SPECIAL COLLECTION
Kinship Chronotopes

Basic Kinship Terms: Christian Relations, Chronotopic Formulations, and a Korean Confrontation of Language

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ABSTRACT
This ethnographic analysis of the pragmatic links among forms of address, honorifics, and narratives of spiritual maturity clarifies a conflict between two Christian models of social change in South Korea: absolute social rupture and transcendence, and progressive shifts in social orientation and institutional self-location. The focus is on a Protestant proposal for all Korean Christians to address one another with the terms hyŏngje-nim *(brother) and* chamae-nim *(sister). While these terms promised to combine the intimacy of siblinghood with the clear marking of Christian status, they generally had the interactional effect of establishing distance where there was to be closeness and lowering where there was to be esteem. Furthermore, a simplification of address to these two basic kinship terms threatened to establish an ascetic mode of pragmatics that would override the intricate formal coding and indexing of status differentiation by the enregistered honorifics of Korean. Combined, these limited forms of address and the severe restriction of social deixis generated yet further conflict between different chronotopic formulations of social relations, namely*

Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 88, No. 2, p. 305–336, ISSN 0003-5491. © 2015 by the Institute for Ethnographic Research (IFER) a part of the George Washington University. All rights reserved.

between the narrative timespace internal to specific kinds of Korean social relations, and the generalized external narrative timespace of modern Korean Christian society at large. [Keywords: Kinship, chronotope, forms of address, honorifics, Christianity, South Korea]

> The first condition of having to deal with somebody at all is to know with whom one has to deal. The fact that people usually introduce themselves to one another whenever they engage in a conversation of any length or meet on the same social level may strike one as an empty form; yet it is an adequate symbol of the mutual knowledge presupposed by every relationship.
>
> —Georg Simmel (1950:307-308)

Introduction

In the summer of 2013, Insu, a Korean Christian man in his 40s whom I had known for nearly six years, told me that he felt himself becoming a mature Christian when he became comfortable addressing his fellow Christians as "brother" and "sister." The terms "brother" and "sister" that he used were not the sibling terms that people in South Korea (hereafter Korea) normally use to address their brothers and sisters, which specify age difference and speaker gender (as I elaborate below). Rather, he used the terms *hyŏngje-nim* and *chamae-nim*, the Christian-inflected terms for "brother" and "sister" (with the honorific *–nim* suffixed for address), which do neither.

In giving his testimony, Insu touched upon some observations made recently in the anthropology of Christianity. First, sincerity of speech is emphasized as a moralizing metadiscourse for bringing inner and outer domains of the self into alignment before others and God (Keane 2007). Second, reflexive social alignment with other Christians also plays an important role in Christian understandings of identity and belief (Robbins 2004a, Handman 2011). Finally, this alignment is often reflected upon and made recognizable as a form of kinship behavior that has the potential to link heaven and earth, as well as past, present, and future (Cannell 2005). While Insu's account did concern language ideology in relation to Christianity (see Bialecki and Hoenes del Pinal 2011 for a review), he did not stress the sincerity of his words or the reality of his Christian kinship with others. Certainly, just as he said he truly believed in God the Father,

he also said he hoped someday to believe that his fellow Christians were true brothers and sisters in Christ and to address them sincerely as such. But as a step toward what he referred to as his own spiritual maturity, he stressed his mere comfort with these forms of address as a great achievement. For Insu, the achievement was great because the practical social consequences of using such terms in Korea—in *Korean*—were great.

Statements such as Insu's about spiritual siblinghood are common among global Christians. As Handman (2011:659) has put it, Christians might aspire to operate upon the "principle that 'God has no grandchildren.' That is, by becoming Christian one becomes enmeshed in a universal kinship grid in which there can only ever be one degree of separation."[1] However, the predictability of such a statement by a Christian in Korea hides the significant labor required in coming to address other Koreans as hyŏngje-nim and chamae-nim. These terms emerged from a wide repertoire of forms of address, which are linked to formally differentiated honorific registers and speech styles. To address others in Korea as hyŏngje-nim and chamae-nim, as Christian informants repeatedly made clear to me, was to directly confront most norms of Korean speech. If people used these terms for everyone, it seemed that they all would have to speak to one another in the same general way. And Insu stressed that people simply were not used to doing that. To Insu and other Korean speakers, the language they spoke seemed to code formally and thereby differentiate social relations at every turn. Korean's elaborate system of deference and demeanor indexicality—sentence endings, honorific suffixes and infixes, various forms of address or avoidance, lexical substitutions, self-lowering first-person indexicals, and so on—formed a powerful linguistic emblem of South Korean society by crystallizing in its various forms the very qualities of normative social relations and the very tenets of normative social differentiation.[2]

While the variety of terms of address and their accompanying honorifics often were perceived to constitute a set of interactional restrictions, they also often constituted a rich interactional resource. For this reason, to address another Christian as hyŏngje and chamae was to introduce a relational rift and could be considered rude and offensive, at once distancing to those with an established face-to-face intimacy and degrading to those with an established status. There is an obvious resemblance to the 17th century Quakers whose "plain style challenged the social structure and the structure of social relations in very fundamental ways" (Bauman 1983:55)

and "who formulated an interactional system built upon the principled contravention of prevailing standards of politeness" (Bauman 1983:59).[3] Like Luong's account of colonial Vietnam and the conflicting perspectives of the government-controlled press, which used stratified forms of person-reference to reproduce a formalistic hierarchy, and the underground press of the Marxist opposition, which used restricted sibling terms to emphasize solidary revolutionary brotherhood, these Korean Christians saw in their own forms of address "diametrically opposed axioms regarding sociocultural reality" (1988:246).[4] And yet, there was hope that the effects of estrangement and degradation could be transformed into intimacy and esteem by viewing these terms as the most markedly Christian.

Forms of personal address long have served as privileged points of access into the analysis of ethnographic data (e.g., Evans-Pritchard 1965, Fleming 2012, Friedrich 1972, Geertz 1973, Kuipers 1998:95-161, Nakassis 2014, Stasch 2009). On the Korean peninsula, forms of personal address long have served as privileged points of auto-ethnographic knowledge about social relations: there is clear, explicit, overt self-reflexive talk about the fact that to know what to "call" someone is a guide to how to speak to someone, and to know how to speak to someone is a guide to how to behave with someone—to be with someone (see, e.g., Kim 1978, 1981; Janelli and Yim 1993).[5] Among a group of South Korean Christians whom I have known and visited regularly since 2008, forms of address emerged as a privileged point of ideologically loaded reflection on the Korean language in a Christian person's self-location in relationships, groups, institutions, and world history. The potential simplification of Christian forms of address to two basic kinship terms amounted to a direct confrontation with the Korean language as my informants encountered and reflected upon it.

The consequences of the prospect of all Christians addressing one another as hyŏngje-nim and chamae-nim were dramatic: a simplification of address to two basic kinship terms would result in an ascetic mode of pragmatics that would override the intricate coding and indexing of status differentiation by the enregistered honorifics of Korean.[6] By ascetic pragmatics, I do not mean that any given form was ideologically construed as ascetic, although speakers might understand portions of their verbal repertoire to be more or less "simple" or "plain" or "austere." Rather, by ascetic pragmatics, I mean the overall constraints on formal linguistic differentiation according to presupposed social relations and participant

frameworks of interaction that would be necessitated by these basic kinship terms. For it is the way in which Korean formally encodes and performs social differentiation that is elaborate, and thus it is the limitation on the formal elements to a few choices, based on simplified forms of address, that would make for a kind of pragmatic asceticism.[7]

The term "pragmatics," as I have used it in the phrase "ascetic pragmatics," pertains to the phenomenon of indexicality. Both referential indexes (such as forms of address) and non-referential indexes (such as sentence endings and honorific infixes) position participants in a relatively immediate speech event in relation to one another. These speech events become ritual enactments of, and sites of cultural reflection on, relatively perduring social relations. The narrative of Korean Christian maturity that I describe below proposes that some of these relations, like spiritual siblinghood, should be emphasized and cultivated. This narrative of Korean Christian maturity—and of Christian modernity—also depends upon spatial and temporal deixis, specifically in the way it locates groups in the relative positions of "here" and "there," "now" and "then." Such chronotopic configurations (Bakhtin 1981) among Christians are commonly formulated as ideologically distilled "world-breaking" and "world-making" (Robbins 2004b) narratives of "rupture," "radical discontinuity," and "transcendence" (see Cannell 2005, 2006; Handman 2010; Harding 2000; Keane 2007)— in short, of "conversion to modernity" (van der Veer 1996).[8] Timespace distinctions are construed as ontic differences.

