesting phenomena that are relevant

to the research scope of the current study and not bound to any particular institutional

context, different sets of examples from varied institutional settings were examined.

Following the news interviews is the set of data from a variety talk show in which a host

person asks questions to invited guests.

The talk show data under analysis came from a famous TV program in South Korea,

called *Yoon Dohyeon's Must* at a popular cable broadcasting company specializing in

pop music, Mnet. In this show the show moderator, who is also a musician himself, talks

with the invited guests spontaneously about various topics related to personal anecdotes

of the invitees and also their music as seen in figure 3 below. The entire show consists

of thirteen minutes of a talk among HDN (Hyeongdon), DJN (Daejun), YDH (the show

moderator).[18]

Figure 3. DJN (left), HDN (middle), and YDH (right) in the variety talk show

This set of data shows a uniquely interesting contrast with Episode A in the news

interview which I discussed earlier. Both talks deal with fairly similar conversational

---

[18] There is one more speaker in the show, a guitarist. However, in the entire show, he had very little contribution to the talk and in fact he did not issue any questions to the interviewees. Thus, it is fair to say that this talk was conducted primarily among the three aforementioned members.

topics, such as unofficial/gossipy anecdotes of how the band's members came to know

each other and decided to form a music band together, while having the identical

interviewees (HDN and DJN). The major difference between these two, however, is that

one is an entertainment talk show and the other is a news interview. Therefore, this data

set will provide us with the ways in which speakers use the two endings under

examination differently, if at all, while talking about similar topics in two distinct situations

in level of formality.

    The next data set comes from a rather distinct institutional context. It is a South

Korean parliamentary hearing that was conducted in September 2016 and this

conversation lasts for ten and a half minutes. In the captured image below (Figure 4), the

man to the left is the Minister of Education (MOE) who is advocating the adequateness

of their recent governmental investigation on an undue admittance of a girl from a

politically powerful family to Ewha Womans University. Her mother, Ms. Soon-sil Choi,

had a close personal connection with the former President of South Korea who was

impeached in March 2017. The man to the right is a Congressman (CGM) who is

interrogating the Minister of Education in a highly accusatory tone with adversarial

gestures that include his hostile stares.

Figure 4. MOE (left) and CGM (right) in the parliamentary hearing

The next institutional context under analysis is situated in the constitutional

courtroom. From January to March in 2017, there was a series of constitutional hearings

for the impeachment of the former President of South Korea, Geun-hye Park. Her

impeachment was the culmination of the course of political scandals involving her

closest personal aide, Ms. Soon-sil Choi. The Constitutional Court of Korea upheld the

former President Park's impeachment in a unanimous decision on March 10th 2017. The

court accepted the evidence of most of the charges Ms. Park was indicted for, important

two of which are the evidence that Ms. Park allowed Ms. Choi to unlawfully intervene to

the presidency and benefit from it, and the evidence of collusion between them to coerce

bribes from Samsung Group.

This set of data used for analysis lasts for one hour and six minutes, and the

configuration of seats in the constitutional courtroom is shown in figure 5.
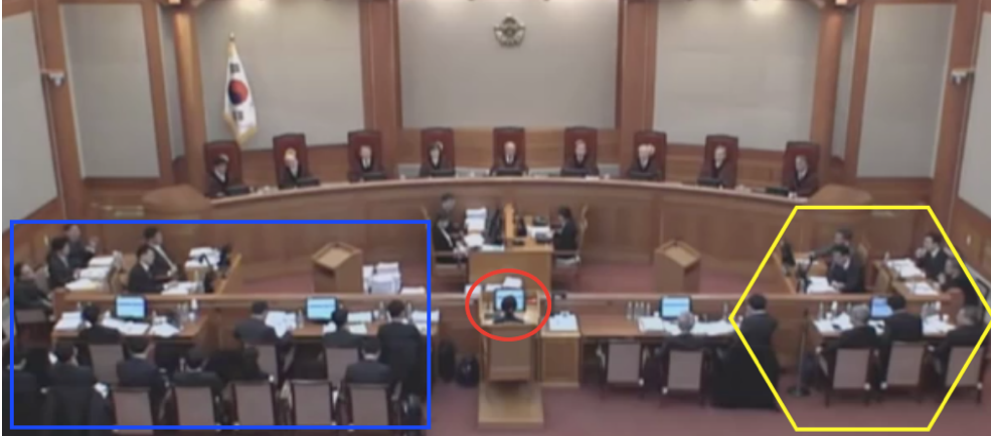
Figure 5. A scene in the constitutional courtroom hearing

In the screen captured image above, the witness, Ms. Soon-sil Choi, is seated in the

circle at the bottom center. The group of prosecuting lawyers, who attempt to prove the

collusion between the President and Ms. Choi, are in the square to the left side; and the

group of defense lawyers, who try to invalidate the petition for former President Park's

impeachment are placed in the octagon to the right side of the picture. At the very top of

the image are the nine judges of the constitutional court.

Due to the inherent characteristics of the hearing, 1st pair part questions in this data

set are given by the prosecuting lawyers, the defense lawyers, and the judges. And

subsequent 2nd pair part answers are given by the witness, Ms. Choi, since the

questions raised by the three different groups of people are all directed to the witness.

The last data set is situated in the presidential TV debate. Soon after the

impeachment and dismissal of the former President, Geun-hye Park, early presidential

elections were held in South Korea on May 9th 2017, which had originally been

scheduled for December 20th in the same year. The last data for analysis came from the

TV debate co-hosted by the popular South Korean broadcasting company JTBC and the

Korean Political Science Association. The debate was broadcasted on April 25th 2017.

The last data set of this dissertation lasts for two hours and fifty-three minutes, and

the configuration of seats in the debate is shown in figure 6 below.

Figure 6. A scene in the presidential TV debate

At the debate, one moderator and five major presidential candidates took part in

heated discussions: HJP (Joon-pyo Hong) of the Liberty Korea Party in the top left, SSJ

(Sang-jeong Sim) of the Justice Party in the top center, MJI (Jae-in Moon) of the

Democratic Party in the top right, ACS (Cheol-soo Ahn) of the People's Party in the

bottom left, and YSM (Seung-min Yoo) of the Bareun Party in the bottom right.

The debate moderator solely and exclusively uses '-supnita/-supnikka' throughout

the conversation. The five presidential candidates, however, often make temporary shifts

between '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo'. These speakers intermix the two endings with

the emerging interactional need to shape, reshape, and negotiate the most relevant

facet of the other's interactional identities at various moments of talk.

In the course of the debate, they constantly refute others' contentions, but also

attempt to make alliances at times against the opposite camp in and through the

moment-by-moment progression of the conversation. This accordingly gives rise to the

necessity to manipulate the most relevant interactional identities of the other(s) at talk.

In this regard, this set of data is a particularly good source to observe the interesting

interplay between the two conversational concepts in Raymond (2016b: 642), the

'identity status' (i.e. "more or less settled aspects of individuals' identities") and the

'identity stance' (i.e. "the moment-by-moment invocation of one or more of these

identities") in talk-in-action and the ways in which the moment-by-moment invocation of

the most relevant interactional identity influences Korean speakers' selective use the two

endings.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSES

In this chapter I will demonstrate and discuss the results of both quantitative and

qualitative analyses of the data. Before discussing the specific issues of the current

study, I would like to mention that there were overall preferences for one ending over the

other depending on in which stage of the institutional conversation they are located. All

the conversations in the data consist of three major parts depending on its interactional

structure and contents: the Opening, Questions/Answers (i.e. the main body of the

interview), and Closing.

In the Opening part, the interviewers or examiners greet and recognize the

interviewees or examinees who are present in the venue of the talk. Also, this is the

phase in which interviewers introduce interviewees to the audience who are watching

the show on TV, or examiners officially open up the conversation. In this stage, the

speakers tend to exclusively use '-supnita'. However, as soon as the interviewers or

examiners begin to ask 1st pair part questions to the interlocutor(s), more diverse

endings such as '-supnita/-supnikka,' '-eyo,' and various interactional particles with the

polite affix '-yo' attached to it are used in a mixed manner. In the Closing part, on the

other hand, '-supnita' is the exclusively dominant form in all the conversations presently

under analysis. As the interviewers or examiners bring the talk to an end, they issue

some 'ritual' and 'fossilized' expressions such as "mamwulilul hakeyssupnita." ("We will

wrap up the show here.") and "komapsupnita." ("Thank you."). [19]

The mechanism that creates these distinctly different usage patterns in the main

body of the talk and the Opening/Closing is the assumption that in the beginning and

ending part, the interviewers or examiners are addressing the collective audience but not

only the specific interviewees or examinees present. In the Opening and Closing part as

well as in the news report, for example, in which the speaker issues procedural remarks

or simply delivers information or notifications, the directionality of communication is

rather unilateral.

On the other hand, in the middle part of the institutional talk under analysis,

interviewers or examiners ask various questions to the interlocutors and the interlocutors

---

[19] The exclusive use of '-supnita' in these two parts of the talk is congruent with the observation of '-supnita' in activity-initiating and activity-closing sequences (cf. Strauss and Eun, 2005; and Brown, 2015).

accordingly respond to those questions by trying to offer relevant answers. In other

words, the method of communication can be considered bidirectional in the middle part

of the institutional talk.

Consequently, what is interesting to be noted is the fact that there seem to be two

heterogeneous types of '-supnita'. One type of '-supnita' is mobilized exclusively and

predominantly in unidirectional communication and the other '-supnita' is used in

bidirectional communication in which other bidirectional endings, including '-eyo,' can

also be employed in a mixed manner. The fact that the ending '-supnita' is not

homogeneous but has distinct functions and interactional roles will be examined and

illustrated in various examples situated in different institutional settings through the rest

of the chapter.

4.1. The News Interview

In the rest of the chapter, I will demonstrate the results of the analyses and discuss

relevant issues surrounding the two endings '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' in the

question and answer sequences which appear in the main body part of the talk for each

set of the data.

I will start with the news interview. Table 2 below shows how many tokens of each

type of endings, including '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' at the leftmost columns of the

table, were used in the question and answer sequences in both Episode A and B in the

news interview.

Frequency		-supnita / -supnikka	-eyo	-nayo	-ciyo	-koyo	-unikkayo, -eseyo	-ketunyo	-nunteyyo	-neyyo	-ulkkayo	-kwunyo
Episode A	1st pair Q	3	26	14	6	4	0	2	0	2	3	1
	2nd pair A	28	11	0	3	18	2	8	8	1	0	0
Episode B	1st pair Q	16	0	1	4	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
	2nd pair A	29	5	0	12	7	2	5	2	1	1	0

Table 2. Tokens of each ending used in both episodes of the news interview

The focus of this study solely falls on the first two endings on the table above, and

thus all other types of endings that consist of interactional particles followed by the polite

suffix '-yo' are not within the direct scope of the current study. All of the endings

containing such embedded interactional particles (e.g. '-nayo,' '-ciyo,' '-koyo,' '-unikkayo,'

'-eseyo,' '-kedunyo,' '-nunteyyo,' '-neyo,' '-ulkkayo,' '-kwunyo') have 'something more' to

say about the propositional content being delivered than the interactionally 'unmarked'

endings such as '-supnita/-supnikka' or '-eyo'.

The reason that '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' can be considered interactionally

unmarked is as follows. All of the forms '-supnikka,' '-eyo' and '-ciyo,' for example, can

be used to form a question. However, while '-supnikka' and '-eyo' simply question about

the proposition, '-ciyo' is considered to be indicating a claim that the speaker is more

knowledgeable or at least has a similarly elevated high epistemic status compared to

what the other interactant(s) know (or 'are supposed to' know) about the issue at hand

rather than questioning about the proposition per se.

Although it is not the main focus of the current study, it is noteworthy that many of

the endings listed in the table above (e.g. '-ciyo,' '-koyo,' '-unikkayo,' '-eseyo,' '-kedunyo,'

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'-nunteyyo,') were originally connectives that were later grammaticalized or are still

undergoing the process of grammaticalization into endings. This calls our attention to

closely look at how Korean speakers use 'endings' and 'connectives,' in the traditional

sense, to construct one's own turns at talk in real-time conversation.

Regarding the focus of the current study, Table 3 below shows only the frequency of

'-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' tokens used in the question and answer sequence in both

episodes. Percentages are presented in parentheses right below the token frequencies

for each ending in each pair part.

Frequency (Percentage)		-supnita/ -supnikka	-eyo	Total
Episode A	1st pair Q (MIR, FIR)	3 (10.3%)	26 (89.7%)	29 (100%)
	2nd pair A (HDN, DJN)	28 (71.8%)	11 (28.2%)	39 (100%)
Episode B	1st pair Q (MIR, FIR)	16 (100%)	0 (0%)	16 (100%)
	2nd pair A (PTC)	29 (85.3%)	5 (14.7%)	34 (100%)

Table 3. Frequency of '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' in the news interview

What is particularly interesting in Table 3 is the fact that the same male and female

interviewers predominantly (89.7%) use '-eyo' in their 1st pair part questions in Episode

A, but employ only '-supnita/-supnikka' (100%) while conducting the same type of social

action, questioning, in Episode B. Note that both of the episodes are formal news

interviews with the same interviewers. This clearly shows that contextual formality on its

own does not function as a determining factor in the usage of the two endings. In

contrast, the predominant (71.8% in Episode A, and 85.3% in Episode B) ending that is

used in the 2nd pair part answers by different interviewees in both episodes remains the

same, '-supnita/-supnikka'.

Paying close attention to the ways in which each speaker sees other(s) present, and

more specifically which of the two Korean endings is used with respect to the projection

of 'other(s)' present in conversation gives us an interesting clue to explain the difference

in the interactional patterns presented in Table 3. Concerning the two options of

projecting the other person either as a person himself/herself (i.e. interpersonal use) or

as one of his/her social/institutional roles (i.e. institutional use), my data show that

Korean speakers employ '-eyo' and '-supnita/-supnikka' in a selective manner as a

systematic linguistic device in their attempts to achieve the goal of properly registering

the most relevant interactional identity of other(s) present in each turn at talk.

This dynamic interplay between the specific interactional motivation and

pragmatically driven grammar use in natural discourse is congruent with the findings

from Oh (2007 and 2010) on Korean quasi-pronouns and Raymond (2016a and 2016b)

on various Spanish second person singular pronouns.

Because of the general topic and goal of the interview in Episode A, the two

interviewers, MIR and FIR, are largely treating the guests, HDN and DJN, as 'persons'

with whom they are having an ordinary conversation. Some of the questions raised by

the interviewers are, for example, "How did you guys meet?" by MIR and "What do you

think about him?" by FIR, which are fairly casual and personal. This perceptional

categorization of HDN and DJN is also expressed in what the interviewers mention

about the interviewees and their roles in the news show. On the other hand, the two

guests, HDN and DJN, project the interviewers as their institutional role instead of

registering them as ordinary interlocutors, even though they are responding to the highly

personal questions raised by the interviewers. The fact that the interviewees project the

interviewers as an institutional role and that HDN feels insecure about being on the

"most prominent news show" can be seen by viewers in their comments about being on

the show and in HDN's gesture of face-palming.[20]

In Episode B, however, both interviewers (MIR and FIR) and the politician

interviewee (PTC) appear to treat the other(s) as the embodiment of their institutional

role. The interviewers ask questions which are strictly related to the official role that the

politician is hoping to assume after the impending election. The questions raised by the

interviewers are, for example, "What are your campaign promises?" and "What do you

want to improve if you are elected?" These can be answered only from the institutional

position of a candidate Congressman in this case. Also, while answering the questions

PTC strictly adheres to his projected role in the interview. He does not have to step

down from the institutional role and present himself as an ordinary person. One

interesting contrast in the addressing terms used in the interviews is that when MIR and

FIR address PTC, they strictly call him "Candidate (Choi)" which is his institutional role;

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[20] Refer to Chapter 3, Data and Methodology, for a more detailed discussion about the various statements made by MIR and HDN, and HDN's gesture and the broader implications they have in the current study.

whereas, when they address HDN and DJN, they call each interviewee by name thereby

emphasizing their personhood.[21]

From these observations it is clear that in both episodes the interviewees in general

project MIR and FIR as their institutional role, and this is coupled with the frequent use of

'-supnita/-supnikka' (i.e. institutional use). The interviewers, however, see the

interviewee as his institutional role only in Episode B where the predominant ending

remains '-supnita/-supnikka' (i.e. institutional use). On the other hand, MIR and FIR treat

the two interviewees in Episode A, HDN and DJN, mostly as ordinary persons, and this

is reflected in the predominant use of '-eyo' (i.e. interpersonal use).

Two examples from Episode A and two examples from Episode B are presented

below to substantiate the argument in a qualitative manner. In addition to the congruent

examples, 'deviant' cases where the same speaker swiftly code-switches from one form

to the other in real-time interaction are interesting and worth analyzing further.

---

[21] It is true that Korean speakers do not normally call singers by their job title, unlike politicians.
Nonetheless, referring to the interviewees by their names in the news interview shows that the
interviewers are deliberately projecting the others as ordinary 'persons'. In that in Korean the
circumvention of any reference form is a common strategy. Namely, addressing someone by
his/her own name in a public interview is one way of expressing how one sees the other
interlocutor.

The reason that these fluid changes in selecting one of the two Korean endings are

intriguing is that when a speaker departs from the 'normal' and switches to a non-default

form and vice versa we can more clearly see the circumstances under which the

speaker actively attempts to shape, reshape, and negotiate the projected identities of the

other(s) at talk. From here on, '-supnita/-supnikka' tokens are marked with squares and

'-eyo' tokens are shaded with grey in both the Korean gloss and English translation for

ease of observation.

In Example 3 below extracted from Episode A, interesting differences in language

use between the interviewers and interviewees are exemplified. Here both interviewers

almost exclusively employ '-eyo' throughout the excerpt in lines 2, 15, 23, and 25 (except

for line 9) while discussing the personal feelings of the interviewees in the show. For

instance, in lines 14-15, MIR asks whether the interviewees are actually ready to share

their unofficial and personal anecdotes with the interviewers and the postulated

audience of the news show. Also, in lines 22-25, he mentions that it seems to him that

HDN is the only one in the band who feels nervous. In this excerpt as elsewhere in

Episode A, while MIR asks personal questions about the other interlocutors in which he

deliberately projects and shapes the interactional identity of the interviewees as a person

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in an ordinary conversation, '-eyo' is used. In other words, '-eyo' functions as one

linguistic means in Korean by which the interactional identity of an ordinary person is

invoked. This reflects the most "relevant facet of interactional identities" (Raymond

2016b: 653) in a specific moment of the ongoing interaction.

Whenever the interactional need to recalibrate and reshape the relevant facet of the

interviewees' identity to their social/institutional role, instead of the 'persons' themselves,

newly emerges, however, MIR shifts to '-supnita/-supnikka' until he returns back to his

use of the interpersonal ending '-eyo' in Episode A. For instance, in lines 5-9 in the

example below, MIR who predominantly uses '-eyo' throughout the episode makes a

swift shift to '-supnikka' while attempting to confirm with the interviewees that this is the

band's first official interview. This task of confirming a band's institutional plan or official

schedule can be done in a more certain way if it is by the right authority. Having this

interactional motive in mind, MIR recalibrates the relevant facet of the identity of the

interviewees at this moment as the institutional role they have in the show rather than

the personal individual role, and makes a temporary shift to the institutional '-supnikka'.

