

PERSON REFERENCES IN KOREAN

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is an empirical study on how people refer to themselves, their recipients, and others in everyday Korean conversation. Person reference is a domain of conversation where we observe an essential aspect of human sociality as it is a vehicle through which we indicate our relationships with each other and perform a myriad of other social actions. As person reference is done using a distinct set of linguistic resources available in each language, it is also an important site of cross-linguistic research. Despite its potential to offer insight into how language, culture, and social interaction intersect, research on person reference in languages other than English has been sporadic. This study aims to contribute to the literature by investigating how various referential expressions are used to accomplish social actions, such as assessing, challenging, or persuading, in Korean.

The study employs the analytic framework of conversation analysis (CA) to analyze approximately 15 hours of video-recorded data, 50 hours of telephone conversations, and a few instances of text messages. My findings show that various marked referring expressions for speaker, recipient, and others are used to accomplish

diverse social actions in Korean. First, marked first-person expressions are used to launch a new topically-fitted telling, present others' perspectives in the environment of advancing a position, and resist the terms of a question. Second, overt reference to recipient is used to mark newsworthiness of speculation made about the recipient and to challenge the recipient's entitlement claimed in a prior utterance. Finally, switching between unmarked referential form for non-present others and marked quasi-pronouns (QPs) occurs when a telling about the referent transitions between reporting and assessing of action or state. The findings of this study not only contribute to the literature of person reference in social interaction but also benefit practitioners in Korean as a Second or Foreign Language (KSL/KFL) by offering a useful description of how various referential forms in Korean can be employed to achieve a speaker's interactional agenda.

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DEDICATION

To my parents

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GHS

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I – INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the words we say most frequently in our daily lives are the ones that refer to persons—persons like me, you, and other people. Words like “I,” “you,” “he,” “my teacher,” or “Stella” seem so mundane and unremarkable that they escape our attention or even awareness. Those words are also considered very ‘basic’—any foreign language learners might expect to learn how to say “I,” “you,” “he,” or “she” in the first class. Students who are told there are no exact equivalents to “he” or “she” in a certain language will get nervous wondering what monstrous grammar might be lurking behind the “no exact equivalents” for such simple words. Certainly, these words seem basic, since without knowing how to refer to persons, you won’t be able to hold, or indeed even begin, a conversation.

‘Basic’ does not necessarily mean automatic. A speaker may have to refer to the same person differently depending on whom s/he is talking to. A dad who is asking his little child where his wife is would probably say something like “Where’s (your) mom?” but not “Where’s Stella?” Behind such word choices, there may be the reasoning that “(your) mom” makes it easier for a child to understand who is being searched for. Tailoring referring expressions to specific circumstances is not limited to talking to children. You would probably not broach the topic of your friend Natalie’s wedding by saying “Natalie’s wedding is next month” to a person who does not know this Natalie.

Certain ways of referring to persons can suggest that something more than just referring is going on. When I was working as an office worker in Korea, my boss’s colleague would call my office and look for “Director Chung,” my boss—using his

professional title plus surname, as one would normally be addressed in a professional setting in Korea. However, one day when something went very wrong between the two offices, he asked for “Chung Sangchel”—my boss’s full name—on the phone instead of “Director Chung.” Even if I knew nothing about what was going on, when I heard my boss’s full name being uttered, I sensed something unpleasant was about to happen.

Reference to persons, then, can tell us a lot about the relationships among the speaker, the addressee, and the person who is being referred to. It also informs us about the circumstances in which the reference is being made, and what the speaker intends by referring to the referent in a particular way—is the speaker simply referring or slipping in something extra while doing so? If the latter, *what* more is being conveyed? In other words, reference to persons is an important resource for navigating social relations (Stivers, Enfield, & Levinson, 2007)—something a competent speaker of a language manages effortlessly on a daily basis without conscious awareness. But suppose you are learning a foreign language whose grammar is different to the extent that even pronouns are not directly translatable, e.g., there is no such word in that language that corresponds to “he” in English. That foreign language is Korean, and the difficulty in learning and helping learners to navigate social relations through these little words is what motivated this project.

Statement of the Problem

Learning a foreign language that is typologically very different from one’s mother tongue sometimes requires re-conceptualizing states, events, or thoughts that you want to

express. For example, a simple sentence like “Lisa has long hair” is translated into Korean as:

Lisa-nun meli-ka kil-ta.
 Lisa-TOP hair-SUB long-DEC
 Lisa has long hair.

If this sentence is translated back to English, it will be “As for Lisa, hair is long.”¹ It is less about Lisa possessing long hair, and more about Lisa being in “the state of long hair.” Putting aside potential cognitive consequences of different ways of coding information, typological differences pose a challenge for language instructors who are responsible for helping students learn strikingly new ways of expressing themselves. And for many instructors of Korean as a Foreign Language (KFL), this is arguably the biggest pedagogical challenge they encounter.

Person reference is a domain of conversation in which Korean differs strikingly from English. Learning how to refer to people appropriately in various situations in Korean is not a straightforward endeavor for many English-speaking learners. For example, the Korean grammar makes fine distinctions regarding the social statuses of interlocutors with a set of linguistic resources—hierarchical first- and second-person pronouns, extended use of kinship terms, professional titles with or without an honorific marker, and various combinations of a demonstrative plus a noun phrase (NP) that indicates categories (*quasi-pronouns*, to be defined below). In English, these distinctions are usually “masked” by words such as *I*, *you*, *she*, or *they* (Schegloff, 1996, p. 447). Therefore, in Korean, figuring out what referring formulation is appropriate for oneself,

¹ The topic marker *nun* here can be translated as “as for” in English, and the subject marker *ka* roughly corresponds to “is.”

one's addressee, and the person being talked about in a given situation first requires careful appraisal (be it conscious or unconscious) of the situation on the part of a speaker.

Another complication is that in Korean, many elements of a sentence/utterance that are obligatory in English *can* be omitted “if they are recoverable from sentential, discourse or situational contexts” (Sohn, 1999, p. 400). The omissible elements include the subject of a sentence/utterance (Cho, Lee, Schulz, Sohn, & Sohn, 2010; Sohn, 1999; Park, 2016). In fact, omitting a referent, or the use of *zero anaphora* (to be defined below), is introduced quite early in many KFL curricula. The most widely-used KFL textbook in the U.S. universities, *Integrated Korean, Beginning 1* (Cho et al., 2010a), includes in the first chapter an exercise of introducing oneself to a partner while trying to “avoid redundancy as much as you can” (p. 44). Although useful guidelines, “contextually recoverable” and “avoiding redundancy” fail to capture the full range of complex motivations that prompt a Korean speaker to articulate or omit subjects as s/he is engaged in talk-in-interaction (e.g. Oh, 2002, 2007a, 2007b, 2010). For instance, a speaker may explicitly articulate the referent despite redundancy in order to perform a certain social action (e.g. Oh, 2007a). Thus, the Korean grammar offers speakers an option that is not normally available in English (i.e., using zero anaphora), which makes it necessary to know what differences exist, if any, between omitting and articulating the referent in a given context.

Explaining the “rules” of person reference in Korean is difficult, not only because they are very different from those in English, but, more importantly, because many of them fall in the realm of tacit practices (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). An instructor who needs to explain how a particular term sounds in a particular context usually relies on

his/her intuition. Although there is a large body of literature on the Korean person reference system (e.g. Chang, 1977; Kang, 1986; Lee, 1992; Park, 1997), most of the studies offer a long list of possible reference forms that can be used in various hypothetical situations. Both intuition and normative rule explication can be useful, but what is missing is an understanding of what speakers actually say, for what purpose, at various moments of interaction, given such a vastly different set of linguistic resources.

This project is intended to address that gap. As will be seen, there is a handful of studies that investigated person reference in actual talk-in-interaction in Korean (e.g. Oh, 2002, 2007a, 2007b, 2010). Although these studies offer valuable insights into how Korean speakers refer to themselves, their addressees, and others, many questions still remain.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to discover and describe implicit practices employed by Korean speakers when they refer to people during conversation. Above, I described how 1) Korean speakers formulate referring expressions differently according to the contexts of interaction and the actions being done through utterances; and 2) the Korean language offers a distinct set of linguistic resources to do this. What exactly, then, does the use of person reference look like in Korean? This question will be most fruitfully explored by investigating how speakers actually use references in naturally occurring interaction. In this study, I conduct just such an investigation by asking two specific research questions.

Research Questions:

- (1) In referring to speaker and recipient, how is overt reference used?
- (2) In referring to others, how are full NPs and quasi-pronouns used?

Definition of Terms

Zero anaphora. Zero anaphora is a morphologically unrealized referential form (Oh, 2002, 2007a). Below is an example of using zero anaphora (ϕ) for reference to ‘Lisa.’

- A: 리사는 어느 과목을 제일 좋아하니?
 Lisa-TOP subject-ACC most like-Q
 Which subject does Lisa like the best?
- B: → ϕ 수학을 제일 좋아해.
 (SUJ) math-ACC most like-DEC
 (She) likes math the most.

Korean is one of a few languages (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Thai, etc.) where subjects and objects of a sentence/utterance can be omitted. In linguistics, the omission is considered as arguments taking the null form, and the null form is believed to be a substitute for pronouns. Thus, such omission has been given names that reflect this view throughout the literature—*zero anaphora*, *zero pronominal*, or *pro* (Han, 2006). In this study, I will use the term *zero anaphora* for morphologically unexpressed references to speaker, recipient, and third persons in talk-in-interaction.

Zero anaphora is considered the most natural referential form for a referent that has already been introduced into the discourse in languages such as Chinese (Chen, 1986; Li & Thompson, 1979; Li, 1997) and Thai (Chanawangsa, 1986). It is also claimed that the use of zero anaphora creates topic continuity in discourse (e.g. Givón, 1983; Hwang, 1983; Li & Thompson, 1981). Many studies done in Korean examined zero anaphora

primarily in terms of its function in written discourse (e.g. Choi, 1991) or modeling antecedent resolution process (e.g. Han, 2006; Hong, 2002; Kim, M. K., 1999; O’Grady, 1987; Ryu, 2000). How zero anaphora is used in conversation in naturally occurring interaction is largely unexplored, except for a partial sketch provided by Oh (2002, 2007b, 2010) regarding reference to third persons. Some researchers claim that zero anaphora is the default referential option in Korean (Chang, 1978), while the findings of other studies (Oh, 2002, 2007a) suggest that such a claim may need some qualification or additional specification.

Quasi-pronouns. The definition of a quasi-pronoun in this study follows that in Oh’s work (2002, 2007b, 2010). Oh conducted a set of studies that investigated person reference in Korean conversation. Pointing out the extremely limited usage of Korean third-person pronouns *ku* ‘he’ and *kunye* ‘she’ in actual conversation, Oh coined a term for a group of forms that is much more frequently used to refer to third persons—quasi-pronouns. A quasi-pronoun is composed of a demonstrative followed by a general noun.

The demonstratives include proximal *i* ‘this,’ medial *ku* ‘that,’ and distal *ce* ‘that over there.’ On the most basic level, the demonstratives denote physical distances. Thus, *i* is used to indicate a person/object that is close to the speaker; *ku*, one close to the addressee; *ce*, one far from both the speaker and the addressee. In addition to deictic function, demonstratives also have an anaphoric function. When used anaphorically, *ku* is used as the default to refer to a person, a thing, or an event previously mentioned (Chang, 1978; Kim, 1994). *I* has a more limited use in the anaphoric context. Kim (1994) maintains that *i* is used when the speaker assumes that the referent is not known to the addressee. Chang (1978) suggests that *i* may be used in anaphoric personal reference to

add vividness to the narrative, by talking about the referent as if s/he were ‘here.’ As will be mentioned in the next chapter, the interactional meanings of demonstratives seem to derive from a metaphorical extension of physical distances denoted by each demonstrative (Oh, 2007b). *Ce* is not used in the anaphoric context.

Nouns that are modified by a demonstrative include various categorical terms that a speaker chooses to denote the referent. The most commonly used nouns include words that mean ‘person,’ e.g., *salam* ‘person,’ *pun* ‘esteemed person,’ *i* ‘respectable person,’² and *ai/ay* ‘child.’ *Ai/ay* ‘child’ is frequently used to refer to a person who is in a close/informal relationship with the speaker regardless of the actual age of the referent. Other category terms such as *namca* ‘man’ and *yeca* ‘woman,’ derogatory terms such as *casik*, *nom*, and *nyen*, are also used to form quasi-pronouns. Kinship terms such as *oppa* ‘older brother,’ *enni* ‘older sister,’ *halapeci* ‘grandfather’ can also combine with a demonstrative. Below is the basic pattern of forming a quasi-pronoun (Sohn, 1999, p. 207).

Table 1. Quasi-Pronouns in Korean

	Singular	Plural
‘Person’	D- <i>ai/ay</i>	D- <i>ay-tul</i>
	D- <i>salam</i>	D- <i>salam-tul</i>
	D- <i>i</i>	D- <i>i-tul</i>
	D- <i>pun</i>	D- <i>pun-tul</i>
‘Man’	D- <i>namca</i>	D- <i>namca-tul</i>
‘Woman’	D- <i>yeca</i>	D- <i>yeca-tul</i>

*D stands for a demonstrative (*i*, *ku*, or *ce*)

** *tul* is a plural marker

² The distinction between *pun* and *i* as meaning ‘esteemed person’ and ‘respectable person’, respectively, is an interpretation by Sohn (1999). Other scholars may use different words to distinguish between these two nouns. Generally speaking, *pun* is more commonly used than *i* in spoken language. Both *pun* and *i* certainly mark honorification, unlike the neutral *salam* ‘person.’

In certain situations, English speakers also use a noun preceded by a demonstrative to refer to a person (i.e., “that man,” “this girl,” etc.). However, Oh (2002) notes that the uses of these NPs are quite different from the demonstrative-N forms of Korean. First, the use of the demonstrative-N forms are much more frequent in Korean than that of NPs such as “this man” are in English. Second, it appears that demonstrative-N forms are being grammaticalized into pronouns, and some in particular appear to be in a later stage of this process. For example, both phonological and morphological contractions are observed with the noun *ai/ay* ‘child’ when it is combined with a demonstrative (e.g. *ku + ai/ay* → *kyay*; *i + ai/ay* → *yay*; *ce + ai/ay* → *cyay*). In fact, *kyay*, *yay*, and *cyay* all exhibit many of the properties associated with grammaticalization—loss of word boundary (“reanalysis”), loss of the original meaning of *ai/ay* (“semantic bleaching”), and the ability to refer to anyone (“generalization”). Therefore, Oh (2002) maintains that these forms, along with other demonstrative-N forms, can be justifiably called quasi-pronouns. Other Korean linguists (e.g. Brown, 2013; Kim, 2009) acknowledge this characterization of demonstrative-N forms as quasi-pronouns as well, in subsequent studies.

Noun phrases (NPs). In this study, various types of referential forms, such as (associated/extended) kinship terms (e.g., “my brother,” “your grandmother,” *oppa* ‘older brother,’ *halmeni* ‘grandmother’), descriptions (e.g., “a guy at work,” “the guy who always gets an iced latte”), category terms (e.g., “a woman”), and professional titles (e.g., *sensangnim* ‘teacher’) will sometimes be collectively referred as NPs.

II – LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section reviews practices for referring to speaker and recipient in conversation, where I first review reference to speaker and recipient in English, the most extensively-studied language in conversation analysis (CA), before moving on to that in Korean. The second section reviews practices for referring to others, and follows the same format as the first section. At the end of the chapter, I discuss some questions that have yet to be answered, and which motivated the undertaking of this project.

Reference to Speaker and Recipient

In studying person reference practices in social interaction, one overarching question concerns what a given referential form accomplishes (Schegloff, 1996). Is this form doing “simple” referring, i.e., doing referring only, or “complex” referring, i.e., doing other jobs in addition to referring (Oh, 2002, p. 18)? The forms that accomplish simple referring are called ‘default’ or ‘unmarked’ forms (Schegloff, 1996; Stivers, Enfield, & Levinson, 2007), or ‘reference simplicitor’ (Schegloff, 1996). The second type of forms—‘marked’ forms—depart from the usual, unmarked ways of referring, and by doing so, “invite a hearer to examine them for what they are doing other than simple reference” (Schegloff, 1996, p. 449). This distinction is relevant throughout the discussion of person reference practices in English and Korean in this chapter.

English

Unmarked forms for referring to speaker and recipient. The unmarked forms for reference to speaker and recipient in English are person pronouns—“I/me” for the speaker, and “you” for the recipient(s) (Schegloff, 1996). Speakers do not, however, always use these forms to refer to themselves and their recipient(s). Also, these forms can be used to refer to someone other than the speaker or the recipient. The next subsection focuses on a range of actions that are accomplished by departing from the unmarked reference to speaker and recipient in English.

Marked forms for referring to speaker and recipient.

Reference to speaker using forms other than “I/me.” There are occasions where a speaker refers to him/herself using forms other than “I/me.” One common example is the use of “we” for reference to the speaker as the agent of or for an organization. In Whalen and Zimmerman’s (1990) study of telephone calls to a police emergency department, callers are shown to identify themselves with the name of their organization first and then refer to themselves using “we” in subsequent talk. On the other hand, when the caller uses “I,” the call taker treats him/her as someone who is calling as a citizen, on behalf of him/herself, rather than as the agent of an organization or a business. A speaker also may use “we” to speak as/for a multi-person party such as a family, a couple, or the same “position” in a discussion (Lerner, 1993). Moreover, the use of “we” may suggest a newly established association during interaction. For example, a husband may say, “Maybe *we* ought to take this jar with us” during a family gathering to suggest an action his wife and he should take as a couple (Lerner, 1993, p. 221).

Lerner and Kitzinger (2007) show that a speaker may also do more than simple referring by switching between individual self-reference (e.g. “I”) and collective self-reference (e.g. “we”) in situations where both can be used as correct reference forms. In their study, speakers were observed to repair self-referential forms between “I” and “we.” They found that “aggregating” (i.e., repair from “I” to “we”) is related to a speaker’s shifting of the responsibility from an individual to the relational or organizational collectivity in the contexts of making a delicate request or giving delicate advice. “Extracting” (i.e. repair from “we” to “I”) displays a speaker’s concern about unwittingly claiming knowledge on another’s experiential history, intention, or thoughts. For example, in making ‘extreme-case’ assessments, speakers are shown to “extract” themselves from the collectivity through self-repair from “we” to “I.”

Sometimes, speakers take the perspective of another (recipient or non-present others) and use third-person reference forms in order to refer to themselves. Land and Kitzinger (2007) show that speakers may employ description (e.g., “that silly old bat that lives across the road from you”) or category terms (e.g., “a woman”) to refer to themselves, and this assists the speaker in building a turn that effectively performs the intended action. For example, in the excerpt below, May, an elderly woman who has Alzheimer’s disease, calls her daughter’s house to complain about her situation in a residential care home. She uses the descriptive self-reference term *that silly old bat that lives across the road from you* (lines 43, 44) in a turn that is designed to do a complicated action of re-directing the focus of the conversation to herself.

[Land & Kitzinger, 2007, p. 504]

39	May:	Yes:. I know she’s got problems of her o-
40		I mean you’ve both- all got problems
41		I kno[:w]
42	Bill:	[Yea]h

43 May: → And the biggest one is **that silly old bat**
 44 → **that lives across the road from you.**
 45 Bill: huh huh,

According to Land and Kitzinger (2007), the turn in lines 43-44 successfully re-centers the speaker as the topic of conversation at a juncture where the conversation is about to transition into talking about her daughter's problem (broken legs), without having addressed her reason for the call yet (i.e., a request to return home). The descriptive self-reference here is used in the service of advancing the turn's action and the speaker's overall interactional project in that: 1) "that silly old bat" alludes to the speaker's problem (i.e., Alzheimer's disease) but downplays its seriousness to 'eccentricity' rather than illness, and 2) describing herself as "living across the road" supports her request to return home by invoking living across the road as part of 'who she is.' A speaker may also use a category term, e.g., a woman, to refer to him/herself. Below, the speaker refers to herself as *a woman* in a turn that is devoted to persuading her mother that her new business has some potential (line 30).

[Land & Kitzinger, 2007, p. 515]

28 Reb: .hhh 'Specially
 29 for like elderly women because they might rather
 30 → have a woman [doing .hh [doing their hou:]ses up
 31 Mum: [Yes yes [That's °true°]

Here, Rebecca is making relevant her membership in the category of 'women,' out of many different categories she could be a member of (e.g., lesbian, schizophrenic) in the service of emphasizing the selling point of her business. This *woman* is then used to refer to the speaker from the perspective of others—specifically, elderly women.

Which forms are selected to refer to oneself, therefore, is related to how a speaker displays him/herself to be relevant in the social actions that are being accomplished. In other words, when a speaker uses in self-reference forms other than the "dedicated" form

for self-reference “I” (Schegloff, 1996, p. 447), the chosen form makes relevant a certain aspect of the speaker in the service of performing a social action.

Reference to recipient using forms other than “you.” Reference to recipients, in general, has been understudied in comparison with reference to the speaker (see *Discourse Studies Special Issue*, 2007) and to others (see Enfield & Stivers, 2007). However, some examples of referring to recipient without using “you” have been mentioned in the literature, one of which is reproduced here. Schegloff (1996) notes that some sequence types, especially dispreferred sequences such as requests, motivate the use of vague terms like “somebody.” For example:

[Schegloff, 1996, p. 449, modified]

01	Loren:	→	Uhm::, will somebody pass the paperbacks-,
02			(1.0)
03			An:d the
04	Cathy:		Is that somebody me?
05	Loren:		Mm hm.

Here, the use of “somebody” invites co-present parties to examine the third-person reference forms for “camouflaged possible targeting of themselves” (p. 449).

Therefore, reference to speaker and recipient in English can be done in various ways, depending on the speaker’s action performed through talk. We now turn to Korean, a language that provides its speakers with very different linguistic resources than English for referring to people.

Korean

Unmarked forms for referring to speaker and recipient. In Korean, it would be too simplistic to say that unmarked forms of self- and recipient-reference are first- and second-pronouns, respectively, for several reasons. First, Korean has far more first- and second-person pronouns than English. Broadly, a speaker has two options in referring to

him/herself depending on his/her relative status with respect to the recipient—*na* (plain style), if the speaker is higher or as high as the recipient in the social hierarchy, and *ce* (humble style), if the speaker is lower than the recipient in the social hierarchy (Sohn, 1999, p. 207). *Na/ce* corresponds to “I” in English, but their usage is more restricted than that of “I.” For example, in certain institutional settings such as classrooms, the use of professional address term, e.g., *sensangnim* ‘teacher’, can replace *na/ce* as self-reference form (Byon, 2006; Cho, 1982). Cho (1982) argues that this reflects Korean speakers’ concerns about clarifying the relative status between oneself and one’s addressee(s).¹ Byon (2006) also observes that a KFL instructor in an American university constantly uses *sensangnim* ‘teacher’ in referring to herself, and interprets this practice as a way of “highlighting the status difference” between the students and herself and thus “delivering the cultural message, i.e., hierarchism, to students” (p. 277).

The range of second-person pronominal forms is even wider, since there are finer distinctions of the recipient’s status along the hierarchy. Second-person pronouns include *ne*, *caney*, *tangsin*, *kutay*, *tayk*, *caki*, and *elusin* (Lee, 1992; Nam & Ko, 2014; Sohn, 1999).² However, the uses of these forms are restricted to certain situations and/or the particular relationships between interlocutors (Brown, 2013; Lee, 1994), and none of them, except for *elusin*, can be used appropriately to refer to a person with a higher status (Brown, 2001; Park, 2005). The use of *elusin* is restricted to a recipient who is a senior and cannot be used for someone who holds a higher status than the speaker but too young

¹ It is, for example, quite commonplace among Korean speakers who meet the first time to ask each other how old they are, since the appropriate address term and use of honorifics depend on the age hierarchy between interlocutors.

² Depending on the scholars, the list of second-person pronoun in Korean may differ. For example, some scholars do not include *caki*—a reflexive pronoun—as a second-person pronoun. *Tayk* and *kutay* are also controversial. Lee (1992) notes that there is no established list of second-person pronouns in Korean (p. 202).

to be considered as a senior. As Lee (1992) quips at the end of a long chapter on Korean person pronouns, one clear characteristic of the Korean pronoun system can be summarized as “so many words for so little use” (p. 203).

The second and perhaps related reason is that pronouns are often replaced by other forms. For reference to recipient, especially for someone with a higher status than the speaker or someone whose relative status with respect to the speaker is unknown or not established, noun phrases (NPs) such as kinship terms, e.g., *oppa* ‘older brother,’ *enni* ‘older sister,’ *halmeni* ‘grandmother,’ *acwumma* ‘aunt,’ *acessi* ‘uncle,’ etc., or professional titles, e.g., *sensangnim* ‘teacher,’ *chacangnim* ‘deputy director,’ etc., are often used as addressee-reference terms.³

A common option, for both self-reference and recipient-reference, is zero anaphora. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Korean is one of a few languages where zero anaphora is used frequently for the referent that is recoverable from the sentential, discourse, and situational contexts (Sohn, 1999). It is often argued that references to speaker and recipient are most easily omitted because of the physical interactional context where the speaker and the recipient(s) can see and/or hear each other (Oh, 2007a). In fact, it has been claimed by some Korean linguists that zero anaphora is the most common anaphoric device in Korean and thus the language’s unmarked referential choice (Chang, 1978). Others observe that the unstressed pronouns in English correspond most closely to zero anaphora in languages such as Korean and Japanese (Kuroda, 1965) and that they are functionally equivalent (Kim, 1994; Han, 2006; Hong, 1999; Ryu,

³ Korean speakers use the forms by which they address the recipient in referring to them. In other words, the term used to address a person is used to refer to that person as well.

2001). Therefore, the view that zero anaphora is the most natural, unmarked referential form in Korean has gained support from a number of researchers.

Marked forms for referring to speaker and recipient. Oh (2002, 2007a) illustrates when and why Korean speakers use overt forms of reference instead of zero anaphora when there is no ambiguity to resolve regarding who is being referred to. Oh's studies are based on the premise that zero anaphora is the unmarked referential option for speaker- and recipient-reference. Her studies, therefore, treat overt referential forms as marked ones, and the analysis focuses on what social actions are achieved by them.

According to Oh (2002, 2007a), overt reference usually takes the form of a pronoun/NP (e.g., *na* "I," *ne* "you," *namgwacang* 'Director Nam,' etc.) combined with discourse-pragmatic particles (e.g., *ka*, *nun*, etc.). The types of particles that co-occur with the NP are shown to be crucial in composing an action that the overt reference is employed to accomplish. For example, the combination of an NP and the subject particle *ka* is used when a speaker is attributing responsibility to oneself or to the recipient. Oh (2007) notes that the general function of *ka* contributes to the hearing of *ka*-marked reference as blaming/praising oneself or the recipient. That is, *ka* is used to mark its NP as "a participant in the state-of-affairs named by the predicate" (Ono et al, 2000, p. 65) when the relation between that NP and the event is "specific but not known to the addressee" (Lee, 1987, p. 23). By marking speaker/recipient with *ka* as a participant of a praise- or blame-worthy event then, a speaker may accomplish actions such as seeking recognition of or appreciation for his/her conduct, or attributing responsibility of an action to him/herself or to the recipient. Similarly, the topic marker *nun* is often used to convey the meaning of 'contrast' (Sohn, 1999), so the 'NP-*nun*' form is used to evoke

some kind of discrepancy between speaker and recipient, thereby achieving actions such as disagreeing or complaining. Bare NPs—NPs without particles—do occur, albeit infrequently, in the environments of identifying oneself in telephone calls and selecting next speaker in a multi-person conversation.

The main contribution of Oh's (2002, 2007a) studies to our understanding of reference to speaker and recipient is that they identified specific environments where speakers use overt reference to achieve something beyond simple referring. At the same time, they raise important questions for further research. For example, overt reference was found to be used quite frequently for a "marked" form. In one set of data in the studies, instances of overt referring (62%) exceeded those of zero anaphora (38%). Other sets of data showed roughly equal frequencies of zero anaphora and overt reference. Although these numbers are from a small set of data, they suggest that viewing zero anaphora as the default and overt reference as a departure from the default may need revision or further specification.

The composition of overt reference forms identified in the studies also suggests that additional specification of the types of overt references may be needed. On one hand, the use of 'NP-particle' forms appears to be motivated by the necessity of using the particles,⁴ as the actions performed by these forms are strongly tied to the functions of co-occurring particles. On the other hand, while bare NPs are often seen in linguistics literature as the result of 'case particle ellipsis' (Kwon & Zribi-Hertz, 2008; Lee, 2007, 2010, 2015), in naturally occurring conversation, they were shown to perform clearly defined classes of action (e.g., selecting the next speaker, identifying oneself in telephone

⁴ As a bound morpheme, a discourse-pragmatic particle requires an NP as a 'hook' it can be attached to and thus are incompatible with zero anaphora (Oh, 2002, 2007a).

calls, etc.) that would not be performed in the same way by ‘NP-particle’ forms. Overt references, then, can be further classified into two categories—NP-particle forms and bare NPs—and any discussion of the functions of overt reference will have to address the questions of what is achieved by particles and what is achieved by overt NPs (Oh, 2007a; see also Han, 2006).

My point is that the dichotomy of zero anaphora versus overt reference as unmarked and marked referential forms, respectively, for speaker and recipient warrants reconsideration, since the frequency of each form and the disparate characteristics of the subcategories of overt reference suggest that the picture may be more complicated than what has been previously assumed. As will be seen in Chapter IV, overt reference sometimes performs ‘complex referring’ in the environment where overt marking of reference is indeed required. That is, overt reference can do something more than simple referring not by the virtue of redundancy only, even though in most cases the redundancy does indicate that a speaker is doing other jobs in addition to referring.

Reference to Others

English

Unmarked forms for referring to others. In English, referring to others (i.e., third person) can be done using several types of forms, including NPs and pronouns. Whether a certain form is simply referring or doing other than or more than simply referring can be examined through identifying at what point of talk a particular form is employed.

We can distinguish between first and subsequent mentions of a particular person in a stretch of talk, where the first mention is considered to take place in a *locally-initial position*, and the subsequent mention in a *locally-subsequent position*. Certain forms are typically used in locally-initial position to do referring and nothing else (e.g., “Thomas,” “my mom,” “this girl from Canada,” etc.). These forms are called *locally-initial forms*. Forms that are used in locally-subsequent positions to do simple referring are called *locally-subsequent forms* (e.g., pronouns) (Schegloff, 1996a). Locally-initial forms include *recognitionals* (Sacks & Schegloff, 1978, p. 15), such as name and description (e.g., “that girl who always sits in the front row”), and *non-recognitionals* (p. 15), such as “someone,” “this girl,” and “a guy at work.” Locally-subsequent forms are pronouns such as “he” or “she.” In terms of distribution, locally initial/subsequent forms most frequently occur at locally initial/subsequent positions, respectively, thus constituting unmarked forms in each position. However, a “mismatch” of form and position does occur in actual conversation (Schegloff, 1996a, p. 450). They are understood to “achieve distinct [interactional] outcomes” (p. 451) and constitute marked forms of reference (Table 1).

Table 2. Marked and Unmarked Forms of Reference to Third Person

	Locally-initial form	Locally-subsequent form
Locally-initial position	Full NPs, names	Pronouns**
Locally-subsequent position	Full NPs, names**	Pronouns

**Marked forms.

Among locally-initial forms, recognitionals are used to refer to someone that the recipient knows or knows about, while assuming the recipient’s recognition of the

referent. In English, the majority of recognitionals are names (e.g., “John”), recognitional descriptors (e.g., “the lady who sits by the window all the time”), and kin terms (e.g., “my grandmother,” “your brother”) (Schegloff, 1996; Stivers, 2007). Non-recognitionals are used to refer to someone that the speaker assumes to be unknown to the recipient. The use of a non-recognitional also conveys to the recipient that s/he does not or need not know the person. Expressions such as “someone,” non-recognitional descriptors (e.g., “a guy at work”) or category terms (e.g., “this lady”) are used for this purpose.

With regard to how a particular form gets selected for doing simple referring in locally-initial position, Sacks and Schegloff (1978) demonstrate that two general preferences in conversation—preference for ‘minimization’ and for ‘recipient design’—apply to the domain of person reference as well. First, following the preference for minimization, a single form of reference is preferred over combinations of forms (e.g., “Jim” over “my brother Jim”). Preference for recipient design is expressed in person reference as preference for recognitionals. When the recognition cannot be achieved by using a minimal form, speakers are shown to “relax the preference for minimization step by step” (p. 16) by adding additional recognitional forms incrementally (e.g. last name, descriptions, etc.) until recognition is achieved. A frequently-observed practice in this process is the use of a “try-marker” (p. 18). Try-marking is used when a speaker suspects that the recipient may recognize the referent from some recognitional form but is uncertain. Thus, a recognitional (usually a name) is used but marked as a “try” with an upward intonation and a pause. During that pause, the recipient either provides a token of recognition (e.g. “uh huh”) if s/he recognizes the referent or passes an opportunity to take a turn without providing such tokens, which is then interpreted as a failure of recognition.