The comparative import of the ethnographic material I treat below lies in the nature and effects of the indexical architecture that was asserted by this particular Korean Christian narrative of conversion and maturity, in particular the competing "kinship chronotopes" that were invoked to frame and authorize different pictures of sociality. Deictic categories of time, space, and person converged for my informants in forms of address and Korean's enregistered honorifics to invoke competing chronotopic formulations of Christian relations. These various competing chronotopes emerged not merely as a common refrain on modern democratic egalitarianism transcending traditional Confucian hierarchy, but also appeared to be embedded, immanent, and unavoidable in the very mechanics of linguistically mediated sociality itself. My informants' confrontation with forms of address and enregistered honorifics set up a tension between a macro-scale sense of change regarding absolute social conversion and a more micro-scale sense of change regarding ongoing modifications to

social relations, in which different indexical frameworks of temporality, spatiality, and relationality were fused.

Below, I look ethnographically at what forms of address and honorifics in language-ideological reflections on Korean reveal about competing perspectives on aspirational Christian personhood and sociality.[9] I focus specifically on how my informants characterized the pragmatic effects of forms of address in the church: tropic kinship terms, group role designators, and official Christian rank titles. I begin my discussion by expanding upon Insu's testimony with accounts given by his wife, Minha, and other informants to explore how the Korean Christians I knew viewed these terms. Their comments point to the ways in which different perspectives on forms of address in the church indexed different positions on personal, institutional, and ethnonational advancement. From Insu's example, I move to a more general discussion of the way in which the permission or suggestion to address someone as such-and-such kind of person is an important interactional event in Korea, upon which Korean Christians place much emphasis in dealings with others in their social world.

Finally, I return to the notion of spiritual maturity to show how the proposal for basic kinship terms figures into multiple chronotopic formulations that draw together the national, the institutional, and the personal within a narrative of spiritual advancement in which Korea emerges as a global center of Christianity. I conclude the article by considering how the confrontation of language that I have documented is not merely a straightforward ideological clash between egalitarianism and hierarchy, something that is not certainly unique to Korea's encounter with Protestant Christianity. I suggest that it is also, and fundamentally, a conflict between different scales of time and space invoked in the communicative mediation of Korean sociality, namely between the internal timespace of specific kinds of Korean Christian social relations and the external timespace of Korean Christian society at large.

Forms of Address in the Church

Late in the summer of 2013, Insu and I spoke about Christian kinship terms over dinner and tea with his wife, Minha, in Seoul. I was visiting them as I had done regularly since 2008, when we sang together in one of the choirs of a Presbyterian church that is usually estimated to have around 70,000 members. Over dinner, I reminded him of an event in which we had both

participated, and this prompted his story of recently starting to feel like a mature Christian. The story I reminded him of took place on a Sunday morning in early 2008, when one of the choirs at the church had gathered to rehearse before the service. Insu and I were chatting when Chuyŏn, a soprano in her early 20s (and one of the youngest members of the choir), entered the room and began greeting people with a quick bow and the standard greeting, "*Anyŏnghaseyo*?" When she saw me, she waved and simply said my given name, "Nicholas." Insu, a jokester, immediately reprimanded her in jest, using *panmal* or "half speech," normally spoken to certain intimates or juniors: "Don't wave! Don't say Nicholas! [You should] bow respectfully and say '*oppa*,' [you] know!"

Chuyŏn and others in the room laughed at Insu's didacticism. By prescribing what should have been the standard format for the interaction, he inhabited the role of oppa—the older brother of a female—that he was jokingly defending. That is, he invoked the privilege, if not the obligation, to reprimand and correct the behavior of one of his female juniors. It is not likely that Chuyŏn ever would have thought to address any of the other older people in the choir in the manner in which she addressed me. But, as the only foreigner in the choir, I was an exception for her. (Earlier I had also given her the option of calling me by my given name in large part because she occasionally wanted to practice her English with me.) For my fellow tenor, such exceptionalism was a threat to his own social position and therefore became fodder for his humor. His tongue-in-cheek reprimand seemed to ask: if the younger people in the choir begin first-naming their seniors, what will become of us? Furthermore, by insisting that Chuyŏn call me oppa, Insu was emphasizing my status as a member of the group with a position relative and relational to others there. For Chuyŏn and others like her in the choir, I was not to be just plain old "Nick," but rather "Nick oppa."

In Korea, as elsewhere, kinship serves as a reflexive model of behavior and a pervasive frame in terms of which to establish role relations in interaction. For interactions of somewhat distant social relations, and especially when the addressee appears to have reached a certain age, it has been common to use the terms "*ajŏssi*" (uncle), "*ajumŏni*" (aunt), or "*ajumma*" (auntie) to address "guys" or "ladies."[10] Likewise, it has been common to address senior citizens as "*harabŏji*" (grandfather) or "*halmŏni*" (grandmother), precisely the words used to address one's own grandparents.[11] Such terms also are used in reference to groups of more-or-less known individuals. The point is not literalness of reference, but the

regimenting of the interaction according to some enregistered features of a model of kin relations involving both intimacy and status differentiation (see Agha 2007a:340-385).

In fairly intimate relations between people close in age, people often use asymmetric sibling terms, optionally combined with given names, that differentiate the gender of both speaker and addressee to speak "up" to an older counterpart (Figure 1a): the older brother of a man is called *hyŏng*, the older brother of a woman is called oppa, the older sister of a woman is called *ŏnni*, and the older sister of a man is called *nuna*.[12] Fictive younger siblings are addressed simply with given names, adding an intimate vocative (e.g., *Chuyŏn-a*) or sometimes a relatively polite suffix (e.g., *Chuyŏn-ssi*). However, all Christians can, in principle, both refer to and address other Christians with the age-neutral, highly classificatory sibling terms, optionally with a given name, and normally combined with an honorific suffix (-nim), hyŏngje-nim ("brother") or chamae-nim ("sister"). Neither term marks relative age or speaker gender (Figure 1b).

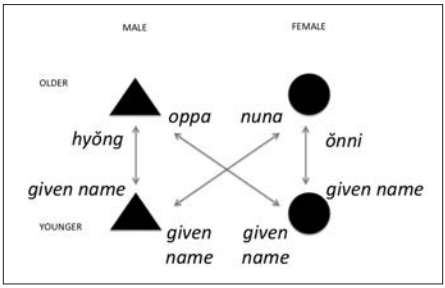

Figure 1a

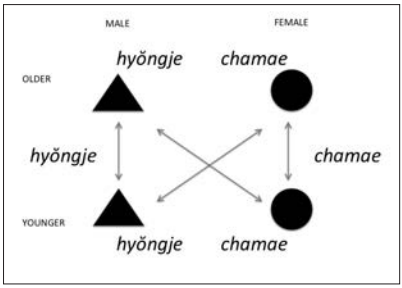

Figure 1b

These age-neutral sibling terms are built upon a combination of Sino-Korean characters. The first character is "older" brother (兄) or sister (姉) and the second is "younger" brother (弟) or sister (妹). The two characters thus cancel out or equalize the age stratification that is normally indexed by kin terms. Hyŏngje is used in everyday Korean speech simply as the unmarked word for "siblings," as in "how many siblings do you have?" And both terms can be used to refer to gendered siblings in the plural (potentially with the plural suffix, *-tŭl*).[13] But as forms of address, hyŏngje(-nim) and chamae(-nim) are markedly Christian terms.[14]

