A Theory of Multimodal Translation for Cross-Cultural Viewers of South Korean Film

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I. Abstract

Foreign film research presents a unique situation in which the researcher is placed in the role of a multimodal translator, finding themselves responsible for interpreting multifaceted meanings using their own semiotic repertoire (Kiaer and Kim, 2021a; 2021b). Some aspects of filmic discourse are inevitably going to be untranslatable, resulting in the risk of inferences being naturalised and the analysis ultimately ineffective in its goals (Willemen, 2006., Higson, 2000). Although this is an issue that effects even closely situated languages and cultures (Venuti, 2009), it is severe between those with vast disparities, as between Korean and English (Kiaer, 2020; 2019; 2017). In foreign film studies, a lack of cultural and linguistic knowledge and the cross-cultural gap this presents is often identified as a short-coming (e.g., Matron, 2010., and Kaplan, 1993), and with much of textual film research being conducted in Europe, many textual frameworks are Eurocentric too (Kiaer, 2017., Bhabha, 1994). This means that not only are cross-cultural gaps not addressed by Western researchers, but that non-European films aren't being analysed in the context of their own culture and language to begin with. The aim of this thesis is to develop a logical framework for the textual analysis of South Korean film (K-film), that provides a means for Anglophone (Western) researchers to interpret K- filmic discourse within its own cultural and linguistic context. This will be achieved by implementing and developing Kiaer and Kim's (2021a) framework for identifying common forms of Korean socio-pragmatic expression, and their meaning potentials in K-films (a set of Korean 'socio-pragmatic primitives'), which often create this cross-cultural gap (Kiaer, 2017; 2019; 2020), within the framework of multimodal film discourse analysis 'Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structures' (SFDRS) (Wildfeuer, 2014); a combination which is proposed as a potentially significant advance in the analysis of K-films (Kim and Kiaer, 2021).

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Dedicated to Gangang, who would've loved to have been here to see this, and to Hankook, who didn't miss a beat.

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III. Thesis layout and conventions

This thesis has seven chapters, beginning with a general introduction in Chapter 1. The theoretical background in Chapter 2 weaves together the main three disciplinary threads that underpin this research – Korean-English translation, linguistically-infused approaches to film, and K-film studies, which are gradually filtered until two finer threads remain – Kiaer and Kim's (2021a) Korean 'socio-pragmatic primitives' and a semantic approach to filmic discourse interpretation called 'Segmented Film Discourse Representation Theory (SFDRT)'. The overview of SFDRT includes examples produced from analysis performed during this research, the purpose of which is to clearly illustrate how the SFDRT is being developed, when in Chapter 3 these examples are presented again with the proposed experimental implementation of the socio-pragmatic primitives. A similar layout to that in the sub-section 'The Logic of Film Discourse' of Chapter 2 is also replicated for the purpose of making methodological developments explicit and simple to navigate. The capability of the socio-pragmatic primitives as a guide for interpreting verbal, non-verbal, and multi-modal expressions in K-films is then demonstrated in the analysis in Chapter 4, which features 169 short extracts from 38 K-films. In Chapter 5, a comparative analysis of SFDRT is then presented, which compares the original model with one that implements Korean socio-pragmatic primitives to analyse K-films. This analysis features a more in-depth look at two of the 38 films, demonstrating how the development of SFDRT using socio-pragmatic primitives as a guide for interpretation, allows for a more coherent interpretation of K-filmic discourse overall. The analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 are then given further interpretation in the Discussion presented in Chapter 6, which is followed by the Conclusion in Chapter 7.

Korean words, including film titles, will be presented on the first occasion with the romanised Korean italicised, followed by *hangeul* in brackets, and then the English translation. As of the second occasion, only the romanised Korean will be used, except for in Figure captions when referencing films, in which the three versions of the title will always be

included. Revised Romanisation (RR) will be used. RR is the official romanisation system used in Korea, which was developed by the National Academy of Korean Language with the intention to redress the problems of earlier romanisation systems, such as the McCune–Reischauer or Yale systems. RR was selected to enable Anglophone researchers to who are not fluent in Korean to read and pronounce Korean words in this thesis more fluidly. Unlike the McCune–Reischauer or Yale systems, RR poses less complexity, aligning with the purpose of this thesis to provide tools that can grant access to meaning in K-films. Fan romanisation is also simpler to pronounce, but has numerous variations, and it was felt that the nature of the framework presented in this thesis would benefit more from a standard set of terms.

1. Introduction

Foreign film research presents a unique situation in which the researcher takes up the role of a multimodal translator. However, many researchers are not equipped for the task, lacking the repertoire required to interpret the often unfamiliar, multifaceted meanings before them. Although this problem has been recognised in film studies over the years, only a limited number of recent studies have begun to develop analytic tools in an effort to bridge the gap between the linguistic and cultural contexts of the researcher and the film that they make their object of analysis (e.g., Kiaer and Kim, 2023 forthcoming; 2021a; 2021b., and Kim and Kiaer, 2021). Instead, generally meaning in film has been approached Eurocentrically across the board.

Untranslatability occurs for the same reasons in film analysis as it does in literary translation - because expressions simply do not always exist in both the repertoire of the researcher and the 'filmic text'. Therefore, to understand foreign films, culturally contextualised approaches and cross-cultural perspectives, whose aims are to account for the untranslatability that results, are vital. Moreover, they are timely, since nowadays even film viewers are interested in the untranslatable aspects of foreign film and television (Kiaer and Kim, 2021a).

This appears to be an especially timely issue for South Korean (Korean) film which, as the 'Korean Wave' (K-Wave) (Yecies and Shim, 2016., Choi, 2010) enters a new global sphere of recognition, has fans who are even going as far as learning Korean to bring visibility to the untranslatable in their favourite films (e.g., Yang, 2020., Cho, 2020., ZenKimchi, 2020., Maffei, 2020., York, 2019 Pulliam-Moore, 2017., Han, 2017., Fyeahsnowpiercer, 2015) and television programs (e.g., Namkung, 2021., Mayer, 2021., LeGardye, 2021., Kim, 2021., Fenton, 2021., Khan, 2021). The practice is evidently so popular, streaming services that offer Korean content are catering to it, with functions for language learning while viewing (Cain, 2017). Many Korean language teachers have caught on too and are now utilising Korean films (K-films) and dramas (K-dramas) for language learning (Park, 2014., Jeon, 2005); especially for the benefits that the contextualised use of multimodality offers to learning Korean socio-pragmatics, which are

important if one wishes to be fluent in Korean (Kiaer, 2022 forthcoming), and yet often identified as the most difficult aspect of the language to master. It has been found, for instance, that regardless of competency, Korean second language learners still often use socio-pragmatic expressions such as honourifics outside of their local uses (Brown, 2011).

This is even more significant if we consider just how many fans of Korean popular culture there are. The Korea Foundation recently estimated the number of fans of Korean popular culture to be around 89 million across 113 countries (Elfving-Hwang, 2019), and based on the number of Netflix viewers worldwide tuning in to watch K-film and television since the 2020s, the number seems to only be increasing. Then if we consider the important role that K-film has played as a leading faction of the K-Wave since it first began, and that it remains perhaps the most formally recognised faction globally today; and the significance of this, being that the K-wave has been the only popular culture movement outside of the US to be successful in exporting most of its cultural products simultaneously, amongst research that falls under the umbrella of K-Wave studies films' importance is manifest.

The final push from Korean popular culture into the mainstream, that took place in 2020, even began with K-film. The moment in which Bong Joon-ho's film *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019) made Academy Awards (Oscars) history, when it became the first foreign language film to win the prestigious Best Picture Award in 2020. Lee Isaac Chung's Korean American film *Minari* (미나리) 'Water Celery' (2020) followed shortly after, taking home the award for Best Foreign Language Film at the Golden Globe Awards in 2021, reinstating that Bong's success was no mere fluke.

A mass of fandom and accolades then followed across factions of the K-Wave, and especially in K-television shows released on Netflix, which promptly followed their predecessor film into the global mainstream. *Ojingeo Geim* (오징어 게임) 'Squid Game' (2021) was the first, and according to Variety (Spangler, 2021) was Netflix's number one show of all time, having received 1.65 billion hours of viewing in the 28 days following its premiere. This

success was followed by Korean television shows that topped the Netflix charts one after the other. Among them, *Mai Neim* (마이 네임) 'My Name' (2021) and *Jiok* (지옥) 'Hellbound' (2021) came on the coattails of *Ojingeo Geim*, and the recently *Jigeum Uri Hakgyoneun* (지금 우리 학교는) 'All of Us Are Dead' (2022), which was the most watched Netflix show for three weeks running (Suacillo, 2022).

For Anglophone (Western) viewers, Korean socio-pragmatic expressions pose considerable untranslatability. These expressions are sensitive to the dynamics between speaker and hearer, and do not exist in Western cultural contexts (Kiaer, 2017; 2020). Importantly, these expressions have diverse meaning potentials that, despite being reliant upon the politeness classification of their use within particular social dynamics to be effective communicators, often express far more than simply relations or politeness. It is all dependent on the context of their use (Brown and Winter, 2019), and in film there are an array of contexts.

Socio-pragmatic expressions are also prolific. These expressions are made at sentence level verbally, are inseparable from the non-verbal gestures multimodally (Kiaer, 2022 forthcoming), and the nature of Korean communication is one which requires these expressions to be selected (Kiaer, 2019), and as such they are constant and unavoidable. Anglophone (Western) viewers are subsequently often faced with structural untranslatability (Kiaer and Kim, 2021a). Perhaps for this reason K-film and television viewers have found it necessary to learn more about Korean cultural and linguistic contexts.

The present thesis makes it its aim to provide a cross-cultural framework for Anglophone (Western) researchers to analyse meaning in K-films. The framework provides some of the fundamental cultural contextualisation required for making sense of Korean interactions, and that is responsible for a significant portion of the untranslatability that these researchers encounter. This theory of multimodal translation for K-films will work as a means of advancing K-film scholarship beyond Eurocentrism and can be adapted by foreign film scholars in general for the analytical exploration of world films from diverse cross-cultural perspectives.

2. Literature review

The aim of this literature review is to establish the underlying basis of film analysis from a cross-cultural textlinguistic perspective, that can mitigate the naturalisation of meaning often encountered in K-film analysis performed by Anglophone (Western) researchers. This will be achieved by threading together the necessary interdisciplinary strands of literature, establishing the motivations for the development of the framework that will be presented in the Chapters that follow.

Translation as Interpretation

This section will present the case for film interpretation as a practice of the ethical and cultural considerations made in translation.

Remarkably, the field of translation studies still requires merging comprehensively with film studies. Film analysis is often referred to as film interpretation rather than translation, despite film being a text and the situation of a film viewer making an interpretation and a translator translating a literary text being essentially the same (Bühler, 2002., Koller, 1987: 51., Gadamer, 1975: 362-365). Both individuals face the task of explaining the meaning of the text at hand and share the aim of bringing about comprehension. The main difference, according to Gadamer (1975: 365), is that while interpreting is “any activity aiming at bringing about comprehension” translation “normally involves a different language in which comprehension is to take place”.

At the very least, for foreign film studies, the practice of translation is relevant on these terms. The most obvious reason being that foreign films have a different verbal language that require translation. But non-verbal gestures, cultural customs, and intertexts require translation too because film is multimodal and multifaceted in how it communicates. Then there is the translation of multimodality itself to consider. Recently, the subject of

translating multimodality has been raised in works such as *Translation and Multimodality,* in which Boria et al. (2020) argue for the redefinition and reconfiguration of translation in contexts where there are multiple modes of communication occurring simultaneously (e.g., gesture, written text, images, and music), such as in film. Researchers subconsciously put these elements through processes of translation in order to make sense of them – in order to 'interpret' them – and without a cross-cultural perspective will potentially be unaware of how the filmic text is being transformed by them in this process.

It is for this reason that film interpretation connotes more with a practice requiring certain tools and ethical standards, like translation. This is not to say that foreign film researchers cannot possess satisfactory linguistic, cultural, and even intertextual knowledge, as professional translators do. However, translators' skills often supersede film researchers in one important respect – awareness of what is untranslatable and why. Untranslatability results in invisibility in analysis just as it does in literary translation – an empty space where meaning was intended to be in the original text, or a space filled with another meaning that was not originally there. Translators uncover this to a large extent in their attempts to equalise expressions and cultural contexts. This process is not consciously undertaken in film analysis though, and foreign film research is often conducted through the researcher's cultural scope.

Parallel calls for visibility in texts

Venuti was the first to bring invisibility into the focus of critique in translation studies in the seminal work *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995). In this first conceptualisation of the term, Venuti refers to invisibility as the effect of the translator making themselves invisible in a translation by domesticating the text. Whereas recent perspectives have begun to take a more phenomenological view of (in)visibility as the plus or minus value of objects. Such as Scott, who suggests that the original text's invisibility is a "latent multi-

perspectivalism" that translators and readers "can never properly achieve" (2012: 62). At the crux of both conceptualisations is, however, the same issue of untranslatability. Only, the translator's invisibility concerns itself with how translators ultimately tackle these invisibles to keep their presence undetectable, while the phenomenological approach seeks more to make focal the (in)visibles themselves.

There have been repeated calls to bring visibility to texts. Unsurprisingly, they are found in both traditional translation studies and film studies. Going forward, examples from either field will be woven together to demonstrate the relevance of a translational perspective in foreign film studies. To begin, in national film studies Higson (2000: 69) refers to untranslatable elements as "exotic elements" and warns that these local expressions may be "interpreted according to an "indigenous frame of reference" by foreign film viewers. Similarly, Kim (2006: 7) argues that local conventions in films "feed into the ways in which an audience responds to and interprets a film".

In translation studies, Toury (1995: 1) makes a similar argument about the influence of the translator's culture or the culture that they are translating a text into on the translated text, stating:

> "Translating itself, as a type of text-generating activity, may well vary in its position too, in terms of, e.g., centrality and peripherality, prevalence v. rarity, or high v. low prestige. This variability and its possible ramifications, e.g., in terms of texts pertaining to different types, or translation activities performed in different cultural groups, is again intimately connected with the strategies adopted by translators, and hence with the make-up of translated texts and their relationships to their sources."

The same sentiment is echoed in Higson's (2000: 68-69) argument to take account of the differences in foreign film perception, when Higson states, "The debates about national cinema need to take greater account of the diversity of reception, the recognition that the meanings an audience reads into a film are heavily dependent on the cultural context in which they watch it."

A correlation can be seen with discussions in translation studies on the cultural overhaul of texts in translation. For example, Bassnett and Lefevere (1995: viii) state, "All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. […] Rewritings can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices, and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another. But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort and contain […]." Similarly, Venuti (2009: 162) states, "The foreign text is not only decontextualized, but *re*contextualized insofar as translating rewrites it in terms that are intelligible and interesting to receptors, situating it in different patterns of language use, in different cultural values, in different literary traditions, in different social institutions, and often in a different historical moment".

Venuti's description indicates the untranslatability that researchers may experience if they are without knowledge of the cultural contexts within the filmic text they are analysing. A point that is further emphasised when Venuti (2009: 157) argues that even between texts with shared cultures and histories, one will encounter these same transformative issues:

> "[…] structural differences between languages, even between languages that bear significant lexical and syntactical resemblances based on shared etymologies or a history of mutual borrowing, require the translator to dismantle, rearrange, and finally displace the chain of foreign signifiers". The matter of translation becomes even more difficult when one tries to translate an intertext, about which Venuti states that "the possibility of translating […] with any completeness or precision is so limited as to be virtually nonexistent."

Calls for cultural contextualisation and cross-cultural perspectives

The need for an approach to translate invisibility in film analysis is also indicated by foreign film researchers who note their cultural scope of interpretation as a limitation of their analysis; many cases of which involve European researchers of East Asian films. For example, Kaplan (1993: 9) comments on the limitations of analysing Chinese films, stating "cross-cultural analysis is difficult: It is fraught with danger. We are either forced to read works

produced by the Other through the constraints of our own frameworks/ theories/ ideologies; or to adopt what we believe to be the position of the Other - to submerge our position in that of the imagined Other." Similarly, Matron (2010: 36) comments on the limitations of analysing Korean film as a West German researcher, stating "[…] it is still important to keep in mind the position is taken by the author. In this article, I drew a line connecting two movies from two very different cultures while always maintaining my own West German point of view. It is obvious that within the limited context of this study it is not possible to undertake a deeper comparison of the movies regarding diverging filmic and narrative traditions and the applicability of symbols specific to the respective culture." Willemen (2006: 35) argues that this gap between researcher and film must be accounted for, or otherwise conform to the cultural practices of the researcher:

> "If we accept that national boundaries have a significant structuring impact on national socio-cultural formations […], this has to be accounted for in the way we approach and deal with cultural practices from 'elsewhere'. Otherwise, reading a Japanese film from within a British film studies framework may in fact be more like a cultural cross-border raid, or worse, an attempt to annex another culture in a subordinate position by requiring it to conform to the readers cultural practices".

The result of not accounting for cultural differences in film analysis, is thus like a covert translation, that even in translation studies has been criticised for being less ethical and aesthetically interesting than an overt translation, which rather attempts to retain the cultural essence of the original where possible. Critics such as Spivak (2005; 2003), Booth (2008), and Coldiron (2012) even established a consensus in translation studies, whereby making the foreign visible is more ethical, and especially for the translation of non-Western texts. This should be considered even more seriously when it comes to film analysis, in which the filmic text becomes the object of scientific investigation and requires the opposite of domestication.

Willemen (2006: 41) recommends a cross-cultural approach as a solution to the problem of untranslatability in foreign film research:

> "[…] although it is necessary for Western intellectuals to address, for instance, the cinema in India, with one eye on their own situation, their other eye must remain focused on the potential effects of their discourses within the Indian situation. This uncomfortably cross-eyed mode of operation is absolutely vital if Western intellectuals, however well intentioned, are to avoid obstructing the work of Indian allies. […] Differences between, say, Ireland and Britain, or Korea and Japan, require a similar approach […] If this cross-eyed dialectic is forgotten, the term 'specificity' loses any meaning and any notion of creative or diagnostic understanding. That would be unfortunate, since a position of double outsideness, that is to say, of in-between-ness, is the precondition for any useful engagement with 'the national' in film culture."

Deutsch (1966: 75) argues that it is these "differences" that give cultures their "singularity", and that Bhabha (1994) argues should be the very focus of cultural translation. Likewise, it is these differences that this thesis argues should be the focus in frameworks developed for foreign film analysis.

The problem of universalism and eurocentrism

The lack of progress made developing frameworks that are capable of addressing cross-cultural untranslatability in each research (e.g., a British research of K-film, a Korean research of German film, or a Japanese research of Thai film), is on the one hand the result of universalist arguments that have sought to prevent cultures' singularity from being addressed, and on the other hand self-propagated by the gap in research this has created. Universalism bases itself on the notion that since cultures are destabilised by incoming influences from outside, that culture therefore is constantly in flux, impure, and thus universal (House, 2002: 94). This unhelpful argument ultimately seeks to remove the concept of culture altogether rather than to tackle the seemingly arduous task of dealing with destabilisation. Though, ironically, what it has achieved is the propagation of Eurocentrism, which in its prioritisation of European-American culture deems the universalist argument illogical and void.

In this respect, universalism appears an indirect attempt to maintain imperialistic tradition, in the domination of non-Western texts, and particularly in respect to the prioritisation of English texts. Only in this case, rather than being a case of quantity, as is often the case with more translations made of English texts into Asian languages than the reverse, this is a case of refusing to receive cultures and languages on their own terms. Mindsets such as these have long-plagued cultural translation, and despite superficial changes made at the surface, have not been abandoned yet theoretically (Kiaer, Yates and Mandersloot, 2020: 3., Bhabha, 1994). It is no surprise thought perhaps, since translation itself was built on a foundation of Western colonialism (Kiaer, 2017).

In translation studies, the work of both Venuti (1993) and Saglia (2002) also suggests the possibility that universalism might be an illusion, that has resulted from translators domesticating foreign texts in accordance with the values of their own cultures. The reflection of the translator's cultural values in the translated text creates this illusion, making it appear that one's own cultural values are shared with those of the origin of the text. For instance, Saglia (2002: 98) defines cultural appropriation as "the inclusion and adoption of foreign, *other* signs into one's own cultural environment in order to aggrandize, enlarge and reinforce it", and where the diversity of translated material "is perceived as naturalised, whilst still importantly retaining its *other* status." Venuti (1993: 209), sees domestication strategies as working to "[reconstitute] the foreign text in accordance with values, beliefs and representations that pre-exist in the target language." In national film studies, Willemen (2006: 35) even uses the term "illusion" when referring specifically to universalism, though he argues it was consciously created "to ignore the specific knowledges that may be at work in a text, such as shorthand references to particular, historically accrued modes of making sense (often referred to as cultural traditions)".

In any case, universalists' attacks on culture have proven fruitless. According to House (2002: 94), "in the empirical social sciences, attempts to 'problematize' and 'relativize'

the concept of 'culture' have not as yet provided solid ethnographic descriptions." Thus, in the spirit of productivity, perhaps a way forward is for film researchers to look to linguistics for inspiration, since in linguistics destabilisation has not prevented cultural singularity from being analysed. Translanguaging studies even provide evidence of destabilisation not preventing the identification of singularity, as they track language on the move around the world, and how expressions take on new meaning when they enter new cultural spheres (Zhu et al. 2020., Li, 2018., Kiaer, 2018). Translanguaging could in fact be described as the study of cultural destabilisation itself in this respect, since both the function of the expression in its origin, and the new form it takes on in its new environment, are made the subject of investigation. Importantly, even though expressions travel, there has been no evidence found to suggest that there is a subtraction from either culture because of this that would make cultural differences unidentifiable. Evidence has only been found to suggest that expressions and meanings are gained, and cultural currency created for bridging the gap between cultures as a by-product.

Take the Korean address term *oppa* (오빠) as an example. *Oppa*, which means 'older brother' in Korean, has been adopted internationally by youths as a result of their engagement with Korean popular culture. However, *oppa* doesn't hold the same meaning when it's used outside of Korea because it doesn't serve the same socio-pragmatic function outside of a Korean cultural context. Outside of Korea the term has been able to take on meanings such as 'boyfriend' or 'handsome guy' simply because of the association made by fans between the repeated use of the word towards handsome male love interests in K-dramas. Importantly, even though *oppa* has taken on this new meaning outside of Korea, its socio-pragmatic function in Korean contexts has not been removed as a result. Similarly, there is no evidence that the use of *oppa* outside of Korea has impacted on the lexicons that it has entered, other than its plus value.

On a final note, addressing invisibility in film is not simply a matter for cross-cultural considerations, but also one of intercultural, multicultural, bilingual, and translingual considerations too. Each variant introduces the potential for new dimensions of foreignness (Kiaer et al. 2022b forthcoming., Kiaer and Kim 2021a., Beseghi, 2017) and subsequently untranslatability, creating a need to provide analytical tools specifically for these forms of analysis.

Understanding Korean film

This section will present the case of untranslatability faced specifically by Anglophone (Western) researchers of K-films, including an overview of Korean cultural and linguistic contexts, and how they differ from English linguistic and Western cultural contexts.

A Korean context for interpreting K-filmic text

Sohn (2006: 3) describes language as "the primary vehicle for expressing cultural perspectives as well as products and for participating in social practices and interactions, and that all aspects of culture, including all walks of life, are inextricably woven into the language of those who live in the culture". Confucianism is the primary context for understanding Korean interactions for this very reason, and as such an important tool for interpreting K-filmic text. Hong (2009: 5-7) argues, "Confucianism is the 'common sense' that permeates all kinds of Korean social interactions" and proposes that in order to understand Korean communication Confucian reasoning needs to be developed into a "functional and comprehensive tool".

The concept of common sense as a tool for interpreting communication is a notion that has also been raised regarding understanding film narrative, suggesting the potential for Confucian reasoning to be a tool not only for understanding Korean communication but K-films too. For example, in Bordwell's (2011) online essay, he refers to "common sense" as an important aspect of narrative comprehension in general, stating that it is "something we need to analyze". Bordwell argues that it is important for film researchers to question the

"psychological and social make-up" that makes particular meanings in films "obvious" to local viewers.

Politeness research also points to Confucianism as essential in the interpretation of K-filmic text, if we consider Confucianism's influence on Korean socio-pragmatics, and the certain formalisation granted by honourifics and politeness, which can potentially make accessible conventions. For example, Kadar and Haugh (2013: 1) argue, "[…] in many cases politeness does not come into existence simply through what is said in the moment, as many social actions and pragmatic meanings that are understood in locally situated contexts in fact follow pre-existing (often formalised) patterns", adding that some forms of politeness are "historically situated" too. Also in this respect, socio-pragmatics, and therefore Confucian reasoning, is applicable to understanding multimodality too, because politeness and honourifics are expressed verbally and non-verbally, which is also well suited to interpreting film since it is multimodal.

A birds-eye view of Confucianism

Confucianism has been the leading ideology in Korea since neo-Confucianism was adopted in 1392 by the newly established Joseon (or Yi) dynasty (Deuchler, 1992). The Confucian doctrine had promoted hierarchy in social roles, but the neo-Confucian ideology of the Joseon dynasty emphasised complete obedience in this. The Confucian system of interpersonal relations centred on family, authority, and obedience. Individuals were ranked by age, sex, and social status within local communities. Further, with every aspect of Korean society ordered vertically, and in neo-Confucian Korea this began at an early age, even intimate relationships were orderly. Family members were ranked by age and sex too, with fathers holding absolute authority, and respect being the key element of intimacy instead of emotion, as is typically found in Western cultures.

This ideology was conceptualised in the form of the *samgang oryun,* the 'Three Bonds and the Five Relations', which formed the fundament of the neo-Confucian ethos. *Samgang* or 'three bonds' defines the examples that should be set by the king over his subjects, fathers over their children, and husbands over their wives. While *oryun* or 'five relations' defines the five human relations considered to be the most important in Confucian society – that between ruler and subject *(kunsinyuui* (군신유의)), parent and child *(bujayuchin* (부자유친)), husband and wife *(bubuyubyeol* (부부유별)), elder and younger *(jangyuyuseo* (장유유서)), and between siblings *(hyeongjeuae* (형제우애)) (Kim, 2005). Further, men were placed over women in each of these relations (see Wang et al. 2018, Kim, 2017., Kim & Pettid, 2011., Yi and Chan, 2008., Koh, 2008., Kim, 2007., Ko et al. 2003., Lee, 1999).

In pre-modern Korea, *samgang oryun* solidified the socially immobile class system, which in the Joseon era had rigidly divided the Korean population into four inherited classes: *yangban* (양반) 'nobility', *jungin* (중인) 'upper-middle class', *sangmin* (상민) 'commoners' and *cheonmin* (천민) 'low-borns' (Chun, 2005). In contemporary Korea, however, the class system no longer exists, or at least technically. Wealthy *chaebol* families are often accused in the media of behaving like the *yangban,* and many believe the class disparity to still exists (Kiaer et al. 2022a forthcoming., Kiaer and Kim, 2021: 40). *Samgang oryun* remains though, at the heart of the customs of daily life, the Korean mindset, and societal ideals. Korean culture is still family-centred, hierarchical, patriarchal, and collectivist, though with some loopholes created to grant some reprieve from the rigidity of hierarchy and cultural taboos (see Kiaer and Kim, 2021a: 54-56). One of the most significant loopholes to evolve has been how close friendship or alcohol now allows for informal interactions, and that intimacy and subsequently informality can be developed with anyone one chooses. Neither were acceptable during the Joseon period (De Mente, 2017: 231-232).

Western societies, on the other hand, operate under individualism (Chen, 2013), with patriarchy having long been dispersed with, and hierarchy not the primary consideration for

maintaining positive interpersonal relations outside of military settings. These different ideologies are at the root of a significant contrast in the socio-pragmatic make-up of these two societies.

The Confucian context is thus key for Anglophone (Western) researchers to interpret K-films. Ryoo (2007: 140) argues that Korean narrative "often reinforces traditional values of Confucianism", and especially drama films, because they "typically deal with family issues, love and filial piety in an age of changing technology", which are common issues in everyday life in Confucian societies. It is even argued, in fact, that Asian audiences relate to K-films "more easily than those of Western entertainment", because they share Confucianism as a common ideological fundament, while they do not share an ideology of such magnitudinal significance with Western societies (Lee, 2011: 86).

A birds-eye view of Korean interactions

Korean communication – both verbal and non-verbal – is highly sensitive to the relationship between the speaker and hearer at every moment of interaction (Kiaer, 2022; Kiaer, 2020). The relationship between speaker and hearer is reflected in the language, so a simple sentence will express hierarchical relationship between interlocutors, and their attitude towards the hearer, in addition to the primary meaning being conveyed by the sentence. English, however, is far less sensitive to these factors, and subsequently different to Korean in almost every respect (Kiaer, 2017., Kiaer, 2020., Kiaer, Yates and Mandersloot, 2020:3-4). As a result, untranslatability is a challenge that Korean-English translators are a up against from a micro-level to a macro-level (Kiaer, 2019), and K-film researchers face this challenge multimodally (Kiaer and Kim, 2021a; 2021b).

Address terms

One of these challenges is address terms. Koreans rarely call each other by first name alone. Address terms are used instead. Which address term is selected is determined based

on rank and social status but can also be chosen to indicate the speaker's attitude or emotion. In each instance, social factors, as well as what one thinks and feels, are juggled, in order to express the relational dynamics. Despite the importance of age in deciding which address term is ap- propriate, social status, hierarchy, and gender matter too. Koreans often feel uneasy when speaking to a younger boss because of the dissonance between rank and age. If they come across each other outside the workplace, they may even avoid speaking altogether because re-adjusting relationships could cause awkwardness. This is particularly visible in male-to- male interactions. Despite the complexity of this process, it is unavoidable, as the incorrect use of address terms could seriously offend someone.

Imposition is another factor considered when choosing an address term. Brown and Levinson (1987) created an equation to represent how politeness is calculated in an interaction. The three key variables in the calculation are distance, power, and the degree of imposition. Distance can relate to age or position in social hierarchy and to respect and intimacy. Creating distance in one's language can serve to convey respect towards the hearer, while removing distance can convey intimacy. Then, power refers to the relative positions of interlocutors within an existing power structure. Finally, the degree of imposition refers to how imposing the listener will feel the speaker's utterance is. Take an interaction between best friends for example. This interaction would be low distance and low power, so there would be no need for polite language when commenting on an issue at work or a new hobby; both subjects that present a low degree of imposition for the hearer. However, if you were to ask this same friend to give up her weekend to take care of your dog while you attend an event, this would present a high degree of imposition, and it is likely that you would employ more politeness strategies than you would otherwise.

Speech styles

Speech styles are equally as important as address terms and their selection is based on the same social factors. There is some dispute over the total number of speech styles, though many researchers agree upon six (Yeon and Brown, 2011: 17). Each speech style has its own unique set of verb endings, which are indicative of the level of politeness and formality. In everyday life, *hapsyoche* (합쇼체) 'formal style', *haeyoche* (해요체) 'informal polite style', and *haeche* (해체) 'informal style' are the most commonly used (Lee & Ramsey, 2000: 251). *Hapsyoche* is formal and polite, and is used commonly between strangers, among male co-workers, by TV anchors, and to customers. *Haeyoche* is informal but polite, and can be used generally, including to strangers. *Haeche* is informal, and like the use of names instead of address terms, is therefore able to be used between close friends, typically those who are the same age, and when there are no spectators of higher rank witnessing the interaction. This style is also used when addressing younger people, though not to strangers unless the hearer is a child. Among the verbal expressions given focus in this thesis, only these three of the six recognised speech styles are included.

Non-verbal gestures

It is not only the verbal expressions omitted in Korean interactions that mean differently or do not exist in the repertoire of English-speakers. Linguistic differences, though an obvious cause for a perceived divide often between East and West, are not necessarily even the primary factor. For example, similarities are often noticed between Korea, China, and Japan rather than between Korea and England. These perceptions are often related to commonalities found in non-verbal communication rather than language. In fact, it has frequently argued whether non-verbal expressions are linguistic based on the deliberateness of gestural expressions, though this discussion generally disregards aspects of gesture specific to Asia (e.g., Kendon, 2004., Wharton 2009) because Asian gestures are often related to politeness

and not in the traditional sense that is found in the West (Levinson & Brown, 1987). What we sometimes refer to as “culture” in actuality has little to do with traditional belief systems or practices and much more to do with the norms of nonverbal communication. Concepts such as “culture shock” are thus far more likely to come from nonverbal misunderstandings than the culture itself. This makes sense since the most crucial parts of socio-pragmatic meanings are com- municated through the non-verbal gestural primitives, which are learned with verbal language.

Areas of non-verbal communication vary across cultures, the variant factors of which concern individualism versus collectivism and high power-distance versus low power-distance (Moore, Hickson and Stacks, 2004: 22-23). These differences need to be accounted for, and in order to do so Asian-centric perspectives on non-verbal expressions are sorely needed. Numerous high-profile discussions on non-verbal behaviour have so far failed to recognise the cultural differences between intentional, culturally motivated gestures. Knapp and Hall (2005: 448-456) describe the communication of intimacy and dominance through non-verbal expressions, making the assumption that dominance rather than subordinance in social situ- ations is always the more desirable. While this may be true in Western social settings, Asian cultures often require interlocutors to express deference, distinct from either dominance or subordinance, and expressing this non-verbally is often an important ‘face-saving act’ (Levinson and Brown, 1987).

Further, just as the pragmatic aspects of language related to deference are often over- looked in Eurocentric perspectives in linguistics, when explaining the gestures common to Asian languages, pragmatically, deferential gestures do not seem to fit in the categories pro- vided in previous discussions either. Deferential gestures, in Korea, such as bowing, the po- sitioning of the hands, posture, or eye-gaze, are prevalent and prominent. However, as they are rare in the West, they have hardly been studied in the field until now. This is really needed because in Korea, bowing or repeated nodding, for example, is important in

completing an expression of attitudinal deference towards the addressee. To a certain extent, posture, bowing, and eye gaze are also related to how the expression is completed. For instance, compared to the senior, the junior in the social dynamic will tend to have a slightly bent posture, and will avoid maintained eye contact for this would potentially express anger or intimidation.

Non-verbal studies in East Asian film and semantics remain, however, rare. This is surely required if we are to fully understand their meaning potential in films of which there lies a communicative divide of potentially such magnitude. For, even the most basic non-verbal expressions differ between Korea and Western regions of the world. Such as the common greeting of waving that is used in the West may cause misunderstandings in Korea. Not only is waving to an older person disrespectful in Korea but waving the hand back and forth is often used there as a sign of negation or rejection. The bow that is so common in Eastern greetings is extremely unusual in Western cultures and reserved only for encounters with royalty. Shak- ing hands is also conducted quite differently. In the West, a handshake often occurs at the beginning of a meeting, can be firm, and is conducted regardless of gender and initiated by either junior or senior. Whereas, in Korea, a younger person does not initiate a handshake with an elder, and the handshake rarely occurs between members of the opposite gen- der. When the handshake does occur, it often happens at the end of an initial interaction. It is not firm or brief but is usually a light clasp of the hands which may last for several seconds. A handshake conducted in opposition with what is acceptable in Korea would result in rudeness and entirely different meaning potential compared to if it were conducted in an acceptable manner.

Other signs, like the shrugging of the shoulders, has the same meaning in Korea as it does in the West but different implications. In Korean culture, a shrug is perceived as rude and thoughtless. Whereas, in the West it can be appropriate in a variety of contexts. Silence is also an example of nonverbal communication that differs. For instance, in Western class-

rooms teachers often wish for their students to participate in the class by raising their hands and asserting their ideas. However, Korean students show respect for the teacher and classmates through passivity; They believe that by asserting themselves in class they would be taking precious time away from the teacher and other students. Therefore, understanding of a scene in which this occurs in a film can be entirely different if the viewer doesn't possess understanding of the non-verbal expression of Korean socio-pragmatic meanings.

Multimodal modulation

In Korean, sensitivity to the relationship between speaker and hearer is present at every moment of an interaction, for interlocutors are required to constantly modulate expressions to reflect the development of the relationship. However, unlike in the West, developing relationships aren't reflected by interlocutors opening up more about personal subjects, but through the modulation of speech styles, address terms, and non-verbal gestures to reflect the growth of intimacy. For example, regarding speech styles, when two people first meet, they will typically use the polite ending –*yo* with each other, even if they are the same age. This -*yo* ending shows respect but also distance, so as two people become closer, they will then often start dropping –*yo* to reflect the growing intimacy in the relationship. One must navigate this transition carefully, however. If both parties fail to negotiate this change properly, with both parties agreeing to drop the -*yo*, one side may feel offended. Conflicts that arise from these situations are reported often and are known to even result in violence. For these reasons, modulating speech is not easy, and an issue with little respite. It isn't surprising then that in K-film, recognising multimodal modulation has been found to be a key factor for making cohesive links that, in some films, are instrumental for understanding significant portions of the narrative (Kiaer and Kim, 2021a). For more details on multimodal modulation, please see Kiaer's Multimodal Modulation Hypothesis for more details (Kiaer, 2020: 92).

Socio-pragmatics and Korean meaning potential

The invisible meanings that are often made the subject of online articles are often socio-pragmatic ones with interpersonal functions, which are expressed using speech styles, address terms, and non-verbal gestures, like those that have been summarised so far. The meanings that these expressions are used to convey are vastly different from expressions in English and non-verbal expression found generally in Western culture (Kiaer and Kim, 2021., Kiaer, 2020., Kiaer, 2017). Korean expressions are multifaceted in how they encode these socio-pragmatic layers of information, such as the hierarchy between interlocutors, the basis of their relationship, and their attitudes and feelings towards each other. Here lies the primary cause of the invisibility encountered by English-speaking European viewers of K-films.

The socio-pragmatic differences and meanings that are inferable can be best demonstrated using the comparison of the meaning potential of a simple sentence in English and Korean. For example, imagine you are watching a Hollywood film, and in one scene a person answers a phone and says, “I will meet you at the restaurant in an hour”. What is happening here is quite clear; one person has called the other and the two have ar- ranged to meet. However, if this scene takes place in a Korean film there will be far more meaning inferable. For instance, in this case, the use of a polite first person pronoun through the humble form of *jeo* ‘저’ (humble form of “I”) instead of *na* ‘나’ (more direct form of “I”) would indicate more respect towards the hearer, or dropping the 저 or 나 entirely would be considered even more courteous because it is humble to not refer to oneself at all. Use of *yo* ‘요’ at the end of the sentence *“han sigan hue sikdangeseo mannayo”* (한 시간 후에 식당에서 만나요) , which translates as “I will meet you at the restaurant in an hour”, is polite and indicates that the hearer is senior or that the interlocutors do not know each other well. Dropping 요 is informal and would show that the speaker either has a close relationship with the

hearer (most likely both being equals, perhaps even childhood friends), is being rude, or are that they are the senior in the conversation.

Then if the visible speaker is nodding intermittently, this expresses that the person they are speaking to is their senior. It could be their employer or teacher, or even their mother-in-law. If the nodding is quite constant, then it is perhaps more likely their employer or teacher than their mother-in-law, so frequency is also worth considering. If their posture in leaning forward slightly or compact while speaking, this may also indicate that the person who they are speaking to is senior. Whereas, if the visible speaker is sitting in an armchair and leaning back with their arms outstretched then this would make them appear senior. The mystery of who precisely the person is speaking to may be solved if an address term is included, which it would be likely to be since a Korean wouldn't be likely to say "you" due to second person pronouns like *neo* (너) or *dangsin* (당신) 'you' being reserved only for very close individuals. In fact, "you" is generally avoided altogether because of the negative connotation. Thus, even in a single sentence, interper- sonal expressions are unavoidable and numerous.

When these expressions are then placed within the diverse and even fantastical situations that are presented in films, the need to understand the reasoning underpinning the expressions is even further intensified. Because the selection of a politeness level occurs every times one speaks, politeness can be wielded creatively as a means of expression. For instance, sarcasm, and irony. For example, Brown and Winter (2019: 25) demonstrate that "sarcastic applications of honorifics may be applied both for "mock" impoliteness and "genuine" face-threatening impoliteness." Although these sarcastic usages occur most frequently between intimates (i.e., where the use of honorifics is marked), there also exist devices for being sarcastic towards adult strangers (even though in such contexts honorifics may be considered unmarked and normative)."

The absence of a theory of K-film language

Despite overwhelming differences between Korean and Anglophone (Western) communication, and especially in the socio-pragmatics aspects demonstrated in the discussion prior, there has been limited research that explores meaning in K-film, and especially those that account for socio-pragmatic expressions. There are four recent monographs that begin to give the needed focus to the subject and to account for socio-pragmatic expressions. The first is Kiaer and Kim (2021a), who provide the social reasoning for a selection of common verbal and non-verbal socio-pragmatic expressions that are typically untranslatable for Anglophone (Western) film viewers. The second is Kiaer and Kim (2021b), which focuses on explaining the verbal and non-verbal socio-pragmatic expressions in *Gisaengchung* (2019) that are untranslatable for English-speaking international viewers. The third is Kiaer (2022 forthcoming), which explains the pragmatics of the Korean language, using examples from K-films as a means of doing so. The fourth is Kiaer and Kim (forthcoming 2023), which provides a cross-cultural perspective on the meaning of non-verbal gestures across Asia, through the lens of film, including Korea among its featured regions. Additionally, Kiaer et al. (2022a forthcoming) cover a range of topics, including meaning and language, in an exploration of the K-wave on screen, helping students and viewers to better understand a variety of aspects fre- quently observed in K-films and television programs.

Other than monographs, of the limited number of studies that analyse meaning in K-films, the tendency has been to analyse symbolism or a limited number of signifiers. Often, these studies set about interpreting the meaning of a colour, or costume, or another aspect of a film's aesthetic. For example, Kim (2018) analyses the meaning of the colour orange in Korean films. Kim (2017) also analyses how colours, particularly red, interact meaningfully in a series of popular Korean films. Yoon & Yim (2015) explore the symbolic significance of costumes, makeup, and body awareness in Han Hyung-mo's 1956 film *Jayu buin* (자유부인) 'Madame Freedom'. Cameron (2012) explores the meaning of colours in Kim Ji-woon's 2003

film *Janghwa, Hongryeon* (장화, 홍련) 'A Tale of Two Sisters', along with French film *Haute Tension* 'High Tension' (Aja, 2003). Jang & Cho (2006) analyse Park Chan-wook's 2005 film *Chinjeolhan geumjassi* (친절한 금자씨) 'Sympathy for Lady Vengeance', exploring the meaningful use of colour and form in costumes and also the symbolic meaning of the film itself. There are also some studies which look at how Korean cultural concepts and national identity are signified in films. For example, Boman (2020) explores expressions of implicit *han* (한) – a concept of emotion often compared to grief and considered an essential element of Korean identity. Also, Elfving-Hwang (2015) explores the signification of national sentiments and identity, specifically how the physical soil of the Korean peninsula signifies the continuity of the Korean nation when challenged by political or social disaster.

While there are studies that explore meaning in K-films, like those presented so far, these works have still been incredibly limited in terms of both scope and their grounding in film theory. Kim and Kiaer (2021: 40) argue precisely this, stating that discussion of meaning in K-film is often done so "[…] vaguely and mostly in terms of narrative rather than film form. This then lacks much of the theoretical background and appropriate terminology that would be needed to situate conventionalized usages within other relevant fields of film and communication research (e.g., multimodal film analysis, semiotics, semantics, pragmatics)."

For the most part, the closest K-film studies have come to perspectives on meaning in film like this are in the use of terms associated with linguistically-infused perspectives on film, like "conventions" and "film language". For example, Han (2011: 64) discusses the language of Korean national cinema and the development of the Korean blockbuster via the language of Hollywood cinema. Smith (2013: 188-189) refers to conventions being employed in certain genres and their potential role in the increase in K-films' popularity at international film festivals. Also, Willemen (2002) recognises the problematic meaning-making processes in K-films of the 1970s and 1980s, and in doing so unintentionally describes periodical conventions in how meaning is constructed. Willemen describes these conventions as

a problem in which “spatial relations in a scene operate differently, with the narrator and the viewer being inscribed into a scene in ways that the dominant Euro–American conventions of realist cinema were designed to displace”, and that “assumptions underpinning Western cinema’s notion of spatial and psychological coherence do not apply” (Willemen, 2002: 7). This is also relevant to previous discussions in this chapter of cross-cultural differences in the construction of meaning at lower and higher levels of discourse, including the construction of cohesion in film narratives.

The only study that has attempted to analyse K-film with the necessary theoretical grounding in text-linguistics is Kim and Kiaer’s (2021) pilot testing Wildfeuers (2014) framework on K-film, with the aim of determining whether that approach can identify conventions in the construction of meaning in K-filmic discourse. Although, the study was only an initial test and did not account for any Korean expressions, and the framework itself was developed from a linguistic theory developed specifically for the English language.

The language of film

The notion of film as a text has a long history (Bentley, 1995), that goes as far back as the “early beginnings” of film theory (Wildfeuer, 2012: 7). It is an interest that centralises on how meaning is constructed by filmic devices and how it is comprehended, and approaches that can present this systematically (Morey Hawkins, 2018). European film ‘semioticians’[1] have produced the lion’s share of this research, standing out in their efforts to theorise filmic discourse linguistically, through the lens of semiotics. Simply-speaking, linguistics is a theory of language-as-a-system-of-signs, and their concept was to treat film-as-a-system of signs too.

Without providing a comprehensive history of film theory, it is important to address some of the debates surrounding linguistic approaches to film, since the method that this

[1] ‘Semiotician’: An expert or student in semiotics – ‘the study of signs’; ‘Sign’: A sensory element that ‘communicate meanings other than the sign itself to an interpreter’.

thesis makes its object rejuvenates this strand of film theory. To turn to Christian Metz to do so appears almost a custom in linguistically-inclined frameworks for film, and this thesis will be no exception. There are two primary reasons for doing so: 1) Metz's work is a key building block in the development of the theory of film language, and 2) it serves as a representative example of the dismissal of linguistic perspectives on film not because of their failure, but rather because of a need for further development in linguistic theory itself first.

A founder of discursive practice, Metz played a major role in the development of linguistic perspectives on film. Linguistic thought on film was already at its height of prominence c1950-1960, but it was Metz who initiated a paradigm shift in the mid-1960s with his systematic approach [2]. These efforts were instrumental in making film an object of scholarly study. The development was indebted to the then-current structuralist school of thought, to which Metz was a part of the Saussurian (Ferdinand de Saussure) structuralist tradition, as were Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roland Barthes, and Gérard Genette, among others. Before developing a phenomenological post-structuralist semiology of film that was systematically multifaceted in its approaches, Metz modelled his abstract theory – the *"grande syntagmatique"* (Metz, 1974) – a classification of the possibilities available to filmmakers in the conjoining of shots in narrative film – on Saussure's distinction of *'langue'*, *'parole'* and *'langage'* (Bouquet and Sanders, 2006). He proposed that film be a series of units, without grammatical or syntactical rules (Metz, 1974: 88), but which through ordering it is possible to construct space and time to form a narrative structure. Metz termed this *langage sans langue* meaning 'language without language'.

Despite the contribution made by Metz, his work has gone largely unused. Some believe his work suffered unsubstantiated dismissal due to being before its time 'linguistically' (e.g., Bateman, 2007., Colin, 1989: 45). Bateman (2007: 14), for instance, argues that the

[2] Metz's first essay 'The Cinema: Language or Language System?', published in the journal *Communications* (no. 4, 1964, special issue devoted to 'Semiological Research'), was followed by numerous texts attempting to gain a systematic perspective of film's meaningful possibilities.

linguistics of the 1960s, and even the linguistics of the subsequent few decades, just wasn't ready to meet the challenges that the *grande syntagmatique* presented:

> "[…] the construction of phrase structure grammars, transformations, and the modules of the language system postulated within the Chomskyan[3] paradigm instead tied linguistics, and linguistically-inspired moves into other semiotic modes, to an overly narrow syntactically-based view of language that was impossible to profitably reuse across semiotic modes. It was then largely with the brush of this narrowly conceived 'structural linguistic-semiotics' that the broader film semiotics of Metz came to be tarred […]. It is only relatively recently that sufficient progress has been made to provide the theoretical tools necessary for developing further the semiotic of film that Metz began."

One of the major problems with a syntactic perspective of language like that hypothesised by Chomsky being applied to film, is the hyper-polysemic nature of filmic expressions, and the arduous task involved in mapping those meaning potentials out. Hyper-polysemy in filmic text is arguably the result of numerous factors particularly prevalent in filmic text, and post-structuralist postulations that meaning in film is arbitrary are often essentially underpinned by arguments to that effect. One factor is, that due to the multimodality and dynamicity of filmic discourse, expressions often have compositions of greater complexity, and diverse and multifaceted meaning potential as a result. Another factor is that there are a wide variety of narrative contexts within which these expressions take place (e.g., fantasy), and meaning is context-based too. For instance, looking downward when something sad has happened can indicate a person's sadness, but in the context of committing a crime it could express shame or submission, while looking down in an awkward situation can express discomfort, sarcasm, and even create humour. Personal interpretation is also a factor. Since film does not have the level of formal constraints that a traditional language has, perception of expressions and narratives may have greater variation, which will depend upon an array of cultural factors (House, 1997: 92-110).

[3] 'Chomskyan': A reference made to the work of American Linguist Noam Chomsky.

Further factors include the prevalence of implicature in films, which is largely required since spelling things out would 'literally' remove suspense, without which film viewing becomes somewhat redundant. Not to mention that it would not take advantage of the multimodality at hand, since many things could simply be explicitly stated in the dialogue. For example, a protagonist could say "I'm going to kill him now" and then go into the house of another character, and then when they exit the house viewers can just assume that they have killed them, rather than showing the character entering the house and the murder unfolding gradually, visually. Then there are expressions in film that wouldn't be effective in other forms of text. For instance, imagine a scene in a horror film, in which a woman is walking around a haunted house. She hears a door creaking loudly in another room, then an eerie musical score begins to play, and eventually the woman is confronted by paranormal phenomena. The creek sound and musical score are an expression of pending paranormal phenomena, contextualised by the scene. In a literary text, however, these expression do not exist. The same story can be told, but without the multimodal repertoire available to filmmakers.

Returning to film semioticians, it wasn't only Metz's work that was affected by the lack of linguistic readiness. Linguistic perspectives on film in general were so closely associated with structuralism, that once the post-structuralist era begun, the idea of a linguistic perspective on film was considered controversial. The residue of this mindset continues today, even if it is beginning to shift thanks to recent linguistic efforts in multimodality research. Bateman (2007: 14) explains that "[…] some of the best practitioners of detailed film analysis today — Bordwell among them — are moving steadily closer to the kind of strongly empirical approach that a linguistically-informed analysis would support while simultaneously continuing to deny linguistic relevance."[4]

The present thesis takes a similar stance on the matter to Bateman. The suggestion that the construction and interpretation of meaning in film is arbitrary, and would not benefit

[4] "Bordwell" refers to David Bordwell, the American film theorist and historian.

from a linguistically-informed analysis, is illogical simply on the basis of the mass comprehension of audiences. Take blockbusters, for example. If film is without language, convention, or system, then the blockbuster would surely cease to exist. Shared perception and subsequently the preference of film viewers would likely be much more diverse. Instead, even purely cinematic modes of expression, e.g., the close-up and montage, are 'learnt' by viewers just as natural languages are learnt. It has even been argued by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) that the mode of the camera plays a role in modality judgements. For instance, an audience understands that a close-up indicates the importance of a particular element, and the exact meaning relies upon how the close-up is contextualised by the shots before and after. For example, imagine a scene in a film in which a protagonist attempts to silently warn another character of an urgent matter, without alerting other characters who are present. One character enters the room, and then there's a cut to a close-up of another character's eyes, which promptly widen suggestively. The character who entered the room is then shown performing a task, acting upon whatever the warning may have been in aid of. Even without knowing the context here, it is likely that a viewer will be able to follow that one character warned the other of an issue, and that the act being conducted is in aid of solving or preventing the issue.

Certainly, film is meticulously contrived, perhaps even more so than literary work if we consider the collaborative nature of its production, and thus there is far more to be said 'linguistically' on the matter. Even verbal interactions in film are usually intensively rehearsed and revised. Chaume (2004: 168) refers to dialogue as *"oralidad prefabricada",* which means 'prefabricated orality'. There are also multiple takes, and even after that the scene will undergo scrupulous editing (Kim and Kiaer: 2021: 211-212). In film, even on occasions when something is presented as what it isn't, this is as a strategy to purposely mislead viewers, and this subterfuge, once again, can only be achievable if a convention exists in the first place. Kim and Kiaer (2021: 5-6) argue:

> "The extensive planning conducted in film production — from production design, art direction and editing to scripted and directed dialogue and behavior — is under this view employed to lead viewers dynamically to realizations at certain moments. Viewers' comprehension of this purposeful manipulation is strongly supported by conventionalized communicative strategies".

Another point worth considering is that, although multimodality and the issue of interpretation pose problems for formally defining filmic discourse, verbal and written language are among these modes, and they are formally recognised as systems of signs. It is not a huge leap then necessarily for film to be a system of signs, or indeed a system of systems of signs. The main argument is whether, in its multimodal form, a system of signs exists, or whether these established systems exist independently within the arbitrariness of other modes. Wildfeuer (2014: 2) argues that film is a "multimodal document whose semiotic resources interact and operate according to various principles and in order to create the film's overall meaning potential". It is exactly this 'interaction' that suggests potential for film to be a system of signs. If we then take the perspective of some of the assumptions made in Multimodal Discourse Analysis (Jewitt, 2016., Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001; 1996., Jewitt, 2009), generalisation of the principles Wildfeuer mentions in respect to individual modes is impossible, since filmic modes (e.g., montage) also play a role in the construction of meaning, and this combination creates an intersemiosis that produces the diverse meanings particular to filmic discourse.

Returning to polysemy, many spoken words are polysemic and yet are considered as belonging to a system. Traditional verbal language has been listed, with common definitions given to lexemes, and their roots and patterns mapped out. It isn't altogether impossible to achieve this with film, rather a little reimagination of what 'linguistics' means on filmic terms is needed. Similarities come to mind about how particular elements work to bring about certain associated interpretations in the patterns and roots of lexical 'word families', and how combinations of contexts and multimodality work in filmic conventions. The primary

difference is that 'context' in filmic discourse plays a similar role to the multimodality itself in how it determines which 'expression family' that an expression logically belongs to. Whereas, in traditional word families, the context of a word's use doesn't affect which family it belongs to, and only its use or meaning. For example, 'smiling' in the context of a scene in a film in which a character happily greets their child, would mean something different than smiling in a scene in which an evil character smiles while partaking in a cruel act. While the smile expression remains the same, the context works like other modes whose interaction with 'smile' may influence its meaning, making it capable of expressing meanings that are distinct. The family of expressions which express meanings associated with 'happiness' will be different to that of meanings associated with 'evilness' yet smiling can be included as part of the common composition of both, because the context allows it.

The recent progress in linguistics that Bateman (2007) refers to was made in the past 30 or so years, including those in systemic-functional linguistics, in works such as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), Halliday (1978), in discourse semantics, in works such as Asher and Lascarides (2003), and in functional approaches such as Van Leeuwen (2005) or Martin (1992). In the past twenty years, these advances have been used to rejuvenate linguistic approaches to film. Functional semiotic frameworks, like Halliday (1978), have been applied to film by Bateman (2007), to resolve the kinds of issues encountered in Metz's work. Pragmatics have been strongly advocated too in recent years as a way of understanding how meaning is made and understood in film on film's terms (e.g., Bateman and Wildfeuer, 2014), along with formal semantics (e.g., Kim and Kiaer, 2021., Cumming et al. 2017., Wildfeuer, 2014., Bateman and Schmidt, 2012). Crucial to this is a recognition of films' ability to "fulfil communicative purposes that are in many ways analogous to those achieved by sequences of linguistic elements" (Bateman and Wildfeuer 2014: 180), which is a notion argued by many researchers to be true of multimodality in general (e.g., Baldry, 2000; Kress, 2000,

2003). Fortanet-Gómez and Crawford Camiciottoli (2015) even argue, “Discourse is multimodal and this fact needs to be recognized in linguistic research” (2015: 1).

The logic of film discourse interpretation

Although tools that formally describe how meaning is constructed in film have been recommended in recent years as a means of exploring film language (Tseng, 2013., Herman, 2002), until Wildfeuer (2014) contemporary approaches had not succeeded in developing tools capable of systematically defining and formally describing filmic text, its devices, and their intersemiotic interaction. It is these mechanisms, however, that guide and prompt narrative interpretation, constraining viewers’ inferences during film viewing (Bateman, 2013: 11), and are subsequently invaluable to analysis of meaning in film.

According to Asher and Lascarides (2003), who developed the dynamic semantic theory of linguistic discourse that Wildfeuer (2014) builds upon, it is indisputable that these devices and their intersemiotic interaction can be described by a logical framework. Wildfeuer developed such a logical framework for film, building upon Asher and Lascarides’ ‘Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (SDRT)’, creating a “logic of film discourse interpretation” that extends semantics into multimodal discourse analysis. The result of this application to film is that detailed descriptions of the processes operating during film interpretation, are able to be produced in the form of ‘Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structures (SFDRS)’, modelled on Asher and Lascarides’ Segmented Discourse Representation Structures (SDRS)’. SDRS themselves were in fact modelled upon the earlier DRS’ of ‘Discourse Representation Theory (DRT) (Kamp & Reyle, 1993., Kamp, 1981), which Wildfeuer (2014: 39) describes as “the most established model developed in the context of dynamic semantics”. Wildfeuer’s framework also has a “*functional* dimension”, which along with the formal description provided by developing SDRS for film, provides “a generalised approach to multimodal narrative construction in filmic discourse which can be elucidated in linguistic terms” (2014: 167).

The method utilises two forms of logic, which provide analytical tools for film analysis: the logic of information content and the logic of information packaging and discourse update, which together "produce a formal framework for constructing SFDRS" (2014: 31). The logic of information content gives information about the formal language which describes the semantic representation of the discourse's content. It outlines how the discourse's content is transferred into logical forms by means of the semantics of the formal language. In addition, the first logic provides a choice of discourse relations that Wildfeuer defines in terms of meaning postulates holding for each relation based on the truth conditional effects they have on the discourse. The second logic follows SDRT, using the default axioms that SDRT provides to define the discourse relations that hold between the segments of meaning that form filmic discourse. Wildfeuer (2014: 60) argues that SDRT is particularly well suited to film analysis since "[…] the relations are normally part of a narrative or expository text. They are therefore particularly qualified to describe the meaning-making potential of filmic discourse since this is often analogously a similarly qualified text". Wildfeuer also adapted Asher and Lascarides's (2003) DRS notation style used for describing the logical forms[5] of discourse, from which SFDRS is constructed (2014: 51). Hereafter, for ease of reference, the process that constructing SFDRS involves will be referred to as 'Segmented Film Discourse Representation Theory' or 'SFDRT'.

Wildfeuer argues that via the application of these analytic tools to film, one can achieve a "syntagmatic articulation of the relations in the semantic representation of a concrete filmic text excerpt" that "explains how meaning is constructed and attributed to the discourse and its segments" (Wildfeuer, 2014: 22). The systematic, logical process is particularly beneficial for the interpretation of meaning in film because the truth conditional effects of the rhetorical relations, by which SFDRS is constructed, enhance the logical forms of discourse so that meaning beyond what is literally being said can be described. This

[5] A 'logical form' of discourse – a defeasible eventuality, inferred based on the composition of a set of referents (Wildfeuer, 2014: 3).

characteristic made SDRT highly adaptable for the analysis of meaning in film, since it appeals to the implicative and ambiguous nature of filmic discourse, in which meaning is generally alluded to or implied rather than explicitly stated.

SFDRT is highly suitable for studies of film language. Wildfeuer remarked that SFDRS would be beneficial in analysis of "conventions" in film (2014: 182), which Kim and Kiaer (2021) argues are "the more systematic side of 'film language'" in their pilot study testing SFDRS as a means of identifying conventions in meaning-making in film (Kim and Kiaer, 2021b: 211). The study provided evidence of SFDRS as a means of identifying patterns in the construction of types of meaning that could be described as conventions, and moreover the analysis used Korean films. The success of the study was due to the controlled interpretation process provided by SFDRT, and the detailed, diagrammatic description of filmic resources in the SFDRS that this produces, which makes patterns in multimodality visually accessible and subsequently the composition of discourse at finer and courser grained-levels comparable. Kim and Kiaer (2021: 226) argue that the advantage of using an empirical approach like SFDRT is that "in contrast to single qualitative analyses, it is possible to identify clear, detailed patterns in the construction of meaning in multiple films that can then be subjected to larger scale evaluation with respect to further films as corresponding analyses become available."

Deconstructing SFDRS

The process of transferring film to SFDRS can be divided into two stages, which will be broken down in this section.

Segmentation

In the first stage of transferring a film extract to SFDRS, Wildfeuer segments the extract. Current psychological research has shown that segmentation plays a "critical role" in

understanding in which “observers segment ongoing activity into meaningful events” (Wildfeuer, 2014: 54., Zacks et al. 2010). Segmentation occurs “when features in a narrated situation are changing” (Zacks et al. 2009: 318), with each meaningful event that is perceived as having a beginning and ending constituting one segment (Zacks et al 2007: 273). Segment boundaries are often reported as being demarcated by spatial and temporal changes (Zacks et al. 2009., Magliano et al. 2001). For instance, a person *arrives* at a cafe, then *meets* another person, who they *say* something to, and who in turn *responds* to them, before they *exchange* gifts, and then *say* something to each other again, before *leaving*. While spatial parts would include things like the people sitting at tables at the cafe, the products on the shelves, etc. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argue that cinematic modes play a role in segmentation too, however, more recent studies have argued that their influence on segmentation is limited (Magliano and Zacks, 2011: 6).

Segmentation is carried out firstly by transcribing happenings as they unfold, and then refining that transcription by checking again to ensure all feature changes are recorded. The segments created each time a feature change occurs represent the structure of meaningful parts that construct the discourse of the given extract. Figure 2.1 is a graphic representation of a transcription, minus the brief descriptions that are made when transcribing, using an extract from the film *Oldeu Boi* (올드보이) ‘Old Boy’ (2003). The extract depicts the final scene in the film, in which protagonist Dae-su has completed his revenge and discovered the reason he was wronged, and now wishes to be hypnotised, so he can forget that the woman he has fallen in love with is his own daughter, Mi-do. The extract begins with a letter in which Dae-su asks the hypnotist to help him, with Dae-su’s voice reading the words as they appear on the letter. Then the location changes to a snow-laden forest where Dae-su is sitting with the hypnotist as she reads his letter. There is a brief return to the letter, and then the camera cuts back to Dae-su and the hypnotist again. Then the woman begins to hypnotise Dae-su, and the location changes to the apartment of Dae-su’s enemy, with the

hypnosis ongoing throughout, as the hypnotist's words overlap with the new visual. The location then changes again to a tape player, before returning to the forest, where Dae-su is in the snow. Mi-do enters the camera frame, and the two are reunited. The film ends.

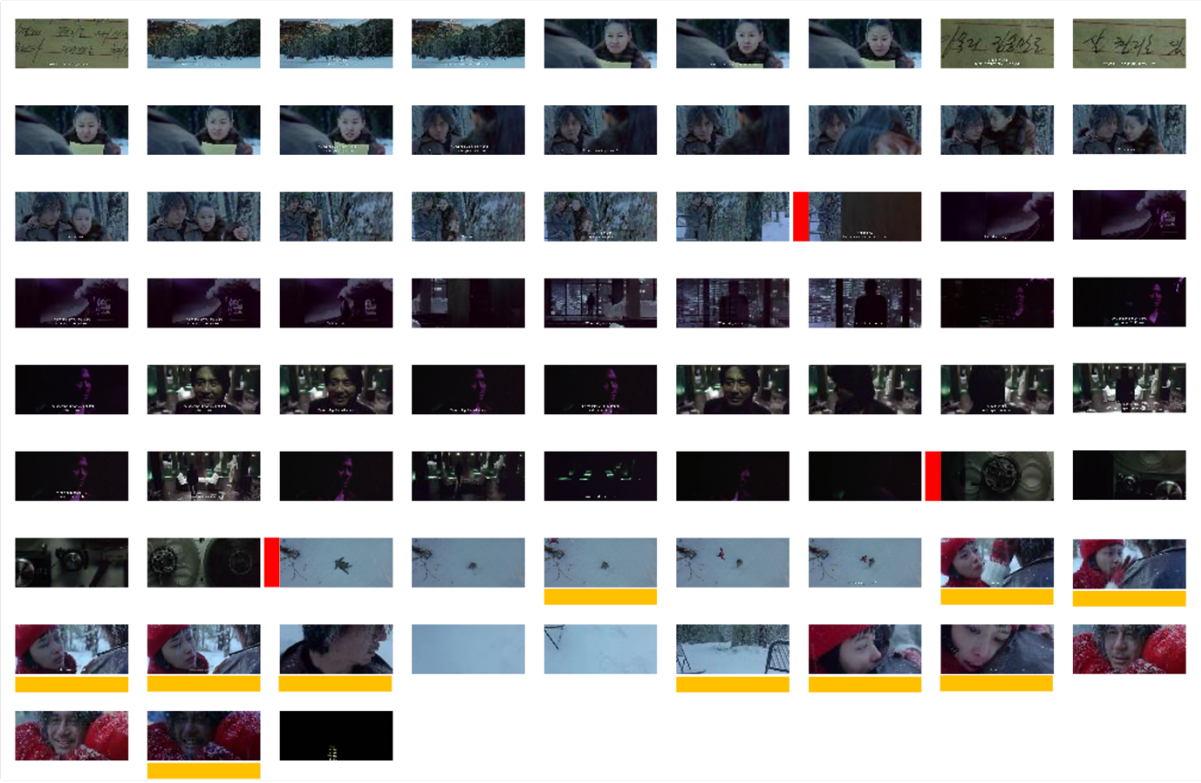


Figure 2.10. A graphical representation of the process undergone in when extracting an event and segmenting it, using *Oldeu Boi* (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003) at 1:51:33-1:57:32.

The stills in Figure 2.10 provide a candid graphical representation of the process one goes through during segmentation, as the boundary lines of a coherent event are determined, which can then become the object of analysis. The process first involves close film viewing and brief note making, to begin to map out the transcription. The note-making involves marking feature changes and identifying salient referents. Once the structure is drafted, it is possible to defeasibly reason precise start and end points, and refine the composition further, before the discourse is formalised in the stages the follow, beginning with the transference of the segmentation to logical forms. In the graphical representation, stills are not accompanied by notes in this case, due to the redundance of including them in such

a large extract. Instead, red markers indicate where spatial changes occur (in location). These changes aid in the segmentation of larger events that form the discourse of the extract originally put under analysis. The event that follows the third red marker, was selected to demonstrate how the segmentation can be refined further at this point. The segments with yellow markers represent the final segmentation of this larger event, which were deduced by reviewing the transcription, and finding that some of the originally marked feature changes could be considered as a continuation of the same activity. For instance, following the red marker, the first, second, fourth, and fifth segments were removed. Initially, the movements of both characters were segmented, however, it was determined that Mi-do entering and all that happens before they are physically greeting each other can be summarised as part of the activity of Mi-do arriving. Then 11th, 12th, and 13th segments were summarised as being part of the same inference 'look', as when the camera tracks over the white snow, despite shown several elements, this is ultimately the composition of Dae-su's gaze, which is the salient expression. This revision occurs because it is only after one begins to map out the composition, that the relation between the content of segments often becomes visible, and this often provides a context for identifying the salient referent. Otherwise, due to film's dynamic nature, the layers of meaning that are often communicated simultaneously often must be decided between. For instance, in this case, Dae-su turns after being asked a what's behind him, and so then when the camera pans it can be interpreted as his gaze in its entirety, regardless of how many visual elements are depicted during this time. 16th, 17th, and 18th segments were also able to be summarised as one segment. In this case, Dae-su used multiple facial expressions in a short period, which were initially segmented by temporal changes. However, upon review, it was determined that multiple facial expressions were means of expressing 'mixed' or specifically 'bittersweet' emotion, rather than a sequence of emotions, based on some overlap of emotional expressions, and a supporting context for this to be inferred.

The logical form

Stage two of the process is the transference of each segment to a logical form of discourse, which capture discourse segments and hierarchical relationships between discourse segments. Logical forms are presented as a box notation, developed from Asher and Lascarides (2003). These forms of discourse follow the general conventions from dynamic semantics of the formal tradition, and are extended by Wildfeuer to include the formal, logical description of meaningful multimodal interactions too. Wildfeuer (2014: 56) explains:

> "[…] a box will be used to illustrate each segmented event and its formulation as an eventuality as an FDRS. The first line of this box represents the eventuality and its position in the discourse structure, which is marked with π_n. The inferred verbalisation of this eventuality summarises the depicted event. […] The different lines within the second part of the box are the discourse referents which can be inferred from the different contributions of the modalities that are generally distinguished as visual, [v], and auditory, [a]. According to requirements and due to the respective modalities and submodalities used in the context, these levels may be described in more detail during analysis as needed. In addition, every discourse referent that can be interpreted from the interplay of modalities is tagged with a variable such as (m) or (n), which makes it possible to outline dependencies between them".

Figure 2.11 features a recreation of Wildfeuer's notation style, using the second segment in the final segmentation made of the extract from *Oldeu Boi* (2003), that was featured in Figure 2.10. In this logical form, the defeasible eventuality is labelled 'e_{π_2}', indicating that this is the second segment of discourse. Referents of discourse are labelled alphabetically, and the modality indicated; in this case all are visual, so referents are labelled '[v]'. The referents by which the defeasible eventuality of the segment was inferred, are then included in the formula of the defeasible eventuality, at the bottom of the box. The formula of the defeasible eventuality is presented in the following formation – 1) referents, 'a, b, c, d', then 2) the defeasible eventuality logical operator '$\vdash$', which is followed by 3) the defeasible eventuality, 'meet', and finally 4) the segment label e_{π_2}. Each segment is transferred into this format before moving onto the next stage.



$e_{\pi 2}$ = meet

[v] Mi-do (a)
[v] Walks to Dae-su (b)
[v] Oh Dae-su (c)
[v] Shift from birds eye view to close-up (d)

a, b, c, d $\vdash_{\sim}$ meet ($e_{\pi 2}$)

Figure 2.11. A logical form in Wildfeuer's (2014) notation style, extracted from an analysis of *Oldeu Boi* (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003).

The construction of SFDRS

Stage three of the process is concerned with the construction of hierarchical discourse structures, in which discourse relations are added to describe the logical structure by which one segment unfolds unto another. The discourse relations that Wildfeuer (2014) employs were adopted from those described for verbal discourse by Asher and Lascarides (2003), their default axioms adapted for filmic discourse. Discourse relations impose several logical constraints, both defeasible and non-defeasible, and these constraints must hold over the logical forms present in the discourse for the corresponding relations to be considered applicable. Thus, by determining the relations that hold between logical forms, a discourse's structure is created, and in the rendering of a structure that makes sense under the given constraints, the researcher is provided with the reassurance of the inferences they are making about meaning. This indicates that, with persistence, and development, that methodologies such as this, have potential to combat the age-old problem that permeates the humanities and social sciences – the subjectivity of interpretation.

The discourse relations developed by Wildfeuer (2014) include the following: 1) Narration Relation, 2) Contrast Relation, 3) Parallel Relation, 4) Background Relation, 5) Result Relation, 6) Explanation Relation, and 7) Elaboration Relation. The following a simple summary of the terms upon which they are applied, provided to provide a coherent overview of the framework. However, see Wildfeuer (2014: 59-77) for the complete default axiom schema for inferring filmic discourse relations.

- For *Narration Relation* to apply, segments must directly follow one another in sequence and their events must not overlap temporally.
- For a *Contrast Relation* to apply the discourse structure of segments must be semantically similar.
- The *Parallel Relation* is like the Contrast Relation, in that segments must be similar, however, there must be semantic dissimilarity and only structural similarity.
- The *Background Relation* applies when a discourse segment gives information about the environment or circumstances of the eventuality in the segment that follows it.
- For an *Elaboration Relation* to apply, there should be a temporal overlap, with the second discourse segment specifying further information about the first.
- An *Explanation Relation* has notable parallels to the Elaboration Relation, as it also has a temporal condition, however, it requires a series of reversed eventualities.
- A *Result Relation* entails the opposite to an Explanation relation in order for it to be applicable.