The speaker may keep trying different recognitionals or abandon the effort and switch to a non-recognitional form.

Among different forms of recognitionals, name is preferred over description (Schegloff, 1996). This is evidenced when a speaker's use of description is often "upgraded" to name by the recipient (Schegloff, 1996, p. 461).

(4) [From Schegloff, 1996, p. 461, modified]

01 A: What about **that girl he used to go with for so long**,

02 B: **Alice?** I don't- they gave up.

As will be shown shortly, later studies (e.g. Stivers, 2007; Lerner et al., 2012) further specify what actions can be performed by using less preferred forms of recognitionals (Stivers, 2007) and by calibrating the precision of non-recognitional expressions (Lerner et al., 2012). Before entering that discussion, however, we will first look at actions achieved through using "mismatched" forms at different sequential positions.

Marked forms for referring to others. Both of the two "mismatched" references—using a locally-subsequent form in locally-initial position and a locally-initial form in locally-subsequent position—are shown to be implicated in achieving social actions other than simple referring. First, using a pronoun (i.e., a locally-subsequent form) in locally-initial position may signal that the utterance is a continuation of some earlier conversation or previous talk in a conversation. In her analysis of distribution of person reference forms in non-story conversational talk, Fox (1987) identifies the use of pronouns for re-mentioning a referent after some absence of that referent in the talk (i.e. locally-initial position). She claims this "return pop" (Fox, 1987, p. 27) exhibits the speaker's intent to continue the discussion of some prior discourse sequence (i.e., "re-opens" a prior sequence). Speakers are also shown to use a full NP to refer to a referent that has just been introduced in an immediately prior talk (i.e., locally-

subsequent position) in designing a turn that disagrees or disaffiliates (Fox, 1984, 1987; Schegloff, 1996). Interestingly, both of these phenomena were observed in other languages as well. For example, return pops may be accomplished in Chinese and Korean through zero anaphora (Oh, 2002; Tao, 1993, 1996). Also, as will be shown in the next section, Korean exhibits a similar pattern where the use of a less transparent form (i.e., more informational content as to whom is being referred to) in locally-subsequent position displays the speaker's disaffiliative stance toward the recipient's previous talk (Oh, 2002).

Mismatch cases are not the only places where speakers 'do things with' reference (Austin, 1962). As mentioned above, within the categories of forms that can be used as a recognitional, name is preferred over description (Schegloff, 1996). When a speaker uses some types of description in locally-initial position when the referent's name is available to both speaker and recipient, the use of that formulation is noted to achieve certain actions other than simple reference (Stivers, 2007). 'Alternative recognitionals,' according to Stivers (2007), momentarily create a certain association among the referent, the speaker, and the recipient in a way that services the speaker's action of complaining or distancing. For example, a recipient-associated description such as "your sister" places the referent "in the domain of responsibility of the referent" (p. 81) and co-implicates the recipient in the resolution of the problem in the event of complaining. Speaker-associated description (e.g. "Sunday is *my honey's* birthday"), conversely, puts the referent in the domain of the speaker's responsibility and depicts the event described as something positive. Demonstrative "that"-prefaced recognitionals (e.g. "that next-door neighbor") place the referent outside of both speaker's and recipient's domains of responsibility, thus

collectively dissociating them from the referent. Finally, ‘in the know’ references (e.g. “the birthday boy”) usually take the form of definite determiner followed by a description that is recognizable to the hearer. Since this kind of description requires common knowledge between the interlocutors, its use evokes and emphasizes the closeness between the speaker and the recipient.

As mentioned above, category terms (e.g. “men,” “people,” “neighbors,” “acquaintances,” etc.) are frequently used as unmarked forms of reference to persons unknown to the recipient (i.e., non-recognitional). What category gets selected, out of the countless categories that could be equally correct in referring to the same person, poses an analytically interesting question. Lerner, Bolden, Hepburn, and Mandelbaum (2012) investigate what motivates a speaker to ‘recalibrate’ the precision of categorical formulation. That is, when a speaker repairs one formulation (e.g., “people”) with a more specific formulation (e.g., “acquaintance”), what is being done other than simple referring, or more precisely, simple repairing? Speakers are shown to implement ‘reference recalibration repairs’ in designing actions such as fitting the current talk to the requirements of the telling of a story, upgrading the credibility of an information source, and giving an account for rejection in the offer sequence. Conversely, a decrease in the precision of formulation (e.g., from “anesthetist” to “doctor”) displays the speaker’s uncertainty regarding the matter being talked about. In other words, aside from departing from unmarked practices, shifting forms among alternatives can also achieve actions other than simple referring (see also Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007).

Lastly, there is a case where a referential form reserved for referring to recipient is used to refer to someone other than a recipient. In English, the second-person pronoun

“you” is sometimes used to refer to “everyone,” and even to the speaker (as an extension of everyone) (Sacks, 1975; Schegloff, 1988, 1996). In a well-known example of a call to a suicide prevention center (Sacks, 1992), the caller gives a reason for wanting to kill himself by saying, “Well, *you* just want to know if someone cares” (p. 349). The extension of “you” to “everyone,” i.e., impersonal pronoun (Laberge & Sankoff, 1979; Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990), is quite common in languages with small, closed pronoun sets such as Chinese, English, French, German, Arabic, Hebrew, Hindi-Urdu, and Farsi (Biq, 1991; Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990). In languages such as Korean and Japanese which lack clearly defined closed sets of personal pronouns (e.g., see the previous section on first- and second-person pronouns in Korean), however, this extension from “you” to “everyone” is absent. Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) note that pronouns in Korean and Japanese are “too closely tied to the actual speech act context” and “too loaded with semantic and pragmatic information to be generalized or used impersonally” (Kitagawa & Lehrer, 1990, p. 756).

Since the seminal article by Sacks and Schegloff (1979), research on person reference has expanded beyond English to include other languages (e.g. see chapters in Enfield & Stivers, 2007), showing both the generalizability of the basic principles of person reference as well as cultural variations (Stivers, Enfield, & Levinson, 2007). In Korean, we observe both the universal interactional principle and “local inflections” in practices of referring to a third person (Sidnell, 2007, p. 240).

Korean

As in English, unmarked reference to a third person in Korean is done through the use of locally-initial form in locally-initial position, and locally-subsequent form in

locally-subsequent position. The major difference is that Korean has two types of locally subsequent forms: zero anaphora (i.e., the omission of reference) and quasi-pronouns (i.e., a demonstrative followed by a noun). Below, I describe how the uses of these forms can be explained in terms of the marked/unmarked distinction proposed by Schegloff (1996a).

Unmarked forms for referring to others. As in English, locally-initial forms include personal names, category terms, descriptions, and so forth. Names have a limited scope of use in Korean, however, since they are used only by very close same-age people or by an older person to someone very close to him/her. Thus, the status of names as a referential form in Korean is clearly different from that in English (Oh, 2002). Category terms, such as kinship terms (e.g., *oppa* “brother,” *acessi* “uncle,” *acwumma* “aunt,” etc.) and professional titles in combination with last or full name (e.g. *yiguacang(-nim)* “director Lee”, *kingyoswu(-nim)* “Professor Kim”, etc.), are the most frequent alternatives to names, and also can be extended to be used as locally-subsequent forms in certain types of social interaction (e.g., when the person being talked about is superior to the interlocutors, when the relationship between the interlocutors and the referent is formal, etc.) (Oh, 2007b).

If the most common third-person referring practice in Korean is to introduce a person into the talk using locally-initial form and then use zero anaphora in subsequent talk (Oh, 2002), when are quasi-pronouns used? Oh (2002, 2007b) proposes that quasi-pronouns are “more locally-initial compared to zero anaphora but more locally-subsequent compared to [full] NPs” (Oh, 2002, p. 324). Consider the following example. Prior to this excerpt, N asked J about a man who recently got engaged with their mutual

friend, introducing the man to the talk using an NP (“the person she [the mutual friend] met when she went to the event where Sengyen received a wedding chest”) As a response, J launches a story about how this man pursued the friend and eventually got engaged (line 01). Note that the double-lined arrow indicates the use of quasi-pronoun, and the single-lined arrow indicates the use of zero anaphora.

[Oh, 2002, p. 316-318, modified]

- 01 J: ⇒ ku ttay ham teleo-l ttay **ku namca**-ka yay-l po-kwu
 that time wedding:chest come:in-ATTR time QP-NOM QP-ACC see-CONN
*When they received the wedding chest, **that man** saw her (there) and*
- 02 wancenhi ppyong ka-sse-e
 completely infatuated-ANT-IE
got totally infatuated with her.
- 03 N: uum,
 yeah,
- 04 J: → ppyong ka-kacikwu (0.6) ϕ cikuk cengseng-ulo hayss-nuntay
 infatuated-PRECED utmost devotion-with do:ANT-CIRCUM
*Being so infatuated (0.6) (**he**) devoted so much to her*

As J begins her story, she uses a quasi-pronoun *ku namca* ‘that man’ (line 01) to refer to the person who was introduced to the talk with an NP in the prior turn. In the next reference to the same person, however, J switches to zero anaphora (line 04) and continues using zero anaphora in the subsequent talk (omitted in this excerpt). Note that reference to the man in line 01 is locally subsequent (i.e., it appears in an answer to a question), but at the same time it is the first mention of the referent in this expanded second-pair part (i.e., the telling of a story).⁵ In other words, a quasi-pronoun *ku namca* was used in the position that initiates an action within the sequence of question-answer. A

⁵ It is also possible that the use of quasi-pronoun here was prompted by the necessity of using the particle *ka*.

similar use of a quasi-pronoun is observed in the same conversation. J continues her story for 27 lines (omitted) until she is interrupted by S, another participant in the conversation, asking what the man does for a living (line 33).

[Oh, 2002, p. 316-318, modified]

- 31 S: uung:
yes.
I see.
- 32 J: kuntey- (.) ↑kwuweltal-ey:: [()]
DM September-TEM
And- (.) ↑In September::
- 33 S: ⇒ [ku namca] mwe ha-nun salam i-ya?=
QP what do-ATTR person be:IE
*What does **that man** do?*
- 34 J: → = φ hoysa tanye. (.) >°φ hoysawen iya°<
company attend:IE company employee-be:IE
*=**(He)** works for a company. (.) >°**(He)** is a company employee°<.*
- 35 S: °ung°
yes
°I see.°

In omitted lines, J has been using zero anaphora to refer to the man. However, when S interrupts J and asks what the man's occupation is (line 33), she uses a quasi-pronoun. Thus, a quasi-pronoun was again used when a speaker initiates a slightly disjunctive action (i.e., initiating a new topic) while staying in the same sequence. Note that J answers to S's question using zero anaphora to refer to the same person (line 34). We may say, then, that quasi-pronouns are more locally initial compared to zero anaphora but more locally subsequent compared to NPs. Therefore, the relationship among NPs, quasi-pronouns, and zero anaphora can be thought of in terms of their placement on the continuum of the local initial-ness and the subsequent-ness of reference forms.

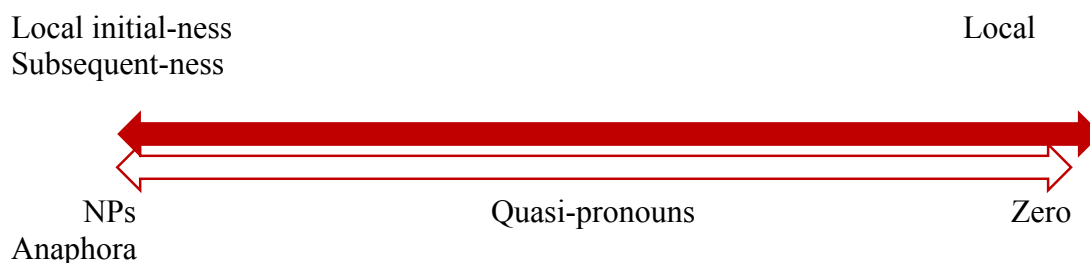


Figure 1. Reference to Third Persons in Korean

As illustrated in the previous chapter, there are three demonstratives that combine with general nouns to form quasi-pronouns—proximal *i* ‘this,’ medial *ku* ‘that,’ and distal *ce* ‘that over there.’ Thus, there are also three types of quasi-pronouns—*i*-based forms, *ku*-based forms, and *ce*-based forms. As unmarked forms, these forms are distributed differently across participation structures. *I*-forms and *ce*-forms are usually reserved for subsequent referring to co-present others. The choice between *i*-forms and *ce*-forms is usually based on the physical distance/proximity between the speaker(/recipient) and the referent. Thus, a referent who is close to the speaker (and the recipient) is normally referred to with an *i*-form, and a referent that is distant from the speaker (and the recipient) is normally referred to with a *ce*-form. For referring to non-present others, *ku*-forms are used as the default (Oh, 2007b, 2010).

Marked forms for referring to others. Various types of departure from unmarked ways of referring to a third person have been observed in Korean (Oh, 2002, 2007b, 2010). Some are rather anecdotal or lack sufficient data to receive adequate analysis, whereas others were repeatedly observed and given full analyses. I include both types of evidence here for the purpose of illustrating the parallels between English and Korean.

First, using a locally-initial form in a locally-subsequent position has been observed in the environment of disaffiliative actions. For example, in response to a question about a non-present person, the speaker can use a quasi-pronoun instead of zero anaphora to signal resistance to the underlying action of the question. Recall that quasi-pronoun is more locally initial compared to zero anaphora, and in an adjacency pair of question-answer, zero anaphora is usually expected in the second-pair part.

[From Oh, 2002, p. 334]

- 01 S: Cihyen.i onul mwe ha-nuntey?
Ciheyn today what do-CIRCUM
What is Cihyen doing today?
- 02 (.)
- 03 J: → anya **kyay** phikonhayse kule-l ke-ya ama.
No:IE QP be tired:PRECED do:so-ATTR thing-be:IE probably
*No, it's probably because **she (kyay: QP)** is tired.*
- 04 S: uuung,
yes
I see.
- 05 J: ung,
Yes
Yeah.

S is asking J, “What is Cihyen doing today?”, a question that is orienting to Cihyen’s absence at a dinner party that she promised to come to but bailed on at the last minute. The question therefore is presupposing that Cihyen must be occupied with some other business that prevents her from coming to the gathering. J responds, “No, it’s probably because she is tired,” (line 03) directly addressing and disaffiliating from the underlying

assumption of S's question. In designing the response, J uses the quasi-pronoun *kyay* 'that child' instead of zero anaphora.⁶

The departures from unmarked forms are also observed in the selection of quasi-pronouns. As mentioned previously, *i*-based forms and *ce*-based forms are reserved for referring to co-present others, whereas *ku*-based forms are the default choice for referring to non-present others. Thus, using a form other than *ku*-based form to refer to a non-present other is a departure from the typical way of referring, i.e., it is a marked way of referring. Oh (2002, 2007b) illustrates what *i*-forms do when used for referring to non-present others. In non-story talk, *i*-forms are used to mark the newly introduced person among multiple persons being spoken about in the talk, while *ku*-forms are used to refer to the pre-existing referents. Thus, the distinction between *i*-form and *ku*-form is motivated by the need for referent-tracking (Oh, 2002). In story-telling talk, however, multiple prominent characters are marked with *i*-forms despite the ambiguity, whereas subsidiary characters are exclusively marked with *ku*-forms or non-recognitional descriptions. Thus, the degree of protagonism appears to constitute one important criterion for the choice between *i*-form and *ku*-form (Oh, 2007b). Speakers are also shown to use an *i*-form to claim his/her epistemic authority regarding the referent (Oh, 2007b). That is, speakers use an *i*-form to talk about someone s/he claims higher epistemic authority over than the recipient (e.g., his/her own daughter) while the interlocutors use a *ku*-form to refer to the same referent. Speakers also at times 'upgrade' the degree of displayed knowledge on the referent by switching from *ku*-form to *i*-form.

⁶ Quasi-pronouns *yay*, *kyay*, and *cyay* are morphologically contracted forms of *i ay* 'this child', *ku ay* 'that child', and *ce ay* 'child over there', respectively. However, when these forms are used in the contracted forms, they lose their original meanings (see Chapter 1). This is one of the indications that these forms are in the later process of being grammaticalized into pronouns (i.e., semantic bleaching).

Oh (2007b) notes that the differential interactional meanings of *i*-based and *ku*-based quasi-pronouns can be understood as a metaphorical extension of the demonstratives *i* ‘this’ and *ku* ‘that’. That is, by using an *i*-based form, a speaker may suggest that the referent falls within the speaker’s ‘here-space’ (Enfield, 2003), where the concept of ‘here-space’ includes the speaker’s epistemic territory (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

Recall that in referring to co-present others, *i*-forms are normally used to refer to the referent who is close to the speaker (and the recipient), and *ce*-forms are reserved for referring to the referent distant from the speaker (and the recipient). However, at times, a speaker would refer to a referent that is close to him/her with *ce*-form, regardless of the physical distance between the speaker and the referent. Indeed, speakers are observed to *switch* from an *i*-form to a *ce*-form to refer to the same referent, even when the physical distance between the speaker and the referent remains the same. Thus, Oh (2010) argues that referring to a co-present other with a *ce*-form momentarily “endows the referent with a different category membership than the speaker” (p. 1239). For example, in a conversation where participants are talking about the difficulty of getting a nice tan, a speaker is shown to separate out a co-present participant who is naturally dark-skinned (i.e., who does not have to try to get tanned) by referring to her with *cyay* (*ce*-based form). Thus, the use of a *ce*-form “invokes” different categories (e.g., ‘those who don’t need to get a tan’ and ‘those who need to get a tan’) among interlocutors and assigns different memberships to speaker and referent.

Previous studies on reference to others in Korean, therefore, identified various referential forms (i.e., NPs, quasi-pronouns, and zero anaphora) and their default usages (Oh, 2002). Among these forms, quasi-pronouns were investigated in detail for the

actions they perform in addition to simple reference through their marked usages (Oh, 2002, 2007b, 2010). These studies provide a useful picture of how reference to others is achieved and what kinds of actions may be performed through reference in Korean.

Summary of Literature Review

As in English, there are both standard and marked ways of referring to speaker, recipient, and others in Korean. Research on person reference in Korean has revealed both how Korean speakers achieve reference and how they perform particular social actions through the various reference forms. Although these studies are illuminative, questions still remain that can be answered through a close analysis of naturally occurring conversation. As I describe in the first part of this chapter, the dichotomous view of zero anaphora and overt reference as unmarked and marked referential forms, respectively, needs greater specification through carefully documenting the environments where different referring forms are used. Similarly, while previous studies on reference to others in Korean have offered important insights into the use of various reference forms with a particular focus on the three quasi-pronouns, i.e., *yay*, *kyay*, and *cyay* (Oh, 2007b, 2010), how other categories of reference (e.g., NPs, zero anaphora) are used, and when and for what purposes speakers switch across the categories (e.g., from NP to quasi-pronoun and vice versa) has not been investigated in depth. The current study aims to provide an answer to some of these yet-to-be answered questions.

III – DATA AND METHOD

This chapter first describes the research site and participants of the study and then reports on data collection and analysis.

Research Site and Participants

As this project aims to investigate how various forms of person reference in Korean are used in talk-in-interaction, only data from conversations in naturally occurring interaction were collected. For the purpose of this study, naturally occurring conversation includes both oral conversation and text conversation among friends, family members, acquaintances, or colleagues in everyday life, with the primary focus on oral conversation. Oral conversation includes conversations that take place during face-to-face interaction and during mediated communication through telephones, Skype, or FaceTime. Text conversation includes text messaging and mobile chatting through applications such as WhatsApp, KakaoTalk, and Line.¹

Therefore, the research site consists of private settings of naturally occurring conversation, such as a family dinner, a housewarming party among friends, a gathering of friends at restaurants or bars, and many other possible occasions of ordinary social interaction.

I individually contacted people I know for participation in the project. There was no criteria (e.g., age, sex, occupation, institutional affiliation, place of residence, etc.) for selecting participants, except that each potential participant should be a native or fluent

¹ KakaoTalk and Line are mobile chatting applications that are widely used in Korea and by many Korean speakers overseas.

speaker of Korean. Both American residents and Korean residents were contacted for potential participation. Thirty one people were recruited for this project for video-recording of their interaction, and three people for text messaging data.

Data Collection

Upon the consent of participants to take part in the project, data were collected through videotaping their interactions with each other and among themselves, as they are engaged in ordinary daily tasks such as cooking/eating together, chatting over coffee, working together on class projects, and so on. Each recording was about 1-hour long. Some participants took part in more than one recording, and I participated in one recording along with other participants. Approximately fifteen hours of data in total were collected through video recording. Video recording was done using two camcorders to ensure a view that includes as much detail as possible from different angles.

Conversation that took place over telephone and text-messaging were collected as well. The telephone conversation data were obtained through *Korean Telephone Conversation Speech*, a corpus compiled by Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) hosted by University of Pennsylvania during 1996-1997. The corpus consists of 100 telephone conversations, lasting between 20 to 30 minutes each, and it includes speaker information (e.g., sex, age, education, etc.) and call information (e.g., number of speakers). All callers/callees are native speakers of Korean, residing in the United States or Canada. Portions of text conversation through text messaging, WhatsApp, KakaoTalk, and Line were also collected with the consent of participants.

Table 3. Sources of Data

Activity	Number of participants (per recording)	Number of times the activity occurs	Duration of activity per instance	Method of collection
Face-to-Face Conversation	2 - 5	15 times	1 hour	Video recording using camcorders
Korean Telephone Conversation Speech	2	100	20 – 30 minutes	Through LDC membership
Mobile chat (e.g. WhatsApp, KakaoTalk, Line) and text messages	2 - Multiple	N/A	N/A	N/A

Data Analysis

The data of this project were analyzed using the theoretical and analytic framework of conversation analysis (CA). CA provides a unique and powerful analytic tool for the current project, since its objective lies in uncovering “the often tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 12) through the rigorous microanalysis of conversation in naturally occurring interactions. In this section, I first describe how the data will be transcribed for the analysis of turn-by-turn interaction and then discuss how the questions of this project can be fruitfully investigated through CA.

Transcription

The audio and video data were first transcribed following the Jefferson transcription system (e.g. Hepburn & Bolden, 2013; Jefferson, 1984, 2004) in order to capture the minute details of talk including verbal features such as volume, pitch, elongation, the duration of pause, and breathing, and, in case of video-recorded data, nonverbal features such as gaze, body torque, and gesture.

In presenting the Korean data in English, I follow the convention of three-line transcription. Therefore, the original utterances in Korean are represented in the first line in Korean script for the ease of readability for Korean readers. Spelling and spacing reflect how utterances were produced. Thus, spacing indicated in the first line reflects sound bursts in speech rather than following the spacing rules, and spelling reflects how speakers actually pronounced words. Text messages are copied as was typed by participants originally without altering them for the correct spellings. When I quote particular utterances in the text, I use the romanization of the original utterance following the convention of Yale Romanization. The second line shows morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the original utterances. The classification of grammatical morphemes in Korean follows Lee (1991). The third line represents English translation. When proper English translation is not feasible at each line due to word order differences between Korean and English, the translation is provided at the end of a whole turn.

Analysis

The analysis was conducted following the conversation analytic (CA) framework. CA began during the 1960s as a subfield of sociology, with Harvey Sacks at UCLA (later UC Irvine) working in collaboration with Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson.

Inspired by a series of ethnomethodological studies of everyday folk understandings of social order published by Harold Garfinkel and his colleagues (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967), CA set out to discover and explicate how “participants understand and talk to one another in their turns at talk” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 14).

From its inception, CA has had a strong interdisciplinary character encompassing sociology and linguistics. Although Harvey Sacks’s early work (e.g., *Lectures on conversation*, 1992) showed no special interest in language, the inquiry into the organization of everyday conversation eventually drew him to the details of language (Fox et al., 2012). This interdisciplinary character is well attested to by the fact that CA’s two early major publications, “A simplest systematics” (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) and “The preference for self-correction” (Schegloff, Sacks, & Jefferson, 1977) were both published in a major linguistics journal, *Languange*, rather than in sociology journals. One clear contribution of CA to the study of language is that it provides a solid analytic framework for studying ordinary language that is not “glossed” or “idealized” but is preserved in the form as was produced by its speakers (Heritage, 1984, p. 234). However, its contribution is more far-reaching than merely offering a new method of analysis. In essence, CA is firmly grounded in the assumption that there is “order at all points” of talk-in-interaction (Sacks, 1984, p. 22), and such order can be discovered and described through analyzing the details of interaction (Waring, 2016). This means that, in CA, any detail of language use, such as a small shift in person reference, is not dismissed as an inconsequential variability but is analyzed for how it is oriented to by the participants in that episode of interaction. This way, we find orderliness in the way we manipulate the little linguistic materials we have at our disposal in order to achieve our

interactional projects. The systematic ways we do this often escape our awareness because of their mundane nature, but it is nonetheless crucial in understanding others and making ourselves understood. The utility of CA in examining person reference practices is clearly stated by Schegloff (1996, p. 439):

...these questions are motivated by the particulars of singular references (indeed *any* single reference), and the contingencies of their production and reception. The onmirelevant issue for parties to talk-in-interaction (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973: 299), “why that now”...has relevant bearing on reference to persons as well. (Italics original)

After data were collected, I took a listen to all recordings and began transcribing the segments of recordings that contain the instances of person reference. I started line-by-line analysis of the transcripts as they were being produced and tried to identify potential discursive practices surrounding person reference. Once I got a good sense of what practices to examine in depth, I focused on finding other instances of those practices in the remainder of the recordings and transcribed them, instead of transcribing all the recordings in their entirety.

When conducting line-by-line analysis, instances of reference to speaker, recipient, and others were identified and compiled. Each instance was analyzed for 1) the type of referential form used (e.g., zero anaphora, overt reference, quasi-pronouns, NPs) and attendant nonverbal behavior, 2) its sequential environment, and 3) the action performed by using that particular form in that environment. The social action achieved by using a particular form was identified through examining how such use is treated by his/her addressee in the next turn (i.e., next-turn proof procedure). When a certain referential form was repeatedly observed to achieve an identical action (e.g., the use of a

pronoun plus the subject marker *-ka* in other blaming), the use of that form was described in detail as a discursive practice employed by Korean speakers.

Limitations of the study

This project employed a rigorous microanalysis for a limited set of data rather than conducting a statistical analysis with a large quantity of data. As such, findings of this study are based on the particular types of data that I obtained for this project. Some may find them skewed, too specific to the particular participants and contexts the researcher examined, and not providing an overarching account of person reference practices in Korean. Relatedly, others may question if the findings of the study actually constitute ‘practices’ employed by Korean speakers beyond the participants recruited for the study. To the first question, as a qualitative study that subjects a small set of data to rigorous microanalysis, this study was not designed to offer a general theory of person reference in Korean. Instead, the findings are to be understood as making an incremental contribution to our understanding of how Korean speakers utilize linguistic resources in various contingencies during social interaction.

The second issue can be summarized as the concerns about the validity and reliability of the findings. Validity in CA can be considered in terms of whether the study in fact discovered practices that the participants in the interaction employ (Waring, 2016). Ways of ensuring this are to obtain high-quality recording that a researcher can rely on when analyzing participants’ conduct as well as to present to the readers detailed transcripts that faithfully reflect the details of interaction that are captured in recording. This way, the readers can judge for themselves the credibility of the study’s claim. If multiple readers arrive at an agreement with the claim of the study based on their own

analysis of transcripts, the study will also have achieved reliability. The challenge of the analyst will be, then, to “produce findings that can stand the test of such public scrutiny” (p. 48). It is my responsibility as a researcher to ensure both the validity and reliability of this study.

IV—REFERENCE TO SPEAKER

Introduction

This chapter examines the uses of reference to speaker that perform actions more than simply referring to speaker in Korean. The chapter is composed of three sections. In the first section, I examine the use of the first-person pronoun *na/ce* ‘I’ followed by the topic marker *-nun* in turn-constructive unit (TCU)-initial position and delineate its discourse-organizational function. In the second section, I investigate the use of the first-person pronoun *na* ‘I’ to refer to a referent other than the speaker, i.e., recipient or other, and describe what is accomplished by this perspective shift. The last section examines what motivates the use of overt reference to speaker, i.e., the use of the first-person pronoun *na/ce* ‘I,’ in the contexts where zero anaphora is the unmarked referential choice. Overall, the chapter showcases the diverse ways in which references to speaker go beyond simple referring to accomplish various social actions.

Nanun-prefacing to Launch Parallel Telling

In this section, I show instances where speakers use self-reference as they take tellership in multi-party talk. In the environment where participants produce a series of tellings and construct a larger sequence of topical talk, speakers frequently mark the initiation of a new, similar type of telling, or “parallel telling,” using self-referential expressions in the TCU-initial position. The majority of self-referential forms used in this

environment take the form the first-person pronoun *na/ce* ‘I’¹ followed by a topic marker *-nun* (*nanun* hereafter).

The use of self-reference at the outset of tellership transition has been noted previously (e.g., Oh, 2007; see Lee & Yonezawa, 2008 for a similar phenomenon in Japanese). However, the existing studies mostly focus on how the topic marker *-nun* projects a multi-unit turn and thus can be used in pre-telling utterances. In this section, I show three instances where the TCU-initial *nanun*, or *nanun*-prefacing², is used to perform a particular discourse-organizational task—to index the launch of a telling that is similar to the previous telling in terms of topic, action, as well as format, i.e., parallel telling.

In the first example, four participants—Sara, Suji, Hana, and Lina (all pseudonyms)—are talking about their names. Prior to the segment below, Sara said that her parents were going to name her *seywuk* before she was born and added that that name would have given her a bad nickname, *seywu* ‘shrimp.’ This starts a sequence of tellings about awkward childhood nicknames by participants. Everyone laughs, and in line 01, Suji adds an increment “in elementary school,” specifying when such teasing would have happened.

(4.1) Swimming pool

- 01 Suji: ((gaze to Sara))-초등(ㅎ)학교때(ㅎ),
 elementary:school-when
 ((gaze to Sara))-in elem(h)entary schoo(h)l(h),
- 02 Sara: 어: 막,=
 yes just
 yeah: just,=

¹ *Na* ‘I’ is the plain form of the first-person pronoun, and *ce* ‘I’ is the humble form, used when a speaker lowers him/herself when speaking in polite speech style.

² Both forms of the first-person pronoun, *na* and *ce*, combine with the topic marker *-nun*. In this section, both *na* + *nun* (*nanun*) and *ce* + *nun* (*cenun*) in TCU-initial position will be called *nanun*.

- 03 Suji: =ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ [ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ,]
=hehehehe[hehehehe,]
- 04 Hana: [ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ] ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ
[hehehehe]hehe,
- 05 ㅎ ㅎ [ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ,
heheheheh
- 06 Suji: → [ㅎ ㅎ .hh 전 맨날 수영장, 막 이러구(ㅎ),
I-TOP[cen] always swimming:pool just like:this
Hehe .hh I was always called, swimming pool, like thi(h)s,
- 07 Sara: ((frowning, pointing to Suji))-어 그러니까,=
yes like:that:because
((frowning, pointing to Suji))-yeah I know,=
- 08 Suji: =[hehehe[hehe,
- 09 Hana: =[hehehe[hehe,

Suji's increment in line 01 offers the participants an opportunity to savor the funny nickname yet again (lines 03, 04, 05). In line 06, Suji launches a telling, with *nanun*-prefacing, of her own nickname, "*swuyengcang* 'swimming pool.'" The turn begins with *cen*, a contraction of *cenun*, which is followed by a noun phrase *swuyengcang* 'swimming pool.' The word *swuyengcang* is said in an animated tone that makes the utterance hearable as quoting other kids teasing her. Such hearing is reinforced by the turn-ending "*mak ilekwu* 'doing like this,'" a phrase that commonly punctuates direct quoted speech. Note that Suji is quoting other kids, not herself, but the turn nonetheless begins with the self-reference and moves on, without a prosodic break, to quoted speech by other kids. In other words, although *nanun* and what ensues do not cohere as a fitted grammatical unit, it is nevertheless seamlessly produced as a single TCU, suggesting that the function of *nanun* may be discourse organizational in addition to person referential.

In short, the use of overt reference to speaker in this turn is doing something other than designating the agent of the described action. Rather, it indicates, in the beginning of turn, that what follows is a similar case that contribute to the topic of awkward childhood nickname, hers being ‘swimming pool.’ As can be seen, Sara treats, along with Hana’s laughter (line 09), this addition as an appropriate contribution to the ongoing talk (“*kulenikka* ‘I know/tell me about it’” in line 07). Similar instances are found later in the same conversation where other participant, Sara, uses *nanun*-prefacing to launch her multi-unit telling of various nicknames she had in elementary school.