When I reminded Insu of this story and asked why he had not told Chuyŏn to call me hyŏngje-nim, he explained simply that he was making

a joke about respecting one's elders in Korea, in direct contrast to the kind of informality perceived to be present in the American forms of English speech that Chuyŏn had used with me. The joke was funny because Chuyŏn was speaking to an American in an American style (where forms of given-name address are ideologically egalitarian) in a Korean church (where the egalitarian form hyŏngje is potentially lowering and distancing), leading Insu to engage in a moment of humorous voicing of Korean patriarchal authority combined with an invitation for me to assume in-group status.[15]

Hyŏngje and chamae as forms of address normally were reserved for strangers whose known identity features were limited to gender and Christian affiliation. And indeed, at that church, I normally only heard the terms used in the singular for individual persons when neither that person's position relative to the church nor their position relative to the speaker was determined. While they could be used as plurals to address large audiences (and beyond the church as plurals in reference more generally), these terms were almost completely absent as forms of individual address or reference at the church where we sang.[16]

While we discussed this 2008 event over dinner in 2013, Insu announced that he had since realized the importance of addressing fellow Christians with the terms hyŏngje and chamae. And this realization was part of the reason why he and Minha had decided to seek a different church.

Insu recently had been elected as the manager of the choir after some of the choir members encouraged him to run. Within the choir, Insu explained, there once had been a feeling of closeness and intimacy that made the experience of church membership warm. For him, the qualia of sociality in the choir instantiated the qualities of social relations that he valued.[17] But conflicts within the choir and changes to its membership had created factions that made participation uncomfortable. Fellow choir members had expressed the hope that his leadership might ease disagreements among its members. But, he explained, the position had brought him only stress and more conflict. He especially did not like being addressed as *ch'ongmu-nim* ("manager") by people he had known for years.[18] While some coveted this title and even resented him for holding it, to Insu it sounded ridiculous. He and Minha complained that people in their church, as elsewhere in Korea, placed too much value on status titles as forms of address, which seemed to them to dictate how one could participate in almost any activity.

The Christians I knew often narrated their personal biographies and the development of their social relations in the church according to the status titles they acquired there (Figure 2).[19] Younger speakers could generate or enact intimacy with one another by addressing their relative seniors with asymmetric kin terms like oppa, nuna, hyŏng, or ŏnni, and their relative juniors simply with given names. Sibling terms thus served as one of the first status titles acquired by members of the group. As these members grew older, they would seek out various responsibilities and then would be called and referred to by the corresponding descriptive title. Older brothers and sisters became *sŏngŭi pujang* ("choir robe manager"), *akpo pujang* ("sheet music manager"), or *ch'in'gyo pujang* ("fellowship manager"). These titles effectively broadened their status recognition from gendered asymmetric age relations modeled on a kinship system to group-relative domains of authority by role within a specific group. And those adults who had achieved much recognition in the church, beyond any individual group, might be awarded church rank titles like *chipsa* ("deacon," applied to both men and women), *kwŏnsa* ("exhorting deaconess," applied only to women in that church), or, at the pinnacle, *changno* ("elder," in principle applied to men and women, but in practice applied almost entirely to men).[20] From tropic kinship terms for personal

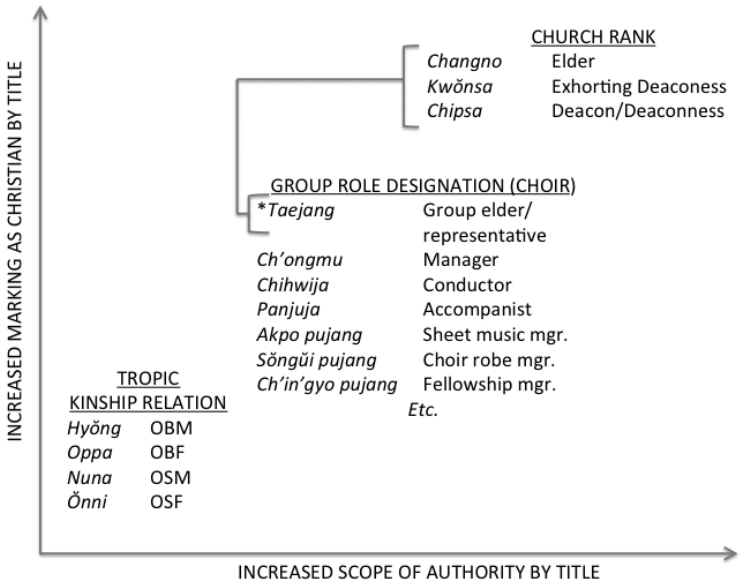

Figure 2

relations, to role designators within specific groups, to institution-wide rank titles, these appellations indexed an increasing domain of influence and recognition for unordained members of the church. This expanding domain was narratable according to an institutional chronotope of personal and spiritual maturity as well as various chronotopes internal to specific social relations among church members.[21]

The shift in forms of address from the domain of kinship, to that of the activity-based group, to that of the institution was also effectively a shift in the conditions of reference from presupposition of a dyadic relation within a kinship matrix of relative age and gender, to that of a larger group relation based on active and current assignment to role, to that of an even larger institutional relation based on awarded rank. Furthermore, forms of address along this referential hierarchy (Silverstein 1987) increasingly became marked as Christian: anyone could be an older brother or sister, and only some of the group activities on which the role designators were determined were explicitly church-based (e.g., "fellowship"), but the terms for deacons, deaconesses, and elders were explicitly church-based titles. How should Korean Christians combine the specifically Christian markings of role and rank designations with the most Christ-like social relations of brothers and sisters?

Leaving the Church

While Protestant Christians usually are estimated to account for around 20 percent of the South Korean population of just over 50 million, it is regularly reported that the largest Protestant congregations in the world are in Seoul, that the largest single congregation in the world is in Seoul, and that tens of thousands of Koreans serve as missionaries abroad. And yet, from 2005 to the present, many of my informants who attended large churches throughout Seoul left their large churches to return to or seek out smaller congregations.[22] They described this as returning to simpler, purer Christian principles, more intimate relations, and less emphasis on public displays of prosperity and prestige. Many were just tired of the social and financial conflicts seemingly omnipresent in the larger churches. At Insu and Minha's church, people worried that the church was merely a place for wealthy people to congregate and reinforce their power over the country. Many suspected that those who join the church have explicit designs to network with rich and powerful people and thereby become

like them. Insu and Minha, after struggling through a number of personal hardships and growing increasingly frustrated with their church, expressed similar concerns.

Insu and Minha's remarks belonged to a broader and growing set of concerns—among Christians and non-Christians—regarding problems seemingly endemic to Korea's large churches. Churches such as theirs were repeatedly accused of operating like the enormous Korean business conglomerates (*chaebŏl*), plagued by nepotism, disputes over dynastic succession, and power struggles among church leadership. Upon retirement, the founding pastor of their church unsuccessfully attempted to install his son as his successor, and the current head pastor of their church was attacked by his own assisting ministers and sent to the hospital with broken bones in his face. These churches were accused of nefarious political networking and affiliations, shady financial dealings, sexual harassment, and other scandals. Lee Myung-bak, an elder at their church, served as president of the Republic of Korea from 2008 until 2013 and filled his government with church members. David Yonggi Cho, founder of the Yoido Full Gospel Church, the largest church in the world, and his eldest son both were convicted of embezzlement, fraud, and tax evasion in 2014. Chun Byoung-wook, former pastor at the youth-oriented Samil Presbyterian Church, resigned in 2010 following numerous accusations of sexual assault. And Oh Jung Hyun, head pastor of the enormous Sarang Community Church, was suspended in 2013 after admitting that he plagiarized much of his doctoral dissertation. Located in Apkujŏng, one of the wealthiest neighborhoods in Seoul, their own church in particular was known, despite its size, as an "elite," "snobby," "upper-class" church, even a "*yangban*" church, after the term for the neo-Confucian gentry of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910).[23]

