

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERACTIONAL COMPETENCE IN L2 KOREAN: THE USE OF  
KOREAN INTERPERSONAL MODAL ENDINGS –*CANH-* AND –*KETUN*

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By

Eun Ho Kim

Dissertation Committee:

Ho-min Sohn, Chairperson

Gabriele Kasper

Mary Kim

Mee-jeong Park

Richard Schmidt

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To my parents

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## ABSTRACT

This study investigates the ways in which Korean interpersonal modal endings –*canh-* and –*ketun* are used and developed as interactional resources by L2 speakers. Using the methodology of conversation analysis, this study not only examines how speakers employ –*canh-* and –*ketun* in the formation of an action, but also compares the (non) use of these endings by L2 speakers at different proficiency levels. By taking this combined approach to the use and the development of grammatical resources by L2 speakers, this dissertation aims to (1) investigate the ways in which L2 speakers use –*canh-* and –*ketun* to accomplish certain social actions, such as giving accounts or disagreeing, by displaying relevant knowledge states and (2) illustrate the stages of L2 speakers' development that correlate to interactional competence in the use of these linguistic resources.

The data of the current study comes from approximately 240 hours of video-recorded classroom interactions in a Korean as a second language context. Focusing on three different sequential environments recurrently associated with opportunities to use –*canh-* and –*ketun* to accomplish particular actions, this study presents detailed descriptions of how participants' use and nonuse of these forms work as resources for dealing with varied epistemic access to proposed information in talk-in-interaction. By adopting a cross-sectional design for comparison, this study also shows developmental patterns in the use of –*canh-* and –*ketun* by L2 speakers of Korean. Close scrutiny of the use and nonuse of these resources reveals whether and to what extent their interactional use by L2 speakers of different proficiency levels approaches that of L1 speakers.

The findings of this study contribute to the understanding of Korean interpersonal



modal endings in terms of the management and distribution of information as expressed through speakers' actions. This study also contributes to the growing body of research that takes a CA approach to the development of interactional competence by L2 speakers. It is hoped that this study both yields insights into how language use can be fully understood by adding the factors of management of information, and promotes CA approach to research on Korean L2 interaction.

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## LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Adopted from system developed by Gail Jefferson (see J. M. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; ten Have, 2007)

[	point of overlap onset
]	point of overlap ending
=	no gap (latching)
(.5)	time pause
(.)	untimed micropause
:	prolongation of the immediately prior sound
--	sharp cut-off of an utterance
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
ˆ	slightly rising intonation
↑	shift into higher pitch
↓	shift into lower pitch
<u>talk</u>	emphasized speech
TALK	loud sounds
대화	loud sounds
°talk°	quieter sound
<talk>	slowing down
>talk<	speeding up
.hhh	audible inbreath
hhh	audible outbreath
ta(h)lk	within-speech aspiration, possibly laughter
( )	unintelligible speech to transcriber
(talk)	dubious hearings or speaker identifications
(( ))	transcriber's additional explanations or descriptions

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE INTERLINEAR GLOSS

ACC	Accusative	INJ	Interjection
ATTR	Attributive	NML	Nominalizer
CIRCUM	Circumstantial	PL	Plural suffix
COMM	Committal	PNL	Plain speech level
CONN	Connective	POL	Polite speech level
COND	Conditional	PROG	Progressive
COP	Copular	PROS	Prospective
DCT:RE	Deductive reasoning	PRM	promissive
DM	Discourse marker	PST	Past tense
FR	Factual Realization	Q	Question particle
GEN	Genitive	QT	Quoatative particle
HEARSAY	Hearsay marker	RT	Retrospective
HON	Honorific	TOP	Topic marker
IE	Informal ending	VOC	Vocative
IMPER	Imperative		



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Phenomena

Motivated by an interest in L2 speakers' interactional competence in discourse, the present study aims to investigate the use of interpersonal modal endings by L2 Korean speakers at different proficiency levels of the target language. This study analyzes data from these speakers' spontaneous conversation, using the framework of conversation analysis (henceforth CA). More specifically, this dissertation examines the development in the use of Korean interpersonal modal endings *-canh-* and *-ketun* by second language (L2) speakers. It not only investigates how participants employ *-canh-* and *-ketun* to achieve their interactional goals but also explores developmental patterns in the types of actions accomplished across different proficiency groups. In this section, I introduce the phenomena that this study discusses by providing four short examples from the current data set. The first two examples<sup>1</sup> are from two Korean language classes, one advanced and one intermediate, both having discussions on the same topic: the consumption of dog meat in South Korea. Interestingly enough, students in both sections developed their discussions in a very similar way in terms of the discussions' content and sequential structure. Students in both sections gave similar opinions and supporting arguments. Even the examples they used to support their arguments were similar. Extract 1.1 is from the advanced students' classroom discussion. The main speaker, Wendy, argues that eating dog meat is not something to be criticized considering other countries' consumption of other meats.

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<sup>1</sup> These two extracts appear again in Chapter 4, where they are discussed in greater detail to analyze the use and nonuse of *-canh-*.

### Extract 1.1. Wendy: Advanced

- 01 Wendy:      kuntey wuski-n-key:: >°yeylul tulese°< <sokoki>  
                  but funny-ATTR-thing      for example      beef
- 02            → manhi mek-**canh**-ayo. kuntey      mwe      >yeylul tulese<  
                  a lot eat-CANH-POL      but      DM      for example
- 03            into- na <hintu> ha-nun tey-      se-      nun so- ka koyngcanghi  
                  India-or      Hindu do-ATTR place-at-NOM cow-NOM      extremely
- 04            → wusangsi toy- **canh**-ayo  
                  idolize become-CANH-POL  
                  **But, the funny thing is...people eat cows a lot, right-CANH? But for example, cows**  
                  **are very much idolized in India or places where they practice Hinduism, right?**
- 05            =kulayse ku      salam-tul-un::  
                  so      that      people-PL-TOP
- 06            so mek-nun salam-tul koyngcanghi hyemoha-nuntey::(.2)  
                  cow eat-ATTR people-PL extremely      loathe-CIRCUM  
                  **So, they hate people who eat cows.**
- 07            ku kay-lul <an mek-nun::> ↑ nala-tul-i  
                  that dog-ACC NEG eat-ATTR      country-PL-NOM
- 08            sencinkwuk- ilako hay-se  
                  developed country-HEARSAY because
- 09 Teacher:      umm
- 10 Wendy:      wuli-ka ku-ke-l                      kkok      nappu-tako hal  
                  we-NOM that-thing-ACC      certainly      bad-QT      do
- 11            philyo-nun      °eps-nun kes kath-ayo°=  
                  necessary-TOP not exist-ATTR think-POL  
                  **I think there's no need for us to say that eating dog is bad just because some developed**  
                  **countries don't eat dog-meat.**

Extract 1.2 below comes from the intermediate-level students' classroom discussion on the same topic. Here, Sue presents a claim much like the one Wendy makes in Extract 1.1: that eating a particular food should be understood as part of the culture of a country.

### Extract 1.1. Sue: Intermediate

- 05 Sue:            yulay- ka iss-iss-iss-ki ttaymwuney↑ way↓ °like°  
                  origin-NOM      exist-NML      because      DM
- 06            → >CWUNGKUK-eyse< pelley-ka mek-**ko**↑ and >phulangsu-eyse<  
                  China-at                      bug-NOM eat-CONN                      France-at

- 07 → mal- to mek-ko↑ (.2) kulayse, (.2) isang(.)ha-tako  
 horse-also eat-CONN so strange -QT  
**Because they have origins like, like, they eat bugs in China and they also eat horses in France**
- 08 sayngkak-ul ha-ci↓ mal-ko↑ >kunyang<(. )uh  
 think-ACC do- NEG-CONN just
- 09 umm::(. )kunyang ihayhay-ya [tway-yo.  
 just understand should-POL  
**So they shouldn't think it's weird, they should just, umm, just understand.**
- 10 Teacher: [um umm
- 11 (.3)
- 12 Sue: cingkulep-ciman::  
 gross-but:CONN  
**Even though it's gross.**
- 13 Teacher: umm::
- 14 Sue: ney:( (nods) )  
 yes  
**Yes.**

These two students use different linguistic resources, such as sentence-ending suffixes, within similar structures in their opinion sequences. These different uses of suffixes in the development of similar sequences also resulted in divergent interactional consequences. Wendy's conversation extract is representative of how advanced students strategically employ various linguistic resources, such as sentence-ending suffixes, to manage epistemic knowledge asymmetry between interlocutors while minimally threatening each others' face. Intermediate-level students, however, as demonstrated in Sue's extract, do not seem to develop their opinions smoothly even though they hold certain levels of proficiency in Korean. The differences in these two examples illustrate the crucial role the target suffix – *canh-* plays in social interaction.

Extracts 1.3 and 1.4 below display how different turn constructions with and without –*ketun*, the other target linguistic resource of this dissertation, bring about diverse

interactional consequences through the same action in similar sequential environments.<sup>2</sup> The first case (Extract 1.3 below), from an advanced-level students' interaction, contains an example of a *-ketun* utterance used in first position to give an account for the speaker's claim.

### Extract 1.3. Erika: Advanced

- 25           tto: hana te yaykiha-ca-myen(.2)'icey'(.2)  
             also one more say-SUGG-COND                 DM
- 26           ppalli ppalli mwunhwa ttaymwuney='icey' hankwuk-ey  
             hurry hurry culture because of DM Korea-at
- 27           mayktonaltu-na losteylia kath-un ku: fastfood-mwunhwa-ka(.2)  
             Mcdonalds-or Lotte Ria like-ATTR that culture-NOM
- 28           sayngki-ki sicakha-myense yocum hankwuk salam cwungey  
             come up-NML begin-while recently Korea person among
- 29           piman-i-n salam-i koyngcanghi manh-tako  
             overweight-COP-ATTR person-NOM extremely many-QT
- 30           → 'tul-ess-ketun-yo?'  
             hear-PST-KETUN-POL  
             **Adding in another side note, I heard that because of this fast-paced culture in Korea, these fast food restaurants like McDonald's and Lotteria has started to emerge and there are a lot of Koreans that are overweight.**
- 31           kulayse(.) ppalli ppalli mwunhwa-lul:hankwuk salam-eykey  
             so hurry hurry culture-ACC Korea person-to
- 32           kungcengcekin yenghyang-ul michy-ess-ta-ki-potanun com  
             positive influence-ACC give-PST-PLN-NML-than a little
- 33           pwucengcekin yenghyang-ul michy-ess-tako sayngkak-hapnita  
             negative influence-ACC give-PST-QT think-DEF  
             **That is why, rather than a positive influence, I think this has been a negative effect for Koreans living in this fast-paced culture.**

Here, an advanced student, Erika, presents her negative opinion about the fast-paced culture in Korea. To support her opinion, she provides information regarding the increase of overweight people in Korea using the target resource *-ketun* in line 30. By also using a quotative marker *-tako* in line 29, Erika marks this information as something she heard from another source. She then immediately projects the upshot of her claim in lines 31–33. Extract

<sup>2</sup> These two extracts will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

1.4 below from an intermediate-level students' interaction presents an interesting case for comparison.

#### Extract 1.4. Ron: Intermediate

- 07 Ron: hankwuk manhi(.) chapyel (.)ha-ha-cyo? like honhyel::  
Korea a lot discrimination do-COMM:POL mixed-blood  
**There's a lot of discrimination in Korea, right? Like, mixed people...**
- 08 >waynyamyen< cey-ka:: er cey-ka hankwuk-ey ka-ss-ul ttay  
because I-NOM I-NOM Korea-at go-PST-when
- 09 cey chinkwu-ka chapyel-ul manhi tanghay-ss{tako}  
I:GEN friend-NOM discrimination-ACC a lot suffer-PST-QT
- 10 → hay-ss{eyo} honhyeli-ki ttaymwuney.  
do-PST-POL mixed blood-NML because  
**Because... I ... Err.. When I went to Korea, one of my friends told me he was discriminated... because he is mixed.**
- 11 Teacher: kulay-yo? chinkwu-ka mwe:: hankwuk salam:::  
like that-POL friend-TOP DM Korea person  
**Really? Was your friend Korean?**

The main speaker, Ron, talks about discrimination in Korea. In order to back up his statement regarding discrimination in Korea (line 7), Ron offers the case of his friend in lines 8-10. Note that the information conveyed in this turn is also constructed as something he obtained from another source, as evidenced by the use of a quotative marker –*tako* in line 9. The target suffix –*ketun* is highly expected to occur here given the action the speaker is accomplishing, the sequential position, the turn construction, and the information managed through the turn. However, Ron employs an unmarked sentence-ending suffix –*yo* instead of –*ketun* in line 10. Even though the absence of –*ketun* does not cause any trouble in the progress of the on-going interaction, the interactional outcome seems to be different than the outcome of the advanced students' interaction to a certain extent. In brief, this is attested by Ron's additional comment using incremental –*ttaymwuney* 'because of' in line 10 and the recipient's follow-up question in line 11.

Detailed analysis will be provided in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, but even after a cursory perusal, it is obvious that the turn constructions of the advanced and intermediate students are distinctive. By comparing two or more sequences with similar sequential and interactional environments where the use of *-canh-* or *-ketun* is expected, this study examines L2 speakers' use of the target items in terms of their competence to organize discourse, but also to what extent L2 speakers match the use of L1 speakers with the focal items.

## **1.2 Interpersonal modal endings *-canh-* and *-ketun***

As Korean is an SOV-ordered, verb-final, agglutinative language, in Korean conversation speakers' stances are frequently displayed through sentence-ending suffixes (or interpersonal modal endings).<sup>3</sup> Strategic use of sentence-ending suffixes in interaction is therefore essential, especially in social actions such as disagreement and assertion in which the face of the participants is at stake (H. Sohn, 1999, 2007, 2012). This study focuses on the use of the sentence-ending suffixes *-canh-* and *-ketun*, both of which are used very frequently in L1 speakers' interactions (H. Lee, 1991). The initial motivation for the current study's focus on *-canh-* and *-ketun* was also that they represent the vast majority of sentence ends in the data collected for the research. It has been noted that Korean children start using these suffixes productively at a very early age (S. Choi, 1995). At the same time, it has also been noted that it is exceptionally challenging for L2 speakers of Korean to acquire proficient use of these suffixes (S. Sohn, 2006). These seemingly contradictory findings suggest that these suffixes have prime interactional importance for Korean speakers and their subtle functions are not easily describable. In other words, the two suffixes I investigate in this

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 4 for more discussion on terminology.

study embody delicate interactional business and work as resources for the sense-making activities of talk-in-interaction. Examining the use of these suffixes by L2 speakers at different proficiency levels therefore illuminates the stages of L2 speakers' development that correlate to interactional competence in the use of linguistic resources.

–*canh*- and –*ketun* are noted to have significant interactional functions in discourse (Ju & Sohn, 2011; Kawanishi, 1994; K. Kim, 2010; Kim & Suh, 2004, 2009; H. Lee, 1999; Lo, 2006; K. Suh, 2002). While many studies argue that both suffixes are used for giving accounts in order to support a claim, some studies examine the use of the two suffixes in terms of speakers' information status (K. Kim, 2010; K. Suh, 2002). In these studies, –*canh*- has been examined as a suffix indexing shared knowledge. On the other hand, –*ketun* has been researched as a suffix indexing a speaker's exclusive possession of knowledge. In the following section, I introduce these two focal suffixes in terms of their structure and canonical meaning based on previous research. Detailed reviews of empirical studies on –*canh*- and –*ketun* are presented in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

### **1.2.1 –*canh*-**

The suffix –*canh*- has been reported to be one of the most frequently used sentence-ending suffixes in Korean colloquial discourse (H. Lee, 1991). An examination of the current data set collected from classroom interactions also demonstrates that –*canh*- is widely used and that its usage displays recurrent patterns associated with particular actions and interactional contexts. –*canh*- is sometimes compared to the English tag question *isn't it?*, or the discourse marker *you know*. It is a reduced form of the long form of negation –*ci anh*, which is comprised of the suffix –*ci* and the negative verb *anh* ('not') through the process of grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott, 2003).

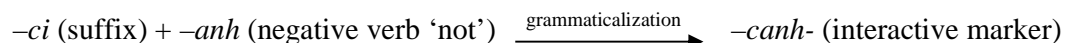


Figure 1.1. Grammaticalization process of *-canh-*

It has been argued that the reduced form has acquired a new interactive function; it seeks agreement from interlocutors or signals the speaker's assumption that the interlocutor will agree with the speaker's utterance when the speaker uses *-canh-* (S. Sohn, 2010).<sup>4</sup> Thus, the suffix *-canh-* indexes speakers' epistemic, affective, or moral stance toward a statement (Kawanishi, 1994; Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993, Kim & Suh, 2004; Lo, 2006).

Korean language textbooks also often introduce *-canh-* as an interactional marker with its function of "assuming agreement" (Cho et al., 2001). One textbook explains the function of *-canh-* thus: "the sentence ending *-canh-* is used when the speaker assumes that the listener will agree with him/her. It is also used when the speaker wants to reconfirm facts" (Cho et al., 2001; pp. 17–18). The following Extract 1.5 shows an example usage of *-canh-* from one of the most widely used Korean language textbooks in North America.

Extract 1.5. Textbook: From Cho et al. (2001, p. 17)

- 01     A:     eti     ka-se-yo?  
               where go-HON-POL  
               **Where are you going?**
- 02     B:     → pataska-ey ka-yo. nalssi-ka     tep-**canh**-ayo.  
               beach- LOC go-POL weather-TOP     hot-CANH-POL  
               **To the beach. The weather is hot, you know.**

As can be seen in the example above, the textbook emphasizes *-canh-*'s function of soliciting agreement.

<sup>4</sup> S. Sohn (2010) maintains that the long-form negation *-ci anh-* in (1) is used as a negative interrogative (i.e., 'Didn't John come?'), whereas the reduced form *-canh-* in (2) expresses the speaker's belief toward the proposition. (i.e., 'You know, John came'). This use of the suffix is shown in the following examples (p. 4).

(1) *John-i o- ci anh-ass-e?*  
       NOM come-NEG-PST-IE  
       'Didn't John come?'

(2) *John-i wa-ss-canh-a.*  
       NOM come-PST-CANH-IE  
       'You know, John came.'



### 1.2.2 *-ketun*

*-ketun* is used as a clausal connective ('if' or 'when that is the case') or as a sentence-ending suffix. It is widely viewed that the use of *-ketun* as a clausal connective has undergone a process of grammaticalization and has emerged as predominantly a sentence-ending suffix in modern Korean (Koo & Rhee, 2001; Park & Sohn, 2002). It has been noted that the function of *-ketun* as a sentence-ending suffix is to mark the reason for something (H. Lee, 1996; J. Lee, 2000; C. Suh, 1996) or to mark information as background for a subsequent utterance (K. Han, 1991). Associated with information that has what is perceived to be strong factuality (C. Ko, 1995; J. Lee, 2000), the interactive features of *-ketun* include the function of presenting the speaker's own experience or marking the information as exclusively known by the speaker (Y. Chae, 1998; C. Ko, 1995; Koo & Rhee, 2001; J. Lee, 2000; J. Shin, 2000). Accordingly, *-ketun* has been discussed as a marker of events or of a state of affairs to be taken up by the addressee as newsworthy. The following example from L1 speakers' interaction shows this function.

Extract 1. 6. L1 Korean speaker: Adapted from K. Kim (2010, p. 237)

- |    |           |   |                              |
|----|-----------|---|------------------------------|
| 01 | Customer: | mwulswuken iss-eyo?<br>water towel exist-POL<br><b>Do you have a wet tissue?</b>                                      | ← FPP: request               |
| 02 | Employer: | → cehuy mwulswuken eps- <b>ketun</b> -yo?<br>we water towel not exist-KETUN-POL<br><b>We don't have a wet tissue.</b> | ← SPP: dispreferred response |
| 03 | Customer: | a mwulswuken eps-eyo?<br>water towel not exist-POL<br><b>Oh, you don't have a wet tissue.</b>                         | ← Acknowledgement            |

In this example, upon a customer's request, an employee gives a response that provides new information using *-ketun*. In response to the *-ketun*-utterance, the recipient acknowledges its newsworthiness in line 3.

Textbooks on reference grammar also introduce *-ketun* as a marker of an utterance that provides a reason or an explanation. One language textbook (Cho et al., 2001) provides a further explanation of *-ketun*: “*-ketun* implies that the speaker expects the listener to have no trouble understanding” (p. 118). The example and the description in the textbook underscore *-ketun*’s function of providing a reason or an explanation.

Extract 1.7. Textbook: Adapted from Cho et al. (2001, p. 118)

- 01      A:      eti ka-sey-yo?  
                      where go-HON-POL  
                      **Where are you going?**
- 02      B:      wucheykwuk-ey ka-nun kil-iey-yo.  
                      post office-at go-ATTR way-COP-POL
- 03            → i tal mal-i            emma    sayngsin-i-**ketun**-yo.  
                      this month end-NOM mom birthday-COP-**KETUN**-POL  
                      **'I'm on my way to the post office. (It's that) the end of this month is my mom's birthday.**

As discussed in this section, *-canh-* and *-ketun* are found to be among the various resources that speakers employ in spoken discourse to accomplish interactional functions vis-à-vis recipients. By consulting the related research that has examined L1 speakers’ interaction, the current dissertation examines how L2 speakers actually achieve their interactional goals by employing or not employing target resources.

### 1.3 Methodology: Conversation analysis

The discussion of conversation analysis (CA) in this section explains the methodological background of this dissertation. Influenced by Harold Garfinkel and Erving Goffman, CA emerged from a concern with the “primordial” context of human interaction. In other words, it examines the organization of everyday talk to see how participants *do* as members of a society in everyday sense-making activities. This methodology is suitable for a study of social interaction—specifically, in this case, institutional discourse, which includes

classroom interaction (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Hellermann, 2008). An analytical goal of CA is to offer a procedural account for the social conduct of humans by analyzing participants' use of language and discourse practices. CA studies have shown that interaction is organized in an orderly way (see Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) and that intersubjectivity is locally, interactionally, and sequentially achieved through shared practices, or the "*procedural infrastructure of interaction*" (Schegloff, 1992, p. 1338). A main assumption of CA is that ordinary talk is a highly organized phenomenon for the participants of the talk itself, not just for the analyst. The orderliness of talk is therefore analyzed based on the *participants'* display of understanding and orientation to the talk-in-interaction. In the same vein, the analysis takes a bottom-up approach and begins with *unmotivated looking* (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; ten Have, 2007); that is, researchers should not import a research agenda or hypothesis when they are gathering and analyzing the data. In this way, CA does not allow for possible misrepresentation of participants' actions in favor of the researchers' predetermined agendas ("theoretical imperialism") (Schegloff, 2007). To achieve these goals, CA typically uses audio- and video-recordings of naturally occurring interactions as data for analysis and offers transcripts with rich detail.