Nanun-prefacing is also used at a juncture where the current sequence of topical talk is about to close. The following excerpt is a few minutes after the conversation presented in the prior example. By this point, all participants have made at least one contribution to talking about their funny nicknames. In the beginning of the segment below, Hana is wrapping up telling about her friend whose nickname was *pal* ‘foot’ because of her last name *son* ‘hand’ (line 01).

(4.2) Children’s nicknames

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 01 | Hana: | 발혜정이라 그러드(ㅎ)라(ㅎ)구(ㅎ),
foot:heyceng-QUOT like:that-do-
(she) signs pal heyceng |
| 02 | Suji: | ((gaze to H))-[hehehehehe,] |
| 03 | Hana: | [hehehehehe] |
| 04 | | [hehehehe,] |
| 05 | Suji: | [((sips coffee))] |
| 06 | Sara: | () 뭐 놀리구 (너무심해),
what tease-ADD (too:much)
() tease and ((it’s) too much,) |
| 07 | | (0.5) |

- 08 이름갖구.
name-with
with (your) name.
- 09 Suji: ((smiles, gaze to Sara)) [((nods))]=
- 10 Sara: ((gaze to Suji))-[유치하게.]=
Childishly.
((gaze to Suji))-[childishly.]=
- 11 Hana: → =((puts down a cup)) .HH 어 나는: [나는 나-]
oh I[na]-TOP I[na]-TOP I
=((puts down a cup)) .HH oh I:I- I-]
- 12 Suji: [((gaze to H))]
- 13 Sara: [((gaze to H))]
- 14 Hana: 그 머↑지, 나: 처:음에 가르칠때,
that what-COMM I at:first teach-when
what is ↑it, when I: was teaching the first time,
- 15 Suji, Sara: ((nods, gaze to H))
- 16 Hana: (.) 젤: 먼- 젤: 처음 수업 가르쳤든게
most fir- most first class teach-thing-SUB
(.) the very fir- the first teaching (I) did was
- 17 일학년 애들: [영어가르치는거였다,]
first:grade kids English-teach-thing-be-PAST-DEC
teaching [English to first graders,]
- 18 Suji: [((gaze to H, nods))]

Hana concludes her telling by saying that now her friend signs *pal* ‘foot’ on all her paintings (line 01), to which Suji responds with laughter treating Hana’s telling as a funny story, and Hana laughs as well without saying anything further (lines 02, 03, 04). After Suji disengages from mutual laughter (line 05), Sara makes an assessment, which is closing-implicative (line 06). The 0.5-second gap develops as no one takes the next turn (line 07). Facing no response, Sara adds increments, “*ilum katkkwu* ‘with name’” (line 08) and “*yuchihakey* ‘childishly’” (line 10), and Suji responds with nodding (line 09).

Thus, at this point, the sequence of tellings about childhood nicknames has more or less run its course.

However, Hana has one more story to tell about funny nicknames. The way she launches her telling orients to both the task at hand, i.e., launching another story related to the topic of ongoing talk, and its placement, i.e., keeping open the sequence in which her story can be properly told. Latching on to Sara's utterance "*yuchihakey* 'childishly,'" Hana takes a big inbreath and repeats *nanun*, through which she successfully secures the recipientship by Suji and Sara whose gazes have been directed to each other (lines 12, 13). She then begins what appears to be a new TCU. It begins with *na* 'I' (line 12), halted by word search, i.e., "*ku meci* 'what is it,'" then restarts right afterwards as a complete clause that projects further talk, "*na ceumey kalucilttay* 'when I was teaching the first time'" (line 13). After Suji and Sara's go-ahead (line 15), Hana proceeds to tell how her students came up with creative nicknames for each other over multiple turn units.

Therefore, at a juncture where the larger sequence of telling about childhood nicknames is about to close down, Hana uses *nanun* at the turn beginning to frame her upcoming talk as a parallel telling to what has been told so far—funny nicknames that children come up with. The design of the turn beginning—latching, inbreath and repetition of *nanun*—points to the speaker's orientation to the vulnerability that the current sequence is coming to a closure.

In the final example, a speaker uses *nanun*-prefacing to launch a parallel telling in the environment of issuing inquiries. The following segment is from a conversation among Sangmi, Hyunju, and Heesun, three Korean women who recently moved to New York City. Below, they are talking about the website that Hyunju is using to purchase

Broadway musical tickets at good discount rates. Prior to the beginning of the segment, Sangmi asked if Hyunju’s website is called *Broadway Lottery* (“*kuke malssumhashinunkecyo buloduweyi loteli* ‘you are talking about that one, right, Broadway lottery’”), but before Sangmi has produced the name of the website in full, Hyunju rejected it. After that, Heesun started describing the website she uses. After Heesun’s long description of how the website works, Hyunju says *e::* ‘o::h,’ as if she newly learned about the website Heesun is describing (line 01).

(4.3) Broadway lottery

- 01 Hyunju: ((gaze to H))-어::,
((gaze to H))-o::h,
- 02 Heesun: ((to H, shaking head))-그거 아니에여,
that not-COP-HON
((to H, shaking head))-is (it) not that one,
- 03 Hyunju: 어: 아니에여 [그거랑 다른()]
uh no-HON that-with different
u:h no [() different from that]
- 04 Heesun: [(그럼) 나랑 또 다른가부다,]
then I-with again different-seem
[(then) (it) must be different one from mine,]
- 05 ((gaze to S))
- 06 Sangmi: → 저는 ((pointing to self))-브로드웨이 딱 그거로터리하는 홈페이지가 있어여.=
I-TOP Broadway right that:thing lottery-do-REL homepage-SUB there:is-HON
I-TOP ((pointing to self))-there is a website that does that Broadway
lottery.=
- 07 Hyunju: =>마저 [마저,<]
right right
=>right [right,<]
- 08 Heesun: ((nods))-[어:,]
((nods))-[a:h,]
- 09 Hyunju: 그건- 그거는 거기엔 몇개 없거든여,
that-TOP that-TOP there-TOP couple no-HON
that- that (there) are not many on there,

- 10 라이언킹이랑,
lion:king-ADD
lion king and,
- 11 Sangmi: ((pointing to H))-어 [마져여 마져:]
yes right-HON right
((pointing to H))-yes [right ri:ght,]

In line 01, Hyunju gives a change-of-state token, implying that she has never heard of that website and thus that is not the website she is using. Heesun stops explaining and asks if the website is not what Hyunju is using (“*kuke anieye* ‘is it not that one’” in line 02), and Hyunju confirms it (line 03). Heesun’s telling about her website is brought to an end with Hyunju’s confirmation (line 04).

Now, Sangmi takes the floor and begins her telling with *nanun*-prefacing (line 06). She says, “*cenun buloduweyi ttak kuke lotelihanun hompayijika isseye* ‘I-TOP there is a website that does that Broadway lottery.’” As in the first example, the utterance is produced as one TCU, without a prosodic break, even though the reference to speaker and the rest of the utterance do not cohere as a grammatically fitted unit. Again, the speaker’s self-reference in the TCU-initial position here can be understood as indexing the launching of a parallel telling.

As a parallel telling, which is similar to the previous telling in terms of topic, action, and format, Sangmi’s telling about a website is treated as an inquiry to be responded to by Hyunju. That is, in the previous talk, Heesun had been telling about her website to Hyunju, so Hyunju can confirm whether or not that is the one she is using, i.e., the description of the website was done as an inquiry issued to the recipient in the previous talk. Now, Sangmi’s telling that there is a website that does lottery is treated as another round of describing a website (topic, format) done for Hyunju to confirm whether or not that is the one she is using (action). In the next turn, Hyunju begins responding,

first indicating that she knows the website (line 07) and then saying that one has only a few programs listed (lines 09, 10). Four lines later (not shown), Hyunju gives a final answer that that is not the one she uses.

This section examined the practice of referring to oneself in the TCU-initial position when launching a parallel telling, i.e., *nanun*-prefacing. As have been shown, the utterances that follow *nanun*-prefacing sometimes feature grammatically disconnected elements produced in one prosodic unit, suggesting that the function of TCU-initial *nanun* may be discourse-organizational in addition to person referential. *Nanun*-prefacing is used when participants introduce new topical materials into the ongoing talk (Example 4.1), keep alive the sequence of topical talk that is about to close (Example 4.2), and produce similar actions, e.g., inquiring, in turn (Example 4.3).

***Na* to Mark Perspective Shift in Position-advancing Accounts**

My data include instances where speakers use the first-person pronoun *na* ‘I’ to refer to a referent other than him/herself. This section examines this marked referring practice. In the three examples in this section, the mismatch between a referential form (the first-person pronoun *na* ‘I’) and its referent (either recipient or a general member of a category) occurs when a speaker illustrates the referent’s perspective. More specifically, when a certain perspective is detailed in talk as an account, the speaker refers to the agent(s) of that perspective, i.e., the person(s) who holds the view being described, by the first-person pronoun *na* ‘I’ instead of the unmarked forms for the recipient or others. It will be shown that such perspective shift in account-giving is employed in the environment of advancing a position, such as disagreeing, affiliating, or making a point.

In the first example, a speaker refers to a general member of a category, doctors in university hospitals, by *na* ‘I’ as he describes their perspective as an account in the environment of disagreement. The following segment is from a conversation between Sunwoo and Jungmin, brother and sister. Sunwoo is talking about the clinical practice sessions in his dental school. Prior to the segment below, Sunwoo complained about how they are assigned to all the rude and difficult patients during clinical practice sessions because they are at the bottom of the totem pole. As a response, Jungmin starts talking about their dad, who is also a doctor. According to Jungmin, Dad has a relatively easier time with patients since he works in a general hospital (and the patients in big hospitals are generally more pliable as their conditions tend to be serious), but that does not mean that he never deals with difficult patients who “don’t listen to Dad” (line 01).

(4.4) University hospital doctors

- 01 Jungmin: 근데 아닌 환자들두 있[어,]
but NEG-adj patients-ADD there:is-IE
but there are also those who [don’t,] (listen to Dad)
- 02 Sunwoo: [응,]
[yeah,]
- 03 Jungmin: 아빠두 다 그 거쳐서 한거지,
dad-ADD all that go:through-PRECED do-thing-COMM
Dad also has gone through all that,
- 04 ((leaning forward, crossing arms))-아빠랑
dad-COM
((leaning forward, crossing arms))-Dad and
- 05 [(syl syl syl syl syl syl)]
- 06 Sunwoo: [근데, 그게 뭐냐면,]아빠는,
but that:thing-SUB what-INTERR dad-SUB
[but the thing is,] Dad is,
- 07 어쨌든 대학병원 의사잖아.,
anyways university hospital doctor-NOML-NEG
a doctor at a university hospital you know,

- 08 Jungmin: ((끄덕))-으음:,
((nods))-mm.:
- 09 Sunwoo:→ 대학병원 의사는, ((pointing to self))-내가 못해도,
university hospital doctor-TOP I[na]-SUB NEG-do-ADD
in case of a doctor in a university hospital, ((pointing to self))-even if I
didn't do well,
- 10 Jungmin: ((끄덕))-아 그르치,
ah like:that
((nods))-ah right,
- 11 Sunwoo: 간호사나 이런애들이 와서 어쭈쭈 할: 면서 >그리구<
nurse-or like:this-kids-SUB come-PRECED sooth do-SIMUL and
nurses or other guys come and soo:th >and also<
- 12 뭐 안올꺼면 어쩔꺼데
what NEG-come-COND
(they) can be like, what are (you) gonna do
- 13 이런게 있자[나 약간,]
how-do-thing like:this-thing-SUB COP
if (you) don't come here [you know,]
- 14 Jungmin: [음:,]
[mmm:,]
- 15 Sunwoo: 근데 우린 그런것두 없구,
but we-TOP like:that-thing-ADD do:not:exits-ADD
but we don't have that luxury,
- 16 Jungmin: ((끄덕))-그르니까,
like:that-DET INTERR
((nods))-right,

In line 01, Jungmin says that Dad also deals with difficult patients, to which Sunwoo offers a quick acknowledgement (line 02). She then adds that Dad has “also gone through all that” (line 03), implying that dealing with difficult patients is a problem faced by even doctors in a general hospital, not only by dental students.³ Through lines 01 to 03,

³ The utterance *appato ta ku kechese hankeci* ‘Dad has gone through all that’ ends with the modal suffix –*ci*, which indicates that “the speaker commits him/herself to the truth of the proposition” (Lee, 1991). In other words, Jungmin is displaying a strong certainty in expressing her view.

therefore, Jungmin is downplaying Sunwoo's complaint by characterizing it as a common problem faced by all doctors, regardless of one's status in the hierarchy.

Sunwoo responds to Jungmin's characterization of the problem made in lines 01 and 03. Overlapping with Jungmin, Sunwoo says, "*kuntey kukey menyamyen* 'but the thing is,'" projecting some sort of disagreement (line 06). He then specifies the category to which Dad belongs to—a doctor in a university hospital (line 07). After establishing Dad's position as a doctor in a university hospital, Sunwoo describes what it is like for those doctors to deal with difficult patients. He says, "*tayhakbyengwon uisa nun* 'in case of a doctor in a university hospital,' *nayka mosshayto kanhosana ilenaytuli wase eccwuccwu* 'even if I didn't do well, nurses and other guys come and soothe [patients]'" (lines 09, 11). Thus, what transpired from lines 06 to 11 is that Sunwoo starts describing the perspective of university hospital doctors in response to Jungmin's downplaying of his complaint. By describing the perspective of doctors in university hospital, Sunwoo is giving an account for why his situation is distinct from Dad's situation. Note that Sunwoo is using the first-person pronoun *na* 'I' here, even though he is not actually referring to himself. Rather, he is referring to a general, unspecified member who belongs to the category of university hospital doctors. Referential forms such as a category term *uisa* 'doctor' or the reflexive pronoun *caki* can be used more appropriately as far as the meaning is concerned.

In the target utterance (line 09), Sunwoo starts describing the perspective of university hospital doctors to explain the completely different circumstance those doctors are in. From lines 09 to 13, Sunwoo is illustrating how the same situation (of dealing with difficult patients) is seen by those doctors—they have extra resources, such as

nurses, to rely on when interacting with patients. Also, they have the upper hand, so to speak, as patients usually need their service anyway (lines 12, 13). This is nothing like the situation where dental students find themselves in (line 15). In short, even if what Jungmin said was true, i.e., dealing with difficult patients is a common problem among all kinds of doctors, how that problem is managed is different between the two groups of doctors, big hospital doctors and dental students. Therefore, university hospital doctors' perspective is being detailed in talk to highlight that difference and support his disagreement with Jungmin's point. Sunwoo here uses the self-referential form *na* 'I' to refer to those doctors whose perspective he is presenting.

In the example above, the perspective shift was employed as the speaker describes the referents' perspective to account for his disagreement with the recipient. The next example illustrates how the same action, i.e., giving an account, is performed in the same way, i.e., describing a referent's perspective as if it were one's own by referring to the referent by *na* 'I,' in a different sequential environment, i.e., that of showing empathy and affiliating with a recipient. Below, the speaker refers to her recipient by *na* 'I' as she illustrates the recipient's perspective to defend the recipient's position and display affiliation. The following segment is from a conversation between Hana, a language instructor working in a university, and her friend, Minsun. In this conversation, Hana has been complaining about how her supervisor meddles in the way she teaches and manages her classes. Just prior to the beginning of the segment, Hana told about her husband's unsupportive reaction to her complaints ("welcome to the real world"). Now, Hana is telling what her colleagues say about how to deal with the supervisor's meddling—just ignore and 'let go' (line 01).

(4.5) Micromanaging

- 01 쉬익.. 렛고 하래는거야. 근데 왜 난 렛고가 안되지,=
shhk let:go do-IMPER-IE but why I-TOP letgo-SUB NEG-work-COMM
shhhk, let go. but why can't I just let go,-=
- 02 ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ, 아이 그냥 ((손 폼다잡었다))-(0.2)
ay just
hehehehe, aah just ((open and close hand))-(0.2)
- 03 개가 짖는구나 이렇게 생[각하래는-]
dog-SUB bark-UNASSIM like:this think-IMPER
(they're saying) just think that a dog is [barking-,]
- 04 Minsun: [음 음:,]
[mhm, mhm,]
- 05 Hana: 어 정말 미친년같애. 마이크로매니징을 정말,
oh really crazy bitch like micromanaging-SUB seriously
oh seriously she's a crazy bitch. her micromanaging is seriously,
- 06 정:말, (.)
se:riously, (.)
- 07 Minsun: 아[니근데,]
no but
no [but,]
- 08 Hana: [돈거같애.]=
crazy-thing-like
[(she) is insane.]
- 09 Minsun: → =개가 짖는다고 할수가 없는게 뭐 내가 뭘: 하든지간에
dog-SUB bark-QUOT do-way-SUB NEG-thing-SUB I[na]-SUB whatever do
=it's hard to just say that a dog is barking, because like wha:tever I do,
- 10 거기[에 계속 쫓아다니]면서 머라그[릴거야냐,]
there continuously chase-SIMUL nitpick-NEG
isn't (she) [going to meddle] in it, following [around,]
- 11 Hana: [((끄덕))-음음음.] [응응응.]
m m m yes yes yes
[((nods))-mmmm.] [Yeah yeah yeah.]
- 12 ((H and M gaze each other, H nods))-(0.2)
- 13 Minsun: 그러니까 뭘 개가 짖는구나 할: 상황이
so what-OBJ dog-SUB bark-UNASSIM do position-SUB
so it's not a situation where (you can say) a barking dog

14 [(syl syl syl)]

In line 01, Hana tells what her colleagues say one should do—just ‘let go.’ Hana then adds that “*kuntey way nan leytkoka an toyçi* ‘but why can’t I let go’” and laughs, indicating that the advice is hard to follow. She then paraphrases the advice—just think that a dog is barking, a Korean expression used to describe ignoring verbal nuisance rather than responding to it. Minsun provides the tokens of acknowledgement (line 04). Hana starts giving a further assessment about the supervisor’s micromanaging (lines 04, 05), but Minsun interrupts her at this point (line 06).

Minsun’s turn begins with the discourse markers “*ani* ‘no’” and “*kuntey* ‘but,’” both of which project something that resists and contrasts what was said in the prior talk (Kim, S. H, 2015; Park, Y. Y., 1998). She then problematizes the advice given by Hana’s colleagues (“*kayka citnuntako halswuka epnunkey* ‘it’s hard to just say that a dog is barking because’” in line 08). She then says, “*nayka mwel hatuncikaney kyesok ccochatanimyense mela kulelkke anya* ‘whatever I do, isn’t (she) going to meddle in it, following around’” (lines 08, 09). Note that Minsun is using the first-person pronoun *na* ‘I’ here even if it is highly unlikely that she is actually referring to herself in this utterance. The person who is being referred to is Hana, the recipient.

In the target utterance, Minsun is illustrating the situation Hana might find herself in, i.e., she cannot escape the supervisor’s meddling *whatever she does*, in order to rebut how Hana’s husband and colleagues see the matter, i.e., it is a part of life (“welcome to the real world”) and something you should just ignore (“let go”). In both viewpoints, the fact that the supervisor’s harassment is inescapable is not taken into consideration. Now, Minsun is pointing out this fact as the reason why Hana cannot simply ignore the

supervisor's behavior. Note that Hana expressed her difficulty with following her colleagues' advice earlier without being able to articulate why (line 01). Now, Minsun is articulating why on behalf of Hana. In doing so, Minsun is validating Hana's frustration and showing empathy toward her. As the speaker details the referent's perspective at this juncture, she uses the self-referential form *na* 'I' to refer to the referent, despite the availability of a clear, 'designated' form for the referent, i.e., a referential form for recipient such as *unni* 'older sister.'

In the final example, a speaker refers to a general member of a category (American professors) by *na* 'I' as he describes the referent's perspective to explain and corroborate the claim that he made in the previous talk. Below, Sangmin, Jaewon, and Taewook, three male Korean graduate students studying in an American university, are talking about hiring processes in American companies. Just prior to the segment below, Taewook was explaining at what point of the hiring process companies ask a letter from a candidate's advisor and how advisors will then write *hesimtanhoyhakey* 'candid letters.' Interrupting Taewook, Sangmin asks if American professors indeed write letters honestly. When Taewook is about to respond, Jaewon takes the floor and answers using an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986), saying "*wancen solcikhay* 'completely honest'" twice. He then says that he himself had the same question in the past and heard that one should not ask for letters carelessly, i.e., it is not guaranteed that a professor will write nice things. Below, Jaewon continues elaborating on his categorical answer (lines 01, 02).

(4.6) American professors

01 Jaewon: 진짜. 공짜. 거기서:, (.) .tch 나는 이제 어떻게
 really so there I-TOP now how
 seriously. so. (.) .tch so now

02 들었냐면,

- hear-INTERR-say-COND
what I heard is,
- 03 Taewook: 사람 속으로 어떻게 생각[할지 몰라,]
person inside-LOC how think-NOML do not know
(you) never know what one [really thinks,]
- 04 Jaewon: [한국 사람들]은:,
Ko reans-TOP
(they say) [Korea:ns,]
- 05 아 다 잘되라고:, 좋게 좋게 얘길 해준대:.
Ah all well-become-IMPER well well say do-give-QUOT
write nice things for you, wishing we:ll.
- 06 → 근테 미국사람들은: ((taps the desk))-내가 애를 추천해서
but americans-TOP I[na]-SUB s/he-OBJ recommend-PRECED
but america:ns, [(they) think that] {((taps the desk))-if I} recommend this
person
- 07 애가 못하며는 자기 레터: 자기,=
s/he-SUB IMPOT NEG-do-COND REF letter REF
and s/he doesn't do well, it hurts his/her letter: his/her=
- 08 Sangmin: =((끄덕))-음:,]
mm
=((nods))-mm:.,
- 09 Jaewon: =[레putation에] 평판: 긍까 평판 레putation에,
reputation-LOC reputation so reputation reputation-LOC
=reputation: I mean reputation [(they) think] reputation,
- 10 Sangmin: [((끄덕))-음::°]
mm
((nods))-°mm:°
- 11 Taewook: [((nods))]
- 12 Jaewon: [해를: 받는다 고 생각하기 때문에,]
harm-OBJ receive-QUOT think-NOML because
[gets damaged so,]
- 13 정확하게 판단해준대. 그래서 만약,
accurately judge-do-QUOT so if
(they) evaluate honestly. so if,

In lines 01 and 02, Jaewon launches a multi-unit telling of what he heard as to why American professors write ‘completely honest’ letters. He first explains why Korean

professors write nice letters, briefly describing the thinking behind it (“*ta caltoylako* ‘wishing well’” in line 05). He then turns to American professors. After introducing the category of American (professors), he begins detailing how American professors see the job of writing letters (line 06). That is, they think that their reputation is at stake “if I recommend this person and s/he doesn’t do well” (“*nayka yaylul chwuchenhayse yayka mosshamyenun*” in lines 06, 07, 09, 12) and that is why they “evaluate students honestly (*cenghwakhakey pandanhay cwuntay*)” (line 13). Note that as he describes an American professors’ perspective, he uses the self-referential form *na* ‘I’ to refer to the referent.

In this segment, the perspective of the referents is invoked to account for the speaker’s point made earlier. As Jaewon constructs his answer to the question ‘do American professors write honest letters,’ he first gave a categorical answer “completely honest.” He then added the source of the information—he asked the same question in the past and heard that one should not ask for a letter carelessly. Up to this point, therefore, Jaewon has pounded home the point that American professors write completely honest letters without explaining *why*. Now, from line 06, he begins the telling of why—it is because American professors see recommendation letters as the evidence of his/her own credibility as much as the testimony of a student’s qualification. This perspective is quite different from the perspective of Korean professors, who usually do not consider their reputation to be at stake when writing letters (lines 04, 05). However, for American professors, one’s own reputation is also at stake. This perspective is therefore a crucial piece of information that accounts for the categorical answer provided in the previous talk. As the speaker describes the referents’ perspective to give an account, he uses the marked referential form *na* ‘I’ to refer to the referent.

This section examined the marked practice of referring to referents other than speaker by the self-referential form *na* ‘I.’ It has been shown that when a certain perspective is described to recipients as an account in the environment of advancing a position (dis/affiliating and making a point), speakers refer to the agent of that perspective, i.e., the person(s) who holds the view being described, by the first-person pronoun *na* ‘I.’

Overt Reference to Resist Terms of Question

This section examines the marked usage of overt reference to speaker in the response position in the question-answer sequence. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Korean grammar allows the omission of redundant elements in a sentence or an utterance. Redundant elements include references to person, place, or objects that are easily retrievable from the context of conversation. Among references to person, reference to speaker (and recipient) is most frequently treated as redundant because the physical and interactional contexts where interlocutors can see (and/or hear) each other often make it unambiguous as to who is being referred to (Oh, 2007). For this reason, it is claimed that the unmarked referential form for speaker in naturally-occurring conversation in Korean is zero anaphora (Chang, 1978). Among the sequential environments where overt reference is made redundant, the question-answer sequence offers one clear example. That is, if a referent in the response position is the same as the one being asked the question, it is repetitive to use overt reference in the response. In such cases, zero anaphora is used as the unmarked form.⁴ In this section, the instances where speakers use

⁴ For this reason, the question-answer sequence is one of the most frequently used examples in Korean textbooks or Korean linguistics studies that illustrate the use of zero anaphora.

overt self-reference in the response position are examined. More specifically, I show how speakers use overt self-reference in a response to a *wh*-question that addresses the wrong assumption of the question. In the three examples below, a *wh*-question is launched whose presupposition is not compatible with the question-responder's reality. As the responder formulates a statement about him/herself that is not aligned with the question asker's assumption, s/he uses overt reference to self despite the redundancy. As will be shown, overt self-reference in a response to a *wh*-question is repeatedly observed when the question responder resists the terms of the question.

In the first example, a speaker uses overt self-reference in a response to a *wh*-question that seeks information about the speaker. Below, three Korean women (Heesun, Sangmi, and Hyunju), who recently moved to the United States with their families, are talking about traveling. Before the segment, they were exchanging information about different destinations. In line 02, Heesun abruptly shifts the topic from travel to honeymoon by launching a *wh*-question directed to Sangmi.

(4.7) Honeymoon

- | | | |
|----|---------|--|
| 01 | Sangmi: | 비행기값두 비싸구:,
airplane-price-ADD expensive-ADD
plane tickets are expensive too:, |
| 02 | Heesun: | ((gaze to S))-상미씨는 신혼여행 어디갔\$다왔어여,\$=
Sangmi-TOP honeymoon where-go-PAST-HON
((gaze to S))-where did you go \$for honeymoon\$= |
| 03 | | 갑자기 그게(ㅎ)[궁금[(ㅎ)해(ㅎ)져(ㅎ)ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ],
suddenly that-SUB curious-become
I got cu(h)rious [ab(h)out [th(h)at(h) suddenly(h)hehehehe,] |
| 04 | Hyunju: | [hehehehehehe,] |
| 05 | Sangmi: | [hehehehehehe,] |
| 06 | Heesun: | [hehehehehe,] |

- 07 Hyunju: [hehehehehe,]
- 08 Sangmi: → [저 사실 신혼여행] 못갔어여.,
I in:fact honeymoon cannot:go-PAST-HON
 [I actually couldn't] go honeymoon.,
- 09 Heesun: 어[::,]
 oh
 oh[::,]
- 10 Hyunju: [어어 왜여,]
 oh oh why-HON
 [oh: why,]
- 11 Sangmi: 제가 이천십육년 십-이월에 {{{손가락 V}}-졸업을 했는데,}
 I-TOP 2016-year december-LOC graduation-ACC do-PAST-CIRCUM
 Because I graduated in December {{{(fingers making “V”))-
 2016,}
- 12 Heesun: ((끄덕))-어:,
 oh
 ((nods))-o:h,

In line 01, Sangmi agrees with what Heesun and Hyunju said earlier, that it is a good idea to travel to Europe while staying in America. Changing the topic, Heesun turns to Sangmi and asks her where she went for her honeymoon (line 02). The end of Heesun’s question is delivered with smiley voice, and she quickly adds that she got curious about that all of sudden, possibly indexing to an abrupt shift she brought to talk. The end of her account is interspersed with laughter, and other participants join in laughter soon (lines 04, 05).

Sangmi, the recipient of Heesun’s question, disengages from laughter earlier than others and responds (line 08). She says, “*ce sashil shinhonyehayng mosskaseyo* ‘I actually couldn't go honeymoon,’” using the self-referential form *ce* ‘I.’ Note that Sangmi is here using overt reference instead of zero anaphora when leaving the subject implicit would cause little ambiguity as to whom she is talking about: Heesun’s question was

inquiring about where Sangmi went for honeymoon, and a relevant answer would entail informing the recipient of her honeymoon location.

Making explicit who is being talked about, i.e., speaker, when it is implicitly understood in this response position appears to be related to the action performed through the turn. In this turn, Sangmi is responding to Heesun's question by addressing the wrong assumption held by Heesun in asking that question—that Sangmi must have gone honeymoon. In other words, what the response is doing is correcting the assumption of the question asker. As the speaker formulates a statement about herself that is not aligned with the recipient's assumption, she uses overt self-reference instead of zero anaphora.

As the statement that rectifies the assumption of her interlocutor(s), Sangmi's response gets expanded on by Heesun and Hyunju, who treat the response as unexpected and deserving an account. Both Heesun and Hyunju show surprise at learning that Sangmi did not go honeymoon ("Oh:." in lines 09-10), and Hyunju immediately asks why (line 10). Sangmi gives an account (from lines 11) that continues over the next 10 lines.

In the next example, a speaker uses overt self-reference as she formulates a response to a *wh*-question that was launched as a request. The following segment is from text messages between Sora, who is living and working in Korea, and Kay, who has been living in New York City for almost 10 years. Sora is visiting New York for business trip and has been asking Kay about things she should know while staying in the city. The conversation begins as Sora texts Kay after a few hours of hiatus in talk.

(4.8) Broadway musicals

01 Sora:	언니 unni (=older sister)	[8:52 AM]
02	전무님이 월요일에 뮤지컬예매하란데 Exec.director-SUB Monday-LOC musical purchase:ticket-IMPER-CIRCUM Executive director is telling (me) to purchase musical tickets on Monday	[8:52 AM]
03	혹시 어디서 사나? by:any:chance where buy-NON COMM Where do (I) get (them), by any chance?	[8:52 AM]
04 Kay:	흠 hmm hmm	[10:22 AM]
05	→ 나 뮤지컬은 여기서 본적이 없다 I musical-TOP here see-time-SUB do:not:exist I haven't seen any musicals here	[10:22 AM]
06	-_-;;;;;;	[10:22 AM]
07	인터넷 무슨 사이트 여러개 있는거같은데 internet what site couple exist-thing-like-CIRCUM there seems to be couple of internet sites	[10:23 AM]
08 Sora:	표 ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ hahahahaha	[10:54 AM]
09	아 언니 우껴 ah unni funny ah you're funny	[10:55 AM]
10 Kay:	비싸고 ㅋㅋ expensive-ADD (they're) expensive hh	[10:57 AM]
11	사람이 너무 많;;; people-SUB too many and too crowded	[10:57 AM]

Sora opens the conversation by addressing Kay (“*unni* ‘older sister’” in line 01) and then asks where she should buy tickets for Broadway shows. She first gives an account for her question (her boss told her to get tickets), indicating that the question is related to her work. Her inquiry comes in the next turn as a delicate request (“*hoksi* ‘by any chance’”

and the suffix *-na*, which indicates speaker's distance from the proposition expressed, in line 03). In requesting for information, Sora is assuming that Kay might know better than her about purchasing Broadway show tickets and help her with the process.

Kay, however, is unable to provide the information that Sora inquires. Kay's response begins with "hmm" (line 04), indicating some trouble ahead. In the following line, she says that she has never seen Broadway musicals in New York, overtly marking reference to herself ("*na* 'I,'" line 05). This is followed by emotes that signify a frowning face and sweating ("*-_-;;;*" line 06), which is often used by Korean speakers to express embarrassment or frustration. After announcing that she has never seen any musicals in New York (and showing embarrassment about it), she gives a generic answer, "there seems to be couple of internet sites" (line 07).

Two things to note about Kay's utterance in line 05. First, when Kay is talking about having never seen any musicals in New York, it is clear that she is talking about her experience, rather than that of Sora or someone else. Therefore, omitting the reference would not cause ambiguity as to whom she is talking about. She nonetheless uses overt self-reference. Second, as a response to Sora's question, Kay is telling something that corrects Sora's assumption—the assumption that Kay must be familiar with the process of purchasing tickets and could give her advice on the matter. However, in fact, Kay has not even seen any shows (and has never bought any tickets), let alone being able help Sora. Like in the previous example, as the speaker states a fact about herself that is not aligned with the question asker's assumption, she uses overt self-reference.