Like many Koreans who came of age in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, Insu and Minha had come to Christianity as adults—Insu after his mother, a Christian convert, had been miraculously healed; Minha after accompanying a friend to church and being welcomed warmly by strangers—but they never felt completely comfortable in church. It had been well-known for some time to other members of the choir that Insu and Minha were dissatisfied, and so a fellow member of the choir and close friend of Minha suggested that they enroll in a training school for "Disciples of Jesus" (*Yesu Cheja Hullyŏn Hakkyo*) with a group called *Yesu Chŏndodan* (Jesus Mission). The group was part of an international organization, founded

in 1960 in the US, known by its English name as "Youth with a Mission." While still attending their church, Insu and Minha enrolled and were attracted by the group's "foundational values" (*kibon chŏngsin*), especially "knowing God" and "making God known," "hearing God's voice," and being "relationship oriented" through "lives of holiness, mutual support, transparency, humility, and open communication, rather than a dependence on structures or rules."[24] This latter value, they said, felt fundamentally different from the socialization into Christianity that they had known. They learned to hear God's voice, they told me, not only through the deep study and appropriation of specific forms of talk (Harding 2000) or in the sensations generated by honing corporeal and psychological states (Luhrmann 2004, 2012)—although both of these dimensions of religious practice were present—but also through socialization into a community of communicative Christian brothers and sisters.

When I visited Insu and Minha in the summer of 2013, they had recently completed their discipleship training and were emboldened in their Christian faith and identity. They explained that this was in large part connected to the fact that, in discipleship training school, they were both surprised and encouraged to find that everyone addressed everyone else with the very terms that were considered rude in their own church: hyŏngje-nim and chamae-nim. Minha emphasized her surprise and gratitude that even a 70-year-old participant humbly accepted being addressed in this manner. Although it was uncomfortable at first, after one year of worshiping and praying together, they said that they both felt that they could comfortably address the men and women in their group as Christian brothers and sisters. In the church choir, an accidental mixture of persons had made, for a time, an environment of warm but socially stratified spiritual communion—a mixture where the use of the purportedly egalitarian terms hyŏngje and chamae could be distancing and degrading. In the Yesu Chŏndodan school, Insu and Minha found a ritually purified social space where others would listen to them, cry with them, and pray for them—where these basic kinship terms had profoundly positive connotations.

Through discipleship training, their ideal of Christian sociality was achieved more systematically than at their church. There was an interview process that filtered out all but the Christians who were committed to learn (there was much suspicion of infiltration by heretics and members of sects). They reveled in close Bible study and discussion, where they understood their biblical learning to be grounded in collaboratively achieved

understandings of the text and not just in a leader's authority. They were surprised by what they perceived to be "open" communication, where everyone had a chance to speak. And they were made to feel loved by intercessory prayer, where everyone's troubles could be surfaced and shared. Through a year of systematic participation in a kind of Christian boot camp, their perspectives on Christianity, on Christian sociality, and on Korean sociality were changed. They said that they understood *brother* and *sister* no longer to be awkward, potentially offensive terms for addressing Christian strangers or persons of unknown rank, but rather celebrated terms for all Christians. Rather than being distancing and degrading, these terms had become a way of showing intimacy and esteem. As Minha put it, quoting from a Christian essay that a friend had sent them, they learned that it was a "precious" and "noble" thing "to be able to call" someone hyŏngje-nim or chamae-nim. In their discipleship training, they had encountered other Christians as sincere strangers and emerged as spiritual kin.

They were clear, however, that the Yesu Chŏndodan school was not a church. And they were concerned that they would not be able find a church that replicated the intensely personal, intimate, and respectful character of their discipleship training program. And they worried especially that the habits (*sŭpkwan*) of Korean speech—a "tyranny of usage" (Sapir 2014:103) linked to the "orientational necessity" (Geertz 1973:363) of differentiating other persons—were too "stiff" or "hard" or "rigid" for the terms hyŏngje and chamae to be widely used. If they invited others to call them by these terms, instead of by other status titles, would these others reciprocate?

Korean Language and the Permission to Address

I want to draw attention to the way Minha formulated the phrase that I quoted above: "to be able to call" someone hyŏngje-nim or chamae-nim. Note the similar formulation in the following message from the head pastor at Insu and Minha's church, which appeared in the program for a concert that Minsu, Minha, and I sang in, titled "*Na nŭn Chu ŭi chanyŏ*," "I am a child of the Lord."[25]

> Hallelujah!
> When we have faith in Jesus Christ, we are blessed as children [chanyŏ] of God.

> It is the greatest grace of our lives to be able call God "Dad [*appa*]."
> To believe in Jesus is to participate in this wonderful grace: to become His children.
> Like a father whose young children are running into his embrace, God's arms are always open to us.
> I hope we can exalt and rejoice in Him for receiving us as His children, just as we are.
> I offer congratulations on the concert of this praise choir, which is supported in collaboration with the cultural outreach ministry.
> I hope that it becomes a festive place to lift up the name of God, who says to us, "You are my son [*adŭl*]. You are my daughter [*ttal*]."

The pastor asserts that it is the "greatest grace of our lives *to be able* to call God 'Dad'" (*Hananim ŭl "Appa!" rago purŭl su innŭn kŏt*), a privileged form of address that comes in return for God saying to his children: "You are my son. You are my daughter!" (*Nŏ nŭn nae adŭl ira. Nŏ nŭn nae ttal ira!*).[26]

Granting permission to address someone as something is an important interaction ritual in Korea, as elsewhere. These titles are often specific invitations—or instructions—to assume a certain kind of enregistered behavior with the addressee, behavior that normatively co-occurs with certain linguistically coded honorifics or their omission, as well as other multi-channel signs, and indexes socially recognizable identities (Agha 2007a, Ervin-Tripp 1986). As with Japanese (Inoue 2006; Koyama 2004a, 2004b) and Javanese (Errington 1988), linguistic codes that have extensive systems of formally marked social deixis, Korean's elaborate honorific system emerged as an ideologically loaded object of reflection for speakers (Brown 2011a). And as informants pointed out repeatedly, to speak "as equals" is not understood to be the norm, but rather a highly marked, unstable, ideologically saturated state of sociality in Korea that seems to be undermined by the very use and structure of Korean itself.[27]

While this invitation to address God as "dad" (appa), "father" (*abŏji*), or often "revered/honored father" (*abŏnim*) was construed by the pastor as an invitation to intimacy, my Christian informants made clear that the term carried with it an obligation for addressee-focal honorific speech and deferential behavior (cf. German, where God is addressed intimately and informally as *Du* rather than *Sie*).[28] The complicated issue of forms of address was recognized early on in efforts to translate the Bible into Korean.

Take, for instance, John Ross's late 19th century account of translating the New Testament into Korean:

> In one particular, I have taken the liberty of introducing considerable change in my translations. Coreans in both speech and writing are punctilious in distinguishing the social position of persons. Equals in age or rank may employ the direct form of speech, but strangers or persons socially unequal could not use the direct "thou" or "you" of English and Greek. To them such use of the second personal pronoun is disrespectful in the extreme. This has influenced all the translations. When God is addressed I have always used the indirect mode of address, *e.g.* in the Lord's prayer every "Thy" is translated by "father's," the term with which the prayer commences. When the disciples address Jesus, they are translated as always using the indirect mode "Lord" or "Teacher." Even in Chinese, I always use the indirect mode in prayer as the direct is not reverential. Coreans attach much more importance to the form of address than do the Chinese; this change is essential to accurate translation. (Ross 1982:209)[29]

When I shared this passage with my informants, they agreed emphatically that Christians always should use reverential forms of speech for speaking to or talking about God or Jesus.[30]

There were, however, differing opinions on how God's children should address one another, as well as concern over this variation. Because, in principle, siblings can address and speak to one another differently based on their relative ages, the simple fact that all Christians are God's children does not mean that there are no differences in rank.[31] From the early Bible translators who attempted to translate the terms and "transduce" (Silverstein 2003b) the pragmatics of Biblical speech into forms of address and honorific registers that would be acceptable to Korean readers (see Cho 2008:19-22), to contemporary Christians like Insu, Minha, and others, it was a challenge to find a model of interactional pragmatics within Korean that was appropriate to their understanding of ideal Christian social relations. The central tension had to do with the role of language in relating interactional models of social relations to higher-order institutional models of relative and absolute social position.