On the other hand, it appears that the interviewees use '-supnita' while registering

the interviewers present as their institutional role through Example 3. This perceptional

trajectory is shown in what HDN and DJN mention. In lines 11-12, for example, HDN on

behalf of the band speaks of their sincere desire to be giving their first official interview.

HDN thereby defines the interactional identity of the interviewers as the institutional role

they are playing. Also, in lines 17-19, DJN responds with the band's original 'institutional'

plan to the question raised by MIR in lines 14-15 that asks about rather 'personal'

readiness and willingness of the interviewees to share their personal stories. These

demonstrate that HDN and DJN perceive and project the interviewers as their

social/institutional role at this moment of talk and accordingly use '-supnita'.

Example (3)

```
01  FIR:  어우 이렇게     떠는      모습       처:음  보는
          ewu ilehkey ttenun  mosup      che:um po-nun
          oh  this    nervous appearance first  see-ATTR

02      →것  같아요.=방송에서는                 늘
          kes kath-ayyo.=pangsong-eyse-nun      nul
          NML seem-eyo   broadcasting-LOC-TOP   always
          "Oh {I} think this is the first time I've seen {you
          guys} this nervous-eyo.=in other shows"

03      활발한       모습이셔서
          hwalpalhan mosup-i-sy-ese
          active     appearance-COP-HON-because
          "because {you} always seem active (I thought you
          wouldn't get nervous)."
```

04 DJN: 네:
        ney:
        "yeah:"

05 MIR: 우선   저희가   좀   우선   고맙다는   말씀을
        wusen cehuy-ka com wusen komaptanun malssum-ul
        first we-NOM a bit first appreciative word-ACC

06   드리고, 이: 질문을   이어 가야 될
        tuli-ko, i: cilmwun-ul   ie kaya toy-l
        give-CNN uh question-ACC continue:should-ATTR
        "we should thank you guys first before moving
        on to the next questions,"

07   것이,   두 분이   이렇게   그룹을   만드시고,
        kes-i, twu pwun-i ilehkey kulwup-ul mantu-si-ko,
        NML-NOM two CL-NOM this group-ACC make-HON-CNN

08   첫   인터뷰가   저희 YTN 하고 하는   이
        ches inthepyu-ka   cehuy YTN-hako ha-nun, i
        first interview-NOM us YTN:with do-ATTR this

09 →자리라고   제가   들었거든요,   맞습니까?
        cali-lako cey-ka tul-ess-ketun-yo, mac-supnikka?
        place-QT I-NOM hear-PST-CORL-POL right-supnikka
        "that I heard that the first interview you guys
        have had after forming this band is this interview
        with us, YTN, right-supnikka?"

10 DJN: 예: 워낙,   낯가림이   심해서요,
        yey: wenak, nachkalim-i simh-ayse-yo,
        yes by:nature being shy-NOM severe-because-POL
        "Yes {it's} because {we are} very shy by nature,"

((Participants laugh))

11 HDN: 처음으로   이렇게   솔직한   얘기대로   한 번
        cheumulo ilehkey solcikhan yayki-taylo han pen
        first:time this honest story:as one time

12 →나눠 볼까   합니다.   예:
        nanwe po-lkka ha-pnita. yey:
        share try-PURP do-supnita. Yeah:
        "{We} are going to share candid stories for the
        first time-supnita."

13 FIR: 아:
        a:
        "ah:"

14 MIR: 아 정말   솔직한   얘기를   하실
        a cengmal solcikhan yayki-lul ha-si-l
        ah really honest story-ACC do-HON-ATTR

15 →준비가   다 되셨어요?
        cwunpi-ka ta toy-sy-ess-eyo?
        readiness-NOM all become-HON-PST-eyo?

"Are {you} really ready to tell us {your} candid
stories-eyo?"

16 HDN: 예:
           yey:
           "ye:s"

17 DJN: 사실   저희가   방송: 활동을   앨범
           sasil   cehuyka pangsong: hwaltong-ul aylpem
           in:fact we-NOM   broadcasting activity-ACC album

18   발매   전까지도,   생각을   못
           palmay cenkkacito, sayngkak-ul mos
           release before:until thinking-ACC cannot

19   →하고   있었습니다:
           ha-ko iss-ess-supnita:
           do-PROG-PST-supnita
           "To be honest, we couldn't pla:n on getting any
           {public} schedule for broadcasting: until we
           {actually} released our album-supnita."

((DJN continues his explanation))

20 HDN: 아유 근데   저희가   좀   긴장을   많이
           ayu kuntey cehuy-ka com   kincang-ul   manhi
           uh but   we-NOM   a bit nervousness-ACC much

21   한   상태[여가주구요
           ha-n   sangthay[-y-ekacwukwu-yo
           feel-ATTR   condition-COP-because-POL
           "uh but we are actually very nervous now."

22 MIR: [저희가   아니고,
                            [cehuy-ka ani-ko,
                             we-NOM   not-CNN

23   →정   정형돈   씨만   긴장하고   있어요:,
           Jeong JeongHDN ssi-man kincangha-ko iss-eyo:,
           NAME NAME   Mr.:only being nervous-PROG-eyo
           "It's not "we," HDN you are the only one who
           seems nervous-eyo,"

((Participants issue filler words))

24 MIR: 데프콘   씨는   전혀   긴장한   얼굴이
           Depeukon ssi-nun cenhye kincanghan elkwul-i
           NAME   Mr.-TOP at:all nervous   face-NOM

25   →아니에요
           ani-eyyo,
           not-eyo
           "DJN doesn't look nervous at all-eyo."

47

Unlike the local context in Example 3 in which the interviewees used '-supnita' while

presenting their institutional plans and readiness to be on the show; in Example 4 below,

DJN and HDN talk about how they came to know each other and became close enough

to form a band. Here DJN begins by explaining his initial curiosity in HDN (lines 1-4) and

his first impression of HDN upon meeting him in a bar (lines 6-8). In the earlier part of

the same episode, DJN kept employing '-supnita' while projecting and shaping the

relevant interactional identity of the interviewers as the institutional role that MIR and FIR

had in the show whenever he was speaking about the institutional plan of the band to

the interviewers.

At the beginning of Example 4, however, DJN swiftly code-switches and makes a

temporary shift to '-eyo' since here, while relating a personal anecdote, he is

recalibrating the relevant identity of the interviewers to that of an ordinary person in this

specific moment of the ongoing interaction. In the response to this anecdote, MIR in

lines 9-10 asks whether DJN thought HDN seemed inapproachable when he first saw

him. In this question as elsewhere in the episode, MIR asks personal questions about

the interviewees and projects and shapes the interactional identities of the other

interlocutors as ordinary people in everyday conversation. This perceptional trait is coupled with the use of interpersonal '-eyo' in the example.

In what follows, after DJN fails to come up with the right word to describe the type of person he thought HDN was, HDN makes a joke about the musicians not being good guests for a live news show. In line 18, MIR interrupts and comments on the show's having departed from the normative news interview due to the interviewees' funny remarks. MIR's comment, however, cannot be considered 'normative' either in the sense that the blame he is assigning here is issued in a funny and joking way[22] using a slang-sounding wording '*kkoi-*' ('screwed up') while he treats the interviewees as ordinary people in daily conversation. The ending that is employed by MIR here is also the interpersonal '-eyo'.

DJN, then, replies to MIR's blame-assigning comment by saying that it is actually alright since time will pass anyway in lines 19-20. This is particularly interesting in that we can clearly see the way in which DJN registers the relevant identity of MIR at this precise moment in the conversation through his comment. DJN, who previously used the

---

[22] Refer to MIR's comment on how he perceives the role of the two interviewees from a later point of the episode as follows: "(I'm afraid) if you (HDN and DJN) speak too logically, this will become just an ordinary kind of news interview."

interpersonal '-eyo' when speaking of his personal encounter with HDN earlier within the

same excerpt, now shifts to employing the institutional '-supnita' as he recalibrates the

interactional identity of MIR as his institutional role. This switch occurs because he feels

obliged to make an excuse for the blame imposed by the interviewer. DJN's comment,

"time will pass anyway," which functions as a defense against the blame, shows that he

is projecting MIR as his institutional role at this moment. This is because his comment

implies that once the clock runs out on the show, the interview will be over anyway. This

shows that DJN makes the 'institutional' facet of MIR's identity relevant while referencing

the show's time limitations at this specific point in the ongoing interaction.

Example (4)

```
01  DJN:  사실    쫌    어, 저    사람   되게    뭐지:
          sasil   ccom  e,  ce   salam toykey mwe-ci:
          in:fact a:bit oh, that person very   what-Q

02       →하는    생각이       들었어요.
          ha-nun  sayngkak-i  tul-ess-eyo.
          QT-ATTR thought-NOM came:in-PST-eyo
          "In fact, a little bit, 'oh, who's that guy?' {I}
          started to wonder-eyo"

03       근데    이제 갑자기     한     이 주      정도
          kuntey icey kapcaki   han    i  cwu    cengto
          but    now  suddenly about two weeks  about

04       있다가    전화가      와서,
          isstaka cenhwa-ka  w-ase,
          later   call-NOM   came-because
          "But then since {I} got a call suddenly after
          about two weeks,"

05  FIR:  네
          ney
          "Yes"
```

06 DJN: 술자리에서   만났는데,   .hh 보기와는
         swulcalieyse manna-ss-nuntey, .hh poki-wa-nun
         in:a:bar   met-PST-CIRCUM   looking:with-TOP

07   다르게   되게   너무   인간적인   매력이
         talukey   toykey nemwu inkancekin   maylyek-i
         differently very   too   kindhearted charm-NOM

08   너무   있더라고요
         nemwu iss-te-lako-yo
         too   has-REPORT-QT-POL
         "{I} met him in a bar, .hh unlike how he looked,
         he had an extremely kind-hearted personality."

09 MIR: 아 보기에는   전혀   인간적이지
         a poki-ey-nun   cenhye inkanceki-ci
         Oh looking-to-TOP   at all kindhearted

10   →않게   보였어요?
         anh-key   poy-ess-eyo?
         not-ADV   seem-PST-eyo
         "Oh {you} thought {he} by appearance didn't look
         approachable at all-eyo?"

11 DJN: 굉장:히   쫌   내성적이고,
         koyngcang:hi ccom naysengcek-i-ko,
         very much   a:bit introverted-COP-CNN
         "{Someone} like very introverted,"

12 FIR: 음:
         um:
         "uhm"

13 DJN: 예 쫌 뭐랄까요?   사람이   약간   좀
         yey ccom mwe-la-lkka-yo? salam-i   yakkan   com
         Yeah a:bit what-QT-Q-POL   person-NOM a:little a:bit
         "What do {I} say? That guy was a bit"

14   게   뭐라고   해야   되죠?
         key mwe-lako hay-ya toy-c-yo?
         like what-QT   say-should-Q-POL
         "like, what should {I} say?

15 HDN: .hh 아 이래서   저희가: 생방송
         .hh a ilayse   cehuy-ka: sayngpangsong
             ah this:is:why we-NOM   live:show

16   인터뷰를   안   할려고 (0.2)
         inthepyu-lul an   ha-llyeko (0.2)
         interview-ACC not do-PURP
         ".hh This is why we are reluctant to have a live
         interview (0.2)"

17 FIR: 왜요   왜요
         way-yo way-yo
         Why-POL why-POL

```
18  MIR: →갈수록:     꼬이고    있어요:,
         kalswulok: kkoi-ko iss-eyo:,
         as:it:goes screwed-PROG-eyo
         "The show is getting screwed up-eyo."

19  DJN: →괜찮습니다:        어쨌거나     시간은
         kwaynchanhsupnita: eccaysskena sikan-un
         Okay-supnita        anyway       time-TOP

20       가니까요
         ka-nikka-yo
         go-because-POL
         "It's Okay-supnita. Time will pass anyway."
```

Examples 5 and 6 below are extracted from Episode B. Throughout the conversation in Episode B, both the interviewers (MIR and FIR) and the interviewee (PTC) predominantly use '-supnita/-supnikka' while asking and answering questions about the official pledges of the politician's campaign. All of the questions are strictly related to the institutional role of congressman for which PTC is competing.

In Examples 5, the interview participants are specifically talking about the community plans that PTC has in mind for one of the 25 boroughs of Seoul, called Seongdong District, for which he wants to become a congressman. Here while MIR issues his question (in lines 4-6) and a preface (in lines 1-2) that leads to the main question, he uses '-supnita/-supnikka' to shape the interactional identity of the interviewee as his institutional role as elsewhere in the episode. PTC also employs '-supnita' at the beginning (in line 7) and end (in line 19) of his 2nd pair part answer to assign the relevant

facet of MIR's identity strictly to the institutional role of interviewer while responding to

the question with his official plans.

   In the middle part of his answer, however, PTC code-switches and uses '-eyo' in

lines 9 and 14. In lines 8-9, PTC is offering a broad reason for why he thinks it is

necessary to retrieve and revive the traditional culture that the community members in

Seongdong used to have. Instead of providing statistical or objective reasons why

becoming a bed town is an adverse change, PTC handles the task here by appealing to

the personal empathy of the interviewers that the district should not become 'just' a bed

town. He achieves this by reshaping the relevant facet of MIR's identity to an ordinary

person who can empathize with the politician and the district's community members.

Even though news interviewers are expected to remain neutral in general, the temporary

shift to '-eyo' in line 9 made it possible for PTC to ask for MIR's personal agreement at

this precise moment by projecting the interviewer as an ordinary person in this

recalibration of MIR's interactional identity. It is also noteworthy that the recalibration has

an immediate effect. While briefly resonating with this personal and emotional appeal,

MIR in line 10 responds with a token of agreement 'yes' even though he does not really

have to respond and could have just issued a simple continuer word such as 'um' or 'ah'

to preserve a neutral stance if he decided to adhere to his institutional role of interviewer.

In what immediately follows, PTC makes a contrast between the material prosperity

that the district has been enjoying and the loss of tradition within the community in lines

11-14. In order to intensify the persuasiveness of his pledge to have more community

events (explained in lines 15-19), he again projects the interviewer as an ordinary

person to whom he can make such an emotional appeal and pairs his plea with the use

of the interpersonal '-eyo' in line 14. Toward the end of the example, PTC finishes the

expanded turn of his answer with a shift back to '-supnita' as he speaks of more

concrete and tangible ideas for the community events he is planning to hold if elected.

Example (5)

```
01  MIR:  추가        질문을        좀    하나
          chwuka     cilmwun-ul   com   hana
          additional question-ACC a:bit one

02        →드리겠습니다.=
          tuli-keyss-supnita.=
          give-MODAL-supnita
          "{I} will give you one more question-supnita.="

03  PTC:  =예:
          =yey:
          =Yes:

((MIR continues issuing his question))

04  MIR:  옆  구나        인접       구와의
          yeph kwuna      incep      kwuwa-uy
          next district:or contiguous district:with-GEN
```

05   >뭐라고 하-<   괴리감,   이런 것들   생각   안
              >mwe-lako ha-< koylikam, ilen kes-tul sayngkak an
               what-QT say separation this NML-PL thinking not

06   →해   보셨습니까?=
        hay po-sy-ess-supnikka?=
        do try-HON-PST-supnikka
        "Haven't {you} thought about >what should {I} s-<
        the separated feeling or something from the
        neighboring districts-supnikka?="

07 PTC: →=>어 그렇진   않습니다.   왜냐면,<
        =>e kulehci-n   anhsupnita. waynyamyen,<
         oh it:is:so-TOP not-supnita it:is:because
        "=>Oh it's not like that-supnita. It's because,<"

08   .hh 성동구가   단순히   베드타운이
        .hh sengtongkwu-ka tanswunhi peytuthawun-i
            NAME-NOM   simply   bed:town-NOM

09   →돼서는   안   되잖아요,
        twaysenun an toy-canh-ayo,
        become   not can-you:know-eyo
        ".hh you know Seongdong District can't become
        {just} a bed town-eyo,"

10 MIR: [예:
        [yey:
        [yeah:

11 PTC: [예 근데   재개발   재건축으로
        [yey kuntey caykaypal   caykenchwuk-ulo
         yeah but   redevelopment renovation:by

12   좋은   아파트   좋은 집은   많이   지어
        cohun aphathu cohun cip-un   manhi cie
        good apartment good house-TOP much build

13   놨지만   사랑스러운   전통   문화는
        nwass-ciman salangsulewun centhong mwunhwa-nun
        have:put:but lovely   tradition culture-TOP

14   →없어졌단   >말이에요   그래서<
        epsecy-ess-tan   >mal-i-eyyo kulayse<
        disappear-PST-QT word-COP-eyo so
        "[Yeah but many good apartments and houses have
        been built through redevelopment and renovation,
        but I mean {our} lovely traditional culture >has
        disappeared-eyo so<"

15   서울   숲을   중심으로
        sewul swuph-ul cwungsim-ulo
        Seoul Forest-ACC center:as
        "concentrating on Seoul Forest"

((PTC continues explaining his pledges))

```
16      꽃축제나        음악축제나      미술축제나
        kkochchwukceyna umakchwukceyna miswulchwukceyna
        flower:fest:or  music:fest:or  art:fest:or

17      사람들이     언제나     즐겁게       뛰놀     수  있는(.)
        salamtul-i enceyna culkepkey ttwinol swu iss-nun(.)
        people-NOM always  freely    romp        can-ATTR

18      그런   전통        공간을        만들겠다는
        kulen centhong  kongkan-ul  mantul-keyss-ta-nun
        that  tradition space-ACC   make-MODAL-QT-ATTR

19   →겁니다.
        ke-pnita.
        NML-supnita
        "I'm planning to have a flower festival, music festival,
        art festival, or a traditional space where people can
        freely enjoy their leisure time-supnita."
```

It is interesting to see the way in which '-eyo' is deployed with '-supnita' in a mixed

manner when the default ending of the sequence is the institutional '-supnita/-supnikka'.

Throughout Episode B, as exemplified in Example 5 above, there seems to be a strong

tendency regarding the position in which '-eyo' can be used within the answer sequence

in which the default ending is '-supnita,' and regarding the co-occurring linguistic devices

such as intonation. When the interviewee projects the relevant identity of the

interviewers as their institutional role, he always closes the sequence by completing the

2nd pair part answer always with falling-contour '-supnita' as a turn-ending token. In other

words, tokens of non-turn-ending '-supnita' and all the temporary switches to '-eyo' are

placed in the turn-middle position without the falling-contour intonation of the turn-ending

'-supnita'.

These endings signal to the other interactants that the sequence is not yet completed

and thus the speaker has intention to continue the current pair part. Two of the devices

used to achieve continuous speakership that appear in the episode above are the rising

intonation placed on '-eyo' in line 9, and the rushed pause, i.e. 'compressed TRP[23]'

(Transition Relevance Place), placed on '-supnita' in line 7 and on '-eyo' in line 14. I will

provide a detailed discussion of Example 6 below concerning the co-occurring linguistic

devices mobilized to signal the speaker's intention to close or continue the current pair

part with a focus on the turn-ending '-supnita' and non-turn-ending '-supnita' tokens.