In the final example, a speaker uses overt self-reference in the environment of an extended clash of assumptions and expectations between interlocutors. In this segment, Sora and Youngjoo, former co-workers, are talking about parenting. Youngjoo, who has two pre-school aged daughters, was saying that she had never taught her kids how to read and only recently learned that “all” other parents are reading books to their children before they go to sleep. And then she introduces Minhee, another colleague of theirs, and launches a telling about her surprising discovery that Minhee also reads books to her children. However, Sora’s interrupts Youngjoo’s telling by saying she already knows it. After a few exchanges that address Sora’s interruption, Youngjoo nonetheless resumes her telling (line 01).

(4.9) Bedtime reading

- 01 Youngjoo: 그래서 물어봤어.=hh↓민희야 너두: 잘때 ↑책읽어주니,
so ask-PAST-IE Minhee you-ADD sleep-when book read-give
so I asked (her).=hh ↓Minhee, do you read (them) books when (they) go
to sleep too,
- 02 >°그랬드니°< 언. 그러는거야.
Do-that-PAST yes do-that-thing-IE
>°(I) said it then°< (she) says yeah, you know.
- 03 Sora: 영.
yes
yeah.
- 04 Youngjoo: >그래서< (syl syl syl) 거든:,
so you know
>so< (syl syl syl syl),
- 05 Sora: 어:: 안읽어준다구,
oh NEG-read-give-QUOT
O::h that (you/she?) doesn’t read (her) a book,
- 06 Youngjoo: (0.5) <책을.> (.) 왜 읽어[주(는거야),]
book-OBJ why read-give-thing-IE
(0.5) <books.> (.) why do (you) [read (kids) books,]

- 07 Sora: [그럼 넌] 뭐 해줘,=
then you-TOP what do-give
[then what do you] do with your kids,=
- 08 Youngjoo:→ =나 아무것도 안해줘,
I nothing do-give
=I do nothing,
- 09 Sora: 그냥 자:,=이르케 해,
just sleep like:this do
(do you) just say go to slee:p,=like this,
- 10 Youngjoo: >아니 그냥< 노는데, (.) 놀다가 [졸리면,]
no just play-CIRCUM play-while sleep-COND
>no just< (we?) play, (.) and while playing [if (they) get sleepy,]
- 11 Sora: [같이 놀다가,]
together play-while
[while playing together,]
- 12 Youngjoo: 그냥 자[는데,]=
just sleep-CIRCUM
(they) just go to [sleep,]
- 13 Sora: ((끄덕))-[어:,]=
yes
((nods))-[yeah:,]
- 14 Youngjoo: =애네들은, [그래서,]
they-TOP so
=they do, [so,]
- 15 Sora: [↑그럼 되지] 뭐:,
then work what
[then that's enough,]

In lines 01-02, Youngjoo reports, using direct quoted speech, how she found out that Minhee is also reading books to her daughter. Although Youngjoo packaged this turn as a telling of some unexpected discovery (e.g., vivid presentation using direct quoted speech; the use of the suffix *-nkeya*⁵), it is not responded as such (Sora's mere "yeah" in line 03).

⁵ S. H. Rhee (2010) briefly discusses the discourse function of *-nkeya* as having an emphatic meaning with the nuance of mirativity—information that is perceived to be surprising, unexpected, and new.

What the next two turns are doing is not clear, except that Sora is displaying her understanding about something in the previous turn (line 05).

However, in the next turn, Youngjoo clearly expresses her trouble with accepting this parenting practice as a commonsense. After a 0.5-second gap, she asks, “*chaykul wey ilkechwununkeya* ‘why do you read books to kids’” (line 06). Her question is delivered with hesitation, featuring the gap before the turn beginning; slowing down of pace at the turn beginning; and the micropause before the question word “*way* ‘why.’” Thus, at this point, Youngjoo abandons the telling about her surprising discovery of this parenting practice and is now questioning why such practice is so widespread.

Before Youngjoo’s question is completed, however, Sora responds with a “counter” (Schegloff, 2007b). Sora asks, “*kulem nen mwe haychwue* ‘then what do you do with your kids’” (line 07). Now, Sora’s question assumes that Youngjoo must have some bedtime activities with her children, if not reading books. The assumption is conveyed through the grammatical feature and prosodic emphasis employed. First, Sora uses a second-person pronoun *ne* ‘you’ followed by the topic marker *-nun*. The topic marker *-nun* is often used to mark ‘contrast’ (Sohn, 1999) between the referent it is attached to and other entities that preceded in the discourse. By overtly referring to Youngjoo with the topic marker *-nun*, therefore, Sora is implicitly contrasting Youngjoo, who does not read books to her children, to other parents, who do. Second, Sora emphasizes the word “*mwe* ‘what,’” again contrasting what she might be doing against reading books. By contrasting both the actors, i.e., Youngjoo versus other parents, and the actions, i.e., what Youngjoo does versus reading books, Sora conveys a strong

assumption that Youngjoo must be doing something if not reading books, and asks what that is.

It turns out, however, Youngjoo is not doing anything in particular. In the next turn, Youngjoo bluntly says “*na amwuketto an haycwue* ‘I do nothing’” (line 08). In composing this response, Youngjoo uses overt self-reference *na* ‘I.’ Again, this turn being an answer to a question about the responder, the responder may omit overt self-reference without causing ambiguity as to whom she is talking about, i.e., using overt self-reference is redundant as far as referring alone is concerned. As in the previous examples, the use of overt self-reference to speaker in a response to a *wh*-question is related to the action of the response. Youngjoo’s response, “*na amwuketto an haycwue* ‘I do nothing’” directly addresses the assumption of the question asker that Youngjoo must do something if not reading books. Again, as the speaker formulates a statement about herself that is not aligned with the assumption of the question, she uses the overt self-reference.

Despite Youngjoo’s response that she has no bedtime activities for her kids, Sora pursues the question of ‘what’ she does for her kids. In the next turn, Sora asks, “*kunyang ca ilekey hay* ‘do you just say go to sleep?’” (line 09). Again, that is not exactly what Youngjoo does either. Youngjoo begins her response with “*ani kunyang* ‘no just,’” resisting the premise of the question again (for the action performed by *ani*-prefaced responses, see Kim, 2015). Youngjoo continues, saying “*nonuntey noltaka colimyen kunyang canuntey* ‘(they) just play, and if (they) get sleepy while playing, (they) just go to sleep’” (lines 10 and 12). Note that as Youngjoo uses zero anaphora to refer to the subjects of her utterance, it is not clear at this point whether she is referring to both

herself and her kids or to her kids alone. Sora seems to interpret it as Youngjoo and her kids, as she provides an uptake, “*kaci noltaka* ‘while playing together,’” adding *kaci* ‘together’ to what Youngjoo originally said (line 11). In other words, Sora seems to interpret that Youngjoo plays with her kids until they get sleepy (instead of reading books to them). However, Youngjoo adds the subject of her utterance at the end, “*yayneytulun* ‘they’” (line 14), recasting her description as what her kids do by themselves, rather than what she does together with her kids. In this stretch of conversation, therefore, the misalignment between Sora’s assumption and Youngjoo’s reality does not get resolved through the talk following the question-response sequence.

This section examined the use of overt reference to speaker in the second pair part position of an adjacency pair launched by *wh*-questions. The *wh*-questions shown in this section presuppose something that is not aligned with facts about question responders. It was shown that in responding to such questions, a responder employs overt self-reference as s/he formulates a statement that addresses the problematic terms posed by the question.

Explicit marking of the speaker self-reference in term-resisting responses can be considered as an example of how grammar is utilized for performing social actions through talk. As noted in Chapter 2, the Korean grammar allows the omission of reference to persons, including reference to speaker, when the sentential, discourse, and situational contexts enable the recovery of the referent (Sohn, 1999). In a response to a question, the referent (the person who is to be talked about) is already given by the question, and therefore responses are one place where reference to person can be readily dropped. Now, when a speaker designs a response that overtly mentions the already given referent, it can be said that s/he is resisting the grammatical term suggested by the

question as well. Grammatically more explicit and independent, these responses embody the action that resists the terms of the question. The practice of formulating grammatically independent responses to *wh*-question to index the responder's trouble with the question has been also observed in English (Fox & Thompson, 2010). The scope of interactional environments that motivate explicit marking of speaker's self-reference in Korean need to be further examined.

Discussion

This chapter examined the uses of reference to speaker that are motivated by interactional demands during talk-in-interaction in Korean conversation. First, it has been shown that reference to speaker, *na* 'I,' combined with the topic marker *-nun* is often employed in turn-initial position to perform a particular discourse-organizational task—to index the launch of a 'parallel telling,' a telling that is similar to the previous one in terms of topic, action, and format. *Nanun*-prefacing appears in various sequential positions as interlocutors keep a sequence of topical talk going or re-open an almost closed sequence of topical talk. It is also used when interlocutors take turn in launching the same action such as inquiring.

The second section examined how the first-person pronoun *na* 'I' is used to refer to a referent that is not speaker him/herself. It has been shown that when a certain perspective is detailed in talk to give an account, speakers tend to use the first-person pronoun to refer to the person who holds that view instead of using the unmarked forms for the recipient or others. Such perspective shift is done in the environment of advancing a position such as disagreeing, advocating, or strengthening a point. The phenomenon of

using the first-person pronoun to refer to a referent other than the speaker him/herself has not been investigated in depth in the studies in personal pronouns or person references in talk-in-interaction. The exception is Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990), where a passing mention is made about the impersonal use of *I* in depicting hypothetical situations in written English. My finding adds to the literature by identifying the sequential environment where the first-person pronoun is used to refer to recipients or others in naturally-occurring conversation in Korean.

Lastly, the use of overt reference to speaker in a response to a *wh*-question was examined. It has been shown that speakers explicitly mark self-reference when they formulate a statement about themselves that is not aligned with the presupposition of the question. It was also argued that explicit marking of self-reference in the response position is in a way to resist the grammatical term imposed by the question, and that this mirrors the turn's action, which is to resist the question's term. The iconic relationship of this kind between form and function (Haiman, 1994) is an interesting question to explore in regards to person reference practices in Korean. The relationship between the actions that involve misalignment, disaffiliation, and distancing and the use of overt reference versus zero anaphora will also be a fruitful avenue of future research.

V – REFERENCE TO RECIPIENT

Introduction

This chapter examines the uses of reference to recipient as interactional resources in talk-in-interaction. More specifically, the instances of using overt reference to recipient in the environments where the referent in the utterance is clearly the recipient are examined to delineate what interactional motivations prompt such use instead of the unmarked choice of zero anaphora. The chapter is composed of two sections. In the first section, I examine the use of the second-person pronoun *ne* ‘you’ when a speaker makes speculation about the recipient. In the second section, I examine the use of the second-person pronoun *ne* ‘you’ followed by the subject particle *-ka* in formulating *wh*-questions. It will be shown that, in both cases, overt reference to recipient is employed to accomplish particular actions beyond simple referring in talk-in-interaction.

***Ne* to Mark Newsworthy Speculation about Recipient**

In this section, I examine the instances where the speaker talks about what s/he presume to be newsworthy about the recipient, such as ‘you got a boyfriend’ or ‘your English must have improved a lot.’ As will be shown, such speculations are made to solicit the recipients’ confirmation and/or accounts. In these instances, speakers tend to explicitly refer to the recipient using *ne* ‘you’ even when who is being referred to is clear from the context. In other words, the second-person pronoun *ne* ‘you’ is used to mark a speaker’s newsworthy speculation about the recipient.

I will first show three examples where speakers use *ne* ‘you’ to mark newsworthy speculations about the recipients and solicit the recipient’s confirmation or account. At the end of the section, I present one contrasting example where a speaker uses zero anaphora as he speculates about the recipient to display affiliation.

In the first example, a speaker makes a speculation about the recipient while exchanging how-are-you’s in the beginning of a phone call, and, as can be seen, he overtly refers to the recipient in this speculation. The following segment is from a telephone conversation from Jae and Sang (pseudonyms), two male Korean speakers studying in graduate schools in the United States. The segment is taken from the early part of the call¹, where participants are exchanging how-are-you’s.

(5.1) Voice

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 01 | Sang: | 그냥 뭐:- 똑같이 지내지,=숙제하고 공부 >하고 뭐<
just what same stay-COMM homework do-ADD study do-ADD what
just you know:- same old,=doing homework, studying, |
| 02 | | 그리고 지내고 있어.=
doing that stay-PROG-IE
things like that.= |
| 03 | Jae: | =어, 그래,
yes right
=yeah, I see, |
| 04 | Sang: | 응:.
yes
yea:h. |
| 05 | Jae: | 어:=너- (0.2) 학기는: 이미 >시작-< 한 거↑지,
yes you semester-TOP already start thing-COMM
yea:h=you- (0.2) already started the semester, r↑ight, |

¹ All telephone call examples in this chapter are taken from the database of telephone conversations in Korean compiled by Linguistics Data Consortium (LDC). For all telephone conversations from the dataset, the very beginning of each call is not available, as the recording starts only after the participants acknowledge their participation by entering their information. Thus, the canonical opening sequence of telephone conversations is not observed in many samples of the dataset.

- 06 Sang: 그림:, 우리가 일월 팔일 날: 시작 했으니까 벌써 .hh 보름쯤
of course we-SUB january eighth start did-DET+INTERR already fifteen days
of course, we started on January eighth so it's already .hh fifteen days
- 07 [지났다,=야.]
pass-PAST hey
[into the semester,]
- 08 Jae: [아이고,] 오래 됐구만.=
wow long-time become-PAST
[ah,] it started long ago.=
- 09 Sang: =.hh 아이:,=그래서 죽겠다 죽겠[어.]
ah so die-DCT:RE-DECL die-DCT:RE-IE
=.hh a:h,=so (I'm) dying, (I'm) [dying.]
- 10 Jae: [>야] 근데 < 그-
hey but that
[>hey] but < that-
- 11 → 왜. (.) [야 너,]=
why hey **you[ne]**
why. (.) [hey **you,**]=
- 12 Sang: [(syl syl)]=
- 13 Jae: → =너 자다 일어 난 거 같[↑]다,
you[ne] sleep-TRANS get-up thing appear-DECL
=**you** seem you just woke [↑]up,
- 14 Sang: [↑]나,
I
m[↑]e,
- 15 Jae: 영,
yes
yeah,
- 16 Sang: 감기가 좀 걸렸지,
cold-SUB little-bit contract-PAST-COMM
I caught a cold,
- 17 Jae: 아::, 야 >요즘< 감기 전국적으로 유행인가보다,
ah hey these-days cold nationwide trend-COP
a:h, it seems like cold is everywhere these days,
- 18 Sang: 그러[↑]니,
like-that
reall[↑]y,

In lines 01 to 09, Sang answers Jae's inquiries, talking about what he is up to these days and when his school started (fifteen days ago, in lines 06, 07). In line 08, Jae upgrades Sang's answer, characterizing it as 'long ago.' Sang affiliates with Jae's characterization, adding *kulayse cwukkeyssta cwukkeysse* 'so I'm dying, I'm dying' (line 09). The talk therefore reached a point where the how-are-you sequence initiated by Jae can transition into the topic of Sang's school life, e.g., talking about why the semester is stressful for him.

However, instead of pursuing the topic of Sang's school life, Jae orients to something else he noticed, Sang's voice. Jae takes the next turn in overlap with Sang's (lines 09, 10), beginning with the discourse marker *kuntey*, which indexes a topic shift. After momentary confusion as to which topic to pursue (e.g., Jae's brief orientation to Sang's remarks in the previous turn ("way 'why'" in line 11) and the simultaneous start of the next turn by Jae and Sang (lines 11, 12)), Jae continues. He begins the turn by both addressing and referring to Sang, i.e., "*ya ne* 'hey you'" (line 11), strongly projecting talk about the recipient. This can potentially account for why Sang backs down and hands the floor to Jae. Now free to continue, Jae says "*ne cata ilenanke kassta* 'you seem you just woke up,'" overtly marking recipient-reference using *ne* 'you' (line 13). Note that in this utterance, it is clear that Jae is talking about Sang. Thus, zero anaphora is the unmarked referential form, and overt reference is the marked form.

Two observations may be made about the target utterance in line 13. First, Jae calls attention to what he noticed as newsworthy about Sang—his voice. As can be seen, Jae has been preparing for the telling of this observation early on (line 10). He began the turn in overlap with Sang's utterance, without responding to Sang's comment about his

school life (lines 09, 10). Although a brief hesitation follows as to which topic to pursue, Sang's voice or Sang's school life (lines 11, 12), Jae chooses to share his observation about Sang's voice first. That is, Jae is orienting to Sang's voice as something noteworthy to be discussed. Second, Jae's observation is made to solicit Sang's own confirmation or accounts. That is, by speculating about Sang's state of affairs first, Jae is inviting Sang to confirm or offer an account.² Thus, in the target utterance, the speaker uses the overt referential form *ne* 'you' in noticing the recipient's presumed state as something unusual and newsworthy, thereby soliciting the recipient's own account.

Jae's telling of what he noticed about Sang is responded to by Sang's explanation in the ensuing talk. In line 16, Sang explains why his voice sounds like he just woke up: "*kamkika com kelyessci* 'I caught a cold.'" ³ Therefore, Jae's telling of what is newsworthy about Sang—his voice sounds like he just woke up—is treated by Sang as a request for an account. The conversation continues as the two participants talk about people around them who have caught a cold or the flu.

The next extract also occurs towards the beginning of a phone conversation, where a speaker uses *ne* 'you' as she speculates about the potential news her co-participant is about to announce. The following segment is taken from a telephone conversation between two female Korean speakers in their early 20s, SY and MJ, the caller. The segment is from an early part of the call, where participants are moving from exchanging how-are-you to asking how each other's families are doing.

² In this respect, the target utterance is akin to 'my side of telling' that is deployed as a fishing device for an account (Pomerantz, 1980).

³ Grammatically, Sang's utterance highlights the cold as the reason for his voice sounding hoarse, as opposed to having just woken up. The word *kamki* 'cold' is followed by the subject marker *-ka*, which, in a certain type of response position, marks the information being sought by a question-asker.

(5.2) New boyfriend

- 01 MJ: 야, 부모님은 잘 계시냐(ㅎ),
hey parents-TOP well exist-INTERR
Are your parents doing well(h),
- 02 SY: 응,=ㅎ[ㅎ,ㅇ]
yes
yes,=ㅎhe[he,ㅇ]
- 03 MJ: [동]생들↑은,
younger-siblings-TOP
[and] (your) younger sibl↑ings,
- 04 SY: (.) .HH 그게 문제가 안:니야(ㅎ).=
that-thing-SUB problem-SUB is:not-IE
(.) .HH that is no:t what's import(h)ant.=
- 05 MJ: =그게 문제가 아니↑야, [너(ㅎ): 뭐-,]=
that-thing-SUB problem-SUB is:not-IE you what
=that is not what's import↑ant, [you(h): what-,]=
- 06 SY: [어(ㅎ)ㅎㅎ,]=
yes
[yea(h)(h)eheh,]=
- 07 MJ: → =일- .hh 너 남자 친구 생(ㅎ)겼(ㅎ)구나(ㅎ)ㅎㅎ
event **you[ne]** boyfriend become-exist-PAST
=something- .hh **you** got a b(h)oyfrie(h)nd(h),hehe
- 08 °ㅎㅎ[ㅎㅎㅎ,°]
hehehehehe
°hehe[hehehe.,°]
- 09 SY: [아이고. 근데] 그게 더 웃긴게,=
ah but that-SUB more funny thing-SUB
[ah but] what's funnier is,=
- 10 MJ: =어.
yes
=yeah.
- 11 SY: 너가 아- 너가 아는 애야.
you-SUB you-SUB know-MOD kid-COP-IE
You know- you know him.
- 12 MJ: .HHH (0.2) 어프↑께, (.) 잠깐(ㅎ)ㅎㅎ,
how wait
.HHH (0.2) h↑ow, (.) wait(h)eheh,

In line 01, MJ extends how-are-you inquiry to SY's family members, starting from SY's parents. After SY's minimal response (line 02), MJ continues asking how SY's younger siblings are doing (line 03). In the next turn, SY dismisses MJ's inquiry (line 03). After a rather dramatic turn beginning (micropause and deep inbreath), SY prefaces a news announcement with, "*kukey chwungyohankey anya* 'that is not what is important'" (line 04), strongly projecting the telling of 'what is important.'

In response to SY's abrupt shift to pre-announcement, MJ begins working out what might be more important to talk about. After taking up SY's dismissal of her inquiry (repeat of SY's utterance, ending in a rising intonation, in line 05), MJ audibly engages in thinking and coming up with a possible news item. She begins a new turn-constructural unit (TCU) with *ne* 'you' (line 05). After two failed attempts at continuing (hitches and re-starts in lines 05, 07), she says, "*ne namcacinkwu sayngkyesskwuna* 'you got a boyfriend.'" (line 07).

As in the previous example, the speaker's newsworthy speculation about the recipient, i.e., she got a new boyfriend, is made to solicit the recipient's confirmation (and account) in the next turn. As the speaker formulates the turn, she uses the overt referential form *ne* 'you' even though who is being referred to in this utterance is clear. *Ne* 'you,' again, is used to explicitly mark newsworthy speculation about the recipient.

In the next turn, SY confirms the proposed news item. Without providing an explicit token of confirmation, however, SY says, "*kuntey te wusskinkey* 'but what is funnier is'" (line 09), moving on to the next news item that builds on the first one, thus implicitly giving confirmation. SY then explains that she is dating someone who MJ knows (line 11). MJ responds with the display of shock ("*ettukey* 'how'" delivered in a

high pitch, loud inhaling, “*camkkan* ‘wait’” and laughter, in line 12), and the conversation continues as SY tells MJ about her new relationship.

In the final example, the speaker uses *ne* ‘you’ in a series of utterances in pursuit of the recipient’s confirmation after multiple failed attempts to achieve alignment. The following segment is from a telephone conversation between Jina and Min, who are taking English as a Second Language courses in American universities. They are talking about the difficulty of learning English. Prior to the beginning of the segment, Jina explained that she can now understand what people say better than when she first came to America. To describe the improvement, Jina talks about how clueless she was at first (line 01).

(5.3) Television

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 01 | Jina: | <p>침엔 아예 깜깜했는데:,
 first altogether dark-PAST-CIRCUM
 at first (I) was clueless:,</p> |
| 02 | Min: | <p>°어,°
 yes
 °yeah,°</p> |
| 03 | Jina: | <p>텔레비봐도 그냥 뭐: 걡 막연하게,
 television-watch-ADD just what just vaguely
 even when (I) was watching TV, (I was) just guessing,</p> |
| 04 | Min: | <p>↑캡이다:;=텔레비가- 너 그새 많이 늘었네:,
 wow television-SUB you meantime much improve-PAST
 w↑ow:;=TV- (I see) you’ve improved a lot,</p> |
| 05 | | <p>너 텔레비를 많이봐서 그런↑가,
 you television-ACC much watch-because like-that
 is it because you watch TV a lot,</p> |
| 06 | Jina: | <p>나 텔레비두 없대니까 지금, 그래갖구 막 미치겠다야;=텔레비
 I television-ADD nonexistent now so just crazy-DCT:RE-DECL television
 I don’t even have a TV now, so it drives (me) crazy, it drives (me) nuts</p> |
| 07 | | <p>있다없으니까 환장하겠는거있지,
 exist-TRANS-not:exist-DET+INTERR crazy-DCT:RE-thing</p> |

- when (I) don't have a TV after having it,
- 08 Min: 어: 너-,=
yes you
Yea:h you-,=
- 09 Jina: =나 오디오도 없거덩,
I stereo-ADD not:exist-CORREL
=I don't have an audio either, you know,
- 10 Min: → 너 그동안 ↑ 텔레비 진짜 많이봤나부다:,
you[ne] meantime television really much watch must:have
you really must have watched ↑TV a lo:t,
- 11 Jina: .hh 막 하루에 열다섯시간씩 봤어,
like day:per fifteen hours watch-PAST
.hh (I) watched like fifteen hours a day,
- 12 Min: → 캡이다, 너 그럼 진짜 많이 늘었겠다.,=
wow **you[ne]** then really much improve-PAST-DCT:RE-DECL
wow, then **you** must have improved a lo:t,=
- 13 Jina: =글구 잘때두 켜놓구 잤대니까,
and sleep-when-ADD turn:on-stay sleep-PAST
=and (I) left it on even when (I) sleep,
- 14 Min: (0.2) 어:.,=
yes
(0.2) yea:h,=
- 15 Jina: =잘때 켜놓구자구 슬립타이머해놓은 다음에 막 아침에 일어날때:,
sleep-when on-stay sleep:timer-do next just in:the:morning wake:up-when
- 16 여섯시부터 틀어지게 해놨어,
six o'clock-from on-CAUS do

=(I) left it on when I go to bed and set the sleep timer to six in the morning so it is on when I wake up,
- 17 Min: .hh 캡이다:.,
wow
.hh wo::w,

In line 01 and 03, Jina tells how she was unable to understand English at first and begins talking about watching TV as an example. However, Min interrupts, making an assessment (“*kaybita* ‘wow’”) and upgrading the upshot of what Jina said (“*ne kusay*

manhi nulessey ‘(I see) you’ve improved a lot’) (line 04). Min then immediately suggests a possible reason why Jina’s English ‘improved a lot.’ She asks, “*ne teyleybilul manhi poase kulenka* ‘is it because you watch TV a lot?’” (line 05).⁴ Thus, Min has made an observation about Jina’s English (‘it improved a lot’) and suggested a candidate reason for the big improvement (‘because Jina watches television a lot’), which is to be confirmed by Jina (by using the interrogative format).

In lines 06 to 09, Jina dodges answering Min’s question by talking about not having television any more and being bored (“*michikeyssta* ‘it drives me crazy,’” “*hwancang hakeyssnunke issci* ‘driving me nuts,’” “*na ototo epketun* ‘I don’t even have audio, you know’” in lines 06, 07, 09). As soon as Jina’s turn reaches its completion, Min restates that watching television helped improve Jina’s English. Min says, “*ne kutongan teyleybi cincca manhi poassnapota* ‘you really must have watched TV a lot’” (line 10). Now, Min is repackaging what she said in line 05 (‘is it because you watch TV a lot?’) with two modifications. First, she switches the tense of the verb *pota* ‘watch’ from the present to the perfect, accommodating Jina’s claim that she does not have a television any more. Second, Min changes the grammatical format from the interrogative to the declarative. More specifically, instead of directly asking Jina, Min is speculating about Jina and presenting it as something newsworthy (‘you *really* must have watched TV a lot’). As she formulates the turn, Min uses the overt referential form *ne* ‘you’ even though it is clear that she is referring to her recipient, Jina. In other words, she is pressing Jina to respond to her speculation.

⁴ The verbal suffix *-nka* used at the end of this utterance marks a question with a weak imposition on a recipient.

In response, Jina now elaborates on how much she used to watch television (“fifteen hours a day” in line 11), still without touching on its connection to her improvement in English. The connection is again made by Min in the next turn. Min says, “*ne kulem cincca manhi nulesseyssta* ‘then you must have improved a lot’” (line 12). In this turn, Min speculates about the result of watching so much television, i.e., she must have improved her English a lot, which is to be confirmed by Jina in the next turn. Again, the overt referential form *ne* ‘you’ is used in formulating this utterance.

In the next turn, Jina still does not provide a response. Instead, she continues talking about how much she used to watch television (line 13). In other words, Jina’s response avoids what is expected in this turn, i.e., confirmation or account, and Min shows difficulty in formulating her response in the following turn (0.2-second gap and a mere “*e:: ‘yea::h’*” in line 14). After Jina’s further elaboration on how much television she used to watch (lines 15, 16), Min abandons her pursuit and provides an assessment token (“*kaybita* ‘wow’” in line 17).

So far, I have shown that *ne* ‘you’ is used when a speaker makes newsworthy speculation about the recipient to be confirmed or accounted for. As will be shown, when a speaker talks about the state-of-affairs regarding the recipient without treating it as newsworthy, zero anaphora is used instead. Consider the following example. Below, SW and DJ, two Korean male graduate students studying in the United States, are talking about phone bills. Prior to the beginning of the segment, SW was telling DJ that he does not call home very often. While he was explaining why, he remembered that he did not have a phone at all last month because he did not pay the phone bill. As SW talks about

having the phone disconnected, he presents it as something surprising (using the verbal suffix *-tela*⁵) (line 01).

(5.4) Telephone bills

- 01 SW: 전화비를 안 냈더니: 전화가 끊기데,=ㅎ[ㅎ,]
telephone cost-ACC do:not pay telephone-SUB disconnected-MIR
I didn't pay the phone bill and it got disconnected,=he[he,]
- 02 DJ: [ㅎ]ㅎ당연하지 전화비를
of:course telephone cost-ACC
[he]he of course
- 03 안 냈으면 전화가 끊기지,=
do:not pay-PAST-COND telephone-SUB disconnected-COMM
if you didn't pay the phone bill, it gets disconnected,=
- 04 SW: =.hh,
- 05 DJ: 전화비를 안 냈는데 계속 전화를-,
telephone cost-ACC do:not pay-PAST-CIRCUM continuously telephone
would they let (you) use the phone-,
- 06 SW: (syl)=
- 07 DJ: =해 주냐,
do make-INTERR
=when (you) didn't pay,
- 08 SW: 아니, 전화:가 영수증이 안 왔어:, 그-,
no telephone-SUB receipt-SUB do:not come-PAST that
no, my pho:ne's, receipt wasn't mailed to me, that-,
- 09 DJ: 응::,=
yes
yea::h,=
- 10 SW: =빌이 [안 왔어 나한테.]
bill-SUB do:not come-PAST I-to
=the bill [wasn't mailed to me.]
- 11 DJ: → [빌이 안 와 가지고] 잊어 버렸구나,
ϕ bill-SUB do:not come so forget-PAST-UNASSIM
[(you) forgot because] you didn't get the bill,

⁵ The evidential suffix *-tela* is categorized as a mirative marker, a grammatical category that encodes a speaker's surprise (Strauss, 2005).

- 12 SW: 근데, 내가 알아 보면은:-, (0.2) 뭐 알아 보는 게 의무래↑때,
but I-SUB inquire-COND what inquire-thing-SUB obligation
but, did you know that it's my responsibility to ↑ask,
- 13 DJ: (.) 그래,=°ㅎ ㅎ [ㅎ,°]
like:that
(.) really,=°hehe[he,°]
- 14 SW: [ㅎ ㅎ]ㅎ 영(ㅎ)수증, 고지서가 안(ㅎ) 날(ㅎ)라 오(ㅎ)면:,
receipt bill-SUB do:not mailed-COND
[hehe]he if you don't receive rece(h)ipts, bi(h)lls(h),
- 15 .hh 내가 그- (.) 게 왜 안 날(ㅎ)라(ㅎ) 왔- 와야되는 지를
I-SUB that why do:not mailed-NOM-ACC
.hh they say it is my responsibility to find out
- 16 알아 보는 게 내 의무래
inquire-SUB my obligation-QUOT
why they weren't mailed to me:;

In line 01, SW reports what happened and shows his surprise at the drastic measure the phone company took. Orienting to SW's display of surprise, DJ gives a long response saying that is to be expected when you do not pay the bill (lines 02, 03, 05, 07). During DJ's response, SW tries to take the floor (lines 04, 06), but he only succeeds after DJ's turn is completed (line 07). Now, SW explains why he did not pay the bill—he did not receive one. In line 08, SW says that he did not get 'receipts,' a wrong word for the bill, and starts self-initiated repair ("ku 'that'"⁶ in line 08). Before SW begins a new TCU, however, DJ displays recognition of what SW is about to say ("u::ng 'yea::h'" in line 09). SW continues with his turn ("the bill wasn't mailed to me" in line 10), but in almost complete overlap with SW's turn, DJ says, "*pilli an wakacikwu icepelyesskwuna* '(you) forgot because you didn't get the bill,'" using zero anaphora for recipient-reference (line 11). Here, DJ is talking about a possible scenario of what happened with SW and his

⁶ Demonstratives, *i* 'this,' *ku* 'that,' and *ce* 'that over there,' are frequently used to signal word search (Yang, 2007).

phone bill based on his understanding of the prior talk—SW forgot (to pay) because he did not receive the bill, which explains, on behalf of SW, why SW did not pay the bill and why he was surprised when he found out that his phone was disconnected. As in the previous examples, the speaker is talking about the state-of-affairs of the recipient, but it is not treated as newsworthy but produced to display the speaker's understanding of what happened and to show affiliation. This point is confirmed by SW's next turn. Without responding to DJ's speculation, SW asks DJ if he knew that it is a customer's responsibility to find out why s/he does not receive the bill (lines 12, 14, 15, 16).

This section identified one sequential environment where speakers use overt reference to recipient using the second-person pronoun *ne* 'you'—to mark a newsworthy speculation about the recipient to be confirmed or accounted for. As have been shown, speakers do not always use overt reference when they talk about the state-of-affairs regarding the recipient. Rather, overt reference to recipient is used specifically when the proposed state-of-affairs is treated as newsworthy and to be confirmed or accounted for. It can be said that, by making explicit who is being speculated about, i.e., recipient, speakers make recipients accountable for addressing what is being said.