In other words, CA approaches language or discourse by investigating how participants accomplish social actions and understand each other's conduct (Drew & Heritage, 1992). If participants understand each other's social actions and orient to the sequential organization in a turn-by-turn manner (Schegloff, 2007), as analysts, we can investigate the sequence as a unit of analysis to understand what participants' utterances are doing. Thus, CA is very suitable to examine language in its natural contexts (Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996) although CA was not primarily established to deal with linguistic phenomena. CA's

view of language as a vehicle for social actions allows researchers to make new contributions to the field of linguistics.

The usefulness of CA as a means to analyze spoken interaction extends to analysis of L2 speakers' interactions. A substantial body of empirical studies employing CA over the past several decades (e.g., Markee, 2000; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Seedhouse, 2004; Wagner & Gardner, 2004) provides a strong presentation of CA's validity as a methodology for analyzing spoken L2 interaction to develop an understanding of the methodological resources that participants employ (Drew & Heritage, 2006). For this study, following this line of literature, it was determined that the analytic procedure for L2 interaction should not be different from that for L1 interaction; no *a priori* concern was given to the fact that the participants are second language speakers. Rather, their status as second language speakers was brought into the analysis when the participants themselves displayed an orientation to it.

#### **1.4 Objectives and potential contributions**

Using the methodology of conversation analysis (CA), this dissertation combine (1) a grounded study of language use in interaction that reflexively embodies epistemic access between interlocutors and (2) an approach to development of L2 speakers' interactional competence by comparing the (non) use of Korean interpersonal modal endings –*canh-* and –*ketun* by L2 speakers at different proficiency levels.

This study aims to contribute to the study of Korean modal expressions in terms of the management and distribution of information as expressed through a speaker's actions. The study therefore addresses (i) "who knows what" in the interaction, (ii) how speakers employ target linguistic resources in the formation of an action that embodies abstract claims to the access that a speaker and recipient possess (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), and (iii)

interactional consequences that come about through these practices. The analyses in this study first describes the basic epistemic claim that the form embodies and then track the form across a range of action types (e.g., assessment, accounts, etc.) in order to explicate the specific contribution of the form in the formation of social action. Interactional consequences of the use of these resources are also discussed in terms of how relative rights to perform evaluations are indexed within the talk.

The present study also examines how L2 speakers of Korean achieve conversational intersubjectivity through the delicate employment of suffixes. This perspective is compatible with growing interest in the field of CA-SLA. To ground my understanding and analysis of L2 speakers' use of linguistic resources, I refer to previous conversation-analytic studies on the uses of target suffixes by L1 speakers. For the purpose of examining development in the use of suffixes, I consider the (non) use of target suffixes by lower proficiency students by adopting a cross-sectional design for comparison. Conversation analysis allows us to see whether and to what extent the interactional use of the suffixes by L2 speakers at different proficiency levels approaches that of L1 speakers.

In summary, drawing on conversation analysis as an analytical framework, the investigation explores three dimensions of the phenomena of the target suffixes' usage: (i) the social actions that the turns and turn-units perform using the target suffixes and their interactional consequences, (ii) the epistemic claims that these practices embody, and (iii) the development of interactional competencies in the use of the target suffixes to achieve certain interactional goals. Using the principles and methodology proposed by CA, this dissertation addresses the following research questions:

- (1) When L2 speakers of Korean use *-canh-* and *-ketun* in the classroom, what are the social actions accomplished? What consequences does the use of *-canh-* and *-ketun* produce over the course of sequences?
- (2) How do participants manage and distribute information by deploying *-canh-* and *-ketun*? What are the interactional consequences of using *-canh-* and *-ketun* in terms of epistemic claims?
- (3) Is there any difference in the employment of *-canh-* and *-ketun* and the development of sequences between L2 speakers in different proficiency groups? Is there any variation in the types of actions accomplished across different proficiency groups?

## 1.5 Organization of the study

In Chapter 1, I have introduced the focal linguistic resources *-canh-* and *-ketun* by showing representative phenomena recurrently observed in the collection of interactions in the current data set. Emphasizing my interest in examining Korean L2 speakers' use of linguistic resources by managing access to information, this chapter also located this study within the field of CA and detailed its background, motivation, significance, and potential contributions.

The remainder of this dissertation is structured as follows: Chapter 2 presents the theoretical background and a review of the literature that informs the current study. It first describes previous research on Korean sentence-ending suffixes focusing on an emergent category of modal endings. The chapter then presents an overview of conversation-analytic view of epistemics that provide the interactional framework adopted in this dissertation. It also discusses a conversation-analytic approach to analyzing L2 interactions and some of the challenges involved. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the participants and presents the data collection, transcription, and methodological procedures used along with a discussion of the related issue of the reliability of the cross-sectional design of this study. Chapters 4 and 5 give the core data analysis of this study. In Chapter 4, I focus on one of the target endings, *-canh-*, and discuss how it is used and not used in proposing shared knowledge between

participants to accomplish certain interactional outcomes. In Chapter 5, I concentrate on the other target ending, *–ketun*, and examine how the employment of *–ketun* claims epistemic primacy for the speaker and how non-employment of *–ketun* by L2 speakers at lower proficiency levels brings about different interactional consequences. Throughout Chapters 4 and 5, by comparing the use and nonuse of target resources by L2 speakers at different proficiency levels, I discuss differences and possible developmental patterns in the use of the target linguistic resources. Finally, in Chapter 6, I conclude the dissertation by summarizing the findings, discussing the implications of the study, and offering suggestions for future research.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

As this dissertation combines the perspectives of interactional linguistics, conversation analysis, and CA-SLA, it is important to address some of the key theoretical and methodological challenges that lie at the center of this study. Taking a broad historical perspective, in this chapter I discuss three lines of research that I draw on for theoretical and methodological frameworks for this study. I first review previous studies of Korean interpersonal modal endings by addressing interactional linguistics. I then move on to review recent literature that addresses a conversation-analytic view of grammar and epistemics. Finally, I give specific attention to approaches to CA-SLA and their contribution to the framework of the present study.

#### **2.2 Interaction and grammar: Previous studies of Korean interpersonal modal endings**

As the Korean language is a typical SOV order language with a rich set of grammatical morphemes, it has a large number of particles and suffixes that attach to content words to mark grammatical functions and relations in discourse. Therefore, a speaker's interpersonal relations or stance in Korean, unlike in European languages, is often displayed in sentence-ending positions with sentence-ending suffixes indexing the modality of politeness or interactive attitude (H. Lee, 1991; H. Sohn, 1999, 2007, 2012). In this section, I review studies on Korean sentence-ending suffixes (or interpersonal modal endings) from various perspectives.



It has been generally noted in the literature that sentence-ending suffixes in Korean express tense, aspect, and modality in a broader sense (Martin, 1954; C. Suh, 1996) because they indicate the speaker's epistemic stance toward the proposition in relation to the addressee. For example, it has been argued that by using the sentence-ending suffix *-ci*, the speaker expresses his or her communicating attitude, specifically marking agreement as a preferred next-turn response (H. Lee, 1999; S. Kim, 2007). The suffix *-ci* in the following example indicates the speaker's belief in or commitment toward the description (H. Lee, 1999). Another suffix *-ulkel*, as shown in the following Extract 2.2, has been researched as a marker of the speaker's conjecture.

Extract 2.1. From H. Sohn (2007, p. 2)

pi-ka            o-**ci**-yo?    cokum  
rain-NOM come-CI(COMM)-POL  
**It's raining, isn't it?**

Extract 2.2. From H. Sohn (2012, p. 2)

te            naka-myen    iss-**ulkel**-yo.  
a little more go out-COND exist-EME-POL  
**If we drive a little further, we will find a few.**

There have been numerous investigations into the speaker's choice of attitude or modality expressed through Korean sentence-ending suffixes (e.g., K. Chang, 1985; H. Choi, 1971; K. Han, 1991; Y. Ko, 1976; K. Lee, 1993; Martin, 1954; Ooe, 1958; C. Suh, 1996). These studies have provided semantic descriptions of modality primarily in terms of possibility and necessity based on the researcher's intuition. However, the analysis of meaning in isolated, researcher-constructed sentences is limited because modality a fluid phenomenon responsive to interaction and social contexts that indexes interlocutors' 'stance' rather than a static incidence existing within individual speakers (e.g. Ochs, 1996).

In reaction to the traditional grammarian approach, many studies of sentence-ending suffixes have paid attention to their interactive functions in actual discourse. In particular, H. Lee (1991) attempts to investigate an extensive number of sentence-ending suffixes in terms of their discourse-pragmatic functions by including analysis of naturally occurring informal

speech utterances. He concludes that Korean sentence-ending suffixes cannot be examined without taking into account discourse-pragmatic functions. Korean epistemic markers have also been examined in terms of politeness; it is noted that one major function of Korean sentence-ending suffixes is to reduce the speaker's responsibility for his or her utterances, thus elevating the role of the addressee and sustaining the addressee's positive and negative face (Goffman, 1967; Brown & Levinson, 1987). In these studies, Korean epistemic/modal markers in the sentence-ending position have been extensively investigated. For example, H. Sohn (2007) discusses semantic-pragmatic functions of a series of recently innovated and productively used Korean sentence-ending suffixes. In his discussion of the grammaticalization process of such suffixes, Sohn proposes that strategic politeness is a main cause for triggering such innovations in grammar and use. The following figure illustrates this process.

<p>[Subordinate Clause X + Main Clause Y]S &gt; [Main Clause X]S</p>
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*Figure 2.1* Diachronic deletion of main Clauses (Ys) in complex sentences (Adapted from H. Sohn, 2007, p. 3)

He suggests that, by omitting the main clause, the propositional content is unexpressed, and thus the speaker can avoid or mitigate the imposition of or responsibility for his or her acts. His findings imply that there are problems with universal assumptions about politeness principles by showing that, in Korean, the degrees of imposition are expressed largely by various indirect speech acts using these kinds of newly emerged sentence-ending suffixes. More recently, pursuing a similar line of discussion, H. Sohn (2012) expands his discussion and proposes a new grammatical category of “interpersonal modal endings” for

these emergent sentence endings. Sohn gives a comprehensive account of these endings. In his words:

All emergent modal endings (EMEs) occur mainly in casual conversational interactions which call for effective sustenance of interpersonal relations. EMEs are instrumental in effectively performing the interactional function, and not the transactional function of language. For this reason, EMEs are predominantly used in the interpersonal mode of communication such as daily interactions, telephone, on-line, and face-to-face conversations. (p. 4)

Through the process of grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Traugott 1982, 2010), modal sentence enders have recently emerged that index interactional discourse functions. They all appear in sentence-final positions and express the speaker's modality toward the recipient. Thus, they are mainly used in conversational modes of communication for expressing the speaker's intersubjectivity toward the addressees. Therefore, their modal meaning is not easy to define. This study's focal endings, *-canh-* and *-ketun*, are discussed as representative interpersonal modal endings.<sup>5</sup> Adopting Sohn's suggestion, I refer to the two suffixes as "interpersonal modal endings."

Until recently, not many studies of Korean conversation have stringently employed a CA methodology. There have been several studies concerned with epistemic markers in Korean, yet few of these use naturally occurring conversational data to determine what Korean epistemic markers are and how they are used. Y. Park (1998, 1999), as a pioneering scholar of Korean conversation analysis, investigates various interactional functions of suffixes such as *-nikka*, *-ketun*, and *-nuntey*. These studies have paved the way for examinations of the interactional functions of each form, which traditional linguistic studies have not been able to produce through analysis of the meanings as represented in texts. In this approach, it is assumed that linguistic structures and patterns of use are shaped by, and

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<sup>5</sup> In terms of the diachronic process of grammaticalization, *-canh-* is classified as a main clause compression type, and *-ketun* as a main clause omission type (H. Sohn, 2012).

themselves shape, social interaction (e.g., Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001).

Following this interactional linguistic approach, a large number of studies on Korean conversation have investigated the various interactional functions of connectives such as *-ci*, *-canh-*, *-nikka*, *-ketun*, and *-nuntey* (e.g., S. Kim, 2007; K. Kim, 2011; Kim & Suh, 1994; Y. Park, 1998). These studies depict a variety of interactional functions of connectives and suffixes that traditional linguists have not been able to show through analysis of decontextualized data. S. Kim (2007) adopted CA to examine how the Korean modal suffix *-ci* achieves a particular action, such as requesting confirmation, within a specific interactional contingency. Some studies employ CA to investigate resources for quotations in Korean such as *-tay*, *-telako*, and *-tamyē*. As an example, M. Kim (2005) examines *-telako* as an evidential marker and shows how the conversationalists reconstruct their knowledge in social interaction through the use of it. She demonstrates how the speaker shifts the choice of evidential marking to *-telako* in order to achieve interactional purposes, such as entitlement and detachment in regard to his or her claim. In a more recent study, M. Kim (2011) examines a L1 Korean speaker's choices of another evidential marker, *-tamyē*, in the course of interaction. Basing her approach on the findings of Heritage and Raymond (2005), she investigates how participants claim and negotiate their epistemic rights to the information by deploying this marker. She finds that the *-tamyē* evidential marker is employed when the speaker claims or downgrades his or her epistemic rights to information. K. Kim (2004) analyzes interactional features of *-ney* and *-kwun*, which are widely recognized as suffixes that are used for marking newly perceived information in face-to-face and telephone conversations. Kim treats these suffixes as stance markers that the speaker uses and deploys as a resource for displaying his or her stance toward a newly perceived referent or event in

the course of proffering a topic or taking up and aligning with the interlocutor's interactional move.

The series of studies on Korean conversation introduced here have made significant contributions to CA research in interactional linguistics. These studies have shown that an individual's uses of modal endings are indexical social actions that are performed in ways contingent on the social and interactional circumstances. Consistent with this growing body of literature in the field, the current study is situated within the theoretical framework of "interaction and grammar" (Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996) in its employment of a CA methodology for examining the contingent use of the suffixes. It aims to show, by examining the sequences of negotiation of opinion in L2 Korean classroom conversation, how language is shaped by interaction and the ways in which the formation of interactional practices are language specific. The analysis of the use of Korean suffixes *-canh-* and *-ketun* in negotiation of opinion thus contributes to articulating the deeply intertwined relationship between the organization of grammar and the organization of social interactional practices.

## **2.3 A conversation-analytic view of epistemics**

### **2.3.1 Introduction**

The relative disparity or equality of knowledge between participants is a driving force in interaction, one that motivates not only the organization of sequences of action (e.g., questions and answers) but also the use of specific linguistic forms that claim or disclaim relative degrees of knowledge for speakers and recipients (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b; Heritage & Raymond, 2005, Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011). The current interest in epistemics and roles of knowledge as represented through the use of linguistic resources owes much to Heritage and Raymond's recent articles showing how epistemic access to information is

involved in the production of social relationships (Heritage & Raymond, 2006; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). The studies reviewed in this section investigate the multifaceted connections of the social dimensions of epistemics.

Heritage and Raymond (2005) examine the implications of relative degree of access to information between interlocutors in conversation rather than analyzing information or knowledge as a proposition or cognitive state of speakers. “Information/knowledge” is not then to be understood as a static property of language or the mind of the speaker, but as a locus where basic social rights and obligations become visible. Speakers display different degrees and different ranges of knowledge in interaction; knowledge states are also contingent upon some other traits of interaction, so they may change (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b). Adopting this view of information as a fluid phenomenon, this dissertation examines the ways in which two grammatical forms, *-canh-* and *-ketun*, are deployed as epistemic resources to make claims about the epistemic state of the speaker vis-à-vis the hearer in the production of action in talk-in-interaction. The term “epistemics” in this study relates to the (claimed) knowledge state and the way in which these states are encoded in talk (Heritage, 2012a; Turner, 2012). Therefore, knowledge in the employment of *-canh-* and *-ketun* includes not only actually shared knowledge but also knowledge that is TREATED as shared by the speaker, regardless of whether it actually is (Edwards, 1997).

Before I provide a review of conversation-analytic studies on epistemics, I give a brief review of early studies in the domain of knowledge. Then I review contemporary studies on epistemics in detail so as to situate this study in past and present conversation-analytic research that examines the use of knowledge/information in social interaction. First, Labov and Fanshel (1977) insightfully made a distinction between A-events (known to the speaker, but not the recipient) and B-events (known to the recipient, but not the speaker).

Similarly, Pomerantz (1980), in her study of “my side” tellings, distinguished between two “knowables”: Type 1 knowables, knowledge that speakers have the right and obligation to know (e.g., their emotional and cognitive states, their on-going actions) and Type 2 knowables, knowledge that speakers know only indirectly as secondhand knowledge. Lastly, Kamio’s (1997) insightful theory of territories of information discussed the ways in which knowledge asymmetries between the speaker and the recipient can construct linguistic forms. In this theory, “territory of information” refers to speakers’ and hearers’ relative rights to a given piece of information. Although each of these studies has its own terminology and analytic emphasis, they have in common the argument that distinctions of knowledge concern basic social relationships and categories.

### **2.3.2 Analytical framework: Social epistemics in interaction**

Although actors’ management of knowledge has constituted a central area of research for conversation analysis, the role that epistemics plays in talk-in-interaction has received growing attention from conversation analysts in recent years, initiated by two recent studies by Heritage and Raymond (2005) and Raymond and Heritage (2006). Heritage and Raymond (2005) explored assessments in first and second position and looked at how participants’ rights to provide evaluations are implicated within the talk. The findings revealed that participants manage the relationship between different participants’ rights to assess the information through the sequential position of the assessment and by using systematic variations in the design of the turns out of which their assessments are constructed. In this discussion, the authors developed a highly systematic account of the complex interplay between turn construction, sequence organization, and the distribution of epistemic access in assessment sequences. One of the core arguments they made is that in assessing a referent in first position, a speaker claims primary epistemic rights to make the assessment relative to the

recipient. They represent the asymmetry between first and second speakers through notations: K- position refers to a position of lack of certain information invoked by the act of questioning. K+ position, on the other hand, refers to the position of a knowledgeable addressee. In addition to the basic K+ and K- positions, speakers employ a diverse range of turn-constructional practices to establish positions along a cline from K- to K+. Specifically, they analyze evidential verbs (e.g., *sounds* and *seems*) and various tag questions as resources in English that allow speakers to take up a less than fully K+ position. Heritage and Raymond's research on epistemics thus explores the relationship between three dimensions of talk in interaction: the design of turns at talk as a matter of grammatical form; the epistemic position that turn designs make relevant; and the use of grammatical forms and epistemic positions in sequences of action.

Building on this work, another study by Raymond and Heritage (2006) also examined how epistemic resources are used by participants to construct their interactional identities by negotiating epistemic authority and subordination in interaction on a moment-by-moment basis. While these two studies focus primarily on the epistemics of starting actions, a study by Heritage and Raymond (2012) examines the epistemics of responsive actions, examining two forms of response to polar questions: particle responses (*yeah*, *yes*, etc.) and "repetitive" responses. Their analysis found that repetitive responses "assert the respondent's epistemic and social entitlement in regard to the matter being addressed," (p. 9) whereas particle responses submit to the terms of the question provided by the interlocutor and thereby assert a lesser degree of epistemic primacy.

In the domain of questions, Heritage (2010) and Heritage and Raymond (2012) observe that different question designs claim different degrees of asymmetry between the knowledge states of the speaker and the recipient. Therefore, different aspects of the different



question projections become the objects of manipulation (Raymond, 2010). The figure below presents alternative epistemic gradients of four questions: (Q1) *Who did you talk to?* (Q2) *Did you talk to John?* (Q3) *You talked to John didn't you?* and (Q4) *You talked to John?*

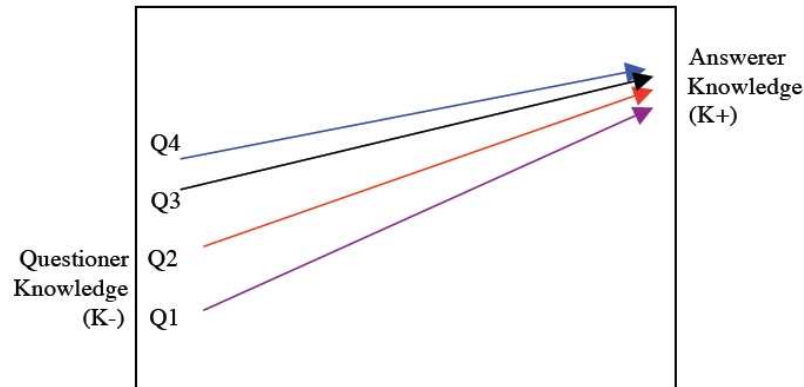


Figure 2.2. Alternative epistemic gradients of four questions (From Heritage & Raymond, 2012: p. 4)

In his most recent articles, Heritage (2012a, 2012b) encapsulates the proposal on epistemics in action formation, illustrating the ways in which knowledge asymmetries between interlocutors are a driving force of interaction. According to this view, actors possess relative degrees of “access” and “rights” to certain domains of knowledge. In Figure 2.3 below, two participants—speaker/self and recipient/other—each owns an individual domain of knowledge, each of which serves as a basis for the form of actions in interaction.

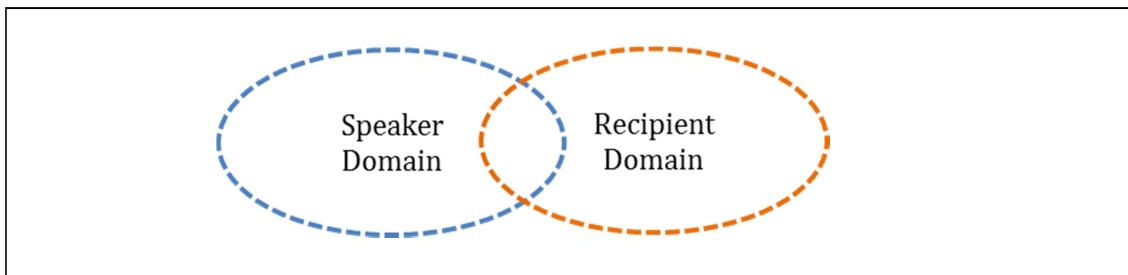


Figure 2.3. Domains of self and other in interaction (Adapted from Heritage, 2011)

On the other hand, the linguistic resources that speakers employ in the formation of

action embody abstract claims to the access and right to the information. This discussion on interrelated social and linguistic dimensions in the analysis of language use leads to the discussion of epistemic *status* and epistemic *stance* (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b). Epistemic status refers to a speaker's relative access or right to given information, which may be greater or lesser than that of the addressees. Epistemic stance, on the other hand, is the ways in which participants design their talk using semiotic resources to allow for the moment-by-moment display of their knowledge states.

Studies dealing with other languages also discuss multifarious aspects of negotiation about epistemic asymmetries such as participants' appeal to shared knowledge (e.g. Enfield 2006). Based on the findings in Heritage and Raymond (2005), M. Kim (2011) investigates how Korean speakers claim or downgrade their epistemic rights to the information by deploying a Korean evidential marker *-tamyē* in the course of interaction. Emmertsen and Heinemann (2010)'s study examines the Danish response token *nåja* and show that it works as a change-of-state token in conversation. By using the target token, conversationalists monitor one another in order to negotiate their epistemic access. Wu (2004) illustrates how final *a* in Mandarin claims responsibility for epistemic right to know by challenging the interlocutor's exhibited lack of knowledge. An edited volume of work by Stivers et al. (2011) focuses on "morally ordered" forms of epistemics. In this volume, the authors have examined epistemics in various social contexts and languages. Hayano (2011), for example, has investigated the ways in which Japanese *yo*-marked assessments claim epistemic primacy. Asmuß, (2011) shows that 'you know' in Danish proposes shared knowledge in interaction, which pursues agreement in an environment where interlocutors foreshadow a disaffiliative stance.