As my informants pointed out, even if Korean speakers were left with only two ways of addressing other Christians *as Christians*, there would

still be the problem of marking status and intimacy in speech. That is, moving from simple address to extended forms of verbal interaction, these Korean Christians confronted a second indexical order (Silverstein 2003a) of enregistered honorifics. For example, one informant, a married man in his 30s, insisted that even if he were to call an older, grandfatherly man hyŏngje-nim, and follow with what has become the default sentence ending for polite, respectful speech (*-yo*), all else remaining the same, he would nonetheless still feel compelled to use a self-lowering first-person indexical (*chŏ,* rather than *na*), and to replace unmarked lexical items with honorific ones.[32] Another informant, a younger woman in her 20s, wondered, if everyone in the church were to address one another as hyŏngje-nim and chamae-nim, how they would differentiate the intimacy they felt for one another. She then quickly decided that she would do so through the qualia of voice: a raised pitch and nasalized, ventriculated voice for the people she knew and liked; and no such markings for strangers or those for whom she did not feel affection.[33] Some wondered if they always would need to attach the honorific suffix -nim to the terms, or if they could address some people, such as close friends and juniors, without it.[34] Once we were on the topic, some informants became interested in thinking about what kinds of stylistic trimmings should be used to address God within the framework of kinship: appa (dad), abŏji (father), and abŏnim (honored/revered father) seemed to suggest different, increasingly deferential and decreasingly intimate ways of interacting with deity. For many younger speakers, it was difficult to image how they would go fully from using tropic asymmetric sibling terms like oppa, which invoke the responsibilities and rewards of older-sibling/younger-sibling relations, to leveling kinship terms like hyŏngje and chamae, which seemed to erase the chronotopic grounds of both status (relative social position by birth sequence) and intimacy (relative social closeness over time).

The compounding of intimacy and status in the invitation to address can be made clear in the particularly complicated gendering of the term that Insu jokingly commanded Chuyŏn to use with me. While oppa refers to the older brother of a female, women use it tropically to address both their older male friends as well as their romantic boyfriends.[35] This term has emerged in a specifically Christian form in the phrase "kyohoe oppa," or "church older-brother-of-a-female." The stereotype of the kyohoe oppa is of a wholesome older brother who leads church groups, plays the guitar and sings during praise and worship, dresses neatly, is gentle, is respectful

to his elders, is the object of romantic attention by the younger women in the church, and whom the mothers in the church would like their daughters to marry. At the same time, there is much concern in churches about what is called "*mot'ae sinang*," literally "faith from a mother's womb." This term describes a person whose parents are Christian and who was raised in the church, and also is commonly used to describe someone who uses one's longstanding church relations and the appearance of faith to perpetrate unseemly acts. Many of my female informants shared stories—both their own, and also plenty of hearsay, gossip, and rumors—of various oppas in the church, including some stereotypical kyohoe oppas, whom they accused of using their elevated status and social permission for intimacy as older male Christians (after all, they were addressed affectionately as oppa) to lure younger Christian women into untoward situations.

Group role designators and institutional rank titles reproduce differences of status, often gendered according to labor, in an increasingly macrosociological framework of social position over time within the church. And such titles also can be mobilized to manipulate the interactional models invoked by asymmetric kinship terms. For example, one prominent church musician, a woman in her mid-30s, married with two children, explained to me how she had to work very hard to avoid the ambiguous advances of older men with church status titles. To her they seemed to behave as if they had some special permission for intimacy. (I had observed her very adeptly handling one assisting pastor who pursued her after a concert.) She explained that it was quite normal, indeed expected, for titled persons in the church—deacons, elders, and pastors—to request private meetings and meals with prominent musicians, Sunday school teachers, and other staff to discuss church business. It was often very difficult to refuse such requests, as these titled persons managed the church's affairs and finances. For church singers and musicians, these persons are extremely important, for they can corral large numbers of church members to buy tickets for and attend the concerts of professional musicians outside of church (Harkness 2012, 2014).

One deacon and member of the choir, a married man in his 40s whose wife and children lived in the US (a type known in Korea as a "goose father," *kirŏgi abŏji*, because they fly back and forth), had repeatedly asked the musician to dine with him. She finally accepted when she ran out of excuses. They met at church, and the deacon drove her to a restaurant on the outskirts of Seoul for lunch. The musician explained to me that she

was already uncomfortable meeting him alone, and was made even more so when it became clear how far from the church they were traveling. But something even more awkward took place during their meal. When the musician addressed the deacon by the title *chipsa-nim*—as she always had done—the deacon responded by saying to her that they had known one another for some time and didn't need to use role group designators or church rank titles outside of church. He suggested instead that she merely address him as oppa. The musician was shocked and could not tell how serious he was, but, as she explained to me, was quick to respond: "I call only one person oppa: my husband," she said and suggested instead that she could address him as hyŏngje-nim. She reported that he laughed nervously, and they resumed eating and addressing one another as before, never to speak of the subject again.

In that moment, two members of the church had negotiated their social relation through terse talk about the titles that they would use to address one another. This negotiation was in large part about the kind of social roles they were to inhabit with respect one to the other across multiple participant frameworks and authorizing institutional sites. The musician was willing to entertain the asymmetry of their relative status according to their different titles until the deacon attempted to reconfigure a semi-professional model of relative positions within the church into a suggestively romantic, intimate dyadic model of gendered kin relations that exceeded the church. In response, the musician suggested a leveling of social position with clearly Christian kin terms; it asserted balance where there was imbalance, mutual respect where there was the suggestion of patronage, and distance where there was the false presumption of intimacy. The musician's rebuttal was effective precisely because of the potentially distancing and degrading effects of the term.[36] How then to transform estrangement into intimacy, and degradation into esteem?

Models of Maturity

For Christians in South Korea, the church has long held the promise of a society transformed. Consider how Korean Sociologist Yong-Shin Park (2007:81) views the early Korean church's adoption of the indigenous alphabet, Han'gŭl, for the Bible, rather than the Literary Sinitic Hancha, used by the Yangban elites. He argues that this change in script challenged the "vertical communication" (*sujik ŭi sot'ong*) of the Chosŏn dynasty by creating

a "public space" where all could participate "equally" (*p'yŏngdŭnghage*) in a culture of "horizontal communication" (*sup'yŏng ŭi sot'ong*). While the quote from 19th century Bible translator John Ross above emphasized the status-conferring lexical items of address and reference, the ideological emphasis, in Park's conceptualization, lies in the social leveling of Christians *through* Han'gŭl and the literacy that it enabled:

> Because Han'gŭl was taken as the medium of communication, it inevitably exalted the hitherto excluded commoners and women to the position of fraternal communication. The whole church rejected the old social distinction and fostered the commitment to egalitarian beliefs and values. In short, there was a homology between communicative opening and social leveling. To value Han'gŭl was to value communicative and social equality. The church was seen as a religious body which took everybody where they were and gave capability to be essentially equal members within. (Park 2007:68)

Like many Christians, Park suggested that "the church was a space where the consciousness of equality was practiced as a way of life" (2007:70); and that "the church was an instrument for transforming the system of social status distinctions systematically into a system of equality" (2007:71). Citing the education of women, the establishment of hospitals and universities, the participation of Christians in nationalist movements during the Japanese colonial period, and the socially progressive aspirations described above, Korean churches tell a story of ethnonational advancement through Christian spiritual enlightenment. For Park, the accessibility of Han'gŭl constituted a break from the neo-Confucian elite emphasis on Sino-Korean Hancha (see King 2004, Silva 2008).[37]

Whereas many churches (e.g., the Yoido Full Gospel Church) are accused of perpetuating shamanistic beliefs and practices in the form of Pentecostal Christianity (Harkness 2010, 2015), my informants' main criticism of their own large Presbyterian church was that, despite its promise of social transformation, it still maintained what they saw as the residue of a Confucian emphasis on ordered, stratified relations.[38] In one particularly sharply worded text message, Minha again cited a Christian essay, writing: "Confucianism created the problem of Koreans' high valuation of honorifics and forms of address." She continued: "The terms hyŏngje and chamae were given by God to Koreans to be able to break away from such

customs."[39] In this sense, the language that she encountered contained the residue of a pre-Christian ideological social system; it was an obstacle to be confronted and overcome with linguistic tools "given by God."

