"Deep" Prayer and "Heated" Prayer:
Agency and Sincerity in a Korean Protestant Church

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1. Introduction

This paper explores two prominent metaphors, "deepness" (*kip'ŭm*) and "heat" (*ttŭgŏum*),[1] across Korean Christian prayer genres and discusses how linguistic and religious ideology in Korean Protestant church mediates the relationship between the metaphors. As an ethnography of communication (Hymes 1974), this paper attempts to describe and analyze the patterns of religious speech in a Korean Protestant church in relation to other cultural aspects. Defined in terms of "the perceived distinctiveness of certain interactions, textual practices, or speech situations" (Keane 1997a: 48), religious language does not only show distinctive ways of speaking but also demonstrates the significance of underlying ideologies. Moreover, religious language exemplifies the performative function of speech (cf. Silverstein 1976), in the sense that the act of calling the supernatural is itself constitutive of the addressee rather than merely referring to something pre-exists. This paper examines the use and interpretation of religious speech, especially prayer, which is the most important speech genre in Korean Protestant practice. Specifically, this paper focuses on two prominent metaphors that show significantly different meanings from the common usages in Korea, which reveals the religious ways of analogy within Korean Protestantism.

In order to investigate the meaning and function of the two metaphors across Korean Christian prayer, i.e., "deep" prayer (*"kip'ŭn" kido*) and "heated" prayer (*"ttŭgŏun" kido*), this research centers around two main questions: What kinds of linguistic features of prayer are the metaphors related to? And what language ideology is the relationship between the metaphors based on? Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork at a Korean Protestant church in Seoul, South Korea, from August to November, 2012, this paper will provide an analysis of the general classification and use of prayer genres in Korean church. Based upon the analysis, I argue that (a) the association of the two metaphors to formal linguistic features of prayer is closely linked to Korean Christian notions of agency and sincerity, and (b) the metapragmatic relation between the metaphors reflects the recursive

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process between spiritual agency and human sincerity, which instantiates what I call the Korean Christian cultural model of "susceptible intentionality."

The issues of agency and sincerity have been discussed vigorously in previous works on the anthropology of Christianity (Keane 1997a, 1997b, 2002; Robbins 2001, 2007; Shoaps 2002), where "human agency is not always something people want entirely to celebrate or claim for themselves; they may prefer to find agency in other worlds" (Keane 1997a: 66). In this regard, what I mean by agency in this paper is the "socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001: 112), i.e., Korean Christians' concept of "ability" (*nŭnglyŏk*) or "power" (*him/kwŏnse*) belonging both to spiritual beings and humans. Sincerity, which is commonly understood as the transparent representation of an interior status (Keane 1997b, 2002; Shoaps 2002), can be said to be based on Western referentialist language ideology that assumes authenticity of intention within a person and questions whether it matches the expressed form (Duranti 1993: 216-218). However, Korean Protestant understanding of "sincerity" (*sinsilham*) or "earnestness" (*kanchŏlham*) that I studied shows a somewhat different cultural model of intentionality. Through this paper, I'm going to argue for an alternative view on sincerity that emphasizes the relational, rather than individual, aspect of intention (cf. Rosaldo 1982; Kang 2003), by drawing on an ethnographic case in Korean Protestantism.

Protestant churches in South Korea have the second largest religious population in the nation (18.31% according to national statistics conducted in 2005)[2], and they can be found everywhere from small "pioneer churches" (*kaech'ŏkkyohoe*) among niche neighborhoods to "mega-churches" (*taehyŏngkyohoe*) that are even sometimes directly linked to a subway station—moreover, ten of the world's largest eleven churches are located in Seoul, South Korea.[3] Since they are not only ubiquitous but also dynamic ritual sites of language use, there have been many studies focusing on language in church. However, most of the theological works on language tend to frame their studies by the interests of Christian ethnometapragmatics (Silverstein 1979), i.e., how language should be used to please God. Among some of the pioneering empirical researches on language use in Korean Protestant church, Harkness (2011, 2014) penetrates into subtle ethnographic contexts of interaction and relates the micro linguistic practices to macro social positions, illuminating the semiotic processes between voice and modernity. While following the ethnographic approach, this paper aims to apprehend an overall view of norms and ideologies of language use within a specific church community.