The conversation-analytic studies discussed in this section have expanded our

understanding of how epistemics work in talk by examining the interrelation between grammar and social epistemics. However, how L2 speakers deal with epistemic asymmetry in their use of L2, on the other hand, has remained largely unexplored. As different access to knowledge and information between conversation participants brings about significant interactional consequences in and through social interaction, L2 speakers' management of knowledge and information—how rights to knowledge and action are shared and how they are distributed by interlocutors—along with appropriate use of linguistic resources in target languages is essential in developing their L2 interactional competence. The current study investigates how management of information in L2 interaction plays a role not only in sequence organization but also in turn design through the use of semiotic resources. More specifically, by examining the employment of focal linguistic resources, this study attempts to show how rights to knowledge and action are shared, how they are distributed by interlocutors, and how they are used to pursue agreement or cause conflict.

## **2.4 CA-SLA**

The objective of this study in terms of second language interaction is to examine how L2 speakers use and develop their linguistic and other interactional resources in actual interactions (Gardner & Wagner, 2005). From a CA perspective, language acquisition can be understood as learning to participate in ordinary as well as institutional social interaction (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970). In this section, first, I discuss CA-SLA's theoretical principles, how interactional competence and development are conceptualized in CA-SLA. Then I discuss the implications of this view on development for research methodology by showing CA-SLA studies in this area.

There has been a growing body of literature that applies CA, a methodology originally developed for the analysis of social interaction (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970), to the study of second language interaction. Adopting CA's rigorous, detailed examination of interactional context in analysis, CA-SLA studies have reached a general agreement as to the reconceptualization of language development as a situated, conversational process that occurs between participants, rather than a cognitive process of one individual's mind (see Markee, 2000; Wagner & Gardner, 2004; Kasper 2009b; Wong, 2000a, 2000b). The scholars engaged in this work have focused their attention on describing interactional activities that L2 speakers engage in inside and outside of educational settings and the resources they employ to accomplish certain interactional goals. CA-SLA studies thus suggest that language development and use are inextricably intertwined within social practices (Firth & Wagner, 1997; He, 2004; Markee & Kasper, 2004). In the following section, I briefly discuss the notion of interactional competence, which has made a significant contribution to the field of CA-SLA.

### ***Interactional competence***

In Ethnomethodology (EM), the theoretical precursor to CA, interactional competence refers to ordinary people's use of common knowledge and shared procedures in the production of indexical expressions and social conduct in social interactions. Fundamental to any investigation employing EM, within this frame, this competence is considered to be a central part of "membership" and "mastery of natural language" in society (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 342). Speakers demonstrate their interactional competence and make their competence an observable phenomenon by engaging in social interaction. Following the theoretical tradition of EM, CA views participants in an interaction as competent members of the society who orient to the knowledge of interactional order and account for the

maintenance of interactional order as well as the achievement of intersubjectivity (e.g., Heritage, 1984a; Heritage & Atkinson, 1984; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998).

Following EM and CA, CA-SLA researchers take a social and interactional view of competence. That is, interactional competence cannot be attributed to individuals or cognition, but is rather jointly constructed by participants in the interaction (He & Young, 1998; Jacoby & Ochs, 1995). Moreover, no distinction between competence and performance is made in the notion of interactional competence. This view on interactional competence in L2 conversation problematizes the prevailing view in SLA of the nonnative speaker as “a deficient communicator” and recognizes that L2 speakers are interactionally competent regardless of their proficiency levels (Carroll, 2004; Firth 1996; Wagner & Gardner, 2004; Hauser, 2009). Also, interactional competence is understood to serve double duty as both a fundamental condition for and object of learning (Kasper, 2006, 2009c; Y. Lee, 2006). That is, the same interactional resources, such as knowledge or skills, may be used in different contexts with different formations as participants use context-free resources to organize their interaction in a context-sensitive way (He & Young, 1998). A CA-SLA framework of interactional competence sheds new light on the competence of L2 speakers and enables researchers to recognize L2 speakers’ dynamic language uses that were previously unexamined in traditional SLA research.

#### **2.4.1 Implications for research methodology**

CA-SLA’s conceptualization of competence and development, which views L2 development as embedded in the moment-to-moment unfolding of talk-in-interaction (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998), has significant implications for research methodology. One of the significant differences that CA-SLA research has from experimental research is in its requirement to use as data naturally occurring interaction, whether casual conversation or

classroom interaction, rather than data that are elicited by researchers. In order to conduct a close analysis in sequential contexts, analysts should use naturally occurring interactions as data, carefully transcribe them, and conduct turn-by-turn sequential analysis, focusing on what the participants are actually doing in the interactions (Wagner and Gardner, 2004).

Accordingly, CA takes an *emic* perspective (Mori, 2004) when it comes to understanding learning and development. CA-SLA research emphasizes a participant-relevant approach to investigating data rather than imposing theory-driven categories on the data (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Kasper, 2006; Wagner & Gardner, 2004). An *emic* perspective is obtained by careful examination of the sequential environments and any interpretation of the interaction is grounded in the participants' demonstrable orientation to it. In this way, researchers are able to examine the interactional competence of L2 users (Firth and Wagner, 1997). Therefore, CA provides a warrantable tool to closely look into L2 speakers' use of linguistic resources in actual interaction. CA's micro-analysis offers an effective method to investigate the different repertoires of use of a single item with multiple functions by the L2 speakers. L2 speakers' development or acquisition in this case should be understood as a continuum of the different degrees of use of certain linguistic resources.

In a similar vein, the conceptualization of competence and development in CA-SLA suggests that a bottom-up approach (rather than a top-down approach) is appropriate for the study of L2 speakers' learning and development. In other words, better understanding of L2 speakers' learning and development can be obtained only through taking a bottom-up approach, which assures close examination of interactional sequences so as to find indications of levels of participation as opportunities become available in the interaction. In this way, details of L2 speakers' competent language use, which top-down approaches would not recognize, can be identified and studied (Y. Lee, 2006). In this respect, CA seems to be a

particularly suitable tool for pragmatics research as it allows the examination of both actions and resources implemented by L2 speakers through sequential analysis of the interaction.

#### **2.4.2 Developmental CA**

A number of CA-SLA studies have successfully showed development as evidenced by change over time (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Hellermann, 2007; Hellermann & Cole, 2009; Markee, 2008; Young & Miller, 2004). In this paradigm, language development is viewed as “the development of interactional skills, and interactional resources” (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; p.32) that embody changes in various practices over time. Therefore, development is observable to analysts by comparing different moments within an activity or successive activities over longer periods (Zimmerman, 1999; Markee 2000; Kasper 2009a; Kasper & Wagner, 2011). Studies in line with this approach focus on describing development as a gradual change in participation styles (Gardner, 2004; Wong, 2000a, 2000b), action formats (Hellermann, 2007), and use of linguistic resources (Ishida, 2009; Kim, 2009). In this section, I discuss two directions in developmental CA will be discussed through a review of major studies and their contributions. One direction takes up the developmental changes in participation, and the other focuses on developmental changes in the use of linguistic resources.

##### **2.4.2.1 The developmental changes in participation**

The first group of longitudinal studies I discuss here focuses on describing practices particularly relevant to the participation of L2 speakers. In this line of research, several studies show learning as evidenced by change over time (e.g. Hellermann, 2008; Markee, 2008; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004; Young & Miller, 2004). Other studies explore identifiable sequential structures, such as the opening of a telephone conversation (e.g.

Brouwer & Wagner, 2004) or opening and disengagement in a dyadic interaction (e.g. Hellermann, 2007; Hellermann & Cole, 2009).<sup>6</sup>

For example, Young and Miller (2004) detail how a learner of English moved to full participation from peripheral participation within the practices of tutoring sessions in the writing conference. by comparing the participation of a student with that of the instructor across four meetings over four weeks. Young and Miller's study demonstrates how the participation structure is co-constructed by the novice and expert and how it changes over time as the novice becomes more competent in participating in situated practices.

Similar to Young and Miller (2004), a more recent study by Nguyen (2011) examines the development of a second language speaker's interactional competence in the practices of topic proffers over time. She looks at an adult ESL student's interactional resources to topic talk (e.g. response to and use of topic proffers) over five consecutive office hour meetings with a native English speaking teacher. Nguyen showed that the student's interactions changed from presenting minimal and delayed responses to topic offers, to immediate responses in later meetings. The above studies have made significant contributions to the field by demonstrating how the development of interactional competence by L2 speakers takes place in situated local practices.

#### **2.4.2.2 Development in the use of linguistic resources**

Zimmerman (1999) demands more attention to comparative research in language and social interactions. Drawing on Zimmermann's (1999) proposal, Kasper (2009a) and Kasper and Wagner (2011) further suggests that future CA studies on second languages should add an expanded perspective by adopting "horizontal" (cross cultural and linguistic) and

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<sup>6</sup> These studies use CA methods but commonly draw on exogenous theories in order to discuss language learning and acquisition. Many researchers have chosen to combine CA with other theories of learning, such as sociocultural theory, situated learning theory, and/or language socialization, in their developmental studies of interactional competence.



“vertical” (developmental) comparisons. One of the possible ways to investigate the development of interactional competence following this suggestion is researching the use of linguistic resources and adopting a longitudinal or cross-sectional design. There is a body of work that has employed such a design in its attempt to address the issues of development and takes into account CA’s unmotivated looking in its analysis of naturally occurring conversation data. In this section, I review those studies.

One early study done by Wootton (1997) examines the acquisition of request forms by an English-speaking child. Wootton’s longitudinal case study illustrates the child’s association of request forms with her understanding of sequential context. Several recent CA studies in SLA similarly investigate the development of interactional competence in the use of particular linguistic items by L2 speakers (e.g., Lee, Park & Sohn, 2011; Ishida, 2011; Kim 2009; Ohta, 2001; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011).

Ishida’s (2009) longitudinal study examines the use of the Japanese sentence-final particle *ne* as a resource for participating in conversation by an L2 Japanese learner during his nine-month study abroad period. She found that the learner, who initially did not use *ne*, shows dramatically increased use of it over time. During the first and second months of study abroad, the student did not use *ne* at all. His use of *ne* was still limited in the third, fourth, and fifth months. However, his use of *ne* expanded in the last three months. Ishida’s sequential analysis of conversation data also shows that the student used *ne* for various interactional functions. The participant used the particle *ne* in turns of passive response and then in response turns, and became more active in pursuing affiliating responses through *ne*. Ishida furthermore found that while he first used the formula *soo desu ne* incorrectly in response, he showed increased competence over time by using it to make comments and provide his own story so as to display alignment with his interlocutor’s preceding story. Ishida’s study shows

how increased interactional competence in using the linguistic resource *ne* enables L2 speakers to engage in social interactions more actively over time. More recently, Ishida (2011) examines how an L2 speaker of Japanese arranges responses to tellings over time. She investigates five interactions between a student and her Japanese host mother during a nine-month period of study abroad. Over the nine months, the student's engagement with and alignment to the host mother increased, as she moved from delivering minimal responses to displaying her understanding by providing a second story and assessment in the second encounter. The student acts more engaged, as well as managing a wider repertoire of listener responses, by the end of the study period. The study illustrates an L2 learner's increased interactional competence and connects the findings to the theory of language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

In a similar vein, Kim's (2009) cross-sectional study examines the use of Korean discourse markers *-nuntey* and *kuntey* by L2 speakers of Korean at different proficiency levels. Kim compares the use of two forms by five L2 speakers of Korean at three different proficiency levels (novice, intermediate, and advanced). She finds that the beginning-level learners used the prototypical contrastive connectives, *-ciman* and *kulehciman*, instead of *-nuntey* and *kuntey*. Intermediate-level learners displayed some uses of *-nuntey* and *kuntey* in their conversation data, and their usage corresponded with that of native speakers (Y. Park, 1999). However, it was found that they used the markers only turn-initially (*kuntey*) and turn-medially (*-nuntey*). Turn-final use of *-nuntey*, which indexes indirectness, was not found in the data from intermediate-level learners. Kim claims that this non-occurrence shows one aspect of learners' interactional competence. The occurrences of the turn-final use of *-nuntey* found in the advanced-level learners' data show their use of *-nuntey* to achieve different interactional functions, such as mitigating the pragmatic force of the turn. Therefore,

advanced-level learners show a high increase in the use of *-nuntey* and *kuntey*, not only in terms of frequency but also in terms of variety of functions. Furthermore, this study depicts a parallel relationship in the use of *-nuntey* between the developmental order of L2 Korean and the process of grammaticalization, thus providing an exemplary case of linking CA findings to exogenous theory after rigorous analysis.

More recently, Lee, Park, and Sohn's (2011) cross-sectional study of Korean oral proficiency interviews compares the construction of responses by advanced- and intermediate-level learners of Korean. They compare eight interviews from heritage learners of Korean with four speakers at each level. Their analysis demonstrates that the advanced speakers frequently expand their responses using clause-final and sentence-final suffixes such as *-ci*, *-canh-*, *-ketun*, and *-nuntey* that mark speakers' various interactional stances. The intermediate-level speakers, in contrast, display limited skills in constructing expanded talk in their interview interactions. They maintain that the use of linguistic resources and the production of expanded responses are correlated, given the Korean language's verb-final word order. The advanced students display their interactional competence at using clause-final and sentence-final suffixes, which aids in the production of expanded responses. The studies discussed in this section demonstrate the possibilities of developmental CA in longitudinal and cross-sectional investigations of L2 speakers' development of interactional competence in the use of linguistic resources.

These studies demonstrate the usefulness of CA in longitudinal and cross-sectional investigation of L2 speakers' development of interactional competence in the use of linguistic resources. Building upon the work of these studies, the current dissertation also implements the theoretical and analytical principles embodied within CA in a cross-sectional design to explicate interactional development within the context of the premise that advanced and

intermediate L2 speakers use linguistic resources differently. Development in this study will thus be discussed in terms of the L2 speakers' demonstration of a given linguistic resource displayed in the interaction.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **DATA AND METHOD**

#### **3.1 Data**

The data set of the current study consists of approximately 240 hours (14,400 minutes) of video-recorded<sup>7</sup> Korean classroom interactions conducted through a Korean language program at a university in the United States over a period of one year and six months (from Spring 2010 to Fall 2011). Students' consent to participate in the study was obtained before their interactions were recorded (see the student consent form in Appendix). The classes were held twice a week and each class lasted approximately 75 minutes. Most class sessions were recorded, except for test days. Two classes of the same course divided according to proficiency levels—advanced and intermediate—were recorded. The focal levels of analysis will be intermediate and advanced including two sublevels of intermediate and high on the ACTFL OPI rating scale (e.g., intermediate-mid, advanced-high). Participants' proficiency levels were assessed by a certified ACTFL rater before the data collection and were re-assessed after the data collection. The following table shows the participants' language profiles. All participants' names used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

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<sup>7</sup> A portion of the data was audio-recorded due to temporal equipment failure.

Table 3.1. Participants' language profiles of the study

Name (gender)	OPI level	First language	Heritage	
Wendy (F)	Advanced	High	Korean	O
John (M)		High	Korean	O
Erika (F)		High	Korean	O
Ariel (F)		High	Korean	O
Daisy (F)		Mid	English	O
Mina (F)		Mid	English	O
Amy (F)		Mid	English	O
Sun (F)		Mid	English	O
Dan (M)		Mid	English	O
Ron (M)	Intermediate	High	English	X
Steve (M)		Mid	English	O
Sue (F)		Mid	English	O
Jenny (F)		Mid	English	O
CL (F)		Mid	English	X

The classes were both small, with four to six students in a class. They were content-based courses dealing with matters related to current societal issues in South Korea, such as South Korea's emerging generations, changing gender roles, Korean reunification, and so on. The courses included a significant amount of student discussion on assigned topics. Students selected reading material relevant to the week's assigned topic and generated questions in order to further their understanding of the material and contribute to class discussions. The majority of the students in the program were Korean-American heritage students whose first language was English. Some participants were non-heritage students of Korean. The participants were all college students in their 20s in various majors.

### 3.2 Transcription

The transcription conventions used in this study are adapted from those commonly used in conversation analysis, which are designed to include detailed information of "what was said and how it was said" (ten Have, 2007, p. 32). I use a standard three-tier format in

which the interlinear gloss specifies either the meaning or the morphosyntactic category of each unit in the Korean utterance (see transcription conventions and abbreviations of morphosyntactic categories pp. viii-ix). The data are transcribed using the Yale system of romanization (H. Sohn, 1999, pp. 2–3). To clearly indicate the target suffix, each occurrence of *-canh-* and *-ketun* appears in bold. For the translation of the data, I provide a functionally equivalent translation into idiomatic English. Considering that the present data come from Korean as a second language speakers' conversation, some issues had to be addressed in the transcription that do not arise in L1 English speaker conversation data transcription. L2 speakers discourse tends to include deviant pronunciations, word selections, and grammar. Following basic principles for the transcription, I tried to represent actual pronunciation as closely as possible. L2 speakers' unusual pronunciations were also fully reproduced in the romanization to the phonetic level. However, for the cases where it is hard to comprehend what the L2 speaker is saying, and so it is hard to figure out whether it is a kind of a deviant pronunciation or just an exclamation, I did not fully reflect the pronunciation in the romanization.

### **3.3 Analytical procedure and research design**

The present study implements the theoretical and analytical principles embodied within CA in a cross-sectional design to explicate L2 development (Kasper, 2006, 2009a) within the context of the premise that intermediate and advanced L2 speakers use linguistic resources differently. To thoroughly analyze the present data requires analysis on two levels. The first level has to do with one of the focuses of this study, which is interaction and grammar. The second level is related to analyzing second language acquisition by adopting CA.

First, this study focuses on sequences in which speakers negotiate their opinions (Mori, 1999) or evaluations (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987), and then examines the use of particular linguistic forms; namely, the most commonly used interpersonal modal endings within these specific environments. The decision to examine opinion-negotiation sequences was made because the negotiation of opinions and evaluations appears to be the most prominent activity in my data. My interest in these particular interpersonal modal endings has also come from observing the conversational data. This study differs from previous discourse analytic studies of L2 Korean interpersonal modal endings in the following ways: This study (1) begins the investigation by carefully selecting and explicating the types of sequences and activities to be analyzed in depth; (2) investigates the moment-by-moment use of the suffixes in a particular collection of interactional data; and (3) focuses on participant-relevant features that are employed to accomplish the phenomena of interest. Demonstrating the interactional workings of a grammatical form in a given context can uncover patterns and interlocutors' practices in that particular context. Such descriptions contribute to the comprehensive understanding of the L2 speakers' use of these suffixes.

The other level of analysis is related to acquisition research because this study investigates L2 interaction. Because the current data is from L2 speakers' interaction, categories wider than the target linguistic resources were identified as occasions of potential focus of analysis. Based on the previous studies which examined the use of *-canh-* and *-ketun* in L1 Korean speakers' conversation, sequences which include the actions that *-canh-* and *-ketun* achieve in L1 speaker discourse (e.g., giving accounts) were located, even though the target forms were not found to occur. As analyses revealed action types accomplished by *-canh-* and *-ketun* besides those already discussed in L1 speaker interaction and also alternative resources to perform the same actions, I conducted another sequence search in



terms of both function and form. In the following section, I discuss methodological issues that I have faced in dealing with L2 data.

### **3.4 Analytical focus and data presentation**

In Chapters 4 and 5, I provide detailed analyses of data extracts that display the use of the target forms by intermediate and advanced L2 speakers of Korean. Based on previous L1 studies on the use of target items, the sequences were categorized by action type and the turn position where the target form is used, and the practices of L2 speakers with different language proficiencies doing the same action were compared.

The data is presented according to the sequential positions where the target forms occur; that is, the target forms' positions in the speaker's turn—first (turn-medial), second, and third positions (K. Kim, 2010; Kim & Suh, 2009; K. Suh, 2002; Ju & Sohn, 2011).<sup>8</sup> Presenting the data according to the target forms' sequential position allows a more effective comparison of the use of the target forms across different proficiency levels. Within this organizational framework concentrating on three positions, sequences are categorized according to the specific action types that target forms are achieving.

The types and status of information managed through the deployment of utterances with these target suffixes is also reflected in the data presentation. Within each action type section, comparable sequences from different proficiency level students' data is presented and discussed in comparison in order to demonstrate how the same actions are achieved in somewhat different ways by interactants who have a different number of linguistic resources. A brief explanation of the specific action type and the outcome achieved by the use of target suffixes in L1 speaker conversation is also provided based on the findings in previous

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<sup>8</sup> The use of target items in first and second positions is identified in previous L1 studies. The third position usage is found in the present data set.

literature. In the following section, a detailed review and analysis of the use of each suffix is presented.

### **3.5 General characteristics of participants' use or nonuse of the focal objects**

In this section, before moving into the main data analysis chapters, I provide the general characteristics of each participant group's use or nonuse of the target forms, relating them to their proficiency levels.

#### **3.5.1 Advanced-level students**

Advanced-level students' conversation displayed a broader range of usage and also much more frequent use of target resources than that of intermediate-level students. Examples of the diverse uses of the target forms where different kinds of actions achieved are presented in the data analysis section.

#### **3.5.2 Intermediate-level students**

Intermediate-level students' use of *-canh-* and *-ketun* showed a limited range both in terms of function diversity and frequency compared to the advanced-level students. Four main characteristics are observed in the intermediate-level student's data. First, they used the prototypical unmarked forms such as connective *-ko*, ending *-yo* to accomplish functions that could be accomplished with *-canh-* or *-ketun*. Second, few instances of participants' use of the causal marker *-nikka* are identified. Third, nonprovision of any marker and noncompletion of a grammatical unit of utterance occurred where the target markers would be expected to occur. Fourth, codeswitching to English was another strategy employed by these students.

## CHAPTER 4

### –*CANH*–: SHARED KNOWLEDGE AS AN INTERACTIONAL RESOURCE

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the ways in which one of the target interpersonal modal endings, –*canh*–, is deployed in first, second, and third position sequences (K. Suh, 2002; Ju & Sohn, 2011) within Korean L2 speakers' classroom interaction. Based on extracts from the current study data collected at different levels of proficiency, and supplemented by related first language (L1) data from the literatures employing an interactional approach, I focus my attention on the social actions participants accomplished and variation in the ways of actions accomplished across different proficiency groups. This chapter has two primary goals: to demonstrate how participants make use of –*canh*– utterances to achieve their interactional goals, and to investigate differences in the ways of accomplishing actions with the use of –*canh*– in different proficiency groups.