Example 6 from Episode B shows that there appear to be certain rules to the ways in

which '-supnita/-supnikka' is issued with regard to its location in the sequence. As shown

in Kim and Sohn (2015) focusing on turn-final 'kuntey' ('but') in Korean conversation, the

specific location of the turn in a sequence has its own meaning and function for

achieving certain interactional goals at hand. The close examination of each episode of

the news interview presently under analysis reveals that when the speaker projects the

interactional identity of the other interactant(s) as his/her institutional role, not only is '-

supnita/-supnikka' much more frequently mobilized as discussed in the previous part of

---

[23] Refer to the more detailed discussion on Example 6.

this section, but it is also a normative way to complete the end of each expanded pair

part of the sequence, whether it be the 1st pair part question ('-supnikka') or the 2nd pair

part answer ('-supnita').

Furthermore, whenever the normative '-supnita/-supnikka' with the institutional use is

placed at the end of each pair part, it appears to have a terminal intonation – i.e. rising

contour for '-supnikka' and falling contour for '-supnita' – which in talk-in-action

accordingly signals to the other interactant(s) that the current action of the sequence is

coming to an end. When the same ending, '-supnita/-supnikka,' is used in the middle of

the sequence, however, it appears with a noticeably different set of linguistic devices to

signal that the current turn will be continued.

For instance, in the example below, the '-supnikka' token that is employed at the end

of the 1st pair part question in line 5 has a rising terminal intonation. Also, the turn-ending

'-supnita' token used at the end of the expanded 2nd pair part answer in line 19 occurs

with falling terminal intonation. However, all other non-turn-ending '-supnita' tokens that

appeared in the middle of the answer have different co-occurring linguistic apparatuses.

In lines 10 and 11, the '-supnita' tokens are part of reported speech. These have

incomplete syntax when used on their own without the main clause with a reporting verb

such as '(someone) said' or '(someone) told (me)'. This in turn gives the interlocutor the

idea that the current speaker has not finished his/her turn. Also, '-supnita' in line 13

shows an example of 'compressed TRP' (Transition Relevance Place) by rush-throughs.

As noted in Clayman (2013), based on work by Schegloff (1982, 1987), Local and

Walker (2004), and Walker (2010), truncated silence by abrupt-joins following a possible

completion point of one turn indicates that the current speaker has the intention of

holding the floor to continue the action he/she has been conducting. Lastly, in line 17,

the non-turn-ending '-supnita' has upward continuing intonation, which is different from

the turn-ending '-supnita' with falling terminal contour in line 19.

Example (6)

```
01  FIR:  뭐   트위터    등      SNS 활동도      열심히
          mwe thuwithe tung    SNS hwaltong-to yelsimhi
          uhm twitter  such:as SNS activity:too hard

02        하고   계시는        거 [같은데,
          ha-ko kyey-si-nun ke [kath-untey,
          do-PROG-HON-ATTR  NML seem-CIRCUM
          "It seems you've also been active in using social
          network services (SNS) such as Twitter,"

03  PTC:                       [예
                               [yey
                               [yes

04  FIR:  이   s- SNS 활동이       도움이    된다고
          i    S- SNS hwaltong-i   towum-i toy-ntako
          this S- SNS activity-NOM be helpful-QT
```

05   →보십니까?
      po-si-pnikka?
      think-HON-supnikka
      "DO you think using S- SNS helps-supnikka?

06 PTC: 어: 도움이   많이   되지요.
      e: towum-i   manhi toy-ci-yo.
      uh be helpful much:DL-POL
      "Uh: it helps a lot."

07 FIR: 음:
      um:
      "um:"

((PTC continues issuing his explanation))

08 PTC: 뭐 이를 테면   외국에서   저랑,   어
      mwe ilul theymyen oykwuk-eyse ce-lang, e
      uhm for:instance overseas   me:with uh

09   트친을   맺고   계신
      thuchin-ul   mayc-ko   kyey-si-n
      twitter:follower   become-PROG-HON-ATTR

10   →분들도   "제가   부모님을   설득했습니다:"
      pwuntul-to "cey-ka pwumonim-ul seltukha-yss-supnita:"
      people:too I-NOM   parents-ACC persuade-PST-supnita
      "Uhm for example, those people who follow me on
      Twitter overseas also {said}, "I persuaded my
      parents-supnita:"

11   →"부모님께   알려   드렸습니다:"   이런
      "pwumonim-kkey allye tuly-ess-supnita:" ilen
       parents-to   let:{them}:know-supnita" this
       "I let them know-supnita:"

12   말씀   많이 들려오고요,   근데   또
      malssum manhi tullyeo-ko-yo, kuntey tto
      word   much heard-CNN-POL but   also

13   →재미있는   역설도   >있습니다   이를 테면,<
      caymiissnun yeksel-to >iss-supnita   ilul theymyen,<
      interesting irony:too there's-supnita for:example
      "I heard this kind of thing a lot, but there is
      interesting irony >as well-supnita for example<"

14   오늘   아침에   지하철   선거   운동을
      onul achim-ey cihachel senke   wuntong-ul
      today morning:in subway   election campaign-ACC

15   또   가서   인사를   하는데요,   다들:
      tto   ka-se insa-lul   ha-nuntey-yo, tatul:
      again go:and greeting-ACC do-CIRCUM-POL everyone

16   그 스마트   폰을   보고   계시느라고
      ku: sumathu phon-ul   po-ko kyey-si-nulako,
      the smart   phone-ACC see-PROG-HON-because

```
17      →후보자를           보지  않습니다,
        hwupoca-lul    po-ci anh-supnita,
        candidate-ACC  see   not-supnita
        "I went out for {my} election campaign again this
        morning and was saying greetings on the subway,
        since everyone: was looking down at the:
        smartphone, they didn't look at me-supnita,"

((PTC continues issuing his explanation))

18  MIR:  장단점이         있다는           말씀(이지요)
          cangtancem-i  issta-nun      malssum(-i-ci-yo)
          pros and cons there:are-ATTR word(-COP-Q-POL)
          "(You mean) there are pros and cons."

19  PTC:  예:  그렇습니다.           예
          yey: kuleh-supnita.    yey
          yeah it:is:so-supnita. yeah
          "Yeah: that's right-supnita. Yeah."
```

Those three devices with which the non-turn-ending '-supnita' (in Example 6) and the

non-turn-ending '-eyo' (in Example 5) appeared are distinct from the turn-ending type of

'-supnita' in terms of their interactional function to (dis)continue the speakership.

Therefore, the different ways in which each ending is used at talk-in-action also show

us the close interplay between achieving the interactional goal of holding or discarding

the current speakership in real-time conversation in regard to sequence organization and

actively (re)shaping/negotiating the relevant facet of the interactional identity of the other

interlocutor at each turn at talk through selectively employing different endings in the

case of the Korean news interview.

4.2. The Variety Talk Show

As discussed earlier, the data set from the variety show used in this study shows an interesting contrast with the Episode A of the news interview. Both interviews have identical interviewees and deal with fairly similar topics as well. Some of them are unofficial/gossipy anecdotes of how the interviewees got to know each other and decided to form a music band together. Therefore, the data set in the current subsection will provide us with the ways in which speakers use the two Korean endings differently while talking about similar topics at hand in two distinct speech settings.

Table 4 below shows the frequencies of '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' used in the question and answer sequence in the Episode A of the news interview and the data from the variety talk show for analysis. As a reminder, the 2nd pair part answers in both of the two episodes are given by identical interviewees, HDN and DJN. The 1st pair part questions are given by the two anchormen (MIR and FIR) in the news interview, and by the talk show moderator (YDH) in the variety show.

Frequency (Percentage)		-supnita/ -supnikka	-eyo	Total
Episode A News Interview	1st pair Q (MIR, FIR)	3 (10.3%)	26 (89.7%)	29 (100%)
	2nd pair A (HDN, DJN)	28 (71.8%)	11 (28.2%)	39 (100%)
Variety Talk Show	1st pair Q (YDH)	2 (9.1%)	20 (90.9%)	22 (100%)
	2nd pair A (HDN, DJN)	16 (30.8%)	36 (69.2%)	52 (100%)

Table 4. Frequency of the two endings in the news Episode A and the talk show

The two identical interviewees, HDN and DJN, predominantly (71.8%) use the

institutional '-supnita/-supnikka' in their 2nd pair part answers in the news interview, but

appear to employ '-eyo' more frequently (69.2%) than '-supnita/-supnikka' while

conducting the same type of action, answering, in the variety show. Note that these two

conversations are dealing with fairly similar topics regarding the interviewees' personal

anecdotes. This confirms that the conversational topic on its own does not function as a

determining factor in the usage of the two endings in Korean. On the other hand, the

predominant ending (89.7% in the news interview, and 90.9% in the variety talk show)

employed in the 1ˢᵗ pair part questions by different interviewers in both talks remains the same, '-eyo' with the interpersonal use.

According to the ending distribution shown in Table 4, both MIR and FIR in the news interview and YDH in the variety show are in general projecting the interactional identity of the interviewees, HDN and DJN, as ordinary 'persons' with whom they are having a daily conversation. This is represented in the frequent use of '-eyo'. On the other hand, the two interviewees project the interviewers in the news show rather as their institutional role, which is coupled with the '-supnita/-supnikka' tokens. In the entertainment show, however, the same interviewees appear to treat the show moderator, YDH, mutually as an ordinary person. Both of the interviewees also actively employ '-eyo' and the kin term 'hyeng' ('older brother') when referring to the show moderator. In Korean, a younger male can address an elder male as 'hyeng' in ordinary conversation even if those two are not from the same family.

Two examples from the variety show are presented below. Through these examples, we can examine not only the normative use of the institutional '-supnita/-supnikka' and the interpersonal '-eyo,' but also the ways in which Korean speakers temporarily make

shifts between the two endings in the service of doing particular social actions in real-

time interaction.

In line 7 of Example 7, HDN uses '-eyo' while asking whether the other member of

the band, DJN, personally was not aware of the issue at hand regarding the music

band's scheduling. Also, In line 9, the interviewer, YDH, employs '-eyo' while stating that

it seems to him that DJN looks actually surprised by getting to know about the music

band's own schedule that he was not aware of until this moment of the talk. The

interviewer's playful description of the situation equipped with '-eyo' and his breathy

laughing particles ('hhh') at the beginning of the turn makes it sound like a daily casual

conversation between friends.

However, earlier in line 2, HDN used '-supnita' when he was presenting the current

plan of the music band while registering the show moderator as his institutional role to

which HDN is reporting their official plan. Notice the shift from the institutional '-supnita'

to the interpersonal '-eyo' as exemplified in line 2 and line 7 employed by the same

speaker. Interestingly, later in line 8, DJN uses '-eyo' when he talks about the same

topic, the band's current plan, while using the identical word, '*makpaci*' ('end'). This is

because in line 8, DJN is not presenting their plan to the show moderator projected as

his institutional role, which was the earlier case in line 2. Here, he is simply asking to

confirm the information with the other member of the band, HDN. Therefore, in line 8,

DJN has no need to register the listener as his institutional role. However, he is now

projecting the relevant interactional identity of the other interactant as an ordinary person

taking part in daily conversation, which is paired with '-eyo' of the interpersonal use.

Example (7)

```
01  YDH:   앨범 얘기할까요?
           aylpem yaykiha-lkka-yo?
           album  talk-PURP-POL
           "Shall we talk about your album?"
02  HDN:→왜냐면은 (.)      저희  예   오늘이:    거의   거:진  막바지입니다:
           waynyamyenun (.) cehuy yey  onul-i:    keuy   ke:cin makpaci-i-pnita:
           it's:because     we    yeah today-NOM almost almost end-COP-supnita

03         저희   활동이         hhh
           cehuy hwaltong-i     hhh
           we    activity-NOM
           "It's because (.) We yeah today: is al:most the end-supnita: (of)
           our public activity. hhh"

04  DJN:   어::
           e::
           "Oh::"

05  HDN:   예:
           yey:
           "Yeah:"

06  YDH:   데프콘은        모르고   있는         [것  같은데요
           teyphukhon-un molu-ko iss-nun      [kes kath-untey-yo
           DJN-TOP        not know-PROG-ATTR  NML seems-CIRCUM-POL
           "It looks DJN doesn't know about it."
```

```
07  HDN:→                                      [아 모르고 계셨어요24?
                                               [a  molu-ko  kyey-sy-ess-eyo?
                                                oh not:know-PROG-HON-PST-eyo
                                              "[Oh didn't you know-eyo?"

08  DJN:→마- (h)막(h)바(h)지예요25?=
         ma- (h)mak(h)pa(h)ci-y-eyyo?=
         en-     end-COP-eyo
         "End- is it(h)the(h)end-eyo?="

09  YDH:→=hhh 아 지금  깜짝    놀랬어     깜:짝   놀라고   계세요      지금,
         =hhh a cikum kkamccak nollay-ss-e kkam:ccak nolla-ko kyey-s-eyyo cikum,
             oh now  be:surprised-PST-DL  be:surprised-PROG-HON-eyo      now
         "=hhh Oh he is surprised he is astonished-eyo now:,"
```

The predominant ending in Example 8 below is also interpersonal '-eyo'. However,

when one of the interviewees HDN shifts to '-supnita' at the end of the example, there

appears an interesting contrast in terms of the speaker's projection of the other's

relevant identity. Throughout the example (in lines 2, 8, 10, 11, 14, and 15), both the

moderator and DJN constantly employ the interpersonal '-eyo' while talking about how

many hours HDN got to sleep at home last night, and mentioning that he ended up

sleeping longer hours in the studio of the talk show than he did at his own place due to

excessive rehearsals between the time the interviewees had arrived there and when the

---

[24] This utterance was not counted as a token to the 2nd pair part answer in Table 4 since this is rather part of the inserted sequence only between the interviewees, but not directed to the questioner, YDH. Nonetheless, it is worth investigating further for its implication for the speaker's projection of the other(s) at talk.

[25] This utterance was not counted as a token to the 2nd pair part answer for the same reason explained in the above footnote.

show actually began. While they talk and laugh about this funny anecdote that took

place before the show began, all of the speakers are registering the other interactant as

an ordinary person with whom they are having a casual conversation. This is coupled

with the constant use of the interpersonal '-eyo' in Example 8.

The interpersonal projection of the other interactant in this precise moment of talk is

also reflected in the show moderator's lexical choice. Korean has honorific lexical items

as opposed to the non-honorific (or 'plain') counterparts of certain items. When talking

about or to a grown-up adult, regardless of his/her absolute age compared to the

speaker's, the honorific items are preferred to be used under institutional speech

circumstances. In line 5 of Example 8, the moderator first issues the non-honorific word

for 'to sleep' '*ca-*' but shortly after the cut-off, he swiftly self-corrects the word to its

honorific counterpart '*cwumwusy-*' for once. Through lines 11, 12, and 15, however, he

reissues only the non-honorific form '*ca-*' four more times later in the example. This

illustrates that the speaker is currently projecting the other as an ordinary person, not as

his social/institutional identity in this interaction. The plain word '*ca-*' is the form that YDH

would use when talking about HDN[26] if it were in a daily casual conversation.

Example (8)

```
01  YDH:  아니    오늘   두   분이    오셔     가주구    굉:장히      이:  리허설
           ani     onul   twu  pwuni   o-sy-e  kacwukwu  koyng:canghi  i:   lihesel
           I:mean  today  two  CL-NOM  come-HON-CNN      very much     the rehearsal

02      →하면서     불평        불만을          많이  하셨어요:,
           ha-myense  pwulphyeng  pwulman-ul      manhi  ha-sy-ess-eyo:,
           do:while   discontent  complaint-ACC   a:lot  do-HON-PST-eyo
           "I mean you guys came in today and complained-eyo:, a lot while
           having rehearsals"

03      왜   이렇게   리허설을     많이   하냐구:      우린    그런  거   필요    없다구,
           way  ilehkey  RHS-ul      manhi  ha-nyakwu:  wuli-n  kulen  ke  philyo  eps-takwu,
           why  this     rehearsal-ACC a:lot do-QT     we-TOP  that   NML unnecessary-QP

04      (0.5) 정말    힘들어        하셨거든요:            집에서     세    시간
           (0.5) cengmal himtule     ha-sy-ess-ketun-yo: cip-eyse  sey   sikan
                 really  have:hardship:HON-PST-CORL-POL home:at    three hour
           "{they said} why do we have to have so many rehearsals: we don't need
           them:, (0.5) {HDN} really had a hard time: {since only} three
           hours at home:"

05      자-                    주무셨는데:
           ca-                    cwumwusy-ess-nuntey:
           sleep(non-honorific) sleep(honorific)-PST-CIRCUM
           "{he} slep-(non-honorific) slept(honorific)"

06  DJN:  형돈 씨:는,
           hyengton ssi:-nun,
           HDN       Mr.-TOP
           "As for HDN:,"

07  YDH:  예:
           yey:
           "Yeah:"

08  DJN:→오면     그냥,    바:로 [시작하시는        줄   아셨나         [봐요
           o-myen   kunyang, pa:lo [sicakha-si-nun  cwul a-sy-ess-na [pw-ayo
           come:if  just     right begin-HON-ATTR   thought-HON-PST-it:seems-eyo
           "It seems-eyo {HDN} thought {the show} would start off right away
           once he arrives here."
```

---

[26] As discussed earlier in this subsection, both HDN and DJN use the kin term 'hyeng' ('older

brother') when referring to YDH. In Korean, an elder male can be addressed as 'hyeng' by a

younger male in ordinary conversation even if there is no familial relationship between them.

```
09  YDH:                              [바로                        [바로
                                     [pa:lo                      [pa:lo
                                     "right away"                "right away"

10   → 하는    줄    알았나 봐요
        ha-nun   cwul al-ass-na pw-ayo
        do-ATTR thought-PST-it:seems-eyo
        "It seems-eyo he thought it'd begin right away right away"

11   →근데 여기 와서 네 시간을 잤대요
        kuntey yeki w-ase     ney  sikan-ul ca-ss-ta-yyo
        but    here come-CNN four hour-ACC sleep-PST-QT-eyo
        "But {he said} he came here and slept-eyo four hours"

12   집에서     잔          것보다   [더 많이    잤대는           거죠
        cip-eyse ca-n        kes-pota [te manhi ca-ss-tay-nun ke-c-yo
        home:at  sleep-ATTR NML:than  more sleep-PST-QT-ATTR NML-COMM-POL
        "{which means} he slept here longer than he did at home"

13  DJN:                              [hhhhh

14  HDN:→집에서    세  시간을   잤는데        [여기서   네  시간을     잤어요
        cip-eyse sey sikan-ul ca-ss-nuntey [yeki-se ney sikan-ul ca-ss-eyo
        home:at three hr-ACC sleep-PST:but  here:at four hr-ACC sleep-PST-eyo
        "I slept three hours home but here {I} slept-eyo four hours"

15  YDH:→                             [집에서 세 시간을 잤(h)대(h)요
                                      [cipeyse sey sikan-ul ca-ss-(h)ta-(h)yyo
                                       home:at three hr-ACC sleep-PST-QT-eyo
                                  "{He said} he sl(h)e(h)pt-eyo three hours home"

16  HDN:  어우 쯤          개운하더라[고요
        ewu ccom   kaywunha-te-la[ko-yo
        oh  a:bit refreshed-REPORT-QT-POL
        "Oh {I felt} quite refreshed"

17  YDH:                              [hhhhhhh

18  HDN:  아:좀     에너지도     많이 충만-     저 [충전돼        있고    예:
        a: com    eyneci-to   manhi chwungman- ce [chwungcentw-ay iss-ko yey:
        ah a:bit energy-too a:lot filled       hm  charged-CNN     be-CNN yeah
        "Ah: {I feel} quite energi- um energized yeah:"

19  YDH:                                      [아
                                              [a
                                              "Ah"

20  YDH:  어쨌든      저: 두 분의     음악 형돈이와      대준이의     음악이
        eccaysstun ce: twu pwun-uy umak hyengtoni-wa taycwuni-uy umak-i
        anyway      the two CL-GEN music HDN:and       DJN-GEN    music-NOM

21   A급이든       B급이든      사랑받는       이유는      좀
        A-kup-i-tun    B-kup-i-tun   salangpat-nun iyu-nun    com
        A:level-COP:or B:level-COP:or be:loved-ATTR reason-TOP a:bit
```

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```
22        직설:적이::지만      >솔직하고    단순하지만      순수하고<
          ciksel:ceki::-ciman >solcikha-ko tanswunha-ciman swunswuha-ko<
          blatant:but          honest-CNN  simple:but      undisguised-CNN

23        뭐  그런  거짓없는        그런  매력?
          mwe kulen keciseps-nun  kulen maylyek?
          uhm that  truthful-ATTR that  charm
          "Anyway um: reasons why the music of the two of you guys, HDN and DJN,
          is being loved regardless of its quality labelled A or B are because
          {it's} blatant >yet honest, and simple yet undisguised<
          uhm something like truthful charm?"