The church studied for this research is a typical middle-sized Methodist[4] church in Seoul. I conducted four months of fieldwork in 2012 at a church whose average number of congregants for the main Sunday service is about two hundred and fifty; whose gender ratio (male:female=44:56) corresponds to the national statistics of Korean Protestants; whose age composition is gradually aging which is regarded as one of the common difficulties among Korean Protestantism; whose socio-economic characteristic is relatively the middle class; and whose members are told to be conservative in terms of theology and reluctant to change. The data in this paper draw on sixty-nine worship services at the church that I recorded and transcribed, and numerous informal interviews with pastors and

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[2] http://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsList_01List.jsp?vwcd=MT–ZTITLE&parentId=A#SubCont (accessed on June 1, 2014).

[3] Lampman, Jane (March 7, 2007). How Korea Embraced Christianity. *The Christian Science Monitor*. http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0307/p14s01-lire.html (accessed on June 1, 2014).

[4] Although the majority of Protestant denomination in Korea is Presbyterianism, both Presbyterian and Methodist denominations share many similar linguistic practices, with some exceptions such as the terms of address and reference for religious duty titles. While the ecclesiastical aspects of Presbyterian churches can vary widely from church to church due to inter-denominational conflicts and splintering, the ones of Methodist churches are relatively standardized and stable, since every respective Methodist church is under supervision by one higher institution.

church members that I conducted to acquire insider knowledge. Although I'm looking into the cases at this church, the pastors and church members are not separated from the wider Korean Christian society, with which they communicate continuously through various kinds of meetings and channels beyond the church boundary.

2. A Classification of Korean Christian Prayer

For Korean Christians, 'prayer' (*kido*) is defined as "a conversation with God." Compared to other major speech genres in Korean Protestant church, i.e., 'sermon' ((*sŏlgyo*) *malssŭm*) which is "a speech on behalf of God" and 'worship song' (*ch'anyang*) "a prayer made with melody," prayer can be analytically re-defined as "a speech addressed to God through words or silence" (see Table 1). As the ultimate addressee is God, prayer is characterized by the highest level of honorifics (Level I in Table 2), which is no longer used in everyday speech except for religious purposes or archaic styles. The use of the highest speech level represents the hierarchical relationship between God and human.

Table 1. Comparison of speech genres in Korean Protestant church

	Sermon	Prayer	Worship Song
Participants	principal: God, author: pastor, animator: pastor[5]	addressee: God	addressee: God
Channels	words	words or silence	songs

Table 2. Speech levels and sentence-ending forms in Korean Protestant church

Speech Levels	Forms			
	Imperative	Interrogative	Declarative	Propositive
Level I	*-ha(si)opsosŏ*	*-haopnikka*	*-haopnaita*	.
Level II	*-hasipsio*	*-hapnikka*	*-hapnita*	*-hasipsita/-hapsita*
Level III	*-haseyo*	*-haseyo/-haeyo*	*-haeyo*	*-haeyo*
Level IV	*-hae*	*-hae*	*-hae*	*-hae/-hacha*

In accordance with Korean Christians' strong emphasis on praying in order to be a Christian, prayer is not a single unitary genre but one that shows a high degree of elaboration and variation in terms of its structure and use. In a setting of worship services at the church I studied, there are eleven subgenres of prayer, whose contextual definitions can be explicated as below for an analysis of their componential features:

1. Lord's Prayer (*Chukidomun*): Defined as "the prayer that Jesus taught us," Lord's Prayer is the most authoritative fixed text that should be recited by a congregation, usually at the end of a service.
2. Apostles' Creed (*Sadosinkyŏng*): Defined as "the confession (*kobaek*) of faith by Apostles," Apostles' Creed is distinguished from prayer in a precise sense. However, it can be included as prayer in a broad sense since it is also a speech to God. Apostles' Creed is practiced as a collective recitation of an authoritative fixed text, usually at the beginning part of a service.
3. Communal Prayer (*Kongdongŭi kido*): At this church, communal prayer refers

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[5] See Goffman (1981) for a discussion of role fractions of speaker: principal, author, and animator.

to a prayer of repentance written by the church every week in order to be read aloud by its congregation. Communal prayer is disseminated through a weekly leaflet (*chubo*) and its recitation takes place in the main Sunday service which is the most formal and important assembly.