Within the Korean Christian narratives of ethnonational advancement through spiritual enlightenment that I have studied, Korea's transition from poverty to wealth, and from colonial rule and postwar dictatorship to democracy, are situated within a more global and world-historical narrative of the movement of "The Word" through time and space. While Korean Protestants were clear with me that the Bible had come to the peninsula in large part through American and European missionaries in the late 19th century, they were also very clear that it was now Korea's turn to lead the world in evangelism.[40] It was their turn to carry "The Word" to the far edges of the earth.[41] Although my Christian informants did not necessarily glorify American society or American-style Christianity, they did often draw comparisons between Korean Christian communicative practices and the kinds of interactional behaviors they understood to be common among American Christians. Insu made this point explicitly to me, citing the same Christian essay, mentioned above, that he and Minha had been studying together: "The people of our country lead the world with their honorific system and forms of address. One says 'you' in the English-speaking world without [pointing out who is] above or below, but Korean people discriminate [among these things] to an unusual degree."

Younger South Koreans are familiar with North American models of sociality, and the historical links between Protestant organizations in Korea and North America cannot be overemphasized. Many of the first Protestant missionaries to the Korean peninsula were from the US and Canada, and the US has had a military presence on South Korean soil since 1945. During the second half of the 20th century, many of the enormous evangelistic campaigns that contributed greatly to the growth of Protestant Christianity and churches in Korea featured American preachers, such as Billy Graham (Lee 2010). And many prominent church leaders in Korea, including the founding pastor of Insu and Minha's church, have degrees from US seminaries. North America is home to nearly two million ethnic Koreans, and many of the large Korean Churches have satellite churches in North America, with populations that travel back and forth regularly (like the deacon and his family, mentioned above).[42] Insu and Minha had lived for one year in Canada before returning to Seoul. For those who move between the two societies—including many of my friends, colleagues, and

informants—this movement often feels like a manageable but extreme clash between vastly different models of sociality and communication.

For many of these Christians, taking up the mantle of evangelical leadership from the US meant seeing in Korea's future a time when Korean Christians could speak to one another on level ground. My informants narrated this potential future in terms of themselves, their churches, and their society: "I wish I could address other Christians as 'brother' and 'sister,' but I am not comfortable doing that"; "I wish we addressed one another as 'brother' and 'sister' in my church, but we are still quite old-fashioned"; "I wish Koreans could address one another equally, but Korea is not yet an advanced nation [*sŏnjin kuk*]." Such were the kinds of statements that situated Korean individuals, Korean institutions, and Korean society in relation one to another within an ethnonational narrative of Christian enlightenment. Relatively young informants placed the articulated system of status positions and absolute submission to patriarchal authority that their parents and grandparents had known during the decades of military dictatorship in Korea in the past and looked to a future of leveled social interactions based on simplified forms of address. To be clear, this simplification did not necessarily mean the omission of status titles in the church altogether, for example, in favor of address by given names. The central concern was about neither individualism nor informality, but rather about a Christian ideal of the even distribution of status and intimacy via a reformulation of notions of both personal and social maturity.

Conclusion: Kinship Chronotopes

The proposal for simplified forms of address in Korean was a sketch of communication in a Korean social world far different from the one my informants were accustomed to. Not only did it provoke feelings of anxiety of offense in encounters with familiars, it also suggested self-denial of the kinds of niceties of address, based on presuppositions about intimacy and status, that Korean speakers were used to receiving from specific others. Insu's emphasis, thus, was not primarily on the plainness of speech, nor on the referential truth of the terms, nor on literal denotation in general (see, e.g., Bauman and Briggs 2003). His emphasis was on the illocutionary force of address itself, on the indexical entailments of usage in the interactional pragmatics of speech—on the model of social relations between speakers that such terms would project. In technical semiotic

terms, Insu's language ideological starting point was the metapragmatics of the speech of the encounter, rather than the narrower metasemantics of words (see Silverstein 1979, 1987). For a society that places considerable value upon status titles mobilized as address and reference in interaction, along with the elaborate co-occurring, enregistered, multichannel indexes of deference and demeanor that accompanied such titles, this was a proposed massive redistribution of wealth—intimacy and status for all Christians.

The promise of Christianity in the Korean case I describe engaged absolute social rupture while also engaging speakers' notions that one could become a new kind of person, relative to others, again and again by assuming new titles and adjusting honorifics as one lived out a Christian life. Asymmetric sibling terms invoked a chronotope of ideally intimate dyadic relations based on birth order and degrees of kinship distance. Group role designators invoked a chronotope of a more diverse set of social relations based on ongoing activity and relative seniority within a domain of labor. And church rank titles invoked a chronotope of age, longevity of service, and achieved status within a large institution. To many of my Christian informants, these different forms of address, as obligatory elements of a Christian life, interactionally forced them into reflexive alignments with different, sometimes competing chronotopic formulations of social relations.

In a church that claimed to be the very instantiation of modern Christian enlightenment, the terms hyŏngje and chamae, along with a highly restrictive and undifferentiated ascetic pragmatics, were avoided in favor of terms that indexed the institution-internal intimacy and status organized around one's rise through the church and the longevity and intensity of one's social relations. These models of time, space, and personhood emphasized one's actual place in the church—i.e., not only as a Christian, but as half of a dyadic relation, as a member of a group, as a leader of the institution. To address someone as hyŏngje-nim or chamae-nim was to point out the fact that the addressee was a stranger, part of a general mass, an unknown quantity, thereby undermining the very kinship chronotope that these two terms were supposed to invoke. To have intimacy or status in that church was to have a place—to be a person—and thus to have a particular identifiable and differentiable relation to others. To be placeless, or socially positionless, was to be a kind of nobody. I would use the word "ghost" here, were ghosts, or spirits at

least, also not individuated, socially relational beings in Korea. Ghosts often are dissatisfied ancestors, conceptualized and dealt with by the living within a kinship chronotope of their own, e.g., in terms of a lineage (Janelli and Janelli 1982) or a household (Kendall 1985).