24  HDN:→.hhh 어 지나치게 포장되어 있습니다. hhh
          .hhh e  cinachi-key    phocangtoy-e iss-supnita. hhh
              um excessive-ADV   praised-CNN   be-supnita
          ".hhh um you're too raving-supnita {about our music}. hhh"
```

Toward the end of the example above, however, a case of recalibration of the other's

interactional identity takes place. In line 24, HDN shifts to the institutional '-supnita' when

giving his response to the show moderator's complimentary remarks about their music.

The moderator, YDH, is a renowned musician in South Korea, and thus has certain

authority to evaluate the band's music in the show. While responding to YDH's well-

authorized compliments, HDN cautiously code-switches from '-eyo' to '-supnita,' thereby

projecting YDH as his social/institutional role at this precise moment of talk. This

institutional projection of the moderator makes it possible for HDN to issue a type of self-

deprecation in line 24 commenting to disagree with the positive evaluation about their

music. This was done in a joking way with the noticeable breathy particles of laughing

immediately following his response in the same turn. Even though it is a compliment,

disagreeing with anyone can cause some personal uneasiness on the commenter's side.

By using '-supnita,' HDN adeptly avoids this possible interpersonal risk through

registering the moderator as his institutional role in the show and giving him adequate

recognition for his social role.

Returning back to one of the research questions regarding why Korean speakers

code-switch between the two endings under analysis, it is not easy to explain the

dynamic aspect of their usage in real-time interaction if we resort only to the traditional

formal and casual frame. There still remains the unsolved question of what motivation

people have for shifting between the two endings when the same level of situational and

topical formality is maintained. I argue that it is the interactional motivation for speakers

to properly project, reshape, and negotiate the most relevant identity of the other

interlocutor(s) in and through the moment-by-moment progression of spontaneous and

bidirectional communication that drives the dynamic grammar usage of the two endings

'-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' in Korean.

4.3. The Parliamentary Hearing

The next set of data comes from a parliamentary hearing. This is an institutional

conversation between the Congressman (CGM) who is giving interrogating questions to

the Minister of Education (MOE) in a highly accusatory tone. On the other hand, MOE is

trying to advocate and defend the adequateness of their recent governmental

investigation on an undue admittance of a girl from a politically powerful family to one of

the prominent universities in South Korea. Her mother, Ms. Soon-sil Choi, is mentioned

in the conversation as an 'influential person' to the state-affairs due to her close personal

connection with the former President of the nation. The tension between the two

speakers and the adversarial remarks made by the Congressman continue throughout

the conversation.

Frequency (Percentage)	-supnita/-supnikka	-eyo	Total
1st pair Q (CGM)	17 (35.4%)	31 (64.6%)	48 (100%)
2nd pair A (MOE)	22 (100%)	0 (0%)	22 (100%)

Table 5. Frequency of the two endings in the parliamentary hearing

Table 5 shows the frequencies of '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' used in the question

and answer sequence in the parliamentary hearing data. In the table, 1st pair part

questions are given by the Congressman, and 2nd pair part answers are given by the

Minister of Education.

The Minister exclusively (100%) uses the institutional '-supnita/-supnikka' while

issuing his 2nd pair part answers in the hearing. On the other hand, the Congressman

employs both the institutional '-supnita/-supnikka' (35.4%) and the interpersonal '-eyo'

(64.6%) in his 1st pair part questions. The interactional drive for the Congressman to

mobilize '-eyo' almost twice as more frequently as '-supnita/-supnikka' even with his

rather adversarial and accusatory attitude can be understood from the ways in which he

projects the other interactant. Notice that in the traditional formal/casual framework, '-eyo'

was described to be "soft, subjective, cordial, and narrowing social distance." (Nam and

Ko, 1993). Their description is in striking contrast with the examples currently under

analysis. By employing '-eyo' with the interpersonal use, CGM steps down from

registering his interlocutor institutionally as the Minister of Education, and purposely

projects the minister just as an ordinary person who committed a misdeed of conducting

an insufficient and incomplete inspection iniquitously in favor of one politically powerful

family.

For instance in line 1 of Example 9 below, CGM employs '-eyo' when he asks what

MOE 'personally' thinks about the current political scandal. It becomes clearer that this

question is asking more about MOE's personal evaluation of the issue when the CGM

offers his own evaluation of Ms. Choi who caused the scandal and asks for confirmation

from MOE in line 5 ("Choi is a bad person, isn't she?"). In this example, the interpersonal

projection of the other interlocutor by CGM is linguistically coupled with '-eyo'.

The Minister, on the other hand, constantly registers the other at talk, CGM, strictly

as his institutional role while deliberately evading the questions concerning his personal

evaluation of the current political issue and of Ms. Choi. Instead of directly answering

these questions, MOE tries to deliver his thought from the viewpoint of the people of the

nation (lines 2-4), and his understanding only based on the factual circumstance without

sharing his personal opinions regarding whether Ms. Choi is a good or bad person (lines

6-8). He is answering the questions given by the other interactant, CGM, who is

projected as his role in this institutional setting at this precise moment, and this is paired

with the use of '-supnita/-supnikka' in lines 4 and 8.

Example (9)

```
01  CGM:→최순실      국정      농단에      대해서      어떻게      생각하세요?
          choyswunsil kwukceng nongtan-ey tayhayse ettehkey sayngkakha-se-yyo?
          Name    state:affairs intervention:about  how      think-HON-eyo
          "What do you think about Choi's intervention to state affairs-eyo?"


02  MOE:  (1.0) .hh 상당히      국가적으로:      어: (0.5) 국민들께
          (1.0) .hh sangtanghi kwukkacekulwu: e: (0.5) kwukmin-tul-kkey
                    very:much   nationally     um:       the:people-PL-to


03        큰        어: 실망을                 안겨  드린   어 그러한    어: (.)
          khu-n     e:  silmang-ul            ankye tuli-n e  kulehan  e: (.)
          big-ATTR um: disappointment-ACC    give-ATTR   um that     um:


04        →스- 사태라고        생각합니다.
          su- sathay-lako   sayngkakha-pnita.
          si- situation-QT think-supnita
          "(1.0) .hh at the national level {it was} very much um: (0.5) deeply
          um: disappointing to the people {of the nation} um some sort um: (.)
          si- situation {it was} I think-supnita."


05  CGM:  최순실        나쁜      사람이죠?
          choyswunsil nappu-n  salam-i-c-yo?
          Name         bad-ATTR person-COP-COMM-POL
          "Choi is a bad person, isn't she?"


06  MOE:  그건  뭐-  어: (.) 지금:    (.) 그: 재판이       진행이        되면,
          kuken mwe- e: (.) cikum: (.) ku: cayphan-i cinhayng-i  toy-myen,
          that  hm-  uhm:  now:        the trial-NOM process-NOM become:if


07        어:  실질적으로      어 그  잘못에      대한      내용들이
          e:  silcilcekulo e  ku  calmos-ey tayhan nayyong-tul-i
          uhm: in:substance um the offence:about    content-PL-NOM


08        →확인이     될          걸로   알고   있습니다.
          hwakin-i  toy-l        kello al-ko iss-supnita.
          check-NOM become-ATTR NML   know-PROG-supnita
          "{As for} that hm- uhm: (.) no:w (.) once the: trial proceeds,
          I believe-supnita all the offences will be revealed um in substance."
```

The Congressman, however, does make temporary shifts to '-supnita/-supnikka'

whenever there is emerging interactional need to recalibrate the relevant identity of the

other interlocutor from an ordinary person to his institutional role in this on-going talk.

These tokens of recalibration and negotiation of the most relevant facet of the other's

interactional identities are demonstrated in Example 10 and 11 below.

In Example 10, the Congressman asks questions regarding the recent governmental

investigation on Ewha Womans University. First, he tries to confirm with MOE that the

investigation was conducted by the Ministry of Education in lines 1 and 2. As for the two

specific targets of the investigation, CGM continues interrogating if MOE was aware of

them as the Minister of the bureau. For example, CGM issues a question regarding what

the government was trying to find through the investigation in line 6.

The two questions can be properly and possibly answered only by someone with the

right authority. This in turn makes the Congressman accordingly recalibrate the most

relevant identity of the other interlocutor, MOE, to his institutional role at this precise

moment while asking these questions, which are coupled with the use of the institutional

'-supnita/-supnikka' in lines 1 and 6 of the example below.

Example (10)

```
01  CGM:→최근에        이대:: 그: 감사를      했지       않습니까?
            choykun-ey itay:: ku: kamsa-lul ha-yss-ci anh-supnikka?
            recent:at  name    the audit-ACC do-PST-not-supnikka

02          교육부가:[:
            kyoyukpwu-ka:[:
            Ministry of Education-NOM
            "Hasn't the Ministry of Education:: recently conducted-supnikka
            the: investigation on Ewha:: Womans University?"

03  MOE:            [예:
                    [yey:
                    "[yes:"

04  CGM:   왜  감사  했지요?
            way kamsa ha-yss-ci-yo?
            why audit do-PST-Q-POL
            "Why did {the Ministry of Education} conduct the inspection?"

05  MOE:   어::=
            e::=
            "uhm::="

06  CGM:→=뭐를       찾을려고       감사를      했습니까      첫    번째:
            =mwe-lul  chac-ullyeko  kamsa-lul ha-yss-supnikka ches penccay:
             what-ACC look:for-PURP audit-ACC do-PST-supnikka first
            "What was {the ministry} trying to find out through the
            investigation-supnikka fi:rst"

07  MOE:   입학과          관련된,         [어 부정이      있는지    [확인하려고
            iphak-kwa      kwanlyentoy-n, [e pwuceng-i iss-nunci [hwakin-halyeko
            admission:with related-ATTR    um illegality-NOM be:if  check-PURP
            "in order to check if there was any admission-related illegality"

08  CGM:                               [입학 비리          [입학 비리
                                        [iphak pili        [iphak pili
                                        "admission corruption" ((said twice))

09          두  번째는:
            twu penccay-nun:
            second-TOP
            "{and} second:"

10  MOE:   (5.0) 우- 어: (2.0) 그런  [그:
            (5.0) wu- e: (2.0) kulen [ku:
                  uh- um:      that   the:

11  CGM:                             [학사 비리    학사 비리
                                      [haksa pili haksa pili
                                      "academic-affairs corruption" ((said twice))
```

```
12  MOE:  학사          비리와,    그런  것들이      어떤:     다른       어떤-
         haksa         pili-wa,  kulen kes-tul-i  etten:    talu-n    etten-
         academic:affairs corruption that  NML-PL-NOM somewhat different-ATTR

13       그  어: 비선                실세:와,
         ku  e: pisen               silsey:-wa,
         the um out:of:chain(of:command) influential person:with

14       연관이          되어        있는지     (    )
         yenkwan-i      toy-e      iss-nunci (    )
         connection-NOM become-CNN be:if
         "whether the academic affairs corruption and the like are related to
         something: other some- the uh: to the influential person {who is}
         out of chain-of-order"
```

It is also interesting to be noted for the example above that it appears that CGM

clearly knew what the two targets of the investigation were even before MOE issues the

answers. The Congressman frames his questions as the "first" and "second," and he

even provides answers for his own question in lines 8 and 11.[27] While already knowing

the answers to his interrogating questions given to the Minister, in order to get the

results of his interrogation maximized, CGM had the emerging interactional need to

recalibrate and project the other interlocutor as his institutional role at this moment.

By shifting to the institutional '-supnita/-supnikka,' the Congressman successfully

insists that even though MOE was well aware of the targets of the investigation as the

head of the bureau, he as a person did not correctly fulfill his institutional role and

---

[27] This is similar to the situation where a teacher asks questions to his/her student in the classroom. This type of questions cannot be considered to be seeking for information per se in that the questioner (CGM) has a more knowledgeable epistemic status than the answerer (MOE).

conducted incomplete investigation in the progression of talk as seen in the above

example and in Example 11 below.

In Example 11, CGM continues his problem presentation that the government

inspection was not a complete one since the indictment of the 'academic-affairs

corruption' was not sufficiently investigated. First, the Congressman issues his suspicion

that the Minister colluded in committing the corruption in lines 1-3. While asking if the

Minister made the instruction to not investigate further on the corruption case involving

academic-affairs of making some undue amendments of the university regulations in

favor of Ms. Choi's daughter, CGM mobilizes '-supnita/-supnikka' in line 3. This is

because the interrogating question of whether MOE made that undue order unlawfully

using his authority or not can be efficiently answered only if the Congressman properly

registers the other interlocutor, MOE, as his institutional role.

Later in the same example, however, the Congressman re-recalibrates the relevant

identity of the other interlocutor back to his personal facet. When CGM demonstrates

what administrative fault he has found from the government investigation in lines 5 and 7,

the interpersonal '-eyo' is mobilized. Also, when he reprimands MOE for not giving

proper answers in lines 11-13, the same ending '-eyo' is employed.

Example (11)

```
01  CGM:  그럼    이거 장관이      공범하-    공범하신        거네요:      이거는:
           kulem ike cangkwan-i kongpemha- kongpemha-si-n ke-ney-yo:  ike-nun:
           then this minister-NOM cons- conspire-HON-ATTR NML-APP-POL this-TOP
           "Then this {seems} you (the Minister) cons- conspired {with them}"

02         학칙    개정은      누가    주도했는지        요건    조사하지   마라:,
           hakchik kayceng-un nwu-ka cwutoha-yss-nunci yoke-n cosaha-ci ma-la:,
           rule   revision-TOP who-NOM take:lead-PST   this-TOP inspect:not-IMP

03      →장관이        주도-   거 지시를     한      겁니까?
           cangkwan-i  cwuto- ke cisi-lul  ha-n   ke-pnikka?
           minister-NOM lead- the order-ACC do-ATTR NML-supnikka
           "'Don't investigate further on who took the lead of the amendment of
           the university rules' was this what you lead- ordered-supnikka?"

04  MOE:→아니 저는    그런   지시를      한       적이   없습니다.
           ani ce-nun kulen cisi-lul  ha-n    cek-i eps-supnita.
           no  I-TOP  that  order-ACC do-EXPRN-NOM  not:have-supnita
           "No I have not given such an order-supnita."

((MOE and CGM continues the debate))

05  CGM:  전국:     (.) 전국     대학을      다  통틀어도
           cenkwuk: (.) cenkwuk tayhak-ul ta  thongthul-eto
           whole:nation     university-ACC all check:through:even
           "Even though {I} checked through all the universities in the na:tion"

06  MOE:  예:
           yey:
           "Yes:"

07  CGM:→그런   학칙이      없어요:,
           kulen hakchik-i eps-eyo:,
           that  rule-NOM  there:is:no-eyo
           "there is no such school rule-eyo:,"

08  MOE:→아 있습니다.          같으-  까   소급해서          적용하는
           a iss-supnita.       kathu- kka  sokupha-yse      cekyongha-nun
           oh there:is-supnita same- I:mean in:retrospect:CNN apply-ATTR

09         학칙들을       저희가    다른        학교하고      비교해서,
           hakchik-tul-ul cehuy-ka talu-n      hakkyo-hako pikyoha-yse,
           rule-PL-ACC    we-NOM   other-ATTR school:with compare-CNN

10      →[저희가     찾아     봤습니다.
           [cehuy-ka chac-a pw-ass-supnita.
            we-NOM    find-EXPRN-PST-supnita
           "Oh there are-supnita. The same- I mean we have found-supnita
           such policies that exert its effect in a retrospective manner
           after comparing other schools' regulations."
```

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```
11  CGM:→[아니:, (.) 아니 왜  엉뚱한            소리를      하세요:,
          [ani:, (.) ani way engttwungha-n   soli-lul ha-se-yyo:,
           no        no  why ridiculous-ATTR word-ACC do-HON-eyo
          "No. No. Why are you telling-eyo ridiculous answers?"

12         (1.0) 제  말귀를       잘   못   알아들어서
           (1.0) cey malkwi-lul  cal  mos  alatul-ese
                 my  word-ACC    well not  understand:because

13      →하시는         말씀이에요?
          ha-si-nun    malssum-i-eyyo?
          do-HON-ATTR answer-COP-eyo
          "You don't understand what I'm saying-eyo?"
```

By employing '-eyo' with the interpersonal use, the Congressman steps down from

institutionally registering the interlocutor as the Minister of Education, and purposely

projects him simply as an ordinary person who committed a wrongdoing of conducting

an insufficient and incomplete inspection in the above example. However, the same

speaker sometimes code-switches to using '-supnita/-supnikka' when there is the

interactional need to ask for confirmation that can only come from the institutional role of

the other at talk.

As seen in the examples thus far, Korean speakers adeptly make temporary shifts

between the two endings, institutional '-supnita/-supnikka' and interpersonal '-eyo,' with

the emerging interactional need to recalibrate and negotiate the most relevant facet of

the other's interactional identities at each precise moment of talk.

4.4. The Constitutional Courtroom Hearing

The next institutional context is situated in the constitutional courtroom hearing for

the impeachment of the former President of South Korea, Geun-Hye Park. Her

impeachment was the culmination of the course of political scandals involving her

closest personal aide, Ms. Soon-sil Choi, who is appearing as the witness in the data

presently under analysis.