To furnish the necessary background for understanding the analysis, I begin by presenting an overview of the literature on the ending –*canh*–, paying most attention to conversation analytic studies. Linking the use of –*canh*– to previous research on interaction, I show how L1 speakers use the target suffix, establishing a baseline for examining its use by L2 speakers. I then identify the boundaries of the target collection of cases to delimit the practice under investigation. Here, sequential placement of a –*canh*– utterance in classroom interactions is discussed. I then turn my attention to the use of –*canh*– in the current data set. Through examining data extracts, I point out two actions that –*canh*– utterances accomplished—giving an account and expressing disagreement. The analysis pays special attention to the ways in which the speakers manage epistemic access between interlocutors

(Heritage, 2012a, 2012b; Heritage, & Raymond, 2005; Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011) through the use of *-canh-*, and examines differences in achieving those actions by comparing extracts from intermediate students' interactions. I conclude the chapter by summarizing the social actions accomplished by the use of *-canh-* to manage information and how variations in the use of the linguistic resource *-canh-* and what it accomplishes across different proficiency groups guide us to understand the development of interactional competence (Kasper, 2006, 2009c; Y. Lee, 2006).

## **4.2 Literature review: Interactional approach to *-canh-***

I briefly explained the grammatical status and meaning of *-canh-* in Chapter 1. However, the full range of use of *-canh-* extends far beyond that. In this section, first I provide a more comprehensive review of *-canh-*. Despite the difficulty of pinpointing the function of *-canh-* due to its interactional and colloquial traits, the status of final *-canh-* as a modal suffix for expressing certainty towards a proposition has long been recognized in the literature. Many studies employing an interactional approach examine how *-canh-* is used to perform social actions in actual conversation. This line of research treats *-canh-* as a linguistic marker that indicates the speaker's attitude or stance towards the proposition or addressee. Kawanish and Sohn's (1993) research was the first to describe the new discourse function indexed by the reduced form of the negation construction *-ci anh-*. By analyzing spoken discourse data, they demonstrate that *-canh-* indexes a speaker's unwavering certainty regarding the information conveyed in pursuit of agreement from recipients.

In addition to its function as a means to evoke approval or agreement, previous studies on *-canh-* have noted its epistemic attributes (H. Choi, 1995; H. Lee, 1999) in relation to commitment or assertion, as well as its affective qualities with regard to the elicitation of

empathy (Kawanish, 1994). In particular, H. Lee (1999) argues that the speaker's presumption of the hearer's affirmative response as represented through the use of *-canh-* derives from the function of *-ci* indicating the speaker's commitment to a statement. He also discusses interactional traits of *-canh-* in discourse by underscoring the role of addressees of *-canh-* (p. 269).

Analysis of *-canh-* has also been conducted from the perspective of language socialization (Kim & Suh, 2004; Lo, 2006; K. Suh, 2001). Framing their work within Kawanish and Sohn's (1993) discussion, Kim and Suh (2004) and K. Suh (2001) claim that the frequent use of *-canh-* by a caregiver indexes his or her orientation to belief in the child's ability to provide an answer, demonstrating mutual understandings and shared feelings. The caregiver's frequent use of *-canh-* orients to the knowledge state of the child and points to shared knowledge to prompt the child to identify the object or information of instruction. Suh's finding shows how a caregiver's frequent use of *-canh-* works as an important resource for socialization. In a similar vein, Lo (2006) shows how an afterschool teacher uses *-canh-* to socialize students. By investigating the teacher's use of *-canh-* in an instructive situation, Lo shows that the teacher assigns moral responsibility to students in the representation of epistemic stance, affective stance, and alignment in the context of morally justified or unjustified propositions. She also discusses the teacher's use of *-canh-* as a device to elicit empathy from students. Lo's findings demonstrate how the use of linguistic resources such as *-canh-* index social relationships (Duranti, 1994).

The social meaning of *-canh-* focusing on its boundary tone in discourse is examined in M. Park's (2003, 2013) comprehensive study of Korean prosodic boundary tones. In her analysis, M. Park shows that *-canh-* with particular prosodic features displays different interactional purposes. She specifically demonstrates that utterance-final *-canh-* marked with

L% signals the speaker's assumption that the interlocutor knows about the current information being conveyed. On the other hand, *-canh-* marked with H% indicates new information and thus signals the speaker's monitoring of the addressee's awareness of the information.

### ***Conversation analytic studies on -canh-***

In this section, I introduce two studies (Ju & Sohn, 2011; K. Suh, 2002) on L1 use of *-canh-* that offers analysis relevant to the current study. Both K. Suh (2002) and Ju and Sohn (2011) undertake a comprehensive analysis of the discourse functions of *-canh-* in L1 Korean speaker conversations by adopting a conversation analytic approach. Both studies argue that *-canh-* is used by the speaker to invoke a "common ground," or an assumption that the information he or she presents is shared with interlocutors. Both of these studies also assert that this common ground does not necessarily refer to experiences actually shared between participants (see Kawanishi, 1994; Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993). That is, it may be knowledge that the speaker wishes to attribute to the addressee regardless of his or her actual knowledge status (K. Suh, 2002). Therefore, the speaker employs the marker to strategically manage the information at hand so as to involve the addressee in the joint construction of common ground.

In particular, K. Suh (2002) examined *-canh-*'s functions according to the source of information displayed by *-canh-* utterances. While suggesting *-canh-* as a marker indexing common ground, K. Suh identifies turn-final *-canh-*'s major functions as (1) to provide an account and (2) to challenge the other party in negotiating a common ground. The following example from K. Suh (2002) shows how *-canh-* is employed in the context of giving an account.

Extract 4.1. L1 Korean speaker: Adapted from K. Suh (2002, p. 299–300)

- 01 S: (1.7) (hh) cikum kunikkan mak  
now so just
- 02 cipphil cuwung-i-si-n?  
writing midst-be-HON-ATTR  
**Then now you're in the midst of writing (your dissertation)?**
- 03 H: ai kulay-ya toy-nuntey mos ha-ci  
well so should-CIRCUM NEG do-COMM
- 04 → maynnal wa kacikwu ilekwu iss-**canh**-a?  
everyday come-CONN like this exist-CANH-IE  
**Well, I'm supposed to be doing that, but I can't.**  
**I came (to school) every day, and this is all I do.**

In the above example, H provides an account for the slow progress on his dissertation by formulating his turn with the suffix *-canh-* in lines 3-4. K. Suh discusses that the speaker deploys *-canh-* to convey indisputable knowledge shared by other participants to obtain mutual agreement. The next instance, also from K. Suh (2002), is from a conversation between a mother and son and displays the use of *-canh-* in challenging the other interlocutor.

Extract 4.2. L1 Korean speaker: Adapted from K. Suh (2002, p. 304)

- 01 M: ecey violin an hay-ss-ni?  
yesterday NEG do-PST-Q  
**Didn't you practice violin yesterday?**
- 02 S: ecey? (.) kumyoilnal?  
yesterday Friday  
**You mean yesterday? (.) Friday?**
- 03 M: kucekkey ha-kwu ecey  
the day before yesterday do-CONN yesterday
- 04 → an hay-ss-**canh**-a  
NEG do-PST-CANH-IE  
**You practiced violin the day before yesterday, but not yesterday, right?**

In response to the son's delay of his answer to her initial question in line 1, the mother delivers information as shared with the son using *-canh-* in line 4. In her analysis, Suh maintains that the mother's turn with *-canh-* challenges her son by intensifying the propriety of her claim (p. 304).

One of the most recent studies on *-canh-* is by Ju and Sohn (2011), who analyze telephone calls and face-to-face interactions to look at how “recipients” display their stance regarding a prior speaker’s talk wherein *-canh-* is used. While arguing that the major function of *-canh-* is to provide an account for speakers’ claims, they found that *-canh-* utterances are used not only in aligning but also in disaligning responses, with higher frequency in disalignment (p. 6). The example below from Ju and Sohn’s study presents how the recipient gives an account using *-canh-* in a disaligning response based on the common ground between the speaker and interlocutors.

Extract 4.3. L1 Korean speaker: Adapted from Ju & Sohn (2011, p. 11)

- 01     SEI:    ah nay-ka nolay-lul yay- yay-mankhum-man  
              INTJ I-NM song-ACC this kid this kid-as well as-only
- 02                pwull-ess-umyen elmana coh-ulkka.  
                      sing-PST-if        how        good-Q  
                      **How wonderful would it be if I could sing just as well as this guy?**
- 03     LEE:    kkum kkay.  
                dream break:IE  
                **Wake up from a dream!**
- 04     SEI:    ya nolay-nun, yensupha-myen ta tway.  
                hey song-TOP    practice-if    all become:IE  
                **Hey, as long as (we) practice, (we) can all sing.**
- 05     LEE:    kulay?  
                so:IE  
                **Really?**
- 06     LEE:    akka        Korean-pan-eyse ku sengak sensayngnim-i  
                earlier Korean-class-in that voice teacher-NM
- 07                → oppa                moshan-tako mak kulay-ss-**canh**-a.  
                      older brother not good-QT just say-PST-CANH-INT  
                      **Earlier in the Korean class, that voice teacher said that**  
                      **you were not good (at singing), right?**
- 08     SEI:    nay-ka encey?  
                I-NM when  
                **(To) me, when?**

In line 7, Lee, the speaker of the *-canh-* utterance, lays common ground to challenge Sei’s positive assessment about himself by providing shared information regarding a third



party's earlier criticism of Sei's singing skill. Ju and Sohn's analysis underlines the significant role of sequential position in the use of *-canh-* in interaction. They also introduce other compositional features that co-occur with *-canh-* utterances, including lexical forms such as a discourse marker *kuntay* 'but' and a topic-contrast marker *-(n)un*, high pitch, and facial expressions.

In sum, prior research on *-canh-* has linked the suffix to epistemics in the sense that they index shared knowledge. By thus using *-canh-*, the speaker appeals to pre-existing shared knowledge, which serves as an invitation to the co-participant to consider what is already common ground (Clark, 1996). Diverging from this line of conversation analytical research, this study closely examines utterances' turn constructions and sequential organization so as to identify what the L2 speakers are doing by using *-canh-* in terms of the epistemic status they project in and through the design of turns at talk (Heritage, 2012b). Based on analysis of functions of *-canh-* in L1 discourse discussed in other studies (Ju & Sohn, 2011; K. Suh, 2002), the present study also investigates whether and to what extent second language speakers' use of *-canh-* resembles that of L1 speakers in order to illuminate the stages of L2 speakers' development that correlate to interactional competence in the use of linguistic resources.

### ***Management of epistemic access through the use of -canh-***

In this section, I discuss the different types of information that appear in account giving turns marked by *-canh-*. For example, the speaker's epistemic access to the information contained in the *-canh-* utterance may be derived from interactional history or from general knowledge, including cultural knowledge that the speaker possesses. The classification of knowledge types in this study is based on K. Suh's (2002) findings. K. Suh (2002) examined *-canh-*'s functions according to the source of information displayed by the

–*canh*- utterances. What is noteworthy in Suh’s study is her discussion of three types of information status where the use of –*canh*- indexes common ground: the first context is when the source of evidence is immediately shared between interlocutors; another context occurs when information marked with –*canh*- is commonly shared knowledge; and in the third context, –*canh*- indexes information that is obviously not known by addressees.<sup>9</sup>

Suh’s report on the type of knowledge indexed by the use of –*canh*- is one of the motivations for the current study’s attention to the role of relative epistemic stance and status between conversationalists (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b) in the use of linguistic resources in terms of “epistemic domains” (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). The suffix –*canh*- indexes shared knowledge, which claims equality of epistemic access (Heritage, 2012a). Analysis of the present data reveals that there is often congruence between epistemic status and epistemic stance such that epistemic stance encoded in a turn with –*canh*- is aligned with the epistemic status of the speaker. On the other hand, cases of incongruence between epistemic status and the epistemic stance projected by using –*canh*- are also identified. In this case, by using –*canh*- the speaker projects an epistemic stance of appearing more knowledgeable than they really are to achieve certain interactional outcomes.

What makes this discussion on the epistemic imbalance noteworthy is that, in giving accounts with and without using –*canh*-, different types of knowledge appear to influence turn construction differently according to proficiency levels. In summary, referring to the study by K. Suh (2002),<sup>10</sup> the following analyses pay special attention to the different types of shared knowledge and the management of epistemic imbalance according to L2 speakers’ proficiency in turns when they are giving accounts marked or unmarked by –*canh*-.

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<sup>9</sup> Many of the phenomena discussed in the current study show a resemblance to those discussed in K. Suh’s study. Also, the current data set identifies a wider range of shared knowledge appealed to in L2 speakers’ utterances that involve account-giving using –*canh*-, along with the three different types of shared knowledge proposed by K. Suh (2002).

<sup>10</sup> A comparison with K. Suh’s (2002) examples is conducted after close analysis of the current data set.

### **4.3 Delimitating the boundaries of practice: Sequential environment and interactional import of *-canh-***

In order to delimit the core collection for the current study, this section describes the boundaries of focal practice—that is, sequential environment and interactional import of *-canh-* utterances identified in the current data set. While it is common in the previous literature to argue that the use of *-canh-* indexes the speaker's invocation of prior knowledge to claim that the interlocutor has joint access to it (H. Lee, 1999; K. Suh, 2002), social actions accomplished by the use of *-canh-* are found to be different according to sequential placement (see K. Suh, 2002; Ju & Sohn, 2011).

That is, in first position in a multi-turn unit, a *-canh-* utterance is found to be doing the action of giving an account for a claim. In second position, a *-canh-* utterance is used to disagree with the interlocutor's prior claim. In third position, the speaker employs *-canh-* utterances to make counter challenges in response to an interlocutor's disaligning action towards the speaker.<sup>11</sup> Details of turn constructions and observed features are discussed in the following sections 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6. Comparison between less advanced and more advanced L2 speakers provides evidence of L2 interactional development in terms of diversification of participants' management of shared knowledge using the suffix *-canh-*.

### **4.4 The use of *-canh-* in first position: Giving accounts for the claim**

The first sequential environment where *-canh-* regularly occurs in the data is first position as the part of a turn in which giving an account is underway within the sequence of students' presentation of opinion on a certain issue in a classroom discussion setting. The sequence typically begins with a student's long turn of presenting an opinion on a certain

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<sup>11</sup> Differences in actions accomplished by *-canh-* might also be due to difference between two types of classroom activities. When *-canh-* is used for giving accounts in first position, the class is engaged in teacher-fronted classroom discussion. On the other hand, the occurrences of *-canh-* in second and third position are found in student-led debate.

issue. In this turn, students reserve the space for the upcoming presentation of opinion including their view on the issue and the following account for the view. *-canh-* utterances typically occur within extended opinion presenting; that is, in turns consisting of more than one turn constructional unit (TCU; Sacks et al., 1974). Figure 4.1 below displays a model of the use of *-canh-* in first position along with an example.<sup>12</sup>

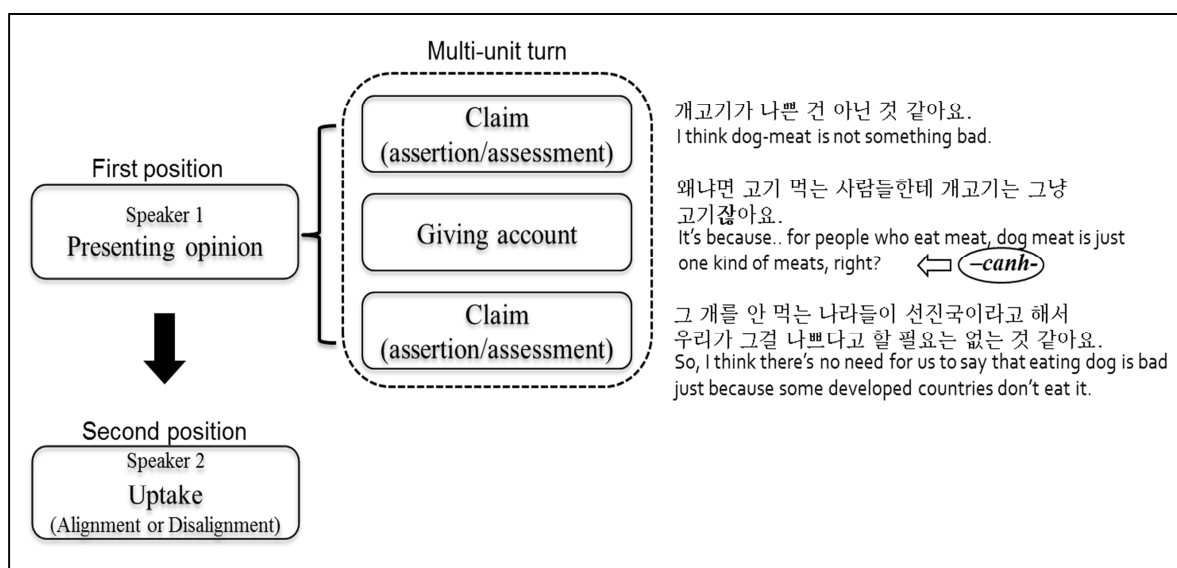


Figure 4.1. *-canh-* in first position

This multi-unit turn consists of two distinctive actions: an assertion-equivalent, which is a claim (e.g. “I think dog-meat is not something bad.”) on the ongoing issue and the prior or following supporting accounts for the assertion (e.g. “It’s because dog-meat is just one kind of meat.”). Turns with the target item *-canh-* in first position are repeatedly associated with the particular action of account giving: the speaker proposes knowledge or information as shared to support his or her prior or subsequent claim. Speakers of *-canh-* in this position routinely elaborate their responses with accounts, explanations, excuses, and the like. In terms of turn design, the target turn of account giving is explicitly designed through the

<sup>12</sup> The exemplified turn construction and sequence development is based on advanced students’ data. Intermediate students’ distinctive features is discussed later in the analysis.

initiation of the causal conjunction *waynyahamyen* ‘because’ and the speaker marks the information given on his or her account as shared by using *–canh-* at the end of the turn.<sup>13</sup> In response to this turn of opinion presentation including a *–canh-* utterance, the other student projects an aligning or contrasting opinion depending on their epistemic access and commitment to a particular line of action.

#### 4.4.1 Proposing equal accesses to information with source of evidence

The first type of knowledge *–canh-* proposes in account giving turns marks information in which the source of evidence is presently observable or recoverable by the interlocutors (K. Suh, 2002), and thus is shared between all the participants in the interaction. Through a *–canh-* utterance, the speaker implies equality of access to the referent situation or object. Therefore, relative states of knowledge present the circumstances in which both the speaker and the recipient have equal access to information. The two examples in Extracts 4.4 and 4.5, from L1 speakers’ interactions, illustrate how *–canh-* utterances conveying information with immediate access provide conversationalists a shared ground on which to accomplish an interactional goal of giving an account.

Extract 4.4. L1 Korean speaker: Adapted from K. Suh (2002, p. 288)

- 01 S: → ike-hako ikes-to ttokkath-**canh**-a. ku--(.)mwenka:,  
this thing-CONN this thing-also same:CANH-INT that something  
**These two items have something in common, right? Something...**
- 02 J: kule-ney cincca, (.) hh  
like that-FR really  
**Indeed (they are similar.) Really**
- 03 S: pwunwiki-ka  
atmosphere-NOM (of the two items is the same.)  
**The atmosphere (of the two items is the same.)**

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<sup>13</sup> By using “because,” speakers claim that what follows belongs to the preceding turn. In other words, the speaker characterizes the following utterance as a next element of the ongoing construction of a list, thereby displaying (or establishing, or claiming) affinity between the following utterance and the preceding turn.

Extract 4.4 shows a way in which a *-canh-* utterance claims shared knowledge by providing an on-the-spot observation of a material object (a table) to which all other recipients have immediate access. S's claim using *-canh-* in line 1 receives immediate agreement from the recipient J in line 2. The next example shows the use of *-canh-* by referring to a previous context that is shared equally by the other participant.

Extract 4.5. L1 Korean speaker: From K. Suh (2002, p. 289)

- 01     A:     kaman iss-epwa. liewang-hako plot-i  
               remain still-SUGG:IE King Lear-CONN plot-NOM
- 02             → ttokkath-**canh**-a liewang-hako  
               same-CANH-IE King Lear-CONN  
               **Wait a minute. The plot (of the movie) is the same as that of King Lear, isn't it?**
- 03     B:     ah i yenghwa-ka ku ke-kwun-a  
               this movie-NOM that thing-UNASSIM  
               **Ah, (now I remember) this movie is that one.**

In line 2, A makes an assessment of a movie by claiming shared knowledge from a prior context she shared with the recipient about another movie, "King Lear." This claiming turn using *-canh-* also elicits an aligning response from the recipient in line 3 that is evidenced by the production of the change-of-state token *ah* and the sentence ending suffix *-kwun*, indexing the speaker's stance towards a newly perceived information (K. Kim, 2004).

As illustrated in these interactions between L1 speakers, the use *-canh-* in giving accounts seems to serve as evidence for participants' knowledge of and responsibility for a matter (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). The following analysis from the current data set from L2 speakers' interaction demonstrates similar phenomena in the use of *-canh-* in doing the action of account giving. The use of *-canh-* and the context in which all interlocutors have immediate access to the conveyed information taken together might help to mark the information given as already known to the co-participant, thereby strengthening the appeal to

shared knowledge. Along with *-canh-* utterances, speakers employ other linguistic resources to mark a source of evidence such as quotative expressions and past-tense markings. The source of epistemic access can be a present interlocutor (Extract 4.6) or a material object (Extract 4.7).

#### 4.4.1.1 Source of evidence at present

**Advanced.** The following conversation (Extract 4.6) from an advanced-level students' interaction exemplifies the first phenomenon focused on in this study: in an account giving turn, students present information to which others have immediate on-the-spot access using the suffix *-canh-* while pointing out the source of evidence at present, indicating other participants' equality of epistemic access. This extract comes from a classroom discussion on the issue of South Korea–North Korea reunification. For the discussion, the teacher asked students to provide their opinions on the future reunification of South-North Korea.