In some cases, multiple discourse relations may be found applicable (Kim and Kiaer, 2021), since “coherence is not a yes/no matter but can vary in quality” (Asher and Lascarides, 2007:12). For more, see Maximising Discourse Coherence (MDC) in Asher & Lascarides (2003). In these cases, simply the strongest discourse relation requires determination, by reviewing the conditions given in the definitions of those relations and deciding upon which relation ‘makes better sense’ overall.

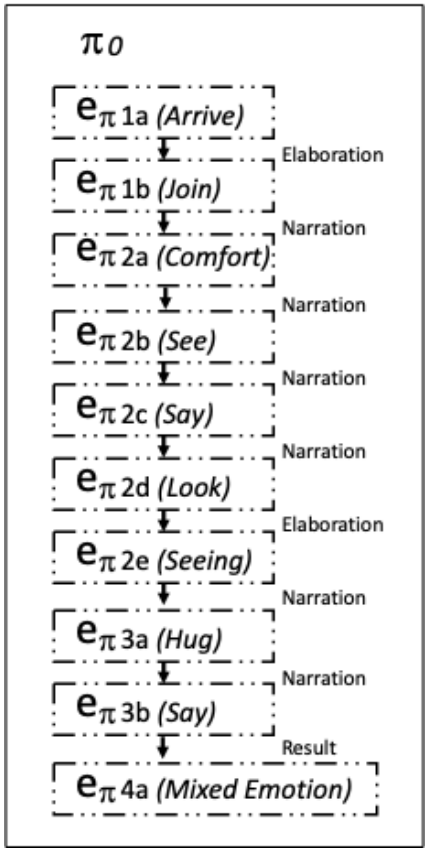


Figure 2.12. A representation of SFDRS according to Wildfeuer (2014) model. Featuring the segmented extract from *Oldeu Boi* (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003).

Once discourse relations have been applied, the entire discourse structure can then be presented as an SFDRS (Figure 2.12). Together, the logical forms and the SFDRS provide description of the finer and higher grained levels of filmic discourse, that in addition to the description of meaning composition itself, can be used for a range of analytical purposes (e.g., comparative analysis).

Kim and Kiaer's grains of SFDRS

Kim and Kiaer (2021) are one such example of a comparative analysis, performed on film extracts transferred to SFDRS, developing Wildfeuer's SFDRS (2014) in the process, by adding a mid-grain of discourse into the formal description, which they term "higher activities". Wildfeuer's SFDRS was designed to describe the structure of eventualities that compose a main event, and Kim and Kiaer's representation developed the Wildfeuer's articulation of that, by dividing eventualities activities within the main event. An example, extracted from Kim and Kiaer's (2021: 217) analysis of a scene in *Oldeuboi* (2003) is presented in Figure 2.13. The SFDRS shows how the SFDRS was developed by Kim and Kiaer (2021) to divide the discourse into finer and higher grains. In the example, segments have then been divided, based on their contribution to two distinguishable activities, segment of π_1 ($e_{\pi_{1b}}$) and the first segment of π_2 ($e_{\pi_{2a}}$) to constitute the overarching *"goodbye between parent and child"* event labelled π_0. H_{π_1} and H_{π_2} represent the two higher activities the Kim and Kiaer introduce, and the segment structure is divided between them. This is reflected both in the addition of the higher activity box into the representation, and the numerical labels of the segments. Segments in H_{π_1} are labelled e_{π_1}

plus an alphabetical character to distinguish between segments, and segments in H_{π_2} are labelled e_{π_2} plus their alphabetical character. Thus, unlike Wildfeuer's SFDRS, higher grain activities that form a narrative event are described at the highest grain level of discourse, the segment eventualities that form higher activities are described at the mid-grain level, and the multimodal interactions used to infer segment eventualities are given at the lowest grain level.

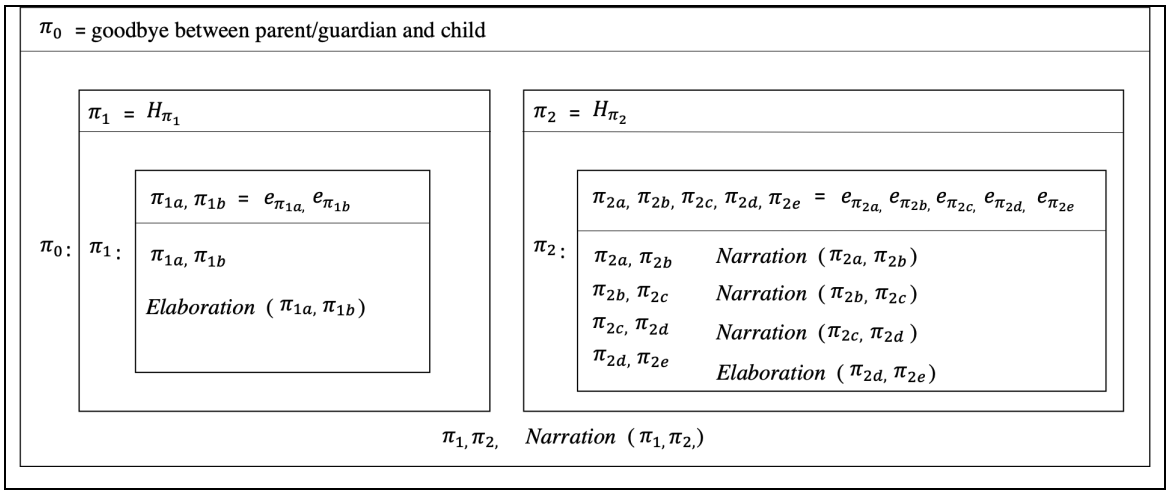


Figure 2.13. Extracted from Kim and Kiaer's (2021: 217) analysis of a scene from Oldeu Boi (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003).

Kim and Kiaer (2021) also make changes to the logical form, to account for this development. Like the previous SFDRS example, the logical form also includes alpha-numerical eventuality labels that reflect not only a segments relation to other segments but to higher activities. They also develop the labelling of referents to combine numerical labels with alphabetical ones, to attach referents to characters, as an organisational measure. Then, since discourse within the formal discourse representation framework is considered to exhibit a hierarchical organisation, this information must also be anchored into the discourse structure. Consequently, Kim and Kiaer articulated the presentation of the logical form further to specify the unit of discourse to which a logical form belongs within the larger narrative event under analysis. This is achieved by framing the box notation with one further box, as

shown in the previous example, and labelling the higher activity at the top of that box to show which higher activity the segment belongs to (e.g., H_{π_1}).

Continuing with the same extract from *Oldeuboi* (2003), Figure 2.14 is an extract from Kim and Kiaer's (2021) data, in which the developed articulation from Wildfeuer's SFDRS format (Figure 2.12), is clearly visible. Figure 2.15 then shows the development of the articulation of the logical form, focusing on two of the segments, $e_{\pi_{2a}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2b}}$. The higher activity labelled "H_{π_2}" can be seen in the outer box, indicating that "$e_{\pi_{2a}}$ = comfort" and "$e_{\pi_{2b}}$ = see" respectively, are segments of this larger unit of discourse. Segments $e_{\pi_{2a}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2b}}$ are then presented again in a more traditional representation of SFDRS, that emphasises the multi-levelled discourse that is articulated through the implementation of their higher activities (Figure 2.16).

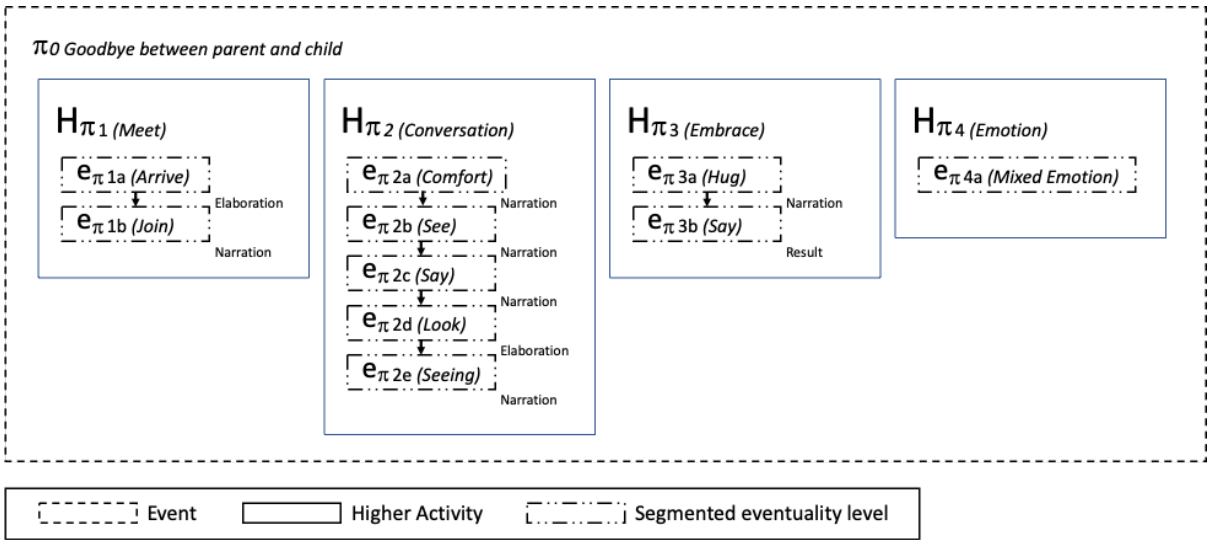


Figure 2.14. Graphical representation of the complete SFDRS of the 'goodbye between parent and child' event, extracted from *Oldeuboi* (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003), the results of which are presented also in Kim and Kiaer (2021: 220).

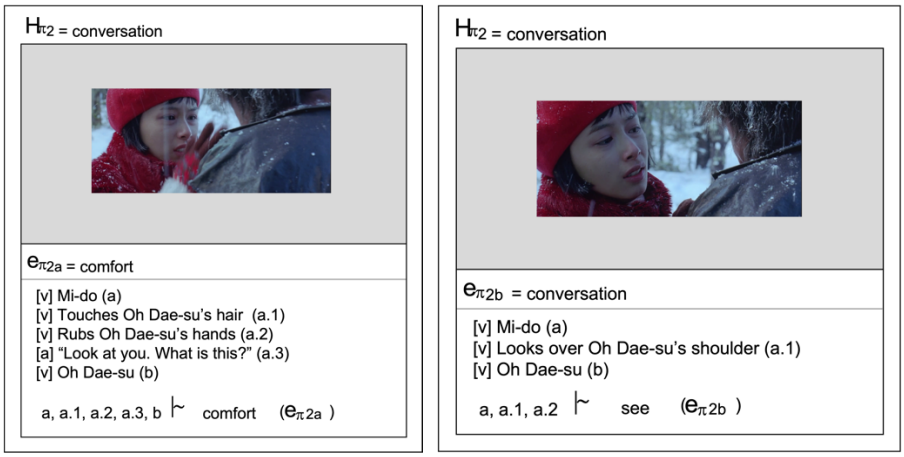


Figure 2.15. Logical forms $e_{\pi_{2a}}$ 'comfort' and $e_{\pi_{2b}}$ 'see', constructed following Kim and Kiaer (2021), extracted from analysis of *Oldeuboi* (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003).

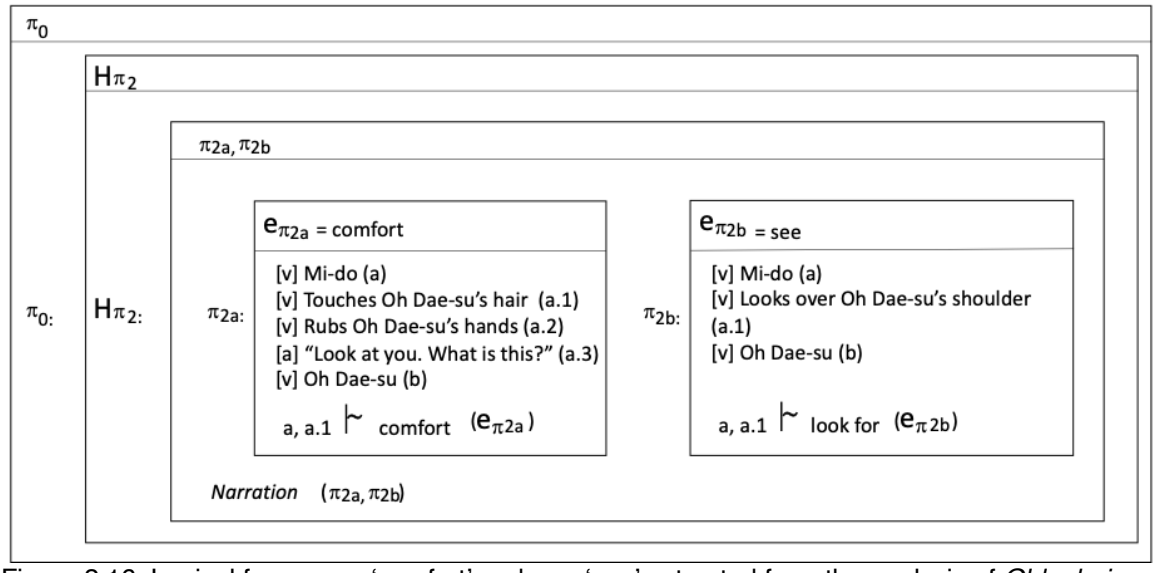


Figure 2.16. Logical forms $e_{\pi_{2a}}$ 'comfort' and $e_{\pi_{2b}}$ 'see' extracted from the analysis of *Oldeuboi* (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003). In this case, the logical forms are constructed in an explicit representation of their relation, and their hierarchy in constructing H_{π_2} 'conversation'; and are presented in a more traditional box notation format.

Kim and Kiaer's development allow it to be explicitly represented how lower grain levels of discourse construct higher grain levels of discourse. They argue that articulating SFDRS in this manner "increases our opportunities to identify conventions", in which they refer to 'film language' (2021: 215). They explain that "Each of these levels of discourse provides a separate opportunity to compare samples and identify corresponding conventions" (2021: 209).

Moving beyond mere translation

Logical approaches to multimodal filmic discourse have provided a new perspective for analysing meaning in film, backed by the advances in linguistics made in recent decades (Wildfeuer, 2014., Bateman, 2013). However, when analysing foreign films, one's own logic isn't enough, due to untranslatability, much of which is cultural (Kiaer and Kim, 2021a). To move beyond merely unwitting acts of covert translation in film analysis, the culture and language of the films must be accounted for too. Logic and cultural conventions are combined in order for viewers to make specific interpretations about what is happening in film narrative (Jayyusi, 1988). Moreover, with analytical guides, such as those proposed in this thesis, in order for analysis of foreign films, and especially non-Anglophone films, to contribute to the forwarding of research of those cinemas rather than to their marginalisation.

When it comes to Korean film analysis by English-speaking Western researchers, a large part of the untranslatability encountered is down to socio-pragmatic differences. Therefore, the implementation of Korean socio-pragmatics within a logical framework is potentially the cross-cultural key to bringing visibility to the untranslatability these researchers inevitably encounter. Kim and Kiaer (2021: 225) consider a logical orientation for exploring meaning in K-films to be promising, achieving encouraging results in analysis of conventions in meaning construction in the K-films they analysed using SFDRS, and specifically propose that for analysis of K-film analysis the approach would benefit from the implementation of Korean socio-pragmatics:

> "Korean language and behavior were not yet singled out in this analysis. For this the predicates used to construct SFDRS would need to be systematically extended to cover the eventualities at work. In order to utilize SFDRS to its full potential in K-film analysis, therefore, it would benefit from the development of such a systematic process accounting for Korean social reasoning and how this manifests meaningfully in Korean language and behavior. The aim of this would be to enable researchers, whether they be Korean or non-Korean, to consistently recognize and label the logical forms and interactions between Korean language elements and behavior that give rise to socio-

> pragmatic meanings in K-film. Subsequently, K-film studies would benefit from both the formal, com- prehensive description, provided by SFDRS, and a long-awaited contextualization of the meaning systems of Korean culture and language."

Kiaer and Kim's 'socio-pragmatic primitives'

Kiaer and Kim (2021a) begin to lay the groundwork for the implementation of Korean socio-pragmatics within a logical framework for film discourse interpretation, in their development of a set of "socio-pragmatic primitives". They were developed parallel with the writing of this thesis, with their use for the extension of SFDRS for K-film in-mind. Socio-pragmatic primitives are a set of common verbal and non-verbal expressions, that function as a part of a system of social communication, and the social reasoning underpinning their use. For example, bowing, waving, speaking formally, or informally, are all forms of expression with socio-pragmatic uses and expected outcomes. These expressions do not exist in a vacuum, but rather are linked to both various aspects of the Korean honourific system and the context and situation in which they are used, including how they are negotiated, modulated, and their consistency. Much of the formulae of Kiaer and Kim's socio-pragmatic primitives will be introduced in this section, since this is vital in the development of the methodology for Korean filmic discourse interpretation proposed in this thesis, and necessary for understanding the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5. The limited number of exclusions undergone have been due to capacity, and they are presented in Table 3.2 in Chapter 3, in which the development of the methodology is presented.

Kim and Kiaer developed the set of socio-pragmatic primitives based on the repeated use of certain expressions in K-films, that were determined to have common meaning potentials, when used in certain social dynamics and contexts. They then created a system based on the social rules that this data produced. Their system for how expressions function and mean is ultimately based on what is deemed as im/polite and therefore in/appropriate generally in Korean society. It is a self-admittedly broad system of classification, but a starting point upon which future studies can continue to build, by developing the reasoning

underpinning the common uses of Korean expressions, and for the more diverse meaning potentials when these expressions are the inferred in the contexts films provide (Kiaer and Kim (2021: 78).

Their classifications for expressions include “very polite”, “polite”, “acceptable”, and “rude”, with an optional “conflict” that can be added to the prior four classifications. The definitions of these classifications are as follows: ‘very polite’ classification is determined when the gesturer/speaker “makes an effort to be more polite than is required of them according to their social status”; ‘polite’ classification is determined when the gesturer/speaker is “meeting the required level of politeness according to their social status or performing a basic level of politeness” but is “not making an effort to go beyond this”; ‘acceptable’ classification is given when the gesturer/speaker is “within the boundary of what is acceptable according to their social status; however, they are not being polite”; ‘rude’ classification is determined when the gesturer/speaker is “not meeting the necessary level of politeness according to their social status”; and finally, the ‘conflict’ classification can be added to any of the previous classifications either “in cases when both individuals in an interaction have their own claim to seniority”, or to “indicate the severity of an expression’s unnecessariness (at the polite end of the scale) or unacceptability (at the rude end of the scale)” (Kiaer and Kim, 2021: 71-72), or in case where the politeness classification of an expression in a junior-senior social dynamic is increased by another factor (e.g., intimacy), as the juniority still effects the meaning potential of expressions, and so would indicate unorthodoxy and more diverse meaning potential when employed.

Politeness classifications are then applied to expressions based on a simple principle, that juniority requires submissive expressions, and seniority does not. From this standpoint, it is not difficult to see how Kiaer and Kim determine if an expression meets the necessary level of politeness, or is excessive, in each social dynamic. They state that “if it is polite for a junior to perform, then it is very polite for a senior and, on the reverse, if it is acceptable

for a senior to do, then it will often be considered rude for a junior (disregarding factors like intimacy)" and argue that this simple rule can be applied generally to Korean expressions. It is the starting point, to which additional social factors, such as intimacy or formality, whether there are spectators or not, and the situation, are added, generating a plus or minus value to the politeness classification. With each polite factor the politeness level increases, and for each impolite factor the politeness level decreases, determining the classification.

The latter purpose of the conflict classification is important in reflecting the shift in classification that occurs as social factors of higher or lower politeness values are added or deducted. Since there are only four classifications, in some cases shifts beyond these classifications are needed, in order to stress the extreme unnecessariness of the rudeness of politeness, and the conflict classification provides a means of doing so. Kiaer and Kim chose to classify in this particular manner because when expression use is outside of the guidelines for the social dynamic, which is what is happening in conflicting social dynamics on the one hand too, more diverse meaning potential often becomes available than that inferable by a gesturer/speaker simply being rude or polite. Thus, what a conflict classification is essentially supporting in film analysis is the researcher to interpret meaning that is either unorthodox, extreme, or at least not straightforward, which can be anything from the complex emotions of a character to the more fantastical.

Non-verbal socio-pragmatic primitives

In this section, the non-verbal socio-pragmatic primitives provided by Kiaer and Kim (2021a) will be introduced.

Haptic gestures

Firstly, Kiaer and Kim address haptic gestures, of which they include 'patting' and 'touch'. They argue that the two expressions have a similar reasoning underpinning their use, and

thus they present the two socio-pragmatic primitives with the same logic. The same format will be followed here for both conditional and defeasible logic. A summary of these socio-pragmatic primitives will follow in this section.

Patting (PA)/touching (PH)

For patting/touching, a more detailed breakdown of the conditional logic and meaning potential will be provided, so that the examples that follow can be read with ease. Brief explanation of logical operators and abbreviations in their contextualised uses will be provided, but please refer to Abbreviations and Logical Operators in Appendix 1 for the complete definitions.

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 77-78) introduce the following conditional logic for patting/touching:

i. $PA/PH \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \rightarrow Acceptable$

ii. $PA/PH \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow Rude$

iii. $PA/PH \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge intimacy \rightarrow Acceptable,\ conflict$

iv. $PA/PH \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge G<R\ (P/A) \rightarrow Acceptable,\ conflict$

v. $PA/PH \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge G<R\ (P/A) \wedge Intimacy \rightarrow Acceptable$

vi. $PA/PH \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge (M>F/F>M/M>M/F>F) \rightarrow Acceptable$

vii. $PA/PH \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge (M<M) \rightarrow Rude\ (high\ risk)$

viii. $PA/PH \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge (F<F) \rightarrow Rude$

The formulae presented are conditional statements (also called 'if-then' statements), which explain that if a certain expression (in this case PA/PH) is employed under certain social factors (e.g., when the gesturer is senior in age), 'then' the expression is deemed to convey a certain level of politeness (e.g., to be acceptable). Kiaer and Kim use the abbreviation 'A/P' (age/position) in their formulae, on the basis that many hierarchies are interchangeable

without the classification or meaning potential differing significantly. Context is not included in the formulae, and that this is expected discursively in analysis, of which they provide a smorgasbord of examples using K-films.

The following extract from Kiaer and Kim, contains a summary of Formulae i-viii, which provides some clarity on the formulae above, and on the formulae that follow. The extract is lengthy; however, it serves as a representative explanation of Kim and Kiaer's formulae, including how the formulae are constructed, and addressing some of the main social factors that they address in their formulae. It is pertinent to begin this Chapter in this way, so that one can read on with ease. Please note that the excerpt only mentions 'patting', however the logic applies to touch also.

> "Formula i explains that if patting is combined (∧) with a social dynamic in which the gesturer is senior to the receiver (G>R) in either age or position (A/P) without any conflict from another hierarchy to be considered, then (→) patting is acceptable. Formula ii explains that if patting is combined with a social dynamic in which the gesturer is junior in either age or position without any conflict from another hierarchy, then patting is rude. […] Formula iii explains that a junior patting can be acceptable if the gesturer and receiver have a close relationship; however, there is a conflict because a clear vertical hierarchy exists and this is being violated. […] Formulae iv–v explain the politeness level of patting in social dynamics in which the gesturer and receiver have conflicting age and positional hierarchies. Formula iv explains that if patting is combined with a social dynamic in which the gesturer is senior in age or position and the receiver is a senior either in position or age (the seniority that the speaker does not have), then patting is acceptable but has a conflict. […] Formula v explains that if patting is combined with a social dynamic in which the gesturer and receiver have conflicting seniority but also have intimacy, then a junior patting a senior can be acceptable. Usually, intimacy results in a conflict that can render a socio-pragmatic primitive as either less rude or more polite (depending on which end of the politeness scale it belongs), but in this case because there is already a conflict in hierarchies, the intimacy then serves to subdue the conflict and provide reasoning for the expression to be considered acceptable." […] Formulae vii–viii explain the politeness level of patting in social dynamics hierarchised by either age or position, this time considering gender as another factor of politeness. Formula vi explains that if patting is combined with a social dynamic in which the giver is senior in age (whether male-female, female- male, male-male, or female-female), then patting is acceptable. Formula vii explains that if patting is combined with a social dynamic in which the gesturer and receiver are both male and the gesturer is junior, then patting is rude with a 'high risk'. We use this example to highlight the increase in potential for an aggressive or violent response among males compared to females (shown in viii). As particular gender dynamics can alter the meaning potential of certain expressions, such as this one, we believe these must be taken into account in order to understand the meaning processes in K-films with greater clarity." (Kiaer and Kim, 2021: 77-78)

Immediately recognisable in the formulae is what Kiaer (2022) calls a “tug of war”. This system of politeness classification is reflective of an “upward” and “downward” reasoning, not only for what is polite, but what is polite in the interaction, based on a range of social factors with plus/minus politeness requirement factors.

Kiaer and Kim then use defeasible logic to explain the common meaning potentials of the formulae introduced in the conditional logic, developing the defeasible logic presented by Wildfeuer (2014). They introduce the following defeasible logic for meaning potentials that can be inferred from the use of PA in the social dynamics presented in the conditional logic:

i. *PA/PH, G>R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G cares about R*

ii. *PA/PH, G<R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G is belittling R/ G is socially incompetent*

iii. *PA/PH, G>R (A/P), G<R (P/A)* $\mid\sim$ *G is inconsiderate of R/G is creating an uncomfortable situation*

iv. *PA/PH, G<R (A/P), (M-M)* $\mid\sim$ *G is antagonising R*

v. *PA/PH, G<R (A/P), (F-M, F-F)* $\mid\sim$ *G is inconsiderate of R*

The defeasible logic is essentially the same formulae, only exchanging condition logical operators with defeasible logical operators where necessary. The ‘if-then’ operator ‘→’ is replaced with the ‘defeasible eventuality’ operator ‘$\mid\sim$’, while the ‘and’ operator ‘∧’ is replaced with a comma ‘,’. Following $\mid\sim$ the defeasible eventuality of the expression employed considering the implication of the social factors in the formula (e.g., “G is antagonising R”). Thus, using Formulae i as an example, the defeasible logic can be read as ‘patting expresses that the gesturer cares about the receiver when the gesture is employed in a senior-junior dynamic’.

Hand gestures

Kiaer and Kim then address hand gestures, including the 'invasion of space with/vigorous physical movement of objects', 'one-handed giving/receiving', two-handed giving/receiving', 'one-handed offering/receiving', two-handed offering/receiving', 'scratching/touching of the head', and 'clasping of the hands in the lap'. A summary of these socio-pragmatic primitives will follow in this section.

Invasion of space with or vigorous movement of objects (IV)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 83-84) introduce the following conditional logic for invasion of space with/vigorous physical movement of objects:

i. $IV \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Acceptable*

ii. $IV \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Rude*

iii. $IV \wedge G=R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable*

iv. $IV \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge G<R\ (P/A) \rightarrow$ *Acceptable, conflict*

v. $IV \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable, conflict*

It is worth mentioning here that the intimacy in Formula v does not entirely neutralise the rudeness. In Kiaer and Kim's formulae, juniors are the exception to the general rule of plus and minus value in politeness classification. Intimacy does move the politeness level from rude to acceptable, but not smoothly, as a conflict is incurred. The conflict then indicates the potential for more diverse defeasible eventualities within the context. Formula iii is also coherent with this rule, in which the social dynamic is equal, and so with the juniority removed the expression is deemed acceptable without any conflict. If the intimacy is removed from Formulae iii, however, a conflict would be incurred, because without intimacy this expression is too

invasive, and potentially reflective of emotion to be considered acceptable when there is any formality present.

These Formulae also provide an example of two reasons for the use of the conflict classification. In Formula iv, there is a conflicting hierarchy, with both gesturer and receiver holding a form of seniority, and therefore a conflict classification is added. Then there is the example of the addition of politeness increasing factors to formulae with junior-senior social dynamics, and the application of a conflict to reflect that there is only a partial implication of that factor on their ability, as a junior, to use the expression.

Kiaer and Kim (84-85) introduce the following defeasible logic for invasion of space with/vigorous physical movement of objects:

i. IV, G<R (A/P) G doesn't value R/ G is angry at R/ G is antagonising R/ G is a bad person

ii. IV, G>R (A/P) G is senior/ G is overbearing

iii. IV, G>R (A/P), G<R (P/A) $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is not considerate of R/ G is self-important/ G looks down on R/ G is angry at R*

Giving/receiving (GR +1H/2H and OR + 1H/2H)

Kiaer and Kim originally present 'giving/receiving' (objects, gifts, foods) (GR) and 'offering/receiving' (drinks) (OR) separately, as well as presenting one- and two-handed versions of the gestures as separate socio-pragmatic primitives. However, since the formulae for giving/receiving and offering/receiving are the same, for the sake of simplicity, in this section the two have been combined, divided only by being either one- or two-handed. Only in the analysis in Chapter 4 are examples still divided into offering/receiving and giving/receiving categories; done so due to the array of gestures employed specifically in drinking etiquette, and the

potential for further development of the offering/receiving socio-pragmatic primitive in this respect in the future.

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 87-89; 95-96) introduce the following conditional logic for one-handed giving/offering and receiving:

i. *GR/OR ∧ 1H ∧ G>R (A/P) → Acceptable*

ii. *GR/OR ∧ 1H ∧ G<R (A/P) → Rude*

iii. *GR/OR ∧ 1H ∧ G>R (P/A) ∧ G<R (A/P) → Acceptable, conflict*

iv. *GR/OR ∧ 1H ∧ G<R (A/P) ∧ Intimacy ∧ same generation → Acceptable*

v. *GR/OR ∧ 1H ∧ G<R (A/P) ∧ Intimacy ∧ generational gap → Acceptable, conflict*

Additionally, Kiaer and Kim (2021: 95) introduce formality as a social factor. Explaining that even between people who have equal rank, if formality is introduced due to being only acquaintances or meeting for the first time, then using only one hand when giving/offering or is rude (e.g., *OR ∧ 1H ∧ G=R (A/P) ∧ First meeting/Acquaintance → Rude).*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 86-89; 96-97) introduce the following defeasible logic for one-handed giving/offering and receiving:

i. *GR/OR, 1H, G>R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G does not think R is important*

ii. *GR/OR, 1H, G<R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G does not value R*

iii. *GR/OR, 1H, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G is inconsiderate of R*

iv. *GR/OR, 1H, G<R (A/P), Intimacy, same generation* $\mid\sim$ *G feels close to R*

v. *GR/OR, 1H, G<R (A/P), Intimacy, generational gap* $\mid\sim$ *G feels close to R/ G has an unorthodox relationship with R*

Although the system they present is generalised and inexhaustive, several factors are introduced throughout, providing a variety of considerations to make in K-film analysis. For example, Formulae iv and v, which begin to distinguish between the size of the age gap between juniors and seniors. Their formulae suggest that generational age gaps can lead to different inferences then when a gesturer and receiver and from the same generation, but one is older than the other.

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 89-91; 97-98) introduce the following conditional logic for two-handed giving/offering and receiving:

i. $GR \wedge 2H \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Very polite*

ii. $GR \wedge 2H \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Polite*

iii. $GR \wedge 2H \wedge G>R\ (P/A) \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

iv. $GR \wedge 2H \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

v. $GR \wedge 2H \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 90) explain that in Formula iii the 'very polite' classification is determined "because the gesturer is senior in one of the hierarchies that exists between the two interlocuters, and this expression is not necessary for seniors and therefore very polite. On the other hand, the gesturer is also a junior in the other hierarchy present, which presents a conflict."

Kiaer and Kim (91-93; 98-99) introduce the following defeasible logic for two-handed giving/offering receiving:

i. $GR, 2H, G>R\ (A/P) \mid\sim$ *G is humble*

ii. $GR, 2H, G<R\ (A/P) \mid\sim$ *G wants to be in good favour with R*

iii. *GR, 2H, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is considerate of R*

iv. *GR, 2H, G>R (A/P), Intimacy* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G wants to emphasise good feelings towards R*

v. *GR, 2H, G<R (A/P), Intimacy* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G wants to demonstrate respect to R*

vi. *GR, 2H, G=R (A/P), Intimacy* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G wants to emphasise good feelings towards R*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 93) argue that when seniors use polite expressions, especially when there is intimacy, it can be an expression of fear or that they are under threat, however it can also be way of emphasising care and value for the junior, by making a fuss of them. Similarly, a junior using very polite expressions can be a way of emphasising respect and value, using politeness to show extra effort.

Scratching/Touching the Head (SH)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 100-101) introduce the following conditional logic for the scratching/touching of one's head:

i. *SH* $\wedge$ *G>R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable*
ii. *SH* $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Rude*
iii. *SH* $\wedge$ *G>R (P/A)* $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable, conflict*
iv. *SH* $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable, conflict*
v. *SH* $\wedge$ *G>R (A/P)* $\wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable*
vi. *SH* $\wedge$ *G>R (P/A)* $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\wedge$ *M-M* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable, conflict (high risk)*
vii. *SH* $\wedge$ *G<R (A)* $\wedge$ *Intimacy* $\wedge$ *same generation* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable, conflict*
viii. *SH* $\wedge$ *G<R (A)* $\wedge$ *Intimacy* $\wedge$ *generational gap* $\rightarrow$ *Rude*

Kiaer and Kim classify the scratching/touching of the head similarly to patting in a conflicting social dynamic, adding a "high risk" to the conflict, which suggests that, although the

expression is acceptable with a conflict, because of the negative connotations of these gestures they pose a high risk of causing insult. They also suggest that the classification may be different if the age gap is less severe, as a generational age gap can make the situation more frustrating for the receiver, causing higher likelihood of violence.

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 102-103) introduce the following defeasible logic for scratching/touching the head:

i. *SH, G>R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is irritated with R/G is uncomfortable*

ii. *SH, G<R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is irritated with R/G is uncomfortable/ G does not value R/ G is intimidating R/G is antagonising R*

iii. *SH, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is inconsiderate of R*

iv. *SH, G<R (A), generational gap, Intimacy* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is inconsiderate of R*

Kiaer and Kim's system as it is presented in a combination of formalism for each socio-pragmatic primitive with examples is by no means exhaustive. On a very basic level, for instance, the socio-pragmatic primitives do not always included formulae covering the same selection of social dynamics and other social factors. However, considerable explanation is given of the rules that have been applied and how they are generally applied across the socio-pragmatic primitive provided, so that meticulous repetition is not needed in order to apply this system to a methodology. For instance, in Formula iii, "G is inconsiderate of R" is the only meaning potential provided. Inconsideration underpins any expressions that treats the other person as a junior in a conflicting hierarchy, however, in doing so the gesturer is either willingly antagonising the receiver, or angry, or something out of the ordinary is occurring that would cause this. Therefore, these meanings are also inferable based on that formula, but it simply wasn't repeated in each of Kiaer and Kim's examples.

Clasping hands in lap (CH)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 103-104) introduce the following conditional logic for scratching/touching the head:

i. *CH ∧ G>R (A/P) → Very Polite*
ii. *CH ∧ G<R (A/P) → Polite*
iii. *CH ∧ G>R (P/A) ∧ G<R (A/P) → Very polite, conflict*
iv. *CH ∧ G<R (P/A) ∧ Intimacy → Polite, conflict*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 103-104) elaborate on Formula iii, explaining that the conflict is due to both gesturer and receiver holding respective seniority, therefore "on the one hand it is 'very polite', and on the other hand it is only 'polite'". They also explain the conflict in Formula iv as, "intimacy creates the conflict, because while this primitive is polite here, it can also be seen as unnecessary due to its submissiveness and connotations of formality". Kiaer and Kim (2021: 104-106) introduce the following defeasible logic for the clasping of the hands in one's lap:

i. *CH, G<R (A/P) |~ G is obedient to R/ is employed by R/ knows one's place*

ii. *CH, G>R (A/P) |~ R is valuable to G*

Head and body Gestures

Kiaer and Kim then address head and body gestures, including the 'compact posture', 'broad posture', the 'lowering of the head and/or body', 'the heightening of the head and/or body', 'indirect eye gaze', 'direct eye gaze', 'nodding', 'the 15-degree bow', the '30-degree bow', the '45-degree bow', and traditional *'keunjeol* bow'. A summary of these socio-pragmatic primitives will follow in this section.

Compact (CP) and broad posture (SP)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 106-108) introduce the following conditional logic for compact posture:

i. *CP ∧ G<R (A/P) → Polite*

ii. *CP ∧ G>R (A/P) → Very polite*

iii. *CP ∧ G=R (A/P) ∧ (F=F/F=M) → Polite*

iv. *CP ∧ G=R (A/P) ∧ (M=M/M=F) → Very polite*

v. *CP ∧ G<R (P/A) ∧ G>R (A/P) → Very polite, conflict*

vi. *CP ∧ G>R (A/P) ∧ intimacy → Very polite, conflict*

vii. *CP ∧ G<R (A/P) ∧ intimacy → Very polite*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 108-112) introduce the following defeasible logic for compact posture:

i. *CP, G<R (A/P)* $\vdash\!\!\sim$ *G wants to be in good favour with R*

ii. *CP, G=R (A/P), F-M/F-F, Intimacy* $\vdash\!\!\sim$ *G wants to be agreeable with R*

iii. *CP, G=R (A/P), M-M/M-F, intimacy* $\vdash\!\!\sim$ *G lacks confidence/G is cautious/G is in trouble with R*

iv. *CP, G>R (A),* $\vdash\!\!\sim$ *G is in a difficult situation with R*

v. *CP, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\vdash\!\!\sim$ *G is considerate of R.*

vi. *CP, G<R (A/P), Intimacy* $\vdash\!\!\sim$ *G wants to demonstrate respect to R*

vii. *CP, G>R (A/P), Intimacy* $\vdash\!\!\sim$ *G is in a difficult situation with R*

Kim and Kiaer reiterate throughout each socio-pragmatic primitive that the meaning potential of expressions can be specified further when considered within the context of a film's narrative. They provide an example of how 'wants to be in good favour' can be specified further, if considered in the context of a romantic date, in which this gesture can be specified as 'G is charming R' (e.g., *CP, G>R (A/P)/G<R (A/P), (F-M)* $\vdash$ *G is charming R)*. It could also be an expression of sexual attraction, since this feeling would stimulate the character to behave in ways that put them in good favour (e.g., *CP, G>R (A/P)/G<R (A/P), (F-M)* $\vdash$ *G is attracted to R)*. Another example they provide is of how 'a difficult situation' (Formula iv) can be further specified:

> "[…] the gesturer may be 'ashamed', 'scared of the receiver', or 'indebted' to them. It might also reflect the gesturer's personality, such as a 'lack self-confidence' due to an incident shown beforehand or 'social incompetence' due to a lack of education or a troubled life. The range of narrative contexts is vast, but in most cases the gesturer finds themselves in a difficult situation with the receiver, either because of what is happening in the scene or because of the gesturer's personality or history." (Kiaer and Kim, 2021: 111).

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 113) introduce the following conditional logic for broad posture:

i. $SP \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Acceptable*

ii. $SP \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Rude*

iii. $SP \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable, conflict*

iv. $SP \wedge G=R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *(F-F/F-M)* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable, conflict*

v. $SP \wedge G=R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *(F-F/F-M)* $\wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 113-116) introduce the following defeasible logic for broad posture:

i. *SP, G>R (A/P)* $\vdash$ *G is senior/ G is not humble*

ii. *SP, G<R (A/P), Intimacy* $\vdash$ *G and R have a close relationship/ R favours G*

iii. *SP, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\vdash$ *G is inconsiderate of R*

The defeasible eventualities often demonstrate that use of the expression itself can be a referent of the relationship that the gesturer and receiver have, as well as expressing. For example, in Formula i, due to broad posture being acceptable for seniors, while this can express their lack of humility compared to characters who are humble, there is often nothing more to be inferred by a senior employing the expression than that they are senior. Similarly, in Formula ii, the same can be said of the 'close relationship' inferable based on the use of broad posture by a junior. It can appear a 'chicken and egg' situation, since on the one hand the social dynamic (e.g., *G>R (A/P)*, or *Intimacy)* is input into the formulae as a referent. But, in cases where relations are the only identifiable expressions, it can be thought of as reflection of the present social dynamic through use of an expression.

Lowering (HL) or heightening (HH) the head or body

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 117-118) introduce the following conditional logic for lowering the head and/or body:

i. *HL* $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Polite*

ii. *HL* $\wedge$ *G>R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite*

iii. *HL* $\wedge$ *G>R (P/A)* $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

iv. *HL* $\wedge$ *G=R (A)* $\wedge$ *G<R (P)* $\rightarrow$ *Polite, conflict*

v. *HL* $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite*

vi. *HL* $\wedge$ *G>R (A/P)* $\wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

Kim and Kiaer (2021: 118) explain the shifts in politeness classification, according to the plus and minus value of polite or impolite factors, and the importance of capturing this correctly because of its implication on the meaning that is inferred, stating:

> "[…] in social dynamics hierarchised by either age or position with intimacy, it is very polite if a junior gesturer lowers their head and/or body (v), and very polite with a conflict if they are a senior (vi). In line with previous examples of intimacy, these formulas show a shift from 'polite' (i) to 'very polite' (v), and from 'very polite' (ii) to 'very polite' with a 'conflict' (vi) because intimacy makes this socio-pragmatic primitive unnecessary, emphasising the gesturer's extra effort to be polite. This is important because the meaning potential will then contain inferences regarding the motivations and intentions of the gesturer based on their extra effort to be polite."

A new combination is introduced too, in Formula iv. This time the conflicting hierarchy is not that gesturer and receiver both hold seniority, but rather that on the one hand they have equality and on the other one is senior. In this case, the politeness classification, is brought down a position to 'polite', and then a conflict is added, due to the equality.

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 118-120) introduce the following defeasible logic for lowering the head and/or body:

i. *HL, G>R (A/P)* $\vdash$ *G is humble*

ii. *HL, G<R (A/P)* $\vdash$ *G wants to be in good favour with R*

iii. *HL, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\vdash$ *G is considerate of R*

iv. *HL, G=R (A), G<R (P)* $\vdash$ *G is considerate of R*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 121) introduce the following conditional logic for heightening the head and/or body:

i. *HH ∧ G>R (A/P) → Acceptable*

ii. *HH ∧ G<R (A/P) → Rude*

iii. *HH ∧ G>R (P/A) ∧ G<R (A/P) → Acceptable, conflict*

Kiaer and Kim (121-123) introduce the following defeasible logic for heightening the head and/or body:

i. *HH, G>R (A)* $\mid\sim$ *G is senior*

ii. *HH, G<R (P)* $\mid\sim$ *G doesn't respect R*

iii. *HH, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G is inconsiderate of R*

Eye gaze

Kiaer and Kim distinguish two types of eye gaze, 'direct' and 'indirect', which they use to refer to prolonged eye contact, and avoiding eye contact for extended periods of time, introducing the following conditional logic for indirect eye gaze (2021: 125-126):

i. *IG ∧ G>R (A/P) → Very polite*

ii. *IG ∧ G<R (A/P) → Polite*

iii. *IG ∧ G<R (A/P) ∧ Intimacy → Polite, conflict*

iv. *IG ∧ G>R (A/P) ∧ (F-M/F-F) → Very polite*

v. *IG ∧ G>R (A/P) ∧ (M-F/M-M) → Very polite, conflict*

vi. *IG ∧ G>R (P/A) ∧ G<R (A/P) → Very polite, conflict*

Note that Kiaer and Kim show a gender difference in Formulae iv-v, arguing that females, even seniors, are expected to employ indirect gaze more prolifically. Although they do not provide examples of gender difference for every socio-pragmatic primitive, they argue that expressions that are polite for juniors are often considered

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 127) introduce the following defeasible logic for indirect eye gaze:

i. *IG, G>R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G is humble/ scared/ humiliated/ uncomfortable*

ii. *IG, G<R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G values R*

iii. *IG, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G is considerate of R*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 127-128) introduce the following conditional logic for direct eye gaze:

i. *DG* $\wedge$ *G>R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable*

ii. *DG* $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Rude*

iii. *DG* $\wedge$ *G=R (A)* $\wedge$ *G<R (P)* $\wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable, conflict*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 128-130) introduce the following defeasible logic for direct eye gaze:

i. *DG, G>R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G is senior*

ii. *DG, G>R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G is irritated with R/ G is uncomfortable/ G is intimidating R/ G is angry*

iii. *DG, G<R (A/P)* $\mid\sim$ *G dislikes something / G is irritated with R/ G is angry*

iv. *DG, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)⊢ G is inconsiderate of R*

v. *DG, G<R (A/P), Intimacy⊢ G is close to R*

Kiaer and Kim explain the implication of intimacy in junior-senior social dynamics in which the gesturer employs direct eye gaze as a means of reducing the offensiveness. They stress that the inference that is ultimately determined, however, depends on the context and the multimodal interaction that takes place between the direct eye gaze and other expressions.

Bowing and nodding

Kim and Kiaer include 15-degree, 30-degree, and 45-degree, and traditional *Keunjeol* (큰절) bows, and nodding.

Nodding (ND)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 131-132) introduce the following conditional logic for nodding:

i. *ND ∧ G<R (A/P) → Polite*

ii. *ND ∧ G>R (A/P) → Very polite*

iii. *ND ∧ G>R (P/A) ∧ G<R (A/P) → Very Polite, conflict*

iv. *ND ∧ G<R (P/A) ∧ Intimacy → Very Polite*

v. *ND ∧ G>R (P/A) ∧ Intimacy → Very Polite, conflict*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 132-134) introduce the following defeasible logic for nodding:

i. ND, G>R/G<R (A/P) $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G agrees with R/G is listening to R/G agrees to R's command*

ii. ND, G>R (A/P) $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is under threat/ G is embarrassed/ G is in a difficult position with R/ G is desperate*

iii. ND, silence, G<R (A/P) $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is irritated/ G is uncomfortable*

iv. ND, G>R (A/P), G<R (P/A) $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is considerate of R/ G is in a difficult position with R/ G is desperate*

In this example, Kiaer and Kim demonstrate how nodding can serve to express agreement or give reassurance that the gesturer is listening to the receiver, regardless of hierarchy (i). They also add another factor, 'silence'. As explained in Chapter 2, a silent bow, without verbal accompaniment, often expresses withheld emotion, such as irritation.

15-degree bow (15B)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 134) introduce the following conditional logic for bowing at 15-degrees:

i. 15B $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Rude*

ii. 15B $\wedge$ *G>R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Polite*

iii. 15B $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable*

iv. 15B $\wedge$ *G>R (P/A)* $\wedge$ *G<R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Polite, conflict*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 135-137) introduce the following defeasible logic for bowing at 15-degrees:

i. *15B, G<R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G does not respect R/ R is not important to G*

ii. *15B, G>R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *Hello/Excuse me/Thank you/Goodbye*

iii. *15B, G<R (A/P), Intimacy* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *Hello/Excuse me/Thank you/Goodbye*

iv. *15B, G<R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *Hello/Excuse me/Thank you/Goodbye/ Sorry*

v. *15B, G=R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *No thank you*

vi. *15B, G>R (A/P), G<R (P/A)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is inconsiderate of R*

30-degree bow (30B)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 137-139) introduce the following conditional logic for bowing at 30-degrees:

i. $30B \wedge G>R\ (P/A) \rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

ii. $30B \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Polite*

iii. $30B \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

iv. $30B \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite*

v. $30B \wedge G>R\ (P/A) \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 139-140) introduce the following defeasible logic for bowing at 30-degrees:

i. *30B, G>R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G wants to emphasise good feelings to R/ G believes this relationship is important/ G feels honoured to meet R/ G is ashamed/ G is scared of R*

ii. *30B, G>R (A)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is scared/ G feels threatened by R*

iii. *30B, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G respects R*

iv. *30B, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *G is considerate of R*

45-degree bow (45B)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 140-141) introduce the following conditional logic for bowing at 45-degrees.

i. $45B \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Very polite*

ii. $45B \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

iii. $45B \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

iv. $45B \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

v. $45B \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge G<R\ (P/A) \rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

Kiaer and Kim explain that due to the high degree of the 45-degree bow, the politeness level is high, and its unnecessariness in many social dynamics also high, and thus this incurs many conflicts in the conditional logic. Expressions with high politeness levels, are essentially extreme expressions of humility, which depending upon the social dynamic (e.g., especially senior-junior and conflicting social dynamics) and context, can be specified as ‘fear’, ‘sarcasm’, or ‘insincerity’. Kiaer and Kim (2021: 141) introduce the following defeasible logic for bowing at 45-degrees:

i. *45B, G>R (P/A)⊢ G is honoured by the presence of R/ G is ashamed/ G is deeply grateful/ G is being sarcastic/ G is desperate*

ii. *45B, G<R (P/A)⊢ R is important to G/ G values R/ G is honoured by the presence of R/ G is ashamed/ G is deeply grateful/ G is deeply apologetic*

iii. *45B, G<R (P/A)⊢ Hello/ Welcome/ Honoured to meet you/ Gratitude/ Will fulfil your wish/ Is ashamed/ Goodbye*

iv. *45B, G>R (A/P), G<R (P/A)⊢ G is very considerate of R/ G is honoured by the presence of R/ G is ashamed/ G is deeply grateful/ G is being sarcastic/ G is desperate*

Keunjeol (큰절) (K)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 142) introduce the following conditional logic for giving a *keunjeol* bow:

i. *K ∧ G<R (A/P) ∧ Formal setting → Very polite*

ii. *K ∧ G<R (A/P) ∧ Informal setting → Very polite, conflict*

iii. *K ∧ G>R (A/P) → Very polite, conflict*

iv. *K ∧ G>R (A/P) ∧ G<R (P/A) → Very polite, conflict*

v. *K ∧ G>R (A/P) ∧ Intimacy → Very polite, conflict*

Kiaer and Kim (142-143) introduce the defeasible logic shown in Formula i for giving a *keunjeol* bow. Formulae ii-v have been added to provide the counterpart to the conditional logic that they provide for this socio-pragmatic primitive.

i. *K, G<R (A/P), Informal setting⊢ Apology/ Gratitude/ Sarcasm*

ii. *K, G<R (A/P), Formal setting⊢Paying respect/ Juniority*

iii. *K, G>R (A/P)⊢ Apology/ Gratitude/ Sarcasm/ Fear*

iv. *K, G>R (A/P) G<R (P/A)⊢Sarcasm/ Fear*

v. *K, G>R (A/P), Intimacy⊢Sarcasm/ Fear*

Verbal socio-pragmatic primitives

In this section, the verbal socio-pragmatic primitives provided by Kiaer and Kim (2021a) will be introduced.

Speech styles

Kiaer and Kim address speech styles, including *hapsyoche* (합쇼체), *haeyoche* (해요체), and *haeche* (해체). A summary of these socio-pragmatic primitives will follow in this section.

Kim and Kiaer include *hapsyoche* (합쇼체), *haeyoche* (해요체), and *haeche* (해체).

Hapsyoche (합쇼체) 'Formal speech style' (FS)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 147-148) introduce the following conditional logic for *hapsyoche:*

i. *FS ∧ S>H (A/P) → Very polite, conflict*

ii. *FS ∧ S<H (A/P) → Very polite*

iii. *FS ∧ S=H (A/P) → Very polite*

iv. *FS ∧ S>H (A/P) ∧ S<H (P/A) → Very polite, conflict*

v. *FS ∧ S<H (A/P) ∧ intimate → Very polite, conflict*

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 48-49) introduce the following defeasible logic for *hapsyoche:*

i. *FS, S>H (A/P)|~ S is being sarcastic/ is scared of H/ is not in a normal state of mind/ H or someone related to someone important to S/ S This is an important or formal event*

ii. *FS, S<H (A/P)|~ S values H/ is scared of H/ H or someone related to H is important to S/ This is an important or formal event/ This is a first meeting*

iii. *FS, S=H (A/P)|~ S values H/ is scared of H/ H or someone related to H is important to S/ This is an important or formal event/ This is a first meeting*

iv. *FS, S>H (A/P), S<H (P/A)|~ S is considerate of H/ is being sarcastic/ is scared of H/ H or someone related to H is important to S/ This is an important or formal event*

v. *FS, S<H (A/P), intimate|~ S is considerate of H/ is being sarcastic/ is scared of H/ H or someone related to H is important to S/ This is an important or formal event*

Haeyoche (해요체) 'Informal Polite Speech Style' (PS)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 147-148) introduce the following conditional logic for *haeyoche:*

i. *PS ∧ S>H (A/P) → Very polite*

ii. *PS ∧ S<H (A/P) → Polite*

iii. *PS ∧ S=H (A/P) → Polite*

iv. *PS ∧ S>H (A/P) ∧ S<H (P/A) → Very polite, conflict*

v. *PS ∧ S<H (A/P) ∧ Intimacy → Very polite*

Kiaer and Kim argue that in the classification of PS in Formula v, the intimacy doesn't create a conflict on the 'polite' classification that one would expect often with the introduction of intimacy into a junior-senior social dynamic, but instead increases politeness to 'very polite', because speakers who are only recent friends will probably not feel comfortable speaking entirely in *haeche* (2021: 149-150). In this thesis, a revision is suggested for Formula v. For coherence, the politeness level should be reduced to polite, and a conflict applied, so that the politeness classification reflects the politeness used despite intimacy, and the conflict reflects that the intimacy reduces the need to do so *(PS ∧ S<H (A/P) ∧ Intimacy → Polite, conflict).* Kiaer and Kim (2021: 148-149) introduce the following defeasible logic for *haeyoche:*

i. *PS, S>H (A/P)|~ S is considerate of H/ is important to S*

ii. *PS, S<H (A/P)|~ S respects H*

iii. *PS, S=H (A/P)|~ S respects H/ H is related to someone senior to S*

iv. *PS, S>H (A/P), S<H (P/A)|~ S is considerate of H/ has good feelings towards H/ is cautious of H/ needs H*

v. *PS, S<H (A/P), Intimacy|~ S has good feelings towards H*

vi. *PS, S<H (A/P), Intimacy, Spectators |~ S is conscious of those present/ cares about H's reputation*

Note Formula vi, which includes the 'spectator factor'. This formula reflects a common use of *haeyoche* toward intimates when there are spectators, such as to one's own parents in front of extended family or neighbours, while when alone one might use *haeche* or combine *haeche* with *haeyoche*.

Haeche (해체) Informal speech style (IS)

Kiaer and Kim (2021: 150-152) introduce the following conditional logic for *haeche:*

i. *IS ∧ S>H (A/P) → Acceptable*

ii. *IS ∧ S<H (A/P) → Rude*

iii. *IS ∧ S=H (A/P) → Rude*

iv. *IS ∧ S=H (A/P) ∧ Intimacy → Acceptable*

v. *IS ∧ S<H (A/P) ∧ Intimacy → Acceptable, conflict*

vi. *IS ∧ S>H (A/P) ∧ S<H (P/A) → Acceptable, conflict*

vii. *IS ∧ S<H (A/P) ∧ Intimacy ∧ Generational age gap → Rude*

On this occasion, Kiaer and Kim provide another variation to suggest the potential for development in the factors included in the formulae of defeasible eventualities. This time, in Formula vii, the intimacy, which would normally grant some neutralisation to the speaker's juniority, making the expression acceptable with a conflict, is nullified by the generational age gap, so the expression remains rude. This is not extinguishing earlier formulae that do not include this factor, but rather demonstrating both the specification granted by including this factor and encouraging the further development of the system.

Then in Formulae iii and iv, the implication of intimacy on the use of *haeche* is emphasised, explaining that even between speakers and hearers of equal status (be it age or position), if they do not have an intimate relationship then *haeche* is rude. In the case of *haeche,* unlike many non-verbal expressions, equality does little to alleviate the rudeness expressed when it is used between non-intimates, for the communicative properties of *haeche* make it a language of either intimates or enemies (Kiaer et al, violence reference). Kiaer and Kim (2021: 150-152) introduce the following conditional logic for *haeche:*

i. IS, S>H (A/P)⊢ S is senior

ii. IS, S<H (A/P)⊢ S does not value H/ is antagonising H/ is angry/ is confronting H/S is behaving unusually

iii. IS, S=H (A/P)⊢ S wants to be closer friends with H/ does not value H / is antagonising H/ is angry/ is confronting H

iv. IS, S=H (A/P), Intimacy ⊢ S feels close to H/ is angry/ is confronting H

v. IS, S>H (A/P), S<H (P/A)⊢ S is inconsiderate of H/ does not value H / is antagonising H/ S is angry/ is confronting H

vi. IS, S<H (A/P), Intimacy⊢ S feels close to H/ is angry/ is confronting H

vii. IS, S<H (A/P), Intimacy, Generational age gap⊢ S is inconsiderate of H/ is overestimating their position/ does not value H / is antagonising H/ is angry/ is confronting H

3. The logic of Korean film discourse interpretation

The aim of this thesis is to develop the film discourse framework provided by Wildfeuer (2014), by adapting the process of interpretation undergone to explicitly formulate multimodal meaning construction in films, to account for fundamental expressions that are cross-culturally untranslatable for Anglo-Euro researchers of K-films – A framework for the construction of 'Korean-Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structures' ('K-SFDRS'), for Anglo-Euro researchers to gain a culturally contextualised analysis of K-filmic discourse. As explained in Chapter 2, due to having vastly different socio-pragmatic communication in Korean and Western languages and cultures, much of the untranslatability requires a socio-pragmatic repertoire to interpret. Therefore, following the recommendation of Kim and Kiaer (2021a: 225), an experimental repertoire of common Korean verbal and non-verbal socio-

pragmatic primitives, adopted from Kiaer and Kim (2021a), will be introduced into Wildfeuer's framework, as tool for interpreting K-filmic discourse. This will be achieved by building Kim and Kiaer's socio-pragmatic primitives into Wildfeuer's process of filmic discourse interpretation, which this thesis will add to with further expressions that are believed by this thesis to be primitives based on their commonality in K-films. The functional dimension of Wildfeuer's framework will be presented differently, though essentially achieve the same aim of justifying the inferences made of filmic discourse. It is therefore the endeavour of this chapter to explain the workings of how these two models can be woven together, and to develop them, before demonstration the potential benefit in the analysis in Chapter 5. Extracts from the analysis have specifically been selected used to demonstrate the process of constructing K-SFDRS in this chapter, to create clear cohesion between explanation of the process of presenting K-SFDRS and the analysis.

Overview of socio-pragmatic primitives

In this section, an overview will be provided of Kiaer and Kim's (2021a) socio-pragmatic primitives that are included in the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5, detailing additional socio-pragmatic primitives that have been proposed for inclusion in this thesis, and the limited number that were excluded due to capacity. Those expressions that are excluded may still be noted as arising in discussions, as is the case with some expressions that have not been added formally to the socio-pragmatic primitives in this thesis but must be mentioned in order to interpret the multimodality that constructs the discourse.

A total of twenty-seven socio-pragmatic primitives were included in the analysis in Chapter 4, in which examples from numerous films are presented for each socio-pragmatic primitive. Several of the socio-pragmatic primitives then feature in the analysis in Chapter 5, which is composed by a limited number of film extracts, but describes the interaction of multimodality between multiple, socio-pragmatic primitives, and how they are cohesive across larger sections of discourse. The total socio-pragmatic primitives are presented in Table 3.1.

Nineteen are adopted from Kiaer and Kim (2021a), and six are additions proposed by this thesis (marked with an asterisk symbol), two of which briefly introduced by Kiaer and Kim (*aegyo* and rising intonation).

Table 3.1. Overview of socio-pragmatic primitives utilised in the analysis.

<table>
<tr><th>Haptic expressions</th><th>Hand gestures</th><th>Head and body gestures</th><th>Eye gaze</th><th>Prosodic gestures</th><th>Speech styles</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="15">Patting/ touching with hand</td><td rowspan="2">Signalling with objects: Invasion of space/ vigorous shaking</td><td>Compact posture</td><td>Indirect eye-gaze</td><td>Rising Intonation *</td><td>Hapsyoche (합쇼체) ‘formal polite’</td></tr>
<tr><td>Spread posture</td><td rowspan="14">Direct eye-gaze</td><td rowspan="14">*Aegyo Nasalisation</td><td>Haeyoche (해요체) ‘informal polite’</td></tr>
<tr><td>Giving/ receiving (objects/ gifts/food): One-handed</td><td>Lowering of the head and/or body</td><td rowspan="13">Haeche (해체) ‘informal’</td></tr>
<tr><td>Giving/ receiving (objects/ gifts/food): Two-handed</td><td>Heightening of the head and/or body</td></tr>
<tr><td>Offering/ receiving drinks: One-handed</td><td>*Crossing arms or legs</td></tr>
<tr><td>Offering/ receiving drinks: Two-handed</td><td>Bowing: at 15-degrees</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">*Covering mouth with hand</td><td>Bowing: at 30-degrees</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bowing: at 45-degrees</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Keunjeol Bow</td></tr>
<tr><td>Scratch-ing/touching one’s head</td></tr>
<tr><td>Clasping hands in lap</td></tr>
<tr><td>Beckoning with an open hand *</td></tr>
</table>

	*Pointing				

This classification system for these expressions developed by Kiaer and Kim (2021a) will not be developed further by this study, since the primary interest is incorporating the Korean socio-pragmatic primitives in the SFDRS framework for the interpretation of K-films. The only addition to classification is in the proposal of a separate classification system for *aegyo*, which is presented later in this overview.

Eight socio-pragmatic primitives that were not given their own section of analysis in Chapter 4, though some were mentioned in a limited number of analysis due to the multimodal nature of film discourse. Their exclusion was simply due to the capacity of this thesis, and the desire to add to the socio-pragmatic primitives presented by Kiaer and Kim. These socio-pragmatic primitives are presented in Table 3.2, along with their abbreviations, so they can be identified when they do occur in analysis or can be easily acquired by future studies from this source alongside the methodology. These socio-pragmatic primitives include the second-person pronoun *dangsin* (당신), the first person pronouns *na* (나)/*nae* (내) and *jeo* (저)/*je* (제), speech quantity (long and short turn-taking in interactions), and speech style switches. See Kiaer and Kim (2021a) for conditional and defeasible logics of these socio-pragmatic primitives.

Table 3.2. Kiaer and Kim's socio-pragmatic primitives that were not provided with a section of analysis in Chapter 4 due to capacity.

Second-person pronouns	**First-person pronouns**	**Speech quantity**	**Modulation**	**Address terms/ suffixes**
Dangsin (당신)	*Na* (나)/ *Nae* (내)	Long turn	Speech style switches	*-Nim* (님)
	Jeo (저)/ *Je* (제)	Short turn		*-A* (아)/ *-Ya* (야)

In this section non-verbal and verbal socio-pragmatic primitive sections that follow, the formalism provided by Kiaer and Kim (2021a: 152-164) will be summarised, before using them to develop SFDRS for K-film.

Socio-pragmatic primitive additions

In this section the conditional and defeasible logic of the proposed additions to Kiaer and Kim's socio-pragmatic primitives (2021a) will be presented, following the same format.

Covering of the mouth with hand (CM)

Covering one's mouth with one's hand is a polite gesture with a range of socio-pragmatic meaning potential, dependent upon the social dynamic it is employed within. While eating, the behaviour is deferential, just as is the turning of the head away while drinking. When laughing, expressing shock, or upset feelings, then this can be used to express value, feminity, or even as a component of *aegyo* ('being cute').

Conditional logic of CM

Formulae i-ii explain that in social dynamics hierarchised by either age or position, it is very polite for a senior (i), but polite for a junior to cover their mouth with their hand (ii). Formula iii explains that between equals it is very polite for the gesturer to cover their mouth with their hand, while Formula iv explains that in a conflicting hierarchy, it is very polite with a conflict. Formula v explains that if a junior gesturer has a close relationship with the receiver, then it is very polite if they cover their mouth with their hand.

i. $CM \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Very polite*

ii. $CM \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Polite*

iii. $CM \wedge G=R\ (A/P) \rightarrow$ *Very polite*

iv. $CM \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge G<R\ (P/A) \rightarrow$ *Very polite, conflict*

v. $CM \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge$ *Intimacy* $\rightarrow$ *Very polite*

Defeasible logic of CM

Formula i explains that a senior gesturer covering their mouth with their hand commonly expresses humility, emphasises good feelings towards the receiver, or is being used in humour, or flirtation. Formula ii explains that a junior gesturer covering their mouth with their hand commonly expresses that they want to be in good favour with the receiver, and again this can be used in flirtation. Formula i explains that between equals the covering of one's mouth emphasises good feelings towards the receiver, or can be used in humour, or flirtation. Formula iv explains that in a conflicting hierarchy the covering of the mouth with the hand commonly expresses consideration, humility, or that the gesturer is flirting. Formula v explains that if a gesturer is junior in one respect but also has an intimate relationship with a receiver, covers their mouth with their hand, this commonly expresses consideration, or emphasises good feelings towards the receiver.

i. $CM, G>R\ (A/P) \vdash$ *G is humble/ G is emphasising good feelings towards R/ G is joking/ G is flirting with R*

ii. $CM, G<R\ (A/P) \vdash$ *G wants to be in good favour with R/ G is flirting with R*

iii. $CM, G=R\ (A/P) \vdash$ *G is emphasising good feelings towards R/ G is joking/ G is flirting with R*

iv. $CM, G>R\ (P/A)\ G<R\ (A/P) \vdash$ *G is considerate of R/ is humble/ is flirting with R*

v. *CM, G<R (A/P) Intimacy⊢ G is considerate of R/ G is emphasising good feelings towards R*

Open handed beckoning (OH)

Beckoning with an open hand has a range of socio-pragmatic meaning potential, dependent upon the social dynamic it is employed within. It is acceptable in senior-junior social dynamics and between intimates, such as close friends or people in a romantic relationship, however juniors avoid beckoning to seniors.

Conditional logic of OH

Formulae i-ii explain that in social dynamics hierarchised by either age or position, it is acceptable for a senior (i), but rude for a junior to use open handed beckoning (ii). Formula iii explains that between equals it is acceptable for the gesturer to use open handed beckoning, while Formula iv explains that in a conflicting hierarchy it is acceptable with a conflict. Formula v explains that if a junior gesturer has a close relationship with the receiver, then it is acceptable with a conflict if they use open handed beckoning.

i. *OH ∧ G>R (A/P) → Acceptable*

ii. *OH ∧ G<R (A/P) → Rude*

iii. *OH ∧ G=R (A/P) → Acceptable*

iv. *OH ∧ G>R (A/P) ∧ G<R (P/A) → Acceptable, conflict*

v. *OH ∧ G<R (A/P) ∧ Intimacy → Acceptable, conflict*

Meaning potential of OH

Formula i explains that a senior gesturer using open handed beckoning commonly expresses their seniority. Formula ii explains that a junior gesturer using open handed beckoning commonly expresses social incompetence (for which there can be an array of causes). Formula iii explains that between equals open handed beckoning expresses intimacy, the development of intimacy, or the gesturer behaving as if they were senior; the latter which may be for the purpose of humour. Formula iv explains that in a conflicting hierarchy using open handed beckoning commonly expresses inconsideration, a lack of value, anagonisation, self-importance, or social incompetency. Formula v explains that if a gesturer who is junior in one respect but also has an intimate relationship with the receiver, uses open handed beckoning, this commonly expresses intimacy, inconsideration, a lack of value, an unorthodox relationship, or social incompetency.

i. OH, G>R (A/P)⊢ G is senior

ii. OH, G<R (A/P)⊢ G is socially incompetent

iii. OH, G=R (A/P)⊢ G is friends with R/ are becoming friends/ G is acting as if they are senior

iv. OH, G>R (A/P), G<R (P/A)⊢ G is inconsiderate of R/ G doesn't value R/ G is antagonising R/ G is self-important/ G is socially incompetent

v. OH, G<R (A/P), Intimacy⊢ G and R have a close relationship/ G is inconsiderate of R/ G doesn't value R/ G and R have an unorthodox relationship/ G is socially incompetent

Pointing (using index finger) (PF)

Pointing with one's index finger has a range of socio-pragmatic meaning potential, dependent upon the social dynamic it is employed within. Using one's index finger is acceptable in

senior-junior social dynamics and between intimates, such as close friends or people in a romantic relationship, however, it is rude for juniors to point directly at seniors.

Conditional logic of PF

Formulae i-ii explain that in social dynamics hierarchised by either age or position, it is acceptable for a senior (i), but rude for a junior to point at a receiver (ii). Formula iii explains that between equals it is acceptable for the gesturer to point at a receiver, while Formula iv explains that in a conflicting hierarchy it is acceptable with a conflict to point at a receiver. Formula v explains that if a junior gesturer has a close relationship with the receiver, then it is acceptable with a conflict if point at them.

i. $PF \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \rightarrow Acceptable$

ii. $PF \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow Rude$

iii. $PF \wedge G=R\ (A/P) \rightarrow Acceptable$

iv. $PF \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \wedge G<R\ (P/A) \rightarrow Acceptable,\ conflict$

v. $PF \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge Intimacy \rightarrow Acceptable,\ conflict$

Meaning potential of PF

Formula i explains that a senior gesturer pointing at a junior commonly expresses their seniority. Formula ii explains that a junior gesturer pointing at a senior commonly expresses social incompetence, anger, or an act of antagonisation. Formula iii explains that between equals pointing expresses intimacy or anger. Formula iv explains that in a conflicting hierarchy pointing commonly expresses inconsideration, a lack of value, anagonisation, self-importance, or social incompetency, or anger. Formula v explains that if a gesturer who is junior in one respect but also has an intimate relationship with the receiver, points at the senior then this

expresses intimacy, inconsideration, a lack of value, social incompetency, or an unorthodox relationship.

i. *PF, G>R (A/P)* $\vdash$ *G is senior*

ii. *PF, G<R (A/P)* $\vdash$ *G is socially incompetent/ is angry/ is antagonising*

iii. *PF, G=R (A/P)* $\vdash$ *G is friends with R/ is angry*

iv. *PF, G>R (A/P), G<R (P/A)* $\vdash$ *G is inconsiderate/ doesn't value R/ is antagonising R/ is self-important/ is socially incompetent/ is angry*

v. *PF, G<R (A/P), Intimacy* $\vdash$ *G is inconsiderate/ doesn't value R/ is socially incompetent/ is angry/ G and R have an unorthodox relationship/*

Crossing arms or legs (AL)

The crossing of one's arms or legs also has a range of socio-pragmatic meaning potential, dependent upon the social dynamic it is employed within, as it is an expression considered acceptable by seniors but rude by juniors.

Conditional logic of AF

Formulae i-ii explain that in social dynamics hierarchised by either age or position, it is acceptable for a senior (i), but rude for a junior to cross their arms or legs (ii). Formula iii explains that if the gesturer and receiver have a close relationship, then it is acceptable with a conflict for the junior to employ crossed arms or legs. Formula iv explains that in a conflicting hierarchy, it is acceptable with a conflict if a gesturer crosses their arms or legs.

i. *AL* $\wedge$ *G>R (A/P)* $\rightarrow$ *Acceptable*

ii. *AL ∧ G<R (A/P) → Rude*

iii. *AL ∧ G<R (A/P) ∧ Intimacy → Acceptable, conflict*

iv. AL ∧ G>R (P/A) ∧ G<R (A/P) → Acceptable, conflict

Meaning potential of AF

Formula i explains that a senior gesturer crossing their arms or legs expresses their seniority or that they are not very humble opposed to seniors who are. Formula ii explains that a junior gesturer crossing their arms or legs expresses a lack of value, antagonisation, or anger (iii). Formula vi explains that if a gesturer who is junior in one respect but also has an intimate relationship with the receiver, crosses their arms or legs to the senior then this commonly expresses intimacy, unorthodoxy, inconsideration, or a lack of value. Formula v explains that in a conflicting hierarchy, crossing the arms of legs expresses inconsideration, or a lack of value.

i. *AL, G>R (A/P)⊢ G is senior/ is not humble*

ii. *AL, G<R (A/P)⊢ G does not value R/ is antagonising R/ is angry at R*

iv. *AL, G<R (A/P), Intimacy ⊢ G and R have a close relationship/ have an unorthodox relationship/ G is inconsiderate of R/ G does not value R*

v. *SP, G>R (P/A), G<R (A/P)⊢ G is inconsiderate of R/ doesn't value R*

Rising intonation (RI)

Following the recommendation for further exploration by Kiaer and Kim (2021a: 146-147), the conditional and defeasible logic of the socio-pragmatic primitive for 'rising intonation' will also be proposed in this thesis.