Due to the inherent characteristics of the hearing, 1st pair part questions in this data

are given by the prosecuting lawyers, the defense lawyers, and the judges. And

subsequent 2nd pair part answers are all given by the witness, Ms. Choi, since the

questions raised by the three different groups of people are all directed to the same

witness.[28]

The main issue being examined in this hearing is whether the charge Ms. Park was

indicted for, namely that Ms. Park allowed Ms. Choi to unlawfully intervene to the

---

[28] The witness issues approximately three times more tokens of the two endings compared to each group of the 1st pair part questioners. Refer to Table 6 below.

presidency and benefit from it, is factual. The frequency of the two endings employed by

each group is presented in the table below.

Frequency (Percentage)		-supnita/-supnikka	-eyo	Total
1st pair Q	Prosecuting lawyers	12 (23.5%)	39 (76.5%)	51 (100%)
	Defense lawyers	55 (96.5%)	2 (3.5%)	57 (100%)
	Judges	48 (84.2%)	9 (15.8%)	57 (100%)
2nd pair A	Witness (Ms. Choi)	160 (98.2%)	3 (1.8%)	163 (100%)

Table 6. Frequency of the two endings in the constitutional courtroom hearing

Except for the prosecuting lawyers, the predominant ending used by all other groups

of speech participants, i.e. by the defense lawyers (96.5%), judges (84.2%), and the

witness (98.2%), is '-supnita/-supnikka'. Only the prosecuting lawyers employ much

more tokens of '-eyo' (76.5%) than '-supnita/-supnikka' (23.5%). This contrast is caused

by the different interactional goals to be achieved by each group of the interactants

depending on the institutional role each of them is bearing at talk. The judges and the

witness tend to speak strictly to each other's role in this institutional setting. Therefore,

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while addressing each other, they predominantly use '-supnita/-supnikka' which helps

the speaker properly project the other interlocutor as his/her institutional role at each

precise moment of talk.

There appears a stark contrast in the language use between the prosecuting lawyers

and the defense lawyers. Even though the witness, Ms. Choi, almost exclusively uses

the '-supnita/-supnikka' ending to both groups while answering their examining questions,

the two different groups of lawyers reveal quite a different usage pattern of the two

endings while doing the same action of issuing questions.

The defense lawyers have the institutional goal in this hearing to prove that the

witness and the President did not unlawfully collude in committing an unconstitutional act

together, and therefore are having the necessity at hand to focus only on the role that

Ms. Choi is bearing, i.e. the witness, in this institutional circumstance. Accordingly, they

attempt to not pay attention to the personal facet of her interactional identities since it

can unnecessarily indicate the personal connection that she had with the President. This

institutional projection of the other that the defense lawyers make is linguistically coupled

with the highly frequent use (96.5%) of '-supnita/-supnikka'.

On the other hand, the prosecuting lawyers have the opposite interactional goal at hand. They need to prove that Ms. Choi and the President have been having a very close personal connection and that this connection indeed unlawfully allowed Ms. Choi to intervene to the presidency and personally benefit from it. The prosecuting lawyers therefore try to project the interactional identity of Ms. Choi as a person, more specifically as an accomplice, who committed wrongdoings together with the President while taking advantage of her private connection. This interpersonal projection of the other that the prosecuting lawyers make is linguistically paired with their frequent use (76.5%) of '-eyo'.

In Example 12 below, one of the prosecuting lawyers (PSL) and the witness, Ms. Choi (CSS), talk to each other. The main topic in the local context of Example 12 is whether the witness was aware of the monetary bribe from Samsung Group and if she indeed accepted it. Here the lawyer predominantly employs '-eyo,' whereas the witness solely uses '-supnita/-supnikka' as discussed above. In this example, however, we could also see an interesting circumstance under which a temporary shift between the two endings takes place.

Immediately preceding this example is the lawyer's presentation of the circumstantial

evidence that Ms. Choi indeed accepted the money. In line 1, the lawyer asks if the

witness was aware of the contract between Samsung and her own company that states

to offer a bribe. This question is coupled with '-eyo'. Also, he quotes Samsung's claim

that they had no other choice due to the President's strong coercion in lines 10-14, and

asks what the witness thinks about their claim in line 15. This question also mobilizes the

interpersonal '-eyo'.

The witness, however, constantly uses the institutional '-supnita/-supnikka' while

adamantly refuting the prosecuting lawyer's assumption that she was indeed aware of

the monetary bribe (in line 4) and that she in fact intentionally accepted the money (in

lines 5-7), and while refusing to provide her comment on the claim that Samsung made

(in lines 16-17).

Example (12)

```
01  PSL:→혹시       그: 내용       들어 본    적    있어요?
        hoksi      ku: nayyong tul-e po-n cek   iss-eyo?
        By:chance the content hear-EXPRN-EXPRN have-eyo
        "Have you heard-eyo about it ((the bribe)) by any chance?"

02  CSS:  (2.0) 무슨    내용:[이요
        (2.0) mwusun nayyong:[-iyo
              What   content-POL
              "About what?"
```

03 PSL: [방금   말씀   드린   거
                           [pangkum malssum tuli-n   ke
                            just:now   word give-ATTR NML
                           "About what I just said"

04 CSS:→내용   들어 본   적   >없습니다   그러고<
        nayyong tul-e po-n cek >eps-supnita   kuleko<
        content hear-EXPRN-EXPRN no:have-supnita and
        "I >haven't -supnita heard of it and<

05   이백이- 칠십억이래는   거는,   그거 가상   금액이지
        ipayki- chilsipek-i-lay-nun   ke-nun, kuke kasang kumayk-i-ci
        22-   27billion-COP-QT-ATTR NML-TOP that virtual sum-COP-COMM
        "what {they} say {about} 22- 27billion, is a virtual amount of money"

06   그   사람들이   집행할: .hh 저 의지도   없다고
        ku salam-tul-i   ciphayngha-l: .hh ce uyci-to   eps-tako
        the person-PL-NOM carry:out-ATTR   uhm will-too no:have-QT

07   →아까   말씀   드[리지   않았었습니까
        akka   malssum tu[li-ci anh-ass-ess-supnikka
        just:ago word   give   not-PST-PST-supnikka
        "Didn't I tell -supnikka {you} just ago that they ((Samsung)) didn't
        even have .hh the willpower to carry out ((their promise))?"

08 PSL: [아니요: 까 뭐 까 계약서   내용을
                           [ani-yo: kka mwe kka kyeyyakse nayyong-ul
                            no-POL hm uhm hm contract   content-ACC

09   →>말씀   드리는   거예요   그리고:,<
        >malssum tuli-nun ke-y-eyyo   kuliko:,<
         word   give-ATTR NML-COP-eyo and
        "No: uhm I'm just telling-eyo you >what's on the contract a:nd,<

10   .hh 에 그러면서   자기들은: .hh 대통령이
        .hh ey kulemyense caki-tul-un: .hh taythonglyeng-i
           uh saying:that they-PL-TOP   President-NOM
        ".hh uh while saying that they {also insist that} .hh the President"

11   강하게   압박하여   가지고 어쩔 수 없이 한(.)   자기들이-
        kangha-key appakha-ye kaciko eccel swu epsi ha-n(.) cakitul-i-
        strong-ADV push:because   having:no:choice do-ATTR they-NOM
        "strongly pushed {them} so they had no other option but to obey"

12   →이건   삼성측의   주장입니다,
        ike-n   samseng-chuk-uy cwucang-i-pnita,
        this-TOP Samsung:side-GEN claim-COP-supnita
        "{by the way} this is what Samsung insists -supnita,"

13   강하게   압박하여   어쩔 수 없이 한   공갈의   피해자다
        kangha-key appakha-ye eccel swu epsi ha-n   kongkal-uy phihayca-ta
        strong-ADV push:CNN having:no:choice do-ATTR threat-GEN victim-DL
        "strongly pushed {them} so they (Samsung) are {actually} the
        victim of the threat (from the President and Ms. Choi) who had
        no other option but to obey"

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14        뭐  이런  취지로      주장하거든요, (1.5)
          mwe ilen chwici-lo cwucangha-ketun-yo, (1.5)
          uhm this tenor:as  insist-CORL-POL
          "the tenor of their insistence is like this,"

15      →그거에     대해선     어떻게     생각[하세요?
          kuke-ey tayhaysen ettehkey sayngkak[ha-se-yyo?
          That:about        how       think-HON-eyo
          "What do you think-eyo about that (Samsung's claim)?"

16  CSS:→                                   [그거는      모르겠습니다.
                                            [kuke-nun molu-keyss-supnita.
                                             that-TOP not:know-MODAL-supnita

17        그  사람들의          주장이니까
          ku  salam-tul-uy  cwucang-i-nikka
          the person-PL-GEN claim-COP:because
          "That I don't know-supnita. Since it's their claim"
```

What is particularly interesting in the example above is the statement that the

prosecuting lawyer makes in line 12 which is coupled with the sudden shift to '-supnita,'

("{by the way} this is what Samsung insists,"). This is different from the surrounding '-eyo'

tokens with the **INTERPERSONAL/BIDIRECTIONAL** use which help project Ms. Choi as an

accomplice from whom the prosecuting lawyer requests uncoined and credible

responses to his interrogating questions.

This '-supnita' in line 12 is, however, also somewhat distinct from other '-supnita'

tokens with the **INSTITUTIONAL/BIDIRECTIONAL** use that we have previously observed

which help register the other(s) present as their institutional role.

The '-supnita' ending in line 12 is different in that it is **UNIDIRECTIONAL**. Linell (2009)

uses separate terms such as 'monological' (for unidirectional) and 'dialogical' (for

bidirectional) communication. According to his book, "dialogism emphasizes that

persons are social beings, thoroughly interdependent with others."[29]

The prosecuting lawyer in line 12 is simply giving the witness a piece of extra

information that may help her to be better informed of the context so she can more

properly respond to the examining questions he is currently issuing. This type of

unilateral notification that is coupled with '-supnita' here is intended for one-way flow of

delivering information in that this does not require or expect Ms. Choi to respond at the

moment of talk. Immediately after the inserted 'side note' in line 12, the lawyer takes up

where he left off in line 13 through using the same frame of wording that he employed in

line 11 ("{the President and Ms. Choi} strongly pushed {them} so they had no other

option but to obey").

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,[30] the unidirectional '-supnita' is also

found in the Opening and Closing part of the news interview/talk show, political/judicial

hearing, and TV debate as well as in the news report during which an anchorman,

questioner or news reporter issues procedural remarks and/or simply delivers

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[29] Refer to the same book, pages 69-107, for the discussion of what dimensions, including 'socio-culture,' can constitute 'others' in dialogue.

[30] More discussions can be found on pages 33 to 35 of this dissertation.

newsworthy information while addressing the collective audience, not the specific

interactant(s) present at talk. In the situational contexts where the directionality of

communication is unilateral, e.g. the Openings and Closings of the news interview and

the television news delivery, only '-supnita' is mobilized in an exclusive manner.

However, in the main body of the news interview, talk show interview, various

hearings in the Parliament and the Constitutional Court, and TV debate where the

directionality of communication is typically – but not necessarily – bilateral, both '-supnita'

and '-eyo' can be used in a selective manner. The selection of the two endings depends

on the ways in which the speaker projects and registers the relevant interactional identity

of the other(s) present at talk. A brief summary of this directionality issue in regard to the

two endings is presented in the table below.

	Bidirectional	Unidirectional
Interpersonal	'-eyo'	
Non-personal	'-supnita/-supnikka'	'-supnita'

Table 7. Different types of directionality in the two endings

The utterance that includes the unidirectional '-supnita' in line 12 of the above

example is noteworthy in a sense that its listenership is not the collective audience but

the physically and visually present single witness, Ms. Choi, to whom specific questions

before and after the notification statement in line 12 are directed. In other words, it is

distinct from, for example, the news report where the virtual listenership is in the form of

the collective and invisible audience who are watching or listening to the news.

Notwithstanding, the same type of unidirectional language use is exemplified here in

Example 12, which is directed to the 'detached' listenership from whom no immediate

response is due. In the same line of thought, we are able to distinguish two different

types of the ending '-supnita' in terms of its distinct audience types.

The first type of '-supnita' (**INSTITUTIONAL** use) is employed in bidirectional

communication in which other various bidirectional endings, including the ending '-eyo'

(**INTERPERSONAL** use), can also be used in a mixed manner. The other type of '-supnita'

(**IMPERSONAL** use) is mobilized exclusively and predominantly in unidirectional

communication.

Table 8 below summarizes the intertwined relationship between the directionality of

communication, audience types, and the two Korean endings with different usage types.

This table shows that the functional and interactional usage strata of the two endings are

much more complex and richer than what was traditionally believed about these morpho-

syntactic forms. In other words, this calls attention to the necessity of understanding the

pragmatic import of certain linguistic forms at each moment of naturally occurring

interaction in order to grasp the precise ways in which those forms are used.

Usage types	INTERPERSONAL use ('-eyo')			
	INSTITUTIONAL use ('-supnita/-supnikka')		IMPERSONAL use ('-supnita')	
Audience types	Single	Collective	Single	Collective
	Specified listenership		Detached listenership	
Directionality	**Bidirectional**		**Unidirectional**	

Table 8. Directionality, audience types, and usage of the two endings

One of the most important advantages of the new model demonstrated in Table 8

when compared to the traditional formal/casual frame for the two endings is that this

model recognizes the two distinguishable types of listenership (i.e. 'specified' versus

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'non-specified'/'detached') based on the two distinct types of directionality in communication (i.e. 'bidirectional' versus 'unidirectional').

This model systematically shows how the aspects of directionality and audience types can be mapped onto the seemingly tangled grammar use of the two Korean verbal suffixes. The two types of '-supnita' (i.e. **INSTITUTIONAL**/BIDIRECTIONAL '-supnita' and **IMPERSONAL**/UNIDIRECTIONAL '-supnita'), which this model is newly theorizing, certainly have a commonality in that both belong to the 'non-personal' type of language use. In this regard, the two types of '-supnita' are interrelated. This characteristic is in contrast with the 'personal' type of language use (i.e. **INTERPERSONAL**/BIDIRECTIONAL '-eyo').

In the traditional formal/casual framework, the two types of '-supnita' were not articulately distinguished each other. Therefore, these two types of the same ending were labeled with the identical and rather undistinguishing umbrella term such as the 'formal' ending. Within this traditional view, it was difficult to explain the specific mechanism involved in the interactional motives behind the same ending being used both in bidirectional and unidirectional communication.

We can better understand, based on the new model this dissertation is proposing,

the ways in which the seemingly homogeneous ending '-supnita' is sometimes employed

in bidirectional interaction with a specific audience present who is obliged to properly

respond, and at other times in unidirectional communication with a nonspecific or

detached audience from whom no such immediate response is required.

Although it does not fall on the main scope of the research questions of the current

study, with this comprehensive model presented in Table 8 in mind, we are able to revisit

the interrelationship between the two endings at the honorific speech level, i.e. '-supnita'

and '-eyo,' and its counterpart endings at the non-honorific speech level in Korean such

as '-nunta' and '-e'. The traditional categorization of these four endings is demonstrated

in Table 9 below, and a brief discussion of possible connections between formerly

labeled formal and casual endings both in the honorific and non-honorific language use

will be followed.

	FORMAL	CASUAL
HONORIFIC	-supnita	-eyo
NON-HONORIFIC	-nunta	-e

Table 9. The Korean declarative endings according to the formal/casual frame

As discussed earlier, '-supnita' can be used both in bidirectional communication and unidirectional communication such as the television news report or show openings and closings. An interesting phenomenon of the language use in the South Korean context is that, unlike the television news report in which solely '-supnita' is employed,[31] in the newspaper '-nunta' is the predominant ending to be used in delivering journal reports of news-worthy information.

In fact, both the television news report and the newspaper report retain the same mode of communication, which is unidirectional. Not only did the formal/casual frame fail in properly recognizing the two differente types of communicative usage in '-supnita' and '-nunta,' i.e. the bidirectional and unidirectional usage, the traditional frame engendered a fairly counter-intuitive description by categorizing '-nunta' as formal yet simultaneously non-polite/plain in the honorific scale.

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[31] In the North Korean context, however, it appears that even in the television news report the non-honorific ending '-nunta' is used.

	Non-personal		Interpersonal
	(Bidirectional)	(Unidirectional)	(Bidirectional)
HONORIFIC	Institutional '-supnita'	Impersonal '-supnita' (e.g. TV News report)	-eyo
NON-HONORIFIC	-nunta*[32]	Impersonal '-nunta' (e.g. Newspaper report)	-e

Table 10. The application of the proposed model to the declarative endings in Korean

Aforementioned deficiencies can be complemented by adopting the proposed model

in Table 8 that pays proper attention to the types of the listenership and the particular

ways in which speakers deal with the moment-by-moment identification of the

interlocutor in real-time interaction.

As shown in Table 10 above, the common feature between the predominant ending

'-supnita' in the television news report and the principal ending '-nunta' in the newspaper

report is not simply their 'formalness'. The common feature between them is rather the

IMPERSONAL/UNIDIRECTIONAL language use that the two endings functionally share in

terms of the directionality of communication.

[32] The proper characterization of this type of '-nunta' is far beyond the research scope of the
current study. It is one of the relevant avenues for future research. Refer to Kim (2010) for a
detailed discussion of this ending used to indicate newsworthy information.

Lastly, it is noteworthy that unidirectional communication in which the information

flow between the communication participants is one-way is not only contextually but also

linguistically coupled in Korean with its distinct markers of verbal suffixes such as the

impersonal '-supnita' and the news reporting '-nunta' in a systematic manner. This gives

insights into the specific language use driven by the pragmatic imports in regards to the

registration of the most relevant listenership at each precise moment of naturally

occurring human interaction. Also, this gives rise to the necessity for future research on

analogous pragmatic/functional devices across different languages.

4.5. The Presidential TV Debate

The last data set is situated in the South Korean presidential TV debate broadcasted

on April 25th 2017. In this round table debate, one moderator and five major presidential

candidates took part in the heated discussions over a wide range of topics. The five

candidates were MJI (Jae-in Moon) of the Democratic Party who was eventually elected

as the 12th President of South Korea, SSJ (Sang-jeong Sim) of the Justice Party, HJP

(Joon-pyo Hong) of the Liberty Korea Party, ACS (Cheol-soo Ahn) of the People's Party, and YSM (Seung-min Yoo) of the Bareun Party.

As discussed earlier, the debate moderator solely uses '-supnita/-supnikka' throughout the conversation. The five presidential candidates, however, make frequent shifts between the two endings. These debate participants code-switch between the two endings when there is the emerging interactional need to manipulate and negotiate the most relevant facet of the other's interactional identities while rebutting other candidates' arguments and at times making temporary alliances among them against the opposite camp in and through the moment-by-moment progression of the ongoing talk. This accordingly engenders the interactional necessity to recalibrate the most relevant identities of the other(s) at talk. Therefore, this set of data shows the dynamic interplay between the selective use of the two endings and the ways in which Korean speakers negotiate interactional identity.

Unlike the previous data sets, the frequency of the two endings used by each speech participant in the last type of institutional data was not calculated. Due to the inherent characteristics of this type of freestyle multi-party debates, it was not always clear to divide tokens according to 1st pair part questions and 2nd pair part answers especially

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when they were simultaneously issued by different speakers. Instead of showing the

numbers of the tokens given in each pair part, various examples of interesting shifts

between the two endings are presented and analyzed for the rest of this chapter to

examine in a qualitative manner the precise ways in which Korean speakers swiftly

code-switch from one form to the other in real-time interaction.

In Example 13 below, HJP of the Liberty Korea Party and ACS of the People's Party

clash over the topic of how to create jobs. Both candidates agree with the idea that

creating jobs should be left to the private sector without any direct intervention of the

government. However, in the specific local context of Example 13, the two candidates

maintain rather different ideas regarding the minimum role that the new government is to

take in the process of creating more jobs.

ACS exclusively employs '-supnikka' throughout the example (in lines 12, 15, 22,

and 29) while doubting and asking the credibility of HJP's campaign promises. All of

these four questions can be efficiently answered only if ACS properly registers the other

interlocutor, HJP, as his institutional role in the debate who has the due authority for his

own election campaign. This institutional projection of the other through the conversation

is coupled with the use of '-supnikka'.

Whereas, HJP uses both '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' in a selective manner depending on the emerging interactional need to (re)calibrate the most relevant identity of the other speech participant(s) at various moments of the talk. In the example below, we are able to observe circumstances under which HJP makes interesting temporary shifts between the two endings.

In the forepart of Example 13, HJP argues that the bedrock of South Korea's economic problems is the presence of "militant bougie labor unions" that are negligent and unnecessarily hostile to entrepreneurs. He also argues that the role of the new government is to eradicate these "deep-rooted social evils" so that corporations can invest without hesitation. HJP solely mobilizes '-supnita/-supnikka' in lines 1, 2, 8, and 9 while presenting his understanding of the current economic problem of the nation and possible solutions that he bears in mind to solve the predicament. Throughout this expanded presentation of problems and solutions in lines 1 through 9, HJP has the continuous interactional need to register his interlocutor, ACS, as his institutional role. HJP is obliged to present his official diagnoses to this institutional facet of ACS's identities, which is the most relevant at the moment. This is linguistically paired with the constant use of '-supnita/-supnikka'.

Example (13)

```
01  HJP:→((기업들이 해외로)) 왜   나갔습니까? (.)         그 그:
                   way naka-ss-supnikka? (.) ku ku:
                   why go:out-PST-supnikka    um um:
                   "Why did {companies} go overseas-supnikka? Um um:"

02      →내가     얘기하는     강성      귀족    노조         때문입니다.
         nay-ka yaykiha-nun kangseng kwicok noco        ttaymwun-i-pnita.
         I-NOM  say-ATTR    militant bougie labor:union because:of-COP-supnita
         "It's because of the militant bougie labor unions-supnita that I'm
         talking about."