#### Extract 4.6. Dan: German unification

- 01 Dan: → 근데 그 선생님이 그러셨잖아요.  
02 그 서독이: 동독을: 그 통일을  
03 원했다고:=  
04 Teacher: =네.  
05 Dan: → 그러셨잖아[요  
06 Teacher: [네.  
07 Dan: 근데, 막(.) 이십년 후에 또: >불만이  
08 → 생겼다 생겼다 그랬잖아[요<  
09 Teacher: [네  
10 Dan: 그러셨죠=  
11 Teacher: =네  
12 Dan: 근데 똑같이: 아마 그렇게 될거예요.  
13 Teacher: °네°

- 01 Dan: → kuntey ku sensayngnim-i kule-sy-ess-**canh**-ayo.  
but that teacher-NOM that-HON-PST-CANH-POL  
**But, teacher you said that.**
- 02 ku setok-i: tongtok-ul: ku thongil-ul  
that West Germany-NOM East Germany-ACC that unification-ACC
- 03 wenhay-ss-tako:=  
want-PST-OT

**West Germany wanted the reunification with East Germany.**

- 04 Teacher: =ney.  
yes  
**Right.**
- 05 Dan: → kule-sy-ess-**canh**-a[yo  
like that-HON-PST-CANH-POL  
**You said that, right?**
- 06 Teacher: [ney  
yes  
**Right.**
- 07 Dan: kuntey, mak(.) isip-nyen hwu-ey tto: >pwulman-i  
but DM twenty year after-at again discontent-NOM
- 08 → sayngky-ess-ta sayngky-ess-ta kulay-ss-**canh**-[ayo<  
appear-PST-PLN appear-PST-PLN so-PST CANH-POL  
**But you also said that complaints kept coming out 20 years later, right?**
- 09 Teacher: [ney  
yes  
**Right.**
- 10 Dan: kule- sy- ess-cyo=  
so- HON-PST-COMM:POL  
**You said that, right?**
- 11 Teacher: =ney  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 12 Dan: kuntey ttokkkathi: ama kulehkey toy-lke-yeyyo.  
but same probably like that become will-POL  
**So Korea will probably become just like that.**
- 13 Teacher: °ney°  
yes  
**I see.**

Prior to this extract, one of the students displays her positive view on reunification. In response to it, Dan presents a disaffiliative stance in the following opinion-presenting sequence, which consists of giving an account and a following assertion. He begins his turn with a disjunctive marker *kuntey* ‘but’ (line 1), which foreshadows his disagreeing view (Y. Park, 1999). In the following turn of account giving (lines 1-8), he then refers to knowledge with immediate access, which is about what the teacher explained earlier regarding German reunification, and he employs the suffix *-canh-* to support his claim (lines 1,5,8). This on-the-



spot remark provides the ground on which to make the claim that follows in line 11 (“So Korea will probably become just like that.”). It is also worth noting that the use of *-canh-* in line 1 is employed prior to the actual presentation of information. What the teacher said is presented using the form of quotative *-tako* in lines 2-3. By combining the prospective indexical (Goodwin, 1996) *kuleha-* (Kim & Suh, 2002) and the suffix *-canh-*, Dan preemptively invokes a common ground between interlocutors.<sup>14</sup> Afterwards, in line 5, Dan reasserts his position through the repeated use of a demonstrative *kuleha-* along with *-canh-*, which demonstrates his seeking of confirmation from the source of evidence. This upgraded pursuit of confirmation receives strong affirmation *ney* ‘right’ from the teacher, which is displayed through overlap in line 6. The speaker preemptive assertion of the existence of shared knowledge using *-canh-* before providing a detailed explanation can be seen as a way to indicate the speaker’s higher degree of certainty of the matter at hand.

Before he reaches the turn of claim that Korea will follow Germany’s example and result in the same failure in line 12, Dan continuously develops his accounts using *-canh-* (lines 7-8) in his references to another part of prior classroom discussion wherein the teacher spoke of how West German people are discontent with their unification after twenty years—contrary to their expectation. Recurrent use of quotative forms with *-canh-* demonstrates its strong orientation of non-challengeable traits by making use of shared knowledge. The addition of *-canh-* upgrades the epistemic strength of what would otherwise be a flat information delivery. In line 10, Dan once again secures the sharedness of the information by seeking an agreement from the source of evidence (the teacher) using a committal *-ci* (H. Lee, 1999). After explicating what he observed in the class and wrote in the paper, he revisits his main concern, which was conveyed at the beginning of the sequence, and finalizes his turn

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<sup>14</sup> Turn-initial use of *-canh-* is discussed in detail in Section 4.5.3.

with a claim with epistemic downgrading in line 12. Note that employing linguistic resources such as *ama* ‘probably’ and *-l kes* ‘will’ mitigates this turn of assertion. In sum, what we have seen in this and in the prior segment is a specific feature of *-canh-*: the indexing of the speaker's stronger epistemic stance in the action of giving account. This stronger epistemic stance comes from the speaker's firmer grasp of the interlocutor (teacher)’s earlier telling in class.

A very similar practice of combined use of *-canh-* and a quotative form is observed in the following Extract 4.7. The source of information is material object of a newspaper article in this case. Before this extract, the class read an article about an arson committed in South Korea that severely damaged the *Namdaemun* (the Great South Gate), the first of Korea’s National Treasures.

#### Extract 4.7. Sun: The Great South Gate

- 01 Sun: 한국이: 지금 뭐 그런 거 관리가  
 02 잘 안되는 거 같아요  
 03 Teacher: 네  
 04 Sun: 네 왜냐면 기사에서 그 사건이 일어날 때,  
 05 문화재, 그 남대문을 열어놔던  
 06 → 상태라고 했잖아요,  
 07 Teacher: 네. 관광객을 유치하고  
 08 시민들하고 가까운 문화재를  
 09 만들기 위한: 개방이라고 했죠  
 10 Sun: ((nods))그: 한국두 (.)어: (.4) 그런 걸:  
 11 충분히 이제 세우-이제 시민들하구  
 12 가까이 지낼 수 있어두  
 13 Teacher: 네에  
 14 Sun: 어, 있게(.) 어, 그러구 그거(.2) 똑같은 시기에 그:  
 15 보호할 수 있는 장식을 충분히  
 16 할 수 있다고 생각해[요  
 17 Teacher: [예 예
- 01 Sun: hankwuk-i: cikum mwe kulen ke kwanli-ka  
 Korea-NOM now DM that-ATTR thing manage-NOM
- 02 cal an-toy-nun ke kath-ayo  
 well NEG-become-ARRT seem-POL  
**I think Korea is not doing very well managing those things.**

- 03 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**I see**
- 04 Sun: ney waynyamyen kisa-eyse ku saken-i ilena-l ttay,  
yes because article-at that event-NOM happen-when
- 05 mwunhwacay, ku namtaymwun-ul ye-le-nwa-ss-ten  
cultural asset that Great South Gate-ACC open-remain-PST-RT
- 06 → sangthay-lako hay-ss-**canh**-ayo  
condition-QT do-PST-CANH-POL  
**Yes because the article stated that when the incident happened, the cultural asset, Namdaemun was open, right?**
- 07 Teacher: ney. kwankwangkayk-ul yuchi-hako;  
yes tourist-ACC invite-and:CONN
- 08 simin-tul-hako kakkaw-un mwunhwacay-lul  
citizen-PL-and close-ATTR cultural asset-ACC
- 09 mantul-ki wiha-n:: kaypang-ilako hay-ss-cyo;  
make-NML for-ATTR open-QT do-PST-COMM:POL  
**Right. The doors to the cultural asset were opened in order to attract tourists and for the citizens to feel closer to their culture, right?**
- 10 Sun: ((nods)) ku: hankwuk-twu (.)e: (.4) kule-n ke-l:  
that Korea-also that-ATTR thing-ACC
- 11 chwungpwunhi icey seywu-icey simin-tul-hakwu  
sufficiently now build now citizen-PL-with
- 12 kakkai cinay-l swu iss-etwu  
closely get along can still  
**Well... Korea also, um, can sufficiently build those sorts of things. Even though it was a purpose of affinity.**
- 13 Teacher: neyey;  
yes  
**I see.**
- 14 Sun: e, isskey(.) e, kulekwu ku-ke(.2) ttokkath-un siki-ey ku:  
like this and that thing same-ATTR period-at that
- 15 pohoha-l swu iss-nun cangsik-ul chwungpwunhi  
protect -can-ATTR decoration-ACC sufficiently
- 16 ha-l swu iss-tako sayngkakhay-[yo  
do-can-QT think-POL  
**I think Korea is more than able to, at the same time, make something to protect the asset.**
- 17 Teacher: [yey yey  
yes yes  
**I see. I see.**

This segment begins with Sun's negative assessment on Korea's capacity in managing cultural assets in lines 1-2. Subsequent to the teacher's simple acknowledgement in line 3, Sun addresses the reason for her prior assessment using *-canh-* by straightforwardly referring to the article from line 4 to 6 ("Yes, because the article stated that when the incident happened, the cultural asset, Namdaemun was open, right-CANH-?"). The beginning of the account is marked with a causal conjunction *waynyahamyen* 'because' and is followed by an explicit indication of the source of information: the article (line 4: "...the article states that..."). Note that she delivers this information from the article using the combination of a quotative marker *-lako* and the suffix *-canh-* in line 6. By indicating not only the speaker has obtained the information through hearsay, but also that the speaker assumes the information she conveys is previously known to the recipient, the quotative construction along with the *-canh-* utterance demonstrates the robustness of the practice in interaction (Clift, 2006).

In lines 7-9, the teacher shows her orientation to the *-canh-* utterance as being used to establish agreement between interlocutors by giving more than an acknowledgement by elaborating upon what the article says about the government's position on the unlocked condition of the gate (that it was for the purpose of attracting tourists), using a committal *-ci* (H. Lee, 1999). In the next turn (line 10), after providing an acknowledgement to the teacher's elaboration by nodding, Sun displays dissatisfaction with the government's explanation and reaffirms her negative assessment by saying the Korean government could have had better protection for the gate while attracting tourists (lines 10-12). Note that this reaffirmation of her original opinion displays a lower level of assertiveness of her claim by prefacing the aligning component with praise of Korea's capacity before projecting a negative evaluation (Pomerantz, 1984) in lines 14-16. Also, her assertion is downgraded with the use of an epistemic expression *-ko saynggakhata* 'I think that...' in line 16. In these

extracts, we witness one of the uses of *-canh-* in account giving by appealing to shared knowledge for which the source of evidence is present.

**Intermediate.** The following two examples from intermediate-level students' conversations display very similar sequential environments to the extracts above. Analysis of these examples reveals that intermediate-level students are capable of using *-canh-* when giving accounts by proposing information with a direct source of evidence. In Extract 4.8, the students here are also engaged in a discussion of South and North Korea's reunification.

Extract 4.8. Sue: A North Korean girl

- 01 Teacher: 그럼 Sue 씨는요? 긍정적으로 °생각해요?°  
 02 Sue: well↑, 그  
 03 (.2)  
 04 Jenny: ((points at Sue with an index finger)) 부정적이래요.  
 05 Teacher: ((laugh))  
 06 Sue: 그: 그 남- no wait oh yeah: no 북한 사람들이↑  
 07 그(.2) 중국에서 도망가면  
 08 they get to the South Korean embassy  
 ((lines omitted))  
 12 they don't know how to live in our society  
 13 and their 성격is 완전 달라요. 왜냐면.  
 14 Jenny: they're more like dan I think.  
 15 ALL ((laugh))  
 ((lines omitted))  
 19 Sue: no. they are not like dan. no. 왜냐면, 그 신문  
 20 기사에서 one of the girls, 왜냐면 the government,  
 21 우리-우리 not my but 남한: 남한 정부가  
 22 → 다 주잖아요=  
 23 Teacher: =네
- 01 Teacher: kulem swu ssi-nun-yo? kungcengcek-ulo °sayngkakhay-yo?°  
 then VOC-TOP-POL positive-ADV think-POL  
**Then what about you Sue? Are you for it?**
- 02 Sue: well↑, ku:  
 that  
**Well, umm...**
- 03 (.2)
- 04 Jenny: ((points at Sue with an index finger)) pwucengceki-lay-yo.  
 negative-HEARSAY-POL  
**She's against it.**
- 05 Teacher: ((laugh))

06 Sue: ku: ku nam- no wait oh yeah: no pwukhan salam-tul-i↑  
that that South North Korea person-PL-TOP

07 ku(.2) ku(.2) cwungkwuk-eyse tomangka-myen  
that that China-from escape-COND

08 they get to the south korean embassy  
  
((lines omitted))  
**If North Koreans escape from China, they get to the South Korean embassy  
and then the Korean government gives them money because they don't see  
and they live in South Korea, they live in house and they spend all the money.**

12 they don't know how to live in our society

13 and their sengkyek is wancen talla-yo. waynyamyen  
personality completely different-POL because  
**Their personality is completely different because...**

14 Jenny: They're more like dan I think.

15 ALL: ((laugh))  
  
((lines omitted))

19 Sue: no. they are not like Dan. no. waynyamyen, ku sinmwun  
because that newspaper

20 kisa-eyse one of the girls, waynyamyen the government,  
article-at because

21 wuli-wuli not my but namhan: namhan cengpwu-ka  
we we South Korea South Korea government-TOP

22 → ta cwu-**canh**-ayo=  
all give-CANH-POL  
**Because in that article, my, my not my but (South), Korea's government gives them  
everything.**

23 Teacher: =ney  
yes  
**Right.**

This extract begins with the teacher eliciting the opinion of a particular student, Sue, on the issue, in line 1. Upon the initiation, another student, Jenny, provides a turn of assessment in a comical manner on behalf of Sue in line 4. Although it is delivered in laughable fashion, Sue appears to confirm Jenny's claim of Sue's stance. This is evidenced by Sue's next turn of account giving presented without any modification on Jenny's previous turn (lines 6–12). In elaborating her negative view starting in line 13, Sue talks about possible

hardships that can be caused due to the different dispositions of the South and North Korean people. After her statement on these different characteristics, Sue produces *waynyahamyen* ‘it’s because’, which marks the launch of giving accounts (line 13). This turn of giving an account, however, is cut off by Jenny in line 14. Here, Jenny completes Sue’s prior turn by equating North Koreans’ dispositions to that of a fellow student in class who is known for his easy-going personality. In response to this, Sue displays disagreement with Jenny’s analogy and resumes her truncated prior turn by recycling *waynyahamyen* in line 19. Note that Sue deploys the suffix *-canh-* when appealing to the direct source of authority in the turn of account giving, similar to the advanced student in Extract 4.6 and 4.7. In this case, the source that is directly shared by everyone is an article in a newspaper. To support her negative view on the issue, Sue brings up a girl’s story from the newspaper article using *-canh-* (lines 19–22: “Because in that article, Korea’s government gives them everything-CANH-.”). Although her turn includes a number of perturbations such as code-switching, Sue displays her competence in the use of *-canh-* when she proposes information that is obviously shared by all other interlocutors. Her pursuit of agreement successfully elicits a positive answer from the teacher in the following turn (line 23: *ney* ‘Right’). This extract clearly shows that the intermediate student can employ *-canh-* to elicit empathy or agreement from interlocutors.

#### **4.4.1.2 Source of evidence in the prior context**

The following two extract, one from each level, display another use of *-canh-* to invoke information with direct access, in this case marking information that is given in the preceding interaction and is thus unquestionably shared among all the participants. In both extracts, the class discusses the unification of South and North Korea.

**Advanced.** Extract 4.9 is from an advanced students’ classroom discussion on the issue. Prior to this extract, the teacher initiates the discussion by asking whether the students’ views about

Korean reunification are optimistic or pessimistic.

Extract 4.9. Dan: South-North unification

01 Dan: 부정적이라고 생각해요.  
02 Teacher: 왜요?  
03 (.2)  
04 Dan: uhh=  
05 Sue:=((looks at Dan))is that bad?  
06 Teacher: 네.  
07 Sue: oh!  
08 Jenny: what is it?  
09 Sue: 부정적.↓  
( (lines omitted) )  
31 Teacher: 왜요? °dan 씨°  
32 (.2)  
33 Dan: uhh:: 평양 빼구: (.2) 평양 외에서는  
34 발전(.) 곳이=발전 된 곳이  
35 → 없잖아요↑  
36 Teacher: 네.  
37 Dan: 그래서 거기서두:: (.6) °이케° (1.0) umm:: °뭐° <건물>  
38 같은 것도 저야 되구=>그리구 또< (.2)  
39 °경-°>경제적으로도< 완전 엉망이니깐↑  
40 Teacher: 네.

01 Dan: pwucengcek-i-lako sayngkakhay-yo  
negative-COP-QT think-POL  
**I'm against it.**

02 Teacher: way-yo?  
why-POL  
**Why do you think so?**

03 (.2)

04 Dan: uhh=  
**Umm**

05 Sue:=((looks at Dan))is that bad?

06 Teacher: ney.  
yes  
**Yes.**

07 Sue:: oh!

08 Jenny: What is it?

09 Sue: pwucengcek.↓  
negative  
**Against.**  
( (lines omitted) )



- 31 Teacher: way-yo? °dan cci°  
 why-POL VOC  
**Why are you against unification, Dan?**
- 32 (1.2)
- 33 Dan: uhh::pyengyang ppay-kwu:(.2)pyengyang woy-eyse-nun  
 Pyongyang except-CONN Pyongyang outside-at-TOP
- 34 palcen(.) kos-i = palcen toy-n kos-i  
 develop place-NOM develop become-ATTR place-NOM
- 35 → eps- **canh**-ayo↑  
 not exist-CANH-POL  
**Uh...outside of *Pyongyang*... there is no developed place besides *Pyongyang*.**
- 36 Teacher: ney.  
 yes  
**Right.**
- 37 Dan: kulayse keki-se- twu::(.6)°ikhey°(1.0)umm:: °mwe° <kenmwul>  
 so there-at-also like this DM building
- 38 kath-un kes- to cye- ya toy-kwu =>kulikwu tto<(.2)  
 alike-ATTR thing-also build should-CONN and also
- 39 °kyeng-° >kyengcecek-ulo-to< wancen engmang-i-nikka-n↑  
 econo- economically-ADV-also totally mess-COP-because-ATTR  
**So South Korea will have to...like...build new buildings there. In addition, since North Korea's economy is so messed up.**
- 40 Teacher: ney.  
 yes  
**Yes.**

In response to the prompt, one of the advanced-level students, Dan, gives an assessment displaying his negative view on the reunification, using an epistemic verb *-ko sayngkakhata* ‘I think that’ in line 1. Subsequently, the teacher asks the reason for Dan’s pessimistic view in line 2 and re-initiates the why question to Dan in line 31, after a few lines (lines 5–30) of negotiation sequences over a lexical item (Hellermann, 2008). Following a 1.2 second long pause (line 32), Dan begins to provide an account for his negative opinion. In the first part of this turn, Dan presents information about Pyongyang, the capital city of North Korea, and uses *-canh-* in his comparison of it with other cities of North Korea (lines 33-35: “Uh...outside of *Pyongyang*, there is no developed place besides *Pyongyang*.”). Before this

extract, the class talked about German unification and uneven regional development both in Germany and North Korea (transcript not presented here). Dan uses the example the class discussed earlier as a reason to support his view on the issue. By referring to the shared information that the class discussed beforehand, Dan lays the groundwork for supporting his view using *-canh-*. The use of *-canh-* here (line 35) also suggests that Dan's turn, which ends with *-canh-*, invites an affirmative response as a preferred one from the recipient (Pomerantz, 1984). The turn with *-canh-* successfully elicits confirmation from the teacher in line 36. The teacher's response indicates that *-canh-* functions to invite an agreement in this case. By managing the shared knowledge as well as by maximizing the likelihood of affiliative action (Heritage, 1984a) using *-canh-*, the speaker obtains an agreement from the interlocutor. After the teacher's immediate agreement in line 36 (*ney*, 'Right') with Dan's account of his negative view, in lines 37-39, Dan moves on to a conclusion by giving the details of what he asserts; he reaches the general conclusion of his claim by using the epistemic expression *-kes kath-*.

**Intermediate.** The following extract, from intermediate-level students' interactions, illustrates a similar case in which the speaker appeals to shared information from the prior talk.

#### Extract 4.10. Jenny: Nuclear weapons

01 Jenny:: 'I guess we like bunch of faces'  
 02 Teacher: '음:'  
 03 Jenny: >'like'< 왜냐른[ 요:  
 04 Teacher: [ 네=  
 05 Jenny: 김정일 지금 막 뭐죠?  
 06 Teacher: '아프다고요?'  
 07 Jenny: ((raises her right hand)) nuclear weapons?  
 08 Teacher:: 아, [ 핵무기?  
 09 Sue: [ 핵무기  
 10 Jenny: 네 그런거 >만들고 그러니깐요<  
 11 → 지금 미국이 막 화내잖[ 아요:  
 12 Teacher: [ 네  
 13 Jenny: I think if 미국 Iraq or Afghanistan 빨리 끝내고요:  
 14 김정일이 뭐-무엇을 하면요: 미국에

15 거의 쳐들어갈 거 같아요

16 Teacher: 음:::

17 Sue: no.

01 Jenny: 'I guess we like bunch of faces'

02 Teacher: 'um::'

03 Jenny: >'like'< waynyamun-[yo:  
because-POL  
**It's because...**

04 Teacher: [ney=  
yes  
**Go on.**

05 Jenny: kimcengil cikum mak mwe-cyo?  
Kim Jong-Il now DM what-COMM:POL  
**Kim Jong-il is now, what is it.**

06 Teacher: 'aphu-tako-yo? '  
sick-QT-POL  
**He is ill? (Is this what you want to say?)**

07 Jenny: ((raises her right hand)) nuclear weapons?

08 Teacher: a, [hayk-mwuki?  
nuclear weapon  
**Ah, nuclear weapon?**

09 Sue: [hayk-mwuki?  
nuclear weapon  
**Nuclear weapon?**

10 Jenny: ney kule-n-ke >mantul-ko kulenikkan-yo<  
yes that-ATTR-thing make-CONN so-POL

11 → cikum mikwuk-i mak hwa-nay-**canh**-[a-yo:  
now U.S.-NOM DM get angry-CANH-POL  
**Yes. Because they make that kind of things, U.S. is now mad at them, right?**

12 Teacher: [ney  
yes  
**Yes.**

13 Jenny: I think if mikwuk Iraq or Afghanistan ppalli kkuthnay-ko-yo:  
U.S. quick finish-and:CONN-POL

14 kimcengil-i-ka mwe mwues-ul ha-myen-yo: mikwuk-ey keuy  
Kim Jong Il-NOM DM something-ACC do-COND-POL U.S.-to almost

15 chye-tuleka-l ke kath-ayyo  
attack seem-POL  
**I think if the U.S., finishes the war with Iraq and Afghanistan soon then if Kim does something, I think U.S. will almost attack them.**

16 Teacher: um:::

17 Sue:           no.

Preceding this extract, students were debating their optimistic and pessimistic views on the issue. In the middle of the discussion, Jenny displays her opinion that the issue is not easily solved by pointing out the current complicated state of international affairs. Jenny starts off her turn of this assessment in English in line 1, then code-switches to Korean in the following turn of account giving starting in line 3. The beginning of her account is marked by the use of *waynyahamyen* ‘it’s because’ at loud volume. After a few lines of a word-searching sequence in which she collaborates with the teacher and Sue (lines 7–9), Jenny eventually presents a specific reason for her opinion in lines 10–11 using *-canh-* (“Yes, because they make that kind of thing, U.S. is now mad at them.”). In this turn, she presents what the class has discussed before, that as long as Jong Il Kim continues to develop nuclear weapons despite international rules, the U.S. will continue to display a negative stance towards North Korea. As all other participants in the class were also present in the prior discussion, the U.S.’s negative stance does not have to be explained in detail, and the interlocutor, as shown by her immediate acknowledgement (line 12), understands this appropriate absence of detail. What this account formulated with *-canh-* shows is that, for the speaker, once the information has been accepted as shared by interlocutors, any further account becomes pointless. After she gives the background of the reason of her claim with *-canh-*, Jenny subsequently provides her assumption about the U.S.’s future actions following the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (lines 13–15).

Even though Jenny exhibits certain perturbations or code-switches throughout the extract, she presents sequence structure and uses *-canh-* very similarly to advanced students. She delivered shared knowledge using *-canh-* by referring to a specific source the other participants in the interaction were also familiar with. Examples from both levels show L2

speakers' competence in the use of *-canh-* with strong epistemic confidence in terms of the management of shared information with direct sources. The speaker first asserts that he or she had a prior conversation regarding this matter, and then moves on to cite that conversation as evidence for the recipient's knowledge of the reported matter. Recurrent use of quotative forms in combination with *-canh-* demonstrates a strong orientation to non-challengeable traits of the utterance with epistemic priority (Clift, 2006), which are made so because of the establishment of shared knowledge.