Conditional logic of RI

Formulae i-ii explain that in age or positionally hierarchised social dynamics it is 'acceptable' for a senior but rude for a junior to use rising intonation, and Formula iii explains that it is acceptable for equals with intimacy. Formulae iv-v explain that it's acceptable with a conflict for rising intonation to be used in a conflicting hierarchy, or by a junior who has an intimate with the receiver.

i. $RI \wedge G>R\ (A/P) \rightarrow Acceptable$

ii. $RI \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \rightarrow Rude$

iii. $RI \wedge G=R\ (A/P) \rightarrow Intimacy \rightarrow Acceptable$

iv. $RI \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge G>R\ (P/A) \rightarrow Acceptable, conflict$

v. $RI \wedge G<R\ (A/P) \wedge Intimacy \rightarrow Acceptable, conflict$

Meaning potential of RI

The use of rising intonation by speakers generally shows that they are 'complaining', 'irritated', or 'antagonising' the receiver (i-vii), however hierarchy diversifies the meaning potential, as is demonstrated in the following formulae.

i. $RI, G>R\ (A/P) \vdash$ *G is telling off R off/ G is complaining/ G is annoyed with R/ G is offended by R*

ii. RI, G>R (A/P), same generation $\vdash\!\!\!\sim$ *G is disciplining R/ G is complaining/ G is annoyed with R/ G is offended by R /G is abusing power*

iii. RI, G<R (A/P) $\vdash\!\!\!\sim$ *G does not value R/ G is antagonising R/ G has had enough/ G is complaining*

iv. RI, G=R (A/P) $\vdash\!\!\!\sim$ *G is inconsiderate of R/ G has had enough/ G is complaining*

v. RI, G<R (A/P), G>R (P/A) $\vdash\!\!\!\sim$ *G is not considerate of R/ G is telling off R off/ G is complaining/ G is annoyed with R / G is abusing power/ G is offended by R*

vi. RI, G<R (A/P), Intimacy $\vdash\!\!\!\sim$ *G is complaining/ G is annoyed with R/ G is offended by R/ G and R have a close relationship*

vii. RI, G=R (A/P), Intimacy $\vdash\!\!\!\sim$ *G is complaining/ G is annoyed with R/ G is offended by R*

Aegyo nasalisation (AN)

To extend the discussion of Kiaer and Kim (2021a: 144-146) on *aegyo*, the conditional and defeasible logic for the *aegyo* nasalisation (AN) socio-pragmatic primitive will be proposed by this thesis, to account for the variety of meaning potentials that can be communicated by these expressions in a variety of social dynamics. Puzar and Hong (2018: 1) define *aegyo* as:

> "(performed winsomeness) is a layered articulation of behaviours, gestures, vocal and linguistic adjustments, narratives and fashions that serve to enact child-like charm and infantilised cuteness. It is a widely debated but poorly studied phenomenon observed especially among younger South Korean women and, more seldomly, among men."

Aegyo nasalisation is a performance to the same end, achieved by nasalising one's speech to achieve a more childlike voice.

Aegyo classification system

Due to the significant role that gender, and relationship play in the interpretation of *aegyo* in K-film, rather than using Kiaer and Kim's (2021a) politeness classification system for interpreting *aegyo* in different social dynamics, another system will also be proposed here specifically for *aegyo*. This is proposed following Kiaer and Kim's (2021a: 72) suggestion that their politeness classification system be developed when they state, "These classifications could, however, potentially be refined should they be utilised in film analysis in the future." The reason for gender and the precise relation (e.g., daughter-in-law<father-in-law, junior colleague<senior colleague) may require inclusion in the formula of the defeasible eventuality when inferring *aegyo,* is because of this expression's flirtatious connotation. Since men and women can date and marry people of different ages, hierarchy is not enough to classify politeness. Further, the appropriateness of *aegyo* is also dependent on the specific relationship, For, instance, *aegyo* by gesturers of the same age can be fine between friends, classmates, or family members, but not when the receiver is the gesturers employer, or a stranger. Gender is an important aspect of the social dynamic within which *aegyo* is performed, too. Moon (2013: 1) argues that *aegyo's* is also a "gendered practice" that "has been enregistered as a new, authentic style of young women, and is featured in media events that police its form as they reproduce its role in the normative gender order. Then there is *aegyo* that expresses cuteness, outside of a flirtatious context, that is not necessarily linked to juniority nor to women. For example, elderly people often use *aegyo* towards young people, without any sexual connotation, or relation to gender roles at all.

Thus, *aegyo's* classification system cannot only take account of hierarchies like age or position, but must also consider the type of relationship, and whether there is a context for flirtation or cuteness. Each of these factors is used to assess whether *aegyo* is in/appropriate, and based on this, inferences can be made about the meaning of the prosodic gesture. The following categories have been developed in this thesis for the purpose of classifying

aegyo expressions, which are ‘appropriate’ or ‘inappropriate’, with an optional ‘conflict’. These classifications are somewhat broad presently, but, again, this is a necessary building block in this very early development of a theory of K-film language. Finally, social dynamics covered in the formulae that follow, include gender and types of relationship, e.g., familial, professional, friends, dates, married/unmarried couples, and strangers, in addition to age and positional hierarchy.

Conditional logic of AN

The following formulae provide the conditional logic for *aegyo* nasalisation in a selection of common social dynamics.

Firstly, generally, unless interlocutors have a close friendship, a romantic relationship (including marriage), or the senior is elderly and the junior a couple of generations younger, then a senior speaker using *aegyo* nasalisation to a junior speaker can be classified as inappropriate (i).

$i.$ $AN \wedge G>R \rightarrow Inappropriate$

It is particularly inappropriate for a married male (considered a mature male), regardless of being a junior in age, to use *aegyo* nasalisation (ii). Whereas for a single man, doing so, regardless of age, if he is younger than the hearer, can be classified as appropriate (iii).

$ii.$ $AN \wedge Married\ male<R \rightarrow Inappropriate$

$iii.$ $AN \wedge Single\ male<R \rightarrow Appropriate$

Next, we should consider gender. Nasalisation, especially, is not only used to express cuteness but often sexiness. If a male uses *aegyo* nasalisation to another male with whom they do not have a close relationship, then the politeness classification is inappropriate (iv). While, if a male uses *aegyo* nasalisation to another male with whom they have a close relationship then the politeness classification is 'appropriate' with a 'conflict' (v). This doesn't mean that males can't use *aegyo*, or that doing so necessarily has a negative connotation, however the association of *aegyo* in Korean society with women, simply opens the door to more diverse meaning potential than if it were employed by a woman. For instance, when employed by a male it can also be humorous or sarcastic, involving mimicry of women.

$iv.$ *AN ∧ M-M → Inappropriate*

$v.$ *AN ∧ M-M ∧ Intimacy → Appropriate, conflict*

Whereas, if a husband uses *aegyo* nasalisation to his wife (vi) or mother (vii) then this would not incur a 'conflict' and would simply be 'appropriate', and similarly in boyfriend-girlfriend dynamics. The reason for this is that these relationships are much more flexible.

$vi.$ *AN ∧ Husband-Wife → Appropriate*

$vii.$ *AN ∧ Son-Mother → Appropriate*

If a woman uses *aegyo* nasalisation to a male friend, boyfriend, or husband it is also 'appropriate' (viii-x), as it would be if she were flirting with a stranger who 'welcomes' a romantic relationship (xi). It is important to reiterate that if this were employed when unwelcomed, such as on a first meeting, this could still be seen as too flirty and off-putting, and therefore be inappropriate.

viii. *AN ∧ F-M ∧ Friends → Appropriate*

ix. *AN ∧ Girlfriend-Boyfriend→ Appropriate*

x. *AN ∧ Wife-Husband → Appropriate*

xi. *AN ∧ F-M ∧ Welcome → Appropriate*

While if a woman used *aegyo* nasalisation to be sexy or cute to her mother-in-law or father-in-law, this would often be considered inappropriate (xii).

xii. *AN ∧ F-M ∧ Daughter-in-law-father-in-law → Inappropriate*

Meaning Potential of AN

The following formulae provide the defeasible logic for *aegyo* nasalisation, using some of the social dynamics that were presented in the conditional logic.

In female-male interactions in which romance is welcome, *aegyo* nasalisation often expresses 'flirtation', and depending upon the context of its use, can also express meanings like 'attraction', and 'persuasion' (i).

i. *AN, F-M, Welcome* $\vdash\!\!\sim$ *G is being flirtatious with R/ is attracted to R/ wants to persuade R*

In male-male social dynamics, in intimate social dynamics, the meaning potential of *aegyo* nasalisation tends to be humour, mimicry, sarcasm, or being cute as a means of

persuasion (ii). Whereas, if a male uses *aegyo* nasalisation to an unknown male, it will be clear that the gesturer is not being serious, and potential with the intention of 'antagonising' the receiver (iii).

ii. *AN, M-M ∧ Intimacy ⊢ G is joking/ G is mimicking a woman/ G is being sarcastic/ G is being cute to persuade R*

iii. *AN, M-M⊢ G is being sarcastic/ G is antagonising R/ G is behaving unusually*

In senior-junior social dynamics, *aegyo* nasalisation to a junior by a male, can be a way of being 'friendly', by treating the receiver as adorable, because of their youth in comparison to the gesturer (iv). Whereas, if a senior female does so, it can either be an expression of 'friendliness', or a desperate attempt to flirt with the receiver (v). Much of how precisely this is interpreted is down to context, and how large the gap in age is.

iv. *AN, G>R, M-M/F, older generation*⊢ G is being friendly to R

v. *AN, G>R, F-M/F, older generation*⊢ G is being friendly to R/ G is shamelessly flirting with R

If a daughter-in-law uses *aegyo* nasalisation towards her father-in-law, typically it wouldn't be favourable, whether the purpose is to be 'persuasive' or 'seductive'. These are extreme examples but in films one encounters diverse and often extraordinary situations, in which expressions like this more frequently require interpretation in their extreme as well as generic uses.

vi. *AN, Daughter-in-law<father-in-law⊢ Daughter-in-law is trying to be persuasive/ is behaving seductively/ is making her father-in-law uncomfortable/ is degenerate/ has bad intentions/*

Segmentation

When socio-pragmatic primitives are used to infer meaning, it is expected that there will be an effect on segmentation. Although there has not been research that has explicitly investigated Korean socio-pragmatics as a determinant of event segmentation, Kiaer et al. (2022 in prep) recently conducted an event-related potential (ERP) study on the pragmatic processing of Korean honorifics and politeness, which found that when honorifics are misaligned (i.e., when modulation isn't coherent) the N400 effect occurs, signaling these pragmatic mismatches. N400 forms part of the common electrical brain activity observed in response to a variety of meaningful and potentially meaningful stimuli, defined by Scholarpedia as "a feature ("component") of the human scalp-recorded event-related brain potential (ERP)" (Kutas & Federmeier, 2009). If we go by the definition offered by Oxford Languages (2022) of what exactly 'stimuli' are – "a thing or event that evokes a specific functional reaction in an organ or tissue" – then this indicates the potential for Korean socio-pragmatics (i.e., honourifics) to be determinants of how Koreans segment 'meaningful events', and thus how K-films are constructed and intended to be interpreted.

This is not the first neuro study to propose the importance of socio-pragmatics in East Asian language processing either. A functional magnetic resonance imaging study also investigated the neural correlates of honorific agreement processing mediated by socio-pragmatic factors in the Japanese language. The study argues that "Socio-pragmatic factors, such as social roles and language experience, could be key variables influencing language processing", demonstrating that social cues, such as social status, "trigger

computation of honorific agreement" (Cui et al., 2022: 1). Among East Asian languages, Japanese is the most similar socio-pragmatically to Korean (Kiaer, 2017), and thus this study is still highly relevant here.

There have been fruitful though limited studies that extend event segmentation into the social domain beyond East Asian languages as well. Boggia & Ristic (2015) are one example, which "demonstrate that humans naturally organize dynamic information into units of social perception" (Boggia & Ristic, 2015: 740). In the study, participants segmented a clip featuring an everyday scenario, identifying the boundaries of social events. Participants were found to consistently identify the boundaries of social events, and that participants' eye movements were directed to actors' eyes and faces when reaching event boundaries. The study provided evidence that "dynamic information is automatically organised into meaningful social events on an ongoing basis, strongly suggesting that the natural comprehension of social content in daily life might fundamentally depend on this underlying grouping process" (Boggia & Ristic, 2015 :731). Among its findings were "clear patterns of unique social and nonsocial breakpoints and a high between-participant agreement in marking those units" (Boggia & Ristic, 2015: 740), and the potential that there is a "hierarchical organization of social events." Further, supporting these results, their findings do replicate those of other studies in the field of segmentation, such as Zacks et al. (2007), simultaneously while demonstrating how vital social units are to event segmentation. Additionally, Yamashiro and Vouloumanos (2019) argue that socio-pragmatic reasoning is vital in the processing of communicative interactions, "Adult humans process communicative interactions by recognizing that information is being communicated through speech (linguistic ability) and simultaneously evaluating how to respond appropriately (social-pragmatic ability)."

Cross-cultural perspectives on event segmentation are also a next step for this underdeveloped branch of event segmentation research. Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) have laid some of the groundwork for moving forward with this. The study examines the universals

and cross-linguistic variation in constraints on event segmentation, arguing that the correlation between syntactic or intonational units and semantic/conceptual event representations "is language-specific" (2007: 495). Bohnemeyer et al. explain that "Events play a pervasive role in natural language semantics". They go on to argue that "Information about an event is usually not mapped onto a single lexical item, but is distributed across phrases, clauses, and larger chunks of discourse. Even within one language the same perceived event can be framed in various different ways" (2007: 496). For example, the statements in Example 1 are all potential descriptions of the same perceived event, and there are many more imaginable renditions in English.

1) a. Mary broke a glass.
   b. The glass was broken by Mary.
   c. Mary knocked over the glass and it broke.
   d. Mary broke the glass by knocking it over.
   e. Mary knocked over the glass. It broke.
   f. The glass broke. Mary knocked it over.
   g. The glass broke because Mary knocked it over.
   h. Mary hit the glass. It fell and broke.

One can only imagine the variety of renditions cross-linguistically, and particularly among languages that have vast differences, such as English and Korean. As Bohnemeyer et al. (2007: 496) state, "Given this intralanguage variability, we may expect a high amount of crosslinguistic variation in event representations". The variety then becomes more diverse and complex if an event is described multimodally.

When socio-pragmatic primitives are introduced to SFDRS the available referents change, because Korean referents gain visibility, and are now interpretable in analysis. This results in different meaning potentials inferable when socio-pragmatic expressions are employed, and subsequently both the rendition of the event changes, as does the formation of segmentation itself in some cases. Following studies like Boggia and Ristic (2015), who found patterns in both social and non-social breakpoints, it is pertinent for this thesis to also consider socio-pragmatic as well as non-socio-pragmatic break points in the development of

SFDRS, in order for the comparative analysis presented in Chapter 5 to present SFDRS and K-SFDRS coherently contextualised in their respective languages and cultures.

Since one socio-pragmatic expression can have many meanings, and multiple socio-pragmatic expressions can also express the same meanings as each other, segmentation based on socio-pragmatic change has been determined in the analysis that follows based on 1) if a socio-pragmatic expression is employed by a different speaker/gesturer that the one who employed an expression in the segment before, or 2) if a sequence of socio-pragmatic expressions of a single speaker/gesture have different politeness classifications. The exception is when expressions of different classifications interact purposefully, such as in expressions of 'insincerity', in which expressions of different classifications are relied upon to multimodally convey this meaning. Whether this is the case is determinable by context, social dynamic, and any cohesive links that support an intention to express this. This is by no means a comprehensive theory, but a starting point for taking forward the insights from the research available, in order to address this stage of transferring K-films productively to SFDRSs.

Figure 3.1 presents an example of segmentation using temporal and spatial changes as determinants for segmentation, following Wildfeuer's Eurocentric model (2014) for filmic discourse interpretation. The example uses Extract 1 from *Gisaengchung* (2019), which is presented in a complete comparison of K-SFDRS and SFDRS in Chapter 5.1.

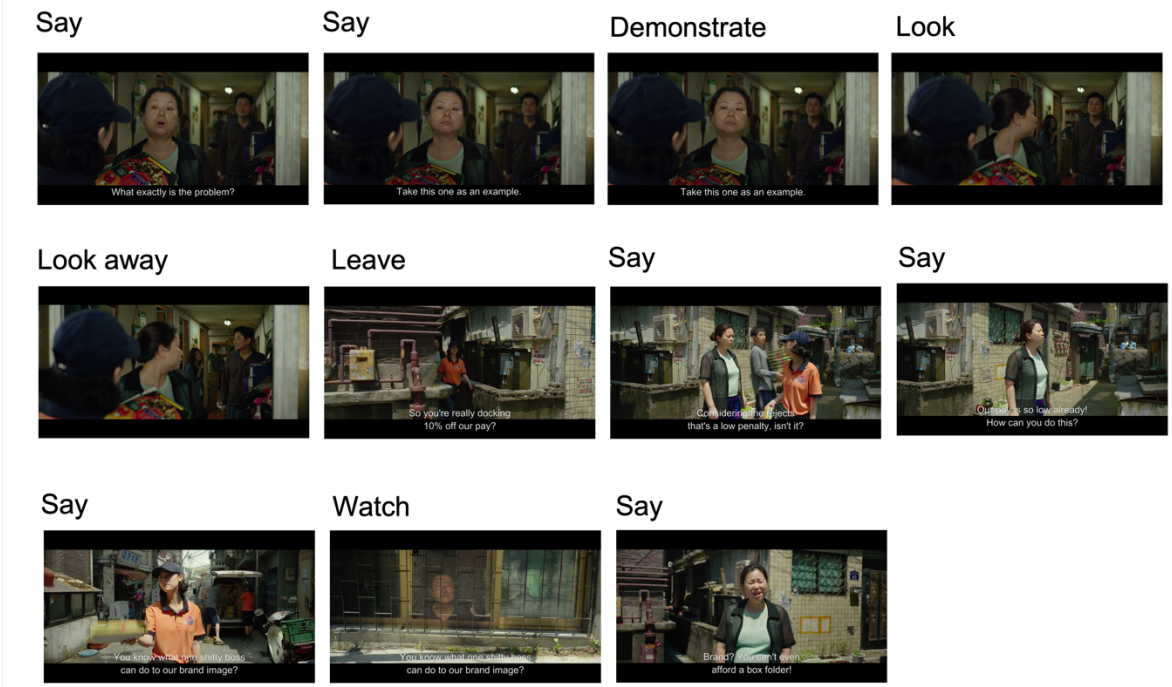


Figure 3.1. Segmentation of Extract 1 using the segmentation process originally used in SFDRS. Featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

This example can be considered like the Anglophone description of a perceived event presented in Example 1, however, a multimodal rendition of numerous 'events', constructing larger events, that construct a main event (see Wildfeuer, 2014: 49-50). As demonstrated in Example 1, this could be rendered in a variety of ways, therefore the description has been stripped down to its essentials, to ensure that the segmentation is as close to a common interpretation as possible. A written rendition of the segmentation of the scene would be as follows:

<u>Extract 1, Anglophone rendition</u>

Event: Mrs Kim is having a discussion with her employer

1. There's a problem

1.1. Mrs Kim says something to her employer

1.2. Mrs Kim's employer says something in response

1.3. Mrs Kim turns to look at Mr Kim

1.4. Mr Kim looks away

2. An argument ensues

2.1. The employer exits

2.2. The employer says something to Mrs Kim

2.3. Mrs Kim says something in response

2.4. The employer says something in response

2.5. Mr Kim watches what is happening

2.6. Mrs Kim says something in response

The description is significantly different to the way the perceived event is described if the segmentation accounts for Korean socio-pragmatic communication (Figure 3.2), however. Firstly, the packaging of information is vastly different, in that specificity is granted. This is abundantly clear in the Korean rendition of the scene:

Extract 1, Korean rendition

Event: The Kim's are destitute

1. The Kim's are in a desperate situation

1.1. Mrs. Kim proceeds cautiously

1.2. Mrs. Kim is humiliated by employer

1.3. Mrs. Kim blames Mr. Kim

1.4. Mr. Kim feels ashamed

2. Mrs. Kim argues with her employer

2.1. Mrs. Kim tries to persuade employer

2.2. Employer patronises Mrs. Kim

2.3. Mrs. Kim pleads with employer

2.4. Employer insults Mrs. Kim

2.5. Mr. Kim feels ashamed

2.6. Mrs. Kim is outraged

Secondly, if socio-pragmatic changes are treated as a feature change and also prioritised over other changes when they conflict with them, on the basis of their cross-cultural significance and necessity in every single Korean expression, the distribution of referents changes and subsequently segment quantity reduces by a single segment. Figure 3.2 explains the socio-pragmatic change according to which segmentation in each case could be made.



Figure 3.2. Segmentation of Extract 1, showing packaging of information is more specific, in addition to a different quantity of segments, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).



Figure 3.3. Segmentation of Extract 1, showing changes to socio-pragmatic information in each segment that resulted in the segmentation, in addition to other feature changes, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

The structure of segments appears similar, due to the representative stills that accompany the event description. However, the similar structure is due to the back-and-forth between Mrs Kim and her employer, which creates temporal changes upon each turn, while also resulting in socio-pragmatic changes simultaneously, due to the contrasting politeness levels used by the two women; with Mrs Kim trying to be polite while her employer does not do so. The reduction of a single segment when including socio-pragmatic changes as a determinant of segmentation, thus occurs because the politeness classification of the employer's verbal utterance (IS) in the first segment followed by her non-verbal gesture (IV) in segment two in the Anglophone segmentation, is the same (acceptable with a conflict). This means that there is no socio-pragmatic change between both expressions, and therefore

both can be treated as parts of a single overarching expression that is more important – the employer demeaning Mrs Kim and subsequently Mrs Kim's humiliation.

A similar example of the subtle differences in segmentation when socio-pragmatic change is included as a determinant for segmentation, can be observed in the segmentation of Extract 2 from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019), which is also presented in the comparative analysis of K-/SFDRS, in Chapter 5.2. Like the previous example, two segments that were determined by a temporal change in referents, reduced to a single segment when socio-pragmatic changes were included. This was again due to the same speaker/gesturer involved conducting a sequence of actions, of which the socio-pragmatic value was the same, and therefore both were referents of the same meaning potential. In this case, Ji-yeong's polite, submissive socio-pragmatic primitives occur throughout, even during her mother-in-law's turn in the interaction, in which she makes a verbal utterance. Ji-yeong's expressions are thus salient in reflecting the purpose of the interaction overall - to show Ji-yeong's effort to please her mother-in-law - while being under her instruction, rather than the two women simply taking turns in an interaction (Figure 3.4).

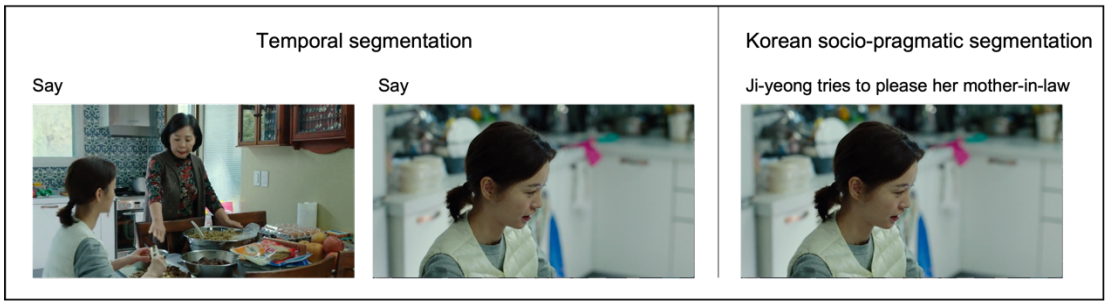


Figure 3.4. A graphic representation of the comparison between temporal and Korean socio-pragmatic segmentations of Extract 2, using representative stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The intention to be inferred in the manner that Korean socio-pragmatics would determine segmentation to be, is supported by the scene prior, when Ji-yeong speaks to her husband about how she can't miss the Chuseok event, as she must please her parents-in-law and maintain a good reputation. It is also supported by the scene that follows Extract 2, some of which is included in Extract 3, in which Ji-yeong's efforts in Extract 2 are contrasted

with significantly different behaviour, that allow a change within her to be interpreted. The cohesion between the inference when segmenting based on socio-pragmatic change, and the scenes directly prior and following, suggests the potential for this factor to influence segmentation. Especially, since the comprehension of this cohesive structure is vital to the correct interpretation of a large portion of the narrative, due to the core issue of the film being presented in them.

The logical form

The logical form of K-SFDRS follows Kim and Kiaer's (2021a) development of Wildfeuer's (2014) logical form, by implementing alpha-numerical sub-categorisation to link referents to characters, and the division of logical forms into "higher activities" that are represented in logical forms in the addition of an outer box that is labelling with a logical form's higher activity (e.g., H_{π_1}). Then, within this format, further developments have been made in the representation of the logical form in this thesis, to present the breakdown of referents and the formula of the defeasible eventuality that the socio-pragmatic primitives enable researchers to interpret.

In the K-SFDRS logical form the social dynamic from the speaker/gesturer's perspective will always be input. Referents will always include a description, where possible using abbreviations of the socio-pragmatic primitives used in this thesis and by Kiaer and Kim (2021a) as coding, of the verbal and non-verbal expressions that have a socio-pragmatic value. Dialogue when spoken by the speaker or hearer will always be included in the logical form in Korean and presented in *hangeul*. The socio-pragmatic elements of the dialogue will be extracted, sub-categorised below the dialogue, and using coding, and where necessary providing brief English translation. An example of this sub-categorisation is as follows – Ji-yeong is the speaker, and she is in an interaction with her mother-in-law, so Ji-yeong is labelled 'a'. The social dynamic with her mother-in-law (Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A)) is directly

beneath, labelled ‘a.1’. Ji-yeong’s verbal utterance is beneath that, labelled ‘a.2’. Then beneath the Korean dialogue, socio-pragmatic elements, that allow for socio-pragmatic inferences to be made, are presented. This may include, for instance, politeness markers, or an address term. For example, if a.2 is ‘안녕하세요’ *(anyeonghaseyo* ‘hello’*),* then directly beneath will sit the referents ‘PS (‘-요’) (a.2.1)’.

When constructing the formula of the defeasible eventuality in cases where socio-pragmatic expressions take precedence, the referents in the formula reflect this. For instance, continuing with the previous example, if Ji-yeong says 안녕하세요*,* and if the -요 is the referent of the defeasible eventuality, because this implication of her choice of PS within the given context shows her desire to please her mother-in-law, then the formula of the defeasible eventuality will read *a, a.1, a.2.1*⊢ *Ji-yeong wants to please her mother-in-law*, excluding a.2. This is not always the case, as sometimes the content of the dialogue itself plays a role and can be included, but the referents responsible for the inference should reflect the role of the socio-pragmatic factors clearly when they are responsible.

Due to the breakdown of verbal and non-verbal expressions, the logical forms generally contain significantly more referents than are observed in Wildfeuer’s original examples (2014). In the process of determining the formula of the defeasible eventuality for each logical form post-segmentation – identifying the salient referents and selecting an adequate representation of the meaning potential – the classification of previously identified socio-pragmatic primitives in their multimodal orchestration is reviewed. As mentioned earlier, alignment or misalignment, as well as shifts in politeness levels, in themselves can be meaningful, and so require consideration not only in the segmentation but in their presentation in the logical form.

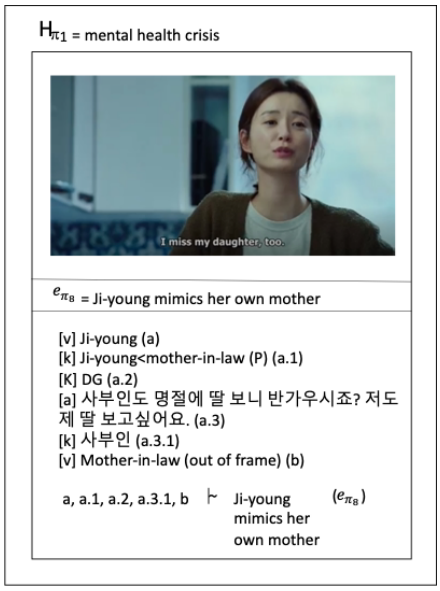


Figure 3.5. A logical form constructed using Korean socio-pragmatic primitives as a guide for interpreting K-film discourse.

This logical form in Figure 3.5 is taken from the K-SFDRS of Extract 2. This logical form reflects the development of SFDRT made in this thesis for analysis of K-films. In the logical form, Ji-yeong is labelled 'a'. The social dynamic with her mother-in-law who she is speaking to is labelled 'a.1'. Ji-yeong's direct eye gaze 'DG' is labelled 'a.2'. Then her Korean dialogue is labelled 'a.3', and an important socio-pragmatic referent in her dialogue is extracted from it, in order to highlight its significance in the defeasible eventuality (the address term '사부인' *('sabuin')),* which is labelled 'a.3.1' to show it is a component of the dialogue. The Korean referents are categorised with the [k] label to mark them as a Korean mode of communication, and as such inferable in their combination via the socio-pragmatic primitives, and in addition other socio-pragmatic or cultural information when relevant. In this case, there is an address term, that has not been included in the socio-pragmatic primitives yet *(sabuin),* but which is socio-pragmatic in how it expresses a specific set of relations and is vital in the inference of this segment. The referents in the formula of the defeasible eventuality, like in the previous hypothetical example, include the socio-pragmatic element labelled 'a.3.1' but not the dialogue that this socio-pragmatic expression was a component of ('a.3'), because it is this expression that is important in inferring the defeasible eventuality, rather than the entire dialogue. Based on the logical forms, the K-SFDRS can then be constructed, following the format of Kim and Kiaer (2021).

4. Socio-pragmatic primitives in Analysis

This chapter presents 169 representative examples of analysis of extracts from 39 K-films implementing the 27 socio pragmatic primitives outlined in Chapter 2.2 to interpret filmic discourse. The aim of this analysis is to first demonstrate how socio-pragmatic primitives work to interpret the meaning of non-verbal gestures, verbal expressions, and prosodic gestures in K-films using representative examples, and how this culturally contextualises and subsequently enriches interpretation, before then implementing them experimentally as an analytical tool within the SFDRS framework in the interpretation of more lengthy extracts from K-films in Chapter 5.

Verbal and non-verbal expressions will be organised in the same order as the socio-pragmatic primitives were presented in Chapter 2, with additional socio-pragmatic primitives proposed by this thesis inserted in the relevant section, except this time under each verbal or non-verbal expression will be sub-sections divided into common meaning potentials. In these sub-sections, the representative examples of how the socio-pragmatic primitives work to infer these meaning potentials will be presented. In each case, the social dynamic, narrative context, and any salient interacting multimodality (when relevant) will be broken down. In many cases, examples include explanation of not only how the meaning potential of the expression comes about, but also how that expression can play a role in the construction of a larger portion of the narrative, which will provide data that cohesively links with the findings presented in the analysis of larger extracts in Chapter 5. In some cases, examples have been provided of a multi-levelled inference process, beginning with inference of referents in the formula of the defeasible eventuality first, before then making further inferences based on the social dynamic that has been deduced and the expressions used and context that these factors are set within. This approach to explaining inferences was not provided by Kiaer and Kim (2021a), though it goes without saying that inference of the existing social dynamic happens before attitudes and emotions are inferred based on the use of an

expression within a particular social dynamic. The examples referred to above provide a glimpse into this, rather than ignore that the factors in these formulae are being inferred too, in the dynamic motion in which filmic discourse unfolds before they themselves become referents in the multimodal interactions from which more substantial information can be inferred. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the meaning potentials covered for each verbal and non-verbal expression.

Table 4.1. Verbal and non-verbal expressions covered in this analysis, and the meaning potential covered in each.

Verbal/non-verbal expression	**Meaning potential**						
Giving and receiving one-handed	Seniority	Intimacy	Entitlement	Unorthodoxy			
Giving and receiving two-handed	Juniority	Attractiveness and flirtation	Desirability and value				
Offering and receiving drinks one-handed	Seniority	Intimacy	Outrageous behaviour	Unorthodoxy	Aggression		
Offering and receiving drinks two-handed	Juniority	Emphasising good feelings					
Invasion of space with an object and/or vigorous movement of an object	Seniority	Abuse of power and irritation	Abuse of power and antagonism	Outraged and irritated			
Head scratching	Inconsideration	Social incompetency, low SES, and a difficult life	Irritation and anger Frustration				
Open-handed beckoning	Seniority	Intimacy					
Pointing	Seniority	Intimacy					
Lowering of the head and/or body	Juniority	Shame and humiliation	Making a good	Flirtation and romantic interest	Persuasion	Fear	Humility

			impression and juniority				
Heightening of the head and/or body	Seniority Entitlement High SES	Irritation and Anger		Intimacy			
Broad posture	Seniority	Agreeable Disagreeable Outrageous	Entitlement High SES				
Compact posture	Juniority						
Direct	Seniority	Attraction and flirtation	Aggression	Intimacy			
indirect eye gaze	Juniority						
Nodding	Juniority and agreeability	Agreeability and pretence	Shame, discomfort, and irritation				
15-degree bow	Distance and characterisation	Lack of value and self-importance	Shame, discomfort, and irritation				
30-degree bow	Juniority	Fear	Shame and humiliation				
45-degree bow	Juniority and formality	Humility and extreme gratitude					
Keunjeol	Ceremonial use	Sarcasm					
Hapsyoche (formal polite) speech style	Sincerity and guilt	Distance and rejection	Formality				
Haeyoche (informal polite) speech style	Making a good impression	Juniority, filial piety, and familial love	Sincerity and guilt	Persuasion and begging	Insincerity and duality		
Haeche (informal polite) speech style	Seniority	Intimacy	Intimacy and persuasion	Intimacy and unorthodoxy	Antagonisation and humiliation		
Rising intonation	Outrage						
Aegyo nasalisation	Flirtation and seduction	Mimicry and humour					

It is important to note, that to create discourse for any narrative, one cannot disregard expression of meanings that seem mundane– simply, either that 'all is well' or

'appropriate' or that 'something is amiss' or 'inappropriate' – as these are among the most fundamental of expressions in the construction of filmic discourse, and without which discourse would be rendered illogical. In Korean communication, much of this is determined by the social dynamic, and even the most fantastical discourse is constructed by these expressions, much of which will be presented in the examples that follow. A combination of discursive explanation and defeasible logic will be used throughout to link the meaning potentials to the formulae of defeasible eventualities in Chapter 2, while also providing the needed cultural and narrative contextualisation, supported by film stills that illustrate each case.

Table 4.2 provides a summary of the 39 films from which the data in this chapter was collected. Films were chosen from a variety of genres including horror, comedy, romantic comedy, thriller, crime, drama, dark comedy, period, action, war, mystery, revenge, and organised crime. To have a broad spectrum of films, two classic films (pre-K-Wave) were selected, a selection of modern classics, internationally acclaimed films, films that were hits within Korea, originals, sequels, and remakes, and one Korean-American film. Release dates range from 2001-2021, with the addition of the two pre-K-Wave films having been released in 1960 and 1973.

Table 4.2. The 39 K-films analysed in Chapter 4. Including romanised, *hangeul,* and English film titles, and date of release.

Film title	**Year of release**
Cha In-pyo 'What Happened to Mr. Cha?*'*	2021
Sanyangui Sigan (사냥의 시간) 'Time to Hunt'	2020
Minari (미나리) 'Water Celery'	2020
82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young Born: 1982'	2019
Gisaengchung (기생충) 'Parasite'	2019
Geukan Jigeop (극한직업) 'Extreme Job'	2019
Mayakwang (마약왕) 'The Drug King'	2018
Jigeum Mannareo Gamnida (지금 만나러 갑니다) 'Be With You'	2018
Taeksi Unjeonsa (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver'	2017
Agassi (아가씨) 'The Handmaiden'	2016
Sado (사도) 'The Throne'	2015
Tamjung: Deo Bigining (탐정: 더 비기닝) 'The Accidental Detective'	2015

Beterang (베테랑) 'Veteran'	2015
Gukjesijang (국제시장) 'Ode to My Father'	2014
Namja Sayongseolmyungseo (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips'	2013
Chingu 2 (친구 2) 'Chingu: The Great Legacy'	2013
Sinsegye (신세계) 'New World'	2013
Ajeossi (아저씨) 'The Man from Nowhere'	2010
Angmareul boatda (악마를 보았다) 'I Saw the Devil'	2010
Hanyeo (하녀) 'The Housemaid'	2010
Hayan Eodum Sokeul Geotda (백야행: 하얀 어둠 속을 걷다) 'White Night'	2009
Baram (바람) 'Wish'	2009
6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung (6 년째 연애중) 'Lovers of Six Years'	2008
Ai Kaen Seupikeu (아이 캔 스피크) 'I can Speak'	2007
Yeolhyeolnama (열혈남아) 'Cruel Winter Blues'	2006
Dalkomhan Insaeng (달콤한 인생) 'A Bittersweet Life'	2005
Gamunui wigi (가문의 위기) 'Married to the Mafia 2'	2005
Geunyeoreul midji maseyo (그녀를 믿지 마세요) 'Too Beautiful to Lie'	2004
Eorin sinbu (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride'	2004
Binjip (빈집) 'Empty House' or '3-Iron'	2004
Oldeuboi (올드보이) 'Old Boy'	2003
Silmido (실미도) 'Silmido'	2003
Gamuneui yeonggwang (가문의 영광) 'Marrying the Mafia'	2002
Chihwaseon (취화선) 'Painted Fire'	2002
Jopok Manura (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster'	2001
Chingu (친구) 'Friend'	2001
Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo (엽기적인 그녀) 'My Sassy Girl'	2001
Sampoganeun Gil (삼포가는 길) 'The Road to Sampo'	1973
Hanyeo (하녀) 'The Housemaid'	1960

Non-verbal gestures

This section will feature the meaning potentials of non-verbal expressions.

Haptic gestures

This sub-section will cover the meaning potentials of haptic gestures.

Patting and touching (PA)

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of patting and touching will be presented.

Seniority

The still in Figure 4.1 is extracted from *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* (엽기적인 그녀) 'My Sassy Girl' (2001). The film tells the story of college student Kyun-woo and the poorly behaved girl he falls in love with, simply referred to as "the girl". In the scene, a drunken girl vomits on an elderly man while riding a subway train, and a student (Kyun-woo) is mistaken for her boyfriend and forced to intervene in the situation even though he has never seen the girl before. He is blamed for the girl's drunken state, forced to clean the vomit, and then to take care of the girl. Nearing the end of Kyun-woo's interaction with the elderly man, the man pats him forcefully. Within the cultural context of Korean elders' benevolence and caretaking of the young, the gesture is both an expression of his seniority and of elders' care for the young. Within the context of the accusation that Kyun-woo has misbehaved, the meaning potential can be specified further as a form of encouragement to 'do the right thing' and a way of excusing Kyun-woo from helping him further *(PA, Elderly stranger>Kyun-woo (A)ㄴ Elderly stranger is senior/ is being caring towards Kyun-woo/ is encouraging Kyun-woo to be good).* If the meaning were placed into words, it would be something like, 'now run along and behave, you scamp', which communicates both the encouragement to be good, the speaker's seniority in the use of 'scamp', and ultimately has an understanding and caring feel to it that is unique to instances of the old caring for the less-experienced young.



Figure 4.1. Elderly man pats Kyun-woo, in *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* (엽기적인 그녀) 'My Sassy Girl' (2001).

Another example of patting used to express seniority and as an encouragement to behave well in the given situation, is in *Beterang* (베테랑) 'Veteran' (2015). In the scene shown in Figure 4.2, two colleagues who have a close relationship have a friendly dispute. Patting is used by the senior (Team Leader Oh) to comfort and encourage the junior (Detective Seo) to 'be good' – to give up his investigation of a chaebol's son who will ruin Detective's Seo's career if he keeps investigating him. Though generally this occurs by the positionally senior gesturer to junior, this is also an expression of the two men's close relationship *(PA, Team Leader Oh>Detective Seo (P)* ⊦ *Team Leader is senior to Detective Seo/ is being caring towards Detective Seo / is encouraging Detective Seo to be good/ is encouraging Detective Seo to not cause any more trouble)*. It is worth noting that if we consider the multimodal interaction between Team Leader Oh's use of patting and Detective Seo's use of the address term *"hyeongnim"*, meaning 'big brother', rather than calling Team Leader Oh by a professional address term, intimacy can also be inferred. In this respect, patting can be interpreted as one friend comforting another as well. However, because of the vertical nature

of even intimate relationships in Korean society, and the professional context of the situation, the senior-junior relationship seems to be the most relevant for interpreting patting in this case.



Figure 4.2. A senior pats his junior colleague's shoulder, they are also friends, in *Beterang* (베테랑) 'Veteran' (2015).

In a scene in *Yeolhyeolnama* (열혈남아) 'Cruel Winter Blues' (2006), shown in Figure 4.3, patting is employed again by an elderly woman to express a similar meaning to a middle-aged man (Jae-mun), though in a less serious context than the previous two examples. As she pats Jae-mun, he playfully pretends to protect himself with his fists raised. Patting in this case is an expression of the woman's seniority, and alike the previous example is an encouragement to be good ('be a good boy!') *(PA, Elderly woman>Jae-mun (A)ㄴ Elderly woman is senior/ is encouraging Jae-mun to be good).* It is worth also mentioning Jae-mun's playful reaction to the gesture, and the elderly woman's acceptance of his reaction while continuing to pat him, all the while smiling and laughing. Like in the previous example, the interaction between patting and other expressions indicate intimacy between the two individuals too. As explained in the socio-pragmatic primitives, intimacy creates a conflict in junior-senior hierarchies, which means that here Jae-mun can react to the patting playfully (pretending to defend the pats) rather than behaving deferentially, thus results in the inference of

intimacy *(PA, Elderly woman>Jae-mun (A)ㄴ Elderly woman has a close relationship with Jae-mun)*.



Figure 4.3. Elderly woman pats Jae-mun, in *Yeolhyeolnama* (열혈남아) 'Cruel Winter Blues' (2006)

Even though being junior means that you may be touched or patted by a senior, it doesn't mean this is always comfortable. The previous example from My Sassy Girl was slightly different, as it was a case of mistaken identity in which the receiver of the gesture was being wrongly accused of doing something embarrassing, and the patting was a welcome reprieve from reprisal. However, being touched by a stranger can be unwelcome, regardless of seniority, and in these cases both the seniority of the gesturer is expressed while also implicating the discomfort of the receiver who often must endure the experience to respect that seniority.

The still in Figure 4.4 shows one such example from a scene from *Cha In-pyo* 'What Happened to Mr. Cha?*'* (2021), in which has-been celebrity Cha In-pyo is harassed by *ajummas* – who are often stereotyped for invasive behaviour – when they recognise him while he is taking his dog for a walk. They repeatedly pat him as an expression of their interest, showing their seniority in doing so *(PA, Ajummas>In-pyo (A)ㄴ Elderly women are senior/ are interested in In-pyo).* This presents an uncomfortable situation for In-pyo, which is particularly

important for constructing the greater discourse of the film, in which In-pyo repeatedly finds himself in uncomfortable situations, each time forcing himself to endure discomfort for the sake of saving his own face *(Endures PA, In-pyo<Elderly women (A)ㄴ In-pyo behaves politely/ is uncomfortable but enduring)*. In the narrative, these events serve as a way of showing the difficult time he is having, which is presented as a kind of 'bad luck' in a 'can things get any worse?' scenario. His method of dealing with these situations then serves to characterise him, which provides reasoning for the main narrative event as it unfolds, in which he becomes trapped under the rubble of a collapsed school building which he had sneaked into to wash dog poo off. The problem is, he is naked since he had decided to take a shower while the building was empty. The film then follows his time under the rubble, as he chooses to remain in danger for a while before asking for help in fear of humiliation.



Figure 4.4. *Ajummas* invade In-pyo's space with an object, in *Cha In-pyo* 'What Happened to Mr. Cha?' (2021).

Intimacy

Patting and touching can also simply be an expression of intimacy. Figure 4.5 shows one example of touch expressing intimacy in a scene from the Korean modern classic *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001). The film tells the story of four friends: Joon-seok, the leader of the group whose father is a powerful mob boss; Dong-su, the son of an undertaker; joker Jung-ho; and exemplary student Sang-taek. In the scene, Dong-su and Joon-seok clasp hands for a

moment before parting, following the funeral of one of Joon-seok's father. Earlier in the film the two young men had fallen out over disputes over power in their high school gang, when Joon-seok refused to share power with Dong-su. However, now, as they take different directions in their lives, no longer belonging to the same gang and therefore without hierarchy, clasping each other's hands before parting implies that there are no hard feelings and their bond remains *(PA, Dong-su=Joon-seok (A), Intimacy* ⊦ *Dong-su and Joon-seok are still friends despite everything/ still have a bond).* These meanings are cohesive with flashbacks and Joon-seok's attempts to protect Dong-soo throughout the film, creating emotional tension in the narrative as old grudges rear their head for Dong-su who becomes irritated every time he feels Joon-seok is trying to treat him as a subordinate in their later interactions.



Figure 4.5. Friends Joon-seok and Dong-soo clasp hands for a moment before parting ways, in *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001).

Similarly, patting and touch can be used to express the 'cultivation of intimacy'. *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017) provides an example of this, in which touch is utilised as the primary marker of the bond that develops between protagonists. The film tells the story of taxi driver Sa-bok, who drives German journalist Jürgen to Gwangju,

which unbeknownst to Sa-bok is a warzone where the Korean government is covering up the unrest and brutalising the people. The two men embark on a life changing experience there together, that despite linguistic and cultural boundaries eventually unites them in a desire to help the citizens of Gwangju.

In one scene, after becoming stranded overnight in Gwangju shortly after arriving, Sa-bok and Jürgen stay at the home of a Gwangju taxi driver and his family. They share a meal together, during which the taxi drivers tease Jürgen for having a hole in his sock. Sa-bok pats Jürgen on his thigh warmly (Figure 4.6). This can be interpreted using numerous social dynamics: If we consider the social dynamic of taxi driver<customer, then Sa-bok's behaviour could be considered 'sarcastic', which given the context of teasing Jürgen for being less fancy than he initially appeared isn't untrue *(PA ∧ Sa-bok<Jürgen (P)⊢ Sa-bok is being sarcastic/ Sa-bok is gently antagonising Jürgen)*. Since Jürgen is not Korean, it is easier for Sa-bok to do so without consequences. It is potentially even soothing for Sa-bok to be able to behave in this manner, since at this point in the film he is irritated with Jürgen for not informing him of his intentions in Gwangju and the dangers there. There is also the potential that within the context of a friendly meal and karaoke with the family, despite Sa-bok's irritation at the situation, that Sa-bok is already warming to Jürgen, and that he finds the hole in Jürgen's sock endearing because finding this imperfection makes him more relatable *(PA, Sa-bok=Jürgen (A)⊢ Sa-bok is warming to Jürgen)*. Their age is not specified and is visibly unclear, so it is difficult to gage whether the patting is an expression of care from senior to junior. However, there is also the potential, that Sa-bok's patting, upon finding Jürgen has a hole in his sock, is expressing care amidst their teasing of him *(PA, Sa-bok>Jürgen (A)⊢ Sa-bok is reassuring Jürgen/ Sa-bok is taking care of Jürgen).* Whichever social dynamic is most relevant for Sa-bok's socio-pragmatic expressions in this scene, this is the first time the two men use touch or patting towards one another, and it is a turning point in their relationship where they go from taxi driver and customer to two people sharing an experience.



Figure 4.6. Sa-bok pats Jürgen on the thigh, in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017).

In a later scene, as their time in Gwangju reaches its end, Jürgen notices that Sa-bok is in emotional turmoil over not being able to help the citizens of Gwangju further and places his hand on Sa-bok's hand (Figure 4.7). In the context of Sa-bok's emotional state it is an expression of comfort *(PA, Jürgen=Sa-bok (A)⊦ Jürgen comforts Sa-bok)*, but when compared to the absence of skinship expressed by Jürgen toward Sa-bok until this point, it is an act enabled by the bond that has developed between them *(PA, Jürgen=Sa-bok (A), Intimacy⊦ Jürgen cares about Sa-bok).*



Figure 4.7. Jürgen places his hand on Sa-bok's arm, in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017).

In the final scene, Sa-bok says goodbye to Jürgen at the airport. Before Jürgen turns to get on his flight, Sa-bok encourages him to learn Korean and then return to Korea and pats him on the shoulder. In this case, rather than developing intimacy, patting serves to express the intimacy that has already developed between them from Sa-bok's perspective *(PA, Sa-bok=Jürgen (A)⊦ Sa-bok is fond of Jürgen).* Then, Jürgen responds by expressing the intimacy that has already developed between them from his (Western) perspective, by hugging Sa-bok. Hugging is not typically used by Koreans in this sort of social dynamic, and if Jürgen had been a Korean, and the social dynamic the same, the potentially inferences would be along the lines of: *PA, Korean Jürgen=Sa-bok (A)⊦ Korean Jürgen is strange/ socially incompetent/ making Sa-bok uncomfortable.* However, with Jürgen being a Westerner, the intention of the gesture is simply the return of an equivalent expression.

Persuasion, pressure, and insincerity

Touch or patting as an expression of 'intimacy' or a 'bond' between people can also be used in a manipulative way given the appropriate context, such as when one person wants another person to do something and so uses the reminder or promise of their intimacy as a means of persuasion. When this occurs, layers of meaning are inferable, often including 'persuasion', 'pressure', and 'insincerity'. Another scene in *Beterang* (2015) serves as a representative example to demonstrate this. In the scene, a powerful *chaebol* CEO pats the back of the long-serving personal assistant who has served his son since childhood He does so right before asking this employee, to take the blame for a murder committed by the CEO's son in exchange for a handsome reward. After asking him to do so, again he uses touch, this time clasping the employee's hand (Figures 4.8 and 4.9). These expressions are to 'persuade' the employee and 'pressure' him with 'false intimacy' *(PA, CEO>Employee (P) ⊦ CEO is persuading Employee/ is pressuring Employee)*. It is a deduction that is supported by the fact that until this point in the film the CEO never expresses positive feelings towards this employee. In fact, he

beats and blames him for his son's bad behaviour, despite him being a devoted employee throughout the duration of his life. With this 'modulation', social dynamic, and context, this indicates that the expressions are insincere and therefore purposeful and deceptive *(PA, CEO>Employee (P) ⊢ CEO is insincere)*. There are other expressions used alongside these, which are also warm and intimate that likewise express similar insincerity, as they contribute to the stark contrast in how the *chaebol* family usually treat the employee. For instance, providing lunch for the employee, and the men present taking turns to place food into his bowl; an act reserved for close intimates.

This then culminates to construct the discourse of 'a difficult situation' *(PA, CEO>Employee (P) ⊢ Employee is in a difficult situation)*, which then cohesively links with the scenes that follow in which he turns himself in at the police station. These gestures, within this context, also serve to characterises the CEO and his son as intended - abusers of power with disdain for others.



Figure 4.8. CEO pats his employee and pats/touches employee's back when greeting him, in *Beterang* (베테랑) 'Veteran' (2015).



Figure 4.9. Skinship used to express insincerity and persuasiveness, in *Beterang* (베테랑) 'Veteran' (2015).

Aggression and confrontation

Patting or touch can also express aggression or confrontation when the gesture is performed in a junior-senior social dynamic. Due to both conflicting hierarchies and junior-senior social dynamics with intimacy also involving gesturers having a form of juniority, given the appropriate context, meanings like these can be inferred in these social dynamics as well. The still in Figure 4.10 shows an example of touch when used as an expression of aggression, extracted from *Chingu* (2001). This scene depicts the turning point in Joon-seok and Dong-su's relationship, when Joon-seok encourages a girl that Dong-su likes to date their other friend Sang-taek. Feeling that Joon-seok has forsaken his feelings, Dong-su confronts him. However, Joon-seok's ego as the gang's leader, prevents him from acting at Dong-su's friend when confronted and instead behaves as if he is being insulted by his junior. When Joon-seok attempts to walk out, dismissing Dong-su's aggrievances, Dong-su places his hand on his shoulder.



Figure 4.10. Joon-seok reacts to Dong-su placing his hand on his shoulder by saying *"jukgo sipna?"* 'you wanna die?' (in Busan dialect), in *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001).

The gesture does not appear violent in the manner it is performed. However, the gesture is used in a social dynamic in which the receiver is senior, and they see themselves as so, then regardless of intimacy the expression becomes one of 'confrontation' and even 'aggression' *(PA, Dong-su<Joon-seok (P), Intimacy ⊦ Dong-su is inconsiderate of Joon-seok/ is confronting Joon-seok/ is being aggressive).* As it was laid out in the general defeasible logic of this gesture in Chapter 2, like in conflicting hierarchies, social dynamics of junior-senior with intimacy firstly result in 'inconsideration' because the gesturer holds junior status. Then, the gesturer's willingness to behave with inconsideration leads to inferences of more specific meanings, which are made based on the narrative context. In this case, Dong-su's irritation contextualises his behaviour. It is for this reason that Joon-seok's reaction is aggressive also, when he turns, looks at Dong-su's hand on his shoulder and then looks at Dong-su in the eyes, before saying *"jukgo sipna?"* (죽고 싶나?) meaning 'wanna die?' (Busan dialect). This inference of Dong-su's expression is supported by his other gestures, which have alignment in their politeness classification and similar connotations in this social

dynamic, for example direct eye gaze *(e.g., DG, Dong-su<Joon-seok (P), Intimacy ⊦ Dong-su is inconsiderate of Joon-seok/ is confronting Joon-seok/ is being aggressive).*

A similar example can be observed in a scene from *Sanyangui Sigan* (사냥의 시간) 'Time to Hunt' (2020). The film tells the story of a dystopian Korea, in which protagonist (also named) Joon-seok is released from prison after a botched heist led to his incarceration. In one scene, he is at a casino with his friends, where he runs into a waiter who stole money from him. When the waiter serves his drink, Joon-seok places his hand on the man's arm (Figure 4.11). Like the previous example given, this is not grabbing but placing a hand on the other person. In this case, Joon-seok is senior in respect of his status as a customer rather than employee at the casino, however the two are clearly a similar age and know each other altering the social dynamic to something more like a conflicting hierarchy but with less 'inconsideration' and more 'confrontation' *(PA, Joon-seok>waiter (P), Intimacy ⊦ Joon-seok is confronting the waiter/ is being aggressive).*



Figure 4.11. Joon-seok places his hand on the waiter's arm, in *Sanyangui Sigan* (사냥의 시간) 'Time to Hunt' (2020).

Hand gestures

This sub-section will cover the meaning potentials of hand gestures.

Clasping one's hands in one's lap (CH)

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of clasping one's hands in one's lap will be presented.

Juniority & Subordinance

An example of the hands clasped in the lap as an expression of subordinacy can be seen in the still in Figure 4.12, extracted from a scene in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019). In the scene, Mrs Kim has just served dinner to her employer Mrs Park, who is clearly younger than Mrs Kim. After serving Mrs Park's meal, she stands with her hands clasped in her lap (*CH, Mrs Kim>Mrs Park (A), Mrs Kim<Mrs Park (P)*⊢ *Mrs Kim is employed by Mrs Park/ Mrs Kim is acting appropriately*). This gesture can also express meanings such as desire, desperation, or fear, when employed by a senior, even in a conflicting hierarchy, however no context is given for that here, and instead it is used as an expression of 'knowing one's place' as an employee. However, there is a twist, which both supports the use of this gesture to express juniority and subordinance and demonstrates how this meaning can itself be used in the creation of further layers of meaning, which like many of the examples in this chapter demonstrate the importance of utilising the socio-pragmatic primitives in Chapter 2 in the analysis of K-films. In *Parasite,* the Kim family abuse their positions of trust within the household, demonstrating that they do not actually 'know their place' at all. This provides the context for expressions of subordinance, like the clasping of the hands in one's lap, being insincere. In fact, immediately before this interaction, the Kim family had been treating the Park's home as if it were their own, while the clueless Park family were out. Then when they announced that they were arriving home early, the Kim family began pretending once again to be on their best behaviour. Taking this context into account, the additional layers of meaning potential can be inferred by Mrs Kim's gesture, reaching beyond her expression of subordinacy, and developing from simply 'knowing her place' to 'pretending to know her place' and

'being deceptive' *(CH, Mrs Kim>Mrs Park (A), Mrs Kim<Mrs Park (P)ㄴ Mrs Kim pretends to know her place/ Mrs Kim is being deceptive).*



Figure 4.12. Mrs. Kim clasps her hands because, even though she is older, she is an employee and must show respect to Mrs. Park, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

A similar example of juniority and 'pretending to know one's place' is shown in Figure 4.13, from a scene in Korean cinema's golden era classic, Kim Ki-young's original *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (1960). This time, the social dynamic involves a student employing the gesture when in the presence of her teacher (Mr Kim) and his wife in their home. The teacher, Mr Kim, and his wife, Mrs Kim, both keep their arms by their sides showing their seniority to the student while the equality between them, while the student keeps her hands clasped in her lap. On the one hand the gesture is expected within this social dynamic, and so the expression simply indicates their relational dynamics *(CH, Student<Teacher/Teacher's wife (A/P)ㄴ Student is a junior),* and in her doing so also subsequently that she 'knows her place' *(CH, Student<Teacher/Teacher's wife (A/P)ㄴ Student knows her place)*. On the other hand, within the context of the narrative, this gesture is insincere. The student is secretly in love with the teacher and wishes to have an affair with him. Therefore, like Mrs Kim in *Gisaengchung*

(2019), she is actually 'pretending to know her place' *(CH, Student<Teacher/Teacher's wife (A/P)⊦ Student is feigning deference/ is insincere/ is devious).*

It is perhaps worth noting here, that this example, like many of those presented in this thesis, demonstrate the importance of taking into consideration five key elements in interpreting meaning in K-films: 1) the salient expression under analysis, 2) any corresponding multimodality (other expressions that align/misalign), 3) the social dynamic expressions are used within, 4) the Korean cultural context (which may expand beyond Confucian politeness and hierarchy, into historical contexts, and intertexts), and finally (5) the narrative context (of the main narrative and the situational context of a particular narrative event). Reading through each example in this section, it is recognisable how each as each factor is added to the equation, further specificity can be gained, and layers of meaning engaged with, which then impacts on continued engagement as increasing cohesive links are able to be made.



Figure 4.13. A student (centre) visits her teacher's home. She speaks to her teacher (left) and his wife (right). She keeps her hands clasped in her lap, expressing her juniority in the social dynamic, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (1960).

Im Sang-soo's remake of Kim Ki-young's original, *Hanyeo* 'The Housemaid' (1960), provides another example. This time the example is of employees keeping their hands clasped together as an expression of subordinance to their employers, while their employers (who have much higher social status) never do. The film tells the story of Eun-yi, who goes to work as a housemaid for an upper-class family, and shortly after begins a sexual affair with the husband, becoming pregnant. Figures 4.14 and 4.15 show scenes in which Eun-yi, the housemaid, does so when she is with her employers, the Goh family. In Figure 4.14, she does so when meeting Mrs Goh for the first time *(CH, Eun-yi<Employer (P)* ⌙ *Eun-yi is in the presence of her employer/ Eun-yi knows her place)*, and in Figure 4.15 when greeting Mrs Goh's daughter for the first time *(CH, Eun-yi<Nami (P), Eun-yi>Nami (A)* ⌙ *Eun-yi is employed by Nami's mother/ Eun-yi knows her place)*. Even when greeting Nami, who is but a child, she still uses this gesture. In both scenes, Eun-yi has not yet been involved in any misconduct nor has she plans for any, so the expression is not duplicitous.



Figure 4.14. Eun-yi keeps her hands clasped in her lap when meeting her employer Mrs Goh, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (2010).



Figure 4.15. Eun-yi keeps her hands clasped in her lap when greeting her employer's daughter Nami, despite Nami being only a child, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (2010).

Another example of the clasping of the hands used as an expression of subordinacy is shown in Figure 4.16, extracted from a scene in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001). Eun-jin (right) is senior, and the men behind her are her subordinates. Two of the three subordinates standing up behind her keep their hands clasped in their lap *(CH, Men<Eun-jin (P)ㄴ Men are subordinate to Eun-jin/ Men know their place*). One man among the three standing subordinates, however, is not following this (correct) protocol. The context given is not that he is a senior, has an especially intimate relationship with Eun-jin, or is self-important, which are all common reasons for him not doing so. Instead, the context given for this character's behaviour is that he is a new recruit from a remote area in the Korean countryside. Within this context not clasping his hands is thus an expression of his social incompetency and lack of refinement *(¬CH, New recruit<Eun-jin (P)ㄴ New recruit is socially incompetent/ is not refined)*. This characterisation – using the lack of expressions that show one 'knows one's place' to show that one doesn't – demonstrates how these expressions can be played with to create opposite meanings, which in this case is used to create humour in a comedy.



Figure 4.16. Clasped hands show that Eun-jin (right) is senior and that the men standing behind her are her subordinates. It also shows who is socially competent and who is not, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

Gangster subordinates keeping their hands clasped in their laps when in the presence of their bosses as expressions of subordinacy can be seen throughout the film. Figure 4.17 shows another example, this time in which the boss (White Shark) of Eun-jin's rival gang is speaking to his subordinates. White Shark's men stand before him with their hands clasped in their laps in uniformity *(CH, Men<White Shark (P)⊢ Men are subordinate to White Shark/ Men know their place)*.



Figure 4.17. Members of a gangster organisation clasp their hands as they stand before their boss (White Shark), in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

When Eun-jin is in a social dynamic in which she is the subordinate, she also clasps her hands in her lap, providing further evidence for the clasping of the hands expressing subordinacy. The still in Figure 4.18 is extracted from a scene in which Eun-jin meets with her boss *(CH, Eun-jin<Boss (P)ㄴ Eun-jin is the subordinate)*. In the scene, Eun-jin's boss has just found out that she has gotten married during his absence, something frowned upon in an organisation where being a woman is already difficult. Eun-jin's head and eye gaze lowered, and compact posture, just as her juniors express themselves towards her, also support this as a genuine expression of subordinacy. It also worth noting something further here. As it was explained in Chapter 2, when a junior expresses deference, it serves as a reflection of that juniority and an expression that they know their place, while if a senior does so it is usually stimulated by severe shame or fear. However, when it comes to shame or fear, this expression is not reserved for seniors only, for juniors similarly would behave deferentially when feeling shame or fear. In this scene, the context of the conversation between Eun-jin and her boss is one of her being scalded, and one in which her marriage is a shameful thing. Her silence while performing the expressions of deference indicates that there is more than just an expression of her subordinance and submission, pointing towards feelings

of shame and apology to her boss for doing something 'wrong' *(CH, IG, HL, CP, Eun-jin<Boss (P)⊦ Eun-jin is ashamed/ Eun-jin is sorry)*.



Figure 4.18. Eun-jin clasps her hands in her lap when she meets with her boss, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

Returning to *Hanyeo* (2010), the still in Figure 4.19 depicts a scene in which the housemaid returns to the home of her employer following a stay at the hospital, accompanied by her close friend. When her employer's mother comes to Eun-yi's bedroom to give her some medicine, Eun-yi's friend keeps her hands clasped in her lap. Eun-yi's friend is not a subordinate in this situation, for she is not an employee, but she is an associate of their maid and of notably lower SES and therefore of lower status *(CH, Eun-yi's friend<Eun-yi's employer's mother (P)⊦ Eun-yi's friend is of lower status).* This inference is supported by her other expressions, which have similar politeness classifications (*IG, CP, HL, Eun-yi's friend<Eun-yi's employer's mother (P)⊦ Eun-yi's friend is of lower status*, and in their alignment connote sincerity. Eun-yi's friend is also consistent in expressing deference to other members of the household who she interacts with, including the housekeeper Miss Cho who is senior to Eun-yi and therefore requires respect from Eun-yi's associates.



Figure 4.19. Eun-yi's friend expresses her lower status by clasping her hands in her lap, along with lowering her head and eye gaze, keeping her posture compact, and leaning forward slightly, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (2010).

As demonstrated in the earlier example from *Jopok Manura* (2001), the reasoning given in the narrative for a character not clasping their hands in their lap when they should do, further substantiates the use of this gesture to express juniority and subordinance, as does it demonstrate its creative potential in discourse when contextualised by narratives. In *Hanyeo* (2010), in the scene shown in Figure 16, there is likewise a case of 'not knowing one's place'. Eun-yi's behaviour has become increasingly unprofessional after beginning an affair with Mr Goh. Changes to her gestures reflect this and can be seen by comparing those shown in Figures 11 and 12, in scenes from before the affair begins, to those in Figure 16 which takes place after the affair begins. Eun-yi is a subordinate to Mrs Goh's mother, and yet she does not clasp her hands in her lap *(¬CH, Eun-yi<Employer's mother (P)*ㄴ *Eun-yi doesn't know her place).* Eun-yi's lack of realism in the situation is shown when she has conversations with her friend, who tries to encourage her to quit her job and end the affair. Similarly, Miss Cho has encouraged her to leave the job, and she has insisted she likes the job and wants to stay. This supports the inference that Eun-yi 'doesn't know her place', and gives way for further meaning potential that she is deluded in some respects; for the situation cannot have a happy ending and yet she proceeds with it, behaving increasingly

inappropriately in every respect *(¬CH, Eun-yi<Employer's mother (P)⊦ Eun-yi is deluded)*. This is also supported, by her decline in mental health that shortly follows.

Another example of juniority expressed by clasping the hands in the lap can be seen in *Gukjesijang* (국제시장) 'Ode to My Father' (2014). This time the gesture is employed within a family dynamic, by a daughter-in-law who is sitting in on a conversation between her husband, mother-in-law, and sister-in-law. The daughter-in-law is the only person who clasps her hands in her lap (Figure 4.20). Even her sister-in-law who is noticeably younger than her does not do so. This is because in a social dynamic with in-laws the daughter-in-law's position is lowest, and especially in this scene in this film which is set during the Vietnam war (1955-1975) when Confucian ideology within families was more rigidly enforced than it is today *(CH, daughter-in-law<In-laws (P)⊦ daughter-in-law is junior)*. The clasping of the hands thus serves to express her juniority, and in doing so the daughter-in-law also expresses that she knows her place *(CH, daughter-in-law<In-laws (P)⊦ daughter-in-law knows her place)*. If she were to sit as her mother-in-law and sister-in-law are, it would characterise her as either having an unorthodox relationship with her in-laws, or that she has some power over them, or is extremely rude (depending upon their reaction of course); none of which would be appropriate for the narrative of the film, in which her character is powerless and must watch as her husband fulfils his duties of care to his family as the eldest son. Furthermore, if we take into account the context of the conversation that the in-laws are having, then more specific meanings can be inferred, giving way to the construction of complex layers of discourse that are important to the greater narrative. In the conversation, her husband suddenly asks his mother's permission to go to the warzone in Vietnam to earn money for his sister's wedding, having not mentioned this to her before. As the daughter-in-law keeps her composure, with her hands remaining clasped in her lap, her 'helplessness' can also be inferred *(CH, daughter-in-law<In-laws (P)⊦ daughter-in-law is helpless*).



Figure 4.20. A daughter-in-law sits with her hands in her lap in the presence of her in-laws, in *Gukjesi-jang* (국제시장) 'Ode to My Father' (2014).

Returning to the scene presented earlier from *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* (2001) in Figure 1, Kyun-woo also clasps his hands in his lap when standing before the elderly man who is scalding him (Figure 4.21). He does so to express deference as a junior in age, showing that he knows his place. Within the context of this situation, and in the diligent manner that he expresses deference to the elderly man, the gesture is also apologetic, even though Kyun-woo is not actually guilty of what he has been accused of *(CH, Kyun-woo<Elderly man (A)⊦ Kyun-woo is junior/ Kyun-woo submits to the elderly man's discipline/ Kyun-woo apologises)*. If Kyun-woo were not to do so, he would be characterised differently in the narrative, since his character is 'soft' and 'tolerant' in order for it to appear reasonable when he is able to endure the outrageous behaviour of "the girl" and for their love able to blossom in spite of it. Therefore, it would not make sense for Kyun-woo to refuse or dismiss the senior who has mistaken him for the boyfriend of "the girl" on the train *(¬CH, Kyun-woo<Elderly man (A)⊦ Kyun-woo is protesting his innocence/ unapologetic/ irritated)*, while him going along with the accusation, apologising rather than protesting, does.



Figure 4.21. Kyun-woo clasps his hands in his lap deferentially towards the elderly man, in *Yeopgi-jeogin Geunyeo* (엽기적인 그녀) 'My Sassy Girl' (2001).

Desirability & value

In the same way that a junior's expression of their juniority subsequently expresses the value that they feel towards the senior to, by using deferential expressions a senior can elevating the status of a junior through which they also express value and desirability of the junior *(CH, G>R (A/P)/G<R(A/P) ⊦ R is valuable to G)*. The difference is that when a senior uses this expression it does not express their juniority – it is not a respect-based value but rather desire-based. An ideal example in which this is inferable from the clasping of the hands, in a clean-cut senior-junior dynamic, is in a scene from *Gisaengchung* (2019) when Mrs Park hires Ki-woo as her daughter's tutor. At the beginning of the interview, Mrs Park uses the socio-pragmatic expressions of a senior entirely. However, once Mrs Park decides that he is up to her standards, and hires him, she modulates her expressions entirely, reflecting his increased value now that he is a tutor in her household (Figure 4.22). This is not a strange attitude among Korean upper-class parents, whose children's academic success is generally considered a measure of their own success, and particularly among mums. Clasping her hands in her lap

is just one of the ways that she expresses Ki-woo's newfound value *(CM, Mrs Park>Tutor Ki-woo (A/P)ㄴ Tutor Ki-woo is valuable to Mrs Park).* This inference is also supported by the multimodal modulation of her other expressions; the lowering of her head, compact posture, and occasional averting of eye contact, which all have a similar purpose and effect. It is also supported by the context, which provides no potential for the expression to mean 'shame', 'fear', or 'social incompetency', which are common realms of meaning potentials when deferential expressions are employed by seniors.

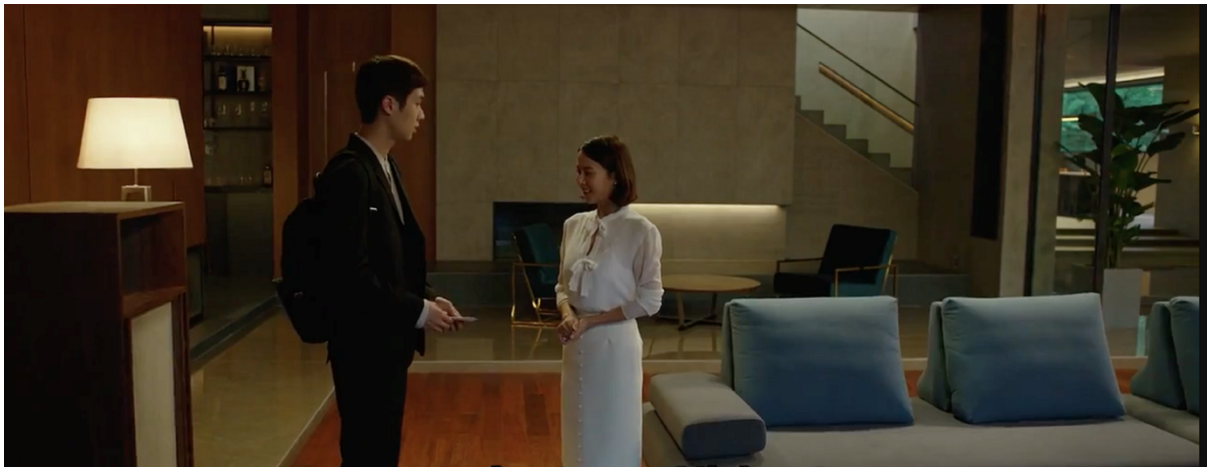


Figure 4.22. Mrs Park clasps her hands in her lap, expressing Ki-woo's value now that he is her daughter's tutor, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

The multi-award winning Korean-American film *Minari* (2020) provides an example of how the clasping of one's hands, regardless of hierarchy, in an appropriate setting can serve as a formality that expresses the value-or-the 'importance' of the situation 'going well' to the gesturer. The film tells the story of Korean American immigrant family, the Yi's, who move states to Arkansas, with the goal of starting their own vegetable farm. In the scene, the Yi family attends a social event organised by their local church that is held after the Sunday service. Mrs Yi keeps her hands clasped in her lap throughout the event (Figure 4.23). The Yi family has only recently moved to the small town, and this is their first time attending the church. Christianity is important to Mrs Yi, and her choice of culturally embodied expressions

on this occasion expresses this, as she tries to make good impression. It is not a case of her 'knowing her place', as we demonstrated in earlier examples of the use of this expression, but rather of 'knowing the setting', since she is not always interacting with others and yet she still keeps her hands clasped *(CH, Mrs Yi=Formal setting/Congregation⊢ The setting is important to Mrs Yi/ Christianity is important to Mrs Yi/ Mrs Yi wants to make a good first impression)*.