03       강성     귀족    노조:가          이런  적폐를
         kangseng kwicok noco:-ka        ilen cekphyey-lul
         militant bougie labor:union-NOM this accumulated:evils-ACC

04       계::속        안고 있으니까:     기업가를         범죄인시     하고:
         kyey::sok     an-ko iss-unikka: kiepka-lul      pemcoyin-si ha-ko:
         continuously bear-PROG-because entrepreneur-ACC criminal-regard-CNN
         "Becau:se the militant bougie labor u:nions have conti::nuously been
         committing social evils {they} regard entrepreneurs as cri:minals and"

05       걸핏하면         광화문에서         스트라이크하고 (.)      정부의
         kelphishamyen kwanghwamwun-eyse suthulaikhu-ha-ko (.) cengpwu-uy
         often          KHM Square-LOC    strike-go:on-CNN       government-GEN

06       역할은     이런 강성      귀족    노조 (.)     적폐를
         yekhal-un ilen kangseng kwicok noco (.)    cekphyey-lul
         role-TOP  this militant bougie labor:union accumulated:evils-ACC

07       이걸      없애 주고       기업으로   하여금   자유롭게
         ike-l    epsay cwu-ko  kiep-ulo hayekum cayulop-key
         this-ACC eliminate-CNN companies-let    free-ADV

08      →투자할      수    있게    만들어    주는              겁니다.
         thwucaha-l swu iss-key mantule cwu-nun        ke-pnita.
         invest-be:able:to-ADV  make((circumstance))-ATTR NML-supnita
         "often go on strikes at KHM Square (.) The government's role is
         eliminating the militant bougie labor unions (.) those deep-rooted
         social evils and creating circumstances under which companies can
         freely invest-supnita."

09      →그게     가장      큰      정부의       역할입니다.
         kuke-y  kacang  khu-n   cengpwu-uy   yekhal-i-pnita.
         that-NOM the:most big-ATTR government-GEN role-COP-supnita
         "That is the most important role of the new government-supnita."

((HJP continues to reiterate his argument))

10  ACS: 저  그러면:
         ce  kule-myen:
         well that-if
         "Well if tha:t's the case"
```

```
11  HJP:  예 예:
          yey ye:y
          "Yeah yeah"
```

However, once ACS issues his follow-up question in lines 12 and 14-15, temporary

shifts between the two endings take place. Other temporary shifts can be found in the

immediately following expanded sequences that were initiated with ACS's subsequent

questions in lines 22-23, and 30.

In lines 12 and 14-15, ACS asks for clarification regarding what HJP has previously

mentioned about enacting the New Deal and encouraging companies to invest without

having to incur substantial government expenditure. In what follows, HJP issues his view

that the key is eliminating excessive regulations that are currently imposed on

companies through expanded turns in lines 13 and 16-21 until he was interrupted by

ACS's another yet repetitive follow-up question in lines 22-23. This was then in turn

followed by HJP's answer through multiple turns in lines 24-29.

In the two 2nd pair part answers given by HJP (lines 16-21, and lines 24-29) of the

two expanded sequences, HJP seems to project ACS mostly as his institutional role,

which is coupled with the use of institutional '-supnita' in lines 21, 25, and 29. Particularly,

if we look at the sequence organizational aspect, the turn-ending '-supnita'[33] is mobilized

in the position where each of the two expanded subsequences comes to a provisional

end (lines 21 and 29).

On the other hand, the non-turn-ending '-eyo' is employed not in the end but only in

the middle of the expanded sequences where it can give certain rhetorical effects. The

use of the interpersonal '-eyo' contributes to making it sound like HJP is teaching ACS a

lesson or giving him some personal advice (line 19) or he as a man of mature years is

correcting ACS's personal misbelief (line 27).

```
12   ACS:→정부에서          뉴딜      하겠다는            거는    어떤    뜻입니까?
          cengpwu-eyse nyutil   ha-keyss-tanun ke-nun etten ttus-i-pnikka?
          govrnmnt-LOC New:Deal do-MODAL-QT    NML-TOP what meaning-COP-supnikka
          "What does it mean the government will enact the New Deal-supnikka?"

13   HJP:  뉴딜하겠다는              거[는    기업으로   하여금
          nyutil-ha-keyss-tanun ke-[nun kiep-ulo hayekum
          New:Deal-do-MODAL-QT   NML-TOP company-let
          "{the government should} enact the New Deal means letting companies"

14   ACS:                        [정부에서      돈    한   푼    안    들이고:
                                 [cengpwu-eyse ton   han phwun an   tuli-ko:
                                  govrnmnt-LOC money one penny not spend-CNN
                                 "((Does that mean)) the government won't
                                 spend a single penny and"

15        →그냥          기업들[: 기 살려      주깁니까?
          kunyang kiep-tul[: ki sallye cwu-ki-pnikka?
          just    company-PL encourage-NML-supnikka
          "will just encourage companies to invest-supnikka?"
```

---

[33] Refer to a more detailed discussion of the two endings in regard to sequence organization on Example 5 and 6.

```
16  HJP:                        [아뇨 아뇨   [아뇨
                               [anyo anyo   [anyo
                               "No    no     no"


17      아니: 기업   기 살리는        정책이       여러: 가지가     있는데
        ani: kiep  ki salli-nun   cengchayk-i yele: kaci-ka   iss-nuntey
        no company encourage-ATTR policy-NOM various type-NOM are-CIRCUM
        "No: ((I mean)) there are ma:ny possible policies to encourage
        companies to invest"


18      그    중에가      노동   정책을      새로  개혁을      해야   되고    .hh
        ku   cwungeyka notong cengchayk-ul saylo kayhyek-ul ha-yya toy-ko .hh
        them among     labor  policy-ACC   newly reform-ACC do-should-CNN
        "among which are {we} should reform the labor policies and .hh"


19    →그리고 기업  기 살려    주는     거는    규제를       없애  줘야   돼요
        kuliko kiep ki sallye cwu-nun ke-nun kyucey-lul  epsay cw-eya tw-ayyo
        and company encourage-ATTR   NML-TOP control-ACC eliminate-should-eyo
        "also should eliminate the regulations when it comes to encouraging
        companies to invest-eyo"


20      (.) 모::든  그  규제       때문에      우리나라     기업들이
        (.) mo::tun ku  kyucey     ttaymwuney wulinala   kiep-tul-i
            all:of  the regulations due:to     our:country company-PL-NOM


21    →숨을        못   쉽니다.        [그래    규제   없애  주고
        swum-ul    mos  swi-pnita.    [kulay  kyucey epsay cwu-ko
        breath-ACC cannot breathe-supnita that:way control eliminate-CNN
        "Due to all of the regulations, companies of our nation can't even
        breathe-supnikka. This is why {we} should eliminate all the
        restrictions, and"


22  ACS:                            [그럼 뭐  재정    투자      없이
                                    [kulem mwe cayceng thwuca    epsi
                                     then uhm finance investment without


23    →(.) [그렇게만        하는     겁니까?
        (.) [kulehkey-man   ha-nun  ke-pnikka?
             like:that-only do-ATTR NML-supnikka
        "Then that's the only thing ((the government ought)) to do (.) uhm
        without any ((governmental)) financial investment-supnikka?"


24  HJP:    [아 정부에서        재정   투자는          저는
            [a cengpwu-eyse   cayceng thwuca-nun      ce-nun
             uh government-LOC finance investment-TOP I-TOP


25    →최소한      하는    게     맞다고    봅니다.
        choysohan ha-nun  ke-y   mac-tako po-pnita.
        minimum   do-ATTR NML-NOM right-QT think-supnita
        "Uh I think keeping the governmental financial investment to a
        minimum is the right direction-supnita."


26      재정    투자로       인해서    >지금 안 후보님     말씀하신       대로<
        cayceng thwuca-lo   inhayse >cikum An hwuponim malssumha-si-n taylo<
        finance investment-by caused  now An candidate mention-HON-ATTR like
```

27   →기업들   일자리 만드는   시대는   지났어요.
       kiep-tul   ilcali mantu-nun sitay-nun cina-ss-eyo.
       company-PL jobs   make-ATTR time-TOP pass-PST-eyo
       "Those days >as Candidate Ahn just mentioned< when jobs were created
       out of governmental financial support are over-eyo."

28   정부의   역할은   최소한   하고, 기업의   환경을
       cengpwu-uy   yekhal-un choysohan ha-ko, kiep-uy   hwankyeng-ul
       govrnmnt-GEN role-TOP minimum   do-CNN company-GEN environment-ACC

29   →최:대한   해 주자 그   뜻입니다.
       choy:tayhan hay cwu-ca ku   ttus-i-pnita.
       maximum   make-let's that intention-COP-supnita
       "My intention is to keep the governmental role to the minimum, and
       make the ((company-friendly)) environment to the ma:ximum-supnita."

In the last part of Example 13 below, we can see one last interesting shift to '-eyo'

made by HJP within the local context we have been currently discussing. After listening

to HJP's rather vague answers, ACS specifically asks how HJP estimated the exact

number of 1.1 million new jobs that he is promising to create if elected while employing

the institutional '-supnikka' in line 30.

Displaying his lack of knowledge, HJP jokingly responds to this question in a

shameless manner by saying that the exact number was calculated by his campaign

aides but not by himself (lines 31-32). This answer was overlapped with and immediately

followed by ACS's laughter and hearable breathy particles of his sigh as shown in Figure

7 below.

Figure 7. ACS's laughter and sigh to HJP's response

Unlike the immediately preceding turn in line 29 where HJP projected ACS as his

institutional role while using '-supnita,' there appears a quick shift to '-eyo' when HJP

delivers his rather 'irresponsible' response in lines 31-32. Commonsensically, a

responsible candidate would feel obliged to present an official and rational answer to this

kind of numerical question while institutionally projecting the other interlocutor. However,

HJP at this moment replies to the question in a highly interpersonal and comical fashion,

which in turn makes ACS burst into laughter in line 33.

```
30  ACS:→그럼   어떻게    백십만      개가    나옵니까?
        kulem ettehkey payksipman  kay-ka nao-pnikka?
        then  how      1.1 million NML    appear-supnikka
        "Then how do {you} get-supnikka the number of 1.1 million jobs ((that
        you said you will create))?"

31  HJP:  아이  그거: 그거는     실무진에서       만든      건데
        ai   kuke: kuke-nun silmwucin-eyse mant-un   ke-ntey
        Well that  that-TOP my:aides-LOC   make-ATTR NML-CIRCUM
        "Well tha:t that ((campaign promise)) is what my aides made"
```

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```
32      →[내가      만든      거예요?
         [nay-ka mant-un   ke-y-eyyo?
          I-NOM  make-ATTR NML-COP-eyo
         "Did I make it-eyo?"

33  ACS: [hhhh                          아::(hh): 참
                                         a::(hh): cham
         "hhhh                          Ha::(hh): you're kidding"
```

In this TV debate, the most belligerent and hostile attitude towards each other can be found between MJI of the Democratic Party who was eventually elected as the 12th President of South Korea and HJP of the Liberty Korea Party who held his ultraright political stance throughout the debate. The two candidates butted heads on many contentious issues such as the new government's role in creating jobs, the aid to and denuclearization of North Korea, and abolition of the death penalty.

In Example 14 below, HJP alleges that MJI was involved in the attempt to interrupt the legal investigation into the accused North Korean spy ring, so-called Ilsimhoy, by unduly dismissing the director of the National Intelligence Service when MJI was a high rank government official. HJP allusively claims that MJI is pro-North Korean government, thereby being disqualified to become President of South Korea. The Ilsimhoy case was prosecuted in 2006 under the presidency of Moo-hyun Roh (2003-2008), during part of which MJI served as the Chief Presidential Secretary.

In this example, HJP addresses the collective audience who are watching the debate

on TV or inside of the studio sitting behind the presidential candidates. He first argues

that MJI has been continuously lying about various matters including the Ilsimhoy case

in lines 1-3. This assertion does not require any immediate response from MJI, but is

simply delivering his beliefs to the audience in the form of unilateral communication.

Therefore, the impersonal '-supnita' is used at the end of line 3. HJP keeps on voicing

his suspicions about the illegitimate connection between MJI and the Ilsimhoy case in

lines 7-9. This unilateral communication is again coupled with the impersonal '-supnita'

in line 8.

However, he makes a temporary shift to '-eyo' only in line 5 with 'compressed TRP'

by rush-throughs. The truncated silence by abrupt-joins following a possible completion

point of one turn in this sequence middle position indicates that the current speaker has

the intention of holding the floor to continue the action he has been conducting.[34] By

employing the interpersonal '-eyo' in this non-turn-ending position, HJP is securing the

current speakership and making his inserted turn sound like he is giving a piece of

personal advice to the audience in lines 4-6.

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[34] This is as noted in Clayman (2013), based on work by Schegloff (1982, 1987), Local and Walker (2004), and Walker (2010).

In response, MJI first refuses the allegation by saying he was not in any charge in the Blue House when the legal case was under investigation. This kind of response is more trustworthy and credible when it is directed to the right authority. Therefore, here MJI projects HJP as his institutional role at talk, which is coded with '-supnita' in line 10. In what immediately follows, however, he swiftly shifts to the interpersonal '-eyo' when he blames HJP for being such a persistent liar in line 11. We can notice such fluid use of the two endings again in this example below.

Example (14)

```
01  HJP:  문재인      후보:님은        지난  번에      KBS 토론      때:도
           mwuncayin hwupo:nim-un  cinan pen-ey  KBS tholon ttay:-to
           MJI       candidate-TOP past  time-at KBS debate time-also

02         여섯  가지  거짓말을        했다고        내   지적을          한 일이
           yeses kaci kecismal-ul ha-yss-tako nay cicek-ul      ha-n il-i
           six   CL   lie-ACC     do-PST-QT   I   pointing-ACC do-EXPRN-NOM

03     →있는데:        오늘  일심회    사건도       또    거짓말을        합니다.
           iss-nuntey: onul  ilsimhoy saken-to  tto   kecismal-ul ha-pnita.
           have-CIRCUM today NAME     case-also again lie-ACC     do-supnita
           "I've already pointed out that Candidate MJI lied about six things in
           the last debate ((hosted by)) KBS, bu:t {he} also again lies-supnita
           about the Ilsimhoy case today."

04         일심회    사건   여:  지금  방송        들으시는
           ilsimhoy saken ye:  cikum pangsong  tul-usi-nun
           NAME     case  here now broadcating listen-HON-ATTR

05     →시청자님이-        분들이        일심회    사건 한 번    >쳐 보세요
           sichengcanim-i- pwun-tul-i ilsimhoy saken han pen  >chye po-se-yyo
           audience-NOM    CL-PL-NOM  NAME     case  one time type:try-HON-eyo
           "The Ilsimhoy case the audi- audience who are watching this debate
           here and now please >look it up-eyo"
```

06   인터넷에<   사실이   어떻게   돼   있는가   (.)

```
       intheneys-ey<  sasil-i  ettehkey  tw-ay       iss-nunka (.)
       internet-LOC  fact-NOM how        become-CONN be-Q
       "on the Internet< about what is the truth (.)"
```

07   그 간첩단   사건을   갖다가   수사를   김승규   국정원장

```
       ku kancheptan saken-ul kactaka swusa-lul kimsungkyu kwukcengwencang
       uh spy:ring   case-ACC investigation-ACC NAME director:of:NIS Korea
```

08 →해임시키면서   수사를   <u>막은</u>   사건입니다.

```
       hayimsikhi-myense    swusa-lul   mak-un    saken-i-pnita.
       dismiss-while investigation-ACC stop-ATTR incident-COP-supnita
       "That case was about ((Candidate MJI)) interrupting the legal
       investigation into uh a spy ring ((dispatched by North Korea))
       through dismissing Mr. Sungkyu Kim the director of the National
       Intelligence Service-supnita."
```

09   그: 그: 문   후보가   그 비서실장인가   할   때:

```
       ku: ku: mwun  hwupo-ka    ku pisesilcang-inka  ha-l   ttay:
       uh  uh  MJI Candidate-NOM uh chief:secretary-Q do-ATTR when
       "Uh: uh: ((this happened)) whe:n Candidate MJI was the Chief
       Presidential Secretary"
```

10 MJI:→그때   나는   청와대에   있지도   않았을   때입니다.

```
       kuttay    na-nun  chengwatay-ey  iss-ci-to anh-ass-ul ttay-i-pnita.
       that:time I-TOP  the:Blue:House be-even-not-PST-ATTR time-COP-supnita
       "At that time I was not even in the Blue House-supnita."
```

11   →왜   이렇게   거짓말을   해요:

```
       way ilehkey   kecismal-ul ha-yyo:
       why like:this lie-ACC     do-eyo
       "Why do you keep ly:ing-eyo"
```

The main topic for discussion in Example 15 below is whether former President Roh

in actual fact accepted a monetary bribe or not. As mentioned above, MJI served as the

Chief Presidential Secretary while Moo-hyun Roh was in his presidency. Bringing up this

disputed subject was to disgrace and mar the morality of both Moo-hyun Roh and MJI.