Throughout the extracts in the current section, speakers' assessment or assertion is subsequently supported by using *-canh-* with evidence grounded in the knowledge immediately shared by everyone in the interaction which, indicates a high degree of congruence between epistemic status and epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012b).<sup>15</sup> Students at both levels display their competence in the use of *-canh-* by proposing this type of knowledge to accomplish their interactional goals. In sum, what we have seen here is a specific feature of final *-canh-*: the indexing of the speaker's stronger epistemic stance in the action of account giving. By invoking directly shared knowledge in this way, the speaker claims that all the participants should know the same information. As shown in the data, confirmation from the interlocutor through the use of *-canh-* immediately follows without any delay or hesitation. This confirms that the use of *-canh-* with a high level of epistemic congruence tends to successfully elicit agreement from the recipients.

#### **4.4.2 Proposing equal access to information with common sense knowledge**

##### **4.4.2.1 Universal/Social phenomena**

The extracts in this section demonstrate the use of *-canh-* by proposing another type of knowledge in account giving. Participants deliver common sense knowledge, such as a

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<sup>15</sup> The high degree of speaker's certainty about the shared status of knowledge is the unique feature of these turns using *-canh-*.

well-known social phenomenon or commonsense knowledge of societal trends (K. Suh, 2002) which the speaker has knowledge of as common sense but may not be directly involved with. In terms of epistemic domain, provision of common sense knowledge to give an account in first position also illustrates convergence in the relation between the speaker's epistemic status and epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b) projected through the use of *-canh-*. However, conveying common sense knowledge does not guarantee epistemic equality.<sup>16</sup> Although common sense knowledge is assumed to be “normatively shared” (K. Suh, 2002) by conversationalists, it is not something that participants can immediately access in real time. Thus, various supplementary factors are involved, such as the person's access to it, the person's right to know it, and so on (Heritage, 2012a). The example below shows the L1 speaker's use of *-canh-* that marks consensual truth in giving accounts.

Extract 4.11. L1 Korean speaker: From K. Suh (2002, p. 290)

- 01 R: wuli tongney po-myen ta hance-yyey-yo.  
our neighbor see-COND all Korean brand-COP-POL  
**Everybody in our neighborhood uses Korean products.**
- 02 S: → tongney acwumma-tul-i kule-n tey palk-**canh**-ayo.  
neighbor housewife-PL-NOM such matter savvy-CANH-POL  
**Housewives are savvy in choosing the right stuff, aren't they?**

In response to R's statement in line 1 regarding Korean housewives in her neighborhood, S provides explanation using *-canh-*, by which she invokes the common sense knowledge that housewives are usually knowledgeable in the domain of household appliances (line 2). Given that an utterance with it contains knowledge that is generally shared, using *-canh-* serves as an efficient strategy to seek agreement from the other interlocutors (K. Suh, 2002). In the present data, the occurrences of *-canh-* invoking this type of knowledge in giving accounts are found throughout both advanced and intermediate

<sup>16</sup> Heritage (2012a) points out that real-time shared experience might not assure epistemic equality.

students' interaction. However, intermediate-level students' data also display non-occurrences of *-canh-* in this sequential position, which could provide an indication of development in the use of *-canh-*.

**Advanced.** The following extract comes from a classroom discussion by advanced-level students on the consumption of dog meat in South Korea. Students read a Korean newspaper article regarding the history and benefits of dog meat. Prior to this exchange, the teacher initiates a question soliciting students' opinions on the issue.

Extract 4.12. Wendy: Dog-meat

01 Wendy:     근데 웃긴게:: >예를들어서< <소고기>  
 02             → 많이 먹잖아요. 근데 뭐 >예를 들어서<  
 03             인도나 <힌두> 하는데서는 소가 굉장히  
 04             → 우상시 되잖아요=  
 05             =그래서(.) 그 사람들은::  
 06             소 먹는 사람들 굉장히 혐오하는데:: (.2)  
 07             그 개를 안 먹는::↑ 나라들이  
 08             선진국이라고 해서  
 09 Teacher:   음  
 10 Wendy:     우리가 그걸 나쁘다고 할  
 11             필요는 없는 것 같아요.  
 12 Teacher:   음

01 Wendy:     kuntey wuski-n-key:: >yeylul tulese< <sokoki>  
                   but funny-ATTR-thing   for example       beef  
 02             → manhi mek-**canh**-ayo. kuntey   mwe   >yeylul tulese<  
                   a lot eat-CANH-POL   but       DM       for example  
 03             into- na <hintu> ha-nun tey- se- nun so- ka koyngcanghi  
                   India-or   Hindu do-ATTR place-at-NOM cow-NOM   extremely  
 04             → wusangsi toy- **canh**-ayo  
                   idolize   become-CANH-POL  
                   **But, the funny thing is...people eat cows a lot, right? But for example, cows are very**  
                   **much idolized in India or places where they practice Hinduism, right?**  
 05             =kulayse ku   salam-tul-un::  
                   so   that   people-PL-NOM  
 06             so mek-nun salam-tul koyngcanghi hyemoha-nuntey::(.2)  
                   cow eat-ATTR people-PL   extremely   loathe-CIRCUM  
                   **So, they hate people who eat cows.**

- 07 ku kay-lul <an mek-nun::>† nala-tul-i  
that dog-ACC NEG eat-ATTR country-PL-NOM
- 08 sencinkwuk- ilako hay-se  
developed country-HEARSAY because
- 09 Teacher: umm
- 10 Wendy: wuli-ka ku-ke-l kkok nappu-tako hal  
we-NOM that-thing-ACC certainly bad-QT do
- 11 philyo-nun °eps-nun kes kath-ayo°=  
necessary-ATTR not exist-ATTR think-POL  
**I think there's no need for us to say that eating dog is bad just because some developed countries don't eat dog-meat.**
- 12 Teacher: =umm

Preceding this extract and following the teacher's question, one of the students presents his opinion that dog meat consumption is an individual's personal decision (transcription not provided). Subsequent to the teacher's minimal acknowledgement token, Wendy selects herself as the next speaker and presents her opinion beginning in line 1. In this turn of presenting her opinion (lines 1-4), her accounts using *-canh-* precede her assertion on the issue. After securing an interactional space by using the disjunctive marker *kuntay* (Y. Park, 1999) and the following evaluative adjective *wuskin* 'funny' at the beginning of the turn (line 1), she provides accounts while offering an example with *-canh-* marking information that is common knowledge (line 2: "People eat cows a lot."). She formulates this turn without a subject and emphasizes the noun *sokoki* 'beef' using *-canh-*. In the subsequent turn of account giving, (line 3) she specifies the subject of her utterance ("India or places where Hinduism is practiced") and uses an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986), the adverb *koyngcanghi* 'extremely' in line 3. Note that she again completes her turn with *-canh-* after presenting another locational example where people do not eat cow meat (lines 2-4: "But for example, cows are very much idolized in India or places where they practice Hinduism.").<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> If we look at this utterance more closely, we can see that to support her claim, Wendy refers to the category of locations (Sacks, 1992) where Hinduism is practiced as an example of places that idolize cows with the use of



In both cases, Wendy provides accounts for her position by invoking knowledge based on common sense as background information using *-canh-* with contrasting categorizations of “people eat beef (Indian)” and “people do not eat beef (we).” The generation of this contrasting pair is also marked by the topical marker *-nun* (K. Kim, 1993). In this respect, *-canh-* is employed when the speaker uses consensual truths to obtain the addressee’s recognition (Kawanish, 1994; K. Suh, 2002). Such an epistemic stance is conveyed mainly by the deployment of the final *-canh-*.

In the following conclusionary turn (lines 5–11), she provides the implication of her example by highlighting Hindu’s strong opposition to beef-eaters: “So, they hate people who eat cows very much (lines 5-6).” The ensuing utterance (lines 10-11) contains the epistemic marker *-kes kath-* ‘I think, seem, appear’ that displays a mitigated tone.<sup>18</sup> This mixed use of modal expressions including *-canh-* demonstrates the speaker’s interactional competence concerning the use of such expressions as part of the linguistic resources for social interaction. A very similar interactional motivation is at work in the extract below from an advanced students’ classroom discussion.

#### Extract 4.13. John: Last name tradition

- |           |                             |
|-----------|-----------------------------|
| 01 Daisy: | 이 기사를 읽고 나서                 |
| 02        | 여러분은 성에 대해서 어떻게 생각합니까       |
| 03 Ariel: | 지금도 좋습니다                    |
| 04        | (.2)                        |
| 05 John:  | 그냥 성을 갖다가: 쓰는게 이게 (.) 뭐 (.) |
| 06        | >솔직히< 남자: 여자를 갖다가 구별하는      |
| 07        | 것보다는 이제: 그 혈통을 갖다가 >이렇게<    |
| 08        | 구별을 해야 되는거니까 써야되는           |

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*-canh-*. This category of locations (places where Hinduism is practiced, such as India) is contrasted with the category of person “we.” The omitted subject in the turn of line 1 appears to be *wuli* ‘we’ in Wendy’s subsequent utterance in line 10.

<sup>18</sup> Such use of this epistemic marker is a good example of contrast to the use of *-canh-* in her previous turn in that *-kes kath-* displays a mitigated tone compared to her well-built accounting using *-canh-*. This pattern (assessment or claim using *-kes kath-* and accounting using *-canh-*) recurs in advanced-level speakers’ opinion-presenting sequences.

09           거라고 하는데, 솔직히 만약에 >내일 세상이  
 10           뒤집혀져갔구 모든 사람들이 여자의 성을  
 11           따라간다고< 해도 저는 솔직히 상관 없어요  
 12           XXXX 왜냐면 아프리카 같은데나 가면  
 13           인디아 같은데 가면 성은 여자 집으로  
 14           → 따라가잖아요 (.) 여자쪽으로. 남자가 (.)  
 15           문제는 없는 거 같아요  
 16           (.5)  
 17 Ariel:     제 생각에는요 사람들이 너무  
 18           편하게 사니까 쓸데없는--  
 19 John:      ((laugh))  
 20 Teacher:  쓸데없는데 에너지 낭비하고 이런:  
 21           논란을 일으키는 [거 같아요?  
 22 Ariel:      [네:

01 Daisy:     i kisa-lul ilk-ko nase yelepwn-un  
               this article-ACC read-after everyone-TOP

02           seng-ey tayhayse ettehkey sayngkakha-p-nikka  
               last name-about       how       think-DEF-Q  
               **What do you think about the last name tradition after reading this article?**

03 Ariel:     cikum-i coh-supnita  
               now-NOM good-DEF  
               **I like the one we have now.**

04           (.2)

05 John:      kunyang seng-ul kactaka: ssu-nun-key i-key (.) mwe(.)  
               just last name-ACC and use-ATTR-thing this thing DM

06           >solcikh< namca: yeca-lul kactaka kwupyelha-nun  
               frankly man       women-ACC   and distinguish-ATTR

07           kes-pota-nun icey: ku hyelthong-ul kactaka >ilehkey<  
               thing-than-ATTR DM that bloodline-ACC and like this

08           kwupyel-ul hay-ya toy-nun-ke-nikka sse-ya toy-nun  
               distinguish-ACC do-should-ATTR-thing-because use-should-ATTR

09           -ke-lako ha-nuntey, solcikh< manyakey >nayil seysang-i  
               thing-QT do-CIRCUM   frankly   if       tomorrow world-NOM

10           twiciphy-ecyekackwu motun salam-tul-i yeca-uy seng-ul  
               flip-and       all peope-PL-NOM woman-GEN last name-ACC

11           ttalaka-n-tako< hay-to ce-nun solcikh< sangkwaneps-eyo  
               follow-ATTR-QT do-even I-TOP frankly no matter-POL  
               **The use of last name, well, this thing, is like, they actually say that we have to use it  
               because we should distinguish our own bloodline/ancestry rather than a gender  
               distinction. But actually, if the world tomorrow were to be turned upside down and if  
               all the world adopts women's last name, It honestly doesn't matter to me.**

12           XXXX waynyamyen aphulikha kath-un-tey-na ka-myen  
               because Africa like-ATTR-place-or go-COND



expressions such as *twiciphita* (“turn something upside down”) and *sangkwanepsta*, ‘careless’ John describes an extreme change of the last name system that everyone in the world should take the mother’s last name starting tomorrow. To support this opinion, John provides common sense knowledge about Africa’s matriarchy in lines 12–14 using *-canh-* (“It’s because in Africa, they adopt women’s last names, right?”). By delivering a remark about a widely known social phenomenon using *-canh-* to give an account, the speaker proposes common ground among interlocutors. Just as in Wendy’s comparison of food practices in different countries in Extract 4.12, John in this extract provides a contrasting example of last name traditions in different countries in support of his claim. He then exhibits a downgraded version of his view using *-kes kath-* in line 15. After an ensuing long pause in line 16, Ariel gives a negative evaluation on the controversy that is affiliative to John’s view in a comical manner in lines 17–18.

**Intermediate: use of *-canh-*.** The first two extracts below demonstrate the similar use of *-canh-* by intermediate-level students.

Extract 4.14. Sue: *Kimchi*

01 Teacher: 음 그걸 왜 먹게 됐는지, 네 어떻게  
 02 먹는지 알아야 된다고 생각해요?  
 03 Sue: 네. 왜냐면 >like< 사람들이, >like< 외국인들이  
 04 oh 김치를 보면 oh 냄새난다고 생각을  
 05 → 하면↑ 우리가 상처받잖아요. 그러니까  
 06 파른 사람들이 먹으면 yeah.. they 상처 too.  
 07 Jenny: ((raises right hand))  
 08 Teacher:: [네. 상처 받아요?

01 Teacher: um ku-ke-l way mek-key tway-ss-nunci, ney ettehkey  
 that-thing-ACC why eat-ADV become-PST-whether yes how  
 02 mek-nunci ala- ya toy-n- tako sayngkakhay-yo?  
 eat-whether know-should-ATTR-QT think-POL  
 Umm, do you think we need to know why people started to eat it, how they eat it?  
 03 Sue: ney. waynyamyen >like< salam-tul-i, >like< oykwukin-tul-i,  
 yes because people-PL-NOM foreigner-PL-NOM

- 04            oh kimchi-lul po-myen† oh naymsayna-n-tako sayngkak-ul  
                  Kimchi-ACC see-COND            stink-ATTR-QT            think-ACC
- 05            → ha-myen† wuli-ka sangche-pat-canh-ayo. kulenikka  
                  do-COND    we-NOM       hurt-get-CANH-POL            so
- 06            ttalu-n    salam-tul-i    mek-umyen† yeah:: they sangche too  
                  other-ATTR people-PL-NOM eat-COND                            hurt  
                  **Yes. Because, if people, like foreigners, when they look at Kimchi, they think “oh, it stinks.” then that hurts us, right? So when other people eat it, yeah, they get hurt too.**
- 07 Jenny:    ((raises right hand))
- 08 Teacher: [ney. sangche pat-ayo?  
                  yes       hurt get-POL  
                  **Yes. Getting hurt by that?**

In Extract 4.14, the teacher recapitulates Sue’s prior assertion on different countries’ different food cultures in lines 1-2 in the form of yes-no question. In the next turn (line 3), Sue confirms the teacher’s summary by producing a second pair part of question-answer sequence. Subsequently, Sue proffers accounts on her claim using *-canh-* in lines 3-5. This turn of account giving begins with a causal conjunctive *waynyamyen* ‘it’s because’ in line 3. In the following utterance with *-canh-*, Sue takes the Korean food *Kimchi* as a comparing example (lines 3-5). Like Wendy and John did in Extract 4.12 and 3.13, Sue formulates her turn of account giving with *-canh-* by proposing common knowledge for a comparing example (“Yes. Because, like if people, like foreigners like, oh, when they look at *Kimchi*, they think “oh, it stinks.” then that hurts us, right?”). The construction of reported speech voicing a foreigner who complains about the smell of *Kimchi* without any elaboration shows that the speaker treats this information as shared by other interlocutors (line 4: “Oh, it stinks.”).

Extract 4.15 below is another case in point demonstrating the use of *-canh-* by an intermediate-level student. Here students exchange their opinions on the issue of living together before marriage. Prior to this extract, the main speaker Jenny shows her positive view on the issue with supporting accounts.

Extract 4.15. Jenny: Fiancé's house

01 Teacher: 뭐라고요?  
 02 Jenny: 아니 왜 그러니깐요  
 03 Teacher: 네  
 04 Jenny: 아니 아니 왜 이렇게 왜냐면(.)  
 05 결혼하기 전에는요[:  
 06 Teacher: [네  
 07 Jenny: 당연히:  
 08 Teacher: 네  
 09 Jenny: 그 약혼자 집에 한 번 이나  
 10 → 가야 됐잖아요[:  
 11 Teacher: [네=  
 12 Jenny: =probably=아니면 갔던지↓ at least went there  
 13 Teacher: 네  
 14 Jenny: 근데 그 때는요 막 열고 이 like you seeing things  
 15 근데 like uh::모죠? <자세하게> 안보니깐요[:  
 16 Teacher: [음  
 17 Jenny: 그런거 몰른-몰르는데 같이  
 18 → 살면서 그건 다 알아 (.2) <알려>지게 되잖아[요  
 19 Teacher: [음음  
 20 (.)  
 21 Jenny: \*예\*  
 22 Teacher: >그니까< 같이

01 Teacher: mwe-lako-yo?  
 what-QT-POL  
 What did you say?  
 02 Jenny: **ani way kulenikkan-yo**  
 no DM so-POL  
 No, so like  
 03 Teacher: ney  
 yes  
 Yes.  
 04 Jenny: **ani ani way ilehkey waynyamyen(.)**  
 no no DM like this because  
 05 **kyelhonha-ki cen-ey-nun-yo[:**  
 marry-NML before-at-TOP-POL  
 No, no. So like, because, before you get married,  
 06 Teacher: [ney  
 yes  
 Yes.  
 07 Jenny: **tangyenhi:**  
 of course  
 Obviously,  
 08 Teacher: ney  
 yes

- Yes.
- 09 Jenny: ku yakhonca cip-ey **han pen**-ina  
that fiancé house-at one time-or
- 10 → ka-ya tway-ss-**canh**-ayo[:  
go-should-PST-CANH-POL  
**You have to go your fiancé's house, at least once, right?**
- 11 Teacher: [ney=  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 12 Jenny: =probably=animyen ca-ss-tenci↓ at least went there  
or sleep-PST-whether  
**Probably, or slept over, at least went there.**
- 13 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 14 Jenny: kuntey **ku ttay-nun-yo** mak yel-ko i like you seeing things  
but that time-TOP-POL DM open-CONN this
- 15 kuntey like uh::mo-cyo? <caseyha-key> an po-nikkan-yo[:  
but what-COMM:POL detail-ADV NEG see-because-POL  
**But at that time, you seeing things but you don't look at things in detail.**
- 16 Teacher: [um
- 17 Jenny: kule-n-ke mollu-n--mollu-nuntey kathi  
that-ATTR thing do not know-ATTR do not know-CIRCUM together
- 18 → sal-myense ku-ke-n ta ale (.2) <allye>ci-key toy-canh-a[yo  
live-while that-thing-ATTR all known-ADV become-CANH-POL  
**You don't know those things but as you live together, you get to learn about it.**
- 19 Teacher: [um um
- 20 (.)
- 21 Jenny: 'yey'  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 22 Teacher: >kunikka< kathi  
so together  
**So, together**

This extract begins with teacher's display of a problem in understanding, evidenced by an open type repair initiator "what" in line 1. Responding to it, Jenny starts providing a revised version of his account in line 2. Resumption of the account is marked by turn-initial *ani* 'no' and *kulenikka* 'I mean, so', along with an increase in volume. Subsequently, she

provides background information using *-canh-* by conveying knowledge that is generally accepted as common sense (lines 4-5, 7, 9-10: “Bcause, before you get married, you have to go your fiancé’s house, at least once, right?). The use of an adverb *tangyenhi* ‘of course’ in line 7 emphasizes the prevalence of the proffered case. After projecting a pre-sequence (Schegloff, 2007) of giving further elaboration on the background information in line 12, Jenny moves on to the main action of account giving starting from line 14. The ensuing comparison is signaled by the use of turn-initial *kuntay* (Y. Park, 1999) in line 15. This turn with *-canh-* also involves comparison of two different situations of a one-time visit and living together. Jenny constructs information delivered with a *-canh-* utterance as shared by describing two situations in detail (lines 14-18: “But at that time, you seeing things but you don’t look at things in detail. But as you live together, you get to learn about it.”). The use of the adverb *caseyhakay* ‘in detail’ in line 15 and an extreme case formulation *ta* ‘all’ in line 18 also emphasizes the benefits of living together. Her turn is then readily aligned by the teacher through an overlap in line 19. The two examples above in Extract 4.14 and 4.15 demonstrate the intermediate-level students’ competence in the use of *-canh-* to propose equal access to information with common knowledge.

**Intermediate: nonuse of *-canh-*.** The following two examples from intermediate-level students’ conversation present very similar sequential environments as the extracts above (Extract 12-15). However, here the participants do not employ *-canh-* when they provide common sense knowledge. The students here are also talking about the consumption of dog meat in Korea. In accordance with the prior extract from the advanced-level classroom discussion in Extract 4.12, the teacher asks students whether they think the consumption of dog meat is bad or not.



#### Extract 4.16. Sue: Strange food

01 Sue: Umm(2) umm(.4) 따른 나:::라:::에::: (.5) uhh:  
 02 음식 문화를(.5) <이해> 해야 돼요=  
 03 =>왜냐면< 그 like 이상한 <음식>을 유래. 유래?=  
 04 Teacher: =네.  
 05 Sue: 유래가 있--있--있기 때문에↑ 왜↓ °like°  
 06 → >중국에서< 벌레가 먹고↑ and >프랑스에서<  
 07 → 말도 먹고↑(.2) 그래서, (.2) 이상(.)하다고  
 08 생각을 하지↓ 말r고↑ >그냥<(.) uh  
 09 umm::(. ) 그냥 이해해야 [돼요.  
 10 Teacher: [음음  
 11 (.3)  
 12 Sue: 징그럽지만::  
 13 Teacher: 음::  
 14 Sue: 네::((nods))

01 Sue: Umm(2)umm(.4)ttalu-n na:::la:::ey::(.5)uhh:  
 other-ATTR country-GEN  
 02 umsik mwunhwa-lul(.5) <ihay>hay-ya tway-yo=  
 food culture-ACC understand-should-POL  
**Um...they should understand other countries' food culture.**  
 03 =>waynyamyen< ku like ISANGHA-N <umsik>-ul yulay. yulay?=  
 because that strange-ATTR food-ACC origin origin  
**Because that, like, strange food... origin... origin?**  
 04 Teacher: =ney.  
 yes  
**Yes.**  
 05 Sue: yulay- ka iss--iss--iss-ki ttaymwuney↑ way↓ °like°  
 origin-NOM exist-NML because DM  
 06 → >CWUNGKUK-eyse< pelley-ka mek-ko↑ and >phulangsu-eyse<  
 China-at bug-NOM eat-CONN France-at  
 07 → mal- to mek-ko↑(.2) kulayse, (.2) isang(.)ha-tako  
 horse-also eat-CONN so strange -QT  
 08 sayngkak-ul ha-ci↓ malr-ko↑ >kunyang<(.)uh  
 think-ACC do- NEG-CONN just  
 09 umm::(. )kunyang ihayhay-ya [tway-yo.  
 just understand should-POL  
**Because they have origins like, like, they eat bugs in China and they also eat horses in France. So they shouldn't think it's weird, they should just, umm, just understand.**  
 10 Teacher: [um umm  
 11 (.3)  
 12 Sue: cingkulep-ciman::  
 gross-but:CONN

Even though it's gross.