4. Representative Prayer (*Taep'yokido*): Representative prayer is a prayer made by a representative person who is designated in advance so as to prepare for it. While he prays on behalf of all the participants, the rest of the congregation not only listens to but also participates in the prayer by saying "Amen" as back channel cues. It is one of the most important duties for any Christian to do a representative prayer, and one with higher religious status is likely to do the prayer in a more formal and important service.

5. Opening Prayer (*Kiwŏn*): Opening prayer is a kind of representative prayer, performed by a minister at the beginning of a service to ask God for blessing the service.

6. Closing Prayer (*Mamurikido*): Closing prayer is a kind of representative prayer, performed by a minister after a sermon or group prayer to summarize the previous phase.

7. Offering Prayer (*Ponghŏnkido*): Offering prayer takes place after the offering time, as a pastor ascribes gratefulness to God on behalf of the congregants and asks God's blessing for them as an entitled intermediary between God and human.

8. Benediction (*Ch'ukdo*): Benediction must be performed by an entitled pastor, since it is not only a prayer acted on behalf of a congregation but also a declaration (*sŏnp'o*) of God's promise of blessing on behalf of God. Benediction constitutes the most sacred moment in the sequence of a service and appears in a formal and official assembly, often as a replacement of the closing phase of a service, Lord's Prayer.

9. Group Prayer (*T'ongsŏngkido*): Group prayer refers to a prayer acted by a group of people who each pray their own improvisational prayer out loud, usually accompanied by background music. People may gather their minds in group prayer while praying for communal topics provided by a pastor. Usually, group prayer takes place in a relatively informal gathering.

10. Glossolalia Prayer (*Pangŏnkido*): Defined as "a secret conversation with God," glossolalia prayer is believed by my informants to be possible for only those who receive the gift of tongues. Glossolalia prayer shares similar poetic features with spontaneous group prayer since it usually appears during group prayer. The most distinctive feature of glossolalia prayer is unintelligibility, which demonstrates that it is not a person who is responsible for the prayer but the Holy Spirit.

11. Silent Prayer (*Ch'immukkido*): Silent prayer is a prayer in silence, regarded as the most difficult and private prayer. At this church, silent prayer does not appear except for the main Sunday service, and it creates one of the most sacred moments in which everyone should repent of the sin of not following God's will.

By employing the method of componential analysis (Goodenough 1967; Wallace and Atkins 1960; Frake 1961, 1964; Wang 1992), I analyzed these eleven subgenres of prayer and differentiated them into five categories by three dimensions of contrast: vocality, plannedness[6], and authorship (see Table 3). As described at length below, prayer genres for each category share similarities in terms of formality both in text and setting (cf. Irvine 1979).

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[6] As Ochs (1979) defined written text and oral text as planned discourse and unplanned discourse, the typical way for Korean Christians to perform a planned prayer is to read a written prayer text.

Table 3. A classification of prayer genres in Korean Protestant church

Dimensions of Contrast	Categories				
	I	II	III	IV	V
vocality	+	+	+	+	−
plannedness	+	+	−	−	(+/−)
authorship	−	+	+	−	(+/−)
	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
Subgenres of Prayer	1. Lord's Prayer 2. Apostles' Creed 3. Communal Prayer	4. Representa-tive Prayer 5. Opening Prayer 6. Closing Prayer 7. Offering Prayer 8. Benediction	9. Group Prayer	10. Glossolalia Prayer	11. Silent Prayer

For the first category, three subgenres are included, which are 'Lord's Prayer,' 'Apostles' Creed,' and 'Communal Prayer.' Although they are different in terms of author – Jesus, Apostles, and the church – they share common features. They are read aloud by a congregation, have a fixed text, and are not written by the prayers themselves ([+vocality], [+plannedness], [−authorship]). These subgenres are the most formal prayers that should be learned and repeated verbatim by even a child or a novice. They usually serve the most basic formal function in a service.

For the second category, five subgenres are included, which are 'Representative Prayer,' 'Opening Prayer,' 'Closing Prayer,' 'Offering Prayer,' and 'Benediction.' Although different in terms of speaker and purpose, they display similar formal features. They are performed verbally by one speaker who has already prepared for the prayer ([+vocality], [+plannedness], [+authorship]), in which the rest of the congregation participates by closing their eyes, lowering their heads, and uttering "Amen" as back channel cues. Even if a speaker can make his own prayer, he should follow some strict patterns of praying for each subgenre of this category. Thus, the text usually shows high refinement in terms of structure and expression. These subgenres serve the most liturgical function in a service where the attendance is mandatory and counted as official for the church members.