Figure 4.23. Mrs Yi keeps her hands clasped in her lap throughout, even when she is not speaking to members of the congregation, in *Minari* (미나리) 'Water Celery' (2020).

The importance of Christianity particularly to Mrs Yi is emphasised later in the film, although it is made clear that the family are church goers from early on. One of the scenes that emphasises this, is one in which, after her mother suffers a stroke, Mrs Yi prays with the farm-hand Paul who helps her to bless the house. While they do so, Mr Yi appears uncomfortable, disbelieving, and irritable, refusing to take part. Her belief in Christianity, and its emphasis created by the contrast drawn between her and the other adult members of the Yi family, are cohesive with her expressions, such as the clasping of her hands in her lap at the church gathering, supporting the inference that the event is important to her and why that is precisely. Furthermore, this characterisation of Mr and Mrs Yi is utilised in a main strand of the film's narrative, in which they argue over their values and goals, that eventually threaten to tear them apart.

It is worth noting again here what happens when someone does not clasp their hands in their lap, and how this supports the inferences argued here for those who are doing so. In the scene shown in Figure 4.23, Mrs Yi's mother is not clasping her hands in her lap. She is elderly, perhaps more than most or all of those present, and so she would not naturally need to express deference in this situation. What is of more importance here, however, is that she isn't doing so out of formality either, and therefore it is clear that the church, its congregation, and Christianity overall are not important to her. This is confirmed by how she insults congregants in Korean, passing judgement on their physical appearance and eating habits. Also, in how in the scene prior to this at the church service, Mrs Yi's mother takes back the money that her daughter places on the donation plate as the plate gets passed along the congregants. This contrast between the two women's behaviour can be best summed up by reformulating the formula of the defeasible eventuality used to describe the meaning of the clasping of the hands by Mrs Yi, changing the expression and meanings to 'not' also. The formula would read: ¬*CH, Mrs Yi's mother=Formal setting/congregation* ⊢ *The setting is not important to Mrs Yi's mother/ Christianity is not important to Mrs Yi's mother/ Mrs Yi's mother does not care about what people think of her.* As is the case with Mrs Yi, these gestures characterise Mrs Yi's mother, creating cohesive links to events in the narrative that also support this as a viable inference and the importance of accounting for such expressions at the finer-grained level of discourse in K-films in order to analyse higher-grained levels of discourse too. For instance, in this case, Mrs Yi's mother's expressions culminate in a discourse about her cultural difference from Americans. This then provides the reasoning for her Korean American grandchildren disliking her without her having done anything wrong, which forms one of the main threads of the narrative.

Covering of the mouth with one's hand (CM)

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of covering of the mouth with one's hand will be presented.

Desirability & value

Gisaengchung (2019) provides yet another example of a senior expressing the desirability and value of a junior to them, using an expression of deference typically reserved for junior-senior dynamics. It is Mrs Park who does so, and again to a tutor, this time to her son's new art therapist (Ki-jung). This time, though, using the gesture of covering the mouth with the hand (Figure 4.24). In the scene, Mrs Park covers her mouth with her hand when explaining an upsetting incident to Ki-jung *(CM, Mrs Park>Tutor Ki-jung (A/P)⊦ Tutor Ki-jung is valuable to Mrs Park).* The conditional logic is the same as when Mrs Park clasps her hands in her lap while interacting with her daughter's tutor Ki-woo because the two social dynamics are the same, and the meaning potential is the same also because the narrative contexts are similarly interactions following both Ki-jung and Ki-woo being offered positions as tutors. The examples given throughout this chapter, using Kiaer and Kim's (2021) socio-pragmatic primitives used to infer the meanings of socio-pragmatic expressions in K-films, demonstrate the politeness classification system that they devised as working to guide the interpretation of conventions in specifically Korean communication. However, examples like this one are particularly important, since it shows that given the same social dynamic and context, an expression will often have the same meaning in K-films; even more reason to apply this approach to K-film analysis.



Figure 4.24. Mrs Park covers her mouth while telling Ki-jung about an upsetting event, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Attractiveness and flirtation

Mrs Park uses the same gesture when discussing another unpleasant event with her husband (Figure 4.25). This time however, she expresses deference toward her husband – a sort of Neo-Confucian etiquette – as a means of presenting herself attractively to him *(CM, Mrs Park=Mr Park (P)*ㄴ *Mrs Park makes herself attractive for Mr Park).* In this case, in the formula of the defeasible eventuality, the spouses have been positioned as equals in the social dynamic, however, considering the vertical hierarchy in Confucian ideology the social dynamic could also be described as '*Mrs Park<Mr Park'.* Either way. Either way, because of differences recognised between masculine and feminine uses of some socio-pragmatic gestures, including covering the mouth with a hand, in the context of a romantic relationship the meaning potential can often be specified as 'being submissive for the purpose of being attractive'.



Figure 4.25. Mrs Park covers her mouth while speaking with her husband about another unpleasant event, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

As demonstrated in previous examples, contrasts in the expressions of other characters and contexts in the narrative that align with the variations in meaning potential of an expression can be drawn from to support this inference. For example, Mrs Kim, who is presented as the diametric opposite of Mrs Park, is rude to her husband and doesn't care what he thinks of her, which aligns with her expressions. Mrs Kim does not cover her mouth with her hand once and uses no expressions with similar politeness classifications as this toward her husband (¬*CM, Mrs Kim<Mr Kim (P)*⊢ *Mrs Kim is unrefined/ Mrs Kim doesn't care what Mr Kim thinks of her*). Her attitude towards her husband is further emphasised by her use of profanity towards Mr Kim, which Mrs Park never uses, and in her violent behaviour (e.g., kicking and grabbing him), which again Mrs Park does not do.

These inferences are further validated by the function that they serve in the greater narrative. Contrasts in expressions like these, between the Kim and Park families, are used to make clear the distinction between the social class of the families and how close they are. For example, Mrs Kim is rude to her husband, but he allows it and is rude too, and she also allows it. The intimacy in their relationship is undeniable, even if brutish and unattractive. While Mr and Mrs Park show awareness of etiquette even when alone together, while their

relationship feels more distant. This is supported when Mr Kim asks Mr Park if he loves his wife and he responds, “you can call it love”.

Neo-Confucian etiquette is often used in the ‘ideal wife/woman’ image, and especially for characterising middle- or upper-class Korean women in K-films. *Hanyeo* (1960) does precisely this, and it provides the same wife-husband social dynamic, and some contextual similarities to *Gisaengchung* (2019). In the film, Mrs Kim often covers her mouth with her hand in front of her husband. In one scene, as the family eat together, she covers her mouth when discovering a small bone in her food (Figure 4.26). She does not cover her mouth purely so that she can remove the bone politely, however, although she does do so eventually, initially she covers her mouth in ‘surprise’ at finding the bone. There is no reason to make this expression in the scene, other than to perform Neo-Confucian feminine etiquette in order to present her as attractive and to warrant the attention of her husband *(CM, Mrs Kim<Mr Kim (P)ㄴ Mrs Kim is behaving attractively)*. It can even be reasoned that by presenting her attractively that such gestures even express that she is ‘good’, especially in comparison to the lower-class women who attempt to have affairs with her husband who do not behave with such etiquette.



Figure 4.26. Mrs Kim covers her mouth in shock when discovering a small bone in her food, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) ‘The Housemaid’ (1960).

Mrs Kim's desire to appear attractive, feminine, and gain the attention of her husband using gestures like these is supported in the narrative. For her etiquette is intertwined with expressions of frailty as femininity. For instance, in one scene Mrs Kim finds a rat in the kitchen cupboard and screams. When her husband enters the kitchen, he finds her crouching, leaning against the sideboard. When he tries to help her up and take her out of the kitchen, she almost faints (Figure 4.27). This is one of many occurrences in which she behaves extremely frailly, to which he responds with care and protection. Her gestures function similarly, in that they draw the husband's attention.



Figure 4.27. Mrs Kim behaves frailly in front of her husband after discovering a rat in the kitchen cupboard, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (1960).

Namja Sayongseolmyungseo (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips' (2013) provides further evidence of how covering one's mouth with one's hand expresses that a woman wants to appear attractive or is flirting. In this case, the gesture is used in an instructional video that teaches women how to flirt with men. The film tells the story of Bo-na, an overworked woman tries to improve her standing with men using the self-help video. In the video (Figure 4.28), female actors are shown using the gesture when flirting with male

actors *(CM, Actor 1=Actor 2 (F-M) ⊦ Woman is behaving attractively),* and the context within which the expression is set is of an instructional video in which a woman is demonstrating how to flirt with a man successfully *(CM, Actor 1=Actor 2 (F-M) ⊦ Woman is flirting successfully).*



Figure 4.28. A woman covers her mouth with her hand when flirting 'successfully' with a man, in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips' (2013).

Giving and receiving items with one or two hands (GR 1H/2H)

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of giving and receiving with one or two hands will be presented.

Seniority

The still in Figure 4.29 shows a scene from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young Born: 1982' (2019), in which Ji-yeong and her mother-in-law are preparing food for the Korean traditional holiday *Chuseok.* During the meal preparation, Ji-yeong's mother-in-law passes items with one hand *(GR, 1H, Mother-in-law>Ji-yeong (A/P) ⊦ Mother-in-law is senior).* If she was a junior, due to the politeness classification of this gesture being lower, the meaning would be negative, however, because she is a senior it is

simply indicative of her senior status. In fact, if Ji-yeong's mother-in-law passed using two hands, the meaning potential would potentially express that she is 'fearful', 'under threat', 'extremely humble', being 'sarcastic', or 'exaggerating good feelings towards the junior' *(GR, 2H, Mother-in-law>Ji-yeong (A/P) ⊦⌐ Mother-in-law is fearful of Ji-yeong/ is extremely humble/ is being sarcastic/ is exaggerating good feelings towards Ji-yeong/ Ji-yeong has threatened mother-in-law)*. These meaning potentials occur because of how unlikely it is for a Korean to willingly give up the power afforded to them by their status in ordinary circumstances.



Figure 4.29. Mother-in-law passes items to her daughter-in-law with one hand, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young Born: 1982' (2019).

Juniority

Similarly, the use of two hands by a junior expresses a relational dynamic in which the gesturer is junior. Using two hands to give and receive also expresses that the gesturer knows their place or are at least acting as if they do. Returning to the scene in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019) in which Ji-yeong's mother-in-law passes items to her in the kitchen with one hand, at one point Ji-yeong's mother-in-law gives her an apron as a gift. Her mother-in-law passes with one hand again, but Ji-yeong receives the gift with two hands (Figure 4.30). Like her mother-in-law, she knows her place and behaves accordingly. She does so to express her juniority, show that she knows her place, and ultimately to 'please' her mother-in-law

(GR, 2H, Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P) ⊦ Ji- yeong is junior/ knows her place/ wants to please her mother-in-law). This inference is supported by her other socio-pragmatic expressions *(CP, HL, IG, Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P) ⊦ Ji-yeong is junior/ knows her place/ wants to please her mother-in-law),* and in what she has expressed in dialogue, up until this point in the film. We are also provided with a supporting context in the narrative, in an earlier scene in which Ji-yeong and her husband discuss *Chuseok*. Her husband suggests not going to his parents at all this year to avoid the hard work involved, but Ji-yeong insists on going despite the work involved being largely her burden. Her explanation for doing so is the fear of upsetting her in-laws, who she believes will perceive her specifically in a negative light for doing so.



Figure 4.30. Ji-yeong receives a gift from her mother-in-law using two hands, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

A scene in *Chihwaseon* (취화선) 'Painted Fire' (2002) is shown in Figure 4.31, in which similarly a junior uses two hands to give (*GR, 2H, Woman<Man (A/P) ⊦ Woman is junior/ knows her place*) while the senior uses one hand to receive *(GR, 1H, Man>Woman (A/P) ⊦ Man is senior)*. It is worth noting though that this film is set within a neo-Confucian context during the Joseon period, and the diligence demonstrated by the woman, as she picks up single items of food with chopsticks using two hands for the senior to collect, could

serve to show exaggerated politeness, sarcasm, or even fear in a contemporary setting *(GR, 2H, Diligently, Woman<Man (A/P) ⊦ Woman is scared/exaggerating importance of the man/being sarcastic/being persuasive/behaving historically)*.



Figure 4.31. The junior (woman) always uses two hands to pass food, while the senior (man) uses only one hand, in *Chihwaseon* (취화선) 'Painted Fire' (2002).

Attractiveness and flirtation

Two hands are also sometimes used by women as another component of Neo-Confucian etiquette to make themselves attractive to men. *6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung* (6 년째 연애중) 'Lovers of Six Years' (2008) provides an example. The film tells the new relationship tests faced by a couple in their late twenties who have been dating for six years. In one scene, a woman (Ji-eun) uses two hands to offer a man (Jae-yeong) a bowl of drink (Figure 4.32). She has been on a couple of dates with him, though is much keener to be Jae-yeong's girl-friend than he is since he already has a girlfriend and plans to marry her. In her dialogue, Jieun often makes statements to Jae-yeong that make her appear obsessed with him. For instance, on one occasion, when he gives her a suitcase as a goodbye present, since she is planning to travel, and she suggests putting him in the suitcase and taking him with her. When he says that he can't fit, she suggests chopping him up into pieces so that he will fit.

While the use of two hands has a less flirtatious connotation than covering one's mouth with one's hand, when used by a woman who is trying hard to be liked by a man it can often come across as a component of the woman's attempt to be attractive or be liked by the man *(GR, 2H Ji-eun=Jae-yeong (F-M) ⊦ Woman is trying to be attractive/ wants Jae-yeong to like her).*



Figure 4.32. Ji-eun passes a bowl of yogurt drink to Jae-yeong with two hands, in *6nyeonjjae Yeonae-jung* (6 년째 연애중) 'Lovers of Six Years' (2008).

Ultimately, this is the same as previous examples of expressions used by women to make themselves attractive for men or for the purpose of flirting. The main difference here is that the context of Ji-eun's relationship with Jae-yeong, is one in which she has become un-wanted. Subsequently, Ji-eun's attempts to be attractive are ineffective and inference of gestures like her use of two hands can be specified further as 'trying' to be attractive and the desiring to be liked. This inference is supported by events prior to this scene when Jae-yeong wants to end their relationship and finds it difficult because of fear of what Ji-eun might do to him. By this scene, he has decided to wait for Ji-eun to go travelling for it to end naturally, without it having to be by his hand, and risk angering her. Though, this means suffering her personality in the meantime, and the discomfort he feels is made obvious by his colder

behaviour, increasingly visible aversions to her quirks, and signals that he doesn't want to be together such as giving her a suitcase as a gift.

Entitlement

Using one of two hands can also express whether a person has an entitled attitude, which is often simultaneously an expression of high SES. Returning to *Hanyeo* (2010), a representative example of this can be seen in a scene in which Miss Cho is handed an envelope by Mrs Goh's mother. Miss cho was previously Mrs Goh's au pair when she was a child, and originally worked in Mrs Goh's mother's household. When she visits Mrs Goh's mother to discuss problems in her daughter's household, Mrs. Goh's mother first congratulates her on her son recently being promoted. This is when she passes her the envelope, which contains money as a gift to celebrate the achievement (Figure 4.33). She uses one hand when she passes, and moreover does not even pass the envelope directly into Miss Cho's hands but places on the table. These gestures are reserved for seniors, but the women have conflicting hierarchies with Miss Cho being so much older, so the gesture is 'inconsiderate' (*GR, 1H, Mrs Goh's mother>Miss Cho (P), Mrs Goh's mother>Miss Cho (A)⊦ Mrs Goh is inconsiderate of Miss Cho*). On the one hand, due to Miss Cho's lifelong service to the family one could argue that intimacy has been cultivated removing the need for formality but, on the other hand, the gift is being given to celebrate a significant achievement and so warrants the formalities of tradition regardless of intimacy. Further, since Miss Cho is a generation older, the expression still would at least express unorthodoxy, even between intimates (*GR, 1H, Mrs Goh's mother>Miss Cho (P), Mrs Goh's mother>Miss Cho (A), Intimacy, Generational gap⊦ Mrs Goh's mother feels close to Miss Cho/ has an unorthodox relationship with Miss Cho*); which based on Miss Cho's comments about the family throughout the film, it appears that she does not consent in.



Figure 4.33. Mrs Goh's mother gives an envelope to Miss Cho with one hand, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (2010).

When this expression is considered within the greater context of the film – with Mrs Goh's mother being a member of a wealthy *chaebol* family – this inference can be specified further as her feeling 'entitled' and being 'self-centred' due to the power afforded her by the family's status *(GR, 1H, Mrs Goh's mother>Miss Cho (P) Mrs Goh's mother<Miss Cho (A)⊦ Mrs Goh's mother feels entitled/ is self-centred)*. This gesture links cohesively to the greater narrative of the film, which is that the Goh family behave however they please regardless of the consequences, holding onto the belief that their wealth overrides all hierarchies, morality, and even the law. These expressions are also cohesive with Miss Cho's narrative, in which she increasingly loses her ability to endure the behaviour of the Goh family, and before quitting her position, even grants Eun-yi access to the Goh's home who recently dispatched her so that she can confront them.

Intimacy

One-handed giving/receiving between close friends can also just be a sign of intimacy *(GR, 1H, Sa-bok=Mechanic (A), Intimacy, Same generation⊦ Sa-bok and the mechanic have a close relationship/ are likely the same age and have known each other for a long time)*. An example taken from a scene in *Taeski Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017) is shown

in Figure 4.34. Their other socio-pragmatic expressions support this inference. For example, the two men speak in *haeche (IS, DG, SP, Sa-bok=Mechanic (A), Intimacy, Same generation*ㅏ *Sa-bok and the mechanic have a close relationship)*, and informal speech style that is reserved for intimates and therefore aligns with the use of one hand when giving and receiving. Since there is no context for their expressions causing offence, it is possible to infer their relationship status as intimate.



Figure 4.34. Sa-bok and the mechanic show that they are close friends when they use one hand to give and receive, in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017).

Desirability and value

In stark contrast, the use of two hands can be used as a formality that, as demonstrated with the clasping of the hands in one's lap (Figure 4.23), expresses the importance of the situation or persons to the gesturer. Figure 4.35 shows an example of two hands used as a formality in a scene from *Mayakwang* (마약왕) 'The Drug King' (2018). In this case, new associates are exchanging business cards and the use of two hands shows that it is important to the gesturer that the relationship starts off on the right foot, that they 'value' this relationship and hence why they are behaving politely *(GR, 2H, Man 1=Man 2*ㅏ *Man 1 and Man 2 value each other/ This interaction is important to Man 1 and Man 2/ Man 1 and Man 2 want to make a good first impression)*. Information of the hierarchy between these men is not made

clear, so this inference is made based on the formal context of the interaction that is signified by the exchange of business cards that is taking place.



Figure 4.35. Two men exchange business cards. It is clearly important to them that the interaction goes well by how they behave formally, in *Mayakwang* (마약왕) 'The Drug King' (2018).

It is worth noting that while expressions like these may appear inconsequential, or at least not significant, because of the contrived nature of film discourse they often are important in constructing strands of the narrative. A polite manner of exchange business cards when followed by scenes in which the gesturers get to know each other, can then be a benchmark for which of the men develop close relationships with each other and how that occurs, and who does not. All that is needed in this hypothetical narrative is the contrast shown between who continues or discontinues the use of two-handed gestures. Likewise, other socio-pragmatic expressions with similar politeness classifications will be modulated in accordance with these factors also. Thus, even formal expressions in situations believed to be worthy of one's efforts, because of their socio-pragmatic nature, can be essential in filmic discourse comprehension.

Unorthodoxy

Binjip (빈집) (2004), literally translated as 'empty house', though commonly known as '3-Iron', is an unorthodox love story characterised not only by the unusual arrangement

between the lovers but also in the way expressions are used. The story follows abused housewife (Sun-hwa) and lonely drifter (Tae-suk) who breaks into the homes of strangers while they are away and does good deeds while there out of gratitude. After Tae-suk breaks into Sun-hwa's house believing it to be empty, the two run off together, drifting together before Sun-hwa's husband tracks them down. In the film, using just one hand for giving/receiving, is just one of the ways that the 'unorthodoxy' and at times 'strangeness' of the two main characters' relationship is expressed, set in the context of the two characters barely knowing each other and how they met. As they go through the motions of daily life in their time together in silence, expressions like these become even more prominent in expressing that they are simpatico.

In one scene, Tae-suk and Sun-hwa are drifting together, staying in a stranger's apartment. When Tae-suk is preparing food for Sun-hwa he gives it to her with one hand (Figure 4.36). The camera emphasises the gesture using a close-up shot. This would be a sign of either an intimate relationship or Tae-suk's seniority, however they are practically strangers, and their age is unspecified. Placing them in an equal hierarchy but taking account of the formal context that is relevant to strangers, the defeasible eventuality inferable is that their relationship is 'unorthodox' *(GR, 1H, Tae-suk=Sun-hwa* ⊦ *Tae-suk and Sun-hwa have an unorthodox relationship).* Within the context of the two characters having an immediate understanding of each other, further specificity on this meaning potential can be gained, inferring this expression (and similarly classified expressions used between them) as meaning that they are 'simpatico' *(GR, 1H, Tae-suk=Sun-hwa* ⊦ *Tae-suk and Sun-hwa are simpatico).*



Figure 4.36. Tae-suk serves Sun-hwa with one hand, in *Binjip* (빈 집) '3-Iron' (2004).

Offering and receiving drinks with one or two hands (OR 1H/2H)

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of offering and receiving drinks will be presented. Additional aspects of drinking etiquette (e.g., pouring one's own drink, and either turning away or facing forward while drinking) will be included where applicable.

Unorthodoxy

For continuity and the mutual validation between this and the prior section on 'Unorthodoxy', the next example is also taken from *Binjip* (2004). This time, expressions of 'unorthodoxy' are shown in the use of one hand to pour drinks (Figure 4.37). It is also shown in how Tae-suk and Sun-hwa pour their own drinks and drink at their own pace, since pouring each other's drinks and drinking at the same pace is considered polite, and so not doing so expresses either 'intimacy' or a form of 'negative attitude or emotion'. As we have already established, the latter is irrelevant to the context of these scenes and the film. It is rather through their use of one-handed gestures like this that they express intimacy and in doing so that their relationship is 'unorthodox' *(OR, 1H, Tae-suk=Sun-hwa⊢ Tae-suk and Sun-hwa have an unorthodox relationship)*.



Figure 4.37. Tae-suk and Sun-hwa pour drinks with one hand, pour their own drinks, and drink at their own pace, as if they were old friends, in *Binjip* (빈집) '3-Iron' (2004).

These expressions of unorthodoxy are of vital importance for *Binjip's* narrative, as their consistency creates the ethereal feel of their relationship and unique romance, which is at the crux of the film. This inference is supported by the unorthodox situations presented throughout the film, and it is perhaps helpful to illustrate this using an example from the final scene of the film. Sun-hwa has returned to her husband, and their marriage has improved, but unbeknownst to her husband Tae-suk lives with them in the house; as Sun-hwa and her husband eat breakfast, Tae-suk stands behind her husband eating breakfast, and when Sun-hwa hugs her husband, Tae-suk stands behind him and kisses her as her head rests on his shoulder. The scene is so surreal that whether Tae-suk is there at all can be called into question.

Outrageous behaviour

When an unorthodox relationship isn't welcomed by both interlocutors, however, then expressions such as one-handed offering and receiving drinks instead express the outrageous personality of the gesturer. This is especially the case when the gesturer is a junior since

junior-senior social dynamics require the most rigid protocol, though even between unfamiliar equals the meaning potential can be similar. Use of one hand to offer and receive drinks is subsequently used often to characterise juniors who are troubled. A prime example is in *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* (2001), in which 'the girl's' unpleasant behaviours toward Kyun-woo is that her boyfriend died shortly before they met, and she is heartbroken. This leads her to (culturally) outrageous behaviours, that tend towards breaking hierarchy and taking the lead in deciding upon the development of intimacy without the consent of her fellow interlocutors. For instance, when she meets college student Kyun-woo, who is older than her, she proceeds to ignore this entirely and treat him as firstly her junior, and eventually agree to treat him as her equal when he brings the matter to her attention, even though as senior he should be the person to decide.

In the scene shown in Figure 4.38, 'the girl' and Kyun-woo go to a restaurant, where she orders a bottle of soju and proceeds to pour herself drinks. By not engaging in pouring for each other, the use of two hands is entirely forfeit by her. She then drinks while facing Kyun-woo, without turning away, and doesn't attempt to pour Kyun-woo a drink, all of which are impolite for a junior just as the use of one hand to offer/receive is *(Forfeits GR 2H/ Pours own drink/ Faces forward/ Doesn't pour Kyun-woo's drink, The Girl<Kyun-woo (A)⊢ The Girl does not value Kyun-woo)*. Her drinking etiquette even stimulates Kyun-woo to lean forward and touch her glass with one hand as she pours, attempting to recreate the etiquette of one person holding the glass and the other pouring. With the little time that the two characters have known each, Kyun-woo's age seniority, and moreover the gender stereotype surrounding women drinking that often demands that they drink little and behave with strict etiquette, 'the girl's' expressions can be inferred as: *Forfeits GR 2H/ Pours own drink/ Faces forward/ Doesn't pour Kyun-woo's drink, The Girl<Kyun-woo (A)⊢ 'The girl' is outrageous.* This inference is supported by the narrative of the film, in which her outrageousness is at the core, reflected in the direct translation of *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* which is 'That Bizarre Girl'.



Figure 4.38. ‘The girl’ forfeiting two-handing offering/receiving of drinks in unfamiliar company, in *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* (엽기적인 그녀) ‘My Sassy Girl’ (2001).

Seniority and juniority

An example of the use of one or two hands when offering and receiving drinks to express juniority and seniority can also be found in *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* (2001). In the scene, Kyun-woo meets the stern father of ‘the girl’ and must pour a drink for him (Figure 4.39). When Kyun-woo does so he uses two hands *(GR, 2H, Kyun-woo<‘The Girl’s’ father (A)⊦ Kyun-woo is junior)*, while the father uses only one hand *(GR, 1H, ‘The Girl’s’ father>Kyun-woo (A)⊦ ‘The girl’s’ father is senior)*. If multimodality is taken into consideration, then further layers of meaning can also be inferred. In particular, the father’s consistency in using expressions that show his seniority *(DG, SP, ‘The Girl’s’ father>Kyun-woo (A)⊦ ‘The girl’s’ father is senior),* which exclude those that express care to juniors *(e.g., PA, ‘The Girl’s’ father>Kyun-woo (A)⊦ ‘The girl’s’ father is senior/ is reassuring Kyun-woo),* in the context of the scene show his ‘wariness’ of Kyun-woo and subsequently ‘protectiveness’ over his daughter *(GR, 1H, DG, SP, Girl’s father>Kyun-woo (A)⊦ ‘The girl’s’ father is wary of Kyun-woo/ is protective of his daughter)*.



Figure 4.39. Kyun-woo uses two hands to pour a drink for 'the girl's' father, while her father receives the drink with one hand, in *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* (엽기적인 그녀) 'My Sassy Girl' (2001).

Jopok Manura (2001) provides another example of how seniority is expressed by use of one hand but also in the accompanying components of drinking etiquette. In the scene in Figure 4.40, Eun-jin faces her junior while drinking, showing her seniority *(OR, 1H, Eun-jin>Subordinate gangster (P)⊦ Eun-jin is senior).* This is supported by the subordinate gangster's responses, which express his juniority *(OR, 2H, IG, HL, Subordinate gangster<Eun-jin (P)⊦ Subordinate gangster is junior/ knows his place).* While, *Yeolhyeolnama* (2006) provides an example in the reverse, this time the expression of juniority through the opposite gestures by a junior gangster when drinking with a senior gangster. The scene presented in Figure 4.41, shows the junior gangster using two hands and turning away when drinking, even though he is sitting to the side of his senior who is not looking at him.



Figure 4.40. Eun-jin faces towards her junior when drinking showing her seniority and he responds by expressing his juniority by using indirect eye gaze and lowering his head, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster') (2001).



Figure 4.41. A junior gangster uses two hands and turns away from a senior gangster when drinking, *Yeolhyeolnama* (열혈남아) 'Cruel Winter Blues' (2006).

Emphasising good feelings towards someone

Oftentimes, when a senior uses two hands to offer or receive drinks this shows extra effort on the senior's part and through this then expresses the value of that junior to the senior. It is a way of making a fuss of the junior rather than deference, the latter of which would potentially be the case when a senior is under some sort of threat or being sarcastic. Figure 4.42

shows a scene from *Yeolhyeolnama* (2006), in which a senior gangster approaches a junior gangster who is managing the guest/gift registry at an event. He pours a junior a drink, making an effort to use two hands, and so empahsising his good feelings towards the junior. In this case, the gesturer uses this expression as part of a strategy to trick the junior. The senior flatters the junior, complimenting him on his hard work, utilising two hands (even if not in a delicate manner) when pouring him a drink. Then the senior asks the junior to go and get him a beer, only to steal a bag filled with envelopes of money from behind the desk that the junior had been looking after. This context allows the inference to be further specified – the use of two hands is an 'exaggeration' of the senior's good feelings rather than the 'emphasisation' of his good feelings towards the junior, of which either could be inferred in this social dynamic – since they were staged for the purpose of gaining the junior's trust in order to then 'trick' him *(GR, 2H, Senior gangster>Junior gangster (P) ⊦ Senior gangster is exaggerating good feelings towards junior/ is pretending to value junior/ is tricking junior).*



Figure 4.42. A senior gangster 'exaggerates' his good feelings towards a junior by utilising two hands to pour him a drink, in *Yeolhyeolnama* (열혈남아) 'Cruel Winter Blues' (2006).

Aggression

When a junior or equals without an intimate relationship use one hand to pour or receive a drink, unless there is context of unorthodoxy, as demonstrated previously with the case of *Binjip* (2004), the expression tends to be one of confrontation and even aggression. There is also the potential that the gesture is not intentional and is down to carelessness, or due to a person not being themselves (e.g., under the influence of alcohol or illegal drugs) but there would need to be a context for that. In this case we will look at examples of one-handed offering/receiving drinks as expressing aggression. Returning to *Jopok Manura* (2001), in one scene, gangster Eun-jin's business dinner is interrupted by a gangster of similar rank from a rival organisation. The rival gangster is uninvited but insists that Eun-jin should pour him a drink to be polite (Figure 4.43). Even though they are enemies, Eun-jin is forced to cooperate to keep up appearances in front of her business associates who are present and so she pours him a drink, though when she does, she only uses one hand to do so.

The two do not belong to the same organisation and so are neither senior or junior to the other, and their ages appear similar, so for the sake of composing a formula for the defeasible eventuality and for lack of a more suitable social dynamic we will consider them as equals without intimacy. Therefore, in the context of the intrusion Eun-jin's response of using only one hand to pour the rival a drink, expresses her anger towards him *(OR, 1H, Eun-jin=Rival gangster (A/P)⊢ Eun-jin is angry at the rival gangster/ Rival gangster is not welcome).* This inference is supported by numerate factors. The first, is that when Eun-jin does agree to pour his drink that this is a 'first drink', and formality is even more important when it comes to firsts, so not using two hands has only a limited number of possibilities – intimacy, unorthodoxy, or anger. Though, even close friends often pour each other the first drink as per traditional drinking etiquette. The context of their interaction also provides reasoning for her anger, and she makes clear that these are her feelings and that he is not welcome by repeatedly asking him to leave and eventually attacking him.



Figure 4.43. Eun-jin pours a rival gang member's drink with one hand, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

Intimacy

6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung (2008) provides us with an example of when using one hand to offer and receive drinks, and its equivalent of forfeiting use of two hands by pouring one's own drink, expresses intimacy or its development. When Jin-seong starts to like Da-jin his behaviour becomes much more informal and pouring Da-jin's drink and his own using one hand (Figure 4.44). The modulation from two to one-handed gestures, within the context of getting to know each other better, expresses the shift that is occurring in their relationship. This inference is confirmed and further specified later in the same scene when Jin-seong admits he has feelings for Da-jin *(OR, 1H, Modulated from 2H GR, Jin-seong=Da-jin (A)⊦ Jin-seong and Da-jin are becoming closer/ Jin-seong likes Da-jin).*

The narrative context supports the inference of 'budding intimacy', because they started off on formal terms earlier in the film. If they had been close friends from the start, then the use of one hand would express intimacy that has already been cultivated, and any shifts between using one or two hands would not necessarily show changes in intimacy but could also show changes in setting (e.g., a shift from a formal occasion or ceremony to an

informal, relaxed environment) or in who is observing (e.g., if two close friends work together, they may behave less intimately in front of their boss). The modulation of expressions also supports this inference. Figure 4.45 shows an earlier scene in the film, in which Da-jin uses two hands to give a record to Jin-seong, reflecting the lack of intimacy in their relationship at that stage *(GR, 2H, Da-jin=Jin-seong (A)ㄴ Da-jin does not know Jin-seong well)*.



Figure 4.44. Jin-seong pours Da-jin's drink with one hand, in *6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung* (6 년째 연애중) 'Lovers of Six Years' (2008).



Figure 4.45. Da-jin gives Jin-seong a record using two hands, in *6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung* (6 년째 연애중) 'Lovers of Six Years' (2008).

Examples of intimacy expressed by one-handed offering and receiving drinks, often which include the pouring of one's own drink too, can be found in *Chingu* (2001) and *Gi-saengchung* (2019) too. In *Chingu*, the four school friends, whose friendships the film centres on, there are scenes in which the friends offer and receive drinks using one hand. The scene presented in Figures 4.46, 4.47, and 4.48, is a representative example, in which Joon-seok meets with his friend Sang-taek, who he hasn't seen for a long time, and they catch up over a meal together. At the meal they pour one handed (Figure 4.46). They also drink facing each other and making eye contact at times while drinking, both which have similar politeness classifications as using one hand to offer and receive and therefore have similar meaning potential (Figures 4.47 and 4.48). Between close friends, these gestures express intimacy, and they are emphasised in this scene.



Figure 4.46. Joon-seok and Sang-taek use one hand to pour and receive drinks, in *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001).



Figure 4.47. Joon-seok and Sang-taek face each other and sometimes make eye contact while drinking, in *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001).



Figure 4.48. Joon-seok and Sang-taek's gestures are emphasised to show that their bond surpasses Joon-seok's power, in *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001).

These expressions are important in the scene. The men are friends of the same age and school class, which is a significant relationship in a Korean person's life because it is the only relationship who are entirely unbound by hierarchy. It is known as being one of the few relationships in which Koreans can truly be themselves. Since the last time these two friends met each other Joon-seok was not a successful gangster as he is in this scene, but what is emphasised in this scene through their expressions is that this has not changed their friendship *(OR,1H, Joon-seok=Sang-taek (A), Intimacy↾ Joon-seok and Sang-taek have a close relationship/ Their relationship remains the same)*. This is clarified when during the meal

Sang-taek makes a judgemental remark about Joon-seok. The two friends are surrounded by Joon-seok's subordinates, sitting at the tables around them, who overhear and begin to stare at Sang-taek. Joon-seok, however, takes this as an insult to his friend, who he believes can say anything to him. Instead of getting angry with Sang-taek, Joon-seok punishes his men for their behaviour (Figure 4.49).



Figure 4.49. Joon-seok disciplines his men prioritising his close relationship with Sang-taek the, in *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001).

The emphasis of the special relationship between the friends through these expressions shouldn't be underestimated, for this also serves to characterise Joon-seok. This is important when Joon-seok eventually makes the decision to forsake his relationship with his friend Dong-su, who is also a gangster too and is guilty of committing crimes against Joon-seok's gang. Dong-su refuses to flee with Joon-seok's help, and so Joon-seok must have him killed. Joon-seok's loyalty to his friends makes this difficult to live with, which then paves the way for the sequel *Chingu 2* (친구 2) 'Chingu: The Great Legacy' (2013).

In *Gisaengchung* (2019), use of one hand for offering and receiving drinks is one of the expressions that indicates how protagonist Ki-woo and his friend Min know each other. In the scene in Figure 4.50, Min visits Ki-woo and the two go to drink outside a local shop.

Once there, Min offers Ki-woo an opportunity to make some money by taking his place as private tutor to the Park family's daughter Da-hye, as he plans to ask out after he returns from America. Their use of one hand, and the forfeiting of two hands by pouring their own drinks, show that they are probably the same age and from the same class at school *(OR, 1H, Ki-woo=Min (A), Intimacy⌙ Ki-woo and Min are close friends)*. These expressions are also important in constructing the finer-grained discourse of the main narrative, by emphasisng the recklessness and deviousness of Ki-woo and his family, who have no concern for Min, regardless of their intimate relationship, as they scheme in the Park household. Ki-woo even goes as far as to seduce Da-hye, clarifying that his relationship with Min is not important to him and the only person he has loyalty to is his own family.

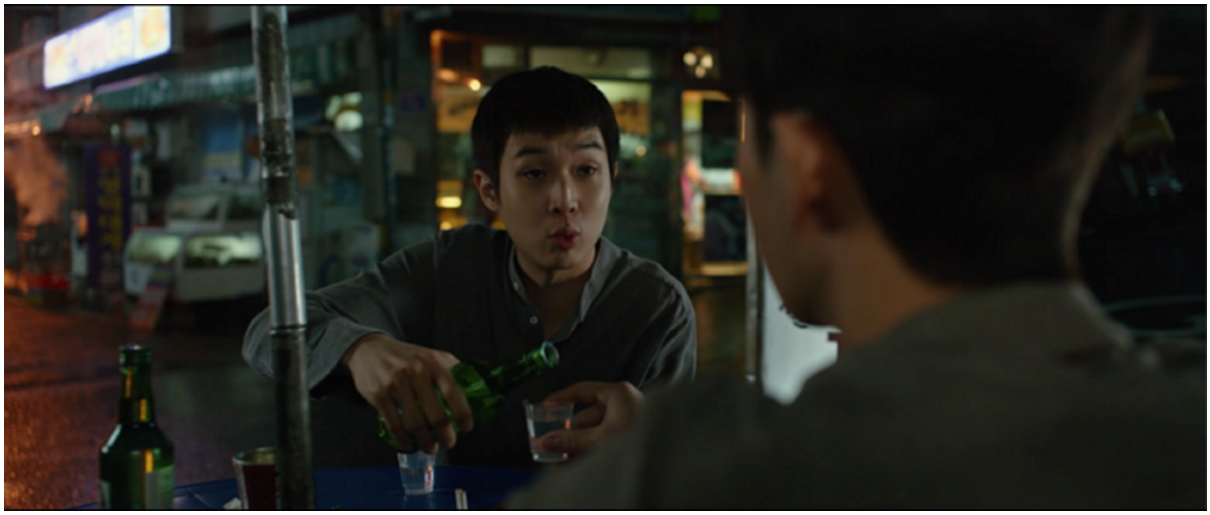


Figure 4.50. Ki-woo and Min use one hand to pour and receive, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Invasion of space with an object/vigorous movement of an object (IV)

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of the invasion of space with an object and/or vigorous movement of an object will be presented.

Seniority

While the invasion of space with an object is considered acceptable for seniors, and so is often nothing more than a sign of seniority, it can still appear overbearing. In Figure 4.51 we return to the scene in *Cha In-pyo* (2021), in which In-pyo is harassed by *ajummas*. At one point in the scene, as In-pyo crouches down while speaking on the telephone, the ajummas poke him in the back with an umbrella to get his attention *(IV, Ajummas>Mr Cha (A)⊦ Ajummas are senior/ are being overbearing)*. If a junior had done so, the expression would perhaps be inferred as aggressive or outrageous. However, because of their age seniority, in this case the expression only expresses the women's seniority and overbearingness. In-pyo then humours the women because of their age seniority, which is a common response in Korea *(IV, ajummas>Mr Cha (A)⊦ Mr Cha must conceal his discomfort*), and in doing so validates this inference of seniority (rather than e.g., 'aggression').



Figure 4.51. Ajummas poke In-pyo with an umbrella, in *Cha In-pyo* 'What happened to Mr. Cha?' (2021).

Abuse of power and irritation

Gisaengchung (2019) provides two examples of the invasion of space with an object in the same scene, that take place within a conflicting hierarchy of age and profession. In both cases, the expressions are ones of 'irritation', and due to the gesturer holding professional seniority

but the receiver holding age seniority the use of this expression subsequently also leads to a further layer of meaning – that the gesturer is 'abusing their power'. The scene begins when the Kim family's young employer arrives at their home to collect the pizza boxes that they were hired to fold, only to find that many boxes are faulty. Invasion of space with an object takes place here, as she proceeds to complain to about the quality of their work. She holds one of the faulty pizza boxes up close to Mrs Kim, while signalling at areas of the box with her other hand (Figure 4.52). When the young employer attempts to reduce their pay, the conversation heats up. Following the young employer as she tries to depart, Mrs Kim takes her turn to complain about the low pay rate they already get. The vigorous movement of an object takes place here. As the young employer argues back, she shakes the pizza box vigorously in the air (Figure 4.53). Although the latter gesture does not involve holding the object at close proximity to Mrs Kim, as afore explained in Chapter 2 both expressions have a similar invasive quality about them, and thus similar politeness classification and meaning potential.



Figure 4.52. The young employer invading Mrs Kim's space with an object, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).



Figure 4.53. The young employer vigorously shaking a pizza boss at Mrs. Kim, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

On both occasions the expressions accompany complaints about the quality of the item on each occasion, with the vigorous shaking of the box (being the most obvious of the gestures) occurring as the conversation turns into a heated argument. This indicates that both invasion of space and the vigorous movement of objects is associated with irritation and confrontation *(IV, Employer>Mrs. Kim (P), Employer<Mrs Kim (A) ⊦ Employer is irritated by Mrs. Kim/ is confronting Mrs Kim)*. Since these expressions are made within a conflicting hierarchy, due to the gesturer's sacrifice of the receiver's face in respect to their own seniority (in Mrs. Kim's case, age seniority), the gesture also expresses inconsideration (*IV, Employer>Mrs Kim (P), Employer<Mrs Kim (A) ⊦ Employer is inconsiderate of Mrs Kim);* which in the context of the Kim family's poverty shows an abuse of power on the young employer's part and her low opinion of the Kim family *(IV, Employer>Mrs Kim (P), Employer<Mrs Kim (A) ⊦ Employer is abusing her power/ looks down on Mrs Kim).* Importantly, these inferences form cohesive links with the narrative beyond this scene. The scene is at the beginning of the film, and the use of these expressions towards the Kim family by someone so young and low in SES sets the scene for the Kim family's desperation and Mr Kim's loss of face which becomes a more significant strand of the narrative as the film goes on.

Abuse of power and antagonism

In *Tamjung: Deo Bigining* (탐정: 더 비기닝) 'The Accidental Detective' (2015), the invasion of space with an object in a conflicting hierarchy of age and position is not only an abuse of power but antagonisation, with the gesturer purposely using this expression within the conflicting hierarchy to stir a reaction from the receiver. It differs slightly from 'abuse of power and irritation' in the previous example in which the young employer looked down on the Kim family and so when she was irritated by them chose to abuse her power. In *Tamjung: Deo Bigining* (2015), Dae-Man, a crime enthusiast, and Detective Noh, a senior now demoted under his Junior (Detective Song), investigate a murder to clear their friend's name. Detective Song's promotion is a sensitive subject for Detective Noh because he is older and more experienced and so feels it was due to him. This is worsened by Detective Song's tendency to abuse his power over Detective Noh. He uses as an array of socio-pragmatic expressions that are acceptable for seniors but not juniors to do so, but it is the invasion of space with an object that eventually leads to the two men fighting and making a bet on who can solve the case or else quit their job.

In the scene (Figure 4.54), the invasion of space with an object creates layers of meaning. The first, most general meaning that can be inferred is that Detective Song is being 'inconsiderate', by ignoring their respective seniorities by either being cordial or avoiding Detective Noh entirely. Both would be considerate within a Korean cultural context. However, taking into consideration the repetitiveness of his use of similarly classified expressions up until this point and during this scene, and further their employment in front of spectators, this implies that Detective Song has the intention to provoke a negative reaction from Detective Noh. This then leads to a more specific inference that Detective Song is 'antagonising' Detective Noh. Within the context of Detective Noh missing out on the promotion to his junior, an 'abuse of power' can be inferred here also (*IV, Detective Song>Detective Noh (P),*

Detective Song<Detective Noh (A) ⊦ Detective Song is inconsiderate of Detective Noh*/ is antagonising Detective Noh/ is abusing his power*).



Figure 4.54. Detective Song invades the space of Detective Noh with an object, in *Tamjung: Deo Bigining* (탐정: 더 비기닝) 'The Accidental Detective' (2015).

In *Geukan Jigeop* (극한직업) 'Extreme Job' (2019), there is a similar conflict of hierarchies between Chief Go and his junior Detective Squad Chief Choi who has been promoted above him in spite of Chief Go being significantly older and having more experience (Figure 4.55). The film provides a similar narrative context and conflicting hierarchy as in *Tamjung: Deo Bigining* (2015), and although invasion of space with an object is not utilised there is a similar use of expressions that have a similar politeness classification as that expression when used in conflicting hierarchies *(e.g., DG, HH, SP, Detective Squad Chief Choi>Chief Go (P), Detective Squad Chief Choi<Chief Go (A)* ⊦ *Detective Squad Chief Choi is inconsiderate of Chief Go/ is antagonising Chief Go/ is abusing his power).* The meaning of these expressions will be explained in the sections to come; however, they still serve as evidence of the conventional use of expressions like invasion of space for 'abuse of power' and 'antagonisation', in the sense that the meaning of Korean expressions is determined by an expression's politeness classification (just as Kiaer and Kim (2021a) laid out) plus the context, and the use of these expressions in *Geukan Jigeop* are the same in both respects.



Figure 4.55. A scene in *Geukan Jigeop* (극한직업) 'Extreme Job' (2019), in which similarly classified expressions are used in a conflicting hierarchy of position and age and similar narrative to those in *Tamjung: Deo Bigining* (2015).

Outraged and irritated

Beterang (2015) provides us with an example of both invasion of space with an object and the vigorous movement of an object at someone. In the scene presented in Figure 4.56, a widow is given a bag containing a bribe by an employee of the *chaebol* family whose son is responsible for murdering her husband. She refuses the bribe, and as she does so, she shakes the bag, and although the bag doesn't get close enough to touch him it does invade the limited space between them. The man appears to be a similar age to the woman, or possibly slightly older, but either way the widow is in a less powerful position than the *chaebol* family since her husband was only a lorry driver for the company. Moreover, she does not know the man who she is speaking to, and they are in a public place, so it should be a formal situation. Therefore, to consider the meaning potential here it is simplest to place the woman and man into a junior-senior social dynamic. In the context of the bribe, which justifies her hurt feelings, the gesture expresses 'outrage' and 'anger', and further in the context of the feared and dangerous *chaebol* family it also expresses 'defiance', 'integrity', and 'courage' *(IV, Woman>Chaebol representative (P)* ⊦ *Woman is outraged/ angry/ defiant/ courageous).* If she had politely refused the bribe and left quietly, without using gestures like this

or those that are not polite, it would not have aligned so effectively; for she would be ignoring the *chaebol's* power by refusing the bribe while at the same time acknowledging their power in her socio-pragmatic communication. This alignment is needed to clearly communicate where she stands – that she does not intend to let the matter go.



Figure 4.56. A woman shakes an object vigorously at close proximity to a man delivering a bribe to her as an expression of defiance and anger, in *Beterang* (베테랑) 'Veteran' (2015).

Head scratching

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of scratching one's head will be presented.

Inconsideration

Jopok Manura (2001) provides us an example of when scratching one's head expresses carelessness. In the scene, gangster boss Eun-jin has been set up on a date by a Korean matchmaker, with a potential husband and his parents. During their introductions, Eun-jin scratches her head (Figure 4.57). Firstly, this is a direct expression of Eun-jin's discomfort in the situation *(SH, Eun-jin<Potential in-laws (A/P)⊦ Eun-jin is uncomfortable).* Eun-jin has not dated anyone before and hadn't even considered marrying. She only attempted to find a

husband to grant her sister's dying wish with the plan to divorce after she passes away, so she is outside of her comfort zone. However, Eun-jin is a junior in the social dynamic – in age but also importantly within this potential familial hierarchy – and as a junior it is not her place to express her feelings. Rather she is expected to go to lengths to make those senior to her feel comfortable. In this respect, her willingness to scratch her head rather than having the manner to conceal her own feelings ultimately expresses the lack of value that she places on the meeting *(SH, Eun-jin<Potential in-laws (A/P)ㅏ does not value potential in-laws).* She doesn't really care because she isn't invested in the relationship after all. Whereas, if we take an example of one of the meetings between Eun-jin and her boss, who she does value, she employs the non-verbal expressions of a junior; her head and eye gaze lowered, speaking carefully, and only when spoken to, and never scratching her head.



Figure 4.57. Eun-jin her discomfort in the situation and exposes her low SES by scratching her head, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

Social incompetency, low SES, and a difficult life

Expressions which show inadequate politeness levels are often used in K-films to show lack of social competency, low SES, or to depict the person employing the gestures as having a

difficult background, since one's ability to use the required politeness is considered as etiquette and a sign of being raised well and so 'assumedly' knowing how to behave well. As is often the case, there are additional layers of meaning that can be inferred when Eun-jin scratches her head, and they are precisely to this effect. Much of this is possible due to the contexts set up by the film prior to this scene, to infer further meaning. For Eun-jin, who sees her power as overriding traditional hierarchies, the scratching of her head may also be an expression of her 'inconsideration' as it would if she were in a conflicting hierarchy, as she does so from the perspective of the 'seniority' which she believes she has (even if it doesn't exist). Also, because of her background, growing up in an orphanage and without family or a decent education, she generally lacks social skills that extend beyond acknowledgement of gangster hierarchy and especially to familial social dynamics. In either case, there is an expression of 'social incompetency' here – a strategy played on throughout the film for many characters from similar backgrounds to Eun-jin, often used to create humour and tension. This 'social incompetency', due to its specific contextualisation and accompaniment by Japanese words and Korea slang, contribute to her presentation as low-class and a gangster *(SH, Eun-jin<Potential in-laws (A/P)⊦ Eun-jin is socially incompetent/ has a low-class background/ has an unattractive background/ is an outsider from normal society/ is a gangster).*

Eun-jin's expressions as they culminate then provide the context by which to interpret the reaction of the family building humorous tension until they storm out without saying a word *(SH, Eun-jin<Potential in-laws (A/P)⊦ Potential in-laws think that Eun-jin is an unattractive match for their son/ in-laws think Eun-jin may be a gangster).* As is generally the case with film, inferences come about through multimodal interactions (e.g., SH + Japanese words + Korean slang), such as 'in-laws get the hint that Eun-jin may be a gangster' relies upon the combination rather than the scratching of the head alone. Eun-jin's inability to act attractively or come across as a 'decent woman' at the matchmaker's dates then sets the scene for Eun-jin's subordinates having to track down a similarly undatable, desperate

candidate. They find this in the form of Soo-ill, who then wins Eun-jin's heart, thus providing the narrative for the rest of the film. Socio-pragmatic expressions like the scratching of the head are thus key for defining Eun-jin's personality, which cohesively links with the troubles Soo-ill faces while married to her, and then contrasts with her improved behaviour as she gradually grows from the experience.

Irritation and anger

Another common meaning expressed by the scratching of the head is irritation or anger. Unlike some expressions, scratching the head can express irritation or anger regardless of a gesturer's relative status to their fellow interlocutor, without a particularly unusual context in order for this to be the case. However, it feels particularly aggressive when used in junior-senior and conflicting hierarchies, because expressing negative emotions in a social dynamic in which one holds juniority, even in a conflicting hierarchy in which both interlocutors hold some form of juniority, it is simply more outrageous and therefore more daring. It typically shows that the gesturer has had enough of a situation, reaching a psychological state where they no longer care about the consequences of their actions, and this naturally implies that potentially a volatile situation might develop.

Gisaengchung provides an example of scratching the head to express irritation or anger, when Mr Park loses his temper with Mr Kim, after he makes a comment that Mr Park is not comfortable with (Figure 4.58). The inference is something along the lines of: *SH, Mr Park>Mr Kim (P) Mr Park<Mr Kim (A)* ⊦ *Mr Park is irritated with Mr Kim*. The inference of this gesture being of irritation or anger is firstly supported when directly after Mr Park scolds Mr Kim, reminding him that he is being paid for his time. It is also supported by the conversation between Mr Park and his wife that is shown the evening before, in which he explains that Mr Kim keeps almost 'crossing the line', referring to Mr Kim's behaviour becoming unprofessional and unacceptable in Mr Park's opinion. Further, the scenes prior to this one in

which Mr Kim and Mr Park interact feature Mr Kim engaging in slightly unprofessional behaviours that are uncomfortable for Mr Park, meanwhile Mr Park is shown letting them go and moving on. These events serve to form cohesion with the scratching of the head in this scene nearing the film's climax, as the scratching of the head in this scene is then contextualised by the build-up of Mr Park's discomfort until this point. The inference of Mr Park's gesture could even be specified further using this context, something to the effect of 'Mr Park has decided that Mr Kim has crossed the line' *(SH, Mr Park>Mr Kim (P) Mr Park<Mr Kim (A) ↳ Mr Park feels Mr Kim has now crossed the line/ Mr Park has had enough).*



Figure 4.58. Mr Park scratches his head when he finally loses his temper with Mr Kim's comments, in the violent ending of *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Frustration

Scratching one's head is also a common expression of frustration. In these cases, the scratching often involves using two hands to vigorously scratch the scalp and/or ruffle the hair. One example is in *Eorin sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride' (2004). In the film, Sang-min (a temporary teacher) is being harassed by a senior female teacher who wants to date him. She chooses to ignore Sang-min's polite, indirect refusals and hopes that the two might have a relationship if she persists; in fact, she has a reputation for this. This puts Sang-min in a difficult

position as the teacher is his senior (in age and position), and he and Bo-eun do not wish to reveal their marriage publicly yet while Bo-eun is still a high school student. When the teacher finds out that Bo-eun is married to Sang-min she is infuriated and wants to punish Bo-eun by giving her more work than the other students. After unsuccessfully attempting to reason with the teacher over her treatment of Bo-eun, Sang-min expresses his frustration by vigorously scratching his head (Figure 4.59). Sang-min's expression is something along the lines of: *SH, Sang-min<Teacher (P/A)⊦ Sang-min feels frustrated with the teacher/ Sang-min feels frustrated with the situation.* Both the social dynamic and the context provide reasoning for this inference: The teacher's seniority has prevented him from refusing directly, and their desire to keep their marriage a secret prevents Sang-min from doing anything about the senior teacher's current abuse of power, and she is not willing to be reasonable at all, causing him to feel extremely frustrated. In addition to the context and social dynamic, this expression can also be distinguished as primarily frustration rather than an expression of irritation or anger, by the fact that he employs the expression after the teacher has walked away and cannot see him anymore – as a release of emotion that is built up while speaking with her.



Figure 4.59. Sang-min vigorously scratches his head when he is irritated by the frustratingly unreasonable behaviour of a senior teacher, in *Eorin sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride' (2004).

Another example of scratching the head to express frustration is in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys With Secret Tips' (2013). The romantic comedy tells the story of Bo-na, an anti-social, overworked woman who tries to improve her standing with men using a self-help video that magically comes into her life. It is in the scene where Bo-na first watches the video that she scratches her head in a vigorous manner out of frustration (Figure 4.60). She is frustrated at what the video instructs that she must do to attract a man. First, the video instructs her to smile, and then use casual touch, and if all else fails to open her blouse and flash her breasts. The meaning of the expression, contextualised by the narrative of *Sayongseolmyungseo*, and what we know about Bo-na's unattractive qualities and disinterest in men shown so far, is: *SH, Bo-na-Instruction video* ⊦ *Bo-na feels frustrated/ she doesn't believe the instructions will work/ she thinks the video is ridiculous.* In this case, there is no relevant social dynamic, as this interaction is between Bo-na and a set of instructions (even if they are delivered by a presenter in the video), so in the formula above the usual logical operators used to indicate the social dynamic (</>/=) are simply

replaced with '-'. A similar approach can be applied for other interactions that do not have multiple participants.



Figure 4.60. Bo-na vigorously scratches her head and ruffles her hair when frustrated with the advice of her instructional dating video, in *Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys With Secret Tips' (2013).

This inference of frustration is then supported when following the gesture, the instructor in the video seems to speak directly to her as if he can see her, saying "wait… do you think this is corny and obvious?". Bo-an nods and says "yes" and the instructor responds "Do you always make excuses for yourself? Because you are afraid you might fail." In doing so, the instructor recognises Bo-an's frustration, and essentially manages to gain her confirmation that she feels this.

Open-handed beckoning

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of open-handed beckoning will be presented.

Intimacy

Beckoning with an open hand when used between intimates of equal status (e.g., friends or spouses) when alone, expresses simply their intimate relational dynamics. A prime example

of this is in a scene in *Ajeossi* (아저씨) 'The Man from Nowhere' (2010). The film tells the story of an ex-special agent (Tae-sik) who lives a reclusive life following personal tragedy but chooses to use his skills once more to save a child from his apartment complex who is kidnapped by a drug dealing organ trafficking ring. The scene in Figure 4.61 is a flashback in which viewers are provided a glimpse into the tragic event that made him who he us. In the scene, Tae-sik is exiting a store having purchased a pair of baby booties. A pregnant woman is shown sitting in a car outside. He receives a text message and then makes a phone call while watching the woman sitting in the car, and she responds to his eye contact by beckoning him with an open hand to encourage him to come and join her. Beckoning Tae-sik with an open hand in this sequence, to which he responds warmly, shows that the two have intimate relationship, and combined with his purchase of baby booties with the pregnant woman implies that she is indeed his wife *(OH, Woman-Tae-sik*ㄴ *Woman has close relationship with Tae-sik/ Woman is Tae-sik's wife).* It is important that the viewer understands this because moments later a lorry drives directly into the car assassinating her, following which the driver exits the vehicle and shoots Tae-sik. The implication is that Tae-sik's wife and unborn child was killed but he survived, and this led to his reclusiveness, and willingness to later sacrifice his own life to save the kidnapped child. In this respect, a small gesture like this, can be an incremental cog in the dynamic composition of narrative cohesion and thus integral in film comprehension.



Figure 4.62. Woman's open-handed beckoning to 'hurry and join her' expresses her intimate relationship with Tae-sik serving to imply that she is his wife in the flashback, in *Ajeossi* (아저씨) 'The Man from Nowhere' (2010).

Seniority

An example of open-handed beckoning that contrastingly expresses seniority, can be seen in Park Chan-wook's BAFTA award winner *Agassi* (아가씨) 'The Handmaiden' (2016). The film, a psychological thriller set during Japanese occupation in Korea, tells the story of Count Fujiwara's plot to marry Lady Hideko, place her in an asylum, and steal her inheritance, in which he engages the services of pickpocket Sook-hee to become Hideko's maid and encourage her to marry him. In the scene in which open handed beckoning is used, Hideko uses the gesture to call over her new handmaiden (Figure 4.63). The gesture is the conducted in the same manner shown in the previous example from *Ajeossi*, however the context provided prior to this of Sook-hee taking up the position as Hideko's maid, makes this a reflection of their senior-junior relationship, and the distance in their relationship, as they do not know each other well yet (*OH, Hideko>Sook-hee*ㅏ *Hideko is senior/ Hideko and Sook-hee's relationship hasn't developed yet*). Both meanings are significant in the narrative, since it is the development of their intimate relationship as they become lovers that is important to the core narrative thread.



Figure 4.63. Lady Hideko beckons Sook-he with an open hand, in *Agassi* (아가씨) 'The Handmaiden' (2016).

Pointing

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of pointing will be presented.

Seniority

Pointing is another gesture which is rude when used by juniors and non-intimates and an expression of interpersonal relations and attitude as well as merely indication direction, position, or gaining the attention of a particular individual. Figure 4.64 shows an example in a scene from another Korean modern classic, *Baram* (바람) 'Wish' (2009). The film tells the story of a boy who joins a high school gang as a rite of passage. The scene shown in the still is one in which a senior gang member scalds a junior member who chooses to eat *ramyeon* instead of attending the gang's meeting. The protagonist pointing is angry, but this is also obvious based on what has happened and the dialogue. Pointing, however, expresses that as the one pointing that he is senior in this situation, and that he holds the power in the relationship with the boy he is scalding *(PF, Gang member 1>Gang member 2 (P)*ㄴ *Gang member 1 is senior.*



Figure 4.64. Pointing is an indicator of the relation between these individuals and subsequently the difference in the power these two boys have in the relationship, in *Baram* (바람) 'Wish' (2009).

Mayakwang (2018) provides another example of pointing as an expression seniority. The film, set in the 1970s, is based on the true story of a petty smuggler (Lee Doo-sam) in Busan, who joins the drug trade and rises to the top of the Japanese narcotics industry. In one scene, early in the film, Doo-sam is in the early stages of his criminal career and working as a smuggler of jewellery and gold. After a successful job, him and his teammates eat together to celebrate. His senior, the UN Ambassador who is running the business at this point, asks Doo-sam about his background. While speaking, the UN Ambassador points at Doo-sam (Figure 4.65). In this case he is not angry, nor is he disciplining him, but rather he is gesturing freely due to his seniority (both in position and age) and the power he holds because of his social status (*OH, UN Ambassador>Doo-sam (A/P)*ㄴ *UN Ambassador is senior/ is powerful*).

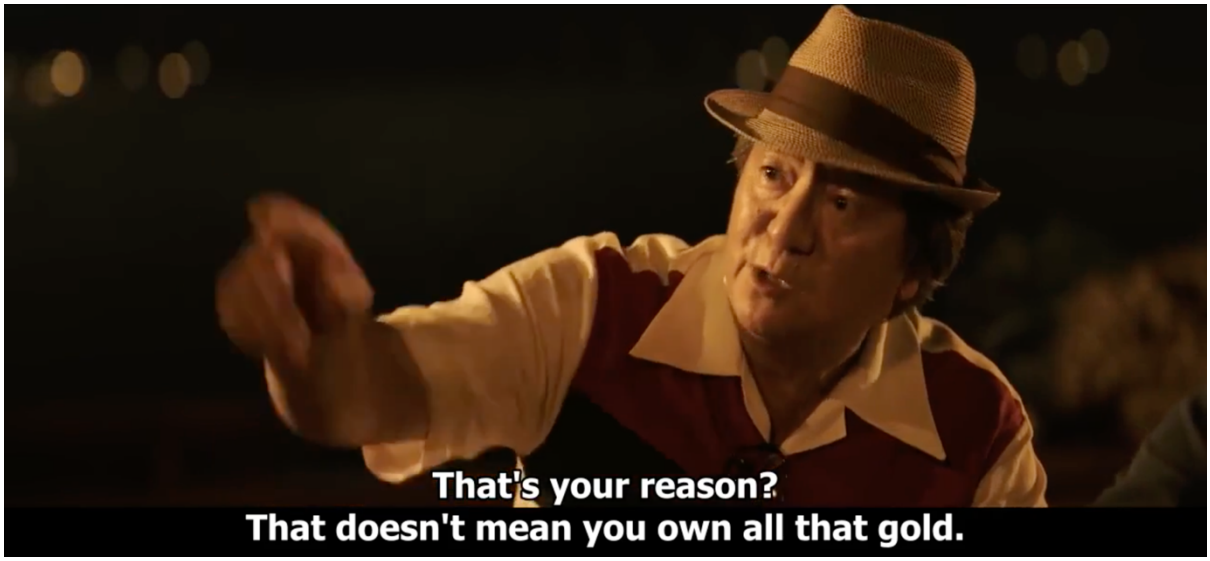


Figure 4.65. UN Ambassador is able to point at Doo-sam, which shows his seniority and higher social status to Doo-sam and within the group of men present, in *Mayakwang* (마약왕) 'The Drug King' (2018).

Intimacy

Taeksi Unjeonsa (2017) provides an example of pointing between intimates. A key relationship in Sa-bok's life is between him and his landlord, who is also a taxi driver, and his close friend. In one scene, the two men are shown eating together at a taxi driver's café, and Sa-bok asks him to borrow money. His friend doesn't scald him but questions him about why he needs the money when he no longer has any debt. Sa-bok humorously explains he needs to borrow the money to pay the rent. His friend explains that he used the only savings he had to give his sister a secret wedding present. While speaking, Sa-bok's friend occasionally points at him (Figure 4.66).

There is no context for anger here, even if Sa-bok's request is a pain. Further, despite Sa-bok's mischievous behaviour, and his friend's higher status (as Sa-bok's landlord), there is still no context for disciplining Sa-bok either, as the landlord makes clear that the intimacy between them is the determining factor for their behaviour. Instead, pointing, like many other expressions that the two men use, simply reflects their intimate relationship *(PF, Sa-bok's landlord>Sa-bok (P)ㄴ Sa-bok and his landlord have a very close relationship)*. This then introduces intimacy into their social equation, which is significant to the narrative

because it serves to contextualise the conversation between Sa-bok and his wife earlier in the film, and this is cohesive with Sa-boks role in these relationships as an immature scamp who needs to get his life together. Thus, establishing intimacy through use of these gestures.



Figure 4.66. While speaking, Sa-bok's friend occasionally points at him, but in this case the primary expression is one of intimacy, in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017).

Head and body gestures

This sub-section will cover the meaning potentials of gestures of the head and body.

Lowering and heightening

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of the lowering or heightening of the head and/or body will be presented.

Making a good impression and juniority

The lowering or heightening of the head and body expresses juniority or seniority respectively, but this is not always indicative of just that alone. Depending upon the interlocutor's choice – to express their juniority or behave disrespectfully (junior), or express seniority or behave humbly or weak (senior) – can show an individual's desire to 'make a good

impression'. In each case, some further specification of the meaning potential may be provided by the context.

Figure 4.67 shows an example extracted from *Jopok Manura* (2001), in which a junior (left) 'Romeo' who 'knows his place' lowers his head while speaking to his senior Eun-jin. At the same time, another junior (right), a 'new recruit' at the gangster organisation who 'does not know their place', does not do so adequately. In this case juniority is expressed by one junior through the lowering of his head when speaking to his senior, showing his 'desire to be in good favour' and the way he 'values' Eun-jin and the gangster organisation (*HL, Romeo<Eun-jin (P)⊢ Romeo wants to make a good impression/ wants to be in good favour with Eun-jin/ Romeo values Eun-jin).* Whereas the social incompetency of the other man is expressed in his failure to do so – he doesn't show respect to the senior because he is both new in town and knows little of her fierce reputation, and also lacks the sophistication that the others have because of his limited experience in the city *(HH, New recruit<Eun-jin (P)⊢ New recruit doesn't care about the impression he makes/ is unsophisticated/ doesn't value Eun-jin)*. The new recruit's social incompetency is a means of creating humour throughout the film, linked to him being a 'country boy', supporting this inference.



Figure 4.67. A junior gang member (left) lowers his head as an expression of respect to his senior, while his unsophisticated 'new recruit' friend (right) does not, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

The lowering of the head or body is certainly a means of making a good impression by means of juniority, since we can observe this approach to self-representation in films in which a protagonist attempts to deceive people of their innocence. One example is *Geunyeoreul midji maseyo* (그녀를 믿지 마세요) 'Too Beautiful to Lie' (2004). The film is about ex-con-woman Young-ju, who upon her release decides to give up her criminal life, but when she finally tries to go straight, she finds herself getting in trouble again. This time she finds herself at the center of an innocent misunderstanding that gets more and more out of hand, when she attempts to return the lost ring of a stranger she meets on a train (Hee-chul). When she goes to return the ring, Hee-chul's family misunderstand and believe that she is his fiancé. Hee-chul's family are so kind to Young-ju that she finds it increasingly hard to correct the misunderstanding and finds herself having to go along with it, getting in deeper and deeper with lie upon lie with them eventually believing that not only is she engaged to Hee-chul but also pregnant with his child.

The scene in Figure 4.68 is soon after Hee-chul arrives at his familial home to find out that he is supposedly engaged and a father-to-be and tries to convince his family to no

avail that it isn't true. He kneels and leans forward, lowering his body submissively before a collection of his close family members. He is trying to make a good impression, though it is more like 'believe me, look, I'm a good person!' *(HL, Hee-chul<Family (A)⊦ Hee-chul wants to convince his family he is good/ to convince them of his innocence)*. Meanwhile, Young-ju kneels behind him, her head lowered throughout. She is also trying to make a good impression however she is 'feigning innocence' using this expression *(HL, Young-ju<Family (A)⊦ Young-ju wants to deceive Hee-chul's family that she is good/ Young-ju is pretending to be innocent)*. Both use the same expression, producing the same meaning, but based on the context the function of these expressions is different and so meaning potential varies slightly.



Figure 4.68. Young-ju feigns 'innocence' attempting to make a 'good' impression with her head lowered in addition to other non-verbal gestures with similar politeness classifications, in *Geunyeoreul midji maseyo* (그녀를 믿지 마세요) 'Too Beautiful to Lie' (2004).

In *Hanyeo* (2010), the housemaid Eun-yi also keeps her head and body lowered when meeting her employer Mr Goh for the first time (Figure 4.69). At this stage, Eun-yi wants to make a good impression on her employer, and there is no evidence in the narrative to the contrary *(HL, Eun-yi<Mr Goh (P)⊦ Eun-yi wants to make a good impression on her employer).* It is worth noting in this case that this gesture, along with numerous others that

are aligned with it (e.g., indirect eye gaze, hands in lap, and compact posture) are revoked when she begins to have an affair with Mr Goh, which is implicative of development of characters and relationships and how one influences the other.



Figure 4.69. Eun-yi keeps her head lowered when she meets her new employer Mr. Goh for the first time, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (2010).

In *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019), we are provided with a contrast between the heightening and lowering of the head or body according to who is senior and who is junior, specifically between daughter-in-law Ji-yeong and her mother-in-law. Ji-yeong can be seen keeping her eye gaze lowered, only looking up briefly to respond to her mother-in-law (Figure 4.70). Meanwhile, her mother-in-law often has her head raised and body raised *(HH, Mother-in-law>Ji-yeong (A/P)⊦ Mother-in-law is senior to Ji-yeong),* and her other expressions align with this too (e.g., direct eye gaze and broad posture). In this case, Ji-yeong's lowered head shows her juniority, but her proactivity in this respect shows her desire to make a good impression on her mother-in-law *(HL, Ji-yeong <Mother-in-law (A/P)⊦ Ji-yeong wants to make a good impression on mother-in-law).* This inference is supported in the narrative, in which Ji-yeong repeatedly directly states her desire to maintain a good relationship with her mother-in-law. This is by no means a recent occurrence either, as utilisation of this gesture has continued since the Neo-Confucian doctrine at the beginning of the Joseon period, and as such can be

observed frequently in the behaviour of juniors, and especially women, in Korean period films (Figure 4.71).