They were lifetime companions, and MJI claimed to stand for the legacy of his late friend

and political mentor Roh and his administration. Subsequently, this question causes an

upsurge of tension between HJP and MJI as shown in the example below.

HJP employs solely '-supnikka' while issuing his 1st pair part question in lines 1-3.

This provoking question regarding the assumed bribery charge on Roh's family is

directed not to MJI as a person but to the institutional role that he is taking in the debate,

thereby being paired with '-supnikka'. In his response to this question, MJI as a former

lawyer explains why the money cannot be considered a bribe in the legal aspect in lines

4-6. Resorting to the fact that HJP is also a former lawyer, MJI retorts quickly in line 7 by

asking if HJP was not a lawyer who is expected to have the accurate legal knowledge

concerning the issue at hand without MJI himself having to explain it. This retort given by

MJI in line 7 is specifically targeted to one of the institutional facets of HJP's identities, a

jurist, that is most relevant at this moment of talk and this is coupled with the use of the

institutional '-supnikka' at the end of his turn.

Immediately thereafter, HJP argues that, according to the investigation record,

former President Roh indeed willfully and personally requested the money, thereby

making it a bribe in the legal sense. His argument is presented to MJI with the

institutional '-supnita' in line 12. This provocation with concrete legal terms (e.g. "the

investigation record" and the abbreviated jargon for "the Chief of the Department of

Central Investigation") in turn makes the listener irritated yet obliged to defend his

epistemic authority and at the same time to abide by his institutional role.

This is reflected in MJI's angry yet factual response to HJP's argument in line 13

("Hey loo:k I am the lawyer who attended that investigation."), and this fightback is

accordingly coupled with the institutional '-supnita' when he says "I am the lawyer".

Being momentarily vexed by MJI's wording "Hey loo:k," HJP makes a digressional

remark with anger in lines 14-15. This utterance is irrelevant to the debating point and

shows that the speaker went off the institutional track out of temper for a hot moment. It

is noteworthy that when HJP criticizes MJI's speech attitude for being "rude" in line 15,

the interpersonal '-eyo' is mobilized. This temporary shift shows the speaker steps down

from institutionally registering the interlocutor, and swiftly recalibrates the listener's most

relevant interactional identity to an ordinary person who is being rude at this precise

moment.

Example (15)

```
01  HJP:  ((노무현 전 대통령 가족들이 직접 받았으면)) 육백사십만 달라 그 뇌물이니까
                               yukpayksasipman talla ku noymwul-i-nikka
                               6.4 million  dollar uh bribe-COP-because
         "((given former President Roh's family directly accepted it))
         because the 6.4 million dollars uh it's a bribe"
```

02 →환수를   해야   될   거 아닙니까?
     hwanswu-lul ha-yya toy-l   ke an-i-pnikka?
     forfeit-ACC do-should-ATTR NML not-COP-supnikka
     "Shouldn't we forfeit the money-supnikka?"

03 →어떻게   생각하십니까?
     ettehkey sayngkakha-si-pnikka?
     how   think-HON-supnikka
     "what do you think-supnikka?"

04 MJI: (1.5) 그것이   뇌물이   될려면,   적어도:
            kukes-i noymwul-i toy-llyemyen,   ceketo:
            that-NOM bribe-NOM become-in:order:to at:least
         "(1.5) In order to be considered a bribe, at lea:st"

05   노무현   대통령이   직접   받았거나 (.)
     nomwuhyen taythonglyeng-i cikcep   pat-ass-kena (.)
     NAME   President-NOM   personally accept-PST-or

06   뜻에   의해서   받았어야   되는   것이죠:
     ttus-ey uyhayse   pat-ass-eya toy-nun   kes-i-c-yo:
     intention-according:to accept-PST-should-ATTR NML-COP-COMM-POL
     "it needs to be accepted personally by President Roh or (.)
     accepted with the President's intention as you know"

07 →법률가   아닙니까[:
     peplyulka an-i-pnikka[:
     lawyer   not-COP-supnikka
     "Aren't you a lawyer-supnikka[:"

08 HJP: [아니 내 얘기를   할게(요) (.)
                    [ani nay yaykilul ha-lkey-(yo) (.)
                     no I   talk-ACC do-will-(POL)
                    "No I will explain (.)"

09   .hh 거기   수사   기록에   보면   그 당시에
     .hh keki swusa   kilok-ey   po-myen ku tangsi-ey
         there investigation record-LOC see-if uh that:time-at

10   중수부장이   이야기한   거는
     cwungswupwucang-i   iyakiha-n ke-nun
     Chief:of:Central:Investigation:Dept-NOM say-ATTR NML-TOP

11   노무현   대통령께서   돈:을   박연차한테   직접
     nomwuhyen taythonglyeng-kkeyse ton:-ul   pakyencha-hanthey cikcep
     NAME   President-NOM:HOM   money-ACC NAME-to   personally

12 →전화해서   요구를   했다고   돼   있습니다.
     cenhwaha-yse yokwu-lul   ha-yss-tako tw-ay   iss-supnita.
     call-CNN   request-ACC do-PST-QT   become-CNN be-supnita
     "If you read the investigation record, at that time what the Chief of
     the Department of Central Investigation mentioned was, it says
     President Roh personally called Mr. Park ((the former Chairperson of
     Taekwang Industrial Co., Ltd)) and requested money from him-supnita."

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```
13  MJI:→이보세요:   제가    그    조사    때     입회했던          변호삽니다.
           iposeyyo: cey-ka ku  cosa  ttay iphoyha-yss-ten pyenhosa-pnita.
           hey:look  I-NOM   the probe time attend-PST-PST  lawyer-supnita
           "Hey loo:k I am the lawyer-supnita who attended that investigation."

14  HJP:  (1.0) 아니 (1.0) 말씀을       왜   그:  그
           (1.0) ani (1.0) malssum-ul way ku:  ku
                 no          speech-ACC why that that

15       →버릇없이      해요,   이보-  이보세요라니
           peluseps-i  ha-yyo ipo-   iposeyyo-lani
           rude-ADV    do-eyo hey-   hey:look-you:said
           "(1.0) Wait (1.0) Why do {you} speak-eyo rudely like that, Did {you}
           just say hey- hey look"

((intervened and arbitrated by the moderator))
```

After the overheated conversation was intervened by the debate moderator, HJP

cooled down and persistently went on issuing his follow-up questions regarding whether

the money that former President Roh's family supposedly accepted can be considered a

bribe (lines 16-17) and if it was indeed not a bribe why former President Roh committed

suicide while the case was still under investigation (line 22). In the rest of Example 15

below while HJP continues to conduct those 'institutional' actions, he employed solely

the institutional '-supnikka' in lines 16 and 22.

Being irritated by all of the repetitive and tenacious provocation, MJI criticizes HJP

for being a liar ("You're just telling an absurd lie right now"), which is coupled with the

interpersonal '-eyo' in line 25. This is in stark contrast to the earlier part of the same

example when MJI addressed HJP while reminding him of each other's institutional role

("Aren't you a lawyer" in line 7 and "I am the lawyer" in line 13), both of which were

constantly paired with '-supnita/-supnikka'.

16 HJP:→가족들이   받았으면   뇌물죄가   안   됩니까?
        kacok-tul-i   pat-ass-umyen noymwulcoy-ka   an toy-pnikka?
        family-PL-NOM accept-PST-if bribery:charge-NOM not become-supnikka
        "Can't it be considered-supnikka a bribery charge if his family
        members accepted the money?"

17   대통령   보고   준   건데
        taythonglyeng poko   cwu-n   ke-ntey
        President   see-CNN give-ATTR NML-CIRCUM
        "even if {the money} was offered for the President"

18 MJI: 제가: 그때: 노무현   대통령의   조사에   입회:를
        cey-ka: kuttay: nomwuhyen taythonglyeng-uy   cosa-ey   iphoy:-lul
        I-NOM   that:time NAME   President-GEN investigation-LOC attending-ACC

19   하고- 난   후에   언론에   브리핑을   했지요,
        ha-ko- na-n hwuey enlon-ey puliphing-ul ha-yss-ci-yo,
        do-CNN-ATTR after press-LOC briefing-ACC do-PST-COMM-POL
        "You know I: gave a press briefing after attending the investigation
        of President Roh back the:n,"

20   노무현   대통령이   그   사건에   관련됐다는
        nomwuhyen taythonglyeng-i ku saken-ey   kwanlyentwa-yss-tanun
        NAME   President-NOM the affair-LOC be:involved-PST-QT-ATTR

21   아:무런   증거를   검찰이   갖고   있지   않았다:
        a:mwulen cungke-lul   kemchal-i   kac-ko iss-ci anh-ass-ta:
        any   evidence-ACC prosecutor-NOM have-PROG-not-PST-QT
        "((a briefing)) that the Public Prosecutors' Office had no: evidence
        showing that President Roh was involved in the affair"

22 HJP:→[그러면   왜 돌아가셨습니까
        [kule-myen way tolaka-sy-ess-supnikka
         so-if   why pass:away-HON-PST-supnikka
        "[If so, why did {he have to} commit suicide-supnikka"

23 MJI: [그래서   방금   중수부장   뭐
        [kulayse pangkum cwungswupwucang   mwe
         so   just:ago Chief:of:Central:Investigation:Dept something

24   조서에   뭐   이랬다라는   것은:
        cose-ey   mwe ila-yss-tala-nun   kes-un:
        investigation:record-LOC sth. like:this-PST-QT-ATTR NML-TOP
        "[So as for what you just said about the chief of the Department of
        Central Investigation and the investigation record and what not"

25   →지금   터무니없는   거짓말을   하고 계신   거예요:
        cikum themwunieps-nun kecismal-ul ha-ko kyeysi-n   ke-y-eyyo:
        now   absurd-ATTR   lie-ACC   do-PROG:HON-ATTR NML-COP-eyo
        "You're just telling-eyo an absurd lie right now"

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In example 16 below, SSJ of the Justice Party and ACS of the People's Party clash

over a pro-business legislation bill that was newly proposed by the People's Party. SSJ,

the most progressive candidate, emphasizes the importance of government's active role

in the new process of accomplishing economic democratization throughout the debate.

On the other hand, ACS professes a middle-grounder stance. In the below example,

however, SSJ points out that ACS is in fact no different from other right-wing politicians

according to the new legislation bill that he proposed to alleviate regulations imposed on

corporations.

Example 16 below consists of three phases. ACS keeps using '-supnita' throughout

the example (lines 9, 11, 23, 26, 32, and 38) while projecting the other interlocutor, SSJ,

strictly as her institutional role. In contrast, SSJ makes frequent shifts between the two

endings under examination with the emerging interactional need to negotiate the most

relevant facet of the other's identities at each precise moment of the debate in a highly

fluid fashion.

In the foremost sequence, SSJ issues her initial 1st pair part question to ACS about

whether he would like to keep pushing forward to pass the legislation in line 8, which is

coupled with the institutional '-supnikka'. This question can be properly answered only if

she recalibrates the most relevant identity of ACS to the institutional role he is taking in

the interaction.

SSJ, however, previously employs the interpersonal '-eyo' twice (lines 2 and 7) in the

middle of the expanded preface that leads to her question in line 8. This long preface

provides the background information and her view on the new legislation bill of which

ACS procures the passage. In other words, the two tokens of the interpersonal '-eyo' are

employed not in the end of the 1st pair part question but only in passing in the expanded

preface where it can give certain rhetorical effects.

The use of the interpersonal '-eyo' contributes to making it sound like SSJ is picking

out ACS's wrongdoing (line 2) or providing him some personal lessons on the current

issue (line 7). This sequence organizational pattern of the non-turn-ending '-eyo' tokens

intermixed with the ending '-supnita/-supnikka' can be found also in the following

expanded sequences of Example 16.

Example (16)

```
01  SSJ:  그    자유한국당하고                   규제프리존법을
           ku  cayuhankwuktang-hako          kyuceyphuliconpep-ul
           uh  the:Liberty:Korea:Party-with control:free:zone:law-ACC

02         →그  발의를        하셨어요,        알고  계시죠.
            ku paluy-lul    ha-sy-ess-eyo, al-ko kyeysi-c-yo.
            uh proposal-ACC do-HON-PST-eyo know-PROG:HON-COMM-POL
            "{You} know {you} proposed-eyo uh the bill of regulation free zone
            collaborating with the Liberty Korea Party."

03  ACS:   (1.0) 말씀하십시오       [규제프리존법              예    예
            (1.0) malssumhasi-psio [kyuceyphuliconpep      yey  yey
                  speak:HON-please  control:free:zone:law yeah yeah
            "(1.0) Go ahead please [the bill of regulation free zone yeah yeah
            ((what about it))"

04  SSJ:                          [아니 알고  계시죠              네
                                  [ani al-ko kyeysi-c-yo        ney
                                   no  know-PROG:HON-COMM-POL yes
                                  "[I mean {you} are aware alright"

05         국민의당에서           대표발의를           했는데요,          그게  인제:
            kwukminuytang-eyse tayphyopaluy-lul   ha-yss-nuntey-yo, kukey incey:
            People's:Party-LOC lead:legislation-ACC do-PST-CIRCUM-POL that now
            "The People's Party ((of which ACS is the leader)) lead the
            legislation process of the bill, that is let's say"

06         전경련          청부       입법이고,            박근혜         정부가
            cenkyenglyen chengpwu ippep-i-ko,      pakkunhyey cengpwu-ka
            F.K.I.          petition legislation-COP-CNN, NAME   government-NOM

07         →가장      강력하게       추진했던:            숙원        과제예요,
            kacang kanglyekha-key chwucinha-yss-ten: swukwen    kwacey-y-eyyo,
            most   strong-ADV  carry:forward-PST-PST long-wished project-COP-eyo
            "The legislation of the bill was petitioned by the Federation of
            Korean Industries, ((the biggest association of South Korean
            corporations)) and it was a long-wished project-eyo that former
            Park administration most strongly carried forward,"

08         →계속          밀고       나가시겠습니까?
            kyeysok       mil-ko    naka-si-keyss-supnikka?
            continuously push-CNN forward-HON-MODAL-supnikka
            "Would you keep pushing forward the legislation-supnikka?"

09  ACS:→그 제가     단서      조항이           있습니다.
            ku cey-ka tanse   cohang-i       iss-supnita.
            uh I-NOM  proviso condition-NOM have-supnita
            "Uh I do have a proviso-supnita."

10         환경:       안전: 그리고 그  의료        영리화:
            hwankyeng:  ancen: kuliko ku uylyo       yenglihwa:
            environment safety and    uh healthcare commercialization
```

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11    →그    부분들은           전부    삭제해야       됩니다.
      ku    pwupwun-tul-un cenpwu sakceyha-yya toy-pnita.
      that part-PL-TOP    all    eliminate-should-supnita
      "((In the proposed bill)) environment, safety and uh healthcare
      commercialization, all of these parts should be eliminated-supnita."

12    [그    상태에서           통과해야지요.
      [ku    sangthay-eyse thongkwaha-yya-ci-yo.
       that condition-LOC pass-should-COMM-POL
      "[Only in that condition, ((the bill)) needs to be passed."
```

In the following sequence, SSJ firstly explains to ACS what negative ramifications

the new legislation bill will cause if it gets passed from the economic, environmental, and

social aspects in lines 13-22.[35] She uses the interpersonal '-eyo' twice while giving an

example in lines 20 and 21. It is notable that through multiple turns she is elucidating in

detail the import of the bill to the very person who leads the political party that proposed

the legislation. By doing so, she intentionally does not acknowledge the authority and/or

speculated epistemic status of ACS. Her action assumes that ACS as a person is not

fully aware of what he is doing at this moment. Here SSJ's interpersonal projection of

him is paired with the use of '-eyo' in lines 20 and 21.

Despite her claim to continue the speakership using the rising intonation at the end

of line 21, ACS interrupts and fights back against her assumption in lines 23 and 26 by

---

[35] The humidifier disinfectant scandal in South Korea called for "the need for vigorous government
oversight of chemicals and household products to secure public safety." (editorial, Environmental
Health and Toxicology, Vol. 31)

saying he has indeed already mentioned it. What both candidates agree is that the part

of environment, safety, and healthcare commercialization in the proposed bill should be

eliminated since alleviating necessary protective regulations on these sectors will directly

jeopardize public safety of the nation. SSJ, however, argues that if ACS really intends to

leave out those subparts, he should rather abolish the entire bill in lines 28-29. While she

tells him what is the right thing to do at this precise moment, it is also that she is giving

him a piece of personal advice. Accordingly, the interpersonal '-eyo' is mobilized at the

end of this turn in line 29.

After the long preface that provides the relevant background information and her

explanation, SSJ finally issues her question in this following sequence in line 30. This

question "Have you read what's written on the bill?" is issued with the quick shift to the

institutional '-supnita'. Considering the content of the question, it needs to be directed to

the lawmaker facet of ACS's identities that is most relevant at this point. In addition, the

use of the institutional '-supnita' at this moment aims for the maximum rhetorical effect of

absurdity if ACS, the leader of the very political party that spearheaded proposing the bill,

fails to give an affirmative answer to this question.

In response, ACS says that, despite the minor issues that SSJ has criticized, the

legislation bill itself has a point and the nation will benefit from it. This statement of ACS

is issued without hesitation in line 31 overlapping with SSJ's last turn. ACS is presenting

his confident belief to the official role of SSJ, thus employing the institutional '-supnita' in

line 32 at the end of this expanded sequence.

13 SSJ: [그것- 네: 그러니까 이 규제프리존:법이라는   게:
          [kukes- ney: kulenikka i kyuceyphulicon:pep-i-lanun   ke-y:
           that   yeah I:mean this control:free:zone:law-COP-QT thing-NOM
          "[That- yea: I mean what this bill of regulation free zone mea:ns is"

14   첫째는: 지역에서   규제   완화를: 해서,   예를   들면은
          chesccay-nun: ciyek-eyse kyucey wanhwa-lul: ha-yse, yeylul tulmyen-un
          first-TOP   area-LOC regulation ease-ACC   do-CNN for:example-TOP
          "First alleviating ((protective)) regulations on the local market,
          for example"

15   대형마트   규제   같은   거   완화해서
          tayhyengmathu kyucey   kath-un   ke wanhwaha-yse
          supermarket regulation same-ATTR NML alleviate-CNN

16   골목시장   침탈할   수 있고,   그리고 인제: 뭐
          kolmoksicang   chimthalha-l swu iss-ko, kuliko incey: mwe
          local:market   plunder-be:able:to-CNN   and   now   uhm
          "to let major supermarkets plunder the local market through
          alleviating regulations and so on, and let's say uhm"

17   생태: 환경   부담금   없애 주고서
          sayngthay: hwankyeng   pwutamkum epsay cwu-kose
          ecology   environment liability eliminate-CNN

18   난개발   할   수 있고   이거거든요?
          nankaypal   ha-l swu iss-ko i-ke-ketun-yo?
          thoughtless:development do-be:able:to-CNN this-thing-CORL-POL
          "That bill would also remove ecology-environment liability charges
          for big companies, so they can execute environmentally destructive
          development plans am I wrong?"