The third category consists of 'Group Prayer,' which is verbally spoken, spontaneous, and made by the prayer himself ([+vocality], [−plannedness], [+authorship]). When people do group prayer, they each speak their own improvisational prayer out loud while accompanied by background music, so it is as if they burst into voices of prayer. Usually, a pastor gives a communal topic so that people can gather their minds while praying in a group. This prayer genre takes place in a more informal setting where a relatively small number of socialized and faithful members are likely to attend. The text of the prayer is less refined, but its intense and fluent paralinguistic features attain high significance since they are regarded as religious exaltation.

The fourth category can be labeled as 'Glossolalia Prayer,' which exhibits spontaneous oral text and absence of authorship of the prayer ([+vocality], [−plannedness], [−authorship]). It is believed that humans cannot choose the code nor the content of glossolalia, as it is believed that they are made to pray for what God wants them to pray if they speak in tongues. The text of glossolalia is mainly characterized by unintelligibility, which in turn makes the context intelligible and enhances the sacredness of the prayer (cf.

Kang 2007). This genre often appears during group prayer, so the setting is usually informal as in the third category and the participants are mostly devoted church members.

The last category is 'Silent Prayer,' which is not spoken outside ([–vocality]). Silent prayer is understood as the most difficult prayer, since a person can be distracted while praying in silence unless his faith is strong enough. Only after years have passed and faith has grown considerably can a person concentrate on silent prayer, according to the Korean Christian explanation. Silent prayer is considered to be the most private prayer, hence it hardly appears in a service as an official phase. However, if it appears in a service, it constitutes the most sacred moment during which all sound is muted as if everything stops. This renders the ultimate expression of the absence of human agency.

Based on the above classification of Korean Christian prayer genres, I will discuss in the next section how the metaphors of "deepness" and "heat" can be coherently related to formal linguistic features of prayer by the religious ways of analogy in Korean Protestant church. To present an outline, "deepness" means a decrease in formality that indexes an increased degree of spiritual agency of God while human power is suppressed, and "heat" refers to intense paralinguistic features which are taken to be icons of the intensified sincerity in human heart (*maŭm*) while the Holy Spirit motivates it.

3. Metaphors and Linguistic Features of Korean Christian Prayer

3.1. "Deepness": Decrease in Formality as Spiritual Agency

Korean Christians explain "deep" prayer as a prayer in which God engages "deeply" so that He makes a person pray for what He wants. It is of the highest value in Korean Protestantism to communicate "deeply" with God, which means putting down oneself and following God. My Korean Christian informants often assert that every prayer can and should be "deep." Still, they do not regard every subgenres of prayer as being imbued with the same "deepness," as they clearly differentiate the degree of "deepness" for each prayer genre in terms of the formal variation of textual features and contextual settings.

For instance, they say that 'Lord's Prayer' (Category I) is the most formal prayer that is recited almost automatically. It is the most basic prayer that even a child should memorize the archaic forms verbatim; it is also said that people cannot pray "deeply" in 'Representative Prayer' (Category II), since the prayer must be broad enough to embrace the wide range of participants. The content cannot be so specific but only general and conventional, and this genre plays a significant role in a formal service such as the main Sunday service; 'Group Prayer' (Category III) is "deeper" since participants can pray for their personal concerns along with communal issues. The gathering in which group prayer takes place is usually a less formal meeting, e.g., Friday night prayer meeting, which more socialized and faithful members are likely to attend; 'Glossolalia Prayer' (Category IV) is again "deeper," as the code and content are believed to be endowed by God. It is said that a person can converse with God in secret through glossolalia, and this genre often appears during group prayer in a less formal gathering; finally, 'Silent Prayer' (Category V) is the "deepest" since it is regarded as an extreme suspension of human power which allows the will of God to be pursued. Silent prayer is mostly an informal and private prayer that retains high sacredness, which they say only faithful Christians can do appropriately.