***Neka* to Signal Challenge in *Wh*-Questions**

In this section, I examine another environment where a speaker uses overt reference to recipient as a marked form—in *wh*-questions issued to challenge the recipient's utterance in the previous talk. It will be shown that speakers overtly mark reference to recipient using the second-person pronoun *ne* 'you' followed by the subject particle *-ka*

(‘*neka*’ hereafter) when they formulate *wh*-questions that challenge the prior utterances by the recipients.

The practice of deploying a *wh*-question to challenge the prior utterance has been observed in the conversation analytic literature. For example, *wh*-questions such as “when have I done that” produced in response to the recipient’s accusation of the speaker’s behavior is heard as a challenge to that accusation, as the question in fact conveys the assertion of the negative statement of the question, i.e., “I have never done that.”⁷ The *wh*-questions described in this section are similar to these *wh*-questions in that they are deployed to challenge the prior utterance and convey negative assertions. In the examples below, however, what speakers challenge is specifically focused on *recipients*. Thus, a *wh*-question such as ‘what are you going to do with a Mac?’ marked with the overt referential form *neka* questions the recipient’s ability to utilize a Mac computer (the focus on *you*), rather than the general utility of Mac computers (the focus on *what*). The use of the overt referential form *neka* plays a major role in singling out a recipient as the focus of negative assertion in the *wh*-questions to be examined below. After presenting three examples to illustrate how *neka*-marked *wh*-questions do challenging, I discuss the role of *neka* in signaling a challenge focused on the recipient.

⁷ Koshik’s (2003) analysis shows how certain *wh*-questions come to have the hearing of ‘negative assertion’ in certain sequential environments, such as in the environment of disagreement or complaint. In the following segment, Shelley’s *wh*-question “when have I” (line 03) is produced not as information request. Rather, it is treated by the speaker as an unanswerable question, i.e., the question conveys that Debbie will not be able to name an occasion when Shelley blew off her girlfriends for guys. Thus, the question in practice asserts the negative statement of the question, i.e., I have never.

01	Debbie:	I do’know, jus don’t blow off your girlfriends for
02		<u>guy</u> :s, Shel.
03	Shelley:→	<u>De</u> :b I’m <u>not</u> . h[ow man-]e- when <u>h</u> ave I.=beside ya-
04	Debbie:	[o ka:y]

In the first example, a *wh*-question is issued as a response to the recipient's question. The *wh*-question marked with the overt referential form *neka* problematizes the recipient's need to know the information requested in the initial question. The following segment is from a telephone conversation between Bora (female) and Hoon (male), two Korean students studying in graduate schools in the United States. Bora and Hoon are in a romantic relationship. Prior to the beginning of the segment, Bora just finished explaining the purpose of the phone call, i.e., they are participating in a project collecting speech samples of Korean speakers, and how long they need to talk, i.e., 30 minutes. Now, they are negotiating what to talk about. Bora asked Hoon what he wants to talk about, and Hoon answers, 'about getting married' (line 01).

(5.5) Useless question

- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 01 | Hoon: | 어::°, 결혼 얘기,=
yes marriage talk
u::°:hm,° about getting married,= |
| 02 | Bora: | =ㅎ↑ㅎㅎㅎㅎ, 아휴,=야 근데 너 과목 듣는 거:,
gosh hey but you courses taking thing
=heh↑eheheh, gosh,=hey by the way your course:s, |
| 03 | | 너 세 과목 듣는다고 그랬지,=
you three courses take-QUOT do-PAST-COMM
you said you're taking three, ri:ght,= |
| 04 | Hoon: | =어,
yes
=yeah, |
| 05 | Bora: | °응,°=거 뭐 뭐↑야,
yes that what what
°yeah,°=what c↑ourses, |
| 06 | Hoon: | 아:>휴아휴< 쓸 데 없는 소리 하(ㅎ)지 마(ㅎ),=
ah ah useless sound do-NOM do not
A:>H ah< stop saying usele(h)ss thi(h)ngs,= |
| 07 | → | =뭐 그거(ㅎ) 알아(ㅎ)서 뭐 하려고 그래 니가,=
what that know-and what do-PURP do:so you-SUB |

- =wh(h)at a(h)re **you** going to do knowing that,=
- 08 Bora: =야(ㅎ): 지금 다(ㅎ) 녹음 된다는 사실 너 알고 있↑어,
 hey now all recording being done-fact you know-IE
 =he(h)y: do you realize this is a(h)ll being recorded n↑ow,
- 09 Hoon: 그래:,
 yes
 ye:s,
- 10 Bora: 근데 뭐,=
 but what
 but what,=
- 11 Hoon: =아:.. 그런 소리 하지 [말고:,] 따른 얘기 해.
 Ah like:that sound do-not different talk do
 =a:h. stop talking about [such thi:gs,] and talk about something else.
- 12 Bora: [뭐:,]
 what
 [wha:t,]

In line 01, Hoon suggests a possible topic, and it is rejected by Bora (line 02). Bora treats Hoon's answer as something funny (laughter in line 02) and then changes the course of talk by suggesting a new topic ("*kuntey ne kwamok tutnunke* 'by the way, your courses'" in line 02). Although Hoon initially lets Bora continue ("*e* 'yeah'" in line 04), he soon refuses to go along with Bora's agenda. To Bora's question about what courses he is taking (line 05), he says, "*ssulteyepnun soli hacima* 'stop saying useless things,'" characterizing Bora's question as 'saying useless things.' The turn is dispersed with laugh tokens, which further indicates Hoon's disaffiliative stance ('disaffiliative laughter,' see Clift, 2016). He then dismisses Bora's need to know what is asked in the question altogether. He quickly adds, "*kuke alase mohalyeko kulay neka* 'what are you going to do knowing that,'" asserting that the information sought by the question, i.e., the courses he is taking, is irrelevant to Bora (line 07). By asserting that the recipient has no need to know the information sought by her question, Hoon legitimizes his rejection to provide

an answer. As he formulates this *wh*-question, Hoon uses overt referential expression for the recipient *neka* even though who is being referred to, i.e., recipient, is unambiguous.

In the next example, a *neka*-marked *wh*-question as a challenge is used in reported speech as a speaker reports on an argument she had with her husband. In the story, the quoted speaker is reported to have challenged the recipient's claimed ability using a *neka*-marked *wh*-question. The following segment is from a conversation between Yujin and MH, two Korean women who had recently moved to the United States with their husbands. Prior to the segment, MH told Yujin that she is considering buying an iPad. As an explanation for why she wants an iPad, MH started talking about an argument she had with her husband over their computers. MH said that even though the couple has three computers, MH does not have the ownership of any of them because her husband is using all three for different purposes. MH says that she finally announced to her husband that she would buy a MacBook (laptop). MH now begins reporting the dialogue between her and her husband (line 01).

(5.7) MacBook

- 01 MH: 말리지마라 [맥북사겠다,]
 stop-do:not MacBook buy-will
 don't stop me [(I)'ll buy a MacBook,]
- 02 Yujin: [응::.]
 yes
 [yea::h.]
- 03 MH: → >근데< 자꾸 또: 막- 맥북사서 니가
 but repeatedly again just macbook buy-PURP **you-SUB**
 >but then< now (he kept saying that) what are **you**
- 04 → 모할꺼냐[구:,]
 what-do-INT-INTERR-QUOT
 going to do with Mac[Boo:k,]
- 05 Yujin: [((끄덕))-음.]
 mm

- [((nods))-mm.]
- 06 MH: (0.2) 너 거기 윈도우 깔꺼냐구.:=
you there Windows install-INT-INTERR-QUOT
(0.2) are you going to install Windows the:re,=
- 07 Yujin: =(([끄덕, 미소])-진짜 또 맞는말만 또 그렇게 (하시네),
really again right-words-only like:that speak-HON
=((nods, smile))-and (he) says all the right (things,)
- 08 MH: ((shaking head))-아니라고 ㅎㅎ[ㅎㅎ,]
no-QUOT
((shaking head))-(I said that) I won't he[hehe,]
- 09 Yujin: [ㅎㅎ] ㅎㅎ,
hehehehe
[hehe]hehe,
- 10 MH: 윈도우 안깔다고(ㅎㅎ) ㅎㅎ[ㅎㅎ,]
Windows not-install-QUOT
I won't install Windo(h)ws he[hehe,]
- 11 Yujin: [((nods))]

In line 01, MH describes how determined she was when she announced to her husband her plan to purchase a new laptop (“*malici mala maykbwuk sakeyssta* ‘don’t stop me, I’ll buy a MacBook”). She then reports her husband’s reaction. In line 03, MH begins the turn with a discourse marker “*kuntey* ‘but (then),’” which indexes a disjunctive turn in talk and thus foreshadows that her plan may have not gone as intended. She continues with telling what her husband said. MH says, “*maykbwuk sase neka mo halkkenyakwu* ‘what are you going to do with MacBook,’” quoting her husband’s question (lines 03, 04). Note that as she constructs her husband’s utterance as reported speech, she uses overt referential form for recipient, *neka*.

By quoting her husband’s *wh*-question using the overt referential form *neka*, MH is reporting that her husband, in response to her announcement to buy a Mac, questioned her ability to use it. In Korea, Mac computers are not widely used. Since Mac and PC use

different operating systems (Mac OS for Mac and Windows for PC) and transitioning between them requires learning the new operating system, many people keep using PC even after coming to America, where Mac computers are widely used. Thus, the quoted question is problematizing specifically MH's ability to use a Mac, which was claimed, albeit indirectly, by MH when she announced that she would get one. This point is supported by the next question. In line 06, MH says, "*ne keki wuyindowu kkalkenyakwu* 'are you going to install Windows there,'" quoting another question by her husband. By describing an absurd solution to not being able to use a Mac, i.e., installing Windows, this question further highlights the recipient's (MH's) inability to use a Mac. As MH reports the speaker's *wh*-question launched as a challenge, she uses the overt referential form for recipient, *neka*.

Yujin, the story's recipient, acknowledges the point of MH's husband's response. In the next turn, she says, "*cincca tto matnunmalman tto kulekey hasiney* 'and (he) says all the right things,'" while nodding and smiling (line 07). MH concludes by quoting herself ineffectually defending her position ("*anilako, wuyindowu an kkantako* 'no, I won't, I won't install Windows'" with laugh token, lines 08, 10). After the end of the segment, MH says that she decided to get an iPad instead.

In the final example, a *wh*-question that challenges a recipient's prior utterance is deployed in a slightly different environment—that of a playful bantering. The speaker launches a *neka*-marked *wh*-question as he challenges the recipient's claim by questioning her epistemic authority. The following segment is from a telephone conversation between HL (male) and Sue (female), two Korean college students living in the United States. Below, they are talking about HL's English name (not audible on the

recording). Prior to the beginning of the segment, Sue said HL's English name is weird and asked who on earth decided on that name. HL responded, “*ya wuli pwumonimi ciecwushin ilumita* ‘hey, it’s the name my parents gave to me,’” using the honorific suffix for the parents and playfully accusing Sue of insulting his parents. After Sue’s expression of surprise (“*cinccaya* ‘really’”), HL adds that the name is in the Bible, switching to English (line 01).

(5.6) Black name

- 01 HL: it’s in the BI:ble,=ma:n,
- 02 Sue: °oh: my go:sh,°
- 03 HL: ((breathing)) (.) 공까 귀여워 해 주세요.;
so adore-for:me-HON
((breathing)) (.) so don’t be too ha:rsh, (Lit. please ado:re, [my name])
- 04 Sue: 까만 사람 이름이야,
black person name-COP-IE
it’s a black name,
- 05 HL: ↑ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ,=
hehehehehe
↑HEHEhehehe,=
- 06 Sue: =진짜야;,
truth-IE
=it’s true;,
- 07 HL: → ↓니가 >어뜨케< 알아.
you-SUB how know
>h↓ow do< **you** know.
- 08 Sue: 내 친구도 (()) 있었어,
my friend-also (()) there:was-IE
I had another friend named (syl syl),
- 09 HL: 진짜야;=
truth-IE
really,=
- 10 Sue: =어; 까만 애. °ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ,°
yes black kid hehehehe
=ye:s, a black kid. °hehehe,°

11 HL: 어::(ㅎ)ㅎㅇ|,=°ㅎㅎ,°
 heey
 he::(h)y(h),=°hehe,°

In line 01, HL adds the origin of his name (the Bible), mimicking casual speech by American youths. In response, Sue expresses annoyance (“oh my gosh” in line 02) while still aligning with the code-switching employed by HL. In line 03, switching back to Korean, HL says, “*kunkka kwiyeuehay cwuseyyo* ‘so don’t be too harsh (Lit. so please adore [my name]).’” In this turn, HL is now playfully supplicating that Sue be nice about his name. In designing the turn, HL changes the speech style (utterance ending)⁸ from casual to polite, which is often used by a speaker who is younger than a recipient. By switching the speech style and using the word “*kwiyeue hay cwuta* ‘to adore,’” HL is evoking a child seeking affection from an adult. Thus, up to this point, Sue and HL have been engaged in playful mocking, with Sue insulting HL’s name and HL responding by defending and pleading.

In response to HL’s supplication, Sue launches the final blow. In a curt, matter-of-fact tone, she informs, “*kkaman salam ilumiya* ‘it’s a black name,’” giving one more reason why HL’s English name does not work for him (line 04). Unlike in line 02, Sue does not align with HL’s switching of the speech style. Her curt response throws him off, and he bursts into laughter (line 05), treating Sue’s informing in line 04 as funny. In response, Sue defends her claim, saying that “*cinccaya* ‘it is true’” (line 06). Now, HL responds by questioning the legitimacy of Sue’s claim. He asks, “*neka ettekey ala* ‘how

⁸ Korean has various speech styles (utterance endings) that index different levels of respect a speaker is showing to his/her recipient. The casual speech style is used among those in close relationships, e.g., close friends, family members, whereas the polite speech style is used most commonly by a speaker younger than a recipient, among strangers, or among those who are in formal relationships or not very close.

do you know,”” using the overt referential form *neka* even though the referent in the question is unambiguous (line 07).

As in the previous examples, the *wh*-question here challenges the prior utterance by the recipient. That is, the question “how do you know (that)” was not produced as a request for information. Rather than asking *how* Sue learned that his name is a black name (and implicitly accepting Sue’s claim as a fact), the *wh*-question here is challenging the ground for the recipient’s claim by questioning the recipient’s epistemic authority. In other words, through this *wh*-question, HL refuses to accept Sue’s claim.

In response to HL’s challenge, Sue provides the support to her claim—she knows it because she had another friend with the same name (line 06). In the next turn, HL responds with a newsmark, “*cinccaya* ‘really’” (line 07). The conversation continues as Sue and HL keep engaging in a playful teasing and protesting.

This section described *wh*-questions used as challenges. In particular, we have seen that speakers overtly mark recipient-reference using *neka* when they formulate these types of *wh*-questions. In all examples, the referents (recipients) in the target utterances are unambiguous, making the overt referential forms redundant and marked.

The subject particle *-ka* in *neka* contributes to achieving the action of designating a recipient as the focus of challenge. Sohn (1999) argues that one of the discourse functions of *-ka* is placing a particular emphasis on the noun phrase (NP) it is marking in a sentence or an utterance. By marking the recipient-reference (*ne* ‘you’) with *-ka*, the speaker places an extra emphasis on the recipient in the *wh*-questions that convey ‘negative assertions’ and do challenging. The questions such as ‘what are you going to do knowing that,’ ‘what are you going to do with a Mac,’ or ‘how do you know that’ are

interpretable as negative assertions that specifically target recipients' entitlement—'you have nothing to do knowing that,' 'you have nothing to do with a Mac,' and 'you do not know that.' In this sense, the subject particle *-ka* in *neka* can be considered as a stance marker in the instances examined.

Discussion

In this chapter, referring practices involving the use of overt referential forms for recipient were examined. In all examples analyzed in this section, the referent, i.e., recipient, is unambiguous from the context, making zero anaphora the unmarked referential form and overt reference a marked form. The two sections investigated two different forms of overt reference to recipient, the second-person pronoun *ne* 'you' and the second-person pronoun *ne* 'you' followed by the subject particle '*-ka*' (*neka*). It has been shown that *ne* 'you' marks newsworthy speculation about a recipient to be confirmed or accounted for, and *neka* is used when a speaker formulates a *wh*-question that dismisses the recipient's need for information, ability, or epistemic authority.

My findings contribute to the literature on person reference practices in Korean in two respects. First, the use of so-called 'bare NP'—a referential form without grammatical or discourse particles following it (Ono et al., 2000)—in recipient-reference in Korean has not been studied extensively, except in Oh (2007), where the use of *ne* 'you' in selecting next speaker in multi-party talk is briefly described. This study adds to the literature by identifying when and why speakers overtly refer to the recipients using *ne* 'you' in dyadic interaction. Second, by describing how recipient-targeted challenge is done by using the second-person pronoun *ne* followed by the subject particle *-ka*

(‘*neka*’), the study suggests that the subject particle *-ka* can be used in person reference as a stance marker. In fact, the use of *-ka* in conveying a speaker’s negative stance has been described in the literature for other actions such as repair initiation as the precursor for disagreement or disbelief (M. S. Kim & S. H. Kim, 2014). Further research is needed regarding the uses of grammatical or discourse particles as the speakers display stance towards the recipients and others.

Lastly, it is worth noting that, in this chapter, all excerpts are from telephone conversations save for one (Extract 5.7). The fact that overt reference is more frequent in telephone conversation than in face-to-face interaction in the dataset of the current study poses an interesting question. If the distribution of overt reference to recipient observed in the current dataset is a reflection of broader tendencies in mediated and face-to-face interactions, we can posit that actions performed by overt reference to recipient, such as ones examined in this chapter, could be performed through other (nonverbal) means in face-to-face interaction, eliminating the need for resorting to using overt referential forms. Of course, we could only confirm this point by further investigations of additional settings and much larger dataset.

VI – REFERENCE TO OTHERS

Introduction

This chapter examines reference to others in locally-subsequent position in naturally-occurring conversation in Korean. In particular, the marked usages of demonstrative-based quasi-pronouns are investigated to uncover what actions they perform in multi-unit tellings. Quasi-pronouns (QPs), as defined in Chapter 1, are formed by combining a demonstrative, i.e., *i* ‘this,’ *ku* ‘that,’ or *ce* ‘that over there,’ and a general noun, e.g., *ai* ‘child,’ *salam* ‘person,’ *yeca* ‘woman.’ Although not grammatically categorized as pronouns, QPs perform the function of third-person pronouns (locally-subsequent forms) in Korean conversation (Oh, 2002; Sohn, 1999).

The chapter is composed of two sections. The first section examines the instances where speakers switch from the unmarked noun phrases (NPs) to the marked QPs in the locally-subsequent position. In certain speech situations, NPs such as kinship terms, e.g., *oppa* ‘older brother,’ or professional titles, e.g., *sensayngnim* ‘teacher,’ *pwucangnim* ‘director,’ are used as *both* locally-initial *and* locally-subsequent forms to do referring and referring only (simple reference). The first section describes what action is achieved when speakers switch from the unmarked NPs to marked QPs in those situations to refer to the same person.

In the second section, switching between two different types of QPs—the unmarked *ku*-QP to the marked *i*-QP, is examined to illustrate what action the switch achieves. In this section, we turn to speech situations where QPs are used as the unmarked locally-subsequent forms. As detailed in Chapter 2, each of the three types of

QPs, i.e., *ku* ‘that’-based, *i* ‘this’-based, and *ce* ‘that over there’-based QPs, has the unmarked and marked usages as the locally-subsequent forms across various speech situations. For example, when referring to a non-present other who is younger than or in a lower social status than a speaker and whose relationship with the speaker is informal, *ku*-based QP *kyay* is used as the unmarked locally-subsequent form. For referring to a co-present other, *i*-based *yay* and *ce*-based *cyay* are used as the unmarked forms (Oh, 2002). The second section investigates, in referring to non-present others, when and why speakers switch from the unmarked *kyay* to the marked *yay* to refer to the same person within a sequence.

Switching from NP to QP

It has been noted that, in Korean, noun phrases (NPs) can be used as the unmarked locally-subsequent forms depending on the relationships between speaker and referent (Oh, 2002). For example, when a referent is older than a speaker (even slightly) and the relationship between the referent and the speaker is informal, the kinship terms such as *oppa/hyeng* ‘older brother’ or *unni/nwuna* ‘older sister’ are used as the unmarked locally-subsequent forms.¹ If the relationship between a speaker and a referent is that of an official or formal nature, e.g., co-workers, teacher-student, superior-subordinate, professional titles such as *sensangnim* ‘teacher’ or *pwucangnim* ‘director’ are used as the locally-subsequent forms. At times, however, speakers are shown to switch from the unmarked NPs to the demonstrative *ku* ‘that’-based QPs in the locally-subsequent

¹ In Korean, kinship terms for siblings are marked for gender of a speaker. *Oppa* ‘older brother’ and *unni* ‘older sister’ are used by a female speaker, and *hyeng* ‘older brother’ and *nwuna* ‘older sister’ are used by a male speaker.

positions. This section investigates what is accomplished by this switch. Through three examples, I will show that, in multi-unit tellings about a referent, the uses of unmarked NPs and of marked QPs can be distinguished by what is being conveyed in the utterance. More specifically, the unmarked NPs are used in the utterances that report a fact about or action of a referent, whereas QPs are used in the utterances that express a speaker's stance toward the referent. As will be shown, QPs are used when a speaker foregrounds his/her stance, doing, for example, complaining, assessing, or sympathizing.

In the first example, a speaker's negative stance toward the referent's action is displayed at the launching of a multi-unit telling about a referent. The following segment is from a conversation between Sora and Youngjoo (YJ), former co-workers and friends. Prior to the beginning of the segment, they were talking about YJ's new television. As YJ's talk about which brand is the best for watching movies reaches its completion, Sora introduces her boyfriend to the talk, referring to him using *oppa* 'older brother' (line 01).²

² Kinship terms such as *oppa* can be used as an unmarked locally-subsequent form to refer to one's boyfriend if the boyfriend is older than a speaker. In my data, *oppa* is repeatedly observed, across speakers, to be used in locally-subsequent position as an unmarked form of reference to boyfriends, as in the following conversation made through text messaging. Here, Yura is telling Kay how the dinner with her boyfriend's parents went:

- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 01 | Yura: | 그나마 오빠가 엄마 눈치보고... 애 낫가려서 눈 못쳐다본다고...
at least oppa-SUB mom sense-ADD she shy-because eye-stare-cannot
luckily oppa sensed it and told (his) mom I'm too shy to make an eye contact |
| 02 | | 자기 처음 만났을때도 그랬다고 하니까
REF first:time meet-PAST-ADD like:that-PAST do-DET+INTERR
and that (I) was like that when (I) first met him too |
| 03 | Kay: | 어어
yeah |
| 04 | Yura: | 낫가리는애가 말은 왜이리 잘하냐며 너무 웃었다고
shy child-SUB words-TOP why like:this do-well-QUOT laugh-QUOT
[he told me] that (she) laughed and said I'm very talkative for a shy person |
| 05 | → | 전 오빠 처음 만났을때도 눈 못쳐다본거 오빠가 알고잇는지 |

Note that the use of QP is marked with a double arrow, and that of NP (*oppa*) is marked with a single arrow in the transcript.

(6.1) Moving out

- 01 Sora: 오빠 계속: {(frowning)}-(0.2) 어후. 결혼은 안할거면서}
oppa continuously ah marriage-TOP not-do-will-SIMUL
- 02 맨날 티비만 큰거 사구싶다구, (.) >아 근데< 개는: 나랑
always television-only big one buy-want-QUOT but **he[kyay]**-TOP with-me
- 03 결혼 안해도: 이사는 좀 ↑했으면 좋겠어=↑아: 나 진짜: 어후:;=
marriage not-do-ADD moving-TOP do-COND-good ah I seriously ah
- (01) oppa keeps saying {(frowning)}-(0.2) ah. (he) wants to buy a big TV
(02) ==> when (he) has no plan to get married, (.) >ah but< I wish **he(kyay)**:
(03) would really move out [of his place] even if not marrying me:=↑a:h gosh
seriously: a::hh,=
- 04 YJ: =근데 서울 너무 비싸지 않아,
but Seoul too expensive isn't it
(04) =but isn't Seoul too expensive,
- 05 Sora: 아:=너무 비싼것두 비싼건데 근데- 너무 심해: >왜냐문< 지금
ah too expensive-thing-ADD expensive-CIRCUM but too much because now
- 06 먼지두 일케 심한데: >그(거)< >나↑는< 그:- 그게 불↑법이 아닌가 싶거든, (.)
dust like:this serious-CIRCUM that thing I-TOP that-SUB illegal-wonder
- 07 왜↑냐므는, ((gaze down))-입주자가 들어있는 상태에서:, ((gaze up to YJ))-(.)
because residents-SUB exist state-from
- 08 사 층이야 지금:, 오층을 만들겠대[는거야] 돈을 벌생각으루:;
fourth floor-IE now fifth-floor-ACC make-will-QUOT-thing-IE money make
(05) a:h=too expensive but- it's too mu:ch >because< now, on top of the
-
- I-TOP oppa first met-ADD eye-stare-thing oppa-SUB know-NOM
I didn't know that **he(oppa)** noticed that I couldn't make eye contact
- 06 → 몰랐거든요
not:know-you know-HON
when I first met **him(oppa)**, you know
- 07 Kay ㅎㅎㅎㅎ
hehehe

Note that Yura refers to her boyfriend using *oppa* 'older brother' in the locally-subsequent positions in lines 05 and 06. In lines 05-06, *oppa* is used twice within a turn to refer to her boyfriend.

- (06) microdust these days, >that< >I th[↑]ink< that- that's illegal, (.)
 (07) because ((gaze down))-the tenants are living in there now, ((gaze up to
 (08) YJ))-(.) (it's) a four-story (building) now:, (they're) adding the fifth
 floor, [to make] money,
- 09 YJ: [((twitches))]
- 10 Sora: ((leaning back))-그르니까는 ((hand gesturing, gaze to hands))-오빠
 so oppa-TOP
- 11 지금 사층살아:, (.) ((검지손가락 위로, gaze back to YJ))-↑푼렸어:.
 now fourth floor live-IE open
- (10) → ((leaning back))-so ((hand gesturing))-**he(oppa)** lives in the fourth floor
 (11) no:w, (.) ((index finger pointing up, gaze back to YJ))-it's open,
- 12 YJ: 예:?
 huh
- (12) Hu:h?
- 13 Sora: ((index finger up))-↑푼렸어:, (0.2) >까< ((제스처))-오빠네
 open so oppa's
- 14 ↓집은 막혔지 당연히, ((gesturing to left side))-(0.2) 이쪽 복도는
 house-TOP closed of course this side hallway-TOP
- 15 푼렸어,
 open-IE
- (13) → ((index finger up))-it's open, (0.2) >I mean< ((gesturing))-**his(oppa's)**
 (14) apartment is closed of course ((moving one hand to side))-(0.2)
 (15) but the hallway here is open.

In lines 01-02, Sora introduces a new referent, her boyfriend, using the locally-initial form *oppa*. Sora's utterance is delivered with verbal and nonverbal cues, e.g., frowning, sighing, that indicate her dissatisfaction with what she is telling about her boyfriend, i.e., he keeps talking about getting a big television when he is not planning to marry her (and to settle in a new house). Without further elaboration on the topic of television, however, a discourse marker *kuntey*, which marks a disjunctive turn in talk, follows (line 02) (Kim, Y., 2009). Sora then mentions her boyfriend again (line 02). Instead of using the unmarked NP, i.e., *oppa*, however, Sora uses *ku*-based QP *kyay*. She says, “*kyaynun*

nalang kyelohonanhayto isanun hayssumyen cokeysse ‘(I) really wish he would move out [of his place] even if he does not marry me,’” conveying discontent through prosodic features such as pitch fluctuation or elongation and verbal cues (“*cincca* ‘seriously’” and “*ehwu* ‘ahhh,’” in lines 02-03). In other words, by pointing out what the referent is not doing and expressing her discontent about it, the speaker is explicitly taking a negative stance toward the referent. The QP *kyay* is used to refer to the referent in the utterance.

The use of *kyay* in this locally-subsequent position is nicely contrasted with the use of the NP *oppa* in later locally-subsequent mentions in the same segment. A moment later, Sora mentions her boyfriend twice, using *oppa* in both positions. From lines 10 to 15, Sora tells what is going on with her boyfriend’s apartment building—the building is under construction to add another floor while the current tenants are still living in it, and since her boyfriend is living on the top floor (line 10), the ceiling of the hallway in his floor is open (lines 13, 14). When Sora tells YJ the relevant facts about her boyfriend, i.e., when the boyfriend is being referred to for simple reference, she uses *oppa* instead of *kyay*. The quasi-pronoun *kyay* is used to refer to the boyfriend only in the pre-telling in lines 02 and 03, where the speaker explicitly expresses a negative stance toward the referent’s behavior.

In the second example, a *ku*-based QP is used instead of an unmarked locally-subsequent form, a professional title, when a speaker makes a positive assessment about the referent after a multi-unit telling about him. Just prior to the beginning of the excerpt, Sora and YJ were talking about the value of studying hard at school. As an example of someone who studied very hard, Sora begins talking about her doctor, referring to him

with a professional title, *kyoswunim* ‘professor’ (line 01). Again, the uses of an NP are marked with single-arrows, those of a QP with double-arrows.

(6.2) Professor

- 01 Sora: ((smile))-(0.5) .hh 어 난 근데: 약간- (.) 우리: 요번에 교수님
yes I-TOP but little bit our this time professor-HON
- 02 오늘두 교수님 만났- 는데,=tch 공부를 차라- 잘할려면
today-ADD professor met-CIRCUM study-ACC do-well-COND
- 03 아싸리 되[게 잘해야 (°되고°)]
seriously really do well-must-ADD
- (01) → ((smile))-(0.5) .hh u:h but I, (.) I met **my: professor** the other day,
(02) → met **professor** today again and,=tch if (one is) going to study,
(03) (one) rea[lly better do it well,]
- 04 YJ: [((nodding))-아싸리 잘해야 °돼°.]
seriously do well-must
- (04) [((nodding))-(one) really should do well.]
- 05 Sora: (.) 올 교수님:, ((gaze down))- (.) ((gaze up))-내>가 그랬자나.<=
our professor I-TOP did that-COMM-not
- 06 나랑: 두살인가 세살((nodding fast))-밖에 차이 안{나는거
me-with two years or three years only difference not exist-thing
- 07 같↓그등,-((YJ nodding))>근데< 벌써 {{{drawing a square with two
appear but already
- 08 hands))-일케- 학회에서:, 뭐 논문관련>해서< 상을 받았다고,}=
like:this conference at what study-relation award-ACC received-QUOT
- 09 {{{drawing square))-상을 두:개나 받았다고} {{{drawing a square))-
award-ACC two-as many as received-QUOT
- 10 이따만하게 (syl syl)}, 거기에. 제목이 °이거야.°
like this big there title-SUB this-IE
- 11 ((gaze to space, index finger pointing upward))-저에게. 상은,
me-to award-TOP
- 12 (0.2) 채찍과같(ㅎ)은(ㅎ),=ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ, [((hands covering face))-ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ,]
whip-ADD-same hehehehe hehehe
- (05) → (.) **my professo:r**, ((gaze down))- (.) ((gaze up))-I told you,=
(06) I think (he’s) only two or three years older {{{YJ nodding))-than me,}
(07) >but< [he says] that (he) already {{{drawing a square with two hands))-
(08) got this like- an award for (his) article in a conference,}=

- (09) {{{drawing square))-that (he) got two: awards,}
 (10) like this big (syl syl), there, the title is this.
 (11) ((gaze to space, index finger pointing upward, dramatic voice))-to me. an
 (12) award is, (0.2) like a whip(h),=hehehe, [((hand covering face))-hehehe,]
- (13) YJ: [((smile))-°wo:w°,]
- 14 Sora: \$약간 그런 표현 있자나,\$ [>그래서<]=
 little bit like:that expressions exist-COMM
 (14) \$you know that kind of expressions,\$ [>so<,]=
- (15) YJ: [((nods))]=
- 16 Sora: =((nods))-↓아:, (0.2) 근데- □- ((gaze to space))-(0.5) 그러니까
 ah but m so
- 17 그사람이 더: 막 대단해 보이고 막, (.) 어쨌든 그 사람은
QP-SUB more just great look-ADD just anyways **QP-TOP**
- 18 뭔가 보람된 일을 하는구나.,=결국은 나- ↓나 내 입장에서서는
 something rewarding work-ACC do-UNASSIM in:the:end I my position-TOP
- 19 그사람이 날 살렸다고 생각을 하는거니깐., 그런것두
 QP-SUB I-ACC saved-QUOT think-ACC do like:that-thing-ADD
- 20 아닌데., 낭 대::충:, 만약에: 공:부로 ↓막- 안싸리 되게 잘할거
 not-CIRCUM just roughly if study-with seriously really do-well-thing
- 21 아니며는, {{{shaking head, frowning, hand gesture))-(굳이) (0.7)}
 not-COND
- (16) =((nods))-↓a:h, (0.2) but- m- ((gaze to space))-(0.5) so
 (17) ==> **he(ku-person)** looks even greater to me and, (.) [I feel that] **he(ku-**
 (18) **person)** is doing something rewardi:ng anyway,=because in the end I-
 from my perspective
 (19) ==> I think **he(ku-person)** saved my life, I mean that’s not even
 (20) necessarily true:, but if (you’re) not going to be really good,
 (21) {{{shaking head, frowning, hand gesture))-(no need to bother)}

In lines 01 to 03, Sora begins a telling by introducing her doctor to talk, referring to him by his professional title, *kyoswunim* ‘professor’ (line 01). The NP *kyoswunim* ‘professor’ is repeated in what appears to be self-initiated repair (line 02). After introducing the referent, Sora inserts a general statement that foreshadows what the telling will be about—her doctor as an example of a person who really excelled in school. YJ displays a strong agreement with the general statement (line 04) in recognitional overlap (Jefferson,

1983). After the insert, Sora begins telling about the doctor, mentioning him again using the NP *kyoswunim* ‘professor’ (line 05).