The semiotic linkages among forms of address, enregistered honorifics, and chronotopic formulations situate ideologically distilled Protestant Christian discourses of rupture and transcendence within the ethnographic context of a specific language and the communicative enactment of idealized social relations. While the terms hyŏngje or chamae, for Christians like Insu and Minha (after they had attended discipleship training), invoked a large-scale narrative of modern, enlightened society serving as a spiritual center of the world, they also had the potential of erasing the very internal narratives of siblinghood, group role, and church rank that were essential to living a Christian life in Korea and in *Korean*. Combined with enregistered honorifics that were understood to be necessary elements of participation frameworks, different forms of address invoked different chronotopic formulations of aspirational personal and social maturity. In threatening to suppress those elaborate forms of linguistic differentiation that marked an individual person's position relative to others, the basic kinship terms hyŏngje and chamae also threatened to erase the chronotopes of differentiated and differentiable social relations. And the conflict between an ideal kinship chronotope of universal, eternal, egalitarian siblinghood among self-described Christian believers and the actual, perduring chronotopes of moving and manipulable positions, relative and absolute, within a social institution was manifest and reflected upon as a confrontation of language. ■

Acknowledgments:

A shorter version of this article, titled "Intimacy, Status, and the Contradictions of Christian Kinship in South Korea," was presented alongside the other articles in this special collection as part of a session, titled "Kinship Chronotopes," organized by Christopher Ball and myself for the 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association and the 2012 Annual Meeting of the Society for Cultural Anthropology. I am grateful for the helpful comments of Asif Agha, Christopher Ball, Roger Janelli, Sun Joo Kim, Kyung-Nan Koh, Doreen Lee, Michael Prentice, Danilyn Rutherford, and the anonymous reviewers. Research and writing for this article was made possible by a faculty grant from Harvard University's Asia Center, an Academy of Korean Studies Grant funded by the South Korean Government (MEST) (AKS-2011-AAA-2104), and a program of the Social Science Research Council with support of the John Templeton Foundation. The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Social Science Research Council or the John Templeton Foundation.

Endnotes:

[1]Social distance in the Korean kinship grid is reckoned by the number of *ch'on* (nodes or measures) removed a kinsperson is from the ego. Children are one ch'on from their parents and two ch'on from one another. This measurement is lexicalized in some kin terms: an uncle is *samch'on* (three nodes) and a cousin is *sach'on* (four nodes) using Sino-Korean numbers. On Korean kinship, see Lee (1975), Park (1975), Janelli and Janelli (1982), K.-k. Lee (1997), Kim (1998), Kweon (1998), and King (2006).

[2]For more detailed discussions of Korean honorifics, see Brown (2011b), Dredge (1983), Hwang (1990), Kim-Renaud (1986, 1990, 1999, 2001), Martin (1964), and Wang (1984, 1990b).

[3]Usage of a singular "thou," like that adopted by the Society of Friends (Bauman 1983, Silverstein 1995), is restricted in Korea given the general avoidance of second-person indexicals such as *tangsin* or *nŏ*. In accordance with the use of zero-anaphora in Korean, overt address of any kind is less common than in Standard Average European languages and tends to occur under specific conditions (Oh 2007).

[4]See Wang's (1990a) account of kin terminology in North Korea, where hyŏngje is also the unmarked term for sibling; "brother" is *namhyŏngje* (male sibling), and "sister" is *yŏhyŏngje* (female sibling). Wang presents data that suggest divergence from these prescriptive forms in actual usage. See also Grinker (1998:99-126) for an account of discourses of the Korean family in respect of the division between North and South.

[5]Informants commonly pointed to the "rectification of names" (*chongmyŏng*) to explain this sociocultural fact: "There is government when the prince is prince, the minister is minister, when the father is father, and the son is son"; "If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the order of things. If language be not in accordance with the order of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success" (Confucian Analects, Book XII, Ch. XI; Book XIII, Ch. III; see also Luong 1988:239).

[6]Note how this particular Protestant Christian proposal for two basic and universal kinship terms of siblinghood ideologically combines the referential function of the terminologically universal "basic color terms" proposed by Berlin and Kay (1969) and the perfomative effects of a limited number of basic illocutionary act types proposed by John Searle (1969). See Silverstein (2003b:n19).

[7]See Cannell (2005, 2006) on the (potentially overemphasized) topic of asceticism in studies of Christianity.

[8]Whereas Bakhtin dealt with chronotopes as relatively gelid structures in fixed narrative texts such as novels, anthropologists have learned from Bakhtin's insights and now focus on the *chronotopic formulation* as "a sketch of personhood in time and place; and, the sketch is enacted and construed within a participation framework" (Agha 2007b:321). For an example of chronotopy in direct relation to kinship, see Dent's (2007) analysis of the management of hierarchy and egalitarianism and the notion of "country brothers" among musicians in rural Brazil.

[9]This ethnographic perspective anchors in a specific institutional site and overt ideological metadiscourse more generalizing statements sometimes made about Korean society's growing comfort with "egalitarianism" over "hierarchy," especially in contrast to Confucianism's perceived emphasis on ordered, asymmetric relations. For example, Kim-Renaud writes that "The recognition or suggestion of inequality amongst people has become, at least superficially, a taboo in Korean society" (2001:28), and "The most noticeable change is the disappearance of terms and speech styles that imply inequality in power status other than non-threatening inequalities such as seniority and kinship hierarchy" (2001:42). However, the way these relative positions are determined, i.e., the way speakers presuppose the relative status differences and social distances in their interactions, is not merely a function of dyadic relations on their own or of presumptive social essences like "power" or "solidarity" (cf. Brown and Gilman 1960). Rather, speakers rely on a higher indexical order of forms of enregisterment linked to generalizable social relations to determine the appropriate interactional roles in communicative events (Silverstein 2003a). Such cultural models of social relations lead to expectations about social behavior—to sociality—according to folk understandings of kinds of persons and their relations, such as friends, comrades, colleagues, romantic partners, and so on. Koyama has pointed out that "honorifics, which are interactional, are often negatively ideologized by egalitarianism, which, thus, tends to positively valorize 'purely' referential language" (1997:51).

[10]Today, however, these terms, while still used in reference, might be replaced with more overtly honorific titles in address, e.g., referring to male taxi driver as *taeksi ajŏssi*, but addressing him as *kisa-nim*. Rather than calling a waitress ajumma (which does not differentiate speaker gender), a woman might call her ŏnni (older sister of a female), even if the woman is younger than the speaker—but then refer to her as ajumma when speaking to others (see Kim-Renaud 2001:36).

[11]According to the system of patrilineal descent in Korean kinship, terms for patrilineal and matrilineal grandparents can be differentiated by the prefixes *ch'in-* (true) and *oe-* (outside) respectively. This is exemplified by the use of the term *imo* (mother's sister, i.e., matrilineal aunt) rather than *komo* (father's

sister, i.e., patrilineal aunt) as a fictive kinship term to address older women outside the family. It is also common to address elderly men as *sajang-nim*, literally the head of a *hoesa* or company, regardless of the addressee's professional background.

[12]The tropic use of these terms is just the tip of the literal iceberg of kin terminology. Within the family, the terms for siblings and grandparents just discussed figure into an extremely complex system of kin terms (see King 2006 for a helpful kinship chart with terms differentiated by reference and address, patriline and matriline) based on a neo-Confucian model of lineage that was put in place in Korea in the 14th and 15th centuries (Janelli and Janelli 1982, Deuchler 1992).

[13]If one has siblings of both sexes, it is common to use the term *nammae*.

[14]These terms are sometimes associated with Korean Catholics.

[15]In 2008, Insu joked that the members of the choir should all call me *paksa-nim* (PhD), since I was working on my doctoral dissertation at the time.

[16]Pastors often use the term *sŏngdo* (*-nim*), "saint," in the plural to address groups of Christians.

[17]See Chumley and Harkness (2013), Harkness (2013) on the qualia/quality distinction.

[18]I have glossed both *ch'ongmu* and *pujang* as "manager" in English. In Korean organizations, ch'ongmu ordinarily refers to a "general manager" and pujang ordinarily refers to a "department head" or "division manager." See Janelli and Yim (1993:144) for a table of titles used to address employees at a South Korean conglomerate.

[19]See Keane (1997:129-133, 2007:215-217) and Kuipers (1998:95-124) on the role of terms of address (including Christian names and kinship terms), individuation, and baptismal moments related to changes in social status and notions of personal transformation. See Robbins (2004a:301-303) on the role of "relational" terms, rather than fixed-status kinship terms, as forms of Christian address among the Urapmin.

[20]A Presbyterian church is known as *changno kyohoe*, glossable as "elder church."

[21]The church elders assigned each choir a *taejang*, or group elder and representative, drawing from the pool of members with church rank titles. Within the choir, we addressed the taejang as *taejang-nim* for as long as that person filled the group role; once a new person was assigned the role of taejang, we returned to calling the previous taejang by the church rank title.