Figure 4.70. Ji-yeong raises her head only briefly when addressed, in efforts to make a good impression on her mother-in-law, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).



Figure 4.71. The queen, the kings favoured concubine and mother of the crown prince Sado, Sado's future queen, and the daughter of another concubine are seated before the queen dowager (the queen's mother-in-law), in *Sado* (사도) 'The Throne' (2015).

Humility

Underlying the lowering of the head and/or the body by a junior to make of a good impression is the expression of humility, however, this gesture isn't always used with the conscious intention to make a good impression as demonstrated in the previous examples. It can simply be used to make oneself agreeable – to 'be nice' – which could occur between equals or friends. Figure 4.72 shows an example extracted from another scene in *Eorin sinbu* (2004). In the scene, Ji-soo, a female friend of Sang-min's, who is also his senior, lowers he head and body as a general manner in her communication with him. In this case, she is not using humility to make a good impression on a senior, because she is senior, but rather this characterises her, through her humility, as a 'nice person' *(HL, Ji-soo>Sang-min (A/P)⌙ Ji-soo is humble/ Ji-soo is a nice person).* Also, note Ji-soo's compact posture, which aligns with the lowering of the head and/or body *(CP, Ji-soo>Sang-min (P/A) ⌙Ji-soo is humble/ Ji-soo is a nice person).* The expression of humility, used in this manner, is common among females. This doesn't mean that males do not express humility in the same contexts, however it is observably more common between equals and friends and towards juniors, as shown in the example of Ji-soo, when the gesturer is female. Studies support this, showing that women are flexible with interpersonal relations than men in Korea (Kiaer et al. 2019), and this is reflected in films.



Figure 4.72. Ji-soo (right) often lowers her head and body, even though she is senior to Sang-min, and his friend, in *Eorin sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride' (2004). Also note her compact posture.

Ji-soo even lowers her head and body when speaking to Sang-min's young wife, who is only a highschooler, and significantly junior to Jisoo (Figure 4.73). In the context, this supports her characterisation as a 'humble', 'caring' and 'nice' *(HL, Ji-soo>Bo-eun (A) ⊦⌙Ji-soo is humble/ nice/ caring)*. Also, note again Ji-soo's compact posture, which aligns with the lowering of the head and/or body *(CP, Ji-soo>Bo-eun (A) ⊦⌙Ji-soo is humble/ nice/ caring).*



Figure 4.73. Ji-soo meets Bo-eun for the first time and lowers her head and/or body, and employs compact posture, in *Eorin sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride' (2004).

Flirtation and romantic interest

Jigeum Mannareo Gamnida (지금 만나러 갑니다) 'Be With You' (2018) provides several examples of lowered head and body in flirtation and when one person has a romantic interest in another. The film tells the story of Soo-ah, who passes away, leaving her husband Woo-jin and their young son devastated. Before she passes away, she makes an unbelievable promise to return one year later at the start of the rainy season. She keeps her promise and reappears before her husband and son as if by magic, but with no memory of who she is. Their reunion is short-lived, though, because she must leave at the end of the rainy season. In the scene in question, shown in Figures 4.74 and 4.75, a colleague at Woo-jin's workplace is romantically interested in him but too shy to say this directly, and instead shows her interest by almost constantly lowering her head and body *(HL, Female colleague<Woo-jin (P)ㄴ Female colleague is romantically interested in Woo-jin/ is making herself attractive/ is flirting with Woo-jin).* The reason why expressing humility in this manner can be flirtatious or can indicate romantic interest (even if the person is not flirting directly), is because humility, especially among the young, and more so among females, is considered attractive. Thus,

when making oneself attractive, or wishing to be nice to someone because of one's attraction to them (even if the person in question is not aware of that), this gesture (and other similarly classified gestures) work as a form of 'social cosmetic' (Kiaer, 2022). Her alignment with other non-verbal gestures, such as lowering her eye gaze, in addition to the context given that she is interested in Woo-jin supports this inference. Furthermore, argument that this is an expression of her juniority, and she is Woo-jin's junior, are also found to be distinguishable, when shortly afterwards another senior who has romantic interest in her tries to be friendly but is treated in direct contrast to how she treats Woo-jin.



Figure 4.74. Woo-jin's colleague lowers her head in expression of her like for him, *Jigeum Mannareo Gamnida* (지금 만나러 갑니다) 'Be With You' (2018).



Figure 4.75. Woo-jin's colleague lowers her head in expression of her like for him, *Jigeum Mannareo Gamnida* (지금 만나러 갑니다) 'Be With You' (2018).

There is a similar example to those provided from *Jigeum Mannareo Gamnida* (2018) in *6Nyeonjjae Yeonaejung* (2008). In the film, Jae-young and Da-jin have been going out for 6 years and their relationship has become stale. Both begin to question remaining together and begin feeling attracted to new people. In Figure 4.76, when Da-jin meets Jin-seong she isn't looking for a new relationship but there is chemistry between them, and one of the frequent expressions she uses when interacting with him is the lowering her head and body *(HL, Da-jin<Jin-seong (P)⊦ Da-jin is attracted to Jin-seong/ is flirting)*. Da-jin's use of this expression bares noticeable similarity to its use in the previous example extracted from *Jigeum Mannareo Gamnida* (2018). Not only in how the gesture is performed but also its multimodal alignment with other expressions and combination with friendly discussion and smiling; the former which shows consistency and remove the possibility of insincerity, and the latter which helps to contextualise the gesture in friendliness rather than simply respectfulness (in a junior-senior capacity). There is a note of discomfort, as the meeting has not been a smooth one, in which Da-jin's friend caused mischief between Da-jin and Jin-seong. However, the way Jin-seong deals with the situation is contextualised attractively, providing reason for Da-jin to like him, and which is later confirmed as the two increasingly spend time together.



Figure 4.76. Da-jin and lowers her head when speaking to Jin-seong, with her friend cowering behind after causing mischief between them, in *6Nyeonjjae Yeonaejung* (6 년째 연애중) 'Lovers of Six Years' (2008).

Another occasion of lowering the head and body as an expression of flirtation and romantic interest can be observed in *Eorin Sinbu* (2004), and in this case far more directly. In one scene (Figure 4.77), Miss Kim, with hopes of becoming romantically involved with male trainee teacher Sang-min, uses the lowering of her body often as part of a multimodal orchestration in which her aim is to be attractive and indicate her interest in him *(HL, Miss Kim>Sang-min (A/P)⊦ Miss Kim is attracted to Sang-min/ is flirting with Sang-min)*. Both her dialogue, which makes her interest abundantly clear, and the alignment between the lowering of her body (often in the form of leaning) with other expressions that have a similar affect, support this inference. Additionally, because of Miss Kim's seniority, both in age and position, this behaviour is inappropriate and unwelcome; giving way to further layers of meaning alongside her flirtation, such as *'Miss Kim is forcing herself on Sang-min'* and *'Miss Kim is making an uncomfortable situation'* and *'Miss Kim is desperate'*, which are also supported in the dialogue of students who observe this and describe Miss Kim and the situation to be as such.



Figure 4.77**.** Miss Kim's lowers her body and sometimes her head also (often leaning forward) when she is trying to flirt with Sang-min, in *Eorin sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride') (2004).

Persuasion

Since the lowering of the head or body is fundamentally an expression of respect and submission in junior-senior interactions and as such a 'good behaviour', it also serves as an emphatic means of imploring another person in a persuasive manner (reminiscent of use of the English emphatic phrase "*pretty* please"). Returning to the scene from *Gisaengchung* (2019), in which the Kim family have a dispute with their employer, Ki-woo uses this gesture when he is attempting to persuade the employer to do what he wants (Figure 4.78). He enters the dispute at a heated moment between his mother (Mrs. Kim) and the employer, caused by the employer's proposed deduction from their salary due to the quality of their pizza box folding. Ki-woo lowers his head and body so that he is beneath the employer physically while persuading her verbally to calm down, pay what they are owed, and even goes as far as to negotiate a better position for himself. The reason this expression is not simply submissive but purposefully persuasive is that Ki-woo is slightly older than the girl. Even having the difference of one day in age, if it places one in a higher year group in school, then one has seniority over the

other person. Therefore, being slightly older is enough to create a conflicting hierarchy with one's employer. Thus, interpretation of the gesture must be via the politeness classification of a conflicting hierarchy of age and position *(HL, Ki-woo<Pizza takeaway employer (P), Ki-woo>Pizza takeaway employer (A)⊢ Ki-woo is attempting to persuade his employer to do what he is saying).*



Figure 4.78. Ki-woo lowers his head and body when trying to persuade his family's employer to do what he wants, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

The inherence of these meanings in Korean non-verbal occasion that they are even performed when the recipient cannot see the gesturer, with an array of examples observable throughout K-films. An example of a case extracted from *Chihwaseon* (2002) presented in Figure 4.79 shows the use of lowering the head and body to persuade even though the receiver cannot see it.



Figure 4.79. A woman lowers her body when making a request to a man even though he is facing away and can't see this, in *Chihwaseon* (취화선) 'Painted Fire' (2002).

Fear

The lowering of the head and/or body can also be an expression of fear when employed by seniors. Figure 4.80 shows an example extracted from a scene in *Jopok Manura* (2001), which within the context of being under the behest of gangsters, gives way to inferences of 'fear', rather than characterising them as 'nice' (as shown in the earlier example extracted from *Eorin Sinbu* (2004). In the scene, an elderly man and woman (left and centre), who are a generation older than Eun-jin (right), have been pushed into acting as Eun-jin's parents in a meeting set up by a matchmaker, for which she needs parents to make her appear normal. The pair, who work as street food vendors, were approached by Eun-jin's henchmen in an earlier scene and intimidated into doing so. During the meeting they lower their heads and bodies throughout, despite not being positionally subordinate, and having age seniority. They do so because out of fear of Eun-jin *(HL, Elderly couple>Eun-jin (A), ⊦ Elderly couple fear Eun-jin/ Eun-jin's organisation).* Their posture is also compact, which is in alignment with this expression *(CP, Elderly couple>Eun-jin (A), ⊦ Elderly couple fear Eun-jin/ Eun-jin's organisation).*



Figure 4.80. An elderly man and woman lower their heads and bodies (as well as making their posture compact) when in fear of Eun-jin (sat to their right), in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

Shame and Humiliation

When seniors lower their head and/or body, this can also be an expression of shame or humiliation. Returning to *Hanyeo* (2010), in one scene the Goh family's housekeeper Miss Cho lowers her head and body when apologising to Eun-yi for a serious wrong. Suspecting that Eun-yi was pregnant with Mr. Goh's child, Miss Cho informed Mrs. Goh's mother. This led to multiple attempts by Mrs Goh and her mother to end Eun-yi's pregnancy, almost killing her in the process. Finally, they are successful, paying a doctor to remove the pregnancy while Eun-yi is under anaesthetic, leaving Eun-yi devastated. It is then that Miss Cho visits Eun-yi at the hospital to apologise (Figure 4.81). Even though she is a generation older than Eun-yi, and in a more senior position at the Goh household, the harm she has done to her is so great that even after Eun-yi slaps her face, she keeps her head and body lowered *(HL, Miss Cho>Eun-yi (A/P), ⊦ Miss Cho is ashamed/ Miss Cho is deeply sorry).* Her avoidance of direct eye gaze and compact posture align with these expressions too, consistent in expressing that she is ashamed and deeply apologetic *(IG/CP, Miss Cho>Eun-yi (A/P)⊦ Miss Cho*

is ashamed/ Miss Cho is deeply sorry). This inference is supported by Miss Cho's admittance of the embarrassment and guilt she feels over what has happened. She speaks in *haeche*, but she always has done so to Eun-yi so there is no shift to indicate rudeness. She says *"mianae"* meaning 'sorry', and admits shame using the word *"changpi"* (창피), which refers to embarrassment.



Figure 4.81. Miss Cho the housekeeper lowers her head as she apologises to Eun-yi, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (2010)

Returning to *Geukan Jigeop* (2019), in the interactions between Chief Go and his junior Detective Squad Chief Choi, who was promoted ahead of him causing discomfort and animosity between them, Chief Go frequently lowers his head (Figure 4.82). This is an expression of humiliation *(HL, Chief Go>Detective Squad Chief Choi (A), Chief Go<Detective Squad Chief Choi (P)*ㄴ *Chief Go is humiliated)*, which is an expression consistent with the conflicting hierarchy between the two men, and the narrative thus far - his junior being promoted over him, and Detective Squad Chief Choi's antagonisation as he taunts Chief Go by emphasising his seniority over him. This is clearly a convention in the expression of shame, at least in *Geukan Jigeop*, because Chief Go uses the same gesture of lowering his head repeatedly when in contexts of humiliation, of which there are many in the film since it is

about precisely that – Chief Go's struggle to overcome humiliation and prove that he is good at his job.



Figure 4.82. Chief Goh lowers his head during a humiliatingly degrading interaction with Detective Squad Chief Choi, in *Geukan Jigeop* (극한직업) 'Extreme Job' (2019).

Another of these examples is presented in the scene in Figure 4.83, in which Chief Go and his team, though especially him due to his seniority, is being disciplined by the highest-ranking police officer, the Police Superintendent. Note that all members of the team lower their heads, with Chief Go lowering his the most, which is in-line with the emphasis on his humiliation in the narrative; and the policewoman on the far right, whose character is emphasised as masculine through her bolshiness, is lowering her head the least. The contrast between these two characters, which is reflected in these expressions, only supports this inference of lowering the head as expressing 'shame' or 'embarrassment', because its use in characterisation would otherwise be ineffective. shame or pride, which then has positive or negative meanings depending upon the social dynamic



Figure 4.83. Chief Goh lowers his head, humiliated again, as he and his team are disciplined by the Police Superintendent, in *Geukan Jigeop* (극한직업) 'Extreme Job' (2019).

Taeksi Unjeonsa (2017) provides another example of the lowering of the head as an expression of humiliation. In an early scene in the film, embarrassed by his landlord's wife for not paying the rent on time and for the unruly behaviour of his daughter towards the landlord's son, Sa-bok lowers his head during their interaction (Figure 4.84). Whether Sa-bok and the landlord's wife are the same age or not is not specified, so meaning potential of the expression within a range of social dynamics will be presented to show how this inference is arrived upon. If Sa-bok is considered as older or equal in age, then Sa-bok's use of the expression is very polite, with a conflict *(HL ∧ Sa-bok>Landlord's wife (A) → Very polite/ HL ∧ Sa-bok=Landlord's wife (A) → Very polite, conflict)*. If Sa-bok's long-standing friendship with her husband is considered as part of the equation, the politeness classification is also comparable to the gesture when employed in a social dynamic in which interlocutors are equals.

The unnecessariness of the level of politeness in all these potential social dynamics results in the inference that 'Sa-bok is in a difficult situation', which within the narrative context of the film the scene can be specified as a 'loss of face' or 'shame' and even hopelessness. It is for this reason that he does not negotiate with the woman, despite his close relationship with the woman's husband, his age, which are all social assets that he can exert in the situation. In many cases, as previously demonstrated, use of very polite expressions can

then be inferred as 'fear', however there isn't a context for fear in this case. The only context available for interpreting this gesture, and similarly other gestures in alignment with it (e.g., IG and 30B), is Sa-bok's embarrassment over being in this situation. The landlord's wife scalding him, and his failures appear to be mounting, causing him to feel embarrassed and ashamed: *HL, Sa-bok>Landlord's wife (A)/ Sa-bok=Landlord's wife⊦ Sa-bok is embarrassed/ ashamed/ feels hopeless.* The context that enables one to make this inference is the very thing that supports it. The alignment of HL with expressions that have the same politeness classification is also supportive.



Figure 4.84. Sa-bok lowers his head, in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017).

There is one other social dynamic to be considered, which is that Sa-bok has less status as a tenant *(HL ∧ Sa-bok<Landlord's wife (P) → Polite)* and is behaving as a junior. If this was so, then in this case, submitting is an expression of the 'value' he has for the landlord and his wife, and would be a way for him to 'smooth over the dispute' *(HL, Sa-bok<Landlord's wife (P)⊦ Sa-bok values the landlord and his wife/ wants to fix the situation)*. However, with Sa-bok's age appearing similar to the woman, or potentially even older, and since he has a very close friendship with her husband, the social dynamic is too complex to reduce interpretation of his gestures to the politeness classifications of a simple

junior-senior interaction. Each of these social assets present conflicts in the social dynamic, which result in very polite expressions that are more likely conducive with serious emotions such as humiliation or fear, rather than a simple respectful apology.

This doesn't mean that a junior wouldn't lower their head when ashamed or being disciplined too, as they would. However, unlike juniors, seniors don't lower their head or body to be polite in general. Returning to *Sayongseolmyungseo* (2013), there is an example of this, in a scene in which Bo-na (left) is being disciplined by her employer (Figure 4.85). She keeps her head lowered in embarrassment and submission to him, as does her colleague *(HL, Bo-na<Employer (P)ㄴ Bo-na is in trouble/ is apologetic/ is embarrassed/ is submissive to her employer)*. Her expression also has a secondary purpose, which is to characterise her relationship with her employer, in which she is often treated unfairly and endures it *(HL, Bo-na<Employer (P)ㄴ Bo-na is having a difficult time at work)*.



Figure 4.85. Bo-na and her colleague lower their head when being disciplined by their boss, in *Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys With Secret Tips' (2013).

Irritation and anger

Returning to the earlier scene from *Eorin Sinbu* (2004), in which Miss Kim is angry at Sang-min, after finding out he is married to one of the highschoolers (Figure 4.86). Now in a spiteful rage, she no longer lowers her body or head, but rather raises her head and heightens her body *(HH, Miss Kim>Sang-min (A/P)ㄴ Miss Kim is angry at Sang-min)*. This is

somewhat of a contrast to the previous example provided in which Miss Kim was flirting with Sang-min and enjoying his company *(HH, Miss Kim>Sang-min (A/P)⊦ Miss Kim is no longer flirting with Sang-min/ Sang-min is no longer in good favour with Miss Kim)*. Again, the inference that her heightened body and head expresses her anger and irritation is supported by her dialogue in which she confirms these feelings, as well as the shift to a contrasting context and contrasting behaviour in alignment with this.



Figure 4.86. Miss Kim raises her head and heightens her body when she is angry with Sang-min, in *Eorin sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride' (2004).

Returning to the scene from *Beterang* (2015) previously presented as an example of invasion of space and vigorous movement with an object, in which the angry widow rejects the chaebol's bribe to stop investigating her husband's murder. In the scene, the widow also heightens her body, by standing and scalding him while he remains sitting (Figure 4.87). This form of heightening is a little different, but it works similarly as a means of her expressing anger *(HH, Woman>Chaebeol representative (P) ⊦ Woman is angry)*, and as in the previous example taken from this scene, this expression also conveys 'defiance', 'courage', and 'integrity' because of the context of its use in the social dynamic and narrative of the film.



Figure 4.87. An angry widow stands, making her position physically higher than the sitting receiver when refusing his bribe over the wrongful death of her husband in *Beterang* (베테랑) 'Veteran' (2015)

Intimacy

The heightening of the body can also simply be an expression of intimacy, when it is between close friends, in romantic relationships, and even between siblings. Sado (2015) provides an example of this, which contrasts with the earlier example of lowering the head and/or body presented in Figure 4.71, in the heightening of the head and body between husband and wife, Sado and Lady Hye-gyeong (Figure 4.88 and 4.89). When Sado and Lady Hye-gyeong are alone together, it is gestures such as this that define their close and genuinely caring relationship, which also plays a vital role in characterising them. Importantly, it is Lady Hye-gyeong's use of this expression and its acceptance by Sado, despite her lower rank, from which this inference can be made, as the disqualification of her lower rank is indicative that their intimacy is strong enough to achieve this *(HH Lady Hye-gyeong<Sado (P) ⊢ Lady Hye-gyeong and Sado have a close relationship).* Given that Sado is a period film, the use of this expression by Lady Hye-gyeong is even more significant in indicating the type of relationship her and Sado have, which in the film is important to comprehension of vital cohesive links constructed over a larger portion of the narrative.



Figure 4.88. As children, Sado and Lady Hye-gyeong drop formality when they relax alone together. Their posture is unrefined, they raise their heads, and make direct eye contact, in *Sado* (사도) 'The Throne' (2015).



Figure 4.89. As adults, Sado and Lady Hye-gyeong drop formality when they relax alone together. Their posture is unrefined, they raise their heads, and make direct eye contact, in *Sado* (사도) 'The Throne' (2015).

Seniority, entitlement, and high SES

Gisaengchung (2019) provides many examples of the heightening of the head or body by seniors. Mr and Mrs Park's uprightness, in comparison to their staff, for instance. The interview of Ki-woo by Mrs Park is a prime example, before she places a value on him as her daughter's tutor (Kiaer and Kim, 2021b), and only expresses her seniority (Figures 4.90 and 91). During the interview she heightens her body and head by standing and sitting upright

(*HH, Mrs Park>Ki-woo (P)⊦ Mrs Park is senior/ Mrs Park holds the power),* and then after offering him the job she begins leaning slightly and lowering her head occasionally because of her value for tutors *(HL, Mrs Park>Ki-woo (P)⊦ Mrs Park values Ki-woo/ values tutors/ her daughter's education is her top priority)*. Just as the heightening of the head and/or body can show one's seniority, it can also express high socio-economic status, or a feeling of self-importance or entitlement. This is another layer of meaning in these scenes from *Gi-saengchung* (2019), since Mrs Park heightens herself prior to Ki-woo gaining her respect *(HH, Mrs Park>Ki-woo (P)⊦ Mrs Park has higher status than Ki-woo/ Mrs Park looks down on Ki-woo/ Mrs Park doesn't value Ki-woo)*, and he is only granted her politer behaviour when he possesses something she wants.



Figure 4.90. Note the contrast between senior (Mrs Park, left) and junior (Ki-woo, right) in the heightening and lowering of the head and body while standing/walking, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).



Figure 4.91. Note the contrast between senior (Mrs Park, left) and junior (Ki-woo, right) in the heightening and lowering of the head and body while standing/walking, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Beterang (2015) also provides several examples of high status and entitlement expressed by the heightening of the head and/or body; often which, unlike the example given prior of Mrs Park's heightening of the head or body, are simultaneously confrontational. In *Beterang*, the privileged Chaebol's son Tae-oh, who is characterised as completely degenerate, frequently finds himself in conflicting hierarchies with individuals who are older than him but have vastly lower socio-economic status. Because of the status his high SES affords him, he usually behaves as a senior. In one scene he is confronted by a disgruntled lorry driver, who is a low-ranking employee but a generation older than him. In the scene Tae-oh is intimidating, antagonising, and lacks empathy. He has been allowed to behave in this way because he was raised in such an entitled environment with little consequence to his actions. Thus, when he heightens his head and body in this interaction (Figure 4.92), it shows his high status in his ability to do so, and his feeling of entitlement in his willingness to do so. At the same time, his behaviour is 'confrontational' in a conflicting social dynamic, and in his choice to be so it is also 'antagonistic' *(HH, Tae-oh>Lorry driver (P), Tae-oh<Lorry driver (A)* ⊢ *Tae-oh has higher status than the lorry driver/ is entitled/ doesn't value the lorry driver/ is being confrontational/ is antagonising the lorry driver)*. This is quite different than the

meaning potential if Tae-oh was simply the lorry driver's senior. In which case, even though he could be irritated or angry with the lorry driver, this gesture would primarily reflect his seniority and would not be as effective at conveying antagonisation or confrontation since the conflicting hierarchy required to have this effect on the other person is not present to be leveraged. The equation of the social dynamic with the gesture thus produces conventional meanings when used in certain contexts, which are relied upon in Korean films to cohesively structure the narrative and ultimately convey the intended story. In this case, Tae-oh's high social status, feeling of entitlement, and psychosis that is implied has having developed from that, subsequently manifesting in his propensity for confrontation and antagonisation.



Figure 4.92. Tae-oh heightening his head and body when speaking to the lorry driver, in *Beterang* (베테랑) 'Veteran' (2015).

Broad and compact posture

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of broad and compact posture will be presented.

Agreeable, disagreeable, and outrageous

Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo (2001) provides several examples of outrageous behaviour since the female protagonist's outrageous behaviour is precisely what the narrative hinges on. Her

expressions verbally and non-verbally are consistently outrageous, including her posture. When she is unhappy, she behaves disagreeably, to the extent that it is often considered outrageous in the social dynamic, context, and location. On these occasions she uses broad posture. Contrastingly on the limited occasions when she is happy, she behaves agreeably, and uses compact posture. Figure 4.93 shows a scene in which 'the girl' and Kyun-woo are on a date. On this occasion, she is in a bad mood and behaving anti-socially to everyone around her. Among the expressions she uses to achieve this, her posture is broad and uneven *(BP, The girl<Kyun-woo (A)ㄴ The girl is behaving disagreeably/ is outrageous)*. Although the girl and Kyun-woo are dating, they only met recently, and he is older than her, which warrants some politeness. In fact, Kyun-woo even requested shortly before this that she speaks to him more politely because he is older than her, which she proceeds to ignore.



Figure 4.93. 'The girl' employs broad posture when she is being disagreeable and outrageous, in *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* (엽기적인 그녀) 'My Sassy Girl' (2001).

Figure 4.94 shows another scene in which the girl meets Kyun-woo after he spends a night in jail. This time, she takes him to a restaurant, and is kind to him, and consistent with this her posture is compact *(CP, The girl<Kyun-woo (A)ㄴ The girl is being agreeable)*.

Within the context of the girl's past behaviour, 'the girl is being agreeable' can be inferred from this. On both occasions the other expressions that she employs are in alignment with her broad and compact posture respectively, supporting the inference of broad posture as an expression of the girl's disagreeability and outrageousness, and in contrast compact posture as an expression of agreeability. It is also worth noting that as an expression of 'agreeability', this can also express that one is being 'kind' and 'caring' opposed to 'unkind' or 'inconsiderate', which like lowering the head and/or body (as demonstrated in the previous section) can be used to characterise an individual.



Figure 4.94. 'The girl' employing compact posture when she is being agreeable and within the realms of normal Korean behaviour, in *Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo* (엽기적인 그녀) 'My Sassy Girl' (2001).

Sado (2015) provides another example of broad posture as an expression of outrageousness. In this case, it is a concubine who has the favour of the King, and as so behaves rudely to crown prince Sado and his other family members during the presentation of Sado's newborn son to the king (Figure 4.95). Because of the expectations of women in Korean society, especially in the neo-Confucian context of this period film, this outrageous behaviour in the context provided, characterises the young concubine as 'power hungry', 'insolent', and a 'bad person' *(SP, Young concubine<Senior royals (A/P)ㄴ the young concubine is behaving*

outrageously/ is insolent/ is power hungry/ is a bad person). This is important because when the king then allows her behaviour, ignoring how outrageous it is and its various implications, this signifies the deterioration of the king's relationship with his son, and the rest of his family members who are present. This, and similar events, culminate to provide reasoning for the deterioration of Sado's mental health, which eventually leads to the climax of the story, in which the king sentences Sado to death.



Figure 4.95. The broad posture of the arrogant young concubine, in *Sado* (사도) 'The Throne' (2015).

Another example can be found in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019), though this only of 'disagreeability' opposed to outrageousness. In the scene, a group of colleagues are at a meeting. Among the colleagues present the second highest ranking is Chief Kim. Chief Kim's narrative is that she is a no-nonsense woman, who fights gender stereotypes by being as tough and dedicated as her male colleagues are, and in doing so has been able to become a senior in the company. As such she is often disagreeable, which as is observable in the few examples prior to this one, is often achieved by women broadening their posture. In the meeting, she even has broad posture when speaking to her senior Director Yang (Figure 4.96). However, while this is also an expression of her seniority toward her junior colleagues, in communication with Director Yang this is only a reflection of her 'tough character' *(SP,*

*Chief Kim<Director Yang (P), F-M*ㄴ *Chief Kim is a tough woman).* This inference is supported by Chief Kim's colleagues' frequent references to her tough character. This then contributes to the greater narrative of the film which centres on the gender imbalance.



Figure 4.96. Second highest-ranking colleague Chief Kim's posture is broad but slightly less than Director Yang, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

Juniority and seniority

Continuing with the same scene from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019) we are provided with a gradient of compact to broad posture that reflects the ranks of the colleagues in the room with Chief Kim. The most senior member of the group, Director Yang, employs the broadest posture (Figure 4.97). While Chief Kim, as the second in command, has the second broadest posture (Figure 4.96). The two males beneath her in rank are more compact (Figure 4.98), and then the lowest ranking colleagues in the room the most compact (Figure 4.99).



Figure 4.97. Director Yang's is the highest ranking member in the room, and his posture is the broadest and most uneven, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982') (2019).



Figure 4.98. Third-ranking colleagues postures are broader than the lowest ranking colleagues, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).



Figure 4.99. Lowest-ranking colleagues have the most compact posture, in *Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

Entitlement and high SES

Returning once again to the scene in *Hanyeo* (2010) in which Mr Goh meets his new housemaid, Eun-yi, for the first time. Mr Goh's posture is also indicative of his seniority, as is Eun-ji's posture indicative of her juniority. Mr Goh employs spread posture; just as his head is heightened and his eye gaze is direct. At the same time, if we consider the formal nature of a first meeting in Korea (Kiaer and Kim, 2021a), then the extremeness of his broad posture (since he is practically laying down) also expresses his feeling of entitlement as an individual with his SES and implying that he takes full advantage of his power (Figure 94). The defeasible eventuality of Mr Goh's broad posture can be inferred as: *BP, Mr Goh>Eun-yi (P)⊦ Mr Goh is senior/ Mr Goh is entitled/ Mr Goh has high SES/ Mr Goh holds the power in the relationship/ Mr Goh takes full advantage of his power.* Predictive inferences can also be made, such as: *BP, Mr Goh>Eun-yi (P)⊦ Mr Goh will take full advantage of his power/ something is going to happen between Mr Goh and Eun-yi.* Predictions like these are an important part of film comprehension, since "viewers of a movie strive to construct coherent mental models to understand the local events as they occur, and to link these situation mental models

coherently to understand the movie as a whole" (2013 :412). Whereas Eun-yi's posture (shown in the earlier Figure 64) is compact, expressing her juniority *(CP, Eun-yi<Mr Goh (P)* ⊦ *Eun-yi is junior/ Mr Goh holds the power)*. This then paves the way for the events to come *(e.g., CP, Eun-yi<Mr Goh (P)*⊦ *Eun-yi will be overpowered by Mr Goh/ taken advantage of by Mr Goh*).



Figure 4.100. Mr. Goh's spread posture when he meets his new housemaid, Eun-yi, for the first time, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (2010).

Expressions of entitlement like this are so common that they are even used to characterise individuals satirically in K-films. An example of this is provided in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (2013). In one scene (Figure 4.101), Bo-na's love interest, the spoilt celebrity Seung-jae, is behaving entitled on a photo shoot. He sits with broad posture – taking space, and uneven in shape – *(BP, Seung-jae>Bo-na (P)*⊦ *Seung-jae is entitled/ has status/ is the celebrity)*. The inference of specifically 'entitlement' and 'self-importance', rather than merely having higher status granted by his celebrity, is supported by the stark contrast to Sung-jae's behaviour prior to becoming a celebrity. Figures 4.102 and 4.103 show his 45-degree bow to the Bo-na, and use of two hands to give her a drink, expressing respect to her prior to becoming a celebrity. As explained in Chapter 3, the value the gesturer/speaker feels for the receiver/hearer is expressed through their proactivity in deferential activities *(Seung-jae<Bo-*

*na (P)*ㅏ Seung-jae is junior/ Seung-jae values Bo-na). Additionally, it is worthwhile noting that these inferences are supported by further elements that serve to characterise Seung-jae's character as self-centered and entitled, such as his extroverted fashion-sense and elaborately volumised hairstyle (seen in Figure 95).



Figure 4.101. Seung-jae sits (left) with broad and uneven posture, in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips' (2013).



Figure 4.102. Seung-jae sits bows at 45-degrees and speaks politely to Bo-na, who after he becomes a celebrity he begin to behave senior towards, in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips' (2013).



Figure 4.103. Seung-jae uses to hands to present Bo-na with a gift, prior to becoming a celebrity at which time he switches to senior expression, in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips' (2013).

Bo-na's boss who, as previously mentioned, is also characterised as wielding power unfairly toward Bo-na, is also 'self-important'. He too uses broad posture when communicating with Bo-na. Figure 4.104 shows one of many occasions in the film when he employs broad posture *(BP, Bo-na's boss>Bo-na (P)⊦ Bo-na's boss is senior/ is self-important).* This is an expression of his seniority to Bo-na. However, the context that is provided, of her boss's personality being very self-centred, allows for further specification on the inference of his broad posture.



Figure 4.104. Bo-na's boss's broad posture, in addition to direct eye gaze, and head held high when communicating with Bo-na, in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips' (2013).

Direct and indirect eye gaze

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of direct and indirect eye gaze will be presented.

Attraction and flirtation

Just as expressions of humility can be used to indirectly be flirtatious or to unintentionally express one's romantic interests, flirtation can also be expressed directly using expressions that are typically acceptable for seniors or intimates. The directness comes from the demand that these expressions make to essentially be on intimate terms in each moment. This is a far more overt form of flirtation. An example can be observed in the hit comedy film *Gamunui wigi* (가문의 위기) 'Married to the Mafia 2' (2005). The film tells the story of the eldest son of a gangster family who is pressured by his family to get married, but when he finds the perfect girl, she turns out to be the district prosecutor for crimes of gangster related violence, placing him in a predicament. In one of the scenes, a woman makes advances on a man who she doesn't know very well, because she believes he is attracted to her (Figure 4.105). One of the non-verbal expressions that she uses to flirt with him is direct eye gaze *(DG, Woman-Man, Formality⊦ Woman is flirting with man)*. However, she soon discovers that his intentions were innocent, and his intention was not to try to sleep with her after all. He subsequently responds to her flirtation also using eye gaze to do so, by averting his eyes *(IG, Man-Woman, Formality⊦ Man is not flirting/ rejects offer of intimacy/ does not feel the same/ is uncomfortable)*. This combination of expressions then serves to construct a discourse in which the woman is 'outrageous' and 'bolshy' rather than a discourse of 'mutual attraction' or 'blossoming romance' *(DG, Woman-Man, Formality⊦ Woman is outrageous)*.



Figure 4.105. A woman makes direct eye gaze with a man who she doesn't know well and his discomfort leads him to avert his eyes, in *Gamunui wigi* (가문의 위기) 'Married to the Mafia 2' (2005).

If the woman's ploy for intimacy in *Gamunui wigi* (2005) had been successful, perhaps the scene would have looked more like the one that is presented in Figures 4.106 and 4.107, which were extracted from a scene from *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (2013), depicting the natural chemistry between Bo-na and Seung-jae. In the scene, Bo-na and Seung-jae are bonding after a rocky start, and in this moment in which intimacy is created, they employ direct eye gaze, and welcome it from each other *(DG, Bo-na<Seung-jae (P)ㄴ Bona and Seung-jae's relationship is developing/ Bo-na and Seung-jae are starting to get along/ are beginning to like each other/ a romantic relationship is developing)*. Again, as is consistent throughout the cases in this chapter, the inference that 'Bo-na and Seung-jae are beginning to like each other' and 'romance is blooming' is supported multimodally. For example, Bo-na laughs loudly while looking at Seung-ja without covering her mouth, they also drink with one hand and without pouring or waiting for each other to drink. All these expressions serve to express the development of intimacy in this context in comparison to the dislike that the two characters feel towards each other earlier in the film.



Figure 4.106. Bo-na and Seung-jae use direct eye gaze while joking with each other, in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips' (2013).


Figure 4.107. Bo-na and Seung-jae laugh and drink together in a relaxed and intimate manner, in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips' (2013).

Intimacy

Finally for an example of established intimacy. *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019) provides many examples of interactions between family members, and especially Ji-yeong and her husband, Dae-hyun. When they interact, they use direct eye gaze, and when alone in each other's company they behave with complete ease. When Dae-hyun speaks to her, his direct eye gaze, however, does not express flirtation or attraction, but rather he is looking directly at her because they have a close relationship (Figure 4.108). The 'process' of inferring this is

something along the lines of, firstly: *DG, Dae-hyun=Ji-yeong (P)⊢ Dae-hyun and Ji-yeong have a close relationship;* then, after expressing their relation ('intimacy/husband and wife'): *DG, Dae-hyun=Ji-yeong (P), Intimacy⊢ Dae-hyun is talking to Ji-yeong;* in this case, with no context for anger or confrontation (which can of course occur between husbands and wives too), or seniority (when they are alone, as when with in-law's the wife holds a lower place in hierarchy than her husband), the inference is simply that they are having a conversation. Although generally, when intimacy is inferred, this has simply been incorporated with the referents in the formula of the defeasible eventuality (see last formula prior), essentially a multi-leveled process like the one in the above example is happening in each case.



Figure 4.108. *Dae-hyun* makes direct eye gaze when speaking to Ji-yeong, without a dynamic or context for it to be anything more than an expression of their intimacy, *in 82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019).

Seniority and juniority

Examples of direct eye gaze as an expression of seniority in senior-junior social dynamics can be seen throughout K-films. In the following example, extracted from *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (2013), Bo-na's boss uses direct eye gaze when speaking to her, to assert his

authority (Figure 4.109). It is obvious that the employer is senior to his employee *(DG, Employer>Bo-na (P)ㅏ Employer is senior)*, and not only in a Korean context but in a universal context. However, this inference of their relation (employee-employer), in a Korean context, prevents the inference of other meaning potentials presented in this section that are reliant upon other social dynamics that do not have relevance universally as employer-employee dynamics do (i.e., 'confrontation', 'aggression', or 'flirtation'). Being able to distinguish expressions of seniority or juniority thus have a significant effect on the interpretation of K-filmic discourse.



Figure 4.109. Bo-na's employer makes direct eye gaze while giving her orders, in *Namja Sayongseolmyungseo* (남자사용설명서) 'How to Use Guys with Secret Tips' (2013).

Aggression

In contexts of conflict between individuals, direct eye gaze can express 'irritation', 'anger', and when accompanied by threat 'aggression' too. In *Binjip* (2004), we can then observe an example of direct eye gaze between a husband and wife when alone together, just as in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019), however, in this case, the context allows the expression to be inferred as 'anger'. In the scene (Figure 4.110), after retrieving Sun-hwa, and having Tae-suk imprisoned, Sun-hwa's husband Min-gyu accuses her of having sex with Tae-suk. Not

only this, but during his accusation he sexually assaults her, while he asks repeatedly “did he do this to you? And this? And this?” perversely and antagonisingly. She looks down and doesn’t make direct eye gaze at first, but eventually musters the courage to stand up for herself. She does this simply with eye contact alone. She turns her head and looks directly into her husband’s eyes without glancing away. This is a ‘confrontation’, a show of ‘aggression’, of ‘having enough’. This inference is confirmed when immediately after Min-gyu slaps Sun-hwa around the face in response to what he believes to be her insolence. It is then again confirmed, when in response to being slapped, Sun-hwa, for the first time, defends herself against Min-gyu’s violence with physical force, slapping him back and then leaving the room.



Figure 4.110. Sun-hwa confronts her husband Min-gyu with direct eye gaze, for the first time during the film, when he is sexually assaulting her, in *Binjip* (빈 집) ‘3-Iron’ (2004).

Chingu (2001) provides a similar example of anger expressed between intimates using direct eye gaze, when friends Joon-seok and Dong-su have a dispute (Figure 4.111). Although they are friends, the school gang that they are a part of has a hierarchy in which Joon-seok is the senior and Dong-su his junior, but since both men are the same age and have grown up together, Dong-su feels they should share power. Joon-seok won’t allow this

to happen. In the scene, Don-su confronts Joon-seok, and when he does, he makes direct eye gaze. In this context, it can be inferred firstly as a confrontation, as it would serve this purpose even without verbal explanation, in this context. It is also inferable as 'aggressive' – as carrying a threat – as well as 'anger' *(DG, Dong-su<Joon-seok (P), Intimacy⊦ Dong-su is confronting Joon-seok/ is angry/ being aggressive)*. When Joon-seok then employs direct and prolonged eye contact to Dong-su in return, his expression is also angry and aggressive, and also a threat to Dong-su to back down *(DG, Joon-seok>Dong-su (P), Intimacy⊦ Joon-seok is angry at Dong-su/ being aggressive/ threatening Dong-su)*.Understanding the power play in this moment is important because it establishes the main thread of the film's narrative, as it plants the seed of the power struggle between these two men, that lasts for the duration of the film.

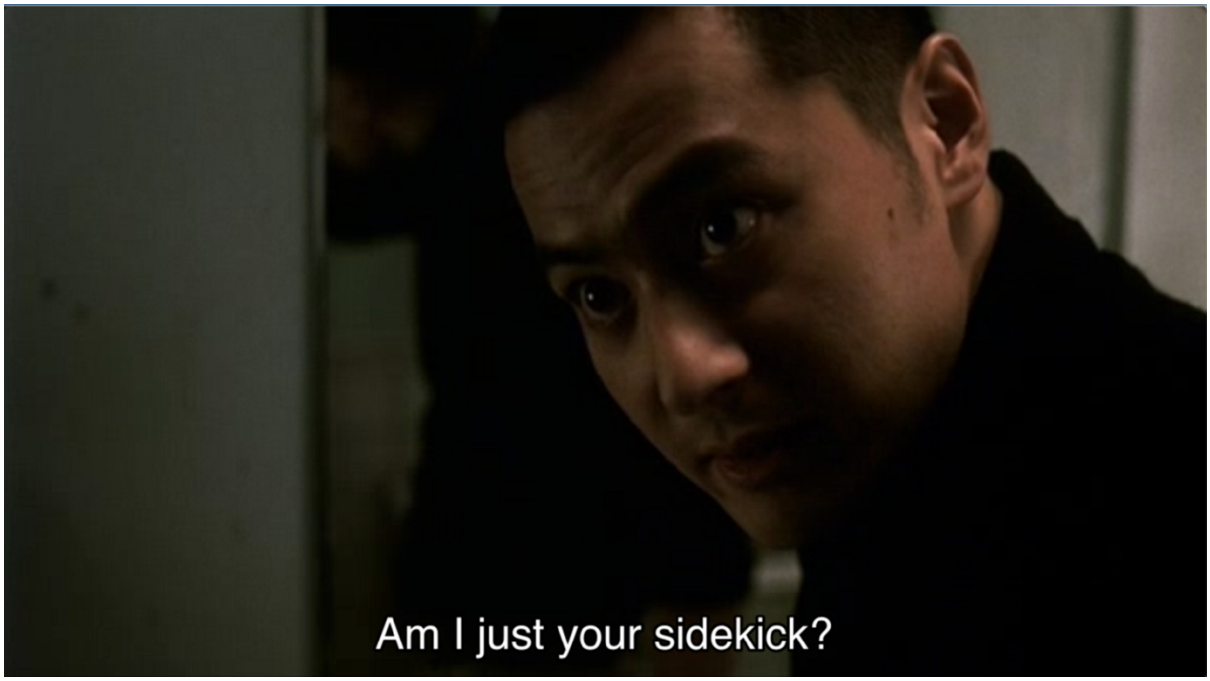


Figure 4.111. Direct eye gaze during a confrontation between two friends, in *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001).

82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong (2019) provides an example of direct eye gaze as an expression of aggression between strangers. It takes place in a scene in which Ji-yeong has

a confrontation with an unpleasant stranger at a café (Figure 4.112). Ji-yeong and the man appear to be of a similar age rather than necessarily senior-junior, but they do not know each other, which introduces formality as a factor. As such, the stranger's use of direct eye gaze is 'aggressive', especially since he does not avert his eyes even once, stimulating his colleague who is with him to encourage him to leave with her. Given the context, of the confrontation arising because of his rude comments about Ji-yeong when she has a mishap and spills her drink at the café, this then serves to characterise the man as a 'bad person' *(DG, Stranger-Ji-yeong, Formality*﹀ *Stranger is being aggressive/ is irritated with Ji-yeong / is a bad person),* which is a significant episode in Ji-yeong's daily life in terms of depicting the challenges she is up against as a woman and mother in Korean society.



Figure 4.112. Direct eye gaze during a conflict between Ji- yeong and an aggressive stranger, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

Bowing and nodding

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of bowing and nodding will be presented.

Nodding

Nodding is similar to bowing and also the lowering of the head, however, it can be intermittent as well as a polite response to a wide variety of interactions. In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of nodding.

Juniority and agreeability

Nodding is foremostly an expression of juniority. Returning to the scene from *Eorin Sinbu* when Bo-eun meets Sang-min's friends at a bar, she nods to Ji-soo in response to her offer of a soda (Figure 4.113). On the one hand, this is a direct response to Ji-soo's offer (meaning 'yes'), but on the other hand her choice to nod rather than simply say yes verbally (e.g., *nae* in Korean) expresses her juniority, because she is submissive and diminishing her presence. As a result, further meanings can then be inferred, for example, that Bo-eun knows her place, characterising her personality *(ND, Bo-eun<Ji-soo (A)⊦ Bo-eun agrees to offer/ Bo-eun is junior to Ji-soo/ Bo-eun knows her place).*



Figure 4.113. Bo-eun nods to say yes to Ji-soo, in *Eorin Sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride' (2004).

In *Agassi* (2016) there is a similar instance, in which Lady Hideko's maid, Sook-hee, agrees with Lady Hideko, saying yes and nodding (Figure 4.114). At this point in the film, Sook-hee has not yet begun a love affair with Lady Hideko, so she expresses her juniority and subservience *(ND, Sook-hee<Lady Hideko (P)ㄴ Sook-hee agrees to Lady Hideko/ Sook-hee is junior/ Sook-hee knows her place).* The importance of this expression is twofold, though, as in expressing juniority Sook-hee expresses that she 'knows her place', and so when their relationship shifts to intimate, a cohesive link can then be made that reflects this development.



Figure 4.114. Sook-hee nods when she says yes to Lady Hideko, in *Agassi* 아가씨 'The Handmaiden' (2016).

Agreeability and pretence

Oftentimes in the analysis provided in this chapter, strategies for pretence are presented as well as for genuine expressions, which are supportive generally of the inferences made, because they reinstate expressions' common meaning potentials by virtue of the fact they are used as strategies. *Angmareul boatda* (악마를 보았다) 'I Saw the Devil' (2010) provides an example of how the pretence of agreeability, expressed through nodding, is used by a murderer in order to be trusted by those around him.

Angmareul boatda (2010) tells the story of agent Kim Soo-hyun, who embarks on a quest of revenge against serial killer, Jang Kyung-chul, who murdered Soo-hyun's pregnant fiancée. Jang Kyung-chul masquerades as an average guy, even working in the trusted role of school bus driver. In one scene, he is collecting children from school, when a female teacher speaks to him. Their hierarchy is conflicting, with teacher is clearly younger than Kyung-chul while Kyung-chul's position is lower than hers. This warrants consideration on the part of both interlocutors. However, Kyung-chul chooses to forfeit his age seniority entirely, behaving submissively, nodding, and learning forward at about 15-degrees (Figure 4.115). His efforts appear to be an exaggeration of niceness, although only the viewer picks up on that. This then serves to build suspense as those around him do not know how dangerous he really is *(ND, Kyung-chul<Teacher (P), Kyung-chul>Teacher (A)ㄴ Kyung-chul is making a fuss of the teacher/ is being deceptive).*



Figure 4.115. Kyung-chul nods and bows at 15-degrees when pretending to be a trustworthy man, in *Angmareul boatda* (악마를 보았다) 'I Saw the Devil' (2010).

Shame, discomfort, and irritation

When nodding silently, a variety of negative expressions can also be inferred, and when the gesturer is a junior, this is often an expression of shame, discomfort, or irritation, whereas when the gesturer is a senior, it is often an expression of fear. The same is true of bowing in general. An example of this can be found in *Dalkomhan Insaeng* (달콤한 인생) 'A Bittersweet Life' (2005). The film tells the story of Sun-woo, a gangster who has served his boss Kang loyally and created what appears to be a family-like bond with him. However, he is dismayed to find that after disobeying a single order, Kang attempts to have him murdered, despite their close relationship. In one scene, a gangster (Mun-suk) joins a dinner between Sun-woo and Kang. Uninvited, Kang tells Mun-suk to leave (Figure 4.116). With Sun-woo witnessing all of this and remaining at the meal, Mun-suk is 'humiliated', while 'uncomfortable' in the situation itself as he had entered and joined the dinner as if he was welcome, and 'irritated' or 'angry'. These meaning potentials are inferable from the combination of nodding and the silence with which the nod is employed: *ND, Silence, Sun-woo (spectator), Mun-suk<Boss Kang (P)⊢ Mun-suk is humiliated/ in an uncomfortable situation/ irritated with Sun-woo.*



Figure 4.116. After being told to leave by boss Kang, Mun-suk nods silently and exits, in *Dalkomhan Insaeng* (달콤한 인생) 'A Bittersweet Life' (2005).

15-degree bow

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of bowing at 15-degrees will be presented.

Distance and characterisation

Bowing can merely be a formality, regardless of the social dynamic, when the context calls for it, to say 'hello', 'goodbye', 'good to meet you', etc. However, even when it is a mere formality, it can still tell viewers something about the character. If a character partakes in formality, it can characterise them as polite, whereas if a character does not it could support their characterisation as a person who doesn't take part in societal norms. The scene in Figure 4.117 from *Dalkomhan Insaeng*, shows a scene in which Sun-woo accompanies his boss's mistress Hee-soo, to her university. In the hallways, she passes a fellow student, and bows at 15-degrees. In this case, the bow is accompanied by *"annyeonghaseyo"* (안녕하세요) 'hello', which shows some distance between her and the receiver *(15B, Hee-soo=Fellow student (A)ㄴ Hee-soo and the student are not very close).* At the same time, Hee-soo's participation in the formality shows that she has manners, and keeps on good terms with her fellow students, which also implies that she values the institution that she is a part of *(15B, Hee-soo=Fellow student (A)ㄴ Hee-soo is greeting a student/ Hee-soo is a well-mannered person/ gets along well with people generally/ is an average girl/ the university is important to Hee-soo).*



Figure 4.117. 15-degree bow from one student to another when passing in the hallway, in *Dalkomhan Insaeng* (달콤한 인생*)* 'A Bittersweet Life' (2005).

Returning to *6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung* (2008)*,* in one scene Da-jin plans to run into Jin-seong at the record store, where she knows he frequents. He tries to excuse himself, and when he does, he bows at 15-degrees (Figure 4.118). In this case also, the formality expressed shows the distance between characters *(15B, Jin-seong=Da-jin (A)⊦ Jin-seong and Da-jin do not know each other well/ do not have a romantic interest in each other yet)*. Importantly, this links cohesively to later in the film when they disperse with formality, characterising their relationship is becoming more intimate.



Figure 4.118. Da-jin runs into Jin-seong at the record store, in *6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung* (6 년째 연애중) 'Lovers of Six Years' (2008).

Ajeossi (2010) provides an expression of 15-degree bowing as an expression of distance, and of how given a context for it, this can then express multiple layers of meaning potential. In one scene, after Tae-sik fails to support So-mi on an occasion when she needs his help, he sees So-mi and she says that she understands. Before she walks away, she gives a 15-degree bow (Figure 4.119). This is especially significant here because So-mi did not behave formally before this, but rather demanded intimacy from him in the form of a parental relationship, despite not actually being family. Therefore, when So-mi bows in this moment, it shows that she has given up on trying to create an intimate relationship with Tae-sik, and her submission to his request of establishing distance between them, as well as stimulating empathetic inferences about So-mi's disappointment and Tae-sik's guilt over the situation *(15B, So-mi-Tae-sik (A)ㄴ So-mi is behaving more formally that usual/ has given up on an intimate relationship with Tae-sik/ has agreed to distance/ is disappointed/ Tae-sik is stimulated to feel guilty).* Again, the importance of this expression in the structure of the discourse is arguable because it is after So-mi finally submits to Tae-sik's wish to be left alone, that

she is kidnapped by organ-harvesting drug lords. This creates a tense, emotional narrative, in which Tae-sik's motives for going on a violent, vengeful rampage are provided reasoning.



Figure 4.119. So-mi bows to Tae-sik to express her agreement to the distance between them, *Ajeossi* (아저씨) 'The Man From Nowhere' (2010).

Lack of value and self-importance

Due to the low degree, 15-degree bowing can seem too informal in social dynamics that are junior-senior, or in which there are conflicting hierarchies, or formality. This can then be used to express that a character doesn't value the receivers, is inconsiderate, or self-important. In *Jopok Manura* (2001), for instance, in one scene Eun-jin meets her new husband's colleagues for the first time. They attend a housewarming party at the married couple's new apartment, and when they arrive Eun-jin comes to the door to greet them, along with two chefs she has hired. Eun-jin bows at a little less than 15-degrees (Figure 4.120). Her choice to do so expresses the lack of respect she has for her husband, and his colleagues, as well as belief in her own self-importance (*15B, Eun-jin<Husband's colleagues (P)ㄴ Eun-jin isn't making an effort/ doesn't care about husband or his colleagues/ doesn't value the marriage/ believes she is more important than them*). This inference is supported by the film's narrative, which explicitly explains that Eun-jin does not really care for her husband, and doesn't want to be married

at all, but is merely doing so to fulfil her sister's dying wish. The inference of 'self-importance' is also supported by the narrative, which until this point has depicted Eun-jin as being used to treating others, even her gangster juniors, however she chooses because of her status as a legend among gangsters. In fact, the opening scene of the film is a fight scene proclaimed by the gangster narrating it as a legendary fight, in which Eun-jin is depicted as a hero among gangsters. This inference is also supported by the consistency of Eun-jin's rude expressions towards her husband up until this point in the film.



Figure 4.120. Eun-jin meets her husband's colleagues for the first time, and greets them with a bow at a little less than 15-degrees, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

Similar meaning potential can be inferred by a similar equation of factors in *Gi-saengchung* (2019) in the use of slightly less than a 15-degree bow by Mr Park, only his lack of value for others and high self-worth comes from wealth opposed to fear and lack of investment in the situation as it does for Eun-jin in *Jopok Manura* (2001). In one scene in *Gi-saengchung,* Mr Kim arrives for an interview at Mr Park's office, and is shown to a waiting area from which he can see Mr Park in the middle of a meeting through the glass office walls. Making eye contact, Mr Kim bows at around 30- or 45-degrees to Mr Park (camera

angle does not provide full view) while Mr Park returns the greeting with a bow of slightly less than 15-degrees (Figure 4.121). Mr Kim and Mr Park hold conflicting hierarchies, requiring some consideration on each man's part to avoid offence, however Mr Park makes a play for power from their very first moment of interaction. Additionally, this is a first meeting, and so there is more of an emphasis on formality, which renders Mr Park's expression one the disperses of responsibility in this respect (akin to saying 'I am too important, the rules don't apply to me'). The previous example was similar, with the spectator factor and the formality of a first meeting with one's husband's work colleagues requiring consideration on Eun-jin's part. Mr Kim has age seniority as he is almost a generation older than Mr. Park. While Mr Park is his prospective employer, with considerably higher SES. Therefore, Mr Park's low degree of bow expresses a lack of effort, his inconsideration of Mr. Kim, and his self-importance *(15B, Mr Park>Mr Kim (P), Mr Park<Mr Kim (A) ⊦ Mr Park doesn't make an effort/ is inconsiderate of Mr Kim/ is self-important).*



Figure 4.121. Mr. Kim bows at 30- or 45- degrees to Mr. Park and Mr Park returns the greeting with barely a 15-degree bow, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Shame, discomfort, and irritation

Returning to the same scene in which silent nodding was used to express 'shame', 'discomfort', and 'irritation' in *Dalkomhan Insaeng* (2005), these meanings are also expressed in the

scene using a silent 15-degree before the character finally exits the room (Figure 4.122). The context and silence are again key to the inference (*15B, Silence, Spectator, Mun-suk<Boss Kang (P)* ⊦ *Mun-suk is embarrassed/ uncomfortable/ irritated).*



Figure 4.122. Mun-suk bows silently at 15-degrees before exiting, in *Dalkomhan Insaeng* (달콤한 인생) 'A Bittersweet Life' (2005).

A similar example can be observed in *6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung* (2008), though this time minus the expression of 'irritation'. In the scene, Da-jin's boss and other colleagues find her asleep with her feet up on the table in the office meeting room. When awoken she is embarrassed and uncomfortable and bows completely silently (Figure 4.123). Da-jin's bow serves as a greeting and an apology, however the silence supports an inference of embaressment, as does the extended period that she performs the bow for. Again, the spectator factor as well as juniority are found in the social dynamic, and the context, which is like *Dalkomhan Insaeng* (2005), is of being in trouble with one's employer and unwelcome in the space. *15B, Silence, Spectator, Extended period performing gesture, Da-jin<Boss (P)* ⊦ *Da-jin is embarrassed/ uncomfortable).*

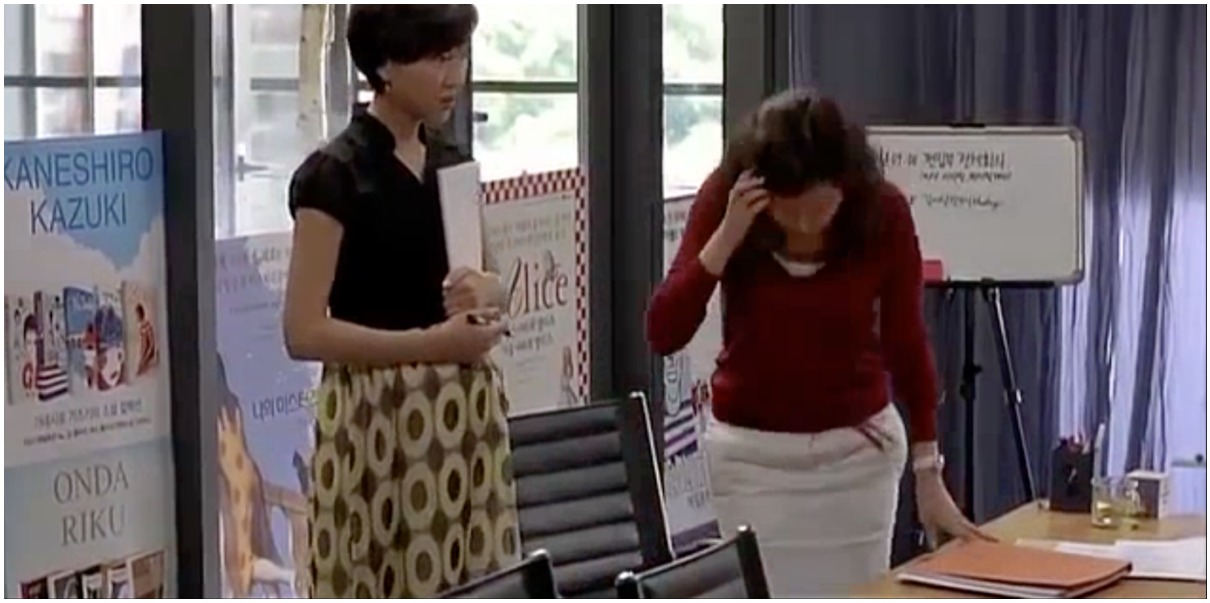


Figure 4.123. After being caught asleep with her feet on the table in the office meeting room Da-jin silently bows, in *6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung* (6 년째 연애중) 'Lovers of Six Years' (2008).

30-degree bow

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of bowing at 30-degrees will be presented.

Juniority

The 30-degree bow is foremostly an expression of juniority due to its depth, and as such it is often an expression of one knowing one's place. For example, in one scene in *Gi-saengchung* (2019) the Parks' son Da-song bows to his tutor at 30-degrees at the end of the tutor's evaluation (Figure 4.124). Da-song's expression of respect towards Ki-jung who is, in fact, a fraud and not an art therapist at all, is contrived to emphasise Ki-jung's ability to fool the Park's and the absurdity of the situation *(30B, Da-song<Ki-jung (tutor) (P)⊢ Da-song is junior to Ki-jung/ Da-song knows his place/ Da-song values tutors).*



Figure 4.124. Da-song bows at 30-degrees to Ki-jung, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Returning to the scene in *Eorin Sinbu* (2004) in which Bo-eun meets Sang-min's friends for the first time at a bar. When she first arrives at their table, she also gives a bow, which is somewhere between 15- and 30-degrees, and the purpose of its choice is to express her juniority when greeting Sang-min's friends (Figure 4.125). She shows that she knows her place, and in doing so, she makes a good impression *(15B/30B, Bo-eun<Sang-min's friends (A)ㄴ Bo-eun is junior/ knows her place/ wants to make a good first impression).*



Figure 4.125. Bo-eun employs a 30-degree bow to greet her husband's friends upon meeting them for the first time, in *Eorin Sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride' (2004).

Fear

In *Jopok Manura* (2001), the 30-degree bow is employed to Eun-jin by gesturers who are a generation older than her (Figure 4.126). The only reason for this is that they are afraid of Eun-jin because she is a gangster *(30B, Elderly woman>Eun-jin (A)⊦ Elderly woman is scared/ is under threat)*. The context of the elderly man and woman being pressured into pretending to be her parents at a matchmaker meeting by her subordinates supports this inference.



Figure 4.126. The elderly woman (obscured from view by the man behind her) gives a 30-degree bow to Eun-jin, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

Shame and humiliation

Returning to the scene in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (2017) in which Sa-bok speaks to his landlord's wife. At the end of their interaction, Sa-bok employs a 30-degree bow, pausing before rising to leave (Figure 4.127). The two interlocutor's conflicting hierarchy makes this expression an apology with an undertone of humiliation *(30B, Sa-bok=Landlord's wife (A)⊦ Sa-bok is ashamed/Sa-bok has given up)*, which is supported both by the expression's alignment with Sa-bok's other expressions, and the context which is one of humiliation.



Figure 4.127. Sa-bok gives his landlord's wife a bow of 30-degrees, in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017).

45-degree bow

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of bowing at 45-degrees will be presented.

Juniority and formality

Due to the depth of the 45-degree bow, the level of respect is greater and thus the feeling of one's juniority and/or formality expressed is greater than when a 15- or 30-degree bow is given. Employees are always required to express their juniority and maintain formality in the company of senior colleagues. Many examples can be observed in Korean films in which the 45-degree bow is used by juniors to senior colleagues, especially to seniors in prestigious positions, such as the CEO of a company. *Baek-yahaeng: Hayan Eodum Sokeul Geotda* (백야행: 하얀 어둠 속을 걷다) 'White Night' (2009) provides one example, when a CEO departs and his junior employees bow at 45-degrees as his car exits the driveway (Figure 4.128). This firstly expresses the relations between the people bowing and the people who have gotten into the car so that the scene can be understood *(45B, People outside of car-people in car⊦ The people bowing are junior to the person in the car).* The inference of

relations then allows for further meaning to be inferred about who the people are and their attitudes *(45B, Employees<CEO⊦ Employees know their place).* This is important, because if the employees didn't bow, something very different would be inferable. To begin with, the relation *Employees<CEO* would be called into question. Perhaps they don't know each other and their presence at the same location is unrelated, however it could be argued as to why in a highly contrived medium there are people standing near the car in its departure scene. Then, if the relation still stands, it could be inferred that the employees 'don't know their place' or are 'angry' or 'being confrontational'. Neither of which fits with the context of the scene or greater narrative.



Figure 4.128. Employees bow at 45-degrees to the CEO as he departs his company, in *Baek-yaha-eng: Ha-yan Eodum Sokeul Geotda* (백야행: 하얀 어둠 속을 걷다) 'White Night' (2009).

A similar scene can be observed in *Hanyeo* (2010), in which Mr Goh leaves for work and his household staff bid him farewell at the door alongside his wife and daughter (Figure 4.129). While the wife stands, employees Miss Cho (the housekeeper) and her junior Eun-yi (the housemaid) both give a 45-degree bow *(45B, Eun-yi and Miss Cho<Mr Goh ⊦ Employees know their place).* The earlier scene extracted from *Hanyeo* (2010) that was presented in Figure 4.69 also depicted Eun-yi as expressing her juniority and in doing so expressing that she 'knows her place', and as was explained previously this is used to contrast with her

behaviour as she begins to have an affair with Mr Goh. Additionally, it is worth taking this opportunity to point out that this example also serves to demonstrate how gestures of a similarly politeness classification is used in a variety of social dynamics - to both seniors and juniors – and contexts yet have entirely different meaning potentials. In this case, Miss Cho's respectful expressions are of a politeness classification like those depicted in Figure 4.81 (the lowering of the head) and toward Eun-yi (her junior) and for the purpose of expressing an entirely different meaning.



Figure 4.129. Miss Cho the housekeeper bows at 45-degrees when wishing her boss Mr. Goh farewell as he leaves for work in the morning, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) 'The Housemaid' (2010).

Returning to *Agassi* (2016), Lady Hideko's handmaiden Sook-hee also bows at 45-degrees, though in this case it is when first meeting her (Figure 4.130). Once again here there are expressions of both juniority and formality due to it being their first meeting *(45B, Formality, Sook-hee<Lady Hideko﹀ Sook-hee knows their place/ Sook-hee wants to make a good first impression).* Then if the narrative context that has been presented until this point, there is further meaning potential to infer. Sook-hee is a thief employed to gain Lady Hideko's trust as part of a scheme to extract her fortune from her before having her imprisoned in an insane asylum. If this plot is considered as the context of expression like this 45-degree bow, which is 'very polite' even for a junior, then despite the formality increasing the

need for very polite expression, Sook-hee's expressions are still not only chosen simply to make a good impression. Her expressions are a part of her act to deceive Lady Hideko and gain her trust (*45B, Formality, Sook-hee<Lady Hideko⊦ Sook-hee is pretending to know her place/ wants to appear to have good intentions/ is being deceptive*). A similar example was provided for the clasping of the hands gesture, previously shown in Figure 4.12, extracted from *Gisaengchung* (2019).



Figure 4.130. Sook-hee gives Lady Hideko a 45-degree bow when they meet for the first time, in *Agassi* 아가씨 'The Handmaiden' (2016).

Humility and extreme gratitude

A 45-degree bow given in a senior-junior social dynamic can be an expression of humility and extreme gratitude, often in desperate situations because of the feeling of relief and indebtedness to another who has helped to solve a dire situation. In one scene in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (2017) one such example is provided. Prior to the scene, Sa-bok is about to leave Gwangju when he is stopped in his tracks by an elderly woman who flags down his taxi. Worried something has happened to her grandson, Sa-bok takes the elderly woman to the hospital and helps her to find him. The scene under discussion here follows the elder woman being reunited with her grandson at the hospital, in which she thanks Sa-bok for helping her, bowing to Sa-bok at 45-degrees. The depth of the bow even makes Sa-bok uncomfortable,

so he lowers his own body, while encouraging the elderly woman not to bow to him (Figures 4.131 and 4.132). The reason she gives such a deep bow is ultimately in extreme gratitude because she had thought her grandson was dead, and Sa-bok helping her to reunite with him proved him to be alive. She thanks him in this manner, expressing complete humility regardless of her elderly age, because of how powerful this expression is from a senior to a junior in this context. The gesture thus expresses her gratitude, humility, and the value of her grandson *(45B, Elderly lady>Sa-bok↓ Elderly lady is very grateful/ the elderly lady loves her grandson more than anything).*



Figure 4.131. Eldery woman performs 45-degree bow to Sa-bok, in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017).



Figure 4.132. Sa-bok lowers his body in response to 45-degree bow, in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017).

Keunjeol

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of the keunjeol bow will be presented.

Ceremonial use

The *keunjeol's* reservation for ceremonies along with its depth make it undeniably the most respectful bow that Koreans use. Due to its use at ceremonies, it expresses respect, while at the same time in doing so in the appropriate situation, it expresses that a person 'knows their place'. Use of the *keunjeol,* despite its ceremonial function, can still be an important indicator of a character's attitude towards an aspect of the ceremony, such as the person being honoured. If a person performs the *keunjeol,* all is as it should be, and if they do not, then this implies tension in a character's refusal to take part, due to it not being considered socially acceptable to refuse. Figure 4.133 shows one such scene in the hit Korean gangster film *Sinsegye* (신세계) 'New World' (2013), a film that tells the story of undercover police officer Ja-Sung, who has been working for eight years undercover for South Korea's largest corporate crime syndicate 'Goldmoon'. In the scene, the chairman of Goldmoon has died, and his subordinates and associates are attending his funeral, where they are performing a *keunjeol* bow.



Figure 4.133. Members of a gangster organisation perform *keunjeol* at the funeral of their boss, in *Sinsegye* (신세계) 'New World' (2013).

Figure 4.134 shows the *keunjeol* being performed in a more traditional ceremony, in a scene taken from the Korean classic *Sampoganeun gil* (삼포가는 길) 'The Road to Sampo' (1973). The story follows a young labourer (Young-dal), a middle-aged man (Mr. Jeong), and a prostitute (Baek-Hwa), who are displaced because of industrialisation. They end up embarking on a journey together, to return to their hometown Sampo, in the hopes of escaping the industrialisation that is devastating their livelihoods. However, they find it has already joined the mainland, and there is no longer any difference between the two.



Figure 4.134. Young-dal performs the *keunjeol* at a traditional funeral, in *Sampoganeun gil* (삼포가는 길) 'The Road to Sampo' (1973).

Sarcasm

Due to its conveyance of such a high degree of respect, and its ceremonial uses, the *keunjeol* can also be used sarcastically, by exaggerating respect of someone else insincerely. The scene extracted from *Beterang* (2015) presented in Figure 4.135 is one such example. In the scene, Detective Seo is invited to a private party where he meets Tae-oh, the son of a chaebol CEO and murderer. Detective Seo comments that he expected the super-rich to party differently, to which Tae-oh responds by assaulting the two women next to him by putting ice in their clothes and throwing cake and fruit in their faces saying, “did you expect something more like this?”. He then climbs onto the table and shouts *joesonghamnida* (죄송합니다) ‘please excuse me’ while performing a *keunjeol* bow. This expresses extreme sarcasm in the context of Tae-oh’s previous psychotic behaviour and contributes, along with his other expressions, to his characterisation as psychotic *(K, Tae-oh<Detective Seo (A)ㄴ Tae-oh is being sarcastic to Detective Seo/ Tae-oh is mentally unstable),* both in this instance alone as well as overall in the narrative. This is then confirmed when he raises his head to reveal that he is smiling and laughing.



Figure 4.135. Tae-oh performs *keunjeol* to Detective Seo sarcastically when insincerely apologising, in *Beterang* (베테랑) ‘Veteran’ (2015).

There is a similar use of the *keunjeol* in *Geukan Jigeop* (2019). In the scene, Chief Koh has an argument with Detective Squad Chief Choi, who demands that Chief Koh should have thanked him rather than be upset with him over how he left him out of successful operations. However, Chief Koh does not owe Detective Squad Chief Choi thanks at all, rather he lost out on a promotion that was rightfully his to Detective Squad Chief Choi as a result. Chief Koh then performs the *keunjeol* to Detective Squad Chief Choi sarcastically in thanks (Figure 4.136). His use of the *keunjeol* expresses that he is not grateful but resentful, and antagonising Detective Squad Chief Choi *(K, Chief Koh<Detective Squad Chief Choi (P), Chief Koh>Detective Squad Chief Choi (A)⊦ Chief Koh is being sarcastic/ is not grateful/ is resentful/ is antagonising Detective Squad Chief Choi).*



Figure 4.136. Chief Koh performs a keunjeol bow to Detective Squad Chief Choi, in *Geukan Jigeop* (극한직업) 'Extreme Job' (2019).

Verbal expressions

This section will feature the meaning potentials of verbal expressions.

Hapsyoche (formal polite) speech style

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of the *hapsyoche* (formal polite) speech style will be presented.

Sincerity and guilt

Returning to another scene in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (2017), an example is provided of how the *hapsyoche* speech style adds further meaning potential to Sa-bok's very polite manner of speaking. In the scene, it is the morning after Sa-bok's first night in Gwangju, and he is saying goodbye to Tae-sool, the taxi driver who he stayed with (Figure 4.137). They appear visually to be of similar age (although it isn't specified) and have similar SES, yet Sa-bok uses *hapsyoche* when he apologises for leaving, saying "*mianhamnida"* (미안합니다). In doing so, Sa-bok emphasises the sincerity of his apology for not being able to do more, which expresses his feelings of guilt *(FS, Sa-bok=Tae-sool (A)ㄴ Sa-bok is sorry that he can't do more/ feels guilty)*. This expression then forms a cohesive link with a scene that follows shortly after, during his journey home, when overcome by guilt he decides to return to Gwangju.