13 Teacher: umm::

14 Sue: ney: ( (nods) )  
yes  
Yes.

Sue's answer to the teacher's question in line 1 strikingly resembles Wendy's answer from the preceding Extract 4.12, and, as such, presents an interesting case for comparison. First, Sue provides an initial claim on the issue in the first part of her opinion-presenting sequence (lines 1–2). Second, her accounts for her claim are accompanied by a precise supporting example (lines 3, 5–7). Finally, she concludes her turn by providing a final claim (lines 8–9). In line 1, after a turn with a perturbation,<sup>19</sup> she begins to provide her claim on the issue in her next utterance: people need to be more understanding of the food culture of other countries since each has its origin and history (line 2: “They should understand other countries’ food culture”).<sup>20</sup> In line 3, Sue begins to give accounts of her opinion signaled by the discourse marker *waynyamyen* ‘it’s because’. She briefly engages a lexical item negotiation sequence (Hellermann, 2008) with the teacher on the word *ywulay* ‘origin’ (line 3–4) then lists examples of “strange” food just as Wendy did in the preceding segment. By saying “like” in English (line 5), she marks the beginning of the example she is presenting.

The following turn, “They eat bugs in China and they also eat horses in France” (lines 6–7), is very similar to the extract taken from the advanced class in that she gives concrete examples of other countries that are commonly known in order to compare them with the consumption of dog meat in Korea. This list thus serves as an account for Sue to support her claim. However, in contrast to Wendy's use of *-canh-*, Sue finishes her turn with the

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<sup>19</sup> This is indicated by a word searching marker and an elongated sound on the syllable.

<sup>20</sup> Notice that this first claim is shaped in a direct way by using the verb *-ya twayta* ‘should’. This utterance is comparable to the preceding advanced student's utterance in both the action they are achieving and the turn construction.

unmarked connective *-ko*. Note that the transition point from one example to the other is marked with the clausal connective *-ko*. *-ko* is a prototypical connective with a simple function that is introduced in Korean textbooks for beginners (Cho et al., 2000). In other words, just as in the preceding extracts, Sue is supporting her claim by giving an account with a list of examples that are common and represent knowledge shared by others. It appears, however, that she is not yet sure how to soundly articulate her claim by listing examples using other devices such as *-canh-*.

In addition, her turn of assertion (lines 7–9: “So they shouldn’t think it’s weird, they should just understand”) is shaped in a similar way to that of Wendy’s in the preceding example in that it draws a conclusion by using the discourse marker *kulayse* ‘so, therefore’ in the beginning part of the turn (line 7). The difference is that she gives the final claim in a commanding tone that is upgraded from the first part of her claim by using the imperative *-ci malta* ‘must not’ in line 8, the discourse marker *kunayng* ‘just’, and the modal expression *-ya twayta* ‘should’ in line 9. Extract 4.17 below presents another case of nonuse of *-canh-* in a similar sequential position as in Extract 4.16 above.

#### Extract 4.17. Jenny: French women

- 16 Teacher: 뭐가 생각나요 이런 feminism feminist 하면.  
 17 Jenny: french peo[ple]  
 18 Ed: [여자?  
 19 Sue: ((laugh)) what?  
 20 Teacher: 여자.  
 21 Jenny: french 여자?  
 22 Sue: ((laugh)) that’s so random.  
 23 Teacher: 어- 프랑스 여자요?=  
 24 Jenny: =네=  
 25 Teacher: =왜요?  
 26 Jenny: ((raises both arms and touches arm fits))털:: [they grow  
 27 Ed: [XXX  
 28 Sue: [((laugh))  
 29 CL: [((laugh))  
 30 Jenny: 털? cause, they are feminist.  
 31 Teacher: 아 정말요?=  
 32 Jenny: =[네]

33 Sue: [No! they just do because they're [XX  
 34 Jenny: [no no no [no  
 35 Teacher: [waxing을  
 36 안 해[요?  
 37 Ed: [XX  
 38 Jenny: 아 왜냐면요:  
 39 Teacher: 네  
 40 Sue: XX  
 41 Jenny: ((looks at Sue))  
 42 Teacher: 아--하세요.  
 43 Jenny: '>okay<' thanks ((looks at Sue)) what what the: ['>Excuse me<'  
 44 Teacher: [((laughs))  
 45 Jenny: 아 왜냐면요: 뭐죠? umm(.) 그:: 여자들:  
 46 >여자들이니까< [막 털 없어야  
 47 Teacher: [음  
 48 Jenny: → 없어야 된다고 생각했어요?  
 49 Teacher: 네.  
 50 Jenny: but <feminis:t> 들.은  
 51 Teacher: 네  
 52 Jenny: um:(1.8) >그런 거 상관 없으니까요=  
 53 그냥< 다(.) 자라[요. pu::hhhh  
 54 Teacher: [아::>그래요?< 그래서 프랑-프랑스  
 55 여자가 생각나요?  
 56 Jenny: 네.

16 Teacher: mwe-ka sayngkakna-yo ile-n feminism feminist ha-myen.  
 what-NOM come to mind-POL this-ATTR do-COND  
**What can you think of when you hear the words "feminism" or "feminist?"**

17 Jenny: french peo[ple↑

18 Ed: [yeca?  
 woman  
**Woman?**

19 Sue: ((laugh)) what?

20 Teacher: yeca.  
 woman  
**Woman.**

21 Jenny: french yeca?  
 woman  
**French woman?**

22 Sue: ((laugh)). that's so random.

23 Teacher: e- phulangsu yeca-yo?=  
 France women-POL  
**French woman?**

24 Jenny: =ney=  
 yes  
**Yes.**

25 Teacher: =way-yo?  
why-POL  
**Why?**

26 Jenny: ((raises both arms and touches arm pits))thel::[they grow  
hair

27 Ed: [XXX

28 Sue: [((laugh))

29 CL: [((laugh))

30 Jenny: thel? cause, they are feminist.  
hair  
**They grow arm pit hair because they're feminists.**

31 Teacher: a cengmal-yo?=  
really-POL  
**Oh really?**

32 Jenny: =[ney  
yes  
**Yes.**

33 Sue: [No! they just do because they're [XX

34 Jenny: [no no no [no

35 Teacher: [waxing-ul  
waxing-ACC

36 an hay-[yo?  
NEG do-POL  
**They don't wax?**

37 Ed: [XX

38 Jenny: a waynyamyen-yo:  
because-POL  
**It's because**

39 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**Yes.**

40 Sue: XX

41 Jenny: ((looks at Sue))

42 Teacher: a--ha-sey-yo.  
do-HON-POL  
**Go on.**

43 Jenny: '>okay<' thanks ((looks at Sue)) what what the:['>Excuse me<'

44 Teacher: [((laughs))

45 Jenny: a waynyamyen-yo: mwe-cyo? umm(.) ku:: yeca-tul-un



Jenny's answer by repetition of Jenny's turn in line 23. After Jenny's confirmation in line 24, the teacher launches her third turn of following-up question *way-yo?* 'Why?', directly asking for a reason for Jenny's answer (line 25). In response to it, Jenny starts providing the reason for her answer with embodied action in line 26 that some French women grow hair in their arm pits because they are feminists (lines 26, 30). After a few lines of clarification on Jenny's turn (lines 31-34), the teacher reformulates Jenny's account in the form of a question with upward intonation by describing women who grow hair as people who do not wax (line 35-36). The recipient of the question Jenny understands the teacher's question as a solicitation for an account and starts offering an explanation by launching a turn with an adverb *waynyahamyen* 'it's because' in line 38. After a side sequence involving another student, Sue, in lines 37 and 40-44, Jenny resumes the turn of account giving by recycling the turn-initial *waynyahamyen* 'it's because'. Here, along with a word search marker *mwecyo* 'what is it.' and "non-lexical speech perturbation" (Schegloff et al., 1977) such as vowel elongation in line 45, Jenny provides the common knowledge that females generally are not supposed to have body hair (lines 45-46, 48: "Because women are women; they're not supposed to have arm pit hair. They thought they shouldn't grow arm pit hair.").

This is the part where the use of *-canh-* is expected to be observed. The speaker is providing an account for her previous assessment by giving general knowledge that is commonly shared with other participants. However, Jenny deploys unmarked *-yo* as a sentence-ending suffix with rising intonation (line 48). In the ensuing utterance, she provides a contrasting characteristic of feminists who do not mind having body hair (lines 50, 52). Other than the nonuse of *-canh-*, Jenny's turn after line 45 displays a number of features index lower proficiency level students. First, a number of pauses, code-switches, and vowel elongations display perturbations. Second, the use of the sentence-ending suffix *-ayo* with

erroneous tense marking in line 48 shows her low proficiency. Third, her use of *-nikka* in line 52 is noteworthy in that it is the sequential place where the target suffix *-ketun* is anticipated to be employed. Finally, the incorrect use of an intransitive verb *caluta* ‘to grow’ instead of a transitive verb *kiluta* ‘to raise’ in line 53 also shows Jenny’s underdeveloped proficiency.

Jenny’s account finally receives an affirmative response from the teacher in line 54.

This interactional consequence of delayed response from interlocutors confirms how a speaker’s interactional goal is realized in different ways by employing different linguistic resources. In other words, the employment of *-canh-* in providing common sense knowledge shares epistemic responsibility with interlocutors (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), which facilitates agreement from them.

#### **4.4.2.2 Membership knowledge: Shared with partial interlocutors**

The next extracts demonstrate the use of *-canh-* by proposing a particular type of common sense knowledge in the turn of account giving. What is noticeable in this case is that proposed common sense knowledge marked by *-canh-* in this case signals “membership knowledge,” reflecting the speaker’s own experience that is shared by a certain group of interlocutors delineated by categories such as age, nationality, or gender. In other words, situationally relevant social identities invoked throughout the interaction (Heritage & Clayman, 2010; Zimmerman, 2007) play a crucial role in the use of *-canh-*. This category of membership is derived from the speaker’s position within talk-in-interaction, when differing levels of knowledge and the relevance of membership categories (Schegloff, 2007b) are matters of concern. Through the use of a *-canh-* utterance when proposing information that is known to certain members of the group, the speaker orients to different levels of access to knowledge among the participants. A concurrent feature of *-canh-* utterances in this case is indication of a membership category by embodied actions including eye gaze.



Occurrences of *-canh-* in the delivery of “membership knowledge” are identified only in the interactions of advanced students. Intermediate-level students deploy alternative forms in a sequential environment where the *-canh-* is anticipated to be used. The following extract displays a representative use of *-canh-* by proposing membership knowledge in the turn of giving an account. The following Extract 4.18 is an example from an advanced-level students’ classroom discussion on Korean teachers’ corporal punishment in secondary school.

Extract 4.18. John: Trouble makers

- 09 John: 미국 같은 경우에 비교를 해보면 만약에  
 10 어떤 문제아 문제아라고 하나요?°=  
 11 Teacher: =네=  
 12 John: =문제아라고 문제아가 생긴다며는: 그 어떤:  
 13 이제(.)어:: 법적인 방식으로 이렇게 체벌을  
 14 갖다가 °주다가°=정 안되든 그 학교에서 그냥  
 15 → expulsion 을 해버리잖아요; °타-탈퇴::°  
 16 ((looks at teacher)) °탈퇴 아닌[가요°  
 17 Teacher: [ 퇴학=  
 18 John: → =퇴학>시켜 버리잖아요<=근데  
 19 한국에서는(.)그렇다고 하려는 갈테가 없는 경우가  
 20 많아요;=사립학교가 많이 많기 때문에  
 21 그래서 보통 이런 식으로 다루는 거 같아요  
 22 °제 생각엔.°
- 09 John: mikwuk kath-un kyengwu-ey pikyo-lul hay-po-myen manyakey  
 U.S. like-ATTR case-in compare-ACC do-see-COND if  
**So that’s why, if you compare it to America’s case, if there was a...**
- 10 ette-n mwunceya mwunceya-’lako ha-na-yo?’=  
 some-ATTR trouble kid trouble kid-QT do-Q-POL?  
**what would you call it? trouble kid? problem child? trouble maker?**
- 11 Teacher: =ney=  
 yes  
**Yes.**
- 12 John: =mwunceya-lako mwunceya-ka sayngkinta-myen-un: ku ette-n:  
 trouble kid-QT trouble kid-NOM happen-COND-ATTR that some-ATTR
- 13 icey(.)e:: pepcekin pangsik-ulwu ilehkey cheypel-ul kactaka  
 DM legal way-by like this punishment-ACC and
- 14 °cwu-taka’=ceng an-toy-mun ku hakkyo-eyse kunyang  
 give-while really NEG-become-COND that school-at just
- 15 → expulsion-ul hay-peli-**canh**-ayo;

expel-ACC    do-execute-CANH-POL

If there is a trouble maker then uhh... according to the rules, they get punished and if  
that really doesn't work, they just get expelled, right?

16                 'tha-thalthoy::' ((looks at teacher)) 'thalthoy ani-n[ka-yo'  
                        withdrawal                                      withdrawal    not-ATTR-Q-POL  
**Isn't it withdrawal ('*thalthoy*')?**

17 Teacher:

[thoyhak=  
expulsion  
**Expulsion.**

18 Jonh:       → =thoyhak >sikhye peli-**canh**-ayo<=kuntay hankwuk-eyse-nun(.)  
                        expulsion       execute-CANH-POL               but           Korea -at -TOP

19                 kuleh-tako ha-myenun kal-tey-ka               eps-nun kyengwu-ka  
                        that-QT       do-COND    go-place-NOM not exist-ATTR case-NOM

20                 manh-ayoꝰ =salip hakkyo-ka manh-ci anh-ki ttaymwuney  
                        alot-POL private school-NOM a lot-NEG-NML because

21                 kulayse pothong ile-n               sik-uloh talwu-nun ke kath-ayyo  
                        so           usually like this-ATTR way-by deal with-ATTR seem-POL

22                 'cey           sayngkak-ey-n.'  
                        my:GEN thought-at-TOP

**They just got expelled, right –CANH.? But if you were to do that in Korea, it is often  
the case that they have nowhere to go because there aren't many private schools.  
Because of that, they are dealt with that way, I think.**

16            ((looks at teacher))   
              withdrawal                                  withdrawal     not-ATTR-Q-POL  
**Isn't it withdrawal ('*thalthoy*')?**

17 Teacher:

[thoyhak=  
expulsion  
**Expulsion.**

18 Jonh:       → =thoyhak >sikhye peli-**canh**-ayo<=kuntey hankwuk-eyse-nun(.)  
                  expulsion   execute-CANH-POL       but       Korea -at -TOP

19 kuleh-tako ha-myenun kal-tey-ka eps-nun kyengwu-ka  
that-QT do-COND go-place-NOM not exist-ATTR case-NOM

20           manh-ayoꞵ =salip hakkyo-ka manh-ci anh-ki ttaymwuney  
          alot-POL private school-NOM a lot-NEG-NML because

21            kulayse pothong ile-n            sik-ulo talwu-nun ke kath-ayyo  
              so        usually like this-ATTR way-by deal with-ATTR seem-POL

22           `cey       sayngkak-ey-n.`  
          my:GEN   thought-at-TOP  
          **They just get expelled, right –CANH-? But if you were to do that in Korea, it is often**  
          **the case that they have nowhere to go because there aren't many private schools.**  
          **Because of that, they are dealt with that way, I think.**

John, the main speaker in this extract, maintains that corporal punishment is inevitable considering Korea's educational environment, which is different from that of the United States. John supports this claim by skillfully employing various interactional resources in his turn of account giving. Throughout the turn, John provides examples of troubled students and compares how each country deals with these students in their own way. In line 9, he explicitly marks that the comparison is imminent by saying *pikyo-lul hay-po-myen* 'if you compare' After a brief question-answer sequence (lines 10-11) with the teacher involving a word-search for "trouble maker," he brings up a hypothetical case of a trouble maker in a U.S. school starting from line 12. He develops his example in detail using *-canh-* when providing information that American schools often expel students if students become out of control (lines 12-15 and 18: "They just get expelled."). What is noticeable here is that

the information delivered in this utterance with the use of *-canh-* is proposed as shared by the specific group of members; in this case, those who have resided and attended schools in the United States. *-canh-* would not be employed if the other participants were not familiar with the education system of the U.S. The selection of this information indicates “recipient design”—consideration of “who the recipient is and what the recipient knows about the referent, or how the recipient stands with respect to the referent” (Schegloff, 1996d).

That the speaker manipulates his information delivery by employing specific linguistic resources is additionally attested by the absence of *-canh-* in his following utterance, when the speaker treats the counter information as not shared (lines 19-20: “But if you were to do that in Korea, it is often the case that they have nowhere to go.”). Instead, an unmarked form *-a* is employed in this utterance when the speaker presents the case of Korea for comparison. Demarcating the knowing party when proposing shared knowledge demands more responsibility of that member to produce a second pair part (Heritage, 2012a), in this case, giving a confirmation. In turn, the speaker’s interactional goal in the action of account giving can be effectively accomplished. A very similar use of *-canh-* is shown in the following Extract 4.19.

#### Extract 4.19. John: Corporal punishment in South Korea

- 127 John: \*근데\* 체벌이 없는: 한국 (.) 그::  
 128 교육 사회를 만들려면요, (.)  
 129 한국의 모든 법이 막  
 130 바뀌어야 될 거 같아요=미국에서 보면요,  
 131 학생들† (.) 그 \*주--주--\* 어디죠?  
 132 ((looks up with thinking face)) 어:: 국민학뿐 아니고  
 133 미국에선 초등학교나 중학교:  
 134 고등학교에서 싸우면요† 선생님이  
 135 일처리 안해요. 경찰 불러요  
 136 Ariel: ((nods))  
 137 John: → 한국에선 그런 일로 경찰 안 부르잖아요  
 138 ((shakes head)) 선생님들이 다 처리할라구 하구,  
 139 그리고 또 미국에서 보스--보다시피  
 140 >한국에서도< 보다시피 대학교로 가면

- 141 → 갈수록: >이런 체벌들이 없잖아요<  
 142 =대학교에서요((looks at teacher))
- 127 John: 'kuntey' cheypel-i eps-nun: hankwuk(.) ku::  
 but punishment-NOM not exist-TOP Korea that
- 128 kyoyuk saho-y-lul mantu- lla- myen- yo, (.)  
 education society-ACC make-in order to-COND-POL
- 129 hankwuk-uy motun pep-i mak  
 Korea-GEN every law-NOM DM
- 130 pakkwi-eya toy-l ke kath-ayyo=mikwuk-eyse po-myen-yo,  
 change-should become-seem-POL U.S.-at see-COND-POL  
**But in order to build an educational environment without (corporal) punishment in Korea, I think all of Korea's law will mostly likely have to change. In case of the US,**
- 131 haksayng-tul↑ (.) ku 'cwu--cwu--' eti-cyo?  
 student-PL that state state where-COMM:POL  
**The students... The state, state... Where's it?**
- 132 ((looks up with thinking face)) e:: kwukminhakkyo-n ani-ko  
 elementary-TOP NEG-CONN  
**Umm... not public elementary school...**
- 133 mikwuk-eyse-n chotunghakkyo-na cwunghakkyo:  
 U.S.-at-TOP elementary-or middle school
- 134 kotunghakkyo-eyse ssawu-myen-yo↑ sensayngnim-i  
 high school-at fight-COND-POL teacher-NOM
- 135 il-cheli an-hay-yo. kyengchal pwulle-yo  
 work-handling NEG-do-POL police call-POL  
**In the US, if you fight in elementary, middle, or high school the teacher doesn't do anything about it. They just call the police.**
- 136 Ariel: ((nods))
- 137 John: → hankwuk-eyse-n kule-n il-lo kyengchal an pwulu-**canh**-ayo  
 Korea-at-TOP that like-ATTR work-by police NEG call-CANH-POL  
**But Korea doesn't call the police over that, right?**
- 138 ((shakes head)) sensayngnim-tul-i ta cheliha-llakwu ha-kwu,  
 teacher-PL-NOM all handle-try-do-CONN  
**The teachers tend to take care of it**
- 139 kuliko tto mikwuk-eyse posu--po-tasiphi  
 and also U.S.-at see see as  
**And as you can see in US**
- 140 >hankwuk-eyse-to< po-tasiphi tayhakkyo-lo ka-myen  
 Korea-at-also see-as university-to go-COND
- 141 → ka-lswulok: >ile-n cheypel-tul-i eps-**canh**-ayo<  
 go-the more this-ATTR punishment-PL-NOM not exist-CANH-POL

As you can see in Korea, too, when you go to college there's no such punishment, right?

142           =tayhakkyo-eyse-yo((looks at teacher))  
              university-at-POL  
              in college.

Here, the students are again discussing corporal punishment in Korea. John holds the view that physical punishment in Korean secondary school is inevitable considering the education environment in Korea in contrast to the United States. Just as in the previous extract, to support his view, John provides a case of troublemakers in school and explains how each country would react to that case. His turn starts with the assertion that is it not possible to establish a system of education in Korea without punishment in lines 127-130. This claim is upgraded by claiming that the whole legislation system in Korea would have to be changed in order for physical punishment to be eradicated in Korea (lines 129-130). In the following turn, starting in line 130, he provides supporting accounts for his claim by comparing cases of students in each country who behave with violence at school (lines 130-142).

This extract is particularly interesting in that his sentence ending suffixes are systemically varied according to the types of knowledge he delivers. When he presents a case in the United States (lines 130-135), he employs the unmarked declarative form *-e/a* (line 135: "In the US, if you fight in elementary...the teacher doesn't do anything about it. They just call the police."). To the recipient who is not familiar with the educational system of the U.S., John delivers information as a member of the group "US citizens." In contrast, in presenting a case in Korea (lines 137-142), Jenny invokes and maintains an identity as a Korean-American with the use of *-canh-* (lines 137, 141) and eye gaze towards the teacher (line 142) who is a member of the group "Koreans." Here, the speaker strategically manages epistemic information through the use of diverse interactional resources including the suffix –

*canh-* (“But Korea doesn’t call the police over that, right?...when you go to college, there’s no such punishment, right?”).

Instances from intermediate-level students of utterances without *–canh-* where it would be expected allow clear observation of the importance of *–canh-* utterances. Extract 4.20 is taken from an intermediate-level students’ classroom discussion on the disposition of Korean people. Prior to this extract, the teacher asked students to provide what they perceive to be general characteristics of Korean people.