[22]Increasing numbers of Protestant Christians have left the church altogether (Baker 2006).

[23]On class and postwar modernity in South Korea, see Abelmann (2003), Kendall (1996), Kim (1993), and Nelson (2000).

[24]See http://www.ywam.org/about-us/values; for these phrases in Korean, see http://www.ywamkorea.org/ywam_spirit.php.

[25]The Sino-Korean term chanyŏ is formed by the Chinese characters for son/man and daughter/woman.

[26]In effect, this makes hyŏngje and chamae covert Christian teknonyms. Teknonymy is common as a form of address more generally in Korea (Lee and Kim Harvey 1973). While the church-as-family is a common tropic extension of kin relations among Christians outside of Korea, its ramifications have been quite intense for Korea in particular, where people are often said to "have the tendency to regard almost any organized social institution as a type of family structure" (Park 1975:5). Insu and Minha's church emphasized this dimension of Christian membership with various slogans and events, and even has built a retreat center (*suyanggwan*) just northwest of Seoul, where church members may be cremated and buried together when they die (see Harkness 2014:149-150). And yet when I asked church members if they thought they would be buried there, many replied that they thought not or had not yet decided. Some said, simply, that they would rather be buried with their "real" family.

[27]See Agha (1998) and Irvine (1990, 1992) on ideologies of honorific language more generally. See Caton (1986) on symmetries and asymmetries in Yemeni greeting rituals. See Lempert (2012:76-79) on Habermas's ideology of the "general symmetry conditions" of debate and asymptotically equal access to participant roles.

[28]See Chong (2008) on the emphasis among Korean Christian women on intimacy with God as a route to "opening up" and "healing." See Keane (2007:230) for a Sumbanese perspective on the hubris and arrogance of the Protestant Christian presumption to address and face God directly at all.

[29]The spelling of *Koreans* as *Coreans* is in the original.

[30]This includes now-archaic forms, such as the sentence ending "*-naida*." Three decades ago, Sohn observed the relative simplification of Korean's honorific system; he wrote, "power variables have

significantly weakened and formality has given way considerably to casualness" (1986:392). Sohn discussed, in particular, the transformation of the honorific verbal ending, -naida, from a colloquial reality to an "historical relic," and the emergence of the -yo ending as much more extensive. See also Kim-Renaud (1990, 2001:38-39).

[31]As Don Brenneis pointed out for an "occasionally egalitarian society" in Bhatgaon: "As in *Animal Farm*, however, some are more equal than others. Adolescents are treated with considerably less respect than older, married men" (1978:160).

[32]Kim-Renaud suggests that the -yo sentence ending, along with panmal or "half speech," are "noncommittal in nature by virtue of their not marking a clear-cut ending to indicate the power hierarchy" (1990:251).

[33]On voice quality and communicative interaction, see Harkness (2011, 2014: especially pp. 160-161). One can imagine variations in utterance dependent on the speech situation akin to the account given by Jakobson (1960:354-355) regarding an actor in Stanislavski's Moscow theater who was able to produce 40 different soundshapes on a single phrase to correspond to 40 different "emotional situations."

[34]For instance, Ho-Min Sohn (1986:400) observed in the 1980s that "the productive use of such address-reference terms as *sŏnsaeng* (lit. teacher) to all levels of adults, regardless of their occupation, suggests that Koreans are moving toward egalitarianism." Kim-Renaud (2001:30) observed that the "generic term" sŏnsaeng without the honorific suffix -nim suffix can be used "when no title may be clearly identified" as "a title of deference for both men and women, married or not." In universities, it also is common for a person to address a colleague or a relative junior with the title *kyosu* (professor), sŏnsaeng (teacher), or even paksa (Ph.D.), without the honorific suffix (-nim), and proceed in "half speech," signaling both the institutional status of the addressee and the relational status of the addressee to the speaker.

[35]The 2012 Korean pop hit, "Kangnam Style," demonstrates this, when the singer, Psy, refers to himself as oppa, figuratively transposing the perspectival origo (see Agha 2007a:353-363) from himself to a presumptively younger female addressee. From the song, we know that he is talking to a younger woman. Among politically progressive students on college campuses, some women have addressed older male students as hyŏng (older brother of a male) rather than oppa.

[36]See Stasch on "kin category use [as] a continuous process of complimenting or insulting people's degrees of mutual closeness," particularly in the way the "'great grand-relative' category signifies disconnection more intensely than relatedness, rather than a balance of qualities in which separation is itself a basis of relatedness. Denying relatedness runs against basic interactional imperatives of politeness and moral presence, so the category is shunned" (2009:123). As Ervin-Tripp put it long ago, "if politeness was simply a meaning dimension, there would be no bad effects in erring by being too polite. It is because the deviance from a norm is given a social interpretation that ingratiation can be as insulting as deviance through rudeness" (1976:64).

[37]Han'gŭl was invented by King Sejong (r. 1418–1450), the fourth king of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910), as the "correct sounds for the instruction of the people." See K.-M. Lee (1997), Ledyard (1998), Song (2005:45-50), Kim-Renaud (1997, 1998), and Yeon (2010), for discussions regarding Sejong's role in the creation of Han'gŭl and the possibility of assistance by other scholars.

[38]Despite this characterization, the contemporary church is often characterized as relatively emancipatory when compared with other institutions that are described pejoratively as being even more infused with "traditional" Confucian principles of ordered relations, e.g., schools of music in Korea (see Harkness 2014:141-174).

[39]See Kim-Renaud (1986) on the Confucian legacy in Korean honorifics, and Brown (2011a) for a discussion of, and bibliographic references relating to, ideological efforts in Korea aimed at linking Confucianism with honorifics. Confucianism and the Chosŏn dynasty have been targets of much maligning in 20th century South Korea; see, e.g., Wells (1990), Eckert (2000), Schmid (2002). For an account of how some Korean Christians in Seoul view Confucianism as an object of alterity, see Harkness (2014:141-174).

[40]The Catholic story begins earlier, in 1777, when Korean Confucian scholars began studying Jesuit tract, and in 1784, one of these scholars received a Catholic baptism in Beijing and returned to Korea to evangelize (Baker 2006, Grayson 2006, Ledyard 2006).

[41]See Han (2010, Forthcoming) on ideological frameworks of justification for Korean evangelical missions.

[42]Rates of Protestant church attendance among Koreans in the US far exceed those in Korea. For a discussion of the Christian church as a kind of total institution among Korean students on a US college, see Abelmann (2009:43-65).

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Foreign Language Translations:

Basic Kinship Terms: Christian Relations, Chronotopic Formulations, and a Korean Confrontation of Language
[**Keywords:** Kinship, chronotope, forms of address, honorifics, Christianity, South Korea]

한국 기독교의 기본 친족어: 기독교적 사회관계, 시공간적 표현, 그리고 언어적 대립
주제어: 친족관계, 크로노토프 (시공간), 호칭, 경어, 기독교, 대한민국

基本的亲属关系语汇：基督教人伦关系，时空体性表述，以及韩语中的语言不对等关系
[**关键词**：亲属关系，时空体性，称呼方式，敬语，基督教，南韩]

Termos Básicos de Parentesco: Relações Cristãs, Formulações Cronotópicas, e uma Confrontação Coreana de Linguagem
[**Palavras-Chave:** Parentesco, cronotopo, formas de endereçamento, honoríficos, Cristianismo, Coreia do Sul]

Основные термины родства: христианские формы обращения, хронотипные формулировки, и корейская языковая конфронтация
[**Ключевые слова:** родство, хронотип, формы обращения, почтительное обращение, христианство, Южная Корея]

مصطلحات القرابة الأساسية: العلاقات المسيحية، تركيبات الوقت-الزمان، مواجهة كورية للغة
كلمات البحث: القرابة، الوقت-المكان، أساليب المخاطبة، التشريفات، المسيحية، كوريا الجنوبية