In going from the first to the fifth category, the subgenres of prayer show a tendency in which formality decreases both for text and setting. In other words, a spectrum is found that ranges from the most fixed text and formal situation to the most spontaneous text and informal situation. This range also corresponds to an increased degree of socialization to the church community and the religious beliefs, from which believers learn to rely "deeply" on God and suspend their own power so that God can work instead (Table 4). Compared to

other ethnographic cases that relate increase in formality to authority of the sacred or ancestral (Gossen 1974; Chafe 1993), Korean Christians primarily relate decrease in formality to spiritual agency of God, since they regard informality, as an expression of the absence of human manipulation, indexes the enactment of God. The prototypical "deep" prayer is 'Silent Prayer' where human defers the most so that spiritual agency can be manifested.

Table 4. The classification and evaluation of Korean Christian prayer genres
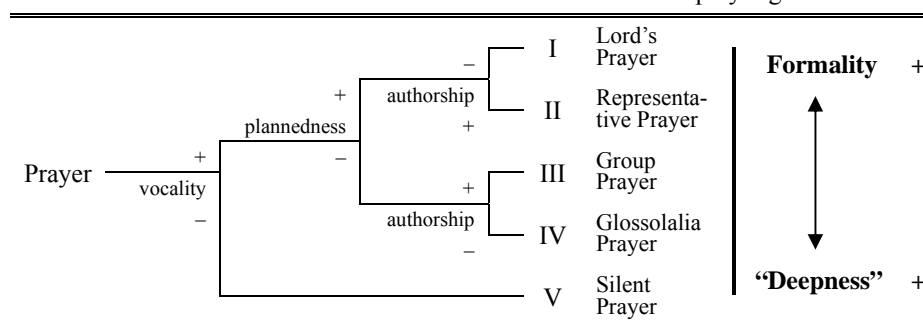
3.2. "Heat": Vocal Intensity as Human Sincerity

In the Korean Christian context I observed, "heated" prayer means a prayer through which a person expresses out his earnest "heated" heart as inspired by the Holy Spirit. The metaphor of "heat" is imbued with high value as the expression of inner sincerity. Sometimes, the verbal behavior of 'crying out' (*purŭjitta*) that most characterizes "heated" prayer can even substitute for the cover term 'praying' (*kidohada*) itself. Of course, not all of prayer genres are performed as crying out; rather, vocal intensity, or "heat," is one of the major poetic devices that differentiate the subgenres of prayer.

To provide a general picture of the use of poetic devices in Korean Christian prayer, the prayer genres of audible text (Categories I to IV) can be grouped into two encompassing categories by the dimension of plannedness. Tentatively labeled as planned written text (Categories I and II) and unplanned oral text (Categories III and IV) (cf. Ochs 1979), each encompassing category shows distinctiveness in terms of its poetic structures and paralinguistic features. Through an analysis from the perspective of ethnopoetics (Hymes 1981) of Korean Christian prayer texts that are organized poetically by the principle of equivalence (Jakobson 1960: 358), I found that there is a complementary distribution of parallelism and repetition in relation to the degree of formality (Bae 2014). In other words, parallelism is dominant for planned prayers in a formal service, and repetition is salient for unplanned prayers in a less formal gathering.

As Sherzer (1990: 19) defines parallelism as the patterned repetition with variation of sounds, forms, and meanings, Excerpt (1) planned prayer in Table 5 below demonstrates an exquisite use of semantic-grammatical parallelism. First, verse a shows the parallelism of contrast between good and evil; second, verse c shows a triplet of the same grammatical unit with variation of equivalent meanings ("hold–rescue–embrace"); last, the use of a triplet is also found within each line d1 ("home–church–society") and line d2 ("love out of hatred–harmony out of conflict–peace out of anxiety"). Generally speaking, Korean Protestant churches are marked by the refined use of triplets in formal discourses. In addition, the planned prayers are characterized by literary styles of speech tone, since they are usually performed by a person or a group reading aloud a written prayer text in a formal service.

By contrast, Excerpt (2) unplanned prayer shows prominent use of verbatim repetition, e.g., lines 1, 2, and 6 ("please be with us"); lines 7–10 ("please comfort us"); lines 3–5 and 11–13 ("*yororia siroria siroria siroria siroria*"); and recurrent vocatives ("Father" and "Lord"). The poetic features of glossolalia prayer in lines 3–5 and 11–13 resemble the ones of group prayer, since both genres appear in interchangeable ways. In short, for the unplanned prayers, the device of repetition is mainly exploited and the prayer shows high fluency, which contribute to the continuance of a spontaneous prayer in a relatively informal setting. As the behavior of praying itself rather than the content becomes important, these unplanned prayers are often marked by vociferous sound. The intense paralinguistic feature that is distinctive of this category is commonly understood by Korean Christians as "heat."