Figure 4.137. Sa-bok uses the *hapsyoche* speech style to convey his sincerity and guilt over leaving Gwangju, in *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (택시운전사) 'A Taxi Driver' (2017).

Distance and rejection

Returning to the scene from *Gamunui wigi* (2005) that was the object of analysis in depicted previously in Figure 99, when the woman accuses the man of being friendly because of an

underlying intention to sleep with her, he responds in *hapsyoche,* using the *-ibnida* (입니다) ending 'is/are/am' (Figure 4.138). This manner of speaking immediately creates distance, and so *hapsyoche* in itself serves as a means of rejection to the woman's accusation *(FS, Man-Woman (A)ㄴ Man rejects woman).*



Figure 4.138. A man uses *hapsyoche* to reject a woman whose advances are unwelcomed, in *Gamunui wigi* (가문의 위기) 'Married to the Mafia 2' (2005).

Formality

Korean modern classic *Oldeuboi* (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003) provides an example of the use of *hapsyoche* to express formality, that given a narrative context for can construct diverse and complex meaning potentials. The film tells the story of Oh Dae-su, who is kidnapped and imprisoned for fifteen years, without being told why. Following his release, before taking revenge on his captors, he goes to a sushi restaurant where he collapses. Mi-do, an employee at the restaurant, takes him home and nurses him. When Dae-su wakes up in the morning, Mi-do enquires why he fainted (Figure 4.139). He explains that he has a weakened immune system due to a severe lack of vitamin D, but when he does so he uses *hapsyoche,* ending his sentences with *-imnida*. Dae-su is clearly a generation older than Mi-do so she should speak politely and not him, though even her using *hapsyoche* may feel too formal. Mi-do even

asks why he is talking like that. The formality that his use of *hapsyoche* expresses is not, however, to create distance between them, but in this case a means of characterising the effects of imprisonment on Dae-su – his speech has all the formality of the speech of television hosts and news anchors, because the television is the only form of interaction he has had for fifteen years *(FS, Dae-su>Mi-do (A)ㄴ Dae-su is speaking strangely/ is speaking like a television presenter/ is deeply affected by his imprisonment)*. This then creates humour.

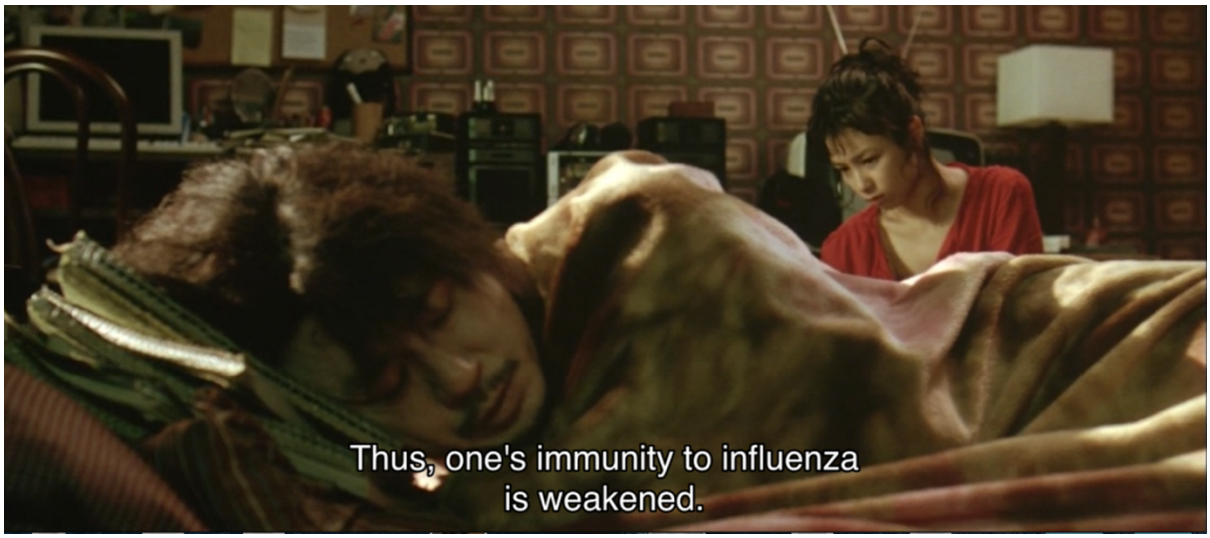


Figure 4.139. Dae-su sounds like a news reporter as he uses the *hapsyoch*e speech style to explain why he fainted, in *Oldeuboi* (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003).

Haeyoche (informal polite) speech style

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of the *haeyoche* (informal polite) speech style will be presented.

Making a good impression

Returning to the scene in *Eorin Sinbu* (2004), when Bo-eun meets Sang-min's college friends, there comes a point in her interaction with Sang-min, when Bo-eun loses her temper over Sang-min's drunken antics. She tells him that it is time to leave the bar they are at and go home. Feeling annoyed due to his taunting comments, she initially uses *haeche* when

she says this *(IS, Bo-eun<Sang-min (A), Intimacy, Spectators⊦ Bo-eun is annoyed/ has forgotten she is in the company of others/ is embarrassing Sang-min/ is making a bad impression on Sang-min's friends),* but then suddenly realises that there are spectators (Figure 4.140). She quickly adds *'-yo'* to the end of her sentence, making it *haeyoche (IS, Shift, PS, Bo-eun<Sang-min (A), Intimacy, Spectators⊦ Bo-eun wants to make a good impression/ is asking Sang-min nicely/ is hiding her irritation/ is saving Sang-min's face).*



Figure 4.140. Bo-eun switching from *haeche* to *haeyoche* when she remembers there are spectators to her and Sang-min's conversation, in *Eorin Sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride' (2004).

Juniority, filial piety, and familial love

Minari (2020) provides examples of expressions of juniority and at the same time of love between junior and senior family members. On one such occasion *hapsyoche* is used by Mr Yi's daughter towards him (Figure 4.141). This shows the daughter's respectful attitude to her family, and subsequently her adoration of him *(PS, Daughter<Mr Yi (A)⊦ Mr Yi's daughter is respectful to her father/ loves her father/ knows her place)*. At the very least this is important because it shows the love and care between Mr Yi and his children that reflects their

close and loving relationship, contradicting scenes of disciplining his children and arguing with his wife, providing his character with multidimensionality.



Figure 4.141. Mr Yi's daughter uses *haeyoche* when speaking to her father, in *Minari* (미나리) 'Water Celery' (2020).

Sincerity and guilt

Ai Kaen Seupikeu (아이 캔 스피크) 'I can Speak' (2007) provides another example of sincerity and guilt expressed through unnecessarily elevated politeness, though this case instead of doing so with *hapsyoche,* the character does so using *haeyoche* to a close friend who they typically speak to in *haeche.* The film tells the story of Ok-boon, an elderly woman, who was a comfort woman during WWII. Shunned by society, as many comfort women were, in her loneliness she devotes herself to filing complaints with the local council office about the wrongdoings that she encounters each day. It is through this that she makes an unlikely friendship with junior civil service officer, Min-jae. When her closest friend who is a campaigner for the plight of comfort women passes away, she decides to testify in her place at a public hearing in Washington D.C, for which she needs to speak English. This leads to her experience as a comfort woman being revealed in the local news; a fact she had concealed from all who knew her after being rejected by her own family over this after the war ended.

When she is confronted by one of her local friends who did not know about her being a comfort woman, she apologises to her, explaining that she thought she would not want to be friends anymore if she knew the truth. When she apologises, she says sorry in *haeyoche*, *"mianhaeyo".* Since Ok-boon is older than her friend, her use of *haeyoche* in this context is purposeful in stressing the sincerity of her apology and the guilt she feels having concealed this information *(PS, Ok-boon>friend (A), Intimacy⊦ Ok-boon is emphasising the sincerity of her apology/ Ok-boon feels guilty)*. Since Ok-boon generally uses the *haeche* speech style throughout the film regardless of whom she is speaking to, her use of the *haeyoche* in this scene is clearly purposeful.

Persuasion and begging

Haeyoche is often used when imploring or persuading another person. Returning to *Angmareul boatda* (2010), the scene in which Kyung-chul murders Soo-hyun's pregnant fiancé Joo-yun provides an example of this (Figure 4.142). Joo-yun chooses *haeyoche* when she begs the serial killer for her life, which is purposefully chosen to persuade him, since had she spoken in *haeche* she could incur more of his wrath *(PS, Joo-yun<Kyung-chul (A)⊦ Joo-yun tries to appeal to Kyung-chul/ tries to persuade Kyung-chul).*



Figure 4.142. Joo-yun begs for her life in *haeyoche,* in *Angmareul boatda* (악마를 보았다) 'I Saw the Devil' (2010)

At the end of the film, there is another similar instance. In the scene, Soo-hyun is finally about to murder Kyung-chul, who finds himself in the same position as Joo-yun, begging for his life (Figure 4.143). When he begs for his life, he also speaks politely, making the begging appear more sincere, though he uses the even politer *hapsoche*, ending his sentence with *-imnida (FS, Kyung-chul>Soo-hyun (A)⊦ Kyung-chul tries to appeal to Soo-hyun/ tries to persuade Soo-hyun).* On the one hand he is begging, he doesn't want to die. On the other hand, Kyung-chul's insincerity about having any emotion towards what is happening is clear, in how he switches back and forth from *haeche* to *hapsyoche* moment-to-moment, which is a significant modulation *(IS, Switch, FS, Kyung-chul>Soo-hyun (A)⊦ Kyung-chul is insincere).* This also serves to reflect his unstable state of mind *(IS, Switch, FS, Kyung-chul>Soo-hyun (A)⊦ Kyung-chul is unstable).*



Figure 4.143. Kyung-chul uses *hapsyoche* when he begs for his life, in *Angmareul boatda* (악마를 보았다) 'I Saw the Devil' (2010).

A similar example of using *haeyoche* to implore someone to stop something harmful to them, can be observed in a scene from *Sinsegye* (2013). In the scene, Ja-seong's wife, who unbeknownst to him is also an undercover agent, implores Chief Kang who is running the operation not to talk about her baby, as he antagonises her for no longer wanting to take part in the operation (Figure 4.144). She switches from speaking in *haeche* (informal) speech style to *haeyoche.* It is clear that she is using a softening strategy by speaking politely when making a demand for him to stop saying what he is saying, and the goal of this is to more persuasive than argumentative, to avoid angering Chief Kang who she is scared of *(PS, Ja-seong's wife<Chief Kang (P/A)ㄴ Ja-seong's wife implores Chief Kang to not speak to her like this/ softens her statement to be more persuasive than argumentative/ Ja-seong's wife is treading carefully/ scared of Chief Kang).* These inferences are supported when the conversation continues, and Chief Kang proceeds to humiliate her with episodes of from her unsavory past, and then threatens to tell Ja-seong how she has spied on him for the police all this time.



Figure 4.144. Ja-seong's wife switches to Haeyoche when imploring Chief Kang not to speak to her this way, in *Sinsegye* (신세계) 'New World' (2013).

Another example of *haeyoche* used persuasively can be observed in *Gamuneui yeonggwang* (가문의 영광) 'Marrying the Mafia' (2002). There is a scene in which a group of men go to a hostess bar to sing karaoke and drink and eventually pass out at their table. They awake to a confrontation with the manager and his staff, who have added many empty bottles to their table while they have been asleep and are claiming they are owed an unreasonable amount of money (Figure 4.145). Initially, the manager speaks in *haeche,* however when he makes a request for the money, he modulates his speech style to *haeyoche.* In this case his politeness is insincere, and since the context is deceit, rather than emotionally imploring, he is softening the demand to persuade the men to pay the sum *(IS, Switch, PS, Hostess bar manager<Customers (P)⊦ Hostess bar manager is trying to persuade).*



Figure 4.145. Hostess bar manager switches from *haeche* to *haeyoche* to soften his demand for payment, in *Gamuneui yeonggwang* (가문의 영광) 'Marrying the Mafia' (2002).

Insincerity and duality

Insincerity is often expressed using *haeyoche*, when there is purposeful modulation to *haeyoche* from *haeche* and the reverse, and when *haeyoche* is misaligned with non-verbal expressions with lower politeness classifications in each social dynamic. *Haeyoche* (and *hapsyoche* too)*,* in modulation with lower levels of politeness, is often purposeful in expressing duality, whether this takes negative form of insincerity or the more neutral form of hidden thoughts, feelings, or attitudes about one thing or another.

Oldeuboi (2003) provides of the modulation of *haeyoche* (and *hapsyoche* too) to *haeche* to express insincerity and mental instability, in which a switch from *haeyoche* to *haeche* indicates that the use of *haeyoche* was insincere. In the scene shown in Figure 4.146, Dae-su meets his captor Woo-jin for the first time since his release. In the first part of the conversation, Woo-jin speaks mostly using *haeyoche* and occasionally *hapsyoche,* which is misaligned with the context of him despising Dae-su. His insincerity and in its unnecessariness his twisted psychological state are expressed when he switches to *haeche (PS/FS, Switch, IS, Woo-jin<Dae-su(A)*⊢ *Woo-jin was being insincere/ Woo-jin is mentally unstable)*. Woo-jin's mental instability is expressed not only because of the modulation, but the timing of the

modulation – the context given to it by what is happening in their interaction at this point. The switch to *haeche* occurs precisely when Dae-su places a hammer against his head to kill him, the opposite of what is often found in life threatening encounters, in which people often opt for begging or persuasion using politer forms. In this case, however, Woo-jin chooses the polite form prior to the threat, and the antagonistic informal form chosen after.

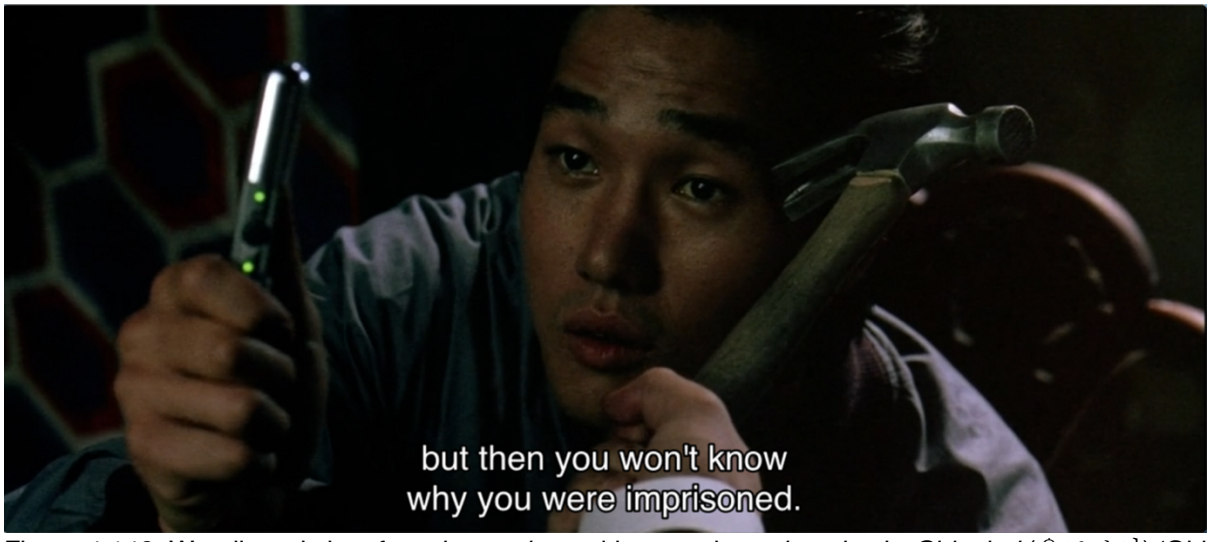


Figure 4.146. Woo-jin switches from *haeyoche* and hapsyoche to *haeche*, in *Oldeuboi* (올드보이) 'Old Boy' (2003).

Hanyeo (2010) provides examples of the misalignment of *haeyoche* with the politeness classifications of non-verbal gestures as expressions of insincerity and duality. The first example is in how Mr and Mrs Goh choose *haeyoche* when speaking to their household staff, while non-verbally enjoying the expressions of a senior; broad posture, arms by one's side rather than clasping the hands, head and body held high, and direct eye gaze *(PS, BP, HH, DG, Goh family>Household staff (P)⊦⌒ Goh family's politeness is insincere/ they are self-serving/ the truth is they look down on others)*. This insincerity is even addressed by the characters themselves in the dialogue of the film, which confirms this inference. The conversation takes place between the housemaid Eun-yi and the daughter Nami Goh. In the scene, the housemaid comments on how polite Nami is to her, and the child replies that her father taught her this, but it is not really the sign of respect that it appears. Translated into English,

Nami explains, “he said to treat people politely. It may seem like a sign of respect, but it’s really putting myself first”.

The second example is of misalignment as an expression of duality and returns us to a scene presented as an example for its non-verbal content earlier, the first meeting between Mr Goh and Eun-yi. In the scene, Mr Goh’s polite speech style is not in alignment with his non-verbal gestures (Figure 4.147). This involves the insincerity described in the previous example; however, this scene is before the conversation between Eun-yi and Nami takes place. The purpose appears primarily to hint at duality in Mr Goh – he is not as orthodox or straightforward as his wealth and good breeding might suggest *(PS, BP, HH, DG, Mr Goh>Household staff (P), First meeting⊦ Mr Goh is not straightforward).* This is then found out to be true, as he appears disjointed from empathy and morality.



Figure 4.147. Mr. Goh’s verbal language is classified as ‘very polite’ in the social dynamic, but his non-verbal expressions are ‘acceptable’ implying duality, in *Hanyeo* (하녀) ‘The Housemaid’ (2010).

Chingu (2001) provides another example of how a misalignment of *haeyoche* with the politeness classification of non-verbal gestures expresses insincerity, in this case dishonesty. After murdering Joon-seok’s gang member Doruko, Joon-seok goes to Dong-su to help him escape retribution for his actions. During the meeting, Dong-su speaks in *haeche* as he has done consistently to Joon-seok throughout the film. However, there is one

sentence in which he employs the *haeyoche* speech style – when he lies about his reason for not attending Doruko's funeral (Figure 4.148). His modulation to a more respectful tone in the context of him being Doruko's murderer is an expression of insincerity, and potentially even a little sarcastic *(PS, BP, HH, DG, Dong-su=Joon-seok (A)ㄴ Dong-su is lying/ pretending to care about Doruko).* His excessive non-verbal informality (Figure 4.149) compared to Joon-seok support this inference, as does the context of his juniority, and his history of consistently using *haeche* in this relationship; even in this conversation except for the sentence noted.



Figure 4.148. Dong-su switches from *haeche* to *haeyoche* when he lies, making his verbal and non-verbal expressions misalign in a moment of dishonesty, in *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001).



Figure 4.149. Dong-su's non-verbal expressions are excessively informal. The contrast between he and Joon-seok, despite Joon-seok's high gangster status is clearly visible, in *Chingu* (친구) 'Friend' (2001).

Ai Kaen Seupikeu (2007) also provides an example of insincerity expressed by misalignment, though in this case the expression has a threatening undertone. A shop owner at the market where Ok-boon works is being intimidated by a gang member (Figure 4.150), who was hired by a building mogul to help force the market shop owners out so that he can build on the land. The gang member uses the *haeyoche* speech style, which is polite since he is younger than the woman, but this contrasts with his non-verbal expressions, which are rude. In this context, the meaning potentials of these non-verbal expressions are 'confrontation', 'aggression', and 'intimidation', so combined with *haeyoche* this misalignment amounts to inferences of 'duality', predominantly of the potential for violence.



Figure 4.150. Misalignment of *haeyoche* with non-verbal expressions in intimidation, in *Ai Kaen Seu-pikeu* (아이 캔 스피크) 'I can Speak' (2007).

Haeche (informal) speech style

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of the *haeche* (informal polite) speech style will be presented.

Seniority

Minari (2020) provides another example of hierarchy expressed through speech style choice, though this time the expression of seniority by using *haeche.* In this scene, grandma speaks in *haeche*, which she does to the children throughout the film due to her senior age (Figure 4.151). This merely reflects the social dynamic between her and the children *(IS, Grandma-Yi children (A)⊦ Grandma is senior*).



Figure 4.151. Grandmother speaks to her grandchildren in *haeche,* in *Minari* (미나리) 'Water Celery' (2020).

Similarly, in the opening scene of *Geukan Jigeop* (2019) there is another example, but this time within a professional social dynamic, by a senior ranking policeman to his junior. A team of police are on an operation to apprehend a criminal, with two members of the team waiting at one entrance (Figure 4.152). Hearing the speech style chosen by the sitting policeman immediately one can establish who is the higher-ranking policeman of the two. It is the sitting policeman, speaking in *haeche (IS, Sitting policeman-Standing policeman (P)*ㄴ *Sitting policeman is senior*).



Figure 4.152. A senior ranking police officer speaks in *haeche* to his junior, *Geukan Jigeop* (극한직업) 'Extreme Job' (2019).

As explained earlier, establishing who is who, and how they think of themselves and the person they are interacting with, is important for understanding layers of meaning, often that unfold dynamically and are made sense of by the greater cohesive discourse structures that they are a part of. For instance, *Sitting policeman-Standing policeman* progresses to *Sitting policeman>Standing policeman (P)*, and then the expressions in all interactions between these two individuals will take into consideration this social dynamic, so that if the junior uses informal expressions can then be inferred as either a development of intimacy, or confrontation, or very polite expressions towards the junior can be inferred as sarcasm or insincerity etc.

Intimacy

Like seniority, inferences of intimacy are important for understanding Korean filmic discourse. *Sinsegye* (2013) provides an example of this. In the scene, the second boss, Jeong-cheong, returns from China when the chairman is killed. Ja-seong, who is junior to Jeong-cheong in the organisation but senior to the other members who are present at the airport, uses *haeyoche* when in front of junior members. While in contrast, Jeong-cheong speaks only in *haeche* because he is senior to everyone present. However, when the two men are in the privacy of the car, they both speak in *haeche*, and the close friendship they have is revealed (Figure 4.153). This happens early in the film, so that their close relationship can be inferred early on *(IS, Ja-seong<Jeong-cheong (P)* ⊦⌢ *Ja-seong and Jeong-cheong are very close friends/ this is relationship is significant).* This is then confirmed throughout the film, as the loyalty the two men feel towards each other forces them to save each other.

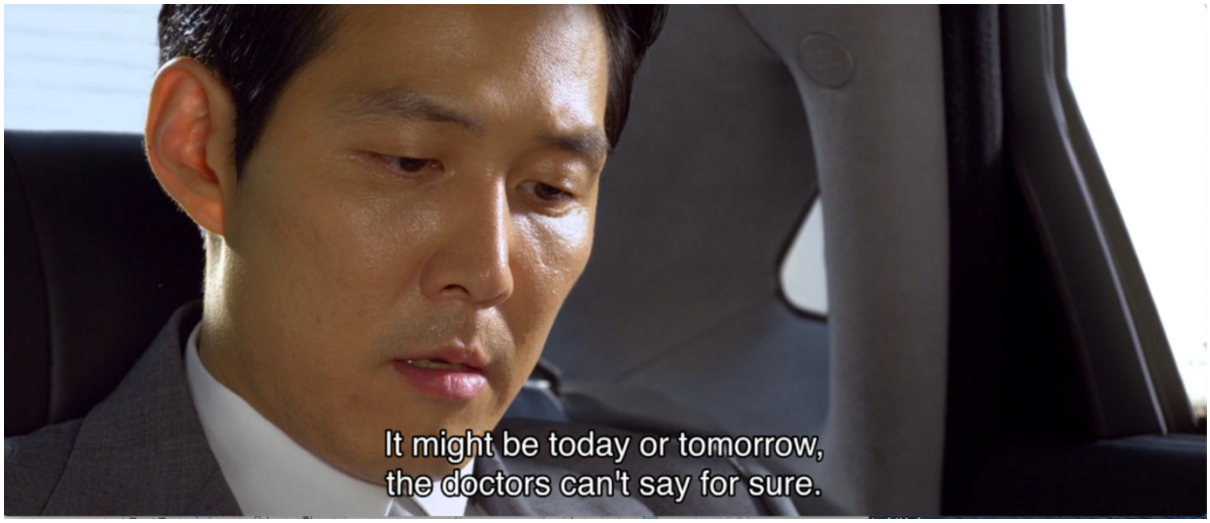


Figure 4.153. Ja-seong reveals his close relationship by switching to *haeche* when he and Jeong-cheong are alone, in *Sinsegye* (신세계) 'New World' (2013).

Intimacy and persuasion

This extends to intimacy too, and it is important because if one is speaking informally in *haeche*, and is not intimate or senior, then the conflict that can arise can be severe. Therefore, it is incredibly important to distinguish expressions of intimacy from rudeness or seniority, to comprehend what is happening and make predictions about what could happen, and thus to follow film discourse competently. Returning to the scene depicted in Figure 4.34 from *Taeksi Unjeonsa* (2017), an example of intimacy is expressed using *haeche* as well as the non-verbal expressions discussed previously. When Sa-bok persuades a mechanic to accept less cash than he is asking for to fix Sa-bok's taxi, the verbal side of the interaction isn't simply haggling over the price. The use of *haeche* shows that the two men have a close relationship (*IS, Sa-bok-Mechanic, same generation⊦ Sa-bok is close friends with mechanic)*, and just as politeness has been demonstrated as a means of persuasion in previous examples, Sa-bok plays on this intimacy in a similar way. It is like adding nuance to his haggling of, 'come on, we're mates, aren't we?' (*IS, Sa-bok=Mechanic, same generation, Intimacy⊦ Sa-bok is imploring his good friend to do him a deal).*

Intimacy and unorthodoxy

Returning to an early scene in *Agassi* (2016), when the scheme against Lady Hideko is first presented to Sook-hee (Figure 4.154), by con man Count Fujiwara, the close relationship between the two is clear by how Sook-hee speaks to him in *haeche* despite him being clearly older than her *(IS, Sook-hee-Count Fujiwara⊦ Sook-hee has a close relationship with Count Fujiwara)*. Due to the clear age seniority possessed by Count Fujiwara, despite the intimacy, further inferences can then be made. Primarily, the unorthodox relationship the two individuals have, including inferences that neither play by the rules of society *(IS, Sook-hee<Count Fujiwara (A), Intimacy⊦ Sook-hee has an unorthodox relationship with Count Fujiwara/ they do not play by the rules).*



Figure 4.154. Count Fujiwara first proposes the scheme against Lady Hideko to Sook-hee and her family, in *Agassi* (아가씨) 'The Handmaiden' (2016).

Antagonisation and humiliation

Returning to the scene depicted also earlier in the example shown in Figure 4.55 from *Geukan Jigeop* (2019), as well as demeaning and antagonising Chief Go through his heightened body and direct eye gaze, Detective Squad Chief Choi uses *haeche* too (Figure 4.155). This boasting of his power in a conflicting hierarchy with an older hearer is purposefully humiliating and antagonising *(IS, Detective Squad Chief Choi>Chief Go (P) Detective Squad Chief*

Choi<Chief Go (A)ㅏ Detective Squad Chief Choi is humiliating Chief Go/ is antagonising Chief Go).



Figure 4.155. Detective Squad Chief Choi uses *haeche* toward Chief Go, in *Geukan Jigeop* (극한직업) 'Extreme Job' (2019).

Another example of a conflicting hierarchy in which *haeche* is employed similarly antagonistically to humiliate the hearer, can be observed in *Ai Kaen Seupikeu* (2007). In the scene, Ok-boon has joined an English language school. In the classroom, she is a student and a junior to the teacher, however the teacher is two generations younger than her, and this warrants both parties to be considerate in the ideal situation. The teacher, however, refuses to do so, choosing to speak down to Ok-boon, verbally and non-verbally.

Firstly, Ok-boon asks the teacher to slow down for a moment (Figure 4.156). The teacher's response is "slow… *eh"*, a combination of the English word 'slow' and the informal Korean word for yes *'eh'*, which is translated as 'slow... right' in the English subtitle. Secondly, Ok-book asks to clarify the last English example that the teacher had given the class. The teacher responds to this by simply saying *"meo?"* (뭐), the informal form of the Korean word 'what' (Figure 4.157). In both interactions, the teacher is using *haeche.*



Figure 4.156. Ok-boon asks the teacher to speak more slowly, in *Ai Kaen Seupikeu* (아이 캔 스피크) 'I can Speak' (2007).



Figure 4.157. The teacher speaks in *haeche* and uses informal non-verbal expressions too, in *Ai Kaen Seupikeu* (아이 캔 스피크) 'I can Speak' (2007).

While it is still acceptable for the teacher to do so based on her seniority in the class-room, there is a conflict due to Ok-boon's age seniority, which is enhanced by her elderly age, and this immediately leads to inferences that the teacher is inconsiderate, tactless, and underlying this her lack of value for Ok-boon and annoyance by her presence in the class *(IS, Teacher>Ok-boon (P), Teacher<Ok-boon (A)⊦⌐Teacher is inconsiderate of Ok-boon/ doesn't value Ok-boon/ is irritated by Ok-boon)*. The teacher's non-verbal expressions are consistent with this, as she employs direct eye gaze, heightening her head *(DG/HH, Teacher>Ok-boon (P), Teacher<Ok-boon (A)⊦⌐Teacher is inconsiderate of Ok-boon/ doesn't value Ok-boon/ is irritated by Ok-boon)*. The consistent alignment between the level of

politeness selected by the teacher in her non-verbal and verbal expressions are indicative of her sincerity in these expressions.

Returning to the opening scene of *Geukan Jigeop* (2019), there are an array of opportunities to observe *haeche* used to antagonise and belittle; both by people senior in age to people junior in age to reprimand them, and by people junior in age to people senior in age when looking down on them because of their criminality, and by people junior or senior in age with criminal status to people senior and junior in age without criminal status. As a result of the various social dynamics, meaning potentials of *haeche* vary in each case. Figure 4.158 depicts an interaction between Chief Go and the criminal that he and his team are on an operation to arrest. Chief Goh speaks to the criminal in *haeche,* which is both acceptable because of Chief Go's elder age, but also a common way of law enforcement speaking to criminals regardless of age due to criminals being considered as having low social status. Thus, on the one hand, *haeche* expresses the age relation, but on the other hand, it expresses that he looks down on the criminal *(IS, Chief Go>Criminal (A)⊦ Chief Go is senior/ looks down on the criminal);* if he had not been a criminal, and this were a first meeting with a stranger, in an ideal situation one would use *haeyoche.* The criminal also speaks in *haeche,* which due to his age juniority and not having met before is completely unacceptable. This characterises him as someone who does not follow the rules (appropriate since he is a criminal) and is antagonising Chief Go *(IS, Criminal<Chief Go (A)⊦ Criminal is being confrontational/ is antagonizing Chief Goh/ is a bad person).*



Figure 4.158. An older police officer and a criminal both using *haeche,* in *Geukan Jigeop* (극한직업) 'Extreme Job' (2019).

Then in a separate interaction in the same scene, between another police officer and another criminal who this time is older than the police officer, again the police officer speaks in *haeche* (Figure 4.159). This time it is purely antagonistic, as she makes her low opinion of criminals explicit by disregarding the man's age *(IS, Police officer<Criminal (A)*⊦ *Police officer looks down on criminals/ treats criminals as not having the rights of law-abiding citizens).* In the context, since it is not one of police brutality or other abuses of power, which can be found in other films such as *Silmido* (실미도) 'Silmido' (2003), this also expresses the devotion of the police officer to their job and their integrity when breaking age hierarchy with criminals due to passionately despising their behaviours *(IS, Police officer<Criminal (A)* ⊦ *Police officer dislikes criminals/ is devoted to catching criminals/ has integrity).*



Figure 4.159. A younger police officer and a criminal both using *haeche,* in *Geukan Jigeop* (극한직업) 'Extreme Job' (2019).

Returning once again to the scene in *Gisaengchung* (2019), in which Mrs. Kim has a dispute with her employer (Figure 4.53). The employer also uses *haeche.* Not exclusively, but weaves in and out of *haeyoche* and *haeche*. Due to their conflicting hierarchy, it is more difficult for Mrs. Kim to dispute, while still deeply insulting because of Mrs. Kim's significantly elder age. Her desperate situation, however, demands she endures this, to receiver her wage. Therefore, the employer's use of *haeche* is a form of antagonisation, which at its core is deeply inconsiderate, and clearly motivated by the low opinion she has of Mrs. Kim, as there is no other reason in this context to justify the treatment *(IS, Employer>Mrs. Kim (P)/ Employer<Mrs. Kim (A)⊦ Employer is antagonising Mrs. Kim/ is inconsiderate of Mrs. Kim/ looks down on Mrs. Kim).*

Intimacy, unorthodoxy, and antagonisation

In *Sampoganeun Gil* (1973), the use of *haeche* by Baek-Hwa toward Young-dal provides constant examples of expressions of intimacy, unorthodoxy, and antagonisation (Figure 4.160). Their relationship is characterised by the early use of *haeche*, which reflects the desperate situation they find themselves in together, and their unorthodox relationship. She always uses *haeche* when they argue, and when she purposely tries to irritate him

(IS, Baek-hwa<Young-dal (A)ㄴ Baek-hwa is antagonising Young-dal/ likes Young-dal/ has an unorthodox relationship with Young-dal due to their desperate situation/ creates intimacy quickly). It can also be inferred as 'Baek-hwa has nothing to lose', since she behaves in this manner upon first meeting, and this is supported by the narrative. With Mr Jeong, on the other hand, Baek-hwa only uses *haeche* initially upon meeting, when she doesn't trust either man, though quickly changes to *haeyoche,* which she uses most of the time hereinafter, showing respect to him since he is significantly older than her.



Figure 4.160. Young-dal, Mr Jeong, and Baek-Hwa, in *Sampoganeun Gil* (삼포가는 길) 'The Road to Sampo' (1973).

Prosody

This section will feature the meaning potentials of prosodic gestures.

Rising intonation

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of the prosodic gesture rising intonation will be presented.

Outrage

Continuing with the same scene in *Gisaengchung* (2019), Mrs. Kim and her employer both use the prosodic gesture rising intonation to each other, to express their outrage at each

other's comments. Mrs. Kim does so first (Figure 4.161), after holding her temper throughout most of their interaction, the employer's mention of how Mrs. Kim's family quality of work is bad for her brand image, and Mrs. Kim is outraged by this since the woman's business is not very successful *(RI, Employer>Mrs. Kim (P)/ Employer<Mrs. Kim (A)﹂ Employer is outraged)*.



Figure 4.161. Mrs. Kim uses rising intonation when she is outraged by her employer's words, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Mrs. Kim's comment, ending with rising intonation, mentions how small the business's income is. This then causes the employer's outrage, which like Mrs. Kim is clearly apparent in how she reacts upon hearing this. The employer then responds (Figure 4.162), expressing outrage at the comment Mrs. Kim has made, as if outraged that Mrs. Kim would dare to speak to her this way *(RI, Mrs. Kim>Employer (A)/ Mrs.* Mrs *Kim<Employer (P)﹂ Mrs. Kim is outraged)*. Rising intonation on both occasions is used when outraged by the other woman's comments, demonstrating its use to express outrage. This is supported by how rising intonation only occurs, and moreover does so repeatedly, when the women are outraged.



Figure 4.162. Outraged by Mrs. Kim finally defending herself, Mrs. Kim's employer also using rising intonation, in *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Aegyo nasalisation (AN)

In this section, representative examples of the meaning potentials of the prosodic gesture *aegyo* nasalisation will be presented.

Flirtation and seduction

Returning to *Jopok Manura* (2001), in another scene, Eun-ji is receiving lessons in flirtation from hostess bar waitress Sherry, courtesy of her subordinate who is dating her (Figure 4.163). In the scene, Sherry explicitly explains to Eun-jin the use of *aegyo* nasalisation in flirtation and seduction, demonstrating how to nasalise words (i.e., the address term *oppa*). She even taps her nose, saying that sexiness is all in the nostrils. In this case, since Sherry is giving a demonstration, the intended receiver is not Eun-jin, and so the meaning potential does not relate to their social dynamic but rather an imaginary one, between Eun-jin and her prospective date. In this respect, it serves as an example of one of the most common uses of *aegyo* nasalisation, which is to flirt and seduce in female-male social dynamics, and in doing so to also be persuasive in respect to obtaining agreement from her date to marry her *(AN, F-M, Welcome ⊢ G is being flirtatious with R/ is attracted to R/ wants to persuade R).*



Figure 4.163. Hostess bar waitress Sherry, teaches female gangster boss Eun-jin, how to use *aegyo* nasalisation to attract men, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

Mimicry and humour

In the same scene, an example of males mimicking females using *aegyo* nasalisation too (Figure 4.164). In this case, the mimicry isn't for the purpose of humour between the male characters, though, but rather as a demonstration to a woman (Eun-jin) how to be feminine and sexy, and to create humour for viewers (*AN, Romeo<Eun-jin⊦ Romeo is mimicking a woman/ performing feminine sexuality*). Interestingly, because Eun-jin is Romeo's boss in the gangster organisation they both work for and is also treated no different than a man due to her violent reputation, her reaction to his mimicry is similar to if a male had done so to another senior male non-intimate. She is irritated, expresses threatening eye contact and silence following a burst of false laughter, and then Romeo becomes frightened. In this respect, although the use of the expression was not intended by Romeo to antagonise Eun-jin or make her uncomfortable by behaving too informally considering their strict gang hierarchy, but it does anyway due to the implication of these social factors, and their relevance in the context of this narrative *(AN, Romeo<Eun-ji (P)⊦ Romeo is antagonising Eun-jin/ is making Eun-jin uncomfortable by his behaviour)*. This then makes room for humour because

it plays to the thread of the narrative in which Eun-jin is characterized as being tough and feared by her subordinates, who are often being disciplined by her.



Figure 4.164. Romeo uses *aegyo* nasalisation to teach Eun-jin how to be sexy and feminine, in *Jopok Manura* (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster' (2001).

Desperate flirtation

Returning to the scene in *Eorin Sinbu* (2004) in which Miss. Kim makes unwanted attempts at flirtation with Sang-min, she also uses *aegyo* nasalisation (Figure 4.165). Her behaviour is an example of the above meaning potential 'flirtation', but due to being significantly older than Sang-min, further specification is also granted. Miss. Kim's use of *aegyo* nasalisation, which aligns with her other flirtatious expressions that were discussed in earlier sections of this chapter, shows she is not only flirting, but is desperate to have a relationship. Strategies like this are often utilised in Korean comedies, to characterise women negatively in this respect, because it has the effect of showing that they are trying very hard to 'be charming', which is essentially the aim of *aegyo,* to try to find a husband.



Figure 4.165. Miss. Kim uses *aegyo* nasalisation to flirt with Sang-min, in *Eorin Sinbu* (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride' (2004).

5. Comparison of SFDRS and K-SFDRS

In this section, representative K-film extracts have been transferred into both SFDRS and the proposed K-SFDRS. These graphic representations of filmic discourse are presented comparatively analysed (Analysis 2), to demonstrate the potential invisibility encountered in K-filmic discourse interpretation, without the implementation of Korean socio-pragmatic primitives (see Table 3.1), and the potential benefits of introducing and developing them within the SFDRS framework for K-film analysis.

Both lower and higher grains of discourse will be included in the comparison, following Kim and Kiaer (2021), presented using logical forms and SFDRS. The contents of the logical forms correspond well with the analysis of verbal expressions and gestures, using socio-pragmatic primitives for interpretation, that is presented in Chapter 4, especially in cases where the same examples are repeated within a larger analysis of K-filmic discourse. Meanwhile the SFDRS provide insights on the overall effect of interpreting K-filmic discourse via this model. Additionally, diagrams are also presented to show the effect these two approaches have on cohesion, beyond the extracts under analysis, to understanding of the rest of the film.

The comparison will be presented with logical forms first, followed by SFDRS for each case. Corresponding forms of SFDRS and K-SFDRS will be presented side-by-side, with SFDRS positioned to the left while K-SFDRS positioned to the right, in order to highlight the differences between contents and structures visually. Each comparison will be analytically deconstructed. In some cases, there will be additional analysis to demonstrate the impact either model has on comprehension of film narratives beyond merely the scene under analysis.

Gisaengchung (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019)

The following analysis is of a scene extracted from *Gisaengchung* (2019), in which Mrs Kim has a dispute with her family's employer, at 00:04:00-00:04:53. The extract, which is labelled 'Extract 1', begins when Mrs Kim is confronted by her employer, who is disputing the quality of their work, and ends when their argument is interrupted by Mrs Kim's son, who then begins an interaction with the employer.

Transcription

The following are two transcriptions of Extract 1. The first was made without socio-pragmatic primitives as a factor for segmenting K-filmic discourse. While the second transcription utilises socio-pragmatic feature changes too. These transcriptions explain more detail the happenings transpiring, and the points of temporal and spatial change, at which segmentation has occurred. Temporal and spatial changes that call for segmentation are marked in the transcriptions of the extract using brackets to signify segments at the level of logical form, while stars (*) to signify segmentation at the level of higher activity, which are constructed by logical forms. Therefore, where there is segmentation at the level of higher activity there will also be the segmentation of a logical form.

Without Korean socio-pragmatics

Mrs. Kim and her employer are standing at Mrs. Kim's front door. Mrs. Kim says something (feature change marks segmentation), to which her employer responds verbally (feature change marks segmentation), before using her hand to demonstrate her point. (feature change marks segmentation) Mrs Kim looks at Mr Kim. (feature change marks segmentation) Mr Kim responds by looking away. *feature change (location) marks a segmentation between higher activities* (feature change marks segmentation) The camera then cuts to an

exterior shot of the building, with the employer walking away from it (feature change marks segmentation). Mrs. Kim follows behind while continuing to speak (feature change marks segmentation). Her employer responds (feature change marks segmentation), and then she also responds (feature change marks segmentation). The camera cuts to a shot of a basement window, where Mr. Kim is watching what is taking place (feature change marks segmentation). Mrs. Kim speaks once more. Extract ends.

With Korean socio-pragmatics

Mrs. Kim and her employer are standing at Mrs. Kim's front door. Mrs. Kim speaks cautiously to her employer (feature change marks segmentation). Her employer responds, humiliating her (feature change marks segmentation). Mrs Kim blames Mr Kim. (feature change marks segmentation) Mr Kim is embarrassed by this. *feature change (location) marks a segmentation between higher activities* (feature change marks segmentation) The camera then cuts to an exterior shot of the building, with the employer being followed by Mrs. Kim who is trying to persuade her (feature change marks segmentation). The employer patronises Mrs Kim (feature change marks segmentation). Mrs Kim pleads with her (feature change marks segmentation). The camera cuts to a shot of a basement window, where Mr. Kim is watching, ashamed of the situation they are in (feature change marks segmentation). The employer continues to abuse her power and Mrs. Kim is outraged by her statements. Extract ends.

Segmentation

Based on the transcriptions presented, Extract 1 was segmented. Using SFDRS, the extract was segmented into eleven logical forms, which were inferred as: $e_{\pi_{1a}}$ *'say'*, $e_{\pi_{1b}}$ *'say'*, $e_{\pi_{1c}}$ *'demonstrate'*, $e_{\pi_{1d}}$ *'look at'*, $e_{\pi_{1e}}$ *'look away'*, $e_{\pi_{2a}}$ *'leaves'*, $e_{\pi_{2b}}$ *'say'*, $e_{\pi_{2c}}$ *'say'*, $e_{\pi_{2d}}$

'say', $e_{\pi_{2e}}$ *'watching'*, $e_{\pi_{2f}}$ *'say'*. These logical forms construct two higher activities: H_{π_1} *'problem'*, followed by H_{π_2} *'argument'*. When transferred to K-SFDRS, the extract was segmented into ten logical forms, which were inferred as: $e_{\pi_{1a}}$ *'Mrs. Kim proceeds cautiously'*, $e_{\pi_{1b}}$ *'Mrs. Kim is humiliated by employer'*, $e_{\pi_{1c}}$ *'Mrs. Kim blames Mr. Kim'*, $e_{\pi_{1d}}$ *'Mr. Kim feels ashamed'*, $e_{\pi_{2a}}$ *'Mrs. Kim tries to persuade employer'*, $e_{\pi_{2b}}$ *'Employer patronises Mrs. Kim'*, $e_{\pi_{2c}}$ *'Mrs. Kim pleads with employer'*, $e_{\pi_{2d}}$ *'Employer insults Mrs. Kim'*, $e_{\pi_{2e}}$ *'Mr. Kim feels ashamed',* and $e_{\pi_{2f}}$ *'Mrs. Kim is outraged'.* The logical forms construct two higher activities: H_{π_1} *'a desperate situation'*, followed by H_{π_2} *'argument'*.

Logical forms

The first segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms in Figure 5.1. In the segment, Mrs Kim asks her employer what the problem is. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of the conflicting professional and age hierarchies in relation to the socio-pragmatic expressions used *(Mrs Kim>Employer (A) ∧ Mrs Kim<Employer (P)).* Mrs Kim uses *haeyoche* speech style, which can be seen in the dialogue in the logical form in the use of the sentence marker *-yo* (요), when she says *"Guchaejeogeuro mwoga munjaeae-yo?"* (구체적으로 뭐가 문제에요). She does so even though she is a generation older than her employer *(PS ∧ Mrs Kim>Employer (A) ∧ Mrs Kim<Employer (P) → Very polite, conflict).* Thus, based on the interaction of these socio-pragmatic referents Mrs Kim's selection of *haeyoche* for her utterance is inferable as 'proceeding cautiously' *(PS, Mrs Kim>Employer (A), Mrs Kim<Employer (P)⊢ Mrs Kim proceeds cautiously)* rather than simply 'say'.

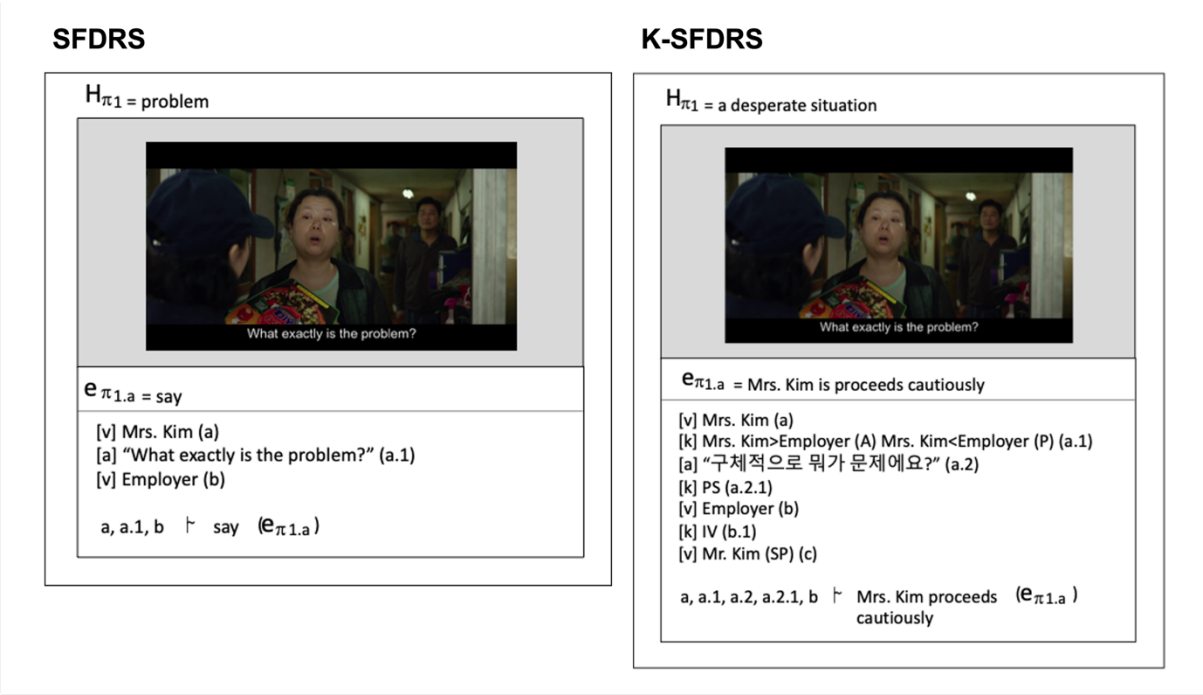


Figure 5.1. Logical form $e_{\pi_{1.a}}$ and $e_{\pi_{1.a}}$ respectively of Extract 1, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Further, from this first segment, if Mrs Kim's cautiousness in its Korean context is inferred, then so is the higher grain of meaning in the discourse that overarches logical forms $e_{\pi_{1.a}}$- $e_{\pi_{1.d}}$, which is that the Kim family are in a 'desperate situation'. Whereas, if Mrs Kim's cautiousness in a Korean context is not inferred, as it is not in H_{π_1} of the SFDRS description ($e_{\pi_{1.a}}$-$e_{\pi_{1.e}}$), then the level of specification inferable of the higher grain of discourse is significantly less; with the multimodality available one can simply infer the interaction in H_{π_1} to amount to a 'problem'.

When the employer responds (Figure 5.2), the segmentation differs between SFDRS and K-SFDRS representations. In the SFDRS, the response is separated into two segments ($e_{\pi_{1.b}}$ and $e_{\pi_{1.c}}$). The first 'say' and the second 'demonstrate', in which the employer first responds verbally to Mrs Kim and then 'demonstrates' further using a non-verbal gesture. However, when transferred to K-SFDRS, the conflicting hierarchies of the two interlocutors provides reasoning for the verbal and non-verbal to be an interaction inferable as a single eventuality ($e_{\pi_{1.b}}$), in which Mrs Kim is being 'humiliated' by her employer. This is inferable

by the employer's blending of *haeche* with *haeyoche* when she speaks, which can be seen in how the *-yo* (요) is absent from some of her sentences. She also does so by not finishing sentences properly, making it unclear which speech style (and subsequently the level of respect) she is choosing; and this has a similar effect to simply speaking in *haeche, (IS ∧ Employer>Mrs. Kim (P) ∧ Employer<Mrs. Kim (A) → Acceptable, conflict)*. For instance, she begins her dialogue by saying, *"ani, yereul deulmyeon-"* (아니, 예를 들면-) 'no, for example', which one would add *-yo* to *ani* to make *aniyo* (아니요) to show a basic level of politeness. Then the phrase *yereul deulmyeon-* is also not an ideal phrase to use toward a senior as it can be impolite, so when used in a conflicting hierarchy it can be condescending and antagonistic. The employer also uses *"eung?"* (응) twice, which is similar to yes but used for a range of purposes ('I see', 'ok', isn't that right?'). In this case *'eung?'* is used similarly to 'huh?' in the context of showing Mrs. Kim the faulty pizza box, as a rhetorical question about the obviousness of the damage done to the boxes. Importantly, *'eung'* is an informal word, that also is not appropriate to use towards seniors, so has the same affect to the use of *haeche.* Then there is the dialogue spoken in *haeche*, with informal *-ya* (야) and *-ji* (지) endings, for example when she says *"Akka jeonche da bonikka bakseu negae hangae kkollo ireon sangtaeya. Net jung hananeun bullyangingeoji"* (아까 전체 다 보니까 박스 네개 한개 꼴로 이런 상태야. 넷 중 하나는 불량인거지), which means 'one in four boxes is damaged like this'. These verbal expressions are accompanied by direct eye gaze, the employer's head held high, her posture spread and not compact, and invasive and vigorous hand gestures with the pizza box *(IV, DG, HH, SP ∧ Employer>Mrs. Kim (P) ∧ Employer<Mrs. Kim (A) → Acceptable, conflict),* which have a similar politeness classification as the employer's verbal expressions. Thus, although the employer uses *haeyoche* sometimes, using *-cho* (죠) once and *-yo* (요) three times, they are outweighed verbally and non-verbally by expressions that would likely cause someone of Mrs Kim's age to lose face and be humiliated. An

inference supported by how Mrs Kim frequently averts her eye gaze (*IG, Mrs Kim>Employer (A), Mrs Kim<Employer (P)⊦ Mrs Kim is ashamed*).



Figure 5.2. Logical form $e_{\pi_{1.b}}$ and $e_{\pi_{1.c}}$, and $e_{\pi_{1.b}}$ respectively of Extract 1, featuring stills from *Gi-saengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

A secondary layer of meaning is also inferable from the employer's choice of expressions here and this also overarches the discourse of this scene together with the Kim family's desperation – an 'abuse of power'. These meanings form the reasoning behind the two interlocutors' expressions, which create cohesive links in the narrative in and beyond this

scene. This will be discussed in more detail when comparing the overall structure of the discourse in either model, but it is pertinent to mention it here and as the analysis progresses to provide a full picture of the discourse as it unfolds.

Figure 5.3 shows segments $e_{\pi_{1.d}}$ and $e_{\pi_{1.e}}$ (SFDRS) and $e_{\pi_{1.c}}$ and $e_{\pi_{1.d}}$ (K-SFDRS). Although, this time, the number of segments and points of segmentation are the same, the levels of specificity are again noticeable. SFDRS describes Mrs Kim's actions - turning to make eye contact with her husband as 'look at' and his response as 'look away'. While in the K-SFDRS the context and social dynamic within which the expressions are used allow for specification of the communicative intentions of these acts - Mrs Kim's direct eye gaze made before a spectator (their employer) expresses 'blame' towards Mr Kim *(DG, Spectator, Mrs Kim=Mr Kim (A)⊢ Mrs Kim is confronting Mr Kim/ is irritated with Mr Kim/ blames Mr Kim)* while his indirect eye gaze expresses the 'shame' he feels *(IG, Spectator, Mr Kim=Mrs. Kim (A)⊢ Mr Kim is ashamed)*. This is supported by the context provided, with Mr Kim shown instructing the rest of the Kim family how to fold the boxes that they are now being scolded over the quality of, and therefore responsible.



Figure 5.3. Logical form $e_{\pi_{1.d}}$ and $e_{\pi_{1.e}}$, and $e_{\pi_{1.c}}$ and $e_{\pi_{1.d}}$ respectively of Extract 1, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

It is important to note Mrs Kim's restraint here too. The employer invading Mrs Kim's space with a pizza box *(IV ∧ Employer>Mrs Kim (P) ∧ Employer<Mrs Kim (A) → Acceptable, conflict)* is fundamentally 'inconsiderate', because the expression ignores the seniority that Mrs Kim holds entirely, and as such could provoke a reduction of politeness on her part. Within the context of Mrs Kim's poverty, the employer's expressions can be specified further as an 'abuse of power', enacted by the employer because she 'looks down on Mrs Kim' and

can see the Kim family's desperation and is self-important *(IV, Employer>Mrs Kim (P), Employer<Mrs Kim (A)* $\vdash$ *Employer is inconsiderate of Mrs Kim/ is abusing power/ looks down on the Kim family/ is self-important).* As such Mrs Kim's continued use of *haeyoche* can be seen as her having restraint, and therefore that she must be desperate to put her pride to one side.

The camera then cuts to an exterior shot of the Kim family's apartment building (Figure 5.4), upon which second of the two higher activities that construct the extract begins ($e_{\pi_{2.a}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.a}}$ respectively). The Kim family's employer exits their building, with Mrs. Kim following behind her (Figure 5.4). Mrs. Kim speaks during the pursuit, resulting in an overlap of verbal and non-verbal, requiring one to choose which is the more salient happenings with the discourse's structure. In SFDRS, there is a choice of inferring 'leave' or the 'say'. Largely due to the shift in the surrounding environment, which is separating the two higher activities, and the employer leaving being the salient reason for making this shift, 'leave' was inferred. However, when Korean socio-pragmatic expressions are taken account of, Mrs Kim's verbal utterance becomes more salient in forming the discourse than the employer leaving. In fact, her verbal expression encompasses both the 'leaving' and the 'saying' that's taking place, resulting in one not needing to choose between inferences as was required when using the process for drawing SFDRS. This primarily takes place through Mrs Kim's use of the *haeyoche* speech style, which can be seen in her use of *-yo* (요), when she says *"geuraeseo don sippeuro ttaego jugessdaneun geoe-yo jigeum?"* 'So, are you going to deduct ten percent of our pay now?' (그래서 돈 십프로 때고 주겠다는 거에요 지금?). The 'desperation' that is threaded throughout the discourse in Mrs Kim's unyielding politeness cohesively links with her polite speech marker here, making the discourse structure less concerned with the employer leaving and more intent on conveying Mrs Kim's neediness in her continued politeness while being treated harshly. The employer leaving merely functions to enable Mrs Kim to do so. Contextualised by Mrs Kim asking her employer if she is reducing their pay, her

use of the polite speech marker here can thus be specified as 'attempted persuasion', as by maintaining politeness her intention to persuade the employer to pay them in full is implied *(PS, Mrs. Kim>Employer (A), Mrs. Kim<Employer (P)⊦ Mrs. Kim tries to persuade employer)*.

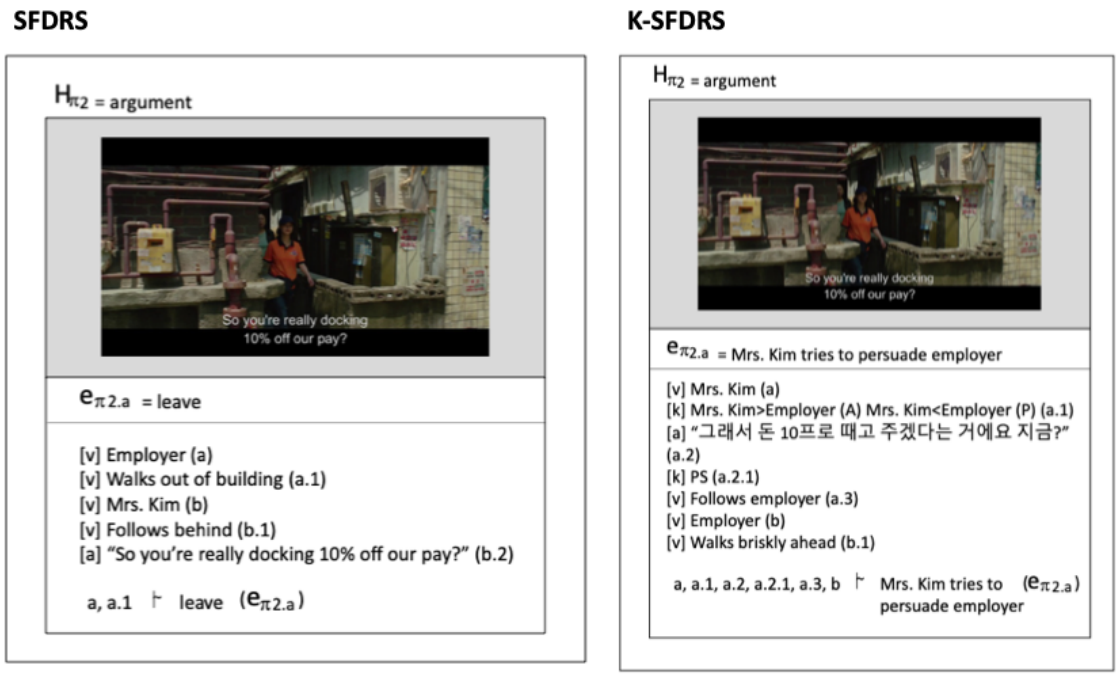


Figure 5.4. Logical form $e_{\pi_{2.a}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.a}}$ respectively of Extract 1, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

In respective segments $e_{\pi_{2.b}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.b}}$, the employer responds to Mrs. Kim (Figure 5.5). Transferring the extract to SFDRS, the defeasible eventuality of the logical form is simply 'say' on the basis of the main happening being a verbal utterance from one person to another. However, when transferred to K-SFDRS, the employer's use of the *haeyoche* speech style when she asks Mrs Kim rhetorically if she doesn't agree that the penalty fee is low considering the amount of defective boxes, *"bullyangyure bihamyeon paeneolti jeogeungeoji angeurae-yo?"* (불량율에 비하면 패널티 적은거지 안그래요?), can be inferred as 'patronising'. There is misalignment between the speech style and dismissive body language, as she speaks inconsiderately over her shoulder, which in its insincerity supports that

the use of a polite speech style to ask the rhetorical question is not used in a straightforward, genuine manner (*PS, Dismissive body language, Employer (P)>Mrs Kim, Employer<Mrs Kim (A)⊢ Employer is patronising Mrs Kim*). Once again, the 'abuse of power' is also inferable from the employer's expressions, because Mrs Kim's need of employment enables the employer to prioritise her own seniority entirely.

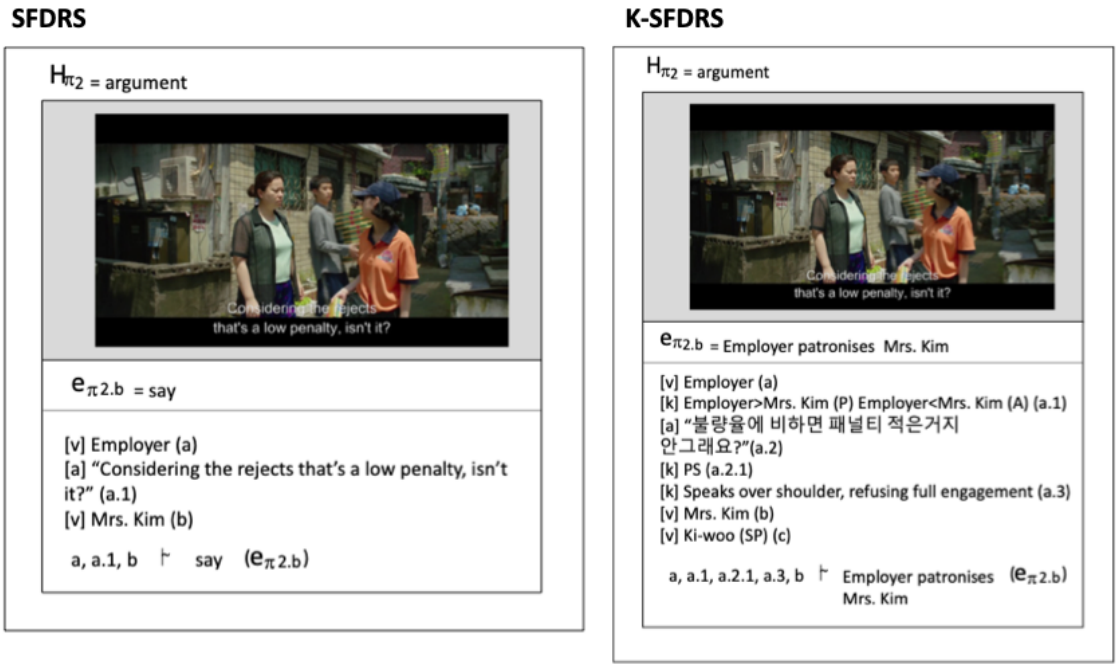


Figure 5.5. Logical form $e_{\pi_{2.b}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.b}}$ respectively of Extract 1, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

In respective segments $e_{\pi_{2.c}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.c}}$, Mrs. Kim responds to her employer (Figure 5.6). Once again, using SFDRS her verbal utterance can be described as 'say', or perhaps this could also be 'shout' since Mrs Kim raises her voice slightly. However, transferred to K-SFDRS, the politeness marker used by Mrs. Kim (*-yo*) when she says *"Ani ingeonbi igeo eolmana handago ani neomu hangeo anieyo?"* (아니 인건비 이거 얼마나 한다고 아니 너무 한거 아니에요?) shows that even though she has raised her voice she is still speaking politely. Therefore, her shouting may be simply to regain the attention of the employer who is trying to leave, rather than to express anger. This suggests that

while she may be upset her utterance is more likely 'pleading' *(PS, Mrs. Kim>Employer (A), Mrs. Kim<Employer (P)⊦ Mrs. Kim pleads with employer)*.

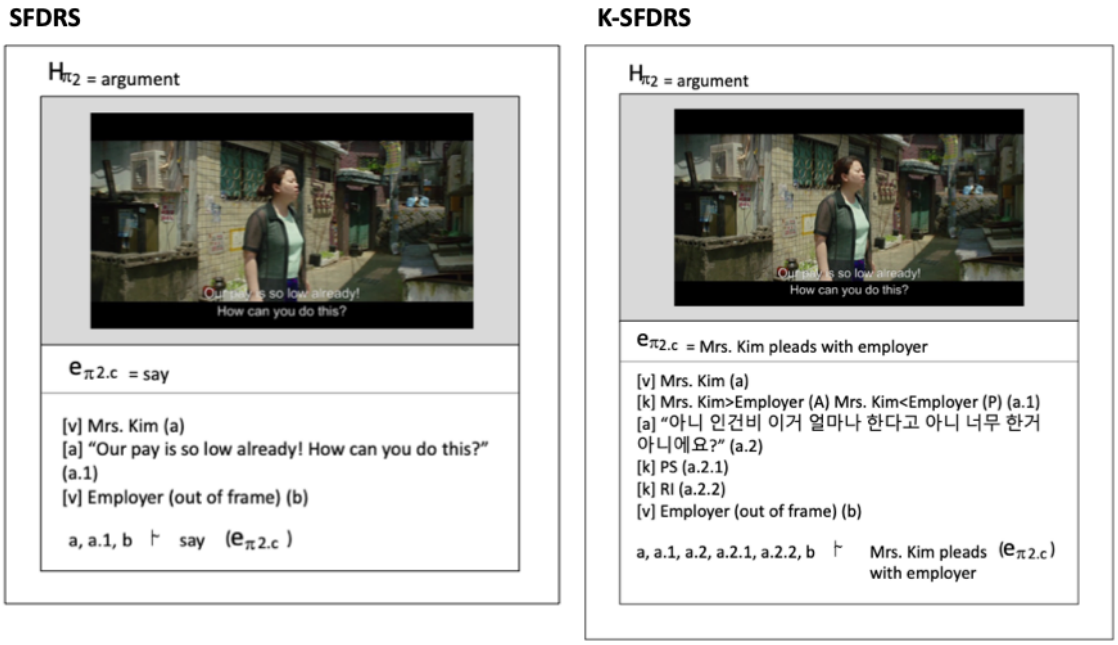


Figure 5.6. Logical form $e_{\pi_{2.c}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.c}}$ respectively of Extract 1, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

In respective segments $e_{\pi_{2.d}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.d}}$, the employer responds to Mrs Kim (Figure 5.7). In the SFDRS description, again, the defeasible eventuality of the verbal utterance is 'say'. She does shake the pizza box simultaneously while speaking, however, both expressions serve the same ends of expressing a point about the pizza box and so her verbal utterance was given priority in the representation. The K-SFDRS, however, provides a more specific inference that takes account of a range of Korean socio-pragmatic expressions. Firstly, the employer's use of the expression *"ibwayo"* (이봐요) 'look here' to address Mrs Kim has a similar politeness classification as using *haeche,* or perhaps is even ruder within a conflicting hierarchy because it designates no address term to Mrs Kim at all. Also, the employer uses *haeche* for her final sentence when saying *"Igae geureohgae gandanhan munjaega aniya ireon bullyang bakseu hanahanaga eolmana keun demijireul juneunji arayo? uri*

beuraendeu imijiae__?" (이게 그렇게 간단한 문제가 아니야 이런 불량 박스 하나하나가 얼마나 큰 데미지를 주는지 알아요? 우리 브랜드 이미지에_?). She also uses non-verbal expressions with a similar politeness classification – the vigorous shaking of the pizza box and rising intonation when speaking, which like her verbal expressions are a means of insulting Mrs Kim. These expressions make clear the employer's lack of respect for the Kim family, and that her intention here is to insult them *(IS/IV/RI, Employer>Mrs Kim (P), Employer<Mrs Kim (A)⊢ Employer insults Mrs Kim)*.

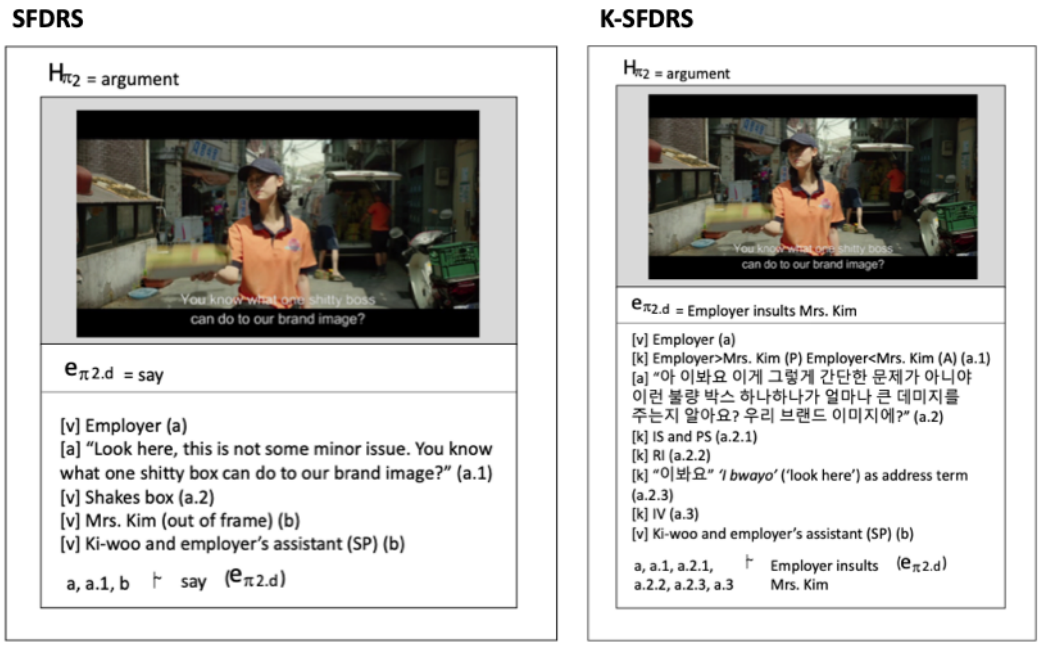


Figure 5.7. Logical form $e_{\pi_{2.d}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.d}}$ respectively of Extract 1, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

In respective segments $e_{\pi_{2.e}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.e}}$ the camera has cut from the interaction between Mrs Kim and her employer to an exterior shot of her family's basement apartment windows. While the argument can be heard continuing, Mr Kim looks out through a window, clearly observing what's happening (Figure 5.8). In the SFDRS description, this is inferred as 'watching', since the combination of Mr Kim looking out of the window and the argument continuing auditorily suggest that he is watching it as it happens. However, in the K-SFDRS

description, Mr Kim's feeling towards what he is observing is inferable instead of merely the act of watching, because the employer's use of informal expressions in this social dynamic, even with Mr Kim in the role of spectator, are insulting. Having to endure this for the sake of survival then causes Mr Kim shame *(IS/IV/RI, Employer<Mr Kim (P), Employer>Mr Kim (A)* ⊦ *Mr Kim feels ashamed).* This is the second time Mr Kim expresses shame in this scene, and both key inferences, as they are cohesive in system of repeated similar instances throughout the film, which are relied upon to construct a viable context for the climax of the film when Mr Kim murders his employer (Mr Park) in retaliation to repeated slights.