From lines 05 to 12, Sora tells what she saw on the doctor’s social media page to illustrate how accomplished he is for his age, i.e., he won two awards for his research articles. After the use of the NP *kyoswunim* ‘professor’ in line 05, zero anaphora is used throughout to refer to the doctor as Sora describes his accomplishments (lines 06 to 09). The telling about the doctor’s achievements reaches the climax as Sora ‘reads’ his humble message on his social media in a dramatic voice—that awards are for him like a whip, a Korean expression that means not to stay complacent and strive for further development. The turn is produced with and ends with laughter (lines 11, 12), indicating that Sora is treating it as funny and seeking her recipient’s affiliation. However, the telling of the main point does not successfully elicit the recipient’s response. After YJ’s minimal response, mouthing of ‘wow’ and smile (line 13), Sora continues. She adds an increment, “you know, that kind of expression,” in a smiley voice (line 14), characterizing the phrase as something she (and YJ) would not use. Again, only a minimal response, nodding (line 15), follows.

In the face of no recipient uptake, Sora continues. Sora produces a change-of-state token “*a:h* ‘o:h,’” nodding, as if to enact learning something new about the doctor (line 16). After struggling to continue (pauses and a false start in line 16), she begins a new TCU (“*kulenikka* ‘so’” in line 16) and articulates her assessment about the doctor over multiple units. She begins with referring to the doctor, this time using a *ku*-based QP *ku salam* ‘that person’ instead of an NP (line 17). Interestingly, the use of QP continues over the next three turn units (lines 17 to 19). She says, “*ku salam i te taydanhayboiko*

‘he looks even greater (to me)’” (line 17), then “*ku salam un menka polamtoyn ilul hanunkwuna* ‘[I feel that] he is doing something rewarding’” (lines 17, 18), and lastly, “*nay ipcangeysenun ku salam i nalul salyektako sangkakanun kenikkan* ‘because from my perspective, (I) think he saved my life’” (line 19). Note that in all these three turn units, Sora is expressing her subjective assessment about the referent (‘he looks greater to me,’ ‘I feel that he is doing something rewarding,’ ‘I think he saved my life’). The QP *ku salam* ‘that person’ is used as the speaker expresses a positive stance toward the referent.

In this example, the uses of *ku*-based QP *ku salam* ‘that person’ in lines 17 to 19 are a marked choice of referential form in two respects. First, the relationship between the speaker and the referent as a doctor and a patient, one created in an institutional setting, would predict that the unmarked form of reference for the doctor is a professional title—*kyoswunim* ‘professor’ in this case—in a locally-subsequent position where the use of overt reference instead of zero anaphora is called for. However, in all utterances, the QP was used. Second, the QP *ku salam* was used where zero anaphora is normally expected. In particular, the two mentions of the doctor in line 17 can be done with zero anaphora without causing the ambiguity as to who is being referred to.³ Nonetheless, overt reference—*ku salam* ‘that person’—was used. In other words, the two QPs in line 17 are marked referential forms both in terms of the type of the form used (a QP instead of an NP) and their necessity for disambiguation (overt reference instead of zero anaphora). The QP in line 19 is a marked referential form in terms of the type of the form used (a QP instead of an NP).

³ In the utterance in line 19, overt reference to the doctor is required for the clarity in meaning. Thus, the unmarked referential form here is an NP.

In the previous two examples, a *ku*-based QP was used either in pre-telling (Extract 6.1) or in post-telling (Extract 6.2). In the last example, the uses of a *ku*-based QP *kyay* bracket a telling, i.e., occurs in both pre- and post-telling positions. As in the previous examples, a speaker uses an NP (*oppa* in this case) when she reports what happened, but switches to the *ku*-based QP (*kyay* in this case) as she formulates her subjective assessment about the referent. The following example is taken from text messaging between Kay and HY. HY was telling Kay about the argument she had with her boyfriend over his parents' ill treatment of her that had lasted for several years. Prior to the beginning of the segment, HY was reporting what she told her boyfriend as she criticizes the boyfriend's parents. The target utterances are in lines 45, 47, and 64, where *kyay* is used instead of *oppa* (double-arrowed).

(6.3) Poor guy

01	12:52 AM	HY	→	그랬더니 오빠도 놀란거지 did:that-and oppa-ADD surprised-thing-COMM so he(oppa) was also surprised
02	12:52 AM	Kay		놀래봐야지 surprised-COMM (he) should be surprised once
03	12:52 AM	HY		내가 그리고 정말 이렇게까지말하고싶지않았는데 I-SUB and really like:this:until say-want-not-CIRCUM and [I told him] that also, I really didn't want to say this
04	12:53 AM			오빠 부모님 너무 못됐다고 oppa parents too bad but your(oppa's) parents are bad people
05	12:53 AM	Kay		어어어! yes yes yes Yeah yeah yeah!
06	12:53 AM	HY		내가 진짜 죽을병걸려도 그러는거아니라고 I-SUB really die-disease-have-even though do:that-not even if I have some terminal illness (they) shouldn't be like that

- 07 12:53 AM Kay 카야 ~~~너무 잘했다
wow too well done
wow~~good job
- 08 12:54 AM HY → 그랬더니 오빠도 놀라서는 다시한번 부모를 강력하게
then oppa-ADD surprised again once parents-ACC strongly
[I told him so] and **he(oppa)** was also surprised and told
- 09 설득해보겠다는데
persuade-QUOT-CIRCUM
me that (he) would try persuading his parents once again
===== ((lines omitted)) =====
- 42 12:59 AM Kay 오빠는 너에게 갚을 빚이 많다
oppa-TOP you-to repay debt-SUB plenty
he(oppa) has a lot of debt to pay you back
- 43 1:00 AM HY 기대는 크지않아 그저 결과만 좋게나오고
expectation-TOP big-not just result-only good-come out-ADD
(I) don't expect much, (I) just hope my result would
come out
- 44 나도 이제 너무 그들에 휘둘리고싶지않아 ㅋㅋㅋ
I-ADD now too they swayed-not-want-IE
good and I don't want to be swayed by them any more
hhh
- 45 1:00 AM ==> 개도 근데
QP-ADD but
but **he(kyay)** is also
- 46 1:00 AM Kay mhm
- 47 1:00 AM HY ==> 진짜 불쌍해..정말 깜놀란게
really poor-IE really surprised-thing-SUB
really poor..what really surprised (me) is
- 48 1:00 AM Kay mhm
- 49 1:00 AM HY 어렸을때 너무 가난해서
young-when too poor-because
because (he) was so poor when (he) was a child
===== ((lines omitted)) =====
- 61 1:02 AM HY 더 그분들도 사랑하겠지만
well they-ADD love-guess-but
well (I) guess they also love (their son) but it was just
- 62 울엄빠랑 너무 달라서 당황스러움
my mom pop too different-because
perplexing cause (they're) so different from my parents

63	1:02 AM	Kay		○○ mhm
64	1:02 AM			많이 다르다 —— lot different very different –
65	1:03 AM	HY	==>	○○ 개도 가여워 mhm QP-ADD pitiful-IE mhm he(kyay) is also pitiful
66	1:03 AM	Kay		가역지 pitiful-COMM (he) is pitiful

From lines 01 to 09, HY reports what she told her boyfriend and his reaction to it. Note that as HY describes her boyfriend's reaction to what she said in lines 01 and 08, she uses an NP *oppa* (double-arrowed) to refer to her boyfriend, even though they occur in locally-subsequent positions. Between lines 09 and 41, not presented here, the boyfriend is referred to by zero anaphora as the speaker further elaborates on what happened during her argument with him. HY's telling reaches the closing around line 42 as Kay, the story's recipient, provides an assessment saying that HY's boyfriend has "a lot of debt to pay" (line 42). HY also wraps up her telling by saying that she does not want to be swayed by the parents any more and finishing the turn with a light laughter ("hhh") (line 44).

With the telling of the event completed, and perhaps in reaction to Kay's negative stance toward her boyfriend implied in line 42, HY begins talking about her boyfriend's situation. In line 45, HY refers to her boyfriend, this time using a *ku*-based QP *kyay* instead of an NP *oppa*. She says, "*kyayto kuntey* 'but he is also'" (line 45), starting a new telling about the boyfriend. After Kay's go-ahead (line 46), HY completes the utterance by saying "*cincca pwulssanghay* 'really poor'" (line 47). Thus, HY is assessing her

boyfriend (“really poor”). At the same time, she is projecting a telling of the reason why she regards him ‘really poor.’ In other words, HY is assessing the referent as a way of launching a new segment of telling, and the referent is referred to by the *ku*-based QP *kyay*.

In the omitted lines, HY tells about what her boyfriend was told to do by his parents when he was a child, which explains why HY thinks he is a victim of his parents’ behavior as well. Throughout the telling, the boyfriend is referred to by zero anaphora. After her telling is more or less completed, HY makes an assessment of the boyfriend’s parents—their behavior is perplexing (lines 61, 62). Kay echoes HY’s assessment (line 64). Finally, HY closes the telling by re-iterating her assessment of her boyfriend’s situation. In line 65, HY says “*kyayto kayewo* ‘he is also pitiful,’” using a synonym of the word initially used (“*pwulssanhay* ‘poor’”) in line 45. As in the pre-telling utterance, the boyfriend is referred to by the *ku*-based QP *kyay*, instead of the unmarked form *oppa*, the form that was used in various locally-subsequent positions when the speaker was reporting what the referent said or did. Again, the use of *ku*-based QP *kyay* co-occurs with the speaker’s explicit expression of her stance.

This section examined the use of *ku* ‘that’-based QP as a locally-subsequent form in situations where an NP is expected as the unmarked form. The three examples presented in this section show that a speaker switches to a marked QP from an unmarked NP when formulating an utterance in which s/he displays his/her stance toward the referent. It is interesting that the display of subject judgment about a person accompanies discarding referential forms that index a referent’s social standing or his/her relationship with a speaker. That is, NPs such as kinship terms or professional titles inherently index a

relative position of a referent with respect to a speaker in terms of age or social status or the formal nature of the relationship between a speaker and a referent. By discarding such terms and using a more transparent form, a QP, a speaker may make irrelevant such information. This may facilitate expressing a speaker's stance toward the referent.

Switching from *ku*-based to *i*-based QP

When referring to a non-present other who is younger than or in a lower social status than a speaker and whose relationship with the speaker is informal, *ku*-based QP *kyay* is used as the unmarked locally-subsequent form. For referring to a co-present other, *i* 'this'-based *yay* and *ce* 'that over there'-based *cyay* are used as unmarked forms (Oh, 2002). However, speakers sometimes switch from a *ku*-based QP (*kyay*) to *i*-based QP (*yay*) to refer to the same non-present person within a sequence. This section examines what is accomplished by this switch. It will be shown that, in a multi-unit telling about a referent, switching to *yay* marks a telling of a fact about or an action of a referent that is noteworthy and assessable by a recipient. Thus, what is told about a referent referred to by *yay* gets co-assessed by a speaker and a recipient in the course of a telling. As will be shown, co-assessables are deployed at various points of telling, managing local contingencies such as boosting tellability, accounting, or bolstering a speaker's point.

In the first example, the switch to *yay* occurs after a pre-telling sequence to kick-start the telling-proper. The following segment is from a conversation between Sora and YJ. Prior to the segment, Sora introduced an 8-year-old son of their former colleague, referring to him by "*chokwacang twulccay atul* 'Director Cho's second son.'" Right afterwards, the video recorder flips, and an interruption ensues. Sora resumes telling after

fixing the camera (line 01). The use of *kyay* is marked with a single-arrow, and the use of *yay*, which indicates the switch, is marked with a double-arrow.

(6.4) Precocious child

- 01 Sora: 아니. (.) 조용현 과장님이 민망하다고 그랬던게,
no choyonghyen director-SUB embarrassed-QUOT do-that-thing-SUB
so. (.) Director Cho said that (she')s embarrassed because,

- 02 그.: (.) 시어머니가, >시아버지< 시어머니가,
that mother-in-law-SUB father-in-law mother-in-law-SUB
her: (.) mother-in-law, >father-in-law< and mother-in-law said,

- 03 지흠이.=지흠이거든,-((JY nods)) (.) 백지흠.
Jihum jihum-you know paik jihum
Jihum.=(his name) is Jihum-((JY nods)) (.) Paik Jihum.

- 04 지흠이는 애가: {{{(끄덕)}}-특} 특별한 아이같으니까
jihum-TOP child-SUB special child-seem-DET+INTERR
[they said] that Jihum is {{{(nods)}}-special} so

- 05 잘 키우라구 >그런다구<=민망하다고:.=
well raise-QUOT do-QUOT embarrassing-QUOT
(you) should raise him well,=[she says] that it's so embarrassing,=

- 06 YJ: =((nods))=

- 07 Sora: =자기: 왜. >원래 손주< 손녀들은 다 너무 똑똑하(다고)
own why originally grandchildren-TOP all too smart-QUOT
=[she said] that everyone thinks their own grandchildren are so

- 08 → (.) 그: 그랬는데,=개가 꼬끔 ((pointing))-특이하긴 한가↓봐:.
did-that-CIRCUM **kyay**-SUB little bit unique-NOM-TOP do-seem
so smart but,=**he(kyay)** seems to be a bit ((pointing))-unique indee:d,

- 09 어저께- 그날:, (고 sylsyl 과정)얘기하는데,
yesterday that day talk-CIRCUM
yesterday- that day: (Directo Ko syl syl) were talking and,

- 10 ==> (.) 애↑가, 다↑섯살 땀가, (0.2) 그 지 동생이,
yay-SUB five-year-old-when that his younger sibling-SUB
(.) h↑e(yay), when (he) was about f↑ive, (0.2) his younger sibling was

- 11 (0.2) 울:고 있는데, ((gaze shift to sides))-((누가 syl syl syl syl)
crying-CIRCUM who
(0.2) crying and, ((gaze shift to sides))-((who syl syl syl syl)

- 12 ((gaze back to JY))-어른들이 어:>뒀었는지 모르<겠는데,

- adults-SUB where-exist-PAST-NOM do not know-CIRCUM
 ((gaze back to JY))-not sure where >adults were at that< time,
- 13 네:이버에다가,=네이버 지:식인에 ↑글을 올렸↓대:,
 naver-LOC naver intellectual-LOC writing-ACC upload-PAST-QUOT
 posted a q↑uestion on Na:ver,=Naver answ↓e:rs,
- 14 YJ: ((인상))-↑에:;,
 eh
 ((frowning))-↑e:h,
- 15 Sora: 다섯살인가 여섯살↓이:, (.)
 five-year-old or six-year-old-SUB
 a five- or six-year-old (.)
- 16 {{{(nodding, articulating each syllable)}}-우리 동생이 울고 있는데
 our younger sibling-SUB crying-CURCUM
 {{{(nodding, articulating each syllable)}}-my younger sibling is crying,
- 17 애는 왜: 이렇게 울까요,} 이렇게 해↓서:,
 yay-TOP why like:this cry-you think like this
 why: is s/he crying like this,} wrote like this,
- 18 YJ: 글을 쓸줄 알아,
 writing-ACC write-how know-IE
 does (he) know how to write,

In lines 01 to 08, Sora gives a multi-unit preface to the upcoming telling. She first establishes that the boy (whose name is *Paik Jihum*, line 03) is special and smart by reporting what his grandparents said about him to his mother (lines 04, 05). After telling how his mother downplays such praise of her son (lines 05, 07), Sora says that the boy seems to be indeed ‘unique’ (line 08), which projects a telling of why she thinks so. Here, Sora uses the *ku*-based QP *kyay* to refer to the boy.

In line 09, Sora sets up for the upcoming telling by giving a time frame and the source of the telling (line 09), further projecting a telling of something important. Sora then mentions the boy again, this time using *yay* to refer to him (line 10). What follows is a telling of what the boy did when he was five years old—the boy’s younger sibling was crying, so he posted a question on *Naver Answer*, an internet platform where people post

questions and answers (lines 10 to 13). Now, this event is presented as something marvelous and worthy of appreciation. In formulating the telling of the event, the speaker employs a host of prosodic features that display surprise, such as elongation, emphasis, and frequent pitch fluctuation. By displaying a strong surprise, the speaker is also inviting the recipient to reciprocate—to appreciate the extraordinariness of what is being told. In other words, the event is presented as something to be assessed by the recipient. In the turn that conveys the assessable event, the speaker switches from *kyay* to *yay* to refer to the referent whose action is presented as an assessable.

After Sora's dramatic delivery of what the boy did, the recipient, YJ, responds with a short but clear display of surprise and disbelief. She says "eh" with elongation, frowning (line 14). In other words, the recipient participates in co-assessment. After securing the recipient's affiliation, Sora elaborates on what the boy wrote on the internet. Now, she uses a category term "a five- or six-year-old" (line 15) as a referential form to contrast the boy's age and what he did. Sora's telling about the boy continues over the next few minutes, covering several events in which he said or did something unusual for a child that age. *Yay* is used only once in line 10 throughout the telling. In this example, a co-assessable event was told to boost the tellability in the beginning of the telling-proper.

In the next example, an assessable event is told as a speaker provides an account for her negative stance toward the referent displayed in the previous talk, and a multi-unit telling about a referent emerges as a result. Again, the speaker switches to *yay* to refer to the referent in the telling of the assessable event. The following segment is from a conversation among four female speakers. Among them, MH is a language teacher, and SJ is a graduate student who tutors language students as a part-time job. MH and SJ met

in person for the first time. Again, the use of *kyay* is marked with a single-arrow, *yay* with a double-arrow.

(6.5) Insolent student

- 01 SJ: ((gaze to H))-언니 반에: 메간,
unni class-LOC meghan
((gaze to H))-in your cla:ss, Meghan,
- 02 MH: (.) 응.
yes
(.) yeah.
- 03 SJ: 지끔 ((gesturing to self))-하구있어여. 튜터.
now doing-HON tutor
now ((gesturing to self))-(I)'m doing it. tutoring.
- 04 MH: (.) ((shaking head))-↓아::[::,]
ah
(.) ((shaking head))-↓a::::[::h,]
- 05 SJ: ((torso forward))-[hehe]hehehehe,
- 06 MH: 내얘기(). 내얘기, 아 내가 선생님이라고 얘기(했나),
my talk my talk ah I-SUB teacher-COP-QUOT tell-PAST
did (). did, ah did (she) tell (you) I'm (her) teacher,
- 08 SJ: 아 얘기해[(여). 응.]
ah tell-HON yes
ah she di[d. yeah.]
- 09 MH: [((nods))]
- 10 SJ: ()이라구:;()((nods))
()-COP-QUOT
that () ()((nods))
- 11 MH: .tch ((sighing, shaking head))
- 12 SJ: ㅎㅎㅎ 그래여,
hehehe like:that-HON
hehehe is that so,
- 13 KJ: 첨가되지 않았어.
addition-done not-IE
no additives,
- 14 MH: → 아 개는 나한테는 괜찮은데,

- ah **kyay**-TOP I-to-TOP fine-CIRCUM
 ah **she(kyay)** is fine with me but,
- 15 ==> 첨에: 얘가 되게 건방지게,
 at:frist **yay**-SUB too insolently
 at fi:rst **she(yay)**, so insolently,
- 16 SJ: ((looking surprised))-아 그래여,
 ah like:that-HON
 ((looking surprised))-oh really,
- 17 MH: (.) >우리< 거. 거기에 팀티칭인데.,
 we the- there-LOC team teaching-COP-CIRCUM
 (.) >we< the- there (we do) team teaching there and,
- 18 SJ: ((nods slightly))-°음::°,
 mm
 ((nods slightly))-°m::°,
- 19 MH: =따른사람한테.,
 different person-to
 =[she said] to the other person,
- 20 HY: 건방진애가 있[어,]
 arrogant kid-SUB exist-IE
 is there an arrogant stu[dent,]
- 21 MH: [너:무] 너:무 이거 이미 한거라구.,
 too too this thing already did-thing-QUOT
 [that this]and that are already covered too: too many
 ti:mes,
- 22 SJ: ((frowning))-아::.,
 ah
 ((frowning))-o::h,

In line 01, SJ introduces her tutee named Meghan, who is also in a class that MH is teaching. After the recognition is achieved (line 02), SJ tells MH that she is currently tutoring her (line 03). SJ thus establishes a common ground between herself and MH—a student both of them know. In line 04, in the first slot where MH may respond to SJ’s introduction of the student to talk, MH, rather comically, displays a negative stance toward the student through a nonverbal cue (shaking head) and elongated “a:::h.” SJ bursts into laughter (line 05). After clarifying how SJ knows that the student is in her

class (lines 06 to 10), MH, again, immediately displays her dissatisfaction with the student with non-verbal cues (tutting, sighing, and shaking head in line 11). This time, SJ responds by first laughing and then displays non-affiliation (“*kulayye* ‘is that so’” in line 12). That is, in the slot where she could affiliate with MH’s stance, e.g., by giving a negative assessment as well or agreeing with MH, SJ assumes an agnostic, neutral stance. Therefore, what transpired thus far is that MH repeatedly displayed a negative stance toward the student without garnering an affiliative response from SJ.

In the next turn, MH begins giving an account for her stance. In line 14, MH first says “*ah kyaynun nahanteynun kwaynchanuntey* ‘ah she(*kyay*) is fine with with me but,’” implying objectivity in her stance, i.e., her opinion about the student is nothing personal. Here, MH is using *kyay* to refer to the student. She then moves on to the main telling. She says, “*chemey yayka twueykey kenbangcikey* ‘at first, she(*yay*), so insolently’” (line 15). By providing a time frame, i.e., ‘at first,’ the agent, i.e., ‘she(*yay*),’ and the characterization of an action, i.e., ‘so insolently,’ MH is hearably starting a telling of a certain event. Note that MH switches the referential form for the student to *yay* (line 15). She continues telling what the student did—the student kept going to an instructor that MH worked with as a co-teacher (lines 17, 19) to complain that she had already learned the materials (line 21). This is an ‘insolent’ action of the student that explains why MH showed such a negative stance toward the student previously. At the same time, the event is told so that the recipient herself can assess the student and get to see the speaker’s point. In other words, what is told about the referent referred to by *yay* is an event that is told to be assessed by the recipient.

The telling of the event indeed elicits from the recipient a display of negative assessment. In line 22, SJ produces a change-of-state token “a:::h ‘o:::h” while frowning, displaying disapproval of what she newly learned about the student. In the subsequent talk, MH continues telling other teachers’ reaction to the student, throughout which the recipient shows various tokens of agreement.

In the last example, a speaker switches to *yay* in formulating an assessable fact about a referent, when the fact is told to bolster the speaker’s point. The following segment is from a telephone conversation between MC (older brother) and SA (younger sister), who are living in the United States. Prior to the segment, MC started telling SA about a Korean high school student, who is currently studying in Australia but wishing to transfer to a school in the United States. The student’s family is contacting MC as a potential guardian of the student in the United States. If MC becomes the guardian, it will generate extra income for MC’s family. The following segment is a part of a question-answer sequence that was initiated by SA’s question if the student is trustworthy and would actually come to America. MC begins his response by saying “since he is in deep trouble now,” projecting a positive answer to SA’s question (the student wants to leave Australia). While MC is describing the troublesome situation the student is in, e.g., the school writing bad recommendation letters, SA interrupts and asks if the student is delinquent. MC says the student himself is a good student, quoting the ‘consultant’ who introduced the student to him (line 01).

(6.6) Ninth grade

01 MC: → 그래서< 개는] 굉장히 잘 한대요.=
so **kyay**-TOP really well do-QUOT
so (she says) that **he(kyay)** is a good student,=

- 02 SA: =어:::,
yes
=yea:::h,
- 03 MC: 전혀 그런 애가 아니래요.
never like:that child-SUB not-QUOT
(she says) that (he) is never a problematic kid,
- 04 SA: 재수 드럽게 없네:, [어떻게 학교가-,] [음,]
luck dirty not:exist how school-SUB mm
what a bad lu:ck, [how can the school-,] [mm,]
- 05 MC: [그래서 우리-(.)] 준석이-(.) [랑] 거의 같은 시기에
so our cwunsek with almost same period-LOC
[so (he) went study-(.)] abroad (.) [around] almost the
- 06 유학을 간 케이스거든:,=나이도 거의 똑같고,
study:abroad-ACC went case-you know age-ADD almost same-ADD
same ti:me with Cwunsek,=and (he's) almost the same age,
- 07 SA: .tch=에휴:: 그럼 미국으로 가지 그랬냐,
gosh then america-to go-NOML do:that-INTERR
.tch=go::sh then (he) should have gone to the states,
- 08 MC: 근데 준석이는 지금 내년이면 시니어로 고 삼인데,
but cwunsek-TOP now next-year-COND senior high school three-CIRCUM
but now Cwunsek will be senior next year,
- 09 SA: 그[렇지,]
like that-COMM
r[ight,]
- 10 MC: [시니어]된단 말이야.=
senior become-QUOT word-IE
[(he's) becoming] senior, okay,=
- 11 SA: =응.
yes
=yeah.
- 12 MC: ==> 얘는 요번에 오면은 >인제< 구 학년으로 들어 가야 된다°구°
yay-TOP this time-LOC come-COND now ninth grade-to enter-must
but **he(yay)** should enter as a ninth-grader if he comes now,
- 13 SA: ↑에::: 왜 이렇게 많이 리핏이야 그런↑데,=
eh why like this many repeat-COP but
↑e:::h why so many rep↑eats,=

- 14 MC: =그러니까 그 호주에 있는 동안 이년을 완전 허송세월 한 거나 다름 없지.,
so Australia-LOC exist-while two years-ACC completely waste-thing-COMM
=so while in Australia, (he) wasted two years completely.;
- 15 SA: (.) 아이고.,
gosh
(.) go:sh,

In lines 01 and 03, MC reports what the consultant told him as an answer to SA's question—that he is a good student and is never a problematic kid. Note that MC uses *kyay* as he refers to the student (line 01). Now, MC resumes telling about the student's trouble (“*kulayse* ‘so’” in line 05) that was suspended by SA's question.⁴

After securing the floor after the overlap with SA's turn, MC starts explaining that the student is almost the same age as his son, *cwunsek*, and left for Australia about when his son left for America (lines 05, 06). Then, MC reminds SA that his son is going to be a high school senior next year (line 08). After repeating what he just said (line 10), MC now mentions the student. He says, “*yaynun yopeney omyen incey kwuhaknyenulo tulekaya toyntakwu* ‘but he(yay) should enter as a ninth-grader if he comes now’” (line 12). Note that the speaker switches to *yay* to refer to the student.

The fact that the student will be only a ninth-grader now is told as something that illustrates the magnitude of the student's trouble. Note that, in an earlier part of the conversation, SA indicated her doubt about the trustworthiness of the student. MC started talking about the problems the student is having in Australia to explain why he believes the student would actually come to America instead of being flaky. With SA constantly showing her concerns about the trustworthiness of the student, e.g., asking if the student

⁴ The discourse marker *kulayse* ‘so’ here has a very similar function as the discourse marker *so* in English, that of “advancing the interactional agenda that was suspended or aborted before coming to a possible completion” (Bolden, 2009, p. 990).

is delinquent, MC is telling this piece of information to bolster his point that the student is in the kind of trouble that requires him to start anew (possibly in a new country).⁵ As the speaker delivers this information, he formulates it as something whose seriousness is to be appreciated and assessed by the recipient, employing the switch to *yay* in referring to the student.

In response, the recipient displays shock (elongated ‘eh’ in a high pitch in line 13) and asks a rhetorical question “why so many repeats?” (line 13). In other words, the recipient aligns with the speaker by producing the due response—her own assessment of the situation being presented. The response is also affiliative in that her assessment, i.e., the student’s situation is shockingly bad, conforms to the point that the speaker has painted from the beginning of his answer to SA’s question. The question-answer sequence that was initiated by SA’s question—if the student is trustworthy and would actually come to America—closes, 29 lines after the end of this segment, with SA saying that “*a ku cengtomyen okin okeysskwuna* ‘oh if (it) is that bad, he would come for sure.’”

This section examined what action is achieved by switching the referential form from the unmarked *ku*-based QP, i.e., *kyay*, to the marked *i*-based QP, i.e., *yay* to refer to the same person within a sequence. It has been shown that speakers switch to *yay* when they formulate a fact about or an action of a referent that is offered for recipients’ assessment. The state-of-affairs or event thus presented tend to elicit a recipient’s own assessment that is affiliative with a speaker’s. The use of *i* ‘this’-based QP in presenting what is to be assessed by co-participants appears to be related to the physical proximity denoted by the demonstrative *i* ‘this.’ That is, by switching from *ku* ‘that’-form to *i* ‘this’-

⁵ The speaker says, 20 lines later, that the student is thus willing to come to any school as long as he can come to America.

form, a speaker is bringing a referent “closer” to participants, so the referent’s action or situation can be assessed, evaluated, and appreciated, rather than simply told. The metaphorical extension of the physical distances denoted by various demonstratives and its role in organizing social action and meaning has been well documented (e.g., Duranti, 1984; Oh, 2007, 2010). The finding in this section contributes to the investigation of the relationship between demonstratives and their uses in action formation in social interaction.

Discussion

This chapter examined what social actions are achieved by switching from the unmarked locally-subsequent forms to marked ones in two distinct speech situations. In the first section, I examined the situations where a speaker uses an NP (kinship terms or professional titles) as the unmarked locally-subsequent forms. In such situations, switching from an unmarked NP to a marked QP occurs in a particular environment of displaying a speaker’s stance toward a referent, be it negative or positive. In all examples in this section, which feature a multi-unit telling about one person, a referent is referred to by an unmarked NP in the utterances that report a referent’s actions or words. In contrast, a referent is referred to by a QP in the utterances that express a speaker’s stance toward the referent.

In the second section, I examined the situations where a *ku*-based QP *kyay* is used as the unmarked locally-subsequent form and described when and why speakers switch from the unmarked *ku*-QP to a marked *i*-QP. It has been shown that speakers switch from the unmarked *kyay* (*ku*-QP) to the marked *yay* (*i*-QP) to present an assessable event or

fact involving the referent. The event or fact thus presented tends to be co-assessed by a recipient in the next turn. As in the first section, switching to a marked referential form contributes to performing an action of displaying a speaker's subjective judgment about a referent. The difference is that the switch to *yay* is deployed to bring in a recipient in the action of assessing a referent as well—thus, rendering a referent's action or situation 'co-assessable.'

VII – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

In this study, I described person-referring practices in naturally-occurring conversation in Korean. As explained in Chapter I, the undertaking of this project was motivated by both theoretical and practical interests and conducted with two goals. First, it aims to contribute to the research on person reference in social interaction in general by delineating how particular forms of reference offered by the Korean language are used to accomplish social actions. Person reference is a domain of interactional practice (Schegloff, 1996) that exhibits both universal principles governing human interaction and their language- and culture-specific variations (Stivers et al., 2007). Korean is a good candidate for exploring how universal principles play out within the particulars of a specific language as it offers a vastly different set of linguistic resources, including person references, from those in English.

The second goal of the study is to provide a description of person-referring practices in Korean that is useful to the research and practice of Teaching Korean as a Second or Foreign Language (KSL/KFL). As described in Chapter I, person reference is one domain of conversation in which Korean differs strikingly from English. The differences are found in both the linguistic resources made (un)available by the language (e.g., zero anaphora, demonstrative-based quasi-pronouns, the absence of third-person pronouns corresponding to *he* or *she*) and the ways in which similar forms are used differently (e.g., the use of full noun phrases as locally-subsequent forms in certain speech situations). The challenge of teaching and learning such a strikingly different

system of language use is evident. In this final chapter, I first summarize the main findings of the study and then discuss their theoretical and pedagogical implications.