Table 5. Examples of parallelism and repetition in Korean Christian prayer

(1)	An excerpt of planned 'Representative Prayer'	(2)	An excerpt of unplanned 'Group Prayer' and 'Glossolalia Prayer'
	……		……
a1	You said that one who acts good belongs to God, /	1	Father, Lord, please be with us.
a2	and one who acts evil cannot be faced with God. //	2	Father, Lord, please be with us.
b1	Oh, Lord, /	3	Father, *yororia siroria siroria siroria siroria*
b2	I am very much scared and shuddered that I haven't lived befitting to God's will. //	4	*yororia siroria siroria siroria siroria*
		5	Father, *yororia siroria siroria siroria siroria siroria*
c1	Please hold us, (Amen) /	6	Lord, please be with us.
c2	rescue us, (Amen) /	7	Lord, please comfort us.
c3	and embrace us. (Amen) //	8	Lord, please comfort us.
d1	From everywhere in our homes, church, and society, /	9	Lord, please comfort us.
d2	we sincerely hope for love out of hatred, harmony out of conflict, and peace out of anxiety, /	10	Lord, please comfort us.
		11	Father, *yororia siroria siroria siroria siroria siroria*
		12	Father, *yororia siroria siroria siroria siroria siroria*
d3	so please make it real by the power of the Holy Spirit. (Amen)	13	Father, *yororia siroria siroria siroria siroria siroria*
	……		……

The reason that Korean Christians equate vocal intensity to "heat" is based on their metaphorical thinking that the degree of volume in voice iconizes the degree of "heat" in one's heart (volume:voice="heat":heart). Korean Christians think people get "heated" when the Holy Spirit comes into oneself and inspires one's heart, and once you get "heated," you cannot help but shout out your earnest and sincere heart. Thus, the more intensity a voice shows, the more sincerity a person exhibits. The most typical "heated" prayer is 'Group Prayer,' as much as both terms can be understood as homonyms.

4. Language Ideology and the Cultural Model of Korean Christian Prayer

To summarize the previous section, "deep" prayer is typically 'Silent Prayer' where formality decreases the most, and "heated" prayer is mostly 'Group Prayer' where vocal intensification is the strongest. These two metaphors are basically distinctive concepts and related to different formal features. That being said, it is paradoxical that Korean Christians often say that if you pray "deeply," you'll get "heated," and if you pray "heatedly," you'll get "deepened." In other words, Korean Christians consider the two

metaphors are not only compatible but also mutually reinforcing. But how can they reinforce each other, if 'Silent Prayer' is the most calm and reserved prayer and 'Group Prayer' is the most noisy and energetic prayer? This metapragmatic account cannot be understood without further analysis of language ideology.

In Korean Christian language ideology, language is a performative act susceptible to either spiritual intention or human intention. That is, a speech is equated with power, and it can be made by supernatural being as well as human beings. "Deep" prayer is the case when human intention is suspended so that the spiritual being can be influential, and "heated" prayer is when the Holy Spirit inspires so that human sincerity is evinced through voice. It can be said that the spirit and human compete with each other, in a sense that they use the same means of speech. In this regard, there seems to be an exclusive relation between prayer agents and prayer forms, as spiritual agency seems to lead to "deep" prayer and human sincerity seems held for "heated" prayer.

However, things become reversed at a more fundamental level. Spiritual agency can lead to "deep" prayer only when humans perform their own agency by denying their power, i.e., they actively work to suppress their own sense of agency—as a way of performing their agency. This sounds paradoxical, but Korean Christians use very strong agentive verbs and phrases, such as "You should determine to get rid of yourself and make an effort to obey God's will." That is, active human determination not to act is required for the operation of spiritual agency. As such, human sincerity can be manifested through "heated" prayer only when the Holy Spirit motivates one's heart. The reason that the "heated" vocal intensity achieves sacredness is because it is not only a human action but also a spiritual performance.