19   그리고 또 하나는   기업이, 자기 스스로 기술과:,   또 안전을
          kuliko tto hana-nun kiep-i, caki susulo kiswul-kwa:, tto ancen-ul
          and also other-TOP company-NOM itself tech-and   also safety-ACC

20　→확인하면은,　　　　　　　물건을　　　　　팔게　　　　돼　　　　　　있어요.
　　hwakinha-myen-un, mwulken-ul　　phal-key tw-ay　　iss-eyo.
　　verify-if-TOP　　　commodity-ACC sell-ADV become-CNN be-eyo
　　"And the other thing is that if companies, self-verify their
　　technology and also safety ((without government's possible
　　intervention to secure public safety)), according to that bill
　　they can freely sell their products-eyo."

21　→그래서　　나타난　　문제가,　　　가습기　　살균제　　　　문제예요,
　　kulayse nathana-n mwuncey-ka, kasupki　　salkyuncey　mwuncey-y-eyyo,
　　so　　emerge-ATTR problem-NOM humidifier disinfectant issue-COP-eyo
　　"That is how we got the humidifier disinfectant scandal-eyo,"

22　　(1.5) [그러니까,
　　(1.5) [kulenikka,
　　"(1.5) [So I mean,"

23　ACS:→　　　[예:　그거 다　말씀　　　[드렸습니다.
　　　　　　　[yey: kuke ta　malssum [tuly-ess-supnita.
　　　　　　　 yeah that all word　　give-PST-supnita
　　　　　　　"[Yea:h {I} have already [talked about it-supnita."

24　SSJ:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[네: 그러니까
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[ney: kulenikka
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　"[Yea: so I mean"

25　　지금　　말씀하신　　　　것처럼　　안전　　환경:,
　　cikum malssumhasi-n　kes-chelem ancen　hwankyeng:,
　　now　　speak:HON-ATTR NML-like　safety environment
　　"Like what you just said, as for safety, environment,"

26　ACS:→예 [그리고　　의료 영리화　　　[부분도　　　다　　빼야　　됩니다.
　　yey [kuliko　uylyo yenglihwa　[pwupwun-to　ta　ppay-ya toy-pnita.
　　yea and healthcare commercialization part-too all omit-should-supnita
　　"Yea [and we need to delete the [part of healthcare commercialization
　　as well-supnita."

27　SSJ:　　[병-　　　　　　　　　　　　[영리화　　　이걸　　　　빼면은,
　　　　　　[pyeng-　　　　　　　　　　[yenglihwa ike-l　　ppay-myen-un,
　　　　　　 hospi-　　　　　　　　　　commercialization this-ACC omit-if-TOP
　　　　　　"[hospi- if you leave out the [commercialization,"

28　　아이　빼실려면은　　　　규제프리존법　　　　　자체를
　　ai　ppay-si-llyemyen-un kyuceyphuliconpep　　cachey-lul
　　phew omit-HON-intend-TOP control:free:zone:law itself-ACC

29　→폐기를　　　　　　하셔야　　돼요:,
　　phyeyki-lul　　ha-sy-eya tw-ayyo:,
　　abolition-ACC do-HON-should-eyo
　　"Phew if you are to leave out the healthcare commercialization part
　　{you} should rather abolish the entire bill-eyo,"

30　→[내용-　　　내용　　보셨습니까?
　　[nayyong-　nayyong po-sy-ess-supnikka?
　　 content　　content see-HON-PST-supnikka
　　"Have you read what's written on the bill-supnikka?"

```
31  ACS:  [그렇지만    그거  자체가:     그
          [kulehciman kuke cachey-ka: ku
           but          that itself-NOM uh

32      →저는     의미가        있다고       봅니다.
          ce-nun uymi-ka      iss-tako    po-pnita.
          I-TOP  meaning-NOM there:is-QT  see-supnita
          "But I think the bill per se is beneficial-supnita."
```

In the last sequence of Example 16 below, SSJ asks what kind of benefit there can

be if the Congress passes the bill in line 33 echoing to ACS's previous utterance in line

31-32 ("But I think the bill per se is beneficial."). This question is coupled with the ending

'-supnikka,' which shows SSJ's institutional projection of ACS who is ultimately

accountable for proposing the legislation bill. Also, this '-supnikka' token is used with

compressed TRP achieved by surrounding rush-throughs, thereby helping SSJ secure

the current speakership.

She keeps on refuting ACS's belief that the new bill will be beneficial in lines 34-35

by comparing the state of the nation after the bill is passed to the sinking of Sewol Ferry

that occurred in April 2014. The administration of former President Park was strongly

denounced for its ignorance of safety issues, poor disaster response, and attempts to

evade government culpability. SSJ employs the institutional '-supnita' in line 35 while

equating the essence of the new bill with the cause of the Sewol Ferry disaster, which is being presented to the official role of ACS.

In what immediately follows, ACS responds to the figurative yet intense argument that SSJ made in her previous turn by attempting to slightly change the debating point in lines 36-38. He tries to draw a line between positive and negative regulations to say that the bill will get rid of only the right type of regulations that need to be eliminated. While ACS mentions this, he consistently projects SSJ as her institutional role in the debate, which is coded in his use of '-supnita' in line 38.

However, SSJ instantly pushes back ACS's attempt to make a slight turn of the debating point and returns back to her original argument. She gives ACS a piece of personal advice one last time by saying that he really should look into it once again, which is coupled with the interpersonal '-eyo' in line 39. In addition, this token of '-eyo' co-occurs with the rising intonation to hold the floor that indicates she has not yet finished her current action and therefore the sequence is not closed at the moment.

```
33  SSJ:→어떤          >의미가        있습니까?
         etten         >uymi-ka      iss-supnikka?
         what:kind:of  meaning-NOM   there:is-supnikka
         "What kind of >benefit is there-supnikka?"
```

34   그거:< 규제프리존법   하면은요,
            kuke:< kyuceyphuliconpep   ha-myen-un-yo,
            that   control:free:zone:law do-if-TOP-POL
            "Tha:t< if {we} pass the bill of regulation free zone,"

35   →대한민국   전체를   세월호   만드는   겁니다:
            tayhanminkwuk   cenchey-lul   seywelho   mantu-nun ke-pnita:
            Republic:of:Korea the:whole-ACC Sewol:ferry make-ATTR NML-supnita
            "what it will cause is nothing but making the entire Republic of
            Korea Sewol ferry-supnita"

36 ACS: 지금: 모든 후보들께서   그:파지티브   규제를
            cikum: motun hwupo-tul-kkeyse   ku: phacithipu kyucey-lul
            now   all   candidate-PL-NOM:HON uh positive   regulation-ACC

37   네거티브   규제로: 이제 바꾸자: 그런   것에
            neykethipu kyucey-lo: icey pakkwu-ca: kulen   kes-ey
            negative   regulation-to now change-let's like:that NML-with

38   →동의하시는   후보가   많다고   알고   있습니다.
            tonguyha-si-nun hwupo-ka   manh-tako al-ko iss-supnita.
            agree-HON-ATTR candidate-NOM be:many-QT know-PROG-supnita
            "I know we have quite a few candidates who agree with things like uh:
            having to change positive regulations to: negative ones here among
            all the candidates-supnita."

39 SSJ:→그러니깐요,   그: 후보님   한   번   더   살펴보세요,
            kulenikkan-yo, ku: hwupo-nim   han pen te   salphyepo-s-eyyo,
            I:mean-POL   uh: candidate-HON one time more look:into-HON-eyo
            "So I mean, uh: Candidate Ahn {you} need to look into it-eyo once
            again,"

40   지금   규제프리존법에서   지금   말씀하신   것처럼
            cikum kyuceyphuliconpep-eyse   cikum malssumhasi-n kes-chelem
            now   control:free:zone:law-LOC now   say:HON-ATTR NML-like
            "Now from the bill as you just mentioned"

41   안전   환경:,   의료영리화를   빼면은
            ancen hwankyeng:, uylyoyenglihwa-lul   ppay-myen-un
            safety environment commercialization-ACC delete-if-TOP
            "if you are to eliminate safety envi:ronment, and healthcare
            commercialization"

42   →규제프리존법부터   폐기를   하셔야   되는   겁니다.
            kyuceyphuliconpep-pwuthe phyeyki-lul ha-sy-eya toy-nun ke-pnita.
            control:free:zone:law-LOC deletion-ACC do-HON-should-ATTR NML-supnita
            "{you} should first abolish the bill as a whole-supnita."

In the last part of the example above, SSJ argues one last time that if ACS indeed

intends to delete the subparts of environment, safety, and healthcare commercialization

from the proposed bill, he absolutely should abolish the entire bill instead of modifying

some part of it. While issuing her final argument, SSJ mobilizes the institutional '-supnita'

in line 42. This use of the ending shows not only her temporary projection of the most

relevant facet of the other interlocutor's identities as a lawmaker at this precise moment,

but also its turn-ending import in this position where the speaker finishes her action while

employing the '-supnita' with falling terminal contour.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined various types of institutional talk, e.g. the news interview,

variety show, parliamentary hearing, courtroom conversation, and presidential TV

debate in an attempt to examine the interactional role of two frequently used Korean

endings, '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo,' in the service of social action. Many scholars

have traditionally categorized these endings in terms of formality, and level of deference

and affection. Recent studies from a more functional perspective have mainly focused

on the speaker side of interaction. Previous approaches, however, have paid little

attention to the ways in which Korean speakers actually 'code-switch' between the two

linguistic forms in a rather dynamic manner. In order to bring richer insights into a fuller

picture of naturally occurring discourse, close attention has to be paid to what each

speaker 'does' with the two endings in regard to the listener at each turn at talk.

Everyone has multi-faceted identities in real life. The ways in which each speaker

perceives and projects the interactional identity of other(s) present will accordingly affect

the speaker's language use. Concerning the two options between projecting the other person either as a person himself/herself or as one of his/her social/institutional roles within the conversation, my data show that Korean speakers employ '-supnita/-supnikka' and '-eyo' selectively as a systematic linguistic device in their attempts to achieve the goal of properly registering the most relevant interactional identity of other(s) present in the specific moment of talk. Namely, if the speaker projects the listener as an ordinary person (i.e. INTERPERSONAL use), the ending to be used is '-eyo'; whereas, if the speaker registers the other interactant as his/her relevant institutional role (i.e. INSTITUTIONAL use), '-supnita/-supnikka' is employed. Although there seems to be a global preference for one ending over the other for each speaker in each episode depending on the general topic of the interaction and the characteristics of the institutional setting, code-switching between the two endings is possible. These temporary shifts can be precisely explained by the emergent interactional need to recalibrate and negotiate the most relevant identity of the other interlocutor in and through the moment-by-moment progression of talk while being dynamically influenced by the micro-level conversational topic in the local context.

The temporary shifts from one ending to the other, therefore, should not be

considered simply as 'deviant' cases. It has been argued that different languages (cf.

Curl & Drew 2008 for request expressions in English; and Raymond 2016a, 2016b for

various second person reference forms in Spanish) employ different grammatical

structures to project and reshape the interactional identities of the co-participants

present in the ongoing talk. The current study shows that in the case of Korean,

speakers selectively use the two endings presently under analysis for the impending

interactional need of (re)constructing the pertinent identities of the other(s) in

conversation.

What is interesting to be noted in regard to the directionality of communication and

distinct types of listenership is that there appear to be two different types of '-supnita'.

The **UNIDIRECTIONAL** type of '-supnita' with 'detached' listenership (i.e. **IMPERSONAL** use)

is mobilized exclusively and predominantly in unilateral communication, including the

television news report and the Opening and Closing part of the news interview. The

other **BIDIRECTIONAL** type of '-supnita' can be used in interactional communication,

including the question-answer sequence in the main body of the news interview, talk

show, parliamentary hearing, courtroom conversation, and presidential TV debate,

where the speaker projects the other as his/her institutional role. This is the venue in which other various bidirectional endings, including the interpersonal '-eyo,' can also be employed in a mixed manner.

The dynamic interplay between the specific interactional motivation and pragmatically driven grammar use in natural discourse has been demonstrated by Oh's (2007 and 2010) examination of the use of Korean quasi-pronouns, and Raymond's (2016a and 2016b) work on various Spanish second person pronominal options. These studies show that when certain linguistic forms that are 'semantically' coded (i.e. 'spatial' distance for Korean quasi-pronouns, and 'social' distance for Spanish second person pronouns) are used in real-time interaction, the actual pragmatic import that is emerging at a precise moment of talk plays a critical role in the process of selectively mobilizing one form over the other(s). Paralleling with the findings of these studies on person reference forms, in the case of the two Korean endings of the present study, which have traditionally been 'morpho-syntactically' coded, the precise pragmatic import in regard to the most relevant in-the-moment identity of the other(s) at talk explains the particular ways in which Korean speakers use these two linguistic forms in the on-going discourse.

As for the method of sequence organization by which Korean speakers deploy different endings while intermixing them in the same sequence of bidirectional talk where the default grammatical structure is the institutional '-supnita/-supnikka,' there were also several noteworthy interaction patterns. First, the turn-ending '-supnita/-supnikka' has a terminal contour, which signals to the next speaker that the current action is coming to an end. On the other hand, the non-turn-ending '-supnita' and '-eyo' often simultaneously occur with upward continuing intonation, compressed TRPs achieved by rush-throughs and abrupt-joins, or incomplete syntax to hold the floor.

All of the aforementioned functional and interactional patterns of when and how one particular ending gets to be used tell us that the choice of '-supnita/-supnikka' or '-eyo' in real-time interaction is not pre-determined by static conditions such as the situational characteristics or fixed demographic information of the speech participants. The ways in which Korean speakers adeptly employ these two endings are indeed fluid. This flexible language use has to be understood as an active way for the speaker to respond to particular interactional needs at hand in the service of social action.

In light of the concrete functional findings of the usage of the two Korean verbal endings employed in naturally occurring interaction, this dissertation has avenues for relevant future studies. This type of micro-level analysis on many seemingly analogous linguistic devices that have been traditionally categorized otherwise can significantly contribute to our accurate understanding of dynamic language use. In addition to that, close attention paid to the co-occurring verbal and non-verbal cues with which various final suffixes in Korean and other typologically similar languages appear in real-time interaction can give cross-linguistic insights into the precise ways in which specific language use of varying linguistic forms is driven by pragmatic considerations beyond the morpho-syntactic ascription.

Penultimately, it is noteworthy that previous studies that are relevant to the two important Korean endings both from a traditional view and a more functional perspective have mostly been focusing on the speaker side of interaction, i.e. 'self-presentation'. In order to bring in more colorful insights into a fuller picture of naturally occurring discourse, this dissertation argues that proper and due attention has to be paid also to the other side of interaction, the listener, at each turn at talk.

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In the 1st pair part questions throughout all of the examples, the projection of the other(s), i.e. altercasting (Weinstein and Deutschberger, 1963), appears to be the most powerful and prominent factor in the selection of the two endings under examination. Notwithstanding, I also have to admit that there may be multiple factors, including 'altercasting' and 'self-presentation,' that can possibly be simultaneously affecting the selective use of the two endings. This is especially more conceivable in the 2nd pair part answers where speakers provide their responses while presenting their own thoughts or ideas to the interlocutor(s).

Continued research into the interplay between multiple factors and their relative statuses in selecting one linguistic form over the other(s) in the 2nd pair part answers regarding which one is the most prominent factor and what other forces are joining the selective mechanism by implication will unquestionably shed further light on the issue of mapping a more exhaustive list of discursive factors that impact on linguistic mobilization onto its pragmatic significance.

Lastly, it is also necessary to examine the possibility of projecting more than two interactional identities of the same interlocutor, all of which are simultaneously relevant

at a precise moment of talk. For instance, if one speaker is a friend of his/her boss at

work, he/she can evoke either the personal ('friend') or institutional ('boss') identity of the

other interlocutor while addressing the boss. It is only plausible that, depending on the

imminent interactional need, the speaker can possibly adopt a sort of 'dual-summons

strategy' and evoke both identities at the moment when he/she is not sure which identity

of the listener to be evoked, feeling ambivalent toward the interlocutor, or simply when

doing so is somehow more advantageous to the speaker (e.g. approaching the boss with

an institutional request using a personal bonding or attachment). This further exploration

will help us better understand the dynamic relationship between the negotiation of

interactional identities and precise natural language use in real-time interaction.

Appendix A

Transcription conventions

?,.	**Punctuation** is designed to capture intonation, not grammar: **question mark** for marked upward intonation; **comma** for slightly upward 'continuing' intonation; and **period** for falling intonation.
[	**Left-side brackets** indicate where overlapping talk begins.
]	**Right-side brackets** indicate where overlapping talk ends (if detectable).
(0.5)	**Numbers in parentheses** indicate periods of silence, in tenths of a second.
(.)	**Micropause** indicates a silence less than two-tenths of a second.
:	**Colons** indicate a lengthening of the sound just preceding them, proportional to the number of colons.
wor-	**A hyphen** indicates an abrupt cut-off.
w<u>o</u>rd	**Underlining** indicates stress or emphasis.
>word<	Compressed or rushed talk
{She}	Word unsaid in the Korean, but necessary for smooth translation in English
=	**Equal signs** indicates 'latching' between lines (i.e. no silence at all between them).
( )	**Empty parentheses** indicate talk too obscure to transcribe. Words or letters inside such parentheses indicate the transcriber's best estimate of what is being said.
((loud))	Words in **double parentheses** indicate transcriber's comments, not transcriptions.
hhh .hhh	**The letter "h"** is used to indicate hearable aspiration, its length roughly proportional to the number of "h"s. If preceded by a dot, the aspiration is an in-breath. Aspiration internal to a word is enclosed in parentheses. Otherwise "h"s may indicate anything from ordinary breathing to sighing, laughing, etc.
→	**Arrows** in the left margin point to the lines of transcript relevant to the point being made in the text.

Appendix B

Abbreviations used in the Korean gloss

ACC	Accusative		IMP	Imperative
ADV	Adverbializer		LOC	Locative
ATTR	Attributive		MODAL	Modality
APP	Apperceptive		NML	Nominalizer
CIRCUM	Circumstantial		NOM	Nominative
CL	Classifier		PL	Plural suffix
CNN	Connective		POL	Polite particle
COMM	Committal		PROG	Progressive
COP	Copula		PST	Past tense
CORL	Correlative		PURP	Purposive
DL	Declarative		Q	Question marker
EXPRN	Experience		QT	Quotative
GEN	Genitive		REPORT	Reportive
HON	Honorific		TOP	Topic marker

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