Summary of Findings

In this study, I have described various ways in which referential forms for speaker, recipient, and others in Korean are used as interactional resources to achieve social actions beyond simple referring. In Chapter IV, three marked usages of self-referential forms for speaker were identified. First, the first-person pronoun *na/ce* ‘I’ followed by the topic marker *-nun* is used in the turn constructional unit (TCU)-initial position (‘*nanun*-prefacing’) to launch a ‘parallel telling’—a telling that is similar to the previous one by another participant in terms of topic, action, and format. *Nanun*-prefacing is used to keep the sequence of topical talk going, to revive the sequence that is about to close, and to perform an action that is similar to the one done by the previous speaker such as inquiring. The analysis showed that the TCU-initial *nanun* is often followed by grammatically or semantically disconnected or incomplete elements but produced as a single prosodic unit. The observation suggests that the function of TCU-initial *nanun* may be sequence-organizational, i.e., signaling how the current utterance ‘fits’ with the utterance of the prior speaker, in addition to person referential. Next, the first-person pronoun *na* ‘I’ is used to refer to the recipient or others when the referent’s perspective is detailed or evoked to give an account. In other words, speakers often refer to the agent of the perspective—the person who holds the view being described—by the first-person pronoun *na* ‘I.’ Such perspective shift in an account is found in the environment of advancing a position, such as disagreeing, affiliating, and corroborating

one's claim. Lastly, overt self-reference is used instead of the unmarked zero anaphora in responses to *wh*-questions whose presupposition is incompatible with the question responders' reality. Speakers explicitly mark self-reference when they formulate a statement about themselves that addresses the wrong presupposition of the questions.

In Chapter V, I examined two sequential environments where overt reference to recipient is used instead of the unmarked zero anaphora. First, the second-person pronoun *ne* 'you' is used when speculation about the recipient is made to solicit the recipient's confirmation or accounts. Second, the second-person pronoun *ne* followed by the subject particle *-ka* (*neka*) is used in *wh*-questions that challenge the prior utterances. Specifically, the challenge targets the recipients' entitlement claimed in the prior utterance. Thus, *neka*-marked *wh*-questions are deployed when the speaker rejects the recipient's claim or interactional agenda.

In Chapter VI, I examined the referring practices for non-present others with a specific focus on the switching from unmarked forms to marked forms in locally-subsequent positions. First, in situations where noun phrases (NPs) such as kinship terms or professional titles are typically used as the locally-subsequent forms (e.g., talking about one's boss or someone older than the speaker with the recipient who is in a formal relationship with the speaker), speakers switch from NPs to quasi-pronouns (QPs) to make assessments about the referents. By switching from NPs, which automatically imply the social standing of the referent, to QPs, which are neutral regarding social information, speakers may effectively convey their subjective evaluations about the referent. Second, in situations where a *ku*-based QP is typically used as the locally-subsequent form (e.g., talking about a referent who is younger than the speaker with a

recipient who is in an informal relationship with the speaker), speakers switch from the unmarked *ku*-QP to a marked *i*-QP to present a referent-relevant event or state to be co-assessed by the recipient.

Two broad themes appear to have emerged from these findings. First, marked person references to speaker and recipient in the form of overt referencing appears in disaffiliative environments. For example, *na* ‘I’ is used as a speaker resists the recipient’s assumption about him/herself (Chapter IV), and *neka* is used as a speaker challenges the recipient (Chapter V). This suggests that, in Korean, there may be a relationship between showing disaffiliation and explicitly marking person reference when there is no ambiguity as to who is being referred to. As will be detailed in the next section, this relationship has been documented in other languages, such as Hebrew and English (e.g., Fox, 1987; Hachohen & Schegloff, 2006). Second, marked person references also seem useful for highlighting the assessment of, as opposed to reporting on, the referent’s actions or situations, especially in the case of marked QPs. As have been shown, QPs are versatile linguistic tools for displaying speakers’ stance toward the referents. The reason seems to be two-fold. First, QPs do not carry any social information about the referent, and this seems to assist speakers in displaying subjective judgment about the referent, both positive and negative, without evoking the relationship the speaker has with the referent. Second, QPs are based on demonstratives, *i* ‘this,’ *ku* ‘that,’ *ce* ‘that over there,’ and the physical distances that each demonstrative indexes can be metaphorically extended to indicate the affective or interactional distance between the speaker(/the recipient) and the referent (e.g., Enfield, 2003; Stivers, 2007; Oh, 2007b, 2010). Thus, speakers switch from *ku* ‘that’-based QP to *i* ‘this’-based QP to refer to the same person

when they switch from reporting on the referent to inviting the recipient to participate in assessing the referent together with the speaker.

How do these findings add to what we know about person-referring practices in general and in Korean in particular? Below, I discuss theoretical implications of this study.

Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study contribute to the literature on person references in social interaction in general as well as in Korean by detailing previously undocumented uses of 1) overt references to speaker and recipient, 2) quasi-pronouns (QPs) in referring to non-present others, and 3) marked first-person references.

Overt Reference

This study contributes to the research on overt reference to speaker and recipient in two ways. First, the study describes previously unidentified uses of both types of overt reference—bare NPs (referential forms without grammatical or discourse particles following them) and NP-particle forms (referential forms followed by grammatical or discourse particles such as *-nun* and *-ka*). Previous studies pay little attention to the uses of bare NPs, briefly describing the use of *na* ‘I’ for self-identification in telephone conversations and that of *ne* ‘you’ for selecting next speaker in a multi-party talk (Oh, 2007a). This study identified the uses of bare NPs in hitherto unexamined settings, such as face-to-face dyadic interaction. Regarding the use of NP-particle forms, this study adds to our knowledge about the interactional meanings of the ‘NP-*ka*’ forms by illustrating how *-ka* is used for targeting the referent in composing an action.

Second, this study provides cross-linguistic support to the claim made in a number of other studies—the use of referential forms that are more explicit than necessary for achieving reference occurs in the environment of disagreement or disaffiliation (Fox, 1987; Hacoen & Schegloff, 2006; Schegloff, 1996). As mentioned in the previous section, this study shows that speakers use overt reference *na* ‘I’ as they resist the terms of the questions that they are responding to (Chapter IV) and use *neka* (the second-person pronoun followed by the subject particle *-ka*) as they challenge the recipient’s entitlement claimed in the prior turn. A close relationship appears to exist between explicit marking of self-/recipient-reference and disaffiliation or disagreement in Korean, and such a relationship has been observed in other languages as well. In Hebrew, verbs are inflected for person, gender, and number in past and future tenses, making overt reference “redundant” when co-occurring with inflected verbs. However, overt reference does occur, and it is mainly in the environments of disagreement or other types of disalignment (Hacoen & Schegloff, 2006). Similarly, for third-person reference in English, Fox (1984, 1987) and Schegloff (1996a) show that locally-initial forms (e.g., names) are used in locally-subsequent positions in the environments of disagreement or disaffiliation. Therefore, this study makes a case for what appears to be a universal practice from the Korean perspective.

Quasi-Pronouns (QPs)

This study contributes to the literature on the uses of QPs in Korean in two respects. First, the study offers a full analysis of when and why speakers switch from unmarked NPs to marked QPs, which has not been available in the previous studies. In particular, by discarding hierarchy- and status-oriented referential forms (i.e., NPs),

speakers may make irrelevant such social information about the referent in displaying stance or making assessment (Chapter VI).

Second, the study details a particular use of *i*-QP to achieve affiliation that has not been addressed in the literature so far. That is, in a multi-unit telling about a non-present other, speakers are shown to use a marked *i*-QP when they solicit co-participants' assessment about the referent that is affiliative with the speaker's. In previous studies (e.g., Oh, 2002, 2007b), the uses of *i*-QP are described in the context of contest between the speaker and the recipient, such as claiming epistemic authority over the referent. This study shows that *i*-QP is also used to achieve affiliation among participants by bringing the referent to 'the proximity,' as denoted by the demonstrative *i* 'this,' to all participants to talk. In other words, *i*-QP as an interactional resource can be used in the environment of agreement and affiliation in addition to that of contest.

Marked First-person Reference

This study also located two marked ways of using self-referential forms in Korean that have not been examined previously. First, this study identified '*nanun*-prefacing,' a way of constructing the beginning of a turn to initiate a telling that is similar to the one by the previous speaker in terms of topic, action, and format ('parallel telling,' Chapter IV). The analysis showed that self-reference here performs a similar action to that of discourse markers in that it foreshadows what type of contribution to talk the upcoming utterance makes. Such use of speaker-reference has not been reported in the previous studies.

Second, this study described a previously unidentified practice of using *na* 'I' to refer to someone other than the speaker in Korean. The use of the first-person pronoun to refer to the recipient or others has been investigated neither in person reference in social

interaction research nor in Korean linguistics research. For other languages, Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) briefly mention the impersonal use of *I* in describing hypothetical situations in written English. By describing the environment in which a referential form for speaker is used to refer to recipient or others in Korean, this study not only contributes to the existing literature but also suggests a future direction of research. For example, what referential forms, e.g., zero anaphora, the third-person reflexive *caki*,¹ NPs, etc., are used when a speaker describes others' perspective in different environments? Can we find a reverse practice, i.e., using referential forms for recipient or others to refer to speaker? Can we find similar practices in other languages?

Pedagogical Implications

In the research and practice of Korean as a Second or Foreign Language (KSL/KFL), person reference has received relatively little attention. Most textbooks and learning materials deal with person reference in terms of politeness and honorification and focus on detailing different forms that are used to display different levels of respect in various contexts. This study contributes to the research and practice of KSL/KFL by offering a systematic analysis of 'tacit practices' (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008) employed by Korean speakers involving person references, which will benefit both classroom instructors and materials developers. In addition, the documentation of interactional strategies employed using person referential forms in Korean may enhance our understanding of Korean learners of English. The following discussion is organized around two broad issues in KSL/KFL, i.e., the use of zero anaphora and overt reference

¹ From a preliminary analysis of my data set, the third-person reflexive *caki* is a strong candidate for the most common referential choice when reporting others' perspectives in talk.

and the use of QPs in third-person reference, and the findings' implications for understanding the interlanguage of Korean learners of English.

Use of Zero Anaphora and Overt Reference

Omission of certain elements such as subject and object in a sentence or an utterance is one salient feature of the Korean grammar. Learners are taught to omit 'redundant' features such as self-reference in the utterances about oneself early on. In most learning materials, overt marking of person references when no ambiguity exists as to who is being referred to is dealt with, if at all, in an ad-hoc manner. This leaves individual instructors relying on their intuition or experience to deal with learners' questions regarding what differences exist between using zero anaphora versus overt reference in various contexts. By analyzing the data from actual talk, the current study offers useful information for practitioners in KSL/KFL on what interactional demands motivate the use of overt self- and recipient-references. The findings of this study can be used both directly and indirectly in instruction. First, the findings may be directly used in advanced levels when learners are exposed to the subtle differences in meanings of various referential forms. Even if each particular practice described in this study is not directly applied to instruction, however, the findings will broaden instructors' knowledge and understanding of the range of actions that can be accomplished by overt references.²

² The following example illustrates how the findings of this study can help instructors, albeit indirectly. In one Korean textbook, the lesson on the verbal suffix *-key toyta*, a marker of 'change or turn of events,' includes the following sample dialogue that feature overt reference *na* 'I':

[From *Integrated Korean, Intermediate 1*, Cho et al., 2010b, p. 62]

A: → 저 이번에 장학금을 받게 됐어요.

I [na] this:time-LOC scholarship-ACC receive-**key toy**-PAST-HON

I got offered a scholarship. (Lit. It turned out that I will receive a scholarship.)

Use of Quasi-pronouns (QPs)

This study also contributes to the research and practice of KSL/KFL by making available a description of how NPs and QPs are used in referring to non-present others in daily conversations in Korean. Again, insights from systematic analyses of actual talk are much desired for the improvement of the curriculum design and teaching practices regarding third-person references in Korean. Currently, most learning materials focus on using NPs for third-person reference, such as *sensayngnim* ‘teacher,’ *kyoswunim* ‘professor,’ *acwumeni* ‘aunt,’ or names, as both locally-initial and locally-subsequent forms (e.g., Cho et al., 2010a). This bias may be due to the importance of teaching that, for certain referents, NPs that signal “intricate social stratification between the speaker and the addressee and between the speaker and the third-person human referents” (Sohn, 2006, p. 6) should be used whenever the need arises to use overt reference. Regarding QPs, existing learning/teaching materials focus on two aspects of QPs—how to use each type of QPs to refer to co-present others based on physical distances from the speaker (e.g., National Institute of Korean Language, 2016) and how to use an appropriate form of QP according to the level of respect to be displayed to the referent (e.g., Byon, 2000).³

B: 그래요? 잘 됐네요.
 like:that-HON well become-COMM-HON
 Is that right? That’s great.

In the above dialogue, A is doing news-announcement, and the overt reference *na* ‘I’ here appears to be doing a similar job to that of *ne* ‘you’ described in Chapter V—marking newsworthiness of what is being said about the referent and soliciting the recipient’s response. No explanation is given in the textbook regarding why *na* ‘I’ is used in A’s announcement. However, knowing that highlighting newsworthiness of an event or state can be done through overt reference (especially in the bare NP form), instructors may effectively handle learners’ questions such as why *na* ‘I’ is used here instead of zero anaphora or NP-particle forms such as *nanun* (with the topic particle) or *nayka* (with the subject particle).

³ For example, different general nouns, such as *pun* (esteemed person), *i* (respectable person), *salam* (person), *ay* (child), combine with demonstratives to form QPs that express different levels of respect the speaker is showing to the referent (Byon, 2000, Sohn, 1999).

In light of this gap, the current study offers a useful description of the dynamic uses of referential forms in actual talk, which will benefit both classroom instructors and materials developers.

Interlanguage of Korean learners of English

The findings of this study can also contribute to our understanding of the interlanguage of Korean learners of English. A number of conversation analytic studies have noted that interactional strategies employed in learner's first language (L1) can be utilized in their second language (L2) as well. For example, TCUs are frequently segmented into 'intra-TCU boundaries' in Korean conversation (Kim, KH, 1999; Park, 2009; Young & Lee, 2004) as interlocutors utilize those boundaries as the space for a host of actions such as checking/displaying understanding, displaying alignment, and assessing. Several studies have shown that 'intra-TCU boundaries' appear in Korean learners' talk in English as well. For example, Park (2009) shows that Korean speakers of English in a low proficiency level tend to segment a turn with a rising intonation at unlikely places that would count as 'phrasal unit boundaries' if it were in Korean. Such segmenting is motivated by various interactional reasons such as confirmation request or a bid to hold the floor, which are similar motivations for segmenting a turn in Korean conversation. Similarly, when conversing in English, Korean learners of English are observed to give response tokens at points where English native speakers would not (Young & Lee, 2004). In light of these observations, the findings of this study can also shed some light on person-referring practices employed by Korean learners when they converse in English.

In conclusion, this study investigated how Korean speakers refer to themselves, their recipients, and others using the linguistic resources made available by the Korean language. It is hoped that the findings of the study will enhance our understanding of person-referring practices in Korean and contribute to improving the teaching of the Korean language.

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Appendix A: Transcription Conventions (adapted from Atkinson & Heritage, 1984)

(.)	untimed perceptible pause within a turn
(1.0)	pause (The numbers refer to the length of the pause in seconds)
<u>underline</u>	stress
CAPS	higher volume
↑	high pitch on word
.	sentence-final falling intonation
?	yes/no question rising intonation
,	phrase-final intonation (more to come)
-	a glottal stop, or abrupt cutting off of sound
:	lengthened vowel sound (extra colons indicate greater lengthening)
=	latch (direct onset or no space between two units)
→	highlights point of analysis
==>	highlights point of analysis
[]	overlapped talk; in order to reflect the simultaneous beginning and end of the overlapped talk, sometimes extra spacing is used to spread out the utterance
°soft°	spoken softly/decreased volume
>words<	increased speed
<words>	decreased speed
(syl)	transcription impossible
(words)	uncertain transcription
{{(words))-words}}	dash to indicate co-occurrence of nonverbal behavior and verbal elements; curly brackets to mark the beginning and ending of such co-occurrence if necessary.

Appendix B: Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative particle	DUB	Dubitative
AD	Adverbializer	FR	Factual realization
ANT	Anterior suffix	FRC	Free choice
ATTR	Attributive	GEN	Genitive
CAUS	Causative	HEARSAY	'Hearsay' Evidential
CIRCUM	Circumstantial	HT	Honorific title
CL	Classifier	HON	Honorific
COMM	Committal	IE	Informal ending
COMP	Complementalizer	IMPER	Imperative
COMPAR	Comparative	IMPFV	Imperfective
COND	Conditional	INCHOA	Inchoative
CONN	Connective	IND	Indicative
CORREL	Correlative	INTERR	Interrogative
DCT:RE	Deductive reasoning	LOC	Locative particle
DECL	Declarative	NCHAL	Non-challengeable
DEF	Deferential	NECESS	Necessitative
DET	Determinative	NEG	Negative particle
DFN	Defective Noun	NOM	Nominative particle
DISJ	Disjunctive	NOML	Nominalizer
DM	Discourse Marker	PASS	Passive
PFCT	Perfect	PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural marker	POL	Polite suffix

PRECED	Precedence	PRESUM	Presumptive
PROG	Progressive	PROM	Promissive
PROP	Propositive	PURP	Purposive
QP	Quasi-Pronoun	QUOT	Quotative particle
RESUL	Resultative	RETROS	Retrospective
SIMUL	Simultaneous	TEM	Temporal particle
TOP	Topic particle	TRANS	Transferentive
UNASSIM	Unassimilated	VOC	Vocative particle

Appendix C: List of Excerpts

Chapter 4

(4.1) Swimming pool

- 01 Suji: ((gaze to Sara))-초등(ㅎ)학교때(ㅎ),
elementary:school-when
((gaze to Sara))-in elem(h)entary schoo(h)l(h),
- 02 Sara: 어: 막,=
yes just
yeah: just,=
- 03 Suji: =ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ [ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ,]
=hehehehe[hehehehe,]
- 04 Hana: [ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ] ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ
[hehehehe]hehe,
- 05 ㅎ ㅎ [ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ,
heheheheh
- 06 Suji: → [ㅎ ㅎ .hh 전 맨날 수영장, 막 이러구(ㅎ),
I-TOP[cen] always swimming:pool just like:this
Hehe .hh **I** was always called, swimming pool, like thi(h)s,
- 07 Sara: ((frowning, pointing to Suji))-어 그러니까,=
yes like:that:because
((frowning, pointing to Suji))-yeah I know,=
- 08 Suji: =[hehehe[hehe,
- 09 Hana: =[hehehe[hehe,

(4.2) Children's nicknames

- 01 Hana: 발혜정이라 그러드(ㅎ)라(ㅎ)구(ㅎ),
foot:heyceng-QUOT like:that-do-
(she) signs pal heyceng
- 02 Suji: ((gaze to H))-[hehehehehe,]
- 03 Hana: [hehehehehe]
- 04 [hehehehe,]
- 05 Suji: [((sips coffee))]

- 06 Sara: () 뭐 놀리구 (너무심해,)
what tease-ADD (too:much)
() tease and ((it's) too much,)
- 07 (0.5)
- 08 이름갖구.
name-with
with (your) name.
- 09 Suji: ((smiles, gaze to Sara)) [((nods))]=
- 10 Sara: ((gaze to Suji))-[유치하게.]=
Childishly.
((gaze to Suji))-[childishly.]=
- 11 Hana: → =((puts down a cup)) .HH 어 나는: [나는 나-]
oh I[na]-TOP I[na]-TOP I
=((puts down a cup)) .HH oh I:I I-]
- 12 Suji: [((gaze to H))]
- 13 Sara: [((gaze to H))]
- 14 Hana: 그 머↑지, 나: 처:음에 가르칠때,
that what-COMM I at:first teach-when
what is ↑it, when I: was teaching the first time,
- 15 Suji, Sara: ((nods, gaze to H))
- 16 Hana: (.) 짤: 먼- 짤: 처음 수업 가르쳤든게
most fir- most first class teach-thing-SUB
(.) the very fir- the first teaching (I) did was
- 17 일학년 애들: [영어가르치는거였다,]
first:grade kids English-teach-thing-be-PAST-DEC
teaching [English to first graders,]
- 18 Suji: [((gaze to H, nods))]

(4.3) Broadway lottery

- 01 Hyunju: ((gaze to H))-어:.,
((gaze to H))-o::h,
- 02 Heesun: ((to H, shaking head))-그거 아니에여,
that not-COP-HON
((to H, shaking head))-is (it) not that one,

- 03 Hyunju: 어: 아니에여 [그거랑 다른()]
uh no-HON that-with different
u:h no [() different from that]
- 04 Heesun: [(그럼) 나랑 또 다른가부다,]
then I-with again different-seem
[(then) (it) must be different one from mine,]
- 05 ((gaze to S))
- 06 Sangmi: → 저는 ((*pointing to self*))-브로드웨이 딱 그거로터리하는 홈페이지가 있어여.=
I-TOP Broadway right that:thing lottery-do-REL homepage-SUB there:is-HON
I-TOP ((*pointing to self*))-there is a website that does that Broadway
lottery.=
- 07 Hyunju: =>마져 [마져,<]
right right
=>right [right,<]
- 08 Heesun: ((nods))-[어:,]
((nods))-[a:h,]
- 09 Hyunju: 그건- 그거는 거기엔 몇개 없거든여,
that-TOP that-TOP there-TOP couple no-HON
that- that (there) are not many on there,
- 10 라이언킹이랑,
lion:king-ADD
lion king and,
- 11 Sangmi: ((*pointing to H*))-어 [마져여 마져:,]
yes right-HON right
((*pointing to H*))-yes [right ri:ght,]

(4.4) University hospital doctors

- 01 Jungmin: 근테 아닌 환자들두 있[어,]
but NEG-adj patients-ADD there:is-IE
but there are also those who [don't,] (listen to Dad)
- 02 Sunwoo: [응,]
[yeah,]
- 03 Jungmin: 아빠두 다 그 거쳐서 한거지,
dad-ADD all that go:through-PRECED do-thing-COMM
Dad also has gone through all that,

- 04 ((leaning forward, crossing arms))-아빠랑
dad-COM
((leaning forward, crossing arms))-Dad and
- 05 [(syl syl syl syl syl syl)]
- 06 Sunwoo: [근데, 그게 뭐냐면,]아빠는,
but that:thing-SUB what-INTERR dad-SUB
[but the thing is,] Dad is,
- 07 어쨌든 대학병원 의사잖아,
anyways university hospital doctor-NOML-NEG
a doctor at a university hospital you know,
- 08 Jungmin: ((끄덕))-으음:,
((nods))-mm:,
- 09 Sunwoo:→ 대학병원 의사는, ((pointing to self))-내가 못해도,
university hospital doctor-TOP I[na]-SUB NEG-do-ADD
in case of a doctor in a university hospital, ((pointing to self))-even if I
didn't do well,
- 10 Jungmin: ((끄덕))-아 그르치,
ah like:that
((nods))-ah right,
- 11 Sunwoo: 간호사나 이런애들이 와서 어쭈쭈 할: 면서 >그리구<
nurse-or like:this-kids-SUB come-PRECED sooth do-SIMUL and
nurses or other guys come and soo:th >and also<
- 12 뭐 안올꺼면 어쩔건데
what NEG-come-COND
(they) can be like, what are (you) gonna do
- 13 이렇게 있자[나 약간,]
how-do-thing like:this-thing-SUB COP
if (you) don't come here [you know,]
- 14 Jungmin: [음:,]
[mmm:,]
- 15 Sunwoo: 근데 우린 그런것두 없구,
but we-TOP like:that-thing-ADD do:not:exits-ADD
but we don't have that luxury,
- 16 Jungmin: ((끄덕))-그르니까,
like:that-DET INTERR
((nods))-right,

(4.5) Micromanaging

- 01 쉬익.. 렛고 하래는거야. 근데 왜 난 렛고가 안되지,=
shhk let:go do-IMPER-IE but why I-TOP letgo-SUB NEG-work-COMM
shhhk, let go. but why can't I just let go,-=
- 02 ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ, 아이 그냥 ((손 폼다잡었다))-(0.2)
ay just
hehehehe, aah just ((open and close hand))-(0.2)
- 03 개가 짖는구나 이렇게 생[각하래는-]
dog-SUB bark-UNASSIM like:this think-IMPER
(they're saying) just think that a dog is [barking-,]
- 04 Minsun: [음 음:,]
[mhm, mhm,]
- 05 Hana: 어 정말 미친년같애. 마이크로매니징을 정말,
oh really crazy bitch like micromanaging-SUB seriously
oh seriously she's a crazy bitch. her micromanaging is seriously,
- 06 정:말, (.)
se:riously, (.)
- 07 Minsun: 아[니근데,]
no but
no [but,]
- 08 Hana: [돈거같애.]=
crazy-thing-like
[(she) is insane.]
- 09 Minsun: → =개가 짖는다고 할수가 없는게 뭐 내가 뭘: 하든지간에
dog-SUB bark-QUOT do-way-SUB NEG-thing-SUB I[na]-SUB whatever do
=it's hard to just say that a dog is barking, because like wha:tever I do,
- 10 거기[에 계속 쫓아다니]면서 머라그[릴거야냐,]
there continuously chase-SIMUL nitpick-NEG
isn't (she) [going to meddle] in it, following [around,]
- 11 Hana: (((끄덕)))-음음음.] [응응응.]
m m m yes yes yes
(((nods)))-mmmm.] [Yeah yeah yeah.]
- 12 ((H and M gaze each other, H nods))-(0.2)
- 13 Minsun: 그러니까 뭘 개가 짖는구나 할: 상황이
so what-OBJ dog-SUB bark-UNASSIM do position-SUB
so it's not a situation where (you can say) a barking dog

14 [(syl syl syl)]

(4.6) American professors

- 01 Jaewon: 진짜. 긍까. 거기서:, (.) .tch 나는 이제 어떻게
really so there I-TOP now how
seriously. so. (.) .tch so now
- 02 들었냐면,
hear-INTERR-say-COND
what I heard is,
- 03 Taewook: 사람 속으로 어떻게 생각[할지 몰라,]
person inside-LOC how think-NOML do not know
(you) never know what one [really thinks,]
- 04 Jaewon: [한국 사람들]은:,
Ko reans-TOP
(they say) [Korea:ns,]
- 05 아 다 잘되라고:, 좋게 좋게 얘길 해준대:.
Ah all well-become-IMPER well well say do-give-QUOT
write nice things for you, wishing we:ll.
- 06 → 근테 미국사람들은: ((taps the desk))-내가 얘를 추천해서
but americans-TOP I[na]-SUB s/he-OBJ recommend-PRECED
but america:ns, [(they) think that] {((taps the desk))-if I} recommend this
person
- 07 얘가 못하머는 자기 레터: 자기,=
s/he-SUB IMPOT NEG-do-COND REF letter REF
and s/he doesn't do well, it hurts his/her letter: his/her=
- 08 Sangmin: =[(ㄱ터)-음:,]
mm
=((nods))-mm:,
- 09 Jaewon: =[레putation에] 평판: 긍까 평판 레putation에,
reputation-LOC reputation so reputation reputation-LOC
=reputation: I mean reputation [(they) think] reputation,
- 10 Sangmin: [(ㄱ터)-°음::°]
mm
((nods))-°mm:°
- 11 Taewook: [((nods))]

- 12 Jaewon: [해를: 받는다고 생각하기 때문에,]
harm-OBJ receive-QUOT think-NOML because
[gets damaged so,]
- 13 정확하게 판단해준대. 그래서 만약,
accurately judge-do-QUOT so if
(they) evaluate honestly. so if,

(4.7) Honeymoon

- 01 Sangmi: 비행기값두 비싸구.,
airplane-price-ADD expensive-ADD
plane tickets are expensive too.,
- 02 Heesun: ((gaze to S))-상미씨는 신혼여행 어디갔\$다왔어여,\$=
Sangmi-TOP honeymoon where-go-PAST-HON
((gaze to S))-where did you go \$for honeymoon\$=
- 03 갑자기 그제(ㅎ)[궁금[(ㅎ)해(ㅎ)져(ㅎ)ㅎㅎㅎㅎ,]
suddenly that-SUB curious-become
I got cu(h)rious [ab(h)out [th(h)at(h) suddenly(h)hehehehe,]
- 04 Hyunju: [hehehehehehe,]
- 05 Sangmi: [hehehehehehe,]
- 06 Heesun: [hehehehehe,]
- 07 Hyunju: [hehehehehe,]
- 08 Sangmi: → [저 사실 신혼여행] 못갔어여.,
I in:fact honeymoon cannot:go-PAST-HON
[I actually couldn't] go honeymoon.,
- 09 Heesun: 어[::,]
oh
oh[::,]
- 10 Hyunju: [어어 왜여,]
oh oh why-HON
[oh: why,]
- 11 Sangmi: 제가 이천십육년 십-이월에 {{{손가락 V}}-졸업을 했는데,}
I-TOP 2016-year december-LOC graduation-ACC do-PAST-CIRCUM
Because I graduated in December {{{(fingers making “V”))-
2016,}

12 Heesun: ((끄덕))-어:,
oh
((nod))-o:h,

(4.8) Broadway musicals

01 Sora: 언니 [8:52 AM]
unni (=older sister)

02 전무님이 월요일에 뮤지컬예매하란데 [8:52 AM]
Exec.director-SUB Monday-LOC musical purchase:ticket-IMPER-CIRCUM
Executive director is telling (me) to purchase musical tickets on Monday

03 혹시 어디서 사나? [8:52 AM]
by:any:chance where buy-NON COMM
Where do (I) get (them), by any chance?