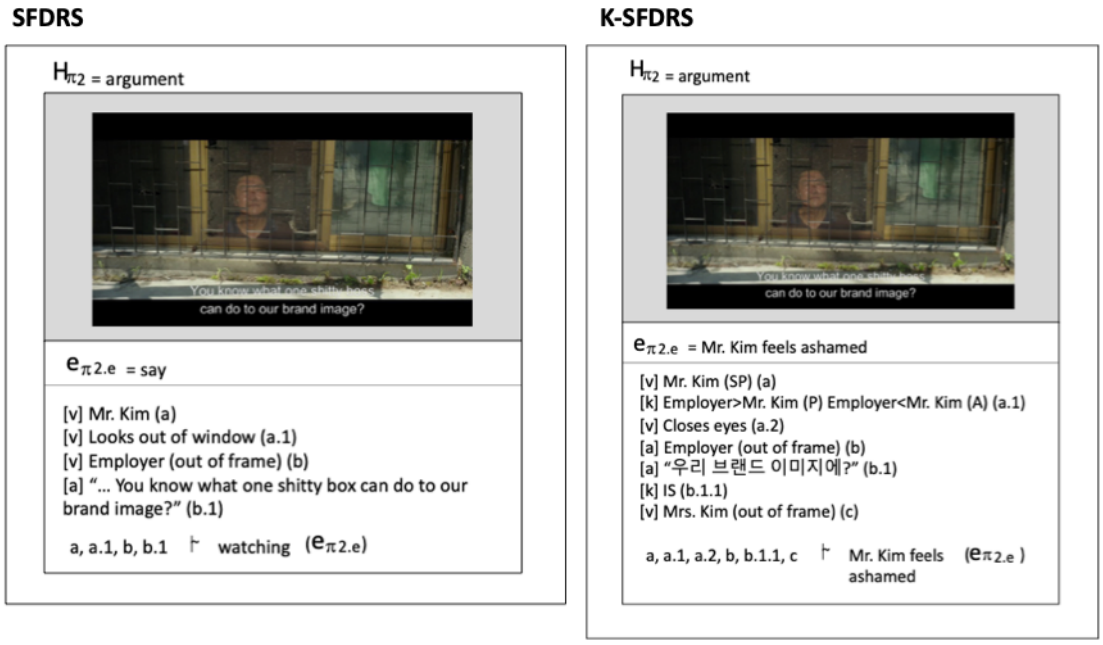


Figure 5.8. Logical form $e_{\pi_{2.e}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.e}}$ respectively of Extract 1, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Respective segments $e_{\pi_{2.f}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.f}}$ are the final segments in the extract before Ki-woo intervenes in the argument (Figure 5.9). When transferred to SFDRS, Mrs Kim's verbal utterance the segment was inferred as 'say', based on Mrs Kim's verbal utterance being the salient referent. However, when transferred to K-SFDRS, Mrs Kim's shift from *haeyoche* to *haeche* on the final sentence of her utterance and her rising intonation are also salient and

provide further specification. Due to the conflicting hierarchy, the politeness classification of these expressions is the same as when the employer uses them toward Mrs Kim and as such similarly expresses inconsideration and as a result insults her *(IS /RI, Mrs Kim>Employer (A), Mrs Kim<Employer (P)⊦ Mrs Kim is insulting Employer)*. However, because Mrs Kim is reacting to expressions that are inconsiderate in the first place, rather than making these expressions to someone who is being polite, their use is not an attack but a defence, which can be specified further from the use of *cham* (참) in *"Beuraendeu. Cham. Bakseu hana jeobeul saramdo eopsneun geosdeuri"* (브랜드. 참. 박스 하나 접을 사람도 없는 것들이). *Cham* expresses Mrs Kim's disbelief, indicating her switch to *haeche* to be an expression of 'outrage' rather than simply a desire to insult her employer.

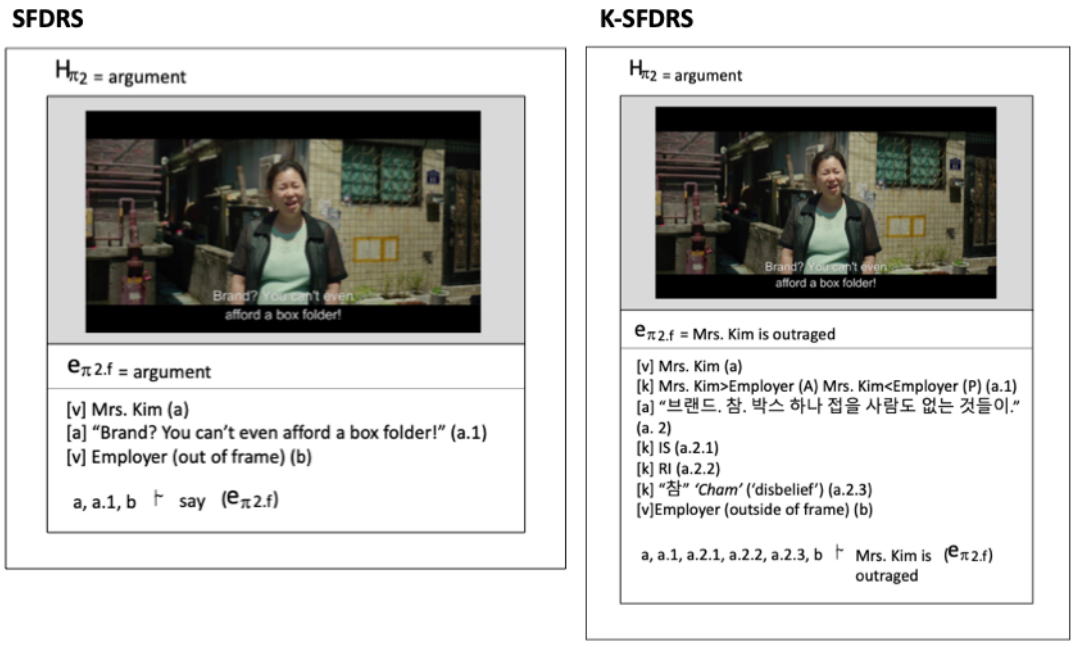


Figure 5.9. Logical form $e_{\pi_{2.f}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.f}}$ respectively of Extract 1, featuring stills from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

Discourse structure

The differences in the segmentation and defeasible eventualities inferred in the logical forms also result in differences in the discourse relations that hold between segments and thus

result in different manners of packaging information. To put it simplistically, this means that using SFDRS or K-SFDRS results in different explanations of how stories are told multimodally. Figures 5.10 shows the entire structure of Extract 1 when transferred to SFDRS, and Figure 5.11 shows the entire structure of Extract 1 when transferred to K-SFDRS. Please note that Kim and Kiaer's (2021) development of SFDRS to include 'higher activities' has been followed in the SFDRS too, in order to provide comparison of multi-levelled discourse, in this example and those that follow in this chapter. Figure 5.12 then shows a simplified graphical representation of the two structures to highlight differences in the contents and structures.

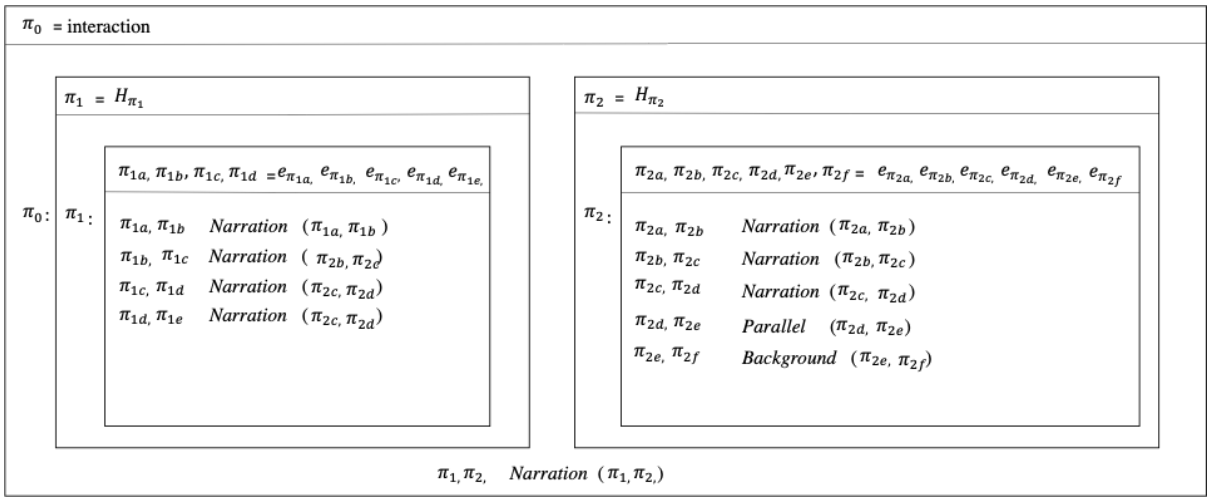


Figure 5.10. SFDRS of Extract 1.

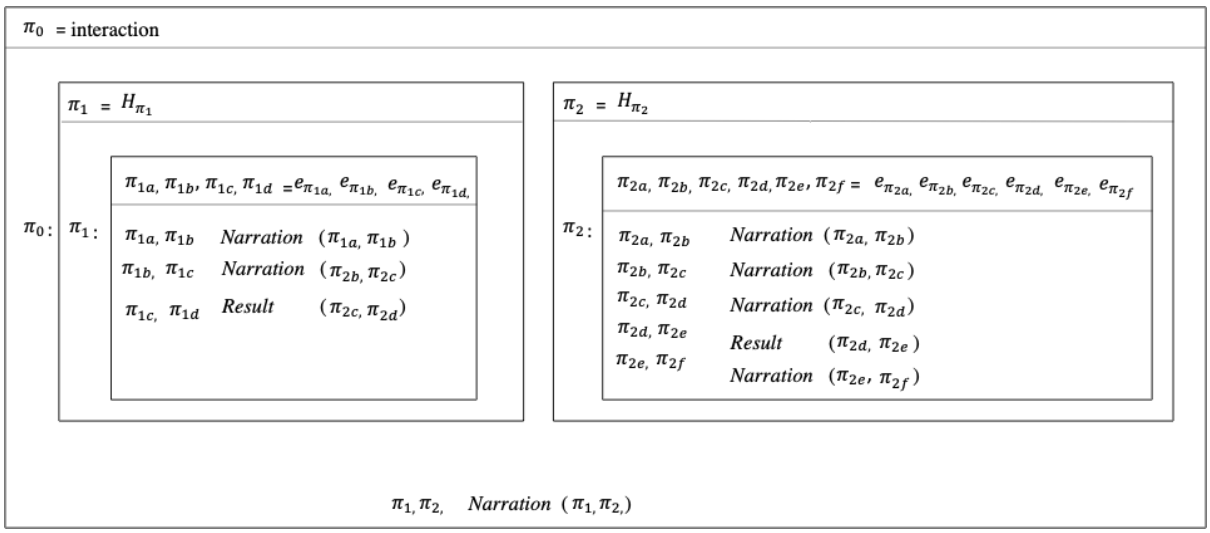


Figure 5.11. K-SFDRS of Extract 1.

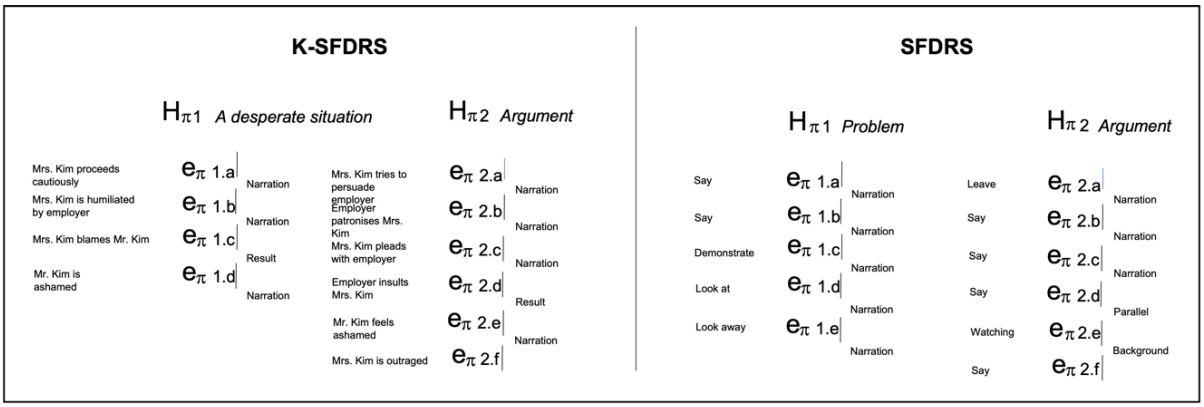


Figure 5.12. Graphical comparative representation of Extract 1's SFDRS and K-SFDRS.

Higher activities

The structure of the mid-grain level of discourse was inferred differently when using K-SFDRS, because of the further specification of meaning granted at the finer-grain level of discourse by accounting for Korean socio-pragmatic primitives. In the SFDRS, the higher activities are H_{π_1} inferred as 'problem' followed by H_{π_2} inferred as 'argument', with the contents of H_{π_1}being a problem arising and of H_{π_2} an argument ensuing for that very reason. However, in the K-SFDRS H_{π_1} is inferred as 'a desperate situation', specifying the nature of the problem further, and H_{π_2} similar to the SFDRS is inferred as 'argument'. It could be argued that H_{π_2} can be granted further specification as 'begging', because of Mrs Kim's over-extension of politeness despite her employer's willingness to be rude. How one goes about defining and labeling, however, requires some refinement. In this case 'argument' was settled upon because 'begging' is an earnest and humble act, and although Mrs Kim demeans herself in maintaining politeness while enduring rudeness, she is also argumentative. A solution could be to break the scene down into three higher activities in the K-SFDRS – H_{π_1} 'a desperate situation', H_{π_2} 'begging', and then H_{π_3} 'argument'. Though this was not decided upon due to the overlap of persuasive, argumentative, insulting, and imploring acts, that called into question the basis for the division in further higher activities.

Discourse relations

The discourse relations that hold between the logical forms at the lower level of discourse were found to differ between SFDRS and K-SFDRS, with the reason being that the increased specificity of the defeasible eventualities of logical forms granted through use of socio-pragmatic primitives results in more cause-and-effect structures in K-SFDRS than in SFDRS. There wasn't a difference in the discourse relations at the mid-grain of discourse, holding between H_{π_1} and H_{π_2}, however this is due to the segmentation of higher activities occurring as a result of a change in location in the midst of an interaction between characters. The SFDRS description is formed by eight Narration Relations, followed by a Parallel Relation, and finally a Background Relation. This is not an uncommon structure found in film narratives – a sequence of happenings, one after the other in linear order (Narration Relation), with a variation in the perspective of a scene (Parallel Relation), and some additional information about the surroundings of the main happening information on something other than the primary interaction taking place (Background Relation). When socio-pragmatic expressions are taken account of in K-SFDRS, however, the construction of filmic discourse becomes far more explicit. In this case, discourse relation structure consists of two Narration Relations, one Result Relation, four Narration Relations, one Result Relation, and finally one Narration Relation. There is a short sequence of happenings, then a result, another short sequence, and another result, then another short sequence.

Notably, it was found that in the K-SFDRS description of Extract 1 that the relations between segments support the validity of the inferences made for each defeasible eventuality. For example, Segment $e_{\pi_{1.b}}$ is validated by its relation to $e_{\pi_{1.c}}$, with Mrs Kim's humiliation ($e_{\pi_{1.b}}$) followed by her then blaming Mr Kim for that situation ($e_{\pi_{1.c}}$), which is then validated by Mr Kim's shame that results ($e_{\pi_{1.d}}$). Between the humiliation and the blame, a Narration Relation holds as one happening directly follows the other – Mrs Kim is humiliated by the employer, and she then turns to blame Mr. Kim. The humiliation gives reasoning for the next

happening being the blaming of Mr Kim, and the blaming gives reasoning that Mrs Kim is humiliated. Blaming Mr Kim and Mr Kim feeling shame are then held by a Result Relation – the result of being blamed is that Mr Kim feels ashamed. Once again, the blaming gives reasoning for the result that Mr Kim feels ashamed, and in reverse Mr Kim's shame gives reasoning for his being blamed by Mrs Kim, because it validates that there is a reason known by these characters for him to feel ashamed. The discourse relations in SFDRS are also supportive of the process of defeasible reasoning in this respect, as if errors are made in the inference of defeasible eventualities, then application of an appropriate discourse relation can difficult due to the connection between the two segments in question being unclear – that is to say, one may find that the structure doesn't make sense. This is fundamental in the drawing of filmic discourse as SFDRS, since it is a 'logic of film discourse interpretation' that makes its goal describing how filmic discourse is made sense of. K-SFDRS's specificity, however, intensifies this reciprocal validation that is characteristic of elements of SFDRS when configured adequately. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the entire inference process for constructing the K-/SFDRS for Extract 1.

SFDRS			K-SFDRS		
Feature change (segmentation)	Defeasible eventuality	Discourse relations	Feature change of segmentation	Defeasible eventuality	Discourse relations
Explanation of product being given by employer (also prior scene showing work being prepared relevant)	H_{π_1} *'problem'*		Mrs. Kim's PS, IG, and HL, and acceptance of DG, HH, IS, IV from younger employer	H_{π_1} *'a desperate situation'*	
Verbal utterance	$e_{\pi_{1a}}$ *'say'*	$e_{\pi_{1a}}$-$e_{\pi_{1b}}$ Narration	Verbal utterance with PS by Mrs. Kim in a conflicting hierarch	$e_{\pi_{1a}}$ *'Mrs. Kim proceeds cautiously'*	$e_{\pi_{1a}}$-$e_{\pi_{1b}}$ Narration
Verbal utterance	$e_{\pi_{1b}}$ *'say'*	$e_{\pi_{1b}}$-$e_{\pi_{1c}}$ Narration	Verbal utterance with IS	$e_{\pi_{1b}}$ *'Mrs. Kim is*	$e_{\pi_{1b}}$-$e_{\pi_{1c}}$ Narration

			and IV non-verbal gesture by employer and non-verbal gesture IG by Mrs. Kim in a conflicting hierarchy	*humiliated by employer'*	
Non-verbal explanation	$e_{\pi_{1c}}$ *'demonstrate'*	$e_{\pi_{1c}}$-$e_{\pi_{1d}}$ Narration	DG non-verbal gesture by Mrs. Kim in front of spectators (also prior segments and contexts relevant)	$e_{\pi_{1c}}$ *'Mrs. Kim blames Mr. Kim'*	$e_{\pi_{1c}}$-$e_{\pi_{1d}}$ Result
Turn to something	$e_{\pi_{1d}}$ *'look at'*	$e_{\pi_{1d}}$-$e_{\pi_{1e}}$ Narration	IG non-verbal gesture by Mr. Kim to Mrs. Kim's DG non-verbal gesture in front of spectators (also prior segments and contexts relevant)	$e_{\pi_{1d}}$ *'Mr. Kim feels ashamed'*	$e_{\pi_{1d}}$-$e_{\pi_{2a}}$ Narration
Turn away from something	$e_{\pi_{1e}}$ *'look away'*	$e_{\pi_{1e}}$ -$e_{\pi_{2a}}$Narration			
Change from introduction of problem to dispute/ change in location	H_{π_2} *'argument'*		Change beginning -Mrs. Kim's expressions becoming less submissive/ change in location	H_{π_2} *'argument'*	
Exits building, new POV of building	$e_{\pi_{2a}}$ *'leaves'*	$e_{\pi_{2a}}$-$e_{\pi_{2b}}$ Narration	Verbal utterance with PS by Mrs. Kim	$e_{\pi_{2a}}$ *'Mrs. Kim tries to persuade employer'*	$e_{\pi_{2a}}$-$e_{\pi_{2b}}$ Narration
Verbal utterance	$e_{\pi_{2b}}$ *'say'*	$e_{\pi_{2b}}$-$e_{\pi_{2c}}$ Narration	Verbal utterance with PS by employer for rhetorical question	$e_{\pi_{2b}}$ *'Employer patronises Mrs. Kim'*	$e_{\pi_{2b}}$-$e_{\pi_{2c}}$ Narration
Verbal utterance	$e_{\pi_{2c}}$ *'say'*	$e_{\pi_{2c}}$-$e_{\pi_{2d}}$ Narration	Verbal utterance with PS by Mrs. Kim to ask for wages (also	$e_{\pi_{2c}}$ *'Mrs. Kim pleads with employer'*	$e_{\pi_{2c}}$-$e_{\pi_{2d}}$ Narration

			prior segments relevant)		
Verbal utterance	$e_{\pi_{2d}}$ *'say'*	$e_{\pi_{2d}}$-$e_{\pi_{2e}}$ Parallel	Verbal utterance with IS and non-verbal gesture IV by employer	$e_{\pi_{2d}}$ *'Employer insults Mrs. Kim'*	$e_{\pi_{2d}}$-$e_{\pi_{2e}}$ Result
Looking out of window, with audio of argument continuing	$e_{\pi_{2e}}$ *'watching'*	$e_{\pi_{2e}}$-$e_{\pi_{2f}}$ Background	Non-verbal gesture IG by Mr. Kim, after overhearing the contents of continuing dispute outside, with audio of argument continuing	$e_{\pi_{2e}}$ *'Mr. Kim feels ashamed'*	$e_{\pi_{2e}}$-$e_{\pi_{2f}}$ Narration
Verbal utterance	$e_{\pi_{2f}}$ *'say'*		Verbal utterance with IS and RI by Mrs. Kim	$e_{\pi_{2f}}$ *'Mrs. Kim is outraged'*	

Table 5.1. Overview of the comparative analysis conducted on Extract 1 from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019). This overview shows the different methods of construction, as well as the resulting structure.

Cohesion and discourse comprehension

The relevance of the K-SFDRS description for K-film analysis is supported greatly by how the inferences made in the process of describing Extract 1 cohesively link with the discourse throughout the entire film. Bearing in mind that Extract 1 occurs early in the film at 00.04.00-00.04.53, and the cohesive structure can be traced from the expressions in this scene until the film's climax, their inclusion in K-film analysis is undoubtably significant. Continuing with the example of Mr Kim feeling ashamed in Extract 1 ($e_{\pi_{1.d}}$ and $e_{\pi_{2.e}}$). The reason for Mr Kim's shame is twofold. On the one hand, he gave his family unhelpful advice on how to fold pizza boxes, which resulted in numerous rejects and a dispute over payment with their employer. In this respect, his shame is a relevant component in the construction of the discourse in Extract 1 alone. On the other hand, Mr Kim's humiliation in Extract one is part of

an ongoing saga that continues throughout the film, in which he is repeatedly humiliated and looked down upon, even by his own wife who in the scene prior to Extract 1 swears at him and kicks him to wake him up. In Korea's patriarchal, 'face-saving' culture, this is unbearable for him, though due to his elderly age and low social status it is unavoidable problem. As a result, Mr Kim's humiliations build until eventually he murders his employer Mr Park. In this section, this cohesive structure that the meanings inferred in Extract 1 are a part of will be deconstructed to demonstrate this.

Degrees of bowing

Shifting from the humiliation of Mr Kim by the Kim family's first employer that is depicted in the scene in Extract 1, to the first interaction between Mr Kim and the Kim family's second employer Mr Park, there is another humiliation. Importantly, this occurs from the first meeting, and is subtle. Mr Kim first meets Mr Park to be interviewed for the role of his driver. When Mr Kim first arrives at the office, he is taken to a waiting area by a secretary in front of the glass office where Mr Park is having a meeting. Before taking his seat, Mr Kim notices Mr Park and stands waiting to make eye contact with him through the glass. When their eyes finally meet, Mr. Kim bows at 45-degrees to greet Mr Park. However, Mr Park only nods and doesn't even rise fully from his seat. His response, just like the Kim family's first employer, ignores Mr Kim's elderly age. Again, the individual with higher social status – the wealthier 'employer' – refuses to give away any power granted to Mr Kim by his age. Often younger people, regardless of professional seniority, will try to try to be respectful of people as old as Mr Kim, but Mr Park makes no effort at all. While this instance is not discussed in the narrative in any form, the politeness classifications within a conflicting hierarchy show the expression of Mr Park to be acceptable with a conflict *(NB ∧ Mr Park>Mr Kim (P) ∧ Mr Park<Mr Kim (A) → Acceptable, conflict)*, indicating the low degree of bowing to be cohesive with expressions of

inconsideration towards Mr Kim and his humiliation *(NB, Mr Park>Mr Kim (P), Mr Park<Mr Kim (A)⊢ Mrs Park is being inconsiderate of Mr Kim/ is self-important/ is humiliating Mr Kim).*

Yangban

Directly following their non-verbal interaction at the office, the first conversation between Mr Kim and Mr Park takes place. The location changes from the office space to the interior of Mr Park's car, where Mr. Kim is driving him around Seoul while being interviewed for the role. At one point, Mr. Park says to Mr. Kim *"jeodo hangaji ireul oraehasinbundeul jong-yeonghamnida"* (저도 한가지 일을 오래하신분들 존경합니다) '*I respect those who work in one field for a long time.'* Note the formal polite sentence marker *'nida'* (니다). This utterance and the politeness it's conveyed with cohesively link to a later conversation between Mr Park and Mr Kim, in which Mr Park's statement is shown to have been insincere, and his true attitude towards his staff begins to leak through. In the scene, Mr Kim is driving Mr Park on another occasion, and they are discussing a household employee who recently quit her position in the household. Mr Park refers to the employee (Mun-kwang) in a derogatory manner. This is important because Mun-kwang has been in the service industry for a long time, and specifically served his family for a while, so according to Mr Park's previous statement, he should therefore have a great deal of respect for her. However, Mr Park says, *"Sangdanghi gwaenchanheun ajummayeossgeodeun geu yangbani"* (상당히 괜찮은 아줌마였거든 그 양반이), which is translated in the subtitle as simply 'She was a great housekeeper', but contains the often derogatorily-used word *yangaban* (양반). The term *Yangaban* (양반) originates from the Joseon period, at which time it was used simply to refer to the gentry, however it has developed in contemporary Korea to have multiple uses including derogatory. *Yangban* is often used as an expression of frustration when complaining about someone whose behaviour is thought to be unbelievable (e.g., someone might say "*i yangban-ah*" (이 양반아) 'this *yangban*'). Mr Park uses *yangban* in precisely this way, and if what he says is

translated the use of *yangban* feels somewhat similar to dismissively and sarcastically referring to Mun-kwang as 'that guy'. Mr Park's word choice here contrasts significantly with the attitude towards his staff and people of Mr Kim's stature generally that he presented earlier to Mr Kim. This then creates a cohesive link to his earlier statement, revealing Mr Park to be insincere, and implying that if he does not respect his staff, that as a member of that staff Mr Kim is or will be the potential recipient of disrespect too and once again be humiliated.

Mixing speech styles

Mr Park also mixes politeness levels when he speaks to Mr Kim. He addresses Mr Kim as Kim *gisanim* (기사님), which is very polite because of the use of the honorific suffix *-nim* (님) added to *gisa* (기사) meaning 'driver' *(nim ∧ Mr Park>Mr Kim (P) ∧ Mr Park<Mr Kim (A) → Very polite)*. At the same time, he blends *haeche (IS ∧ Mr Park>Mr Kim (P) ∧ Mr Park<Mr Kim (A) → Acceptable, conflict)* with *haeyoche (PS ∧ Mr Park>Mr Kim (P) ∧ Mr Park<Mr Kim (A) → Very polite) and* leaves several sentences unfinished without indicating the style he intends to choose. This is the same manner of speech used by the Kim family's first employer in Extract 1. Moreover, the modulation of politeness levels implying insincerity on the occasions when Mr Park does opt for polite expressions, since on the one hand he is expressing consideration and value *(PS/-nim, Mr Park>Mr Kim (P), Mr Park<Mr Kim (A)* **|~** *Mr Park is considerate of Mr Kim/ values Mr Kim) and on the other hand he is not (IS, Mr Park>Mr Kim (P), Mr Park<Mr Kim (A)* **|~** *Mr Park isn't being considerate of Mr Kim/ doesn't vale Mr Kim).*

The confirmation of Mr Park's attitude

The early hints of insincerity surrounding Mr Park's politeness and his lack of respect for his staff are confirmed by the events that ensue soon after. One primary instance is when the Park family return home unexpectedly, cancelling their camping trip due to the weather, and

sending the Kim family into a panic since they have been taking advantage of the luxuries of the Park's household are unprepared for their return. Specifically, the presence of Mr Kim and his son and daughter, who are all believed by the Parks' to be unrelated employees, and who all except for Mrs Kim are not meant to be in the Parks' home at this time. They are forced to hide under the coffee table in the living room, and unfortunately for them Mr and Mrs Park decide to sleep on the couch beside it. Mr Kim is then privy to their private conversation, in which they talk about Mr Kim in an unflattering way. The dialogue is presented below.

Dialogue
Mr. Park: (sniffs) 가만있어봐. 응? 어디서 그 냄새가 나는데?
English subtitle translation: Wait a minute. Where's that smell coming from?
Mrs. Kim: 뭔 냄새?
English subtitle translation: What smell?
Mr. Park: 김기사님 스멜
English subtitle translation: Mr. Kim's smell.
Mrs. Park: 김기사?
English subtitle translation: Mr. Kim?
Mr. Park: 응
English subtitle translation: Yeah.
Mrs. Park: 난 잘 모르겠는데.
English subtitle translation: Not sure what you mean.
Mr. Park: 진짜? 당신도 알텐데. 은은하게 차안에 퍼지는 냄샌데. 그 뭐라 그래야되지.
English subtitle translation: Really? You must have smelled it. That smell that wafts through the car, how to describe it?
Mrs. Park: 노인 냄새?
English subtitle translation: An old man's smell?
Mr. Park: 아냐 아냐, 그런거 아니야. 그 뭐야. 그거. 그 오래된 무말랭이 냄새? 아 아니다. 그 행주 삶을때 나는 그런거 있지. 그런거랑 비슷해. 아무튼 그 양반, 전반적으로 말하는 행동이 선을 넘을 듯 말듯 하면서도 결국에는 절대 선을 안 넘거든. 그건 좋아.
English subtitle translation: No no, it's not that. What is it? Like an old radish? No. You know when you boil a rag? It smells like that. Anyway, even though he always seems about to cross the line, he never does cross it. That's good. I'll give him credit.
Mrs. Park: 응
English subtitle translation: Yeah.
Mr. Park: 인정. 근데 냄새가 선을 넘지 냄새가. 씨. 차 뒤쪽으로 좆나게 넘어와 냄새가. 씨.
English subtitle translation: But that smell crosses the line. It powers through right into the back seat.
Mrs. Park: 뭔 냄새길래?
English subtitle translation: How bad can it be?

Mr. Park: 몰라, 아무튼 말로는 설명하기 힘들고, 가끔 그 지하철 타면 나는 냄새 있어. 그런 거랑 비슷해.
English subtitle translation: I don't know. It's hard to describe. But you sometimes smell it on the subway.
Mrs. Park: 몰라 난, 너무 오래 됐어 지하철 타 본지.
English subtitle translation: It has been ages since I rode a subway.
Mr. Park: 지하철 타는 분들 특유의 냄새가 있거든.
English subtitle translation: People who ride the subway have a special smell.
Mrs. Kim: 응.
English subtitle translation: Yeah.

Mr Park complains about Mr Kim's smell, making comments that are insulting. He then compares Mr Kim's smell to the smell of the people on the subway, and insults lower class people more generally. This is cohesive with Mr Kim's humiliation, and the difficulty he continuously faces because of his low class. Mr Park also refers to Mr Kim as *"geu yangban"* (그 양반) 'that *yangban*' just as he did when he spoke to Mr Kim earlier about Mun-kwang *(yangban, Mr Park>Mun-Kwang (P) Mr Park<Mun-kwang (A)∟ Mr Park is insulting Mun-kwang ∴ yangban, Mr Park>Mr Kim (P) Mr Park<Mr Kim (A)∟ Mr Park is insulting Mr Kim/ Mr Park thinks of Mr Kim the same way as Mun-kwang).* This conversation then validates the cohesive links made between Mr Park's use of socio-pragmatic expressions towards Mr Kim until this point, confirming his attitude towards Mr Kim and his class as one of looking down on him, and thus he has been humiliated again.

The confrontation

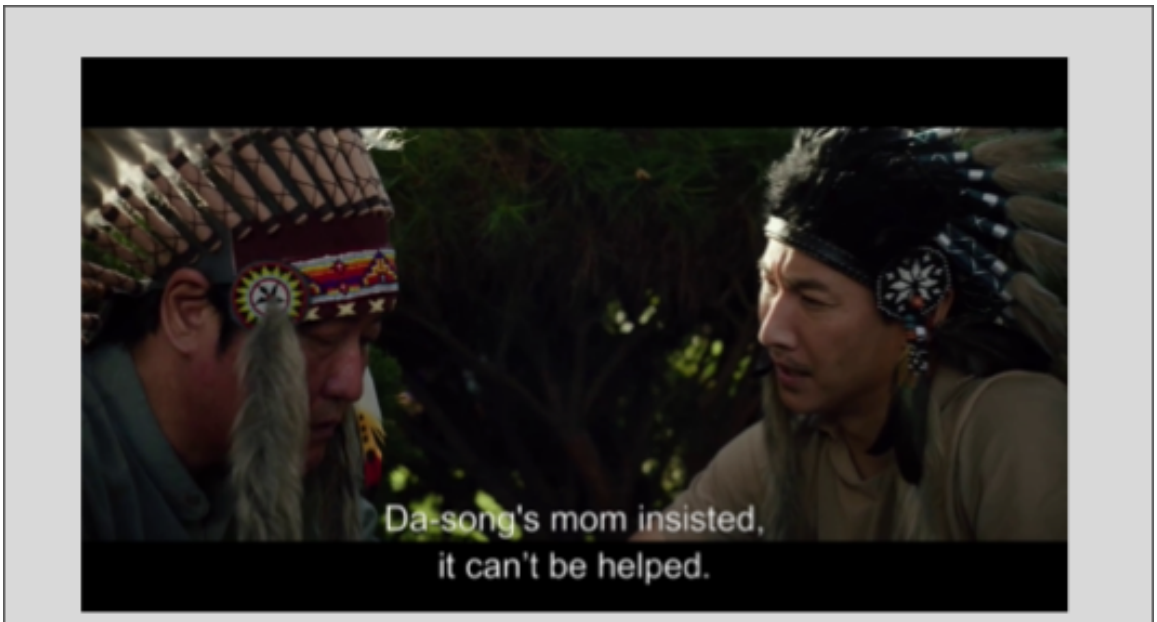
The following day, after having found that Mr Park looks down on him, Mr Kim and the rest of his family are called over to the Park family's house for an impromptu birthday party for Da-song. Mr Park asks Mr Kim to assist him in a performance, in which they must pretend to be American Indians and capture Ki-jung when she delivers a birthday cake so that Da-song can save her and be the hero. In the following conversation he explains to Mr. Kim what they will be doing in the performance.

Dialogue

Mr Park: 아이 진짜, 우리가 이 나이에 뭐하는 건지 참. 진짜 민망하네요. 정말 죄송합니다 김기사님, 애기 엄마 등쌀에, 나도 이걸 어쩔 수가 없네요. 근데 핵심은 뭐 간단해요. 좀 있다가, 제시카 선생님이 다솜이 생일 케익 들고 행진 비슷한 거 할거에요. 그때 우리가 짜잔 하고 나타나가지고 제시카 선생님을 습격하는 겁니다. 이 인디안 도끼를 막 휘두르면서 .
English subtitle translation: God I can't believe I'm doing this at my age. It's so embarrassing. I'm really sorry Mr. Kim. Da-song's mum insisted. It can't be helped. But the concept is simple. There'll be a parade with Jessica carrying a birthday cake. Then we jump out and attack Jessica. Swinging our Tomahawkes.
Mr Kim: 아, 예.
English subtitle translation: Right.
Mr Park: 그 순간 정의의 인디안 다송이가 짜잔 등장해가지고 도끼로 반격, 전투가 벌어지고, 결국 다송이가 케익 여신 제시카 선생님을 구출 우와 박수 . 뭐 이런 거예요. 유치하죠.
English subtitle translation: Just then, Da-song the good Indian will jump out and we'll do battle. Finally, he'll save Jessica, the cake princess, and they'll all cheer. Something like that. Silly, isn't it?
Mr Kim: 사모님이 뭐 원래 이벤트 서프라이즈 이런거 좋아하시나봐요.
English subtitle translation: I guess your wife likes events and surprises.
Mr Park: 에에 그런편이죠. 근데 이번 생일은 더 신경쓰네 저사람.
English subtitle translation: Yeah, she does. But she's particularly into this party.
Mr Kim: 애 많이 쓰시네요, 대표님도. 뭐 어쩝니까 사랑하시는데 .
English subtitle translation: You're trying your best, too. Well, you love her, after all.
Mr Park: 김기사님, 어차피 오늘 근무인거죠? 이게. 그냥 이게 일의 연장이라고 생각하시고 , 에?
English subtitle translation: Mr Kim, you're getting paid extra. Think of this as part of your work, okay?

The situation is uncomfortable from the offset because Mr Kim has been asked to work overtime on his day off, and to take part in a task that is not a part of his usual role. But it is the Korean socio-pragmatic expressions which are exchanged, that are cohesive with Mr Kim's shame, and subsequently able to make Mr Kim murdering Mr Park a likely outcome. Firstly, Mr Park expresses his insincerity and causes embarrassment to Mr Kim again when he states *"Uriga i naie mwohaneun geonji cham".* This directly translates as '*god I can't believe we are doing this at our age'.* Since Mr Kim is almost a generation older, Mr Park's lamentation of the situation being embarrassing at "their age" is inconsiderate, in that it emphasises Mr Kim's elder age and therefore how embarrassing this is for him. Then, when Mr Park then apologises to Mr Kim for involving him *"Jeongmal joesonghapnida gimgisanim"* (정말 죄송합니다 김기사님) 'I'm really sorry Mr Kim', he seems to be being very

polite, but this expression is insincere, since if he cared about Mr Kim's embarrassment then he wouldn't request his participation in this in the first place. Korean concepts of 'saving face', *'ansim'* (keeping the peace), and *'nunchi'* (Korean concept of emotional intelligence) are key in understanding this, because if Mr Park wanted to save Mr Kim's face, to keep his



e_{π_1} = Mr Park humiliates Mr Kim

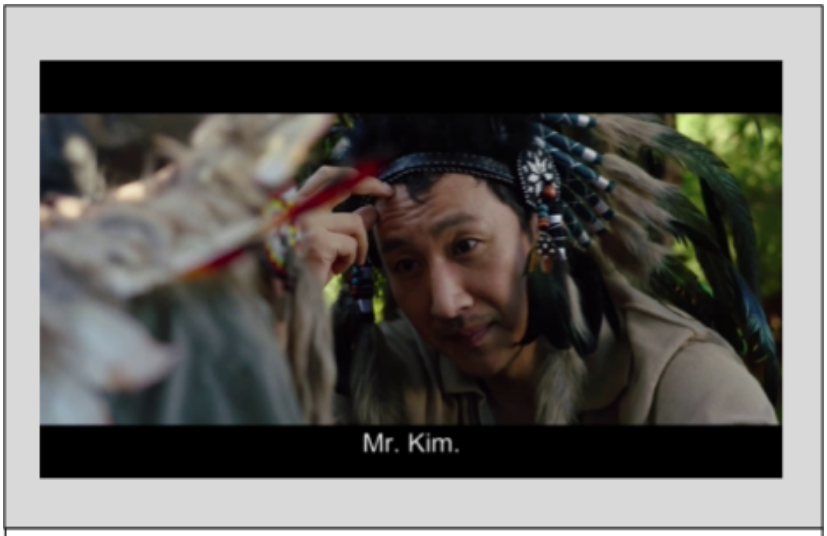
[v] Mr. Park (a)
[k] Mr. Park>Mr. Kim (P) Mr. Park<Mr. Kim (A) (a.1)
[a] "아이 진짜, 우리가 이 나이에 뭐하는 건지 참. 진짜 민망하네요. 정말 죄송합니다 김기사님. 애기 엄마 등쌀에, 나도 이걸 어쩔 수가 없네요. 근데 핵심은 뭐 간단해요. 좀 있다가, 제시카 선생님이 다솜이 생일 케익 들고 행진 비슷한 거 할거에요. 그때 우리가 짜잔 하고 나타나가지고 제시카 선생님을 습격하는 겁니다. 이 인디안 도끼를 막 휘두르면서." (a.2)
[k] IS, PS, FS (a.2.1)
[k] Use of informal "나" ('na') instead of polite '저' ('jeo') for older person (a.2.2)
[k] Says that he is 'too old to be doing this' – not a 'face saving act' (a.2.3)
[k] SL (a.2.4)
[k] DG (a.3)
[v] Mr. Kim (b)

a, a.1, a.2.1, a.2.2, a.2.3, a.2.4, a.3, b ⊢ Mr Park humiliates Mr Kim (e_{π_1})

peace, then he would practice nunchi and not involve Mr Kim in such a demeaning activity (Figure 5.13).

Figure 5.13. Logical form e_{π_1} extracted from the final confrontation between Mr Kim and Mr Park, featuring still from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

In response to Mr Park's power play in his dismissing of Mr Kim's age seniority, Mr Kim then appears to make a play for intimacy in order to save face – if he can't be senior then being intimate is an improvement on being junior - a strategy that Mr Kim uses on multiple occasions throughout the film when he interacts with his younger employer. He does so by mentioning Mr Park's relationship with his wife. In this case, he says, *"Ae mani sseusineyo, daepyonimdo. mwo hasin eojjeomnikka saranghasineunde"* ('You're trying your best, too. Well, you love her, after all'). Mr Park rejects this play for intimacy, reinstating Mr Kim's humiliation. Mr Park pauses and closes his eyes, before making direct eye gaze, which he then maintains for an extended period, before adjusting his hat and scratching his head (Figure 5.14). Within their conflicting hierarchical dynamic, these expressions are acceptable with a conflict *(SH/DG ∧ Mr Park>Mr Kim (P) ∧ Mr Park<Mr Kim (A) → Acceptable, Conflict)*. Further, both expressions can be used by both seniors and juniors to confront or express irritation or anger. In this interaction, Mr Park utilises these expressions in this way, humiliating Mr Kim, and in his willingness to do so expressing his inconsideration of Mr Kim also *(SH/DG, Mr Park>Mr Kim (P), Mr Park<Mr Kim (A) ⊦ Mr Park is irritated by Mr Kim/ is humiliating Mr Kim/ is inconsiderate of Mr Kim)*. Mr Park follows his non-verbal expressions with a verbal utterance that supports these inferences of his non-verbal expressions, in which he reminds Mr Kim that he is in a professional environment and that he is being paid for his time.



e_{π_3} = Mr Park humiliates Mr Kim

[v] Mr Park (a)
[k] Mr. Park>Mr. Kim (P) Mr. Park<Mr. Kim (A) (a.1)
[k] SH (a.2)
[k] DG (a.3)
[v] Close eyes (a.4)
[v] Rearrange hat (a.5)
[v] Mr Kim (b)

a, a.1, a.2, a.3, b $\vdash$ Mr Park humiliates Mr Kim (e_{π_3})

Figure 5.14. The inference of Mr Kim's second humiliation by Mr Park in their final confrontation, presented as a logical form of filmic discourse, featuring a still from *Gisaengchung* (기생충) 'Parasite' (2019).

What follows shortly after this confrontation between Mr Kim and Mr Park is the escape of Mun-kwang's husband from the basement, who proceeds to attack the Kim family with a knife. Mr Park stops the man, stabbing him. But then, as Mr Kim observes Mr Park's disdain at the man's stench, Mr Kim suddenly charges at Mr Park and stabs him to death. To make sense of this, it is vital that the numerous expressions of Mr Kim's shame and humiliation have been understood, in order to comprehend the tension constructed by the cohesive links between these expressions. It is this tension, which forms the core strand of the film's narrative, allowing the climax to be expected and understood in its entirety.

Thus, inference of socio-pragmatic primitives enables one to comprehend the cohesion structured so that narrative information can be properly unpacked. In the short term, the

has an impact on comprehending the similarities between the Park family and the first employer in Extract 1. On the surface, the Park family may appear more civilized and kinder than the first employer, but the socio-pragmatic expressions rather reveal similarities. The K-SFDRS provided a means of inferring Korean expressions and contexts, which allowed the cohesive structures in *Gisaengchung* (2019) to be identified.

82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019)

The following analysis is of a selection of scenes extracted from *Gim Jiyeong: Born 1982* (2019) that take place early in the film, over the course of a two-day, traditional Korean family holiday called *Chuseok.* Each year, Korean families reunite, make an offering to the ancestors, and eat a traditional meal together. The meal preparation for this occasion is known for typically taking multiple days to prepare, and this is traditionally and typically done solely by women. The selected scenes take place during the meal preparation and an interaction post-meal between protagonist Ji-yeong and her in-laws, while at their home for *Chuseok*.

The first excerpt, labelled as Extract 2, takes place on the first day of *Chuseok* during meal preparation, at 00:06:00-00:06:13. This very brief moment of interaction, is a representative example of Jiyeong's normal behaviour, which continues throughout day one. The second scene, labelled as Extract 3, takes place on the second day of *Chuseok* shortly before Ji-yeong and her husband and daughter are due to depart her in-laws and travel to her family's home, at 00:10:51-00:12:24. During Extract 3, Ji-yeong suffers a mental health crisis in contrast to her behaviour the day before; an episode in which she temporarily believes that she is her own mother. This mental health deterioration is made explicit in Ji-yeong's socio-pragmatic expressions but left largely untranslated in the English subtitle. Only her husband is aware of her having these unusual episodes and even Ji-yeong is unaware that this is happening to her at this stage in the film. In fact, the situation can be misinterpreted as a

confrontation, in the context of the huge burden placed on her to prepare the food and clean without a break during the holidays, and the desire to leave to visit her own family too while being delayed in doing so by her in-laws. The only way to understand what is happening is if the meanings conveyed by the Korean verbal and non-verbal expressions that she uses are understood. Therefore, this is an ideal example for demonstrating the analytical benefits of K-SFDRS for K-films.

Transcription

The following are transcriptions of Extract 2 and Extract 3, one with and one without socio-pragmatic primitives as a factor for segmenting K-filmic discourse presented for each. The transcription follows the same format as previous transcriptions in this chapter.

Without Korean socio-pragmatics (Extract 2)

Ji-yeong and her mother-in-law are in the kitchen preparing food for the *Chuseok* meal the next day. Ji-yeong's mother-in-law says something (change in action marks segmentation). Ji-yeong responds by saying something. Extract ends.

With Korean socio-pragmatics (Extract 2)

Ji-yeong and her mother-in-law are in the kitchen preparing food for the *Chuseok* meal the next day. Ji-yeong tries to please her mother-in-law by behaving obediently while being instructed what to do. Extract ends.

Without Korean socio-pragmatics (Extract 3)

Ji-yeong is in the kitchen washing up when her mother-in-law who is sitting in the living room says something to her (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong pauses and looks

over at her mother-in-law (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's mother-in-law says something in response to her daughter who was speaking in the background (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong says something to her mother-in-law in response to what she overhears (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's in-laws look at her (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong continues speaking (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's husband watches the reaction of his family to what is happening (feature change marks segmentation). While Ji-yeong continues speaking to her mother-in-law (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's mother-in-law says something to Ji-yeong (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong says something to her mother-in-law (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's father-in-law is angry at Ji-yeong (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong says something to her mother-in-law (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's husband takes Ji-yeong and they leave immediately. Extract ends.

With Korean socio-pragmatics (Extract 3)

Ji-yeong's mother-in-law is being inconsiderate towards her (feature change marks segmentation). Hearing this, a change comes over Ji-yeong (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's mother-in-law continues being inconsiderate towards Ji-yeong (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong begins to mimic the way only her own mother can speak and behave towards her mother-in-law (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's in-laws are confused (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong continues mimicking her own mother (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's husband is worried about Ji-yeong and his family who are observing this (feature change marks segmentation), while Ji-yeong mimicking her own mother (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's mother-in-law is confused (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong continues to mimic her own mother (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's father-in-law is worried by what Ji-

yeong is doing (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong continues to mimic her own mother (feature change marks segmentation). Ji-yeong's husband protects Ji-yeong. Extract ends.

Segmentation (Extract 2)

Based on the transcriptions presented, Extract 2 was segmented. Using SFDRS, the extract was segmented into two logical forms, which were inferred as: e_{π_1} 'say', and e_{π_2} 'say'. Using K-SFDRS, the extract was segmented into a single logical form, which was inferred as: e_{π_1} 'Ji-yeong is trying to please her mother-in-law'.

Segmentation (Extract 3)

Based on the transcriptions presented, Extract 3 was segmented. Using SFDRS, the extract was segmented into thirteen logical forms, which were inferred as: e_{π_1} *'say'*, e_{π_2} *'looks'*, e_{π_3} *'say'*, e_{π_4} *'say'*, e_{π_5} *'look'*, e_{π_6} *'say'*, e_{π_7} *'watch'*, e_{π_8} *'say'*, e_{π_9} *'say'*, $e_{\pi_{10}}$ *'say'*, $e_{\pi_{11}}$ *'angry'*, $e_{\pi_{12}}$ *'say'*, and $e_{\pi_{13}}$ *'leaves'.* These logical forms construct one higher activity, H_{π_1} *'confrontation'.* Using K-SFDRS, the extract was segmented into thirteen logical forms, which were inferred as: e_{π_1} *'mother-in-law is being inconsiderate'*, e_{π_2} *'Ji-yeong has changed'*, e_{π_3} *'mother-in-law is being inconsiderate'*, e_{π_4} *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*, e_{π_5} *'in-laws are confused'*, e_{π_6} *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*, e_{π_7} *'husband is worried'*, e_{π_8} *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*, e_{π_9} *'mother-in-law is confused'*, $e_{\pi_{10}}$ *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*, $e_{\pi_{11}}$ *'father-in-law is worried'*, $e_{\pi_{12}}$ *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*, and $e_{\pi_{13}}$ *'husband protects Ji-yeong'.* These logical forms construct one higher activity, H_{π_1} *'mental health crisis'.*

Logical forms

Day one of Chuseok

The comparison of the first and second day of *Chuseok* is important, because day one provides a baseline for expected behaviour that serves to highlight the difference between non-verbal expressions on day one and day two and subsequently their meaning potential. On day one of *Chuseok* Ji-yeong spends the day preparing food with her mother-in-law for the meal that will be served the following day. The behaviour and language, as well as the manner of task delegation, of the two women follows the cultural norms of mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law in Korea, with the mother-in-law senior and in-charge, and daughter-in-law junior and subservient.

The SFDRS of Extract 1, including both first and second segments, and the K-SFDRS of Extract 1, which is composed by a single segment, are presented in respective logical forms e_{π_1} and e_{π_2} (SFDRS) and e_{π_1} (K-SFDRS) in Figure 5.15. In these segments, it is the first day of *Chuseok*, and Ji-yeong and her mother-in-law are preparing the *chuseok* meal for the next day. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent in e_{π_1} being an utterance in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say', and Ji-yeong's response following this, would likewise be segmented as e_{π_2}, and inferred as 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, as demonstrated earlier in the example of segmentation in Chapter 3, segmentation does not occur multiple times. Instead, Korean socio-pragmatic primitives allow for a different inference, and subsequently a different segmentation too. Ji-yeong's mother-in-law has a broad posture, holds her head held high, and makes direct eye gaze with Ji-yeong. These expressions are acceptable for her because she is a senior *(BP ∧ HH ∧ DG ∧ Mother-in-law>Ji-yeong (A/P) → Acceptable)*, and primarily reflect her senior status *(BP, HH, DG, Mother-in-law>Ji-yeong (A/P)* $\vdash_{\sim}$ *mother-in-law is senior).* There is no context provided to suggest that these expressions mean that she is irritated, she is merely

behaving as a senior while instructing their task. Whereas Ji-yeong's posture is compact, her head is lowered, and her eye gaze indirect *(CP∧ HL ∧ IG ∧ Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P) → Polite)*, reflecting her junior status *(CP, HL, IG, Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P)⊢ Ji-yeong is junior).* In this case, by responding to her mother-in-law's seniority with willing and obedient juniority, and being consistent in doing so, Ji-yeong clearly desires to be in good favour with her mother-in-law. Since Ji-yeong employs polite and submissive expressions throughout the period, and this is contextualised by the previous scene in which Ji-yeong expresses her determination to please her parents-in-law, her expressions become salient over the instructions simultaneously being given to her by her mother-in-law. Thus, the referents can be combined in a single segment and inferred as 'Ji-yeong's desire to please her mother-in-law'. This then serves to create cohesive links to the second day of *Chuseok,* when her behaviour changes.

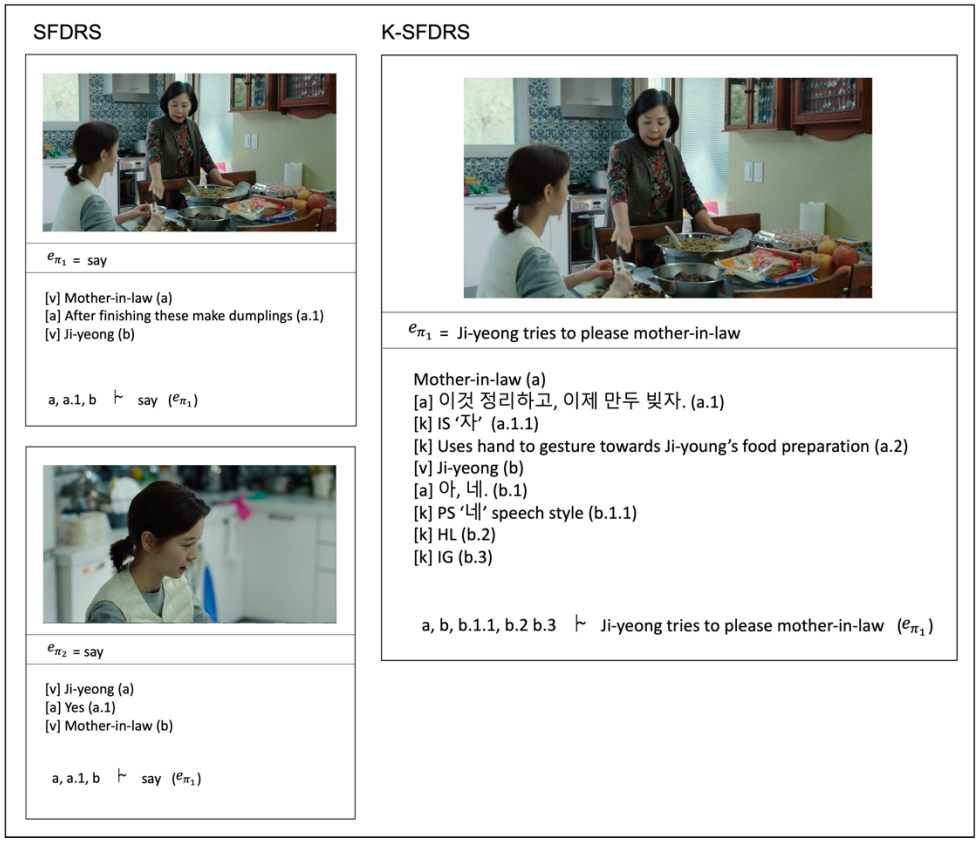


Figure 5.15. Logical form e_{π_1} of Extract 2, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

It is important to note that this is not merely an occasional occurrence but rather conventional meaning in this social dynamic and context, though the limited analysis presented in this thesis might suggest otherwise. Figures 5.18 and 5.19 provide a representative demonstration of such, in a comparison of these expressions with the same expressions, social dynamic, and similar context in the film *Sado* (사도) (2015).



Figure 5.18. Mothers-in-law hold their heads up high: Top, in *Sado* (사도) 'The Throne' (2015); Bottom, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).



Figure 5.19. Daughters-in-law lower their heads: Top, in *Sado* (사도) 'The Throne' (2015); Bottom, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

Day two of Chuseok

The first segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled e_{π_1} (Figure 5.20). In this segment, it is the second day of *Chuseok*, and Ji-yeong's sister-in-law's family has arrived earlier than expected, disrupting Ji-yeong's plan to leave and visit her own family. Instead of departing, just as she had been enthusiastically discussing with her husband moments before, Ji-yeong finds herself again being instructed by her mother-in-law to prepare food. This time, for her sister-in-law, who has finished serving her in-laws and, unlike Ji-yeong returned home to her family. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, with account taken of the Korean context within which the content of the mother-in-law's utterance is made sense of, the defeasible eventuality would be 'Ji-yeong's mother-in-law is being inconsiderate'. In this case, the socio-

pragmatic primitive of Ji-yeong's mother-in-law's use of *haeche* merely reflects her seniority and that their relationship and the situation is relatively ordinary *(IS, Mother-in-law>Ji-yeong (A/P)⊢Mother-in-law is senior/ is behaving ordinarily)*. It is rather the contents of her dialogue, contextualised by the tension created by the duelling traditional and contemporary gender expectations in Korea today, that allow for the inference of 'inconsideration'. Specifically, Ji-yeong's mother-in-law's utterance is contextualised by Korea's 'holiday syndrome' (Kiaer and Kim, 2021: 57-58), which Ji-yeong's mother-in-law is well aware of and yet does not attempt to prevent for her daughter-in-law's sake.

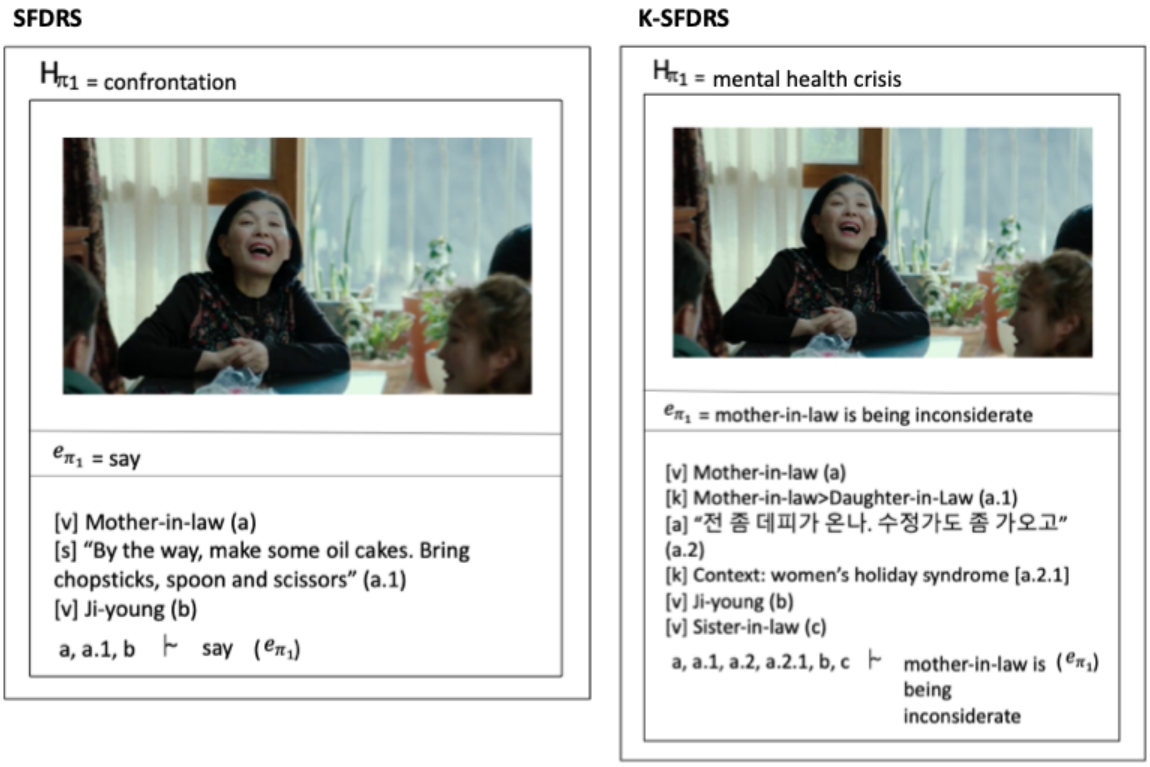


Figure 5.20. Logical form e_{π_1} and e_{π_1} respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The second segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms in Figure 5.21. In the segment, in response to her mother-in-law's utterance in the previous segment, Ji-yeong stops what she is doing and looks at her mother-in-law. Meanwhile her mother-in-law is continuing a conversation with her sister-in-law and can be heard saying

that she can get her own food and there is no need for Ji-yeong to do it, only for her mother to reply that it is her turn to rest now as she has finished serving her in-laws. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being Ji-yeong stopping what she is doing and looking at her mother-in-law in response to what she is saying, the defeasible eventuality is simply that she is looking (at her mother-in-law). When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of the junior-senior social dynamic within which Ji-yeong's expressions are formulated *(Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P))*, and both her direct eye gaze *(DG ∧ Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P) → Rude)* and modulation from previously consistent indirect eye gaze gaze *(IG∧ Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P) → Polite)* in this social dynamic, become salient referents of a significant attitudinal change occurring in Ji-yeong *(IG, Shift, DG, Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P)* $\vdash\!\!\backsim$ *Ji-yeong has changed/ something significant has happened attitudinally to Ji-yeong)*. In addition to socio-pragmatic primitives providing specification in the defeasible eventuality inferred in this logical form, the content of the mother-in-law and sister-in-law's conversation in e_{π_2} again served to better-contextualise referents as it did in e_{π_1}, also via the concept of 'holiday syndrome', though in this case the concept helps to make sense of a change being triggered whereas in e_{π_1} the context helped to interpret Ji-yeong's emotional response to dialogue within the situation.

This is where confusion can first begin to arise for foreign researchers. Knowing Ji-yeong's departure was delayed, and the hard work she has endured until this point, they will see reasoning for the confrontation presented in the narrative. According to several variations of the English subtitle, this is, in fact, precisely what seems to ensue, supported by the temporal link between Ji-yeong's mother-in-law's insensitive comments and a change in Ji-yeoung's behaviour. It is moreover true that Ji-yeong is fed up with this point and upset by the conversation she is overhearing. However, despite these truths, much more is happening here. Ji-yeong is suffering from a mental illness, which isn't specified even in Korean

though based on its characteristics appears to be a delusional disorder, in which she experiences episodes where she no longer believes she is 'Ji-yeong' but that she is her own mother. Due to the lack of specificity provided, these episodes have been formally defined as 'mental health crisis' in the higher activities of this analysis. Therefore, this shift that is occurring is not the start of a confrontation but rather the start of one such episode. A change has occurred in 'who' she is (or thinks she is). Essentially, instead of Ji-yeong's behaviour being a shift from 'polite' to 'rude' as a means of confrontation, which is a common strategy for such, she is actually shifting social dynamic, from a junior-senior social dynamic to a more equal social dynamic (from *Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P)* to *Ji-yeong's Mother=Mother-in-law (A/P))* due to the nature of her mental illness.

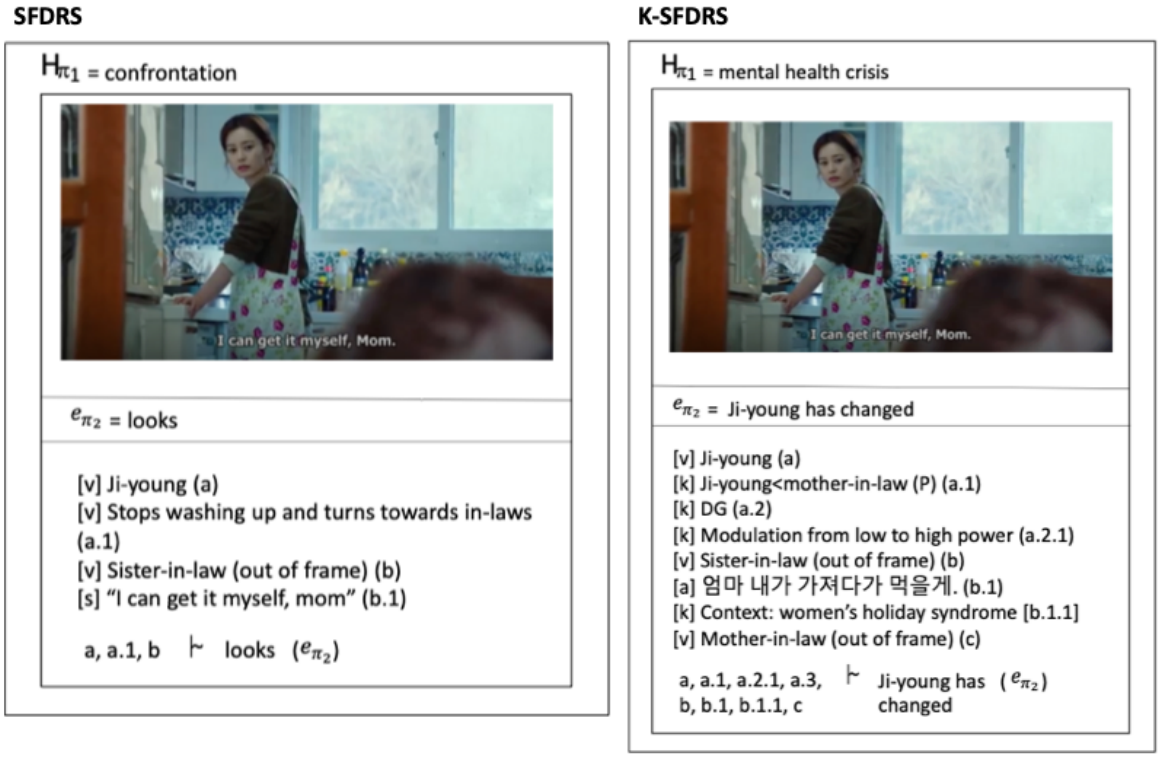


Figure 5.21. Logical form e_{π_2} and e_{π_2} respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The third segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled e_{π_3} (Figure 5.22). In this segment, Ji-yeongs mother-in-law continues to make comments that do not require socio-pragmatic interpretation but within the context of 'holiday

syndrome' can be understood as inconsiderate of Ji-yeong - a continuation of her behaviour in e_{π_1}. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, with account taken of the Korean context within which the content of the mother-in-law's utterance is made sense of, the defeasible eventuality would be 'Ji-yeong's mother-in-law is being inconsiderate'.

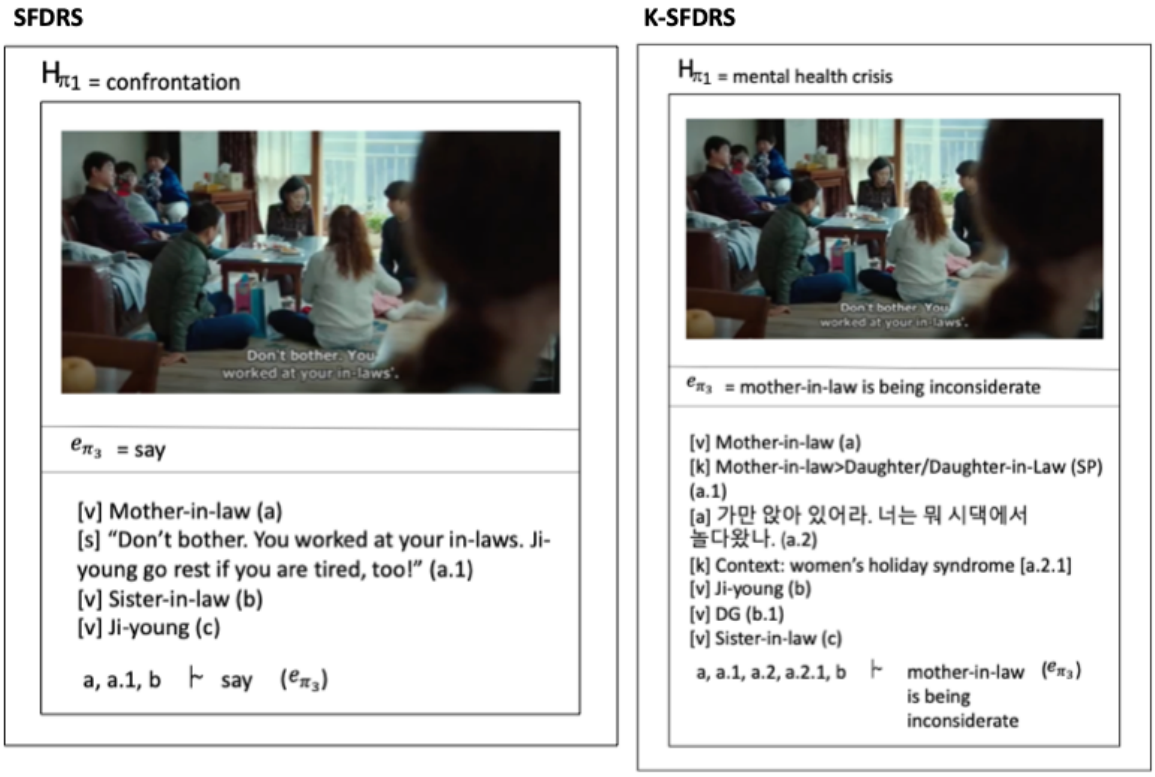


Figure 5.22. Logical form e_{π_3} and e_{π_3} respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The fourth segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled e_{π_4} (Figure 5.23). In this segment, Ji-yeong begins speaking to her mother-in-law. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is

firstly taken of the use of the address term *"sabuin"* (사부인), which is a term specifically used by a mother to her daughter's mother-in-law. While this address term does translate as mother-in-law and is presented as so in the English translation, in Korean the address term for a daughter-in-law to call her mother-in-law is actually *omonim* (어머님) 'dear mother', which Ji-yeong has used until this point. Using this term is a miscommunication of their social dynamic and as such it can't be interpreted simply based on its politeness classification, but rather it stands out as 'illogical' altogether *(sabuin ∧ Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P) → Illogical)*. It is at this point that the 'change' coming over Ji-yeong appears out of the ordinary, no mere reaction to inconsideration, which the term *sabuin* precisely designate. *Sabuin* has not been included independently in the socio-pragmatic primitives presented in Chapter 4, however, following the definition of *sabuin's* use one can interpret its use illogical outside of the single social dynamic it is appropriate for *(sabuin ∧ Mother=Mother-in-law (A) ∧ Formality → Acceptable)*.

Account is also taken of Ji-yeong's non-verbal expressions. Her head is held high, her posture broad and unsymmetrical, and she makes direct eye-gaze for a prolonged period. This is a clear modulation from her previous expressions of 'low power' to expressions of 'high power' or 'equal power' in their social dynamic, which would be acceptable if she were a senior or an equal but are rude because she is a junior *(HH/SP/DG ∧ Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P) → Rude/ HH/SP/DG ∧ Ji-yeong>Mother-in-law (A/P)/ Ji-yeong=Mother-in-law (A/P) → Acceptable)*. However, because she does not believe she is a junior anymore – because she is in a delusion, that is made clear by her choice of address term – her non-verbal expressions align with her verbal expressions as illogical *(sabuin ∧ HH/SP/DG ∧ Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P) → Illogical)*.

Inference of Ji-yeong believing she is her own mother, rather than for instance being confrontational and rude, is also supported by Ji-yeong's use of *haeyoche* throughout her dialogue rather than *haeche*. Ji-yeong's mother would use *haeyoche* to speak appropriately

to Ji-yeong's mother-in-law, so Ji-yeong speaking in *haeyoche* while using the address term *sabuin* and behaving non-verbally less submissive that Ji-yeong would do, makes sense for how she would communicate with her mother-in-law if she was her own mother. Consistency in these components expresses sincerity so that Ji-yeong's expressions are not interpreted as motivated by anything else, in order to support the mental episode that is the jumping off point for the rest of the film. Thus, based on the interaction of these socio-pragmatic referents Ji-yeong's selection of the address term *sabuin* and her use of HH, SP, and DG are inferable as 'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother' *(sabuin, HH, SP, DG, Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P)⊦ Ji-yeong mimics her own mother)* rather than simply 'say'.