This double reverse creates complementary recursivity[7] between the two metaphors as shown in Figure 1. Human sincerity or agency contributes to spiritual agency in "deep" prayer, and spiritual agency contributes to human sincerity in "heated" prayer. In this way, both God and human can engage in prayers at the same time, which supports the conversational definition of prayer and constructs a multiple agentive process in prayer. In short, a single actor's agency or intention is not sufficient in producing a prayer. Rather, Korean Christians assume that human and spiritual agents work simultaneously in praying and are always both influencing and influenced by each other. It is expected that both agents should be always alert to each other's will, or always susceptible to each other's intentions.

Figure 1. Korean Christian cultural model of "susceptible intentionality"
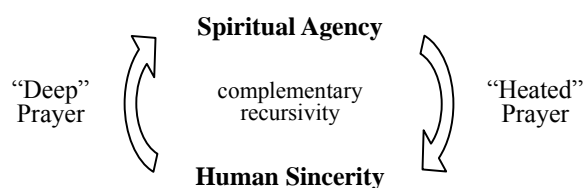
In their ideal discourse, the Korean Christians I knew often said that you should ask what God wants and should put down your own desires. In addition, it can be interpreted

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[7] I coined the term by drawing on the concept of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38) that means the recursive projection of the same logic onto different levels, since I regard the process found in Korean Christian prayer as the recursion of the same logic in complementary ways.

that God also relies on human decisions, since Korean Christians admit that God cannot make a person convert by force but should depend on one's determination. Here comes the Korean Christian cultural model of "susceptible intentionality,"[8] which focuses on how intention is and should be influenced by the outside, rather than assumes something untainted inside one's mind. Moreover, in Korean Christians' ideal norms, it is highly valued when a person pursues others' desires and intentions on behalf of them, rather than claims one's own interest. In this religious context, the meaning of sincerity refers to the willingness to be susceptible to the external Holy Spirit, which emphasizes the relational aspect of intention-creation.[9]

5. Conclusion

Through an analysis of the metaphors across Korean Christian prayer in relation with contextual settings and cultural norms, this paper demonstrates the cultural-specific way of conceptualization of relational intentionality. To compare with other ethnographic cases of the anthropology of Christianity which dealt with the issue of sincerity, Sumbanese converts show the creation of an autonomous subjectivity via the introduction of sincere speech that is different from parroting the traditional ritualized speech (Keane 1997b, 2002); Urapmin people show how sincere speech can not only represent interiority but also function as a medium between people, since they can trust words that are addressed to God (Robbins 2001, 2007). My work also attempts to examine how the concept of sincerity is understood and recreated within a specific religious speech community. This Korean Christian case suggests an alternative view different from the transparent referentiality of Western language ideology that assumes the inherent creation of intention within a person. By investigating the genre structure of prayers and its relation to the metaphors in Korean Protestantism, this paper illuminates how intention itself can be understood as relational or even susceptible, through which the religious interaction between the spirit and human can be constantly reinforced and recreated.

Since having mainly concentrated on the norms and ideologies in a Korean Protestant church, this paper calls for further works to relate these results to broader sociocultural contexts in Korea. Some of the possible questions include: Is the cultural model of "susceptible intentionality" exclusive to the religious world in Korean Christianity, or is it prevalent in Korean culture in general? Is there any correlation between the widespread emphasis on hierarchical relationships in Korean society and the emphasis on the relational intentionality in Korean Protestantism? How is intention conceptualized in other religious contexts in Korea beyond Christianity, and what can those conceptions of intentionality tell us about the features of Korean religious language? Clearly, all of these questions could not be answered at once, yet more in-depth studies on language practices and ideologies in Korean religions would seem promising to help not only broaden and deepen our understanding of Korean culture and society but also contribute to the comprehension of religious language in general.

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[8] Although there is no exact emic term for this concept, Korean Christians' emphasis on "human determination to obey God's will (*Hananimǔi ttǔse sunjonghagoja hanǔn in'ganǔi kyǒltan*)" clearly implies the relational intentionality both for the spirit and human. In other words, the spirit must be susceptible to human determination, and humans should be influenced by God's will.
[9] Still, the degree of being susceptible does not seem the same for God and human. The more pressure is imposed upon human to follow God's will rather than God subject to human desire, which can be understood as the representation of the asymmetrical power relations or the hierarchical order between God and human.

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