04 Kay: 흠 [10:22 AM]
hmm
hmm

05 → 나 뮤지컬은 여기서 본적이 없다 [10:22 AM]
I musical-TOP here see-time-SUB do:not:exist
I haven't seen any musicals here

06 -_-;;;;;; [10:22 AM]

07 인터넷 무슨 사이트 여러개 있는거같은데 [10:23 AM]
internet what site couple exist-thing-like-CIRCUM
there seems to be couple of internet sites

08 Sora: 표 ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ [10:54 AM]
hahahahaha

09 아 언니 우껴 [10:55 AM]
ah unni funny
ah you're funny

10 Kay: 비싸고 ㅋㅋ [10:57 AM]
expensive-ADD
(they're) expensive hh

11 사람이 너무 많;; [10:57 AM]
people-SUB too many
and too crowded

(4.9) Bedtime reading

- 01 Youngjoo: 그래서 물어봤어.=hh↓민희야 너두: 잘때 ↑책읽어주니,
so ask-PAST-IE Minhee you-ADD sleep-when book read-give
so I asked (her).=hh ↓Minhee, do you read (them) books when (they) go
to sleep too,
- 02 >°그랬드니°< 언. 그러는거야.
Do-that-PAST yes do-that-thing-IE
>°(I) said it then°< (she) says yeah, you know.
- 03 Sora: 영.
yes
yeah.
- 04 Youngjoo: >그래서< (syl syl syl) 거든:,
so you know
>so< (syl syl syl syl),
- 05 Sora: 어:: 안읽어준다구,
oh NEG-read-give-QUOT
O::h that (you/she?) doesn't read (her) a book,
- 06 Youngjoo: (0.5) <책을.> (.) 왜 읽어[주(는거야,)]
book-OBJ why read-give-thing-IE
(0.5) <books.> (.) why do (you) [read (kids) books,]
- 07 Sora: [그럼 넌] 뭔 해줘,=
then you-TOP what do-give
[then what do you] do with your kids,=
- 08 Youngjoo:→ =나 아무것도 안해줘,
I nothing do-give
=I do nothing,
- 09 Sora: 그냥 자:.=이르케 해,
just sleep like:this do
(do you) just say go to slee:p,=like this,
- 10 Youngjoo: >아니 그냥< 노는데, (.) 놀다가 [졸리면,]
no just play-CIRCUM play-while sleep-COND
>no just< (we?) play, (.) and while playing [if (they) get sleepy,]
- 11 Sora: [같이 놀다가,]
together play-while
[while playing together,]

- 12 Youngjoo: 그냥 자[는데,]=
just sleep-CIRCUM
(they) just go to [sleep,]
- 13 Sora: ((끄덕))-[어:,]=
yes
((nods))-[yeah:,]
- 14 Youngjoo: =애네들은, [그래서,]
they-TOP so
=they do, [so,]
- 15 Sora: [↑그럼 되지] 뭐:,
then work what
[then that's enough,]

Chapter 5

(5.1) Voice

- 01 Sang: 그냥 뭐:- 똑같이 지내지,=숙제 하고 공부 >하고 뭐<
just what same stay-COMM homework do-ADD study do-ADD what
just you know:- same old,=doing homework, studying,
- 02 그리고 지내고 있어.=
doing that stay-PROG-IE
things like that.=
- 03 Jae: =어, 그래,
yes right
=yeah, I see,
- 04 Sang: 응:.
yes
yea:h.
- 05 Jae: 어:=너- (0.2) 학기는: 이미 >시작-< 한 거↑지,
yes you semester-TOP already start thing-COMM
yea:h=you- (0.2) already started the semester, r↑ight,
- 06 Sang: 그럼:, 우리가 일월 팔일 날: 시작 했으니까 벌써 .hh 보름쯤
of course we-SUB january eighth start did-DET+INTERR already fifteen days
of course, we started on January eighth so it's already .hh fifteen days
- 07 [지났다,=야.]
pass-PAST hey
[into the semester,]

- 08 Jae: [아이]고,] 오래 됐구만.=
wow long-time become-PAST
[ah,] it started long ago.=
- 09 Sang: =.hh 아이:;=그래서 죽겠다 죽겠[어.]
ah so die-DCT:RE-DECL die-DCT:RE-IE
=.hh a:h,=so (I'm) dying, (I'm) [dying.]
- 10 Jae: [>야] 근데 < 그-
hey but that
[>hey] but < that-
- 11 → 왜. (.) [야 너,]=
why hey **you[ne]**
why. (.) [hey **you,**]=
- 12 Sang: [(syl syl)]=
- 13 Jae: → =너 자다 일어 난 거 같[↑]다,
you[ne] sleep-TRANS get-up thing appear-DECL
=**you** seem you just woke [↑]up,
- 14 Sang: [↑]나,
I
m[↑]e,
- 15 Jae: 영,
yes
yeah,
- 16 Sang: 감기가 좀 걸렸지,
cold-SUB little-bit contract-PAST-COMM
I caught a cold,
- 17 Jae: 아::, 야 >요즘< 감기 전국적으로 유행인가 보다,
ah hey these-days cold nationwide trend-COP
a::h, it seems like cold is everywhere these days,
- 18 Sang: 그리[↑]니,
like-that
reall[↑]y,

(5.2) New boyfriend

- 01 MJ: 야, 부모님은 잘 계시냐(ㅎ),
hey parents-TOP well exist-INTERR
Are your parents doing well(h),

- 02 SY: 응,=°ㅎ[ㅎ,°]
yes
yes,=°he[he,°]
- 03 MJ: [동]생들↑은,
younger-siblings-TOP
[and] (your) younger sibl↑ings,
- 04 SY: (.) .HH 그게 문제가 안:니야(ㅎ).=
that-thing-SUB problem-SUB is:not-IE
(.) .HH that is no:t what's import(h)ant.=
- 05 MJ: =그게 문제가 아니↑야, [너(ㅎ): 뭐-,]=
that-thing-SUB problem-SUB is:not-IE you what
=that is not what's import↑ant, [you(h): what-,]=
- 06 SY: [어(ㅎ)ㅎㅎ,]=
yes
[yea(h)(h)eheh,]=
- 07 MJ: → =일- .hh 너 남자 친구 생(ㅎ)겼(ㅎ)구나(ㅎ)ㅎㅎ
event **you[ne]** boyfriend become-exist-PAST
=something- .hh **you** got a b(h)oyfrie(h)nd(h),hehe
- 08 °ㅎㅎ[ㅎㅎㅎ,°]
hehehehehe
°hehe[hehehe.,°]
- 09 SY: [아이고. 근데] 그게 더 웃긴 게,=
ah but that-SUB more funny thing-SUB
[ah but] what's funnier is,=
- 10 MJ: =어.
yes
=yeah.
- 11 SY: 너가 아- 너가 아는 애야.
you-SUB you-SUB know-MOD kid-COP-IE
You know- you know him.
- 12 MJ: .HHH (0.2) 어뜨↑케, (.) 잠깐(ㅎ)ㅎㅎ,
how wait
.HHH (0.2) h↑ow, (.) wait(h)heheh,

(5.3) Television

- 01 Jina: 침엔 아예 깜깜했는데:,
first altogether dark-PAST-CIRCUM
at first (I) was cluele:ss,
- 02 Min: °어,°
yes
°yeah,°
- 03 Jina: 테레비봐도 그냥 뭐: 강 막연하게,
television-watch-ADD just what just vaguely
even when (I) was watching TV, (I was) just guessing,
- 04 Min: ↑캡이다:;=테레비가- 너 그새 많이 늘었네:,
wow television-SUB you meantime much improve-PAST
w↑ow:;=TV- (I see) you've improved a lo:t,
- 05 너 테레비를 많이봐서 그런↑가,
you television-ACC much watch-because like-that
is it because you watch TV a l↑ot,
- 06 Jina: 나 테레비두 없대니까 지금, 그래갖구 막 미치겠다야;=테레비
I television-ADD nonexistent now so just crazy-DCT:RE-DECL television
I don't even have a TV now, so it drives (me) crazy, it drives (me) nuts
- 07 있다없으니까 환장하겠는거있지,
exist-TRANS-not:exist-DET+INTERR crazy-DCT:RE-thing
when (I) don't have a TV after having it,
- 08 Min: 어: 너-,=
yes you
Yea:h you-,=
- 09 Jina: =나 오디오도 없거덩,
I stereo-ADD not:exist-CORREL
=I don't have an audio either, you know,
- 10 Min: → 너 그동안 ↑ 테레비 진짜 많이봤나부다:,
you[ne] meantime television really much watch must:have
you really must have watched ↑TV a lo:t,
- 11 Jina: .hh 막 하루에 열다섯시간씩 봤어,
like day:per fifteen hours watch-PAST
.hh (I) watched like fifteen hours a day,
- 12 Min: → 캡이다, 너 그럼 진짜 많이 늘었겠다:;=
wow **you[ne]** then really much improve-PAST-DCT:RE-DECL
wow, then **you** must have improved a lo:t,=

- 13 Jina: =글구 잘때두 켜놓구 잤대니까,
and sleep-when-ADD turn:on-stay sleep-PAST
=and (I) left it on even when (I) sleep,
- 14 Min: (0.2) 어:.,=
yes
(0.2) yea:h,=
- 15 Jina: =잘때 켜놓구자구 슬립타이머해놓은 다음에 막 아침에 일어날때.,
sleep-when on-stay sleep:timer-do next just in:the:morning wake:up-when
- 16 여섯시부터 틀어지게 해봤어,
six o'clock-from on-CAUS do

=(I) left it on when I go to bed and set the sleep timer to six in the morning so it is on when I wake up,
- 17 Min: .hh 캡이다:.,
wow
.hh wo::w,

(5.4) Telephone bills

- 01 SW: 전화비를 안 냈더니: 전화가 끊기데,=ㅎ[ㅎ,]
telephone cost-ACC do:not pay telephone-SUB disconnected-MIR
I didn't pay the phone bi:ll and it got disconnected,=he[he,]
- 02 DJ: [ㅎ]ㅎ당연하지 전화비를
of:course telephone cost-ACC
[he]he of course
- 03 안 냈으면 전화가 끊기지,=
do:not pay-PAST-COND telephone-SUB disconnected-COMM
if you didn't pay the phone bill, it gets disconnected,=
- 04 SW: =.hh,
- 05 DJ: 전화비를 안 냈는데 계속 전화를-,
telephone cost-ACC do:not pay-PAST-CIRCUM continuously telephone
would they let (you) use the phone-,
- 06 SW: (syl)=

- 07 DJ: =해 주냐,
do make-INTERR
=when (you) didn't pay,
- 08 SW: 아니, 전화:가 영수증이 안 왔어:, 그-,
no telephone-SUB receipt-SUB do:not come-PAST that
no, my pho:ne's, receipt wasn't mailed to me, that-,
- 09 DJ: 응::,=
yes
yea::h,=
- 10 SW: =빌이 [안 왔어 나한테.]
bill-SUB do:not come-PAST I-to
=the bill [wasn't mailed to me.]
- 11 DJ: → [빌이 안 와 가지고] 잊어 버렸구나,
ϕ bill-SUB do:not come so forget-PAST-UNASSIM
[(you) forgot because] you didn't get the bill,
- 12 SW: 근테, 내가 알아 보면은:-, (0.2) 뭐 알아 보는 게 의무래↑때,
but I-SUB inquire-COND what inquire-thing-SUB obligation
but, did you know that it's my responsibility to ↑ask,
- 13 DJ: (.) 그래,=°ㅎㅎ[ㅎ,°]
like:that
(.) really,=°hehe[he,°]
- 14 SW: [ㅎㅎ]ㅎ 영(ㅎ)수증, 고지서가 안(ㅎ) 날(ㅎ)라 오(ㅎ)면:,
receipt bill-SUB do:not mailed-COND
[hehe]he if you don't receive rece(h)ipts, bi(h)lls(h),
- 15 .hh 내가 그- (.) 게 왜 안 날(ㅎ)라(ㅎ) 왔- 와야되는 지를
I-SUB that why do:not mailed-NOM-ACC
.hh they say it is my responsibility to find out
- 16 알아 보는 게 내 의무래
inquire-SUB my obligation-QUOT
why they weren't mailed to me:,

(5.5) Useless question

- 01 Hoon: 어::°, 결혼 얘기,=
yes marriage talk
u::°:hm,° about getting married,=

- 02 Bora: =ㅎ↑ㅎㅎㅎㅎ, 아휴,=야 근데 너 과목 듣는 거:,
gosh hey but you courses taking thing
=heh↑eheheh, gosh,=hey by the way your course:s,
- 03 너 세 과목 듣는다고 그랬지:.=
you three courses take-QUOT do-PAST-COMM
you said you're taking three, ri:ght,=
- 04 Hoon: =어,
yes
=yeah,
- 05 Bora: °응,°=거 뭐 뭐↑야,
yes that what what
°yeah,°=what c↑ourses,
- 06 Hoon: 안:>휴아휴< 쓸 데 없는 소리 하(ㅎ)지 마(ㅎ),=
ah ah useless sound do-NOM do not
A:>H ah< stop saying usele(h)ss thi(h)ngs,=
- 07 → =뭐 그거(ㅎ) 알아(ㅎ)서 뭐 하려고 그래 니가,=
what that know-and what do-PURP do:so **you-SUB**
=wh(h)at a(h)re **you** going to do knowing that,=
- 08 Bora: =야(ㅎ): 지금 다(ㅎ) 녹음 된다는 사실 너 알고 있↑어,
hey now all recording being done-fact you know-IE
=he(h)y: do you realize this is a(h)ll being recorded n↑ow,
- 09 Hoon: 그래:,
yes
ye:s,
- 10 Bora: 근데 뭐,=
but what
but what,=
- 11 Hoon: =아:.. 그런 소리 하지 [말고:] 다른 얘기 해.
Ah like:that sound do-not different talk do
=a:h. stop talking about [such thi:gs,] and talk about something else.
- 12 Bora: [뭐:,]
what
[wha:t,]

(5.7) MacBook

- 01 MH: 말리지마라 [맥북사겠다,]
stop-do:not MacBook buy-will
don't stop me [(I)'ll buy a MacBook,]
- 02 Yujin: [응::.]
yes
[yea::h.]
- 03 MH: → >근데< 자꾸 또: 막- 맥북사서 니가
but repeatedly again just macbook buy-PURP **you-SUB**
>but then< now (he kept saying that) what are **you**
- 04 → 모할꺼냐[구:,]
what-do-INT-INTERR-QUOT
going to do with Mac[Boo:k,]
- 05 Yujin: [((끄덕))-음.]
mm
[((nods))-mm.]
- 06 MH: (0.2) 너 거기 윈도우 깔꺼냐구:.=
you there Windows install-INT-INTERR-QUOT
(0.2) are you going to install Windows the:re,=
- 07 Yujin: =((끄덕, 미소))-진짜 또 맞는말만 또 그렇게 (하시네),
really again right-words-only like:that speak-HON
=((nods, smile))-and (he) says all the right (things,)
- 08 MH: ((shaking head))-아니라고 ㅎ[ㅎㅎ,]
no-QUOT
((shaking head))-(I said that) I won't he[hehe,]
- 09 Yujin: [ㅎㅎ]ㅎㅎ,
hehehehe
[hehe]hehe,
- 10 MH: 윈도우 안깐다고(ㅎ)ㅎ[ㅎㅎ,]
Windows not-install-QUOT
I won't install Windo(h)ws he[hehe,]
- 11 Yujin: [((nods))]

(5.6) Black name

- 01 HL: it's in the BI:ble,=ma:n,
- 02 Sue: °oh: my go:sh,°
- 03 HL: ((breathing)) (.) 공까 귀여워 해 주세요:,
so adore-for:me-HON
((breathing)) (.) so don't be too ha:rsh, (Lit. please ado:re, [my name])
- 04 Sue: 까만 사람 이름이야,
black person name-COP-IE
it's a black name,
- 05 HL: ↑ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ,=
hehehehehe
↑HEHEhehehe,=
- 06 Sue: =진짜야:,
truth-IE
=it's true:,
- 07 HL: → ↓니가 >어뜨케< 알아.
you-SUB how know
>h↓ow do< **you** know.
- 08 Sue: 내 친구도 (()) 있었어,
my friend-also (()) there:was-IE
I had another friend named (syl syl),
- 09 HL: 진짜야,=
truth-IE
really,=
- 10 Sue: =어:, 까만 애. °ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ,°
yes black kid hehehehe
=ye:s, a black kid. °hehehe,°
- 11 HL: 어::(ㅎ)ㅎ이,=°ㅎㅎ,°
heey
he::(h)y(h),=°hehe,°

Chapter 6

(6.1) Moving out

- 01 Sora: 오빠 계속: {(frowning)}-(0.2) 어후. 결혼은 안할거면서}
oppa continuously ah marriage-TOP not-do-will-SIMUL
- 02 맨날 티비만 큰거 사구싶다구, (.) >아 근데< 개는: 나랑
always television-only big one buy-want-QUOT but **he[kyay]**-TOP with-me
- 03 결혼 안해도: 이사는 좀 ↑했으면 좋겠어=↑아: 나 진짜: 어후:;=
marriage not-do-ADD moving-TOP do-COND-good ah I seriously ah
- (01) oppa keeps saying {(frowning)}-(0.2) ah. (he) wants to buy a big TV
(02) ==> when (he) has no plan to get married, (.) >ah but< I wish **he(kyay)**:
(03) would really move out [of his place] even if not marrying me:=↑a:h gosh
seriously: a::hh,=
- 04 YJ: =근데 서울 너무 비싸지 않아,
but Seoul too expensive isn't it
(04) =but isn't Seoul too expensive,
- 05 Sora: 아:=너무 비싼것두 비싼건데 근데- 너무 심해: >왜냐문< 지금
ah too expensive-thing-ADD expensive-CIRCUM but too much because now
- 06 먼지두 일케 심한데: >그(거)< >나↑는< 그:- 그게 불↑법이 아닌가 싶거든, (.)
dust like:this serious-CIRCUM that thing I-TOP that-SUB illegal-wonder
- 07 왜↑냐므는, ((gaze down))-입주자가 들어있는 상태에서:, ((gaze up to YJ))-
because residents-SUB exist state-from
- 08 사 층이야 지금:, 오층을 만들겠대[는거야] 돈을 벌생각으루:,
fourth floor-IE now fifth-floor-ACC make-will-QUOT-thing-IE money make
- (05) a:h=too expensive but- it's too mu:ch >because< now, on top of the
(06) microdust these days, >that< >I th↑ink< that- that's illegal, (.)
(07) because ((gaze down))-the tenants are living in there now, ((gaze up to
(08) YJ))-(.) (it's) a four-story (building) now:, (they're) adding the fifth
floor, [to make] money,
- 09 YJ: [((twitches))]
- 10 Sora: ((leaning back))-그르니까는 ((hand gesturing, gaze to hands))-오빠
so oppa-TOP
- 11 지금 사층살아:, (.) ((검지손가락 위로, gaze back to YJ))-↑퐁렸어:.
now fourth floor live-IE open
- (10) → ((leaning back))-so ((hand gesturing))-**he(oppa)** lives in the fourth floor
(11) no:w, (.) ((index finger pointing up, gaze back to YJ))-it's open,

- 12 YJ: 에:?
huh
(12) Hu:h?
- 13 Sora: ((index finger up))-↑푼렸어:, (0.2) >까< ((제스처))-오빠네
open so oppa's
- 14 ↓집은 막혔지 당연히, ((gesturing to left side))-(0.2) 이쪽 복도는
house-TOP closed of course this side hallway-TOP
- 15 푼렸어,
open-IE
- (13) → ((index finger up))-it's open, (0.2) >I mean< ((gesturing))-**his(oppa's)**
(14) apartment is closed of course ((moving one hand to side))-(0.2)
(15) but the hallway here is open.
- (6.2) Professor
- 01 Sora: ((smile))-(0.5) .hh 어 난 근데: 약간- (.) 우리: 요번에 교수님
yes I-TOP but little bit our this time professor-HON
- 02 오늘두 교수님 만났- 는데,= .tch 공부를 차라- 잘할려면
today-ADD professor met-CIRCUM study-ACC do-well-COND
- 03 아짜리 되[게 잘해야 (°되고°)]
seriously really do well-must-ADD
- (01) → ((smile))-(0.5) .hh u:h but I, (.) I met **my: professor** the other day,
(02) → met **professor** today again and,= .tch if (one is) going to study,
(03) (one) rea[lly better do it well,]
- 04 YJ: [((nodding))-아짜리 잘해야 °돼°.]
seriously do well-must
(04) [((nodding))-(one) really should do well.]
- 05 Sora: (.) 올 교수님:, ((gaze down))- (.) ((gaze up))-내>가 그랬자나.<=
our professor I-TOP did that-COMM-not
- 06 나랑: 두살인가 세살((nodding fast))-밖에 차이 안{나는거
me-with two years or three years only difference not exist-thing
- 07 같↓그등,-((YJ nodding))] >근데< 벌써 {((drawing a square with two
appear but already
- 08 hands))-일케- 학회에서:, 뭐 논문관련>해서< 상을 받았다고,}=
like:this conference at what study-relation award-ACC received-QUOT

- 09 {{{drawing square}}}-상을 두:개나 받았다고} {{{drawing a square}}}-
award-ACC two-as many as received-QUOT
- 10 이따만하게 (syl syl)}, 거기에. 제목이 ㅇ이거야.°
like this big there title-SUB this-IE
- 11 ((gaze to space, index finger pointing upward))-저에게. 상은,
me-to award-TOP
- 12 (0.2) 채찍과같(ㅎ)은(ㅎ),=ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ, [((hands covering face))-ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ,]
whip-ADD-same hehehehe hehehe
- (05) → (.) my professo:r, ((gaze down))-(. ((gaze up))-I told you,=
(06) I think (he's) only two or three years older {{{(YJ nodding))}-than me,}
(07) >but< [he says] that (he) already {{{(drawing a square with two hands))}-
(08) got this like- an award for (his) article in a conference,}=
(09) {{{(drawing square))}-that (he) got two: awards,}
(10) like this big (syl syl), there, the title is this.
(11) ((gaze to space, index finger pointing upward, dramatic voice))-to me. an
(12) award is, (0.2) like a whip(h),=hehehe, [((hand covering face))-hehehe,]
- (13) YJ: [((smile))-°wo:w°,]
- 14 Sora: \$약간 그런 표현 있자나,\$ [>그래서<]=
little bit like:that expressions exist-COMM
- (14) \$you know that kind of expressions,\$ [>so<,]=
[((nods))]=
- (15) YJ: [((nods))]=
- 16 Sora: = ((nods))-↓아:, (0.2) 근데- ㅁ- ((gaze to space))-((0.5) 그러니까
ah but m so
- 17 그사람이 더: 막 대단해 보이고 막, (.) 어쨌든 그 사람은
QP-SUB more just great look-ADD just anyways QP-TOP
- 18 뭔가 보람된 일을 하는구나.,=결국은 나- ↓나 내 입장에서
something rewarding work-ACC do-UNASSIM in:the:~end I my position-TOP
- 19 그사람이 날 살렸다고 생각을 하는거니깐:, 그런것두
QP-SUB I-ACC saved-QUOT think-ACC do like:that-thing-ADD
- 20 아는데:, 낭 대::충:, 만약에: 공:부로 ↓막- 안싸리 되게 잘할거
not-CIRCUM just roughly if study-with seriously really do-well-thing
- 21 아니며는, {{{(shaking head, frowning, hand gesture)}}-(꺾이) (0.7)}
not-COND
- (16) =((nods))-↓a:h, (0.2) but- m- ((gaze to space))-((0.5) so
(17) ==> he(ku-person) looks even greater to me and, (.) [I feel that] he(ku-
(18) person) is doing something rewardi:ng anyway,=because in the end I-
from my perspective

- (19) => I think **he(ku-person)** saved my life, I mean that's not even
 (20) necessarily true:, but if (you're) not going to be really good,
 (21) {(shaking head, frowning, hand gesture)}-(no need to bother)}

(6.3) Poor guy

- 01 12:52 AM HY → 그랬더니 오빠도 놀란거지
 did:that-and oppa-ADD surprised-thing-COMM
 so **he(oppa)** was also surprised
- 02 12:52 AM Kay 놀래봐야지
 surprised-COMM
 (he) should be surprised once
- 03 12:52 AM HY 내가 그리고 정말 이렇게까지말하고싶지않았는데
 I-SUB and really like:this:until say-want-not-CIRCUM
 and [I told him] that also, I really didn't want to say this
- 04 12:53 AM 오빠 부모님 너무 못됐다고
 oppa parents too bad
 but your(oppa's) parents are bad people
- 05 12:53 AM Kay 어어어!
 yes yes yes
 Yeah yeah yeah!
- 06 12:53 AM HY 내가 진짜 죽을병걸려도 그러는거아니라고
 I-SUB really die-disease-have-even though do:that-not
 even if I have some terminal illness (they) shouldn't be
 like that
- 07 12:53 AM Kay 카아 ~~~너무 잘했다
 wow too well done
 wow~~~good job
- 08 12:54 AM HY → 그랬더니 오빠도 놀라서 는 다시한번 부모를 강력하게
 then oppa-ADD surprised again once parents-ACC strongly
 [I told him so] and **he(oppa)** was also surprised and told
- 09 설득해보겠다는데
 persuade-QUOT-CIRCUM
 me that (he) would try persuading his parents once again
- ===== ((lines omitted)) =====
- 42 12:59 AM Kay 오빠는 너에게 갚을 빚이 많다
 oppa-TOP you-to repay debt-SUB plenty
 he(oppa) has a lot of debt to pay you back

- 43 1:00 AM HY 기대는 크지않아 그저 결과만 좋게나오고
expectation-TOP big-not just result-only good-come out-ADD
(I) don't expect much, (I) just hope my result would
come out
- 44 나도 이제 너무 그들에 휘둘리고싶지않아 ㅋㅋㅋ
I-ADD now too they swayed-not-want-IE
good and I don't want to be swayed by them any more
hhh
- 45 1:00 AM ==> 개도 근데
QP-ADD but
but **he(kyay)** is also
- 46 1:00 AM Kay mhm
- 47 1:00 AM HY ==> 진짜 불쌍해..정말 깜놀란게
really poor-IE really surprised-thing-SUB
really poor..what really surprised (me) is
- 48 1:00 AM Kay mhm
- 49 1:00 AM HY 어렸을때 너무 가난해서
young-when too poor-because
because (he) was so poor when (he) was a child
- ===== ((lines omitted)) =====
- 61 1:02 AM HY 머 그분들도 사랑하겠지만
well they-ADD love-guess-but
well (I) guess they also love (their son) but it was just
- 62 올엄빠랑 너무 달라서 당황스러움
my mom pop too different-because
perplexing cause (they're) so different from my parents
- 63 1:02 AM Kay ㅇㅇ
mhm
- 64 1:02 AM 많이다르다 ——
lot different
very different –
- 65 1:03 AM HY ==> ㅇㅇ 개도 가여워
mhm **QP-ADD** pitiful-IE
mhm **he(kyay)** is also pitiful
- 66 1:03 AM Kay 가엾지
pitiful-COMM
(he) is pitiful

(6.4) Precocious child

- 01 Sora: 아니. (.) 조용현 과장님이 민망하다고 그랬던게,
no choyonghyen director-SUB embarrassed-QUOT do-that-thing-SUB
so. (.) Director Cho said that (she')s embarrassed because,
- 02 그:. (.) 시어머니가, >시아버지< 시어머니가,
that mother-in-law-SUB father-in-law mother-in-law-SUB
her: (.) mother-in-law, >father-in-law< and mother-in-law said,
- 03 지흠이.=지흠이거든,-((JY nods)) (.) 백지흠.
Jihum jihum-you know paik jihum
Jihum.=(his name) is Jihum-((JY nods)) (.) Paik Jihum.
- 04 지흠이는 애가: {{{(끄덕)}}-특} 특별한 아이같으니까
jihum-TOP child-SUB special child-seem-DET+INTERR
[they said] that Jihum is {{{(nods))-special} so
- 05 잘 키우라구 >그런다구<=민망하다고:.=
well raise-QUOT do-QUOT embarrassing-QUOT
(you) should raise him well,=[she says] that it's so embarrassing,=
- 06 YJ: =((nods))=
- 07 Sora: =자기: 왜. >원래 손주< 손녀들은 다 너무 똑똑하(다고)
own why originally grandchildren-TOP all too smart-QUOT
=[she said] that everyone thinks their own grandchildren are so
- 08 → (.) 그: 그랬는데,=개가 꼬끔 ((pointing))-특이하긴 한가↓봐:,
did-that-CIRCUM kyay-SUB little bit unique-NOM-TOP do-seem
so smart but,=**he(kyay)** seems to be a bit ((pointing))-unique indee:d,
- 09 어제께- 그날:, (고 sylsyl 과정)얘기하는데,
yesterday that day talk-CIRCUM
yesterday- that day: (Directo Ko syl syl) were talking and,
- 10 ==> (.) 애↑가, 다↑섯살 땐가, (0.2) 그 지 동생이,
yay-SUB five-year-old-when that his younger sibling-SUB
(.) h↑e(yay), when (he) was about f↑ive, (0.2) his younger sibling was
- 11 (0.2) 울:고 있는데, ((gaze shift to sides))-(누가 syl syl syl syl)
crying-CIRCUM who
(0.2) crying and, ((gaze shift to sides))-(who syl syl syl syl)
- 12 ((gaze back to JY))-어른들이 어:>뒀었는지 모르<겠는데,
adults-SUB where-exist-PAST-NOM do not know-CIRCUM
((gaze back to JY))-not sure where >adults were at that< time,

- 13 네:이버에다가,=네이버 지:식인에 ↑글을 올렸↓대:,
naver-LOC naver intellectual-LOC writing-ACC upload-PAST-QUOT
posted a q↑uestion on Na:ver,=Naver answ↓e:rs,
- 14 YJ: ((인상))-↑에:.,
 eh
 ((frowning))-↑e::h,
- 15 Sora: 다섯살인가 여섯살↓이:., (.)
 five-year-old or six-year-old-SUB
 a five- or six-year-o:ld (.)
- 16 {{{(nodding, articulating each syllable)}}}-우리 동생이 울고 있는데
 our younger sibling-SUB crying-CURCUM
 {{{(nodding, articulating each syllable)}}}-my younger sibling is crying,
- 17 애는 왜: 이렇게 울까요.,} 이렇게 해↓서:,
 yay-TOP why like:this cry-you think like this
 why: is s/he crying like this,} wrote like this,
- 18 YJ: 글을 쓸줄 알아,
 writing-ACC write-how know-IE
 does (he) know how to write,

(6.5) Insolent student

- 01 SJ: ((gaze to H))-언니 반에: 메간,
 unni class-LOC megan
 ((gaze to H))-in your cla:ss, Meghan,
- 02 MH: (.) 응.
 yes
 (.) yeah.
- 03 SJ: 지금 ((gesturing to self))-하구있어여. 튜터.
 now doing-HON tutor
 now ((gesturing to self))-(I)'m doing it. tutoring.
- 04 MH: (.) ((shaking head))-↓아::[::,]
 ah
 (.) ((shaking head))-↓a::::[::h,]
- 05 SJ: ((torso forward))-[hehe]hehehehe,
- 06 MH: 내얘기(). 내얘기, 아 내가 선생님이라고 얘기(했나),
 my talk my talk ah I-SUB teacher-COP-QUOT tell-PAST
 did (). did, ah did (she) tell (you) I'm (her) teacher,

- 08 SJ: 아 얘기해[(여). 응.]
ah tell-HON yes
ah she di[d. yeah.]
- 09 MH: [((nods))]
- 10 SJ: ()이라구.; ()((nods))
()-COP-QUOT
that () ()((nods))
- 11 MH: .tch ((sighing, shaking head))
- 12 SJ: ㅎㅎㅎ 그래여,
hehehe like:that-HON
hehehe is that so,
- 13 KJ: 첨가되지 않았어.
addition-done not-IE
no additives,
- 14 MH: → 아 개는 나한테는 괜찮은데,
ah **kyay**-TOP I-to-TOP fine-CIRCUM
ah **she(kyay)** is fine with me but,
- 15 ==> 첨예: 애가 되게 건방지게,
at:first **yay**-SUB too insolently
at fi:rst **she(yay)**, so insolently,
- 16 SJ: ((looking surprised))-아 그래여,
ah like:that-HON
((looking surprised))-oh really,
- 17 MH: (.) >우리< 거. 거기에 팀티칭인데.;
we the- there-LOC team teaching-COP-CIRCUM
(.) >we< the- there (we do) team teaching there and,
- 18 SJ: ((nods slightly))-음::°=
mm
((nods slightly))-°m::°=
- 19 MH: =다른사람한테.;
different person-to
=[she said] to the other person,
- 20 HY: 건방진애가 있[어,]
arrogant kid-SUB exist-IE
is there an arrogant stu[dent,]

- 21 MH: [너:무] 너:무 이거 이미 한거라구.,
too too this thing already did-thing-QUOT
[that this]and that are already covered too: too many
ti:mes,
- 22 SJ: ((frowning))-아:.,
ah
((frowning))-o::h,

(6.6) Ninth grade

- 01 MC: → 그래서< 깨는] 굉장히 잘 한대요.,=
so **kyay**-TOP really well do-QUOT
so (she says) that **he(kyay)** is a good student,=
- 02 SA: =어:.,,
yes
=yea::h,
- 03 MC: 전혀 그런 애가 아니래요.
never like:that child-SUB not-QUOT
(she says) that (he) is never a problematic kid,
- 04 SA: 재수 드럽게 없네:, [어떻게 학교가-,] [음,]
luck dirty not:exist how school-SUB mm
what a bad lu:ck, [how can the school-,] [mm,]
- 05 MC: [그래서 우리-(.)] 준석이-(.) [랑] 거의 같은 시기에
so our cwunsek with almost same period-LOC
[so (he) went study-(.)] abroad (.) [around] almost the
- 06 유학을 간 케이스거든:,=나이도 거의 똑같고,
study:abroad-ACC went case-you know age-ADD almost same-ADD
same ti:me with Cwunsek,=and (he's) almost the same age,
- 07 SA: .tch=에휴:: 그럼 미^미국으로 가지 그랬냐,
gosh then america-to go-NOML do:that-INTERR
.tch=go::sh then (he) should have gone to the states,
- 08 MC: 근데 준석이는 지금 내년이면 시니어로 고 삼인데,
but cwunsek-TOP now next-year-COND sernior high school three-CIRCUM
but now Cwunsek will be senior next year,
- 09 SA: 그[렇지,]
like that-COMM
r[ight,]

- 10 MC: [시니어]된단 말이야.=
senior become-QUOT word-IE
[(he's) becoming] senior, okay,=
- 11 SA: =응.
yes
=yeah.
- 12 MC: ==> 얘는 요번에 오면은 >인제< 구 학년으로 들어 가야 된다°구°
yay-TOP this time-LOC come-COND now ninth grade-to enter-must
but **he(yay)** should enter as a ninth-grader if he comes now,
- 13 SA: ↑에:~::~ 왜 이렇게 많이 리핏이야 그런↑데,=
eh why like this many repeat-COP but
↑e:~::~:h why so many rep↑eats,=
- 14 MC: =그러니까 그 호주에 있는 동안 이년을 완전 허송세월 한 거나 다름 없지.,
so Australia-LOC exist-while two years-ACC completely waste-thing-COMM
=so while in Australia, (he) wasted two years completely.;
- 15 SA: (.) 아이고.,
gosh
(.) go:sh,

Appendix D: Consent Form

Principal Investigator: Ga Hye SongResearch Title: Person References in KoreanPARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

- I have read and discussed the informed consent with the researcher. I have had ample opportunity to ask questions about the purposes, procedures, risks and benefits regarding this research study.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw participation at any time without penalty.
- The researcher may withdraw me from the research at his or her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue my participation, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research study that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- I should receive a copy of the Informed Consent document.

My signature means that I agree to participate in this study**Print name:** _____**Date:** _____**Signature:**