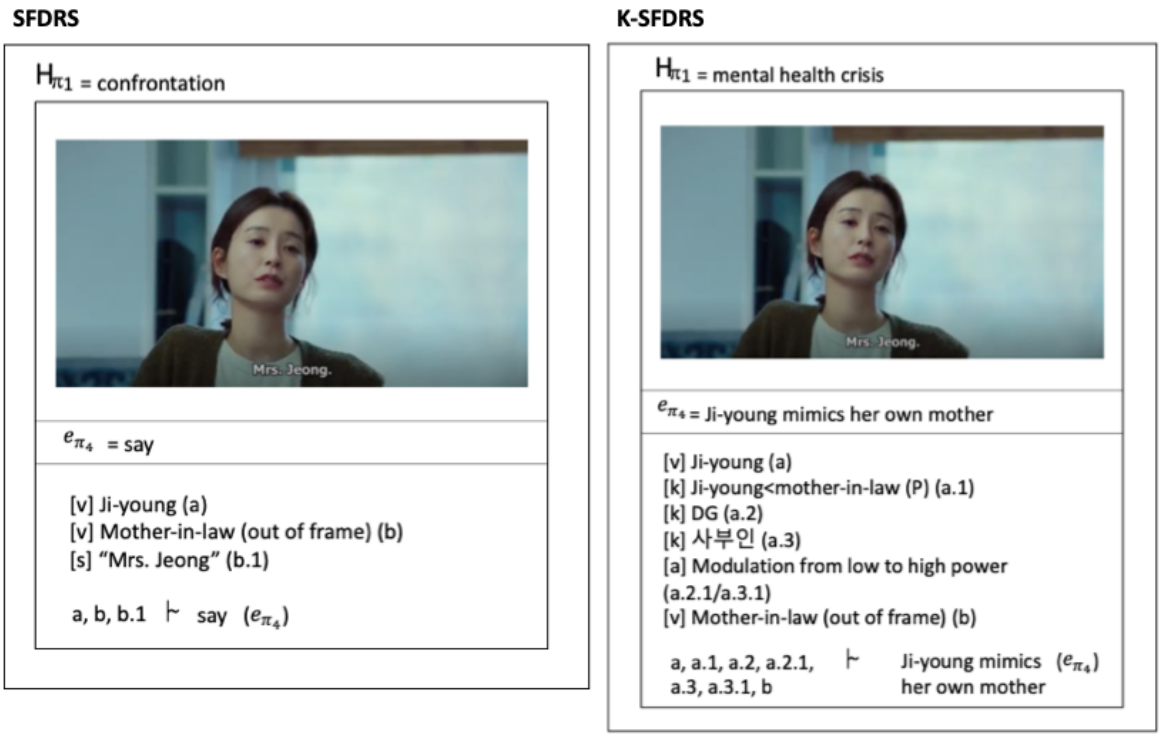


Figure 5.23. Logical form e_{π_4} and e_{π_4} respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The fifth segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled e_{π_5} (Figure 5.24). In the segment, Ji-yeong's in-laws turn and look at her. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on

the main referent being Ji-yeong's in-laws looking at her in response to her utterance, the defeasible eventuality would be 'look'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of the socio-pragmatic value of the utterance (*sabuin* as a term used to call the mother-in-law of one's own daughter*)* in e_{π_4} that stimulates this response, specifically its mis-use in this social dynamic *(sabuin, Ji-yeong<In-laws (P)⊦ Ji-yeong's in-laws are confused).*

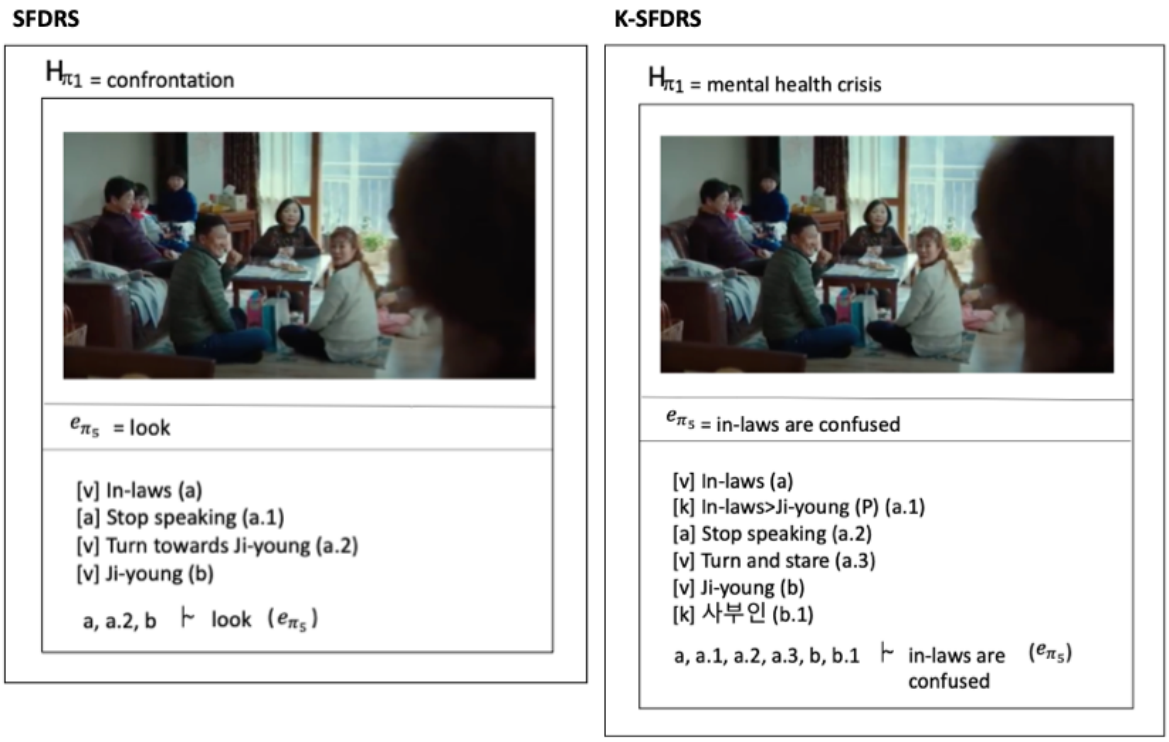


Figure 5.24. Logical form e_{π_5} and e_{π_5} respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The sixth segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled e_{π_6} (Figure 5.25). In the segment, Ji-yeong continues speaking to her mother-in-law. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of the continued use of non-verbal expressions appropriate for an equal or senior,

and it can be inferred that 'Ji-yeong is mimicking her own mother' *(HH, SP, DG, Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P)⊢ Ji-yeong mimics her own mother).*

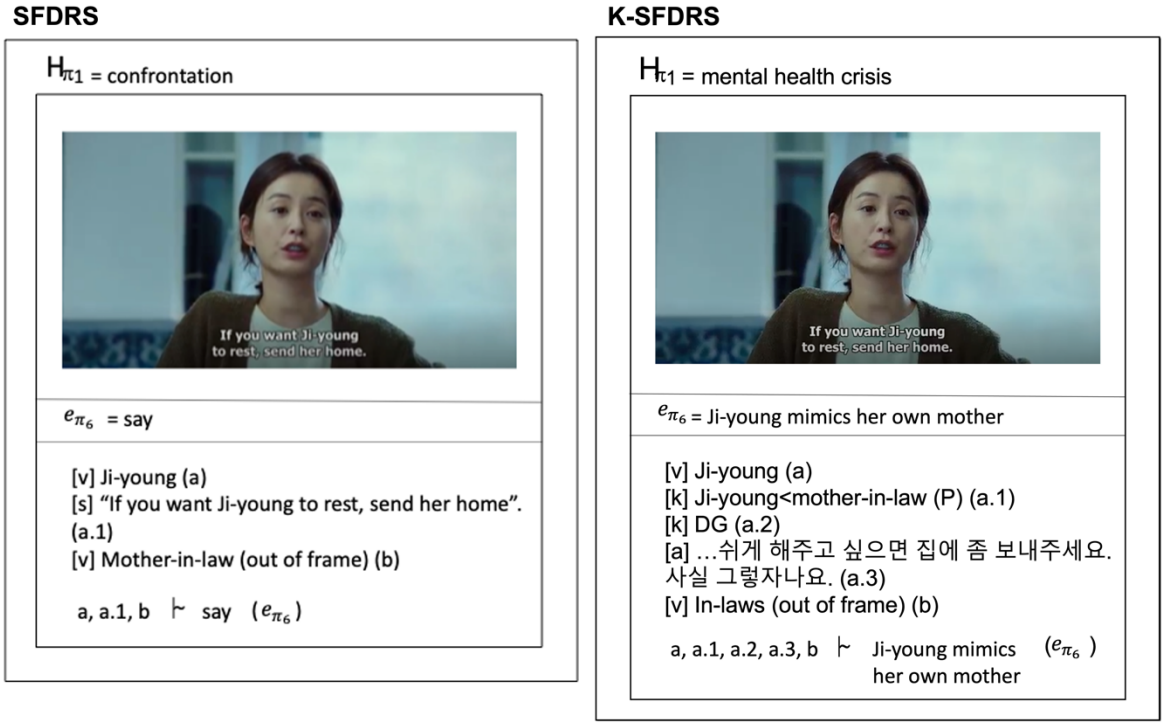


Figure 5.25. Logical form e_{π_6} and e_{π_6} respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The seventh segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled e_{π_7} (Figure 5.26). In the segment, Ji-yeon's husband is made the focus, as he watches what Ji-yeon is doing and his family's reaction to this. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being Ji-yeong's turning to look at his family and then turning back to look at Ji-yeong to show that he is watching what is happening (what Ji-yeong is doing and how his family is re-acting), the defeasible eventuality would be 'watch'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of the non-verbal gestures employed by Ji-yeong and her use of *sa-buin* in the segments prior to this, all of which are components of her ongoing outburst. Thus, the motivation underlying Ji-yeong's husband looking in the directions of multiple

people within a short space of time can then be inferred, rather than simply watching what is happening, as worrying.

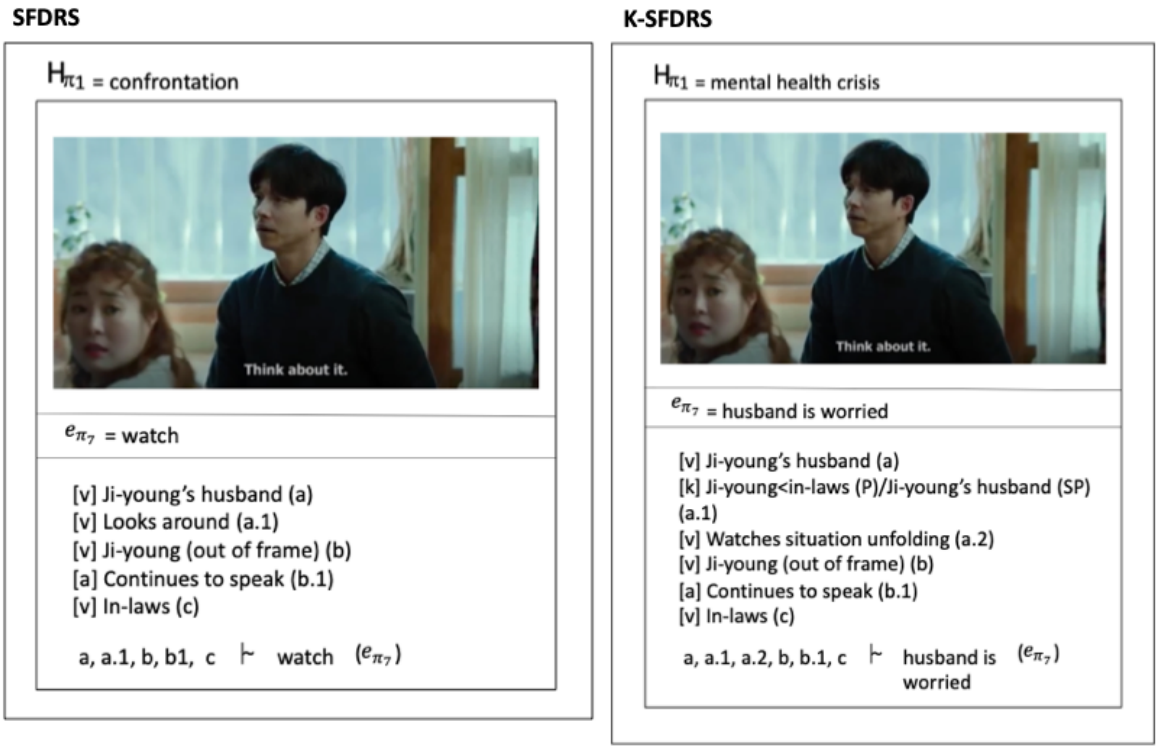


Figure 5.26. Logical form e_{π_7} and e_{π_7} respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The eighth segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled e_{π_8} (Figure 5.27). In the segment, Ji-yeong continues speaking to her mother-in-law, using *sabuin* for the second time, and saying that she wants to see her daughter too. This can be easily misinterpreted if *sabuin* is not understood, because it can appear that she is speaking about her own daughter, who she hasn't been able to spend time with due to food preparation. She is of course speaking as if she is her own mother. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of the use of the address term *sabuin*, and her continued use of HH, DG, and SP, and it is inferred that 'Ji-

yeong mimics her own mother' *(sabuin, HH, SP, DG, Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P)⊢ Ji-yeong mimics her own mother).*

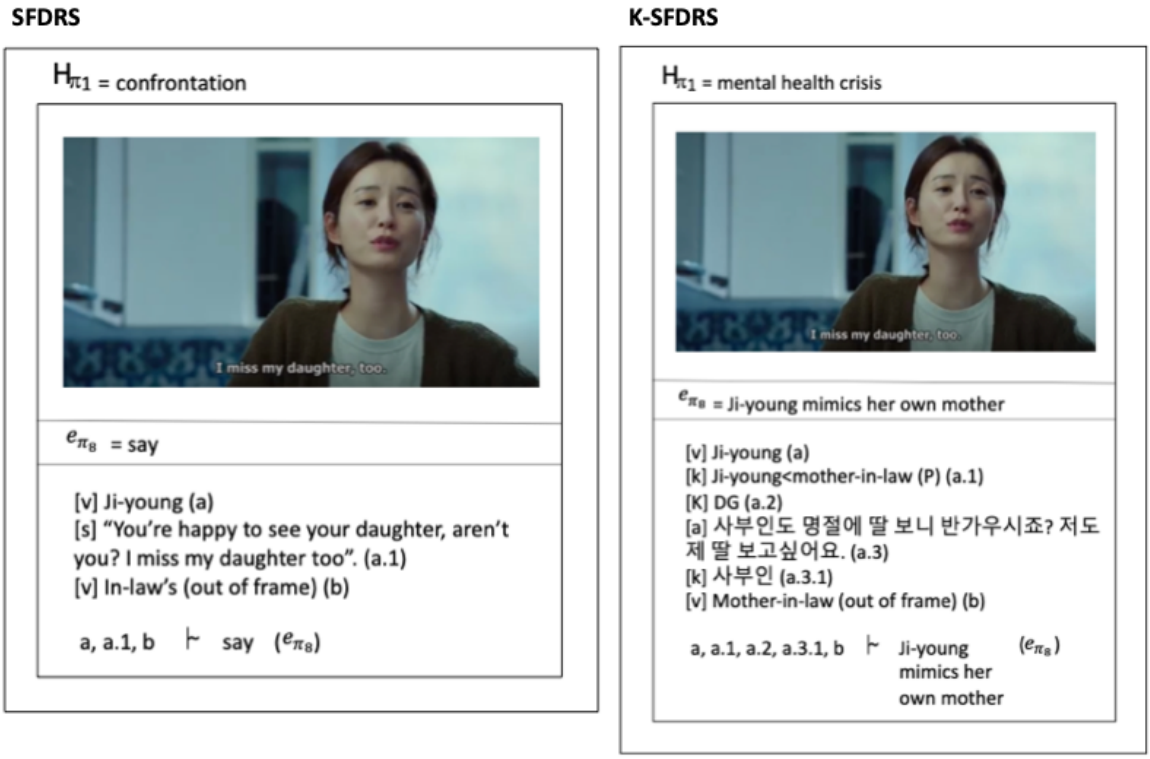


Figure 5.27. Logical form e_{π_8} and e_{π_8} respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The ninth segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled e_{π_9} (Figure 5.28). In the segment, Ji-yeong's mother-in-law responds, enquiring into what Ji-yeong is saying. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of the utterance being a reaction to the address term *sabuin*, which specifically causes confusion and concern. Thus, it is inferred that 'Ji-yeong's mother-in-law is confused' *(sabuin, Mother-in-law>Ji-yeong (A/P)⊢ Ji-yeong's mother-in-law is confused).*

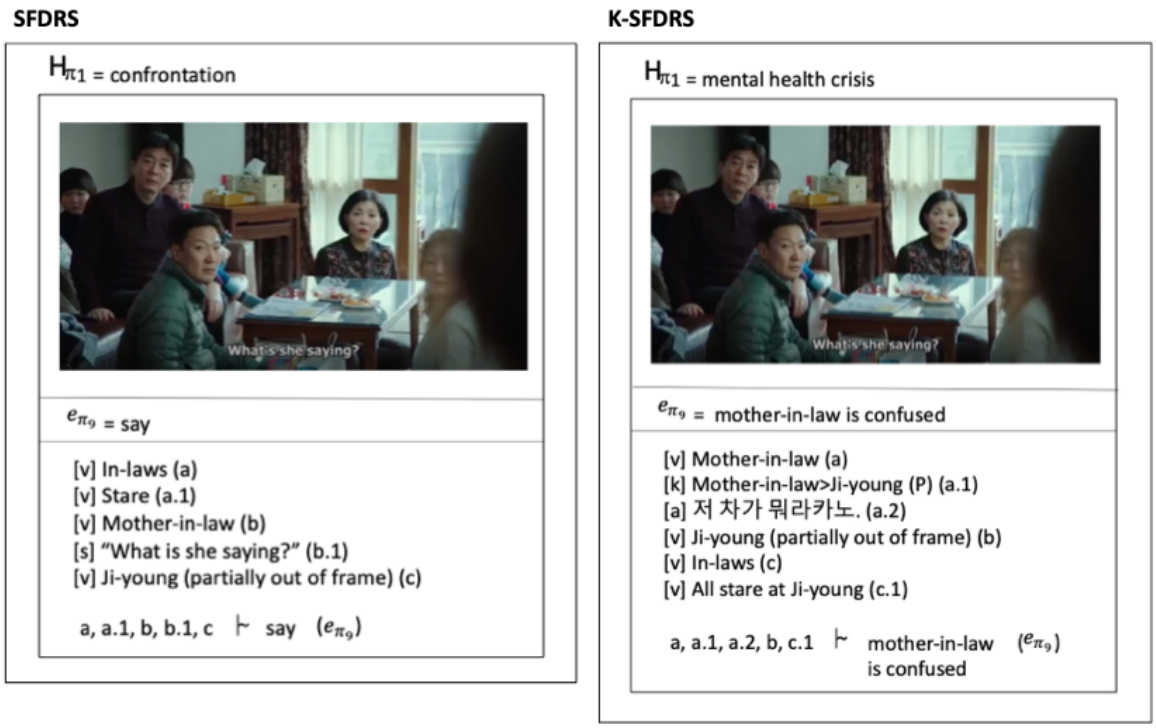


Figure 5.28. Logical form e_{π_9} and e_{π_9} respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The tenth segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled $e_{\pi_{10}}$ (Figure 5.29). In the segment, Ji-yeong continues speaking to her mother-in-law. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of the phrase Ji-yeong uses - *"uri Ji-yeong-i"* (우리 지영이) 'our Ji-yeoung'. The use of the affectionate suffix *-i* (이), which is only appropriate in either parent-child and close friend social dynamics, and the use of *uri* (우리), which is often used to speak about younger rather than elder people, can be seen as a continuation of 'Ji-yeong mimicking her own mother' *(-i, uri, Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law (A/P)⊱ Ji-yeong mimics her own mother).*

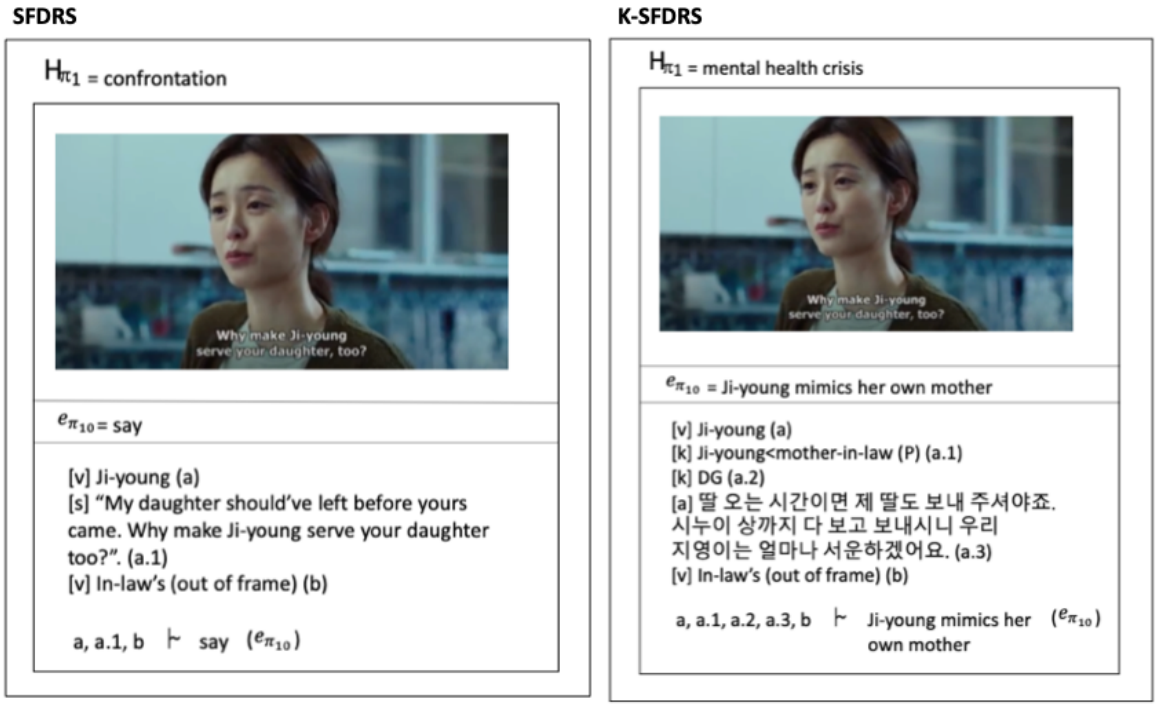


Figure 5.29. Logical form $e_{\pi_{10}}$ and $e_{\pi_{10}}$ respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The eleventh segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled $e_{\pi_{11}}$ (Figure 5.30). In the segment, Ji-yeong's father-in-law responds to her, asking what's happening. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance made in a raised voice, with a distressed facial expression, in an interaction between two people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'angry'. This is contextualised, and seemingly supported if one has no further information, by Ji-yeong's confrontational behaviour, and also by the English subtitle translation which reads "Ji-yeong? What's wrong with you?". When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of Ji-yeong's father-in-law's response being to the use of the term *sabuin,* and in addition her non-verbal modulation. Thus, it is inferred that 'Ji-yeong's father-in-law is worried' *(sabuin, Ji-yeong<Mother-in-law, Spectator father-in-law (A/P)⊢ Ji-yeong's father-in-law is worried).* In this case, again, the socio-pragmatics of the

use of *sabuin* are salient in inferring the father-in-law's reaction to the interaction he has been observing between Ji-yeong and her mother-in-law.

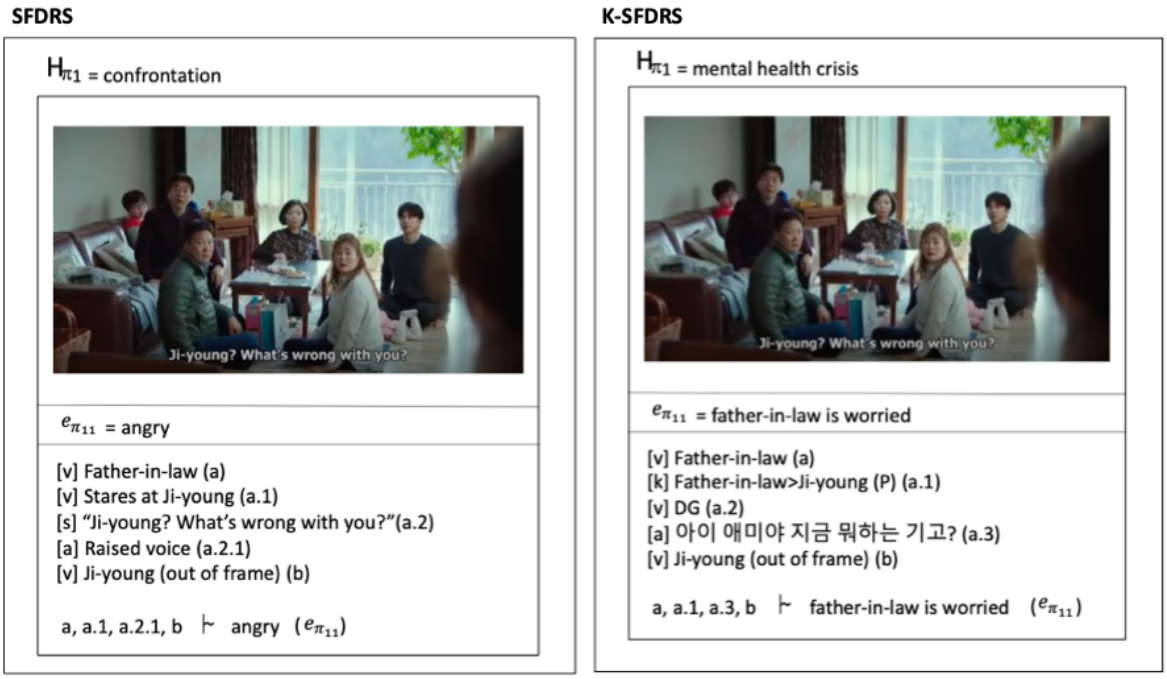


Figure 5.30. Logical form $e_{\pi_{11}}$ and $e_{\pi_{11}}$ respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The twelfth segment of each extract is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled $e_{\pi_{12}}$ (Figure 5.31). In the segment, continues speaking, this time to both parents-in-law. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being an utterance in an interaction between multiple people, the defeasible eventuality would be 'say'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of Ji-yeong's use of the term *sadon* (사돈), which means 'parents-in-law', but is specifically used by a mother to call her daughter's parents-in-law; and is not used by a daughter-in-law to call her parents-in-law. *Sadon* is thus consistent with *sabuin* in expressing the same illogical set of relations *(sadon ∧ Ji-yeong<Parents-in-law (A/P) → Illogical),* and a salient referent inferred as 'Ji-yeong is mimicking her own mother' *(sadon, Ji-yeong<Parents-in-law (A/P)⊢ Ji-yeong mimics her own mother).*

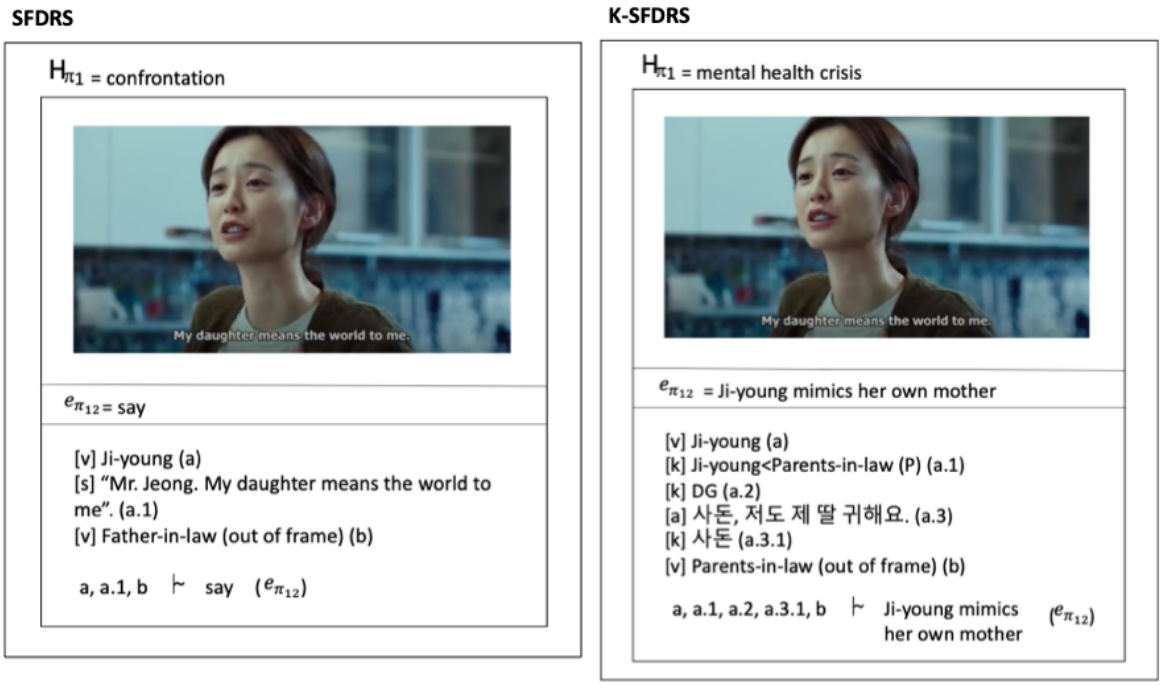


Figure 5.31. Logical form $e_{\pi_{12}}$ and $e_{\pi_{12}}$ respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The thirteenth and final segment, is presented in the two respective logical forms, each labelled $e_{\pi_{13}}$ in Figure 5.32. In the segment, Ji-yeong's husband rushes her and their daughter out of the apartment, with little explanation nor comfort of Ji-yeong. If K-filmic discourse is interpreted using the original process for drawing SFDRSs, then based on the main referent being their exit from the apartment, the defeasible eventuality would be 'leave'. When transferred to K-SFDRSs, however, account is taken of Ji-yeong's use of *sabuin* and *sadon,* her non-verbal expressions, and the concern and worry of Ji-yeong's husband's family – all which stimulate Ji-yeong's husband, who is depicted as being concerned about Ji-yeong's well-being in the scenes beforehand, to act 'protectively' over her. Thus, it can be inferred that 'Ji-yeong's husband protects Ji-yeong' *(sabuin, sadon, HH, DG, SP, Ji-yeong<In-laws, Spectator Ji-yeong's husband (A/P)⊢ Ji-yeong's husband is protecting her).* The best and perhaps only option in this situation for protecting Ji-yeong, is to give no explanation and remove Ji-yeong from the situation before she and his family can have further interaction. Expressing emotion is believed to damage harmony, so having an emotional

group discussion would be inappropriate and potentially cause further problems. Comforting Ji-yeong in front of his family members would also cause problems, because being emotional or affectionate with one's wife/husband can also be taboo. Based on Ji-yeong's mother-in-law's behaviour so far, having not let Ji-yeong leave to visit her family earlier, it can be assumed that her ideas are somewhat old-fashioned, and that her sensibilities will be as such in these respects too. Additionally, the Seven Evils concept of Confucianism is considered, which remains an undertone of Korean womanhood (Kiaer and Kim, 2021a: 46; 162), then Ji-yeong having a mental illness is a difficult situation that would not shed a positive light on Ji-yeong, and her husband will assumedly (since he loves Ji-yeong) want to avoid causing a rift between his wife and his parents.

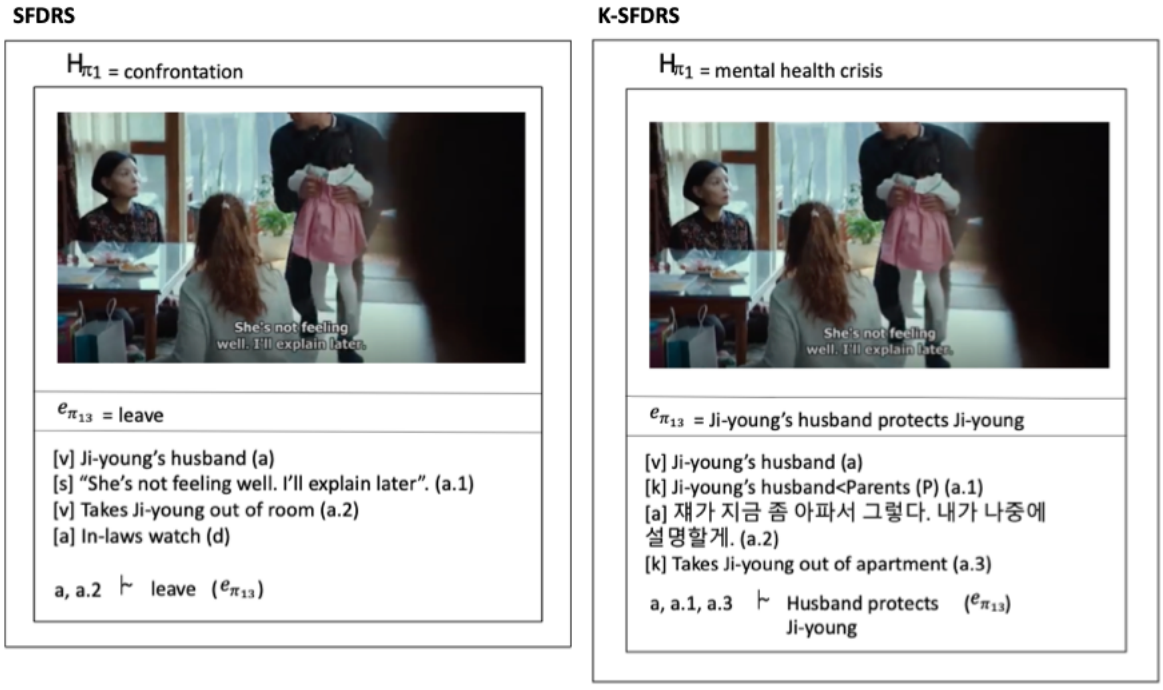


Figure 5.32. Logical form $e_{\pi_{13}}$ and $e_{\pi_{13}}$ respectively of Extract 3, featuring stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

Discourse structure

Similar to the findings in the discourse structure of Extract 1, in Extract 3 differences in segmentation and the further specificity granted in the defeasible eventualities when transferred

to K-SFDRS, also resulted in differences in discourse relation structures that hold between segments and thus in the overall packaging of narrative information. Figure 5.33 shows the entire structure of Extract 3 when transferred to SFDRS and K-SFDRS, with Figure 5.34 showing a graphical representation of this comparison to highlight the differences in interpretation at lower- and mid-grain levels of discourse. Extract 2 has not been included in the complete discourse structures section due to the limited number of segments, and since Extract 2 only supports the analysis of Extract 3 by providing an example of Ji-yeong's earlier behaviour to highlight the shift that takes place non-verbally. Figure 5.35 then shows a simplified graphical representation of the two structures to highlight differences in the contents and structures.

Higher activities

The structure of the mid-grain level of discourse was inferred differently when using K-SFDRS, because of the further specification of meaning granted at the finer-grain level of discourse by accounting for Korean socio-pragmatic primitives and cultural contexts. In the SFDRS, the higher activity is H_{π_1} inferred as 'confrontation'. However, in the K-SFDRS H_{π_1} is inferred as 'metal health crisis', specifying the nature of the confrontation, specifically that it is not aggressive. The illogical socio-pragmatics of the use of the address terms *sabuin* and *sadon* paired with PS, SP, HH, and DG, amount to the formula of the defeasible eventuality of a specific relationship between a mother of a daughter and the daughter's mother-in-law. Therefore, since the extract is composed of these expressions from a person who should not normally express this relation in this social dynamic, the higher activity is one of a mental health crisis. The socio-pragmatic sensibilities of K-SFDRS, supported by cultural contextual information, can thus support researchers to make inferences like this in analysis.

Discourse relations

The discourse relations that hold between the logical forms in Extract 3 were also found to differ between SFDRS and K-SFDRS, with the reason being the same as in the analysis of Extract 1, that the increased specificity of the defeasible eventualities of logical forms when using K-SFDRS to interpret K-filmic discourse, results in more cause-and-effect structures. For instance, Figure 5.34 shows that using K-SFDRS, out of twelve discourse relations five are *Explanation Relations* and seven are *Result Relations.* This means that in every case, either the meaning in second segment is explaining the segment prior, or that the second segment shows the result of the meaning in the segment prior. While using SFDRS, out of twelve discourse relations, eight are *Narration Relations*, two are *Parallel Relations*, and two are *Result Relations.* This structure is less explanatory of what has and is happening and is more a list of the sequence of happenings – one happening after another is described, with a limited number of perspective variations, and explicit cause and effect interactions. This is a significant difference in structure, and one which is visible in the structural patterns abundantly clear in the comparison of the K-SFDRS and SFDRS of Extract 3 presented in Figure 5.33.

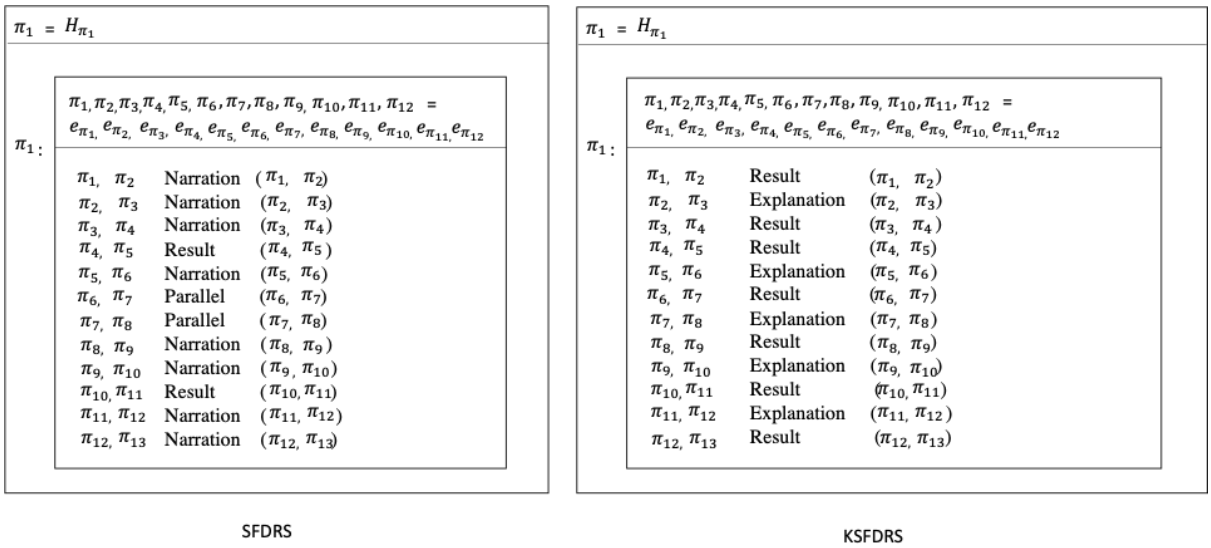


Figure 5.33. SFDRS (left) K-SFDRS (right) of Extract 3.

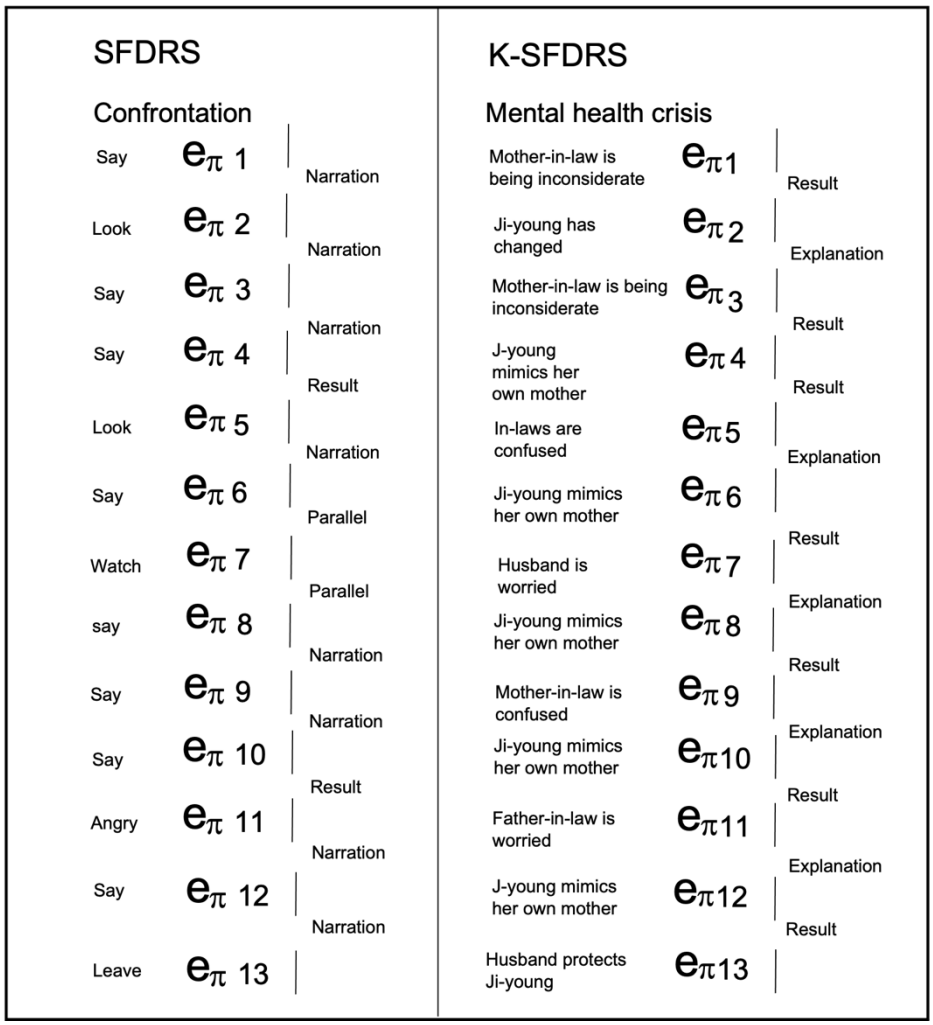


Figure 5.34. Graphical comparative representation of Extract 3's SFDRS and K-SFDRS.

In the K-SFDRS description of Extract 3 it was also found that the relations between segments support the validity of the inferences made for each defeasible eventuality. For example, Ji-yeong's mother-in-law's inconsideration (e_{π_1}) triggers Ji-yeong's delusion to begin (e_{π_2}), and therefore the delusion is a *result* of her inconsideration. The mother-in-law's inconsideration continues again after the delusion begins (e_{π_3}), providing explanation of the delusion that begun prior (e_{π_2}). Again, the *result* of the inconsideration is Ji-yeong's delusion (e_{π_4}), which is continuing, or perhaps can be considered as worsening, since she gradually takes the confrontation with her mother-in-law from non-verbal to verbal. The *result* of Ji-yeong's confrontation once it becomes verbal, with the use of *sabuin* (e_{π_4}), is that Ji-yeong's in-laws are confused (e_{π_5}). Ji-yeong then continues speaking (e_{π_6}), with the content of her

dialogue and non-verbal gestures providing *explanation* of her in-law's confusion. Whereas, in the SFDRS the mother-in-law says something (e_{π_1}), followed by Ji-yeong looking at her (e_{π_2}), which is followed by the mother-in-law saying something e_{π_3}), and then Ji-yeong saying something (e_{π_4}), which then *results* in her in-laws looking at her (e_{π_5}). One observes immediately unfolding of defeasible eventualities and their discourse relations in K-SFDRS reads more like a story than SFDRS. This is a clear indication of the level of detail achievable in analysis of K-films that utilise K-SFDRS. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 provide overviews of the entire inference process for constructing the K-/SFDRS for Extracts 2 and 3 respectively.

SFDRS			K-SFDRS		
Feature change (segmentation)	Defeasible eventuality	Discourse relations	Feature change of segmentation	Defeasible eventuality	Discourse relations
Verbal utterance	e_{π_1} *'say'* e_{π_2} *'say'*	e_{π_1}-e_{π_2} Narration	/	e_{π_1} *'Ji-yeong is trying to please her mother-in-law'*	/

Table 5.2. provides an overview of the comparative analysis conducted on Extract 2 from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019). This overview shows the different methods of construction, as well as the resulting structure.

SFDRS			K-SFDRS		
Feature change (segmentation)	Defeasible eventuality	Discourse relations	Feature change of segmentation	Defeasible eventuality	Discourse relations
Verbal utterance	H_{π_1} *'confrontation'*		Verbal utterance and Context of holiday syndrome is activated by mother-in-law's verbal utterance	H_{π_1} *'mental health crisis'*	
Verbal utterance	e_{π_1} *'say'*	Narration	Verbal utterance and Context of holiday syndrome is activated by mother-in-law's verbal utterance	e_{π_1} *'mother-in-law is being inconsiderate'*	Result
Turns to something	e_{π_2} *'looks'*	Narration	Ji-yeong's modulation beginning: CP to SP, IG to DG, and	e_{π_2} *'Ji-yeong has changed'*	Explanation

			HL to HH. Also, stopping task (washing up).		
Verbal utterance	e_{π_3} *'say'*	Narration	Verbal utterance and Context of holiday syndrome is activated by mother-in-law's verbal utterance	e_{π_3} *'mother-in-law is being inconsiderate'*	Result
Verbal utterance	e_{π_4} *'say'*	Result	Verbal utterance and *'sabuin'*, and DG, HH, and SP	e_{π_4} *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*	Result
Turns to something	e_{π_5} *'look'*	Narration	DG (also prior segments relevant)	e_{π_5} *'in-laws are confused'*	Explanation
Verbal utterance	e_{π_6} *'say'*	Parallel	Verbal utterance and *'sabuin'*, and DG, HH, and SP	e_{π_6} *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*	Result
Focus switched to character observing what's happening	e_{π_7} *'watch'*	Parallel	Ji-yeon's husband looks at family's reaction. Prior segments and contexts key, especially *'sabuin',* but also earlier scenes. The 'seven evils context' also relevant to his reaction	e_{π_7} *'Ji-yeong's husband is worried'*	Explanation
Verbal utterance	e_{π_8} *'say'*	Narration	Verbal utterance and *'sabuin'*, and DG, HH, and SP	e_{π_8} *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*	Result
Verbal utterance	e_{π_9} *'say'*	Narration	Verbal utterance. Prior segment is key for interpreting reaction.	e_{π_9} *'mother-in-law is confused'*	Explanation
Verbal utterance	$e_{\pi_{10}}$ *'say'*	Result	Verbal utterance and *'sabuin',* and DG, HH, and SP	$e_{\pi_{10}}$ *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*	Result

Verbal utterance (raised voice)	$e_{\pi_{11}}$ *'angry'*	Narration	Verbal utterance (raised voice). Prior segments are key for interpreting, especially *'sabuin*	$e_{\pi_{11}}$ *'father-in-law is worried'*	Explanation
Verbal utterance	$e_{\pi_{12}}$ *'say'*	Narration	Verbal utterance and *'sadon',* and DG, HH, and SP	$e_{\pi_{12}}$ *'Ji-yeong mimics her own mother'*	Result
Exits situation	$e_{\pi_{13}}$ *'leaves'*		Ji-yeon's husband prevents further interaction. Prior segments and contexts key, especially *'sabuin',* and the 'seven evils' context, for interpreting	$e_{\pi_{13}}$ *'Ji-yeong's husband protects Ji-yeong'*	

Table 5.3. Overview of the comparative analysis conducted on Extract 3 from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019). This overview shows the different methods of construction, as well as the resulting structure.

Event cohesion and film comprehension

The interpretation of socio-pragmatic expressions like *sabuin* is paramount, and not only for interpreting narrative information as its packaging is unfolded in the scene in Extract 3, but for then going on to interpret the events that take place during a considerable portion of the film. The reason is that in an analysis that relies upon the English subtitle and that dismisses socio-pragmatic multimodality, does not have access to explicit information that Ji-yeong is suffering from a mental illness of the severity that she is. The only explicit mention, other than what is deducible from a Korean interpretation of Extract 3, is at 1:33:10, which is near the end of the film. This is both because of the way the story is told, and because Ji-yeong is suffering from a delusional disorder, and one of the symptoms is Anosognosia, in which she is completely unaware of her condition and when she is experiencing an episode, she believes in the delusion entirely for that period. Only her husband who is privy fully to the situation understands what is happening and does not explain it to her until 1:33:10 (5.35). In this

section, the cohesive structure that Extract 3 plays a vital part in delivering will be deconstructed, demonstrating how without interpretative measures that use socio-pragmatics and Korean cultural contexts, like K-SFDRS, comprehension of entire films can be hindered.



Figure 5.35. Ji-yeong's husband tells her she has been suffering from a delusional disorder, in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The graphic representation in Figure 5.36 illustrates the incohesive structure of events in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019) that results when Extract 3 is transferred to SFDRS, with Ji-yeong's delusional disorder misinterpreted as a 'confrontation'. When Extract 3 is transferred to SFDRS, the scene prior to Extract 3 in which Ji-yeong's husband discourages them from spending *chuseok* with his family, cohesively links to Ji-yeong having to work tirelessly preparing food for the occasion with his mother. After the interpreted confrontation at *chuseok*, this can then be inferred as his reason for doing so. This inference is also supported by his repeated attempts to intervene in *chuseok* preparations that traditionally he is not expected to assist in. Ji-yeong's outburst can then be understood as a confrontation that results from her labours and the inconsideration shown in respect to this by her mother-in-law in the content of her dialogue. Following the event, Ji-yeong's husband often worries

about her, as she seems unhappy having given up her career to have a child with him. This is also cohesive with clips that depict Ji-yeong happily building her career before having a baby, and not wanting to have a baby yet but being persuaded by her husband to do so. Ji-yeong's husband's concern can be interpreted as stimulated because at *chuseok* she expressed that she is fed up. Then, suddenly, nearing the end of the film, Ji-yeong's husband informs her that she has been suffering from a delusional disorder, in which she believes that she is her own mother for brief episodes, and shows her videos of her doing so on his phone.

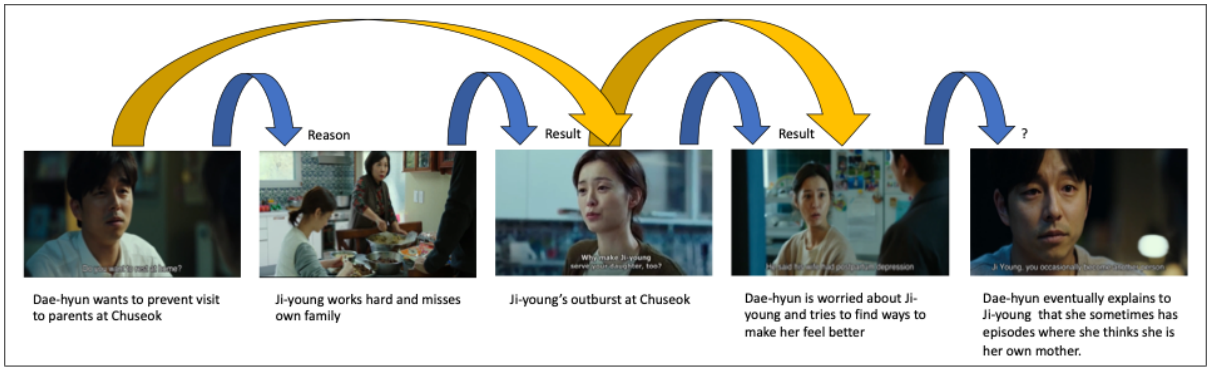


Figure 5.36. A graphic representation of the incohesive interpretation of events when Extract 3 is transferred to SFDRS, showing a break in cohesive links when Ji-yeong is directly confronted about the matter by her husband, with stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The graphic representation in Figure 5.37 illustrates the cohesive structure of events that results in *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019) when Extract 3 is transferred to K-SFDRS, with Ji-yeong's delusional disorder. When Ji-yeong's delusion at *chuseok* is interpreted, Ji-yeong's husband's concern over his family potentially witnessing one of Ji-yeong's episodes, and so wanting to avoid *chuseok,* can be interpreted. The result of Ji-yeong's delusion can then be interpreted as an ongoing illness, rather than merely a one-off confrontation or indicator of recent unhappiness, and her husband's attempts to support her can be interpreted as attempts to help her recover from her mental illness. These happenings are then explicitly clarified to her in order for her to seek treatment, when Ji-yeong's husband explains her condition to her.

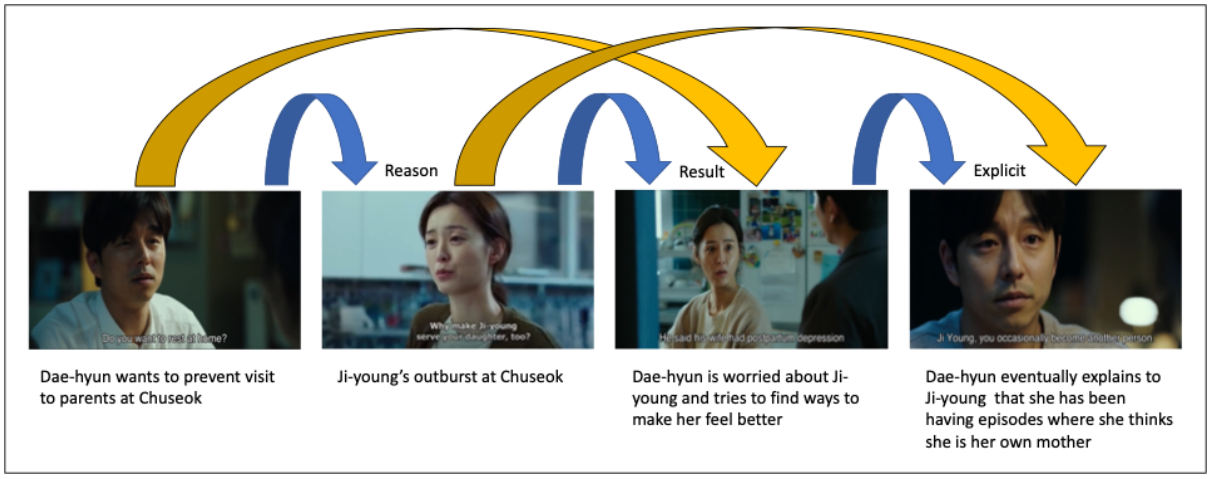


Figure 5.37. A graphic representation of the cohesive interpretation of events when Extract 3 is transferred to K-SFDRS, with stills from *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (82 년생 김지영) 'Kim Ji-young: Born 1982' (2019).

The structure presented in Figure 5.36 is less cohesive, and more jarring. However, if the film is viewed in Korean, neither of these outcomes occur, as it is clear upon the second day of *chuseok* that Ji-yeong is suffering from a delusional disorder, and some of what that involves (believing she is her own mother). From that point onwards, the concern directed towards her, and her experiences with oppression and sacrifice in daily life, can be seen as contributing to her condition, rather than the cause of depression. The structure presented in 5.37 demonstrates how this serves to maintain clear cohesive links throughout. Thus, in analysis of a K-film, the misinterpretation of socio-pragmatic expressions and cultural contexts – even in a short scene, early in a film, like this – can be impactful on researchers' comprehension and subsequently their analysis of an entire K-film.

6. Discussion

Following the same format as Chapters 4 and 5, Analysis 1 will be discussed first, followed by Analysis 2.

Socio-pragmatic primitives as an interpretative tool for K-films

In Analysis 1, representative examples were provided that cover a range of expressions (see overview in Table 4.1), providing examples of multiple expressions in each film, and demonstrating the common function of these expressions in certain social dynamics and contexts, and subsequently the common meaning potentials produced. Analysis 1 thus demonstrated the conventional meaning-making processes in K-films, justifying the relevance of these expressions to understanding it, and in their corroboration with the socio-pragmatic primitives, suggesting this tool to be a potential means for doing so.

Analysis 1 serves several important purposes in this thesis. Firstly, due to the time involved in creating SFDRS, if the analysis had only been of SFDRS, the number of films able to be analysed would have been significantly less, and therefore the opportunity to test Kiaer and Kim's (2021a) socio-pragmatic primitives would have been limited. Instead, by collecting data on the socio-pragmatic primitives, it was possible to conduct analysis on 39 K-films, and in doing so to demonstrate that the socio-pragmatic primitives work conventionally in K-films, and subsequently that the system devised can be used effectively to interpret the common meaning potentials presented in K-films.

Considerable time could then also be spent corroborating these examples, joining the dots between the data, and between the data and the logic of the socio-pragmatic primitives. In each sub-section of Analysis 1, a common meaning potential of a given expression is addressed, with examples pulled from the selection of films. The examples go back-and-forth between the selected films, describing each case, drawing similarities, and putting forth arguments based on their consistency and contrasts, and linking this to further information on context, prior and subsequent scenes, and confirmation of the inferred meaning found in the dialogue. Formulae from the socio-pragmatic primitives presented in Chapters 2 and 3 are presented, only refurbished with all the specificity that the contexts of the films provide, that the generalised socio-pragmatic primitives could not. This includes character names,

precise social dynamics (for instance selecting ‘A’ or ‘P’ rather than using ‘A/P’) and using the context as a means of adding specification to the generalised meaning potentials provided previously.

Subsequently, Analysis 1 provides considerable argument for how the system of reasoning proposed by Kiaer and Kim (2021) works to guide the interpretation of non-verbal gestures and verbal expressions in K-film. Similarly, it provides data to suggest that the socio-pragmatic primitives proposed in Chapter 3, are also able to be used to interpret the meanings of these non-verbal and prosodic gestures. The latter would benefit from further analysis using a larger sample, and this is especially so for *aegyo* nasalisation, due to the different classification system presented. The analysis of *aegyo* nasalisation in a wider range of the social dynamics presented in Chapter 3 would certainly be beneficial in mapping out when *aegyo* nasalisation is in/appropriate, and the meaning potential of this in the contexts of films.

As explained in Chapter 3, a limited number of expressions that were in Kiaer and Kim’s (2021a) original socio-pragmatic primitives were not provided with their own dedicated section in the analysis in Chapter 3. This was not, however, a result of their ability for analysing K-films, but rather a decision made for the purpose of manageability. Precedence was given to non-verbal gestures, due to the lack of research on Asian gesture (Kiaer and Kim, forthcoming., Kiaer and Kim, 2021a), and the limited research on gesture in film (Chare and Watkins, 2017). While speech styles are selected by Korean speakers in every single sentence spoken, and so it was felt they must be included, especially in discussions of misalignment and modulation. Whereas, address terms and suffixes, are not used in every single sentence, so although it was required to explain the use of address terms in the analysis at times, it was felt that they could be excluded from having their own section, and that this could be explored in another study.

Suggested changes made to socio-pragmatic primitives were limited, with only a few minor revisions suggested to formulae, which were noted. Due to their infancy, further studies are needed to develop the system of socio pragmatic primitives further, as it is not possible to refine the socio-pragmatic primitives extensively in this study, but only to experiment with their implementation in an analytical framework for film as was the primary aim.

Although the films analysed were selected from a wide range of genres and types, there were no identifiable disadvantages to this, as Korean language and gesture is not influenced by genre, and therefore the socio-pragmatic primitives could be used to guide interpretation regardless. Period films, also, despite being set in neo-Confucian Korea, such as *Sado* (2015) and *Chihwaseon* (2002), were found to present no significantly different communicative strategies apart from rigidity and could still be analysed using the socio-pragmatic primitives currently provided. Similarly, the period of the films' production was not found to result in the prevention of interpretation, or any significant differences. For instance, similar conventions in the meaning-making functions and strategies were found in *Hanyeo* (1960) as in *Hanyeo* (2010), and likewise in *Sampoganeun Gil* (1973). However, the number of pre-K-Wave films is notably smaller, and so future studies would benefit from collecting further data on these films.

Thus, analysis 1 provides considerable examples of the system of socio-pragmatic primitives outlined in Chapters 2 (Kiaer and Kim, 2021a) and 3, working as a competent analytic tool for interpreting meaning in K-films. It does so on four counts, identifiable in how conventions and contrasts were able to be drawn between the 169 representative cases, at individual and systematic levels. The first is in the reoccurrence of similar meaning potentials in similar social dynamics; the second is in the similar and related subtle variations of meaning potentials reoccurring in similar narrative contexts; the third is that the inferences made of these meanings were always supported by a clarification of the inferred meaning elsewhere, which was often either in the dialogue and/or the cohesive link between the

expression and events prior that provided clarification via its clear contextualisation; and the fourth, is in the similar meaning potentials of expressions in dynamics of the same politeness classifications, which demonstrates that the socio-pragmatic primitives work on a systematic level. This both indicates the potential use of the socio-pragmatic primitives in K-film analysis, and that there are conventions there to begin with in-need of inclusion in analysis.

The reason why this research was successful in collecting such a large data, is that Korean socio-pragmatics are cross-culturally systemic. Anglophone (Western) researchers of K-films are faced with socio-pragmatic invisibility at every sentence and gesture. Insincerity, intentions, motivations, and predications about what is going to happen next, are all impacted by the underpinning social reasoning, upon which expressions are selected. This indicates that going forward, future research of Asian film in general, would benefit from establishing guides for socio-pragmatic interpretation, particular to the linguistic and cultural context that they are analysing.

Additionally, future studies would also benefit from conducting a comparison of verbal expressions, non-verbal gestures, and prosodic gestures, in English (Western) and Korean contexts, to determine the difference in function and meaning potential, and a comparison of K-/SFDRS using English language (Western) films, to explore and refine the cross-cultural gap that this approach aims to address.

'Socio-Pragmatic' multimodal narrative construction in K-filmic text

In Analysis 2 longer extracts of discourse were analysed from two of the 39 films, *Gisaengchung* (2019) and *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019), extending the analysis presented in Chapter 4, in order to demonstrate the use of the socio-pragmatic primitives as a guide for interpretation within the SFDRS framework, and the impact that doing so can have on K-film analysis. Extracts were carefully chosen to demonstrate interpretation of multimodal discourse, using examples in which without the socio-pragmatic information there is

considerable invisibility, impacting on comprehension of larger sections of the films' narratives.

The K-SFDRS captured multi-levels of filmic discourse, as did Kim and Kiaer (2021), however the inferences were significantly more explicit, as a result of their contextualisation in Korean culture. It was also found that components and structures captured in the K-SFDRS could be linked cohesively with the larger narrative of the film, resulting in a more coherent interpretation of the film overall.

Both Wildfeuer (2014) and Kim and Kiaer (2021) argue that the rhetorical relations in SFDRS support analysis of the ambiguity in films, and this analysis corroborate this too, in general, and specifically in relation to socio-pragmatic expressions. Socio-pragmatic expressions can be subtle, and ambiguous. In *82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong* (2019) e_{π_2} *'Ji-yeong has changed'* must be inferred based on the beginning of a shift in her non-verbal demeanour, which begins very subtly with posture, to how Ji-yeong holds her head, and then her eye gaze. The 'change' taking place is reliant on the relation between e_{π_1} *'mother-in-law is being inconsiderate'* e_{π_2} and to Ji-yeong's non-verbal behaviour classifications the day before, as much as it is inferred by her use of the non-verbal expressions themselves (SP, HH, DG). This demonstrates clear dependencies between socio-pragmatic expressions, and in addition cultural context (e.g., in this case 'holiday syndrome'). Similar dependencies were identified on multiple occasions and can be observed in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 (labelled as 'also prior segments and contexts relevant'). This emphasises the need not only for socio-pragmatic primitives as a guide for inference in K-film analysis, but the need for them to be utilised within a model of semantic discourse analysis, like SFDRS, in order to account for how socio-pragmatic expressions are interpreted as parts of larger discourses rather than as single utterances.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to provide a cross-cultural method of textual analysis for Anglophone (Western) researchers of K-Filmic discourse, which combines logical accounts of discourse interpretation, with Korean socio-pragmatics, that are known to pose the most significant barrier in the interpretation process for these researchers (Kim and Kiaer, 2021., Kiaer and Kim, 2021a; 2021b; Kiaer, 2020). At the center of this was the question of how to

increase visibility in K-film analysis, and how to do so reliably. It is a problem that runs throughout all fields relating to texts, whether it be textual analysis or textual translation, and one very much overdue across fields of research, as was argued in Chapters 1 and 2.

Following Kim and Kiaer's (2021) successful pilot study using Wildfeuer's SFDRS (2014) to analyse conventions in meaning construction in K-films (Kim and Kiaer, 2021), and their proposal to develop the framework further for K-film analysis using Korean socio-pragmatics, this development of SFDRS was proposed in Chapter 3, with Kiaer and Kim's set of 'socio-pragmatic primitives' (2021a) proposed as a means of doing so, and the proposal of a selection of further primitives in addition.

Then in Chapter 4, analysis of common meaning potentials of verbal, non-verbal, and prosodic expressions, using the socio-pragmatic primitives as a guide for interpretation, were presented as representative data, in support of implementing these socio-pragmatic primitives in the development of SFDRS. The representative examples in Chapter 4 were substantial, totaling at 169 examples, extracted from 39 films.

Finally, in Chapter 5, the complete framework was demonstrated, in the implementation of the socio-pragmatic primitives within the SFDRS framework, following the formatting developments of the SFDRSs presented by Kim and Kiaer (2021). Three extracts were analysed in Chapter 5, which were of 'multimodal discourse', rather than extracts focused on singular verbal, non-verbal, or prosodic expressions, as were presented in the analysis in Chapter 4. The extracts were transferred to both SFDRS, without the implementation of the socio-pragmatic primitives as a guide for interpretation, and the proposed 'K-SFDRS', having been guided in inference by the socio-pragmatic primitives. These examples were placed side by side and analysed comparatively. The cohesive structures that these extracts belong to were also analysed, to demonstrate the impact on interpretation of using either model, including the impact on interpretation of the extracts themselves, and of the films' narratives.

In doing so, this thesis demonstrated that the outlined socio-pragmatic primitives work as a guide for K-film interpretation, and further, that when implemented within the SFDRS framework, the cultural contextualisation they provide, allows for the multi-levels of filmic discourse captured to gain specificity that cannot be achieved within the original Euro-centric model; not even with the information provided by the English subtitle. The components and structures that were able to be captured by the 'K-SFDRS', via the developments made by implementing the socio-pragmatic primitives, were found to enable and support interpretation of the extracts under analysis, which had a significant impact on understanding not only the extracts under analysis, but the films' narratives overall; with the significant impact of interpreting a single expression demonstrated on numerous occasions throughout Chapters 4 and 5.

Implementation of the socio-pragmatic primitives specifically within the SFDRS framework was also found to be beneficial for K-film analysis. The approach suits the ambiguity encountered in Korean socio-pragmatic communication in filmic discourse, which is often subtle and requires a socio-pragmatic sensitivity that is particular to Korean interpersonal relations, through which clear dependencies of socio-pragmatic relevance between inferences can be identified. This means that the relational structure that holds the socio-pragmatic expressions can be as important for making inferences of segments as the verbal and non-verbal referents that they contain. Therefore, the process of interpretation mapped out by SFDRS, when the socio-pragmatic primitives are implemented, was found to be an appropriate analytical tool specifically for interpreting Korean 'filmic discourse'.

Thus, K-film analysis can benefit significantly from the cultural contextualisation that an interpretive guide such as Kiaer and Kim's (2021a) socio-pragmatic primitives provides, combined with the controls that Wildfeuer's (2014) logical framework imposes on the inference of discourse structures. This combination alleviates socio-pragmatic untranslatability at a discursive scale, and in doing so has the potential to improve researchers' comprehension

of K-film narrative overall during analysis. This corroborates and elaborates on the respective findings of Kim and Kiaer (2021), Kiaer and Kim (2021a), and Kiaer and Kim (2021b).

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Filmography

Film title	**Year of release**	**Director (surname, forename)**
Cha In-pyo ‘What Happened to Mr. Cha?’	2021	Kim Dong-kyu
Sanyangui Sigan (사냥의 시간) ‘Time to Hunt’	2020	Yoon Sung-Hyun
Minari (미나리) ‘Water Celery’	2020	Lee Isaac Chung
82 Nyeonsaeng Gim Jiyeong (82 년생 김지영) ‘Kim Ji-young Born: 1982’	2019	Kim Bo-young
Gisaengchung (기생충) ‘Parasite’	2019	Bong Joon-ho
Geukan Jigeop (극한직업) ‘Extreme Job’	2019	Lee Byeong-heon
Mayakwang (마약왕) ‘The Drug King’	2018	Woo Min-ho
Jigeum Mannareo Gamnida (지금 만나러 갑니다) ‘Be With You’	2018	Lee Jang-hoon
Taeksi Unjeonsa (택시운전사) ‘A Taxi Driver’	2017	Jang Hoon
Agassi (아가씨) ‘The Handmaiden’	2016	Park Chan-wook
Sado (사도) ‘The Throne’	2015	Lee Joon-ik
Tamjung: Deo Bigining (탐정: 더 비기닝) ‘The Accidental Detective’	2015	Jeong-hoon Kim
Beterang (베테랑) ‘Veteran’	2015	Ryoo Seung-wan
Gukjesijang (국제시장) ‘Ode to My Father’	2014	Yoon Je-kyoon
Namja Sayongseolmyungseo (남자사용설명서) ‘How to Use Guys with Secret Tips’	2013	Lee Won-suk
Chingu 2 (친구 2) ‘Chingu: The Great Legacy’	2013	Kwak Kyung-taek
Sinsegye (신세계) ‘New World’	2013	Park Hoon-jung
Ajeossi (아저씨) ‘The Man from Nowhere’	2010	Lee Jeong-beom
Angmareul boatda (악마를 보았다) ‘I Saw the Devil’	2010	Kim Jee-woon
Hanyeo (하녀) ‘The Housemaid’	2010	Im Sang-soo
Hayan Eodum Sokeul Geotda (백야행: 하얀 어둠 속을 걷다) ‘White Night’	2009	Park Shin-woo

Baram (바람) 'Wish'	2009	Lee Seong-Han
6nyeonjjae Yeonaejung (6 년째 연애중) 'Lovers of Six Years'	2008	Park Hyun-jin
Ai Kaen Seupikeu (아이 캔 스피크) 'I can Speak'	2007	Kim Hyun-seok
Yeolhyeolnama (열혈남아) 'Cruel Winter Blues'	2006	Lee Jeong-beom
Dalkomhan Insaeng (달콤한 인생) 'A Bittersweet Life'	2005	Kim Jee-woon
Chinjeolhan geumjassi (친절한 금자씨) 'Sympathy for Lady Vengeance	2005	Park Chan-wook
Gamunui wigi (가문의 위기) 'Married to the Mafia 2'	2005	Jeong Yong-gi
Geunyeoreul midji maseyo (그녀를 믿지 마세요) 'Too Beautiful to Lie'	2004	Bae Hyeong-jun
Eorin sinbu (어린 신부) 'My Little Bride'	2004	Kim Ho-joon
Binjip (빈집) 'Empty House' or '3-Iron'	2004	Kim Ki-duk
Oldeuboi (올드보이) 'Old Boy'	2003	Park Chan-wook
Janghwa Hongryeon (장화, 홍련) 'A Tale of Two Sisters'	2003	Kim Jee-woon
Silmido (실미도) 'Silmido'	2003	Kang Woo-suk
Haute Tension 'High Tension'	2003	Aja Alexandre
Gamuneui yeonggwang (가문의 영광) 'Marrying the Mafia'	2002	Jeong Heung-sun
Chihwaseon (취화선) 'Painted Fire'	2002	Im Kwon-taek
Jopok Manura (조폭 마누라) 'My Wife is a Gangster'	2001	Jo Jin-kyu
Chingu (친구) 'Friend'	2001	Kwak Kyung-taek
Yeopgijeogin Geunyeo (엽기적인 그녀) 'My Sassy Girl'	2001	Kwak Jae-young
Sampoganeun Gil (삼포가는 길) 'The Road to Sampo' *Chihwaseon*	1973	Lee Man-hui
Hanyeo (하녀) 'The Housemaid'	1960	Kim Ki-young
Jayu buin (자유부인) 'Madame Freedom'	1956	Han Hyeong-mo

Appendices

Abbreviations and Logical Operators

The following abbreviations and logical operators can be used to understand the logical formulae that follow, which explain the politeness levels of expressions and the meaning potentials that can subsequently be inferred as a result.

Abbreviations

- S – Speaker (of verbal expression)
- H – Hearer (of verbal expression)
- G – Gesturer (of non-verbal expression)
- R – Receiver (of non-verbal expression)
- M-F – Male speaker/gesturer to female hearer/receiver
- M-M – Male speaker/gesturer to male hearer/receiver
- F-M – Female speaker/gesturer to male hearer/receiver
- F-F – Female speaker/gesturer to female hearer/receiver
- A – Age
- P – Position (professional/familial/commercial server)
- A/P – Either age or position

Logical operators

- < - Junior (A is junior to B: A<B)
- > - Senior (A is senior to B: A>B)
- ∧ - And (in conditional logic only)
- , - And (in defeasible logic only)
- |~ - The defeasible eventuality of the expression prior is …
- → - If-then (e.g., if A then B: A→B)
- ¬ - Not
- ∴ - Therefore
- / - Used to indicate multiple options presented in the same formula