Extract 4.20. Jenny: Korean disposition

- 01 Jenny: ((raises her right hand))  
 02 Teacher: 다른: 자기 일보다 다른 사람 일에  
 03 좀 관심이 많은 것 같아요  
 04 Jenny: 그리고 어: >뭐죠?< 판 사람: 생각 많이 해요?  
 05 Teacher: \*음[음\*  
 06 Jenny: [not in the 좋은 way=  
 07 Teacher: =음음  
 08 Jenny: ((shakes her right hand))아이 둘다[요.  
 09 Teacher: [음  
 10 Jenny: 좋은 하구, 안 좋은 하구.  
 11 Teacher: 음  
 12 Jenny: >왜냐면< (.) 그: >뭐냐< <아줌마들> 있죠,  
 13 어:: 그 명품: 가방 그런 거 항상  
 14 → 사야 되구요 차두 멋있는 거=  
 15 Sue: =oh yeah[:  
 16 Jenny: [>왜냐면< 따른 사람이가(.) 뭐:(.8) 뭐:  
 17 욱(.) 할\*까봐요\*  
 18 Teacher: 네  
 19 Sue: what? ((laugh))[XXX  
 20 Dan: [oh: 그거 진짜: \* >그래요< \*
- 01 Jenny: ((raises her right hand))  
 02 Teacher: talu-n: caki il-pota talu-n salam il-ey  
 other-ATTR self affair than other-ATTR person affair-at  
 03 com kwansim-i manh-un kes kath-ayo  
 DM interest-NOM a lot-ATTR seem-POL  
**I think (Korean) people care about others’ business more than their own.**  
 04 Jenny: kuliko e: >mwe-cyo?< ttan salam: sayngkak manhi hay-yo?  
 and what-COMM:POL other person think a lot do-POL  
**And um... like they care about other people a lot?**  
 05 Teacher: \*um[um\*

06 Jenny: [not in the coh-un way=  
good-ATTR  
**Not in a good way.**

07 Teacher: =um um

08 Jenny: ((shakes her right hand)) ai twulta-[yo.  
both-POL  
**No, in both ways.**

09 Teacher: [um

10 Jenny: coh-un hakwu, an coh-un hakwu.  
good-ATTR and NEG good-ATTR and  
**in a good way and a bad way.**

11 Teacher: um

12 Jenny: >waynyamyen< (.) ku: >mwe-nya< <acwumma-tul> iss-cyo,  
because that what-Q middle aged woman-PL exist-COMM:POL

13 e:: ku myengphwum: kapang kule-n ke hangsang  
that brand-name bag that-ATTR thing always

14 → sa-ya toy-kwu-yo cha-twu mesiss-nun ke=  
buy-should-CONN-POL car-also cool-ATTR thing  
**It's because like old ladies, um they always have to buy something like brand-name  
bags and fancy cars.**

15 Sue: =oh yeah[:

16 Jenny: [>waynyamyen< ttalu-n salam-i-ka(.) mwe:(.8) mwe:  
because other-ATTR person-TOP-NOM DM DM

17 yok(.)ha-l'kka-pwa-yo'  
talk behind-may-POL  
**because they are afraid of people talking about them behind their backs.**

18 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**Yes.**

19 Sue: what? ((laugh))[XXX

20 Dan: [oh: ku-ke cincca: ' >kulay-yo< '  
that thing reallylike that-POL  
**Oh, that's so true.**

An intermediate student, Jenny, claims her role as speaker by raising her hand (line 1) and states that Korean people tend to being self-conscious (lines 2–4: “I think Korean people care about others’ business more than their own.”). Subsequently, she provides a negative evaluation of that tendency in an explicit manner in line 6 (“Not in a good way.”).

Shortly after, she revises her prior negative evaluation as neutral in lines 8–10. Subsequent to the teacher’s acknowledgement in line 11 (“Um.”), she provides accounts for her evaluation in the following turn by launching a discourse marker *waynyamen* ‘because’ in line 12. This turn is sequentially organized similar to that of the advanced student John’s in Extract 4.18 and 4.19 above in that she brings up a detailed example that is likely to be recognized by her interlocutors who are members of a certain group: in this case, individuals who have Korean expertise due to their membership in the group of students who are majoring in Korean studies. In this turn of account giving, Jenny describes how Korean middle-aged women show off by purchasing brand-name products and high-priced cars that cost more than they can prudently afford (lines 12–14: “It’s because like old ladies, um they always have to buy something like brand-name bags and fancy cars.”). In contrast to the advanced-level students’ diverse shifts of sentence-ending suffixes in Extract 4.18 and 4.19, Jenny’s turn of account giving does not include any sentence-ending suffix even in the place where its use is structurally required. The speaker is proposing information to which limited parties have access without using *-canh-*. After Sue’s affirmative acknowledgment in line 15 (“Oh, yeah.”), Jenny jumps to the next utterance without structurally completing her previous turn (“Because they are afraid of people talking about them behind their backs.”). This supplementary turn in lines 16–17 might explain Jenny’s nonuse of *-canh-* in pursuit of agreement or a shared stance from her interlocutors. As Jenny does not employ *-canh-* in her turn of giving an account, she has to appeal for a shared stance in other sequential places by adding another turn wherein she provides explicit comment on her prior example. Upon Jenny’s example presentation, the teacher and another student, David, display their affiliative stances in lines 18 (“Yes.”) and 20 (“Oh, that’s so true.”).



#### 4.4.3 Unshared knowledge

Utterances with *-canh-* are also employed in first position to present knowledge to which the recipient has no access. That is, the divergence in the relation between epistemic status and epistemic stance is maximized. This use of *-canh-* demonstrates that epistemic claims are, indeed, claims to know, and as such may or may not reflect actual knowledge states (K. Suh, 2002). This also provides evidence for the view that epistemic claims are resources that speakers may deploy in various ways that render their talk more fitted to the action that they are doing regardless of whether they “know” the information or not (Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011). The following example from K. Suh (2002) briefly shows how the suffix *-canh-* is used as a strategic device invoking common ground among interlocutors even when the information is not actually shared.

Extract 4.21. L1 Korean speaker: From K. Suh (2002, p. 291)

- 01     A:     cal an-tway   mwulkelley  
             well NEG do:IE wet mop  
             **The wet mop doesn't work well.**
- 02     B:     ku-chi?  
             that-COMM:IE  
             **That's right, isn't it?**
- 03     A:     son-ulo hay-yatway.  
             hand-by do-should:IE  
             **You have to scrub by hand (instead of using a wet mop).**
- 04     B:     →cehuy-cip-ey mwulkelley ayey an ssu-**canh**-ayo  
             my home-at wet mop never NOT use-**CANH**-POL  
             **That's why I never use a wet mop at home even though I have one.**

In response to A's negative assessment about a wet mop in line 1 and the following claim that hand scrubbing is better (line 3), B gives agreement using *-canh-* to convey personal information regarding B's use of a mop at home (line 4). It is implausible that B assumes that A is aware of B's home cleaning practices. However, the use of *-canh-* in this environment positions recipients as a knowing recipient. Advanced-level students' data from

the current study displays tactical management of information with the use of *-canh-* similar to that of L1 speakers. However, only one example from an advanced student, presented in Extract 4.22, is closely parallel to the case in point.<sup>21</sup>

Extract 4.22. Mina: Prejudice against Korea

- 01 Teacher: 한국에 가기 전에 한국에 대해  
 02 가졌던. (.) 생각. (.) 과. 지금:(.)  
 03 가장(.) 많이 변한 부분. (.) 이라면  
 04 어떤 게 있을까요.  
 05 Mina: 음::: (1.0) 아::: 뭐 아까두 단순한::  
 06 것부터 시작하며는  
 07 Teacher: 음  
 08 Mina: 한국:: 저는 이제 한국에 대한::(.2) 것을  
 09 → 음 이제 부모님한테 >많이 배웠잖아요<  
 10 Teacher: 네=  
 11 Mina: =집에서: 이제 한국 사람은 이렇다=한국  
 12 사회는 이렇다라는 그런 편견을 많이  
 13 가지고 간 거 같아요  
 14 Teacher: 네  
 15 Mina: >그러니까< 편견이라고 하려는: 뭐:  
 16 어른을 공경하고: 존경-공경하고;  
 17 Teacher: 음
- 01 Teacher: hankwuk-ey ka-ki cen-ey hankwuk-ey tayhay  
 Korea-at go-NML before-at Korea-about
- 02 kacy-ess-te-n. (.) sayngkak. (.) kwa. cikum:(.)  
 have-PST-RT-ATTR thought and now
- 03 kacang(.) manhi pyenha-n pwupwun. (.) i-lamyen  
 most a lot change-ATTR part COP-COND
- 04 ette-n key iss-ulkka-yo.  
 which-ATTR thing exist-Q-POL  
**What are you opinions on Korea before you go to Korea, and what do you think has changed the most about Korea after?**
- 05 Mina: um::: (1.0) a::: mwe akka-twu tanswunha-n::  
 DM before-also simple-ATTR
- 06 kes-pwuthe sicakha-myen-un  
 thing-from begin-COND-ATTR  
**Um... Well starting off with the simple things first, like before...**

<sup>21</sup> The lack of many examples seems to derive from the different goals of ordinary conversation and institutional interaction (Drew & Heritage, 1992). L2 classroom interaction orients to the core institutional goal of teaching and learning the L2. From this core goal, a number of consequences result that distinguish the way in which L2 classroom interaction is accomplished from the way in which ordinary conversations are accomplished (Markee, 2000; Seedhouse, 2004).

- 07 Teacher: um
- 08 Mina: hankwuk:: ce-nun icey hankwuk-ey tayha-n::(.2) kes-ul  
Korea I-TOP DM Korea-about-ATTR thing-ATTR
- 09 → um icey pwumonim-hanthey >manhi paywe-ss-**canh**-ayo<  
DM parents-from a lot learn-PST-CANH-POL  
**Korea... So, I learned about Korea from my parents, right?**
- 10 Teacher: ney=  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 11 Mina: =cip-eyse: icey hankwuk salam-un ilehta=hankwuk saho-y-nun  
house-at DM Korea person-TOP like this:PLN Korea society-TOP
- 12 ilehta-lanun kule-n phyenkyen-ul manhi kaci-ko  
like this:PLN-QT that-ATTR prejudice-ACC a lot have-CONN
- 13 ka-n ke kath-ayyo  
go-ATTR seem-POL  
**At home... I was taught, "Korean people are like this", "Korea's society is like this" so I think I went to Korea with this bias.**
- 14 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**I see.**
- 15 Mina: >kulenikka< phyenkyen-ilako ha-myenun: mwe:  
so prejudice-QT do-COND DM
- 16 elun-ul kongkyengha-ko: conkyeng-kongkyengha-ko;  
elders-ACC respect-CONN respect respect-CONN  
**So, when I say biased, I mean like, you must respect your elders,**
- 17 Teacher: um

Upon the teacher's initiation of seeking the student Mina's opinion about Korea before and after visiting (lines 1-4), Mina starts providing her opinion in line 5. Before Mina reaches the self-evaluative comment that she first went there with a bias against Korea (lines 12-13), she gives an account for this claim (lines 8-9: "I learned about Korea from my parents, right?"). In this turn of account giving with *-canh-*, Mina conveys that the information clearly falls within her epistemic domain. Although it is unlikely that the teacher has this knowledge about Mina's personal history, the turn with *-canh-* successfully elicits an acknowledgement

from the recipient in the next turn (line 10). Extract 4.23 below shows a variation in formulating knowledge that is not shared with other participants using *-canh-*.

### ***Hypothetical but plausible instances***

What recurrently identified in the current data set is speakers proposing common ground by providing obviously “unshared” information in support of their claims. As the claims are hypothetical, it is unlikely that the speakers believe that the interlocutors know anything about what they are claiming. What the speaker is doing in this context, then, is working to invite the addressee to acknowledge the relevance of the utterance marked with *-canh-* (K. Suh, 2002). In other words, the speaker points to a related matter, which provides justification for the given claim. The following extract shows how students at both levels bring up hypothetical but plausible examples in their turns of account giving with or without using *-canh-*.

Extract 4.23 comes from an advanced-level classroom discussion regarding spending practices among men and women on dates. Upon the teacher’s inquiry on the issue, one of the students, John, presents his opinion that men’s extra expenses are ordinary and can be attributed to universal custom. To support his opinion, he posits a hypothetical scenario in the subsequent utterances.

#### **Extract 4.23. John: A girlfriend in college**

- 01 John: 남자가 돈을 더 벌거나, 그런 상황이거나,  
 02 >아니면< 여자가 이제 나이가 더 적을 경우도  
 03 있으니까 만약에 아직도 뭐 대학생이면  
 04 솔직히 이게 [xx  
 05 Daisy: [((points at John)) 젊은 여자들만  
 06 ((laughing))  
 07 ALL: ((laughing))  
 08 Daisy: 오빠 [((laughing))  
 09 John: [아 근데 >그렇잖아요 < 이렇게 한 번씩 한 번씩  
 10 교차하는 것도 좋은 거 같지만 :  
 11 만약에 내: 입맛이, 좋은 restaurant 가는 거  
 12 좋아하구 뭐: 좋은 커피 마시고  
 13 → 그러다보며는 되게 부담가잖아요 ;

14 대학생인여자한테=>그니까 어떻게  
15 번갈아가면서 내요<  
18 ((looks at teacher))사회생활에서 인제  
19 쯤 더 앞서 나가기 때문에 쯤 더  
20 감당해야 된다고 생각해요 ((clears his throat))

01 John: namca-ka ton-ul te pel-kenaᵛ kule-n sanghwang-i-kenaᵛ  
man-NOM money-ACC more earn or that-ATTR situation-COP or

02 >animyen< yeca-ka icey nai-ka te cek-ul kyengwu-to  
or woman-NOM DM age-NOM more less-case-also

03 iss-unikka manyakey acikto mwe tayhaksayng-i-myen  
exist-so if still DM college student-COP-COND

04 solcikhī i-key [XX  
frankly this-thing:ADV  
**Because there are cases such as the man makes more money or the woman are  
younger than men. Let's say the woman is in still in college, actually this is...**

05 Daisy: [((points at John)) celm-un yeca-tul-man  
young-ATTR woman-PL-only  
**Only for young girls**

06 ((laughing))

07 ALL: ((laughing))

08 Daisy: oppa [((laughing))  
brother  
**John.**

9 John: [a kuntēy >kuleh-**canh**-ayo < ilehkey han pen-ssik han pen-ssik  
but like that-CANH-POL like this one time each one time each

10 kyochaha-nun kes-to coh-un ke kath-ciman:  
exchange-ATTR thing-also good-ATTR seem-but  
**Oh but... It's like that. It's fine if we take turns paying the check,**

11 manyakey nay: ipmas-iᵛ coh-un restaurant-ka-nun ke  
if my:GEN taste-NOM good-ATTR go-ATTR thing

12 cohaha-kwu mwe: coh-un khephi masi-ko  
like-CONN DM good-ATTR coffee drink-CONN

13 → kuleta-po-myen-un toykey pwutamka-**canh**-ayoᵛ  
like that-try-COND-ATTR very burden-CANH-POL  
**but say,for instance, if I like going to fancy restaurants that fit my taste and only drink  
quality coffeeit'll be a burden (to her).**

14 tayhaksayng-i-n yeca-hanthey =>kunikka ettehkey  
college student-COP-ATTR women-to so how

15 penkala ka-myense nay-yo<  
rotate go-while pay-POL  
**to a college student. So how can I let her pay?**

((lines omitted))

18 ((looks at teacher)) sahoy-saynghwal-eyse incey  
social life-at DM

19 ccom te aphse naka-ki ttaymwuney ccom te  
little more go-ahead-NML because a little more

20 kamtang-hayya toy-n-tako sayngkakhay-yo ((clears his throat))  
bear should-ATTR-QT think-POL  
**I think since guys have a higher status in society, he should be able to take on the burden.**

Before this extract, John briefly introduces the phenomenon of male-centered societies as background information for his stance on the issue. Continuing, in lines 1–4, John presents a hypothetical but detailed example of a couple—an older male with more income and a younger female college student—to support his position. In the next utterance, he signals that his assessment of the couple is due by producing an adverbial demonstrative *ikey* ‘this’ in line 4. However, his utterance is halted by Daisy’s teasing in line 5 (“Only for young girls.”). Here, Daisy picks up the category of age<sup>22</sup> and reconstructs John’s prior example representing his own case with an embodied action of finger pointing towards John (line 5), laughter (line 6), and an address term *oppa*<sup>23</sup> ‘older brother’ (line 8). The playful air becomes more pervasive as other students join in on the laughter (lines 6–7) during Daisy’s turn. John temporarily orients to this collaborative bantering in line 9 using *-canh-* (“Oh but...it’s like that.”) and soon resumes his turn of account giving with an example in the following turn. His first use of *-canh-* (line 9)<sup>24</sup> is placed immediately after his interlocutors’ negative (although comical) evaluations towards him.

Facing an accusation for social misconduct of dating with young girl, John offers a long and meandering account of his action. As Daisy’s teasing becomes a public activity,

<sup>22</sup> The change of word choice from college student to young girl, which contains a certain degree of sexual connotation, also contributes to creating the comical atmosphere.

<sup>23</sup> *Oppa* is an address term used by females to address male older than them who they are close to (biological or not).

<sup>24</sup> This preemptive use of *-canh-* is discussed in detail in Section 4.5.3.

John resumes the turn of account giving with a self-qualifying clause (Mori, 1999) of general statement in which he admits a potential problem with his claim using *-ciman* in line 10 (“It’s fine if we take turns paying the check but...”). The turn is followed by a conditional clause using *manyakey* ‘if’ (line 11), which indicates the subsequent presentation of a hypothetical situation. Here, his prior example is recycled with additional details using *-canh-* (lines 11–13: “If I like going to restaurants that fit my taste and only drink quality coffee it’ll be a burden.”). Note that this example is hypothetical but plausible (The dating routine of a couple: a man who likes to dine out and enjoys quality coffee and a woman in college). It is certain that the case John is providing is not shared knowledge but rather a supposition, as evidenced by his use of the conditional clause. The speaker “treats” the instance as shared by composing it as probable through the employment of *-canh-*.

The following extract from an intermediate-level classroom discussion on reform of the health system in the U.S. presents an interesting case for comparison. Although Sue, one of the intermediate students, also brings up a hypothetical but plausible case in the support of her claim, she does not employ *-canh-* in the target turn.

#### Extract 4.24. Sue: Health care system

- 01 Teacher: 네: >이제 여러분도< 다: 이거 좋다고 생각해요?  
 02 Jenny: yeah man:  
 03 Sue: 아니요  
 04 Jenny: ((raises both hands)) socialist’s party USA  
 05 Teacher: ((chuckles)) 왜 >아니라고<--왜 이게  
 06 별로 안 좋은 제도 같아요?  
 07 Sue: well(.2) uhm:: (.3) universal health care: system and  
 08 유럽하고 일본 a::nd 캐나다 다 있는데  
 09 (. ) 거기에서 <병원:은> 좋지 않아요  
 10 Teacher: 음[:  
 11 Sue: [their gesture  
 12 Teacher: 음:  
 13 Sue: it’s not good.  
 14 Teacher: 음>그니까< 병원의 질이: 별루:  
 15 켈러티가 별루 안 [ 좋  
 16 Sue: [ 켈러티가 안: 좋[고  
 17 Teacher: [ 음:

18 Sue: and (.) 만약에 제가 (.) um: 평생에  
 19 안아프면¿ and jenny 항상 아프면¿ >그런데<  
 20 → 제가 세금을 다: 내야 되고¿=[and  
 21 Teacher: [음:  
 22 Sue: → 그것을 사용하지 [않으니까  
 23 Teacher: [음:  
 24 Sue: ((pointing at Jenny)) she's getting all my benefits  
 25 Teacher: 음:  
 26 Sue: and she's gonna keep them

01 Teacher: ney: >icey yelepwn-to< ta: i-ke coh-tako sayngkakhay-yo?  
 yes now everybody-also all this-thing good-QT think-POL  
**Okay, so does everyone think this reform is good?**

02 Jenny: yeah man:

03 Sue: ani-yo¿  
 no-POL  
**No.**

04 Jenny: ((raises both hands)) socialist's party USA

05 Teacher: ((chuckles)) way >ani-lako<--way i-key  
 why not-QT why this-thing:ADV

06 pyello an coh-un ceyto kath-ayo?  
 not particularly NEG good-ATTR system seem-POL  
**Why don't, why do you think this is not a good system?**

07 Sue: well(.2) uhm:: (.3) universal health care: system and

08 yulep-hako ilpon a::nd khaynata ta iss-nuntey¿  
 Europe-and Japan Canada all exist-CIRCUM

09 (.) keki-eyse¿ <pyengwen:-un> coh-ci anh-ayo¿  
 there-at hospital-TOP good-NEG-POL  
**Well, there is a universal health care system in Europe, Japan and Canada, they all have it, but hospitals there are not good.**

10 Teacher: um[:

11 Sue: [their gesture

12 Teacher: um:

13 Sue: it's not good.

14: Teacher: um >kunikka< pyengwen-uy cil-i: pyellwu:  
 so hospital-GEN quality-NOM not particularly

15 khwellethi-ka pyellwu an [coh  
 quality-NOM not particularly NEG good  
**So, you mean the quality- the quality of the hospital isn't good.**

16 Sue: [khwellethi-ka an: coh-[ko↑  
 quality-NOM NEG good-CONN



Quality isn't good, and...

- 17 Teacher: [um:]
- 18 Sue: and (.) manyakey cey-ka (.) um: phyengsayng-ey  
if I-NOM entire life-in
- 19 an aphu-myenꠤ and jenny hangsang aphu-myenꠤ >kulentey<  
NEG sick-COND always sick-COND but
- 20 → cey-ka sey-kum-ul ta: nay-ya toy-koꠤ=[and  
I-NOM tax-ACC all pay-should-CONN  
**And, let's say that um... I never get sick my entire life, and Jenny gets sick all the time, but I have to pay all the tax and..."**
- 21 Teacher: [um:]
- 22 Sue: → ku-kes-ul sayongha-ci [anh-unikka  
that-thing-ACC use-NEG-because  
**I don't use it. So...**
- 23 Teacher: [um:]
- 24 Sue: ((pointing at Jenny)) she's getting all my benefits
- 25 Teacher: um:
- 26 Sue: and she's gonna keep them

In line 1, in the form of a yes-no question, the teacher asks students to present their own evaluations of the reform. One of the students, Sue, displays her negative stance on the issue by producing the type-confirming response (Raymond, 2003) *ani-yo* 'No' in line 3. Upon this response, the teacher launches a third turn question requesting an account of it (lines 5–6: "Why do you think this is not a good system?"). Sue then provides an account by giving her assessment of other countries that have similar health care systems in lines 7–13. The following turn of additional account giving in lines 18–24 is significantly similar to that of the advanced-level student's use of *-canh-* in Extract 4.22 and 4.23. Like John in those extracts, Sue presents a hypothetical but plausible case to support her initial assessment by positioning herself and her classmate Jenny as central characters of the example. This turn develops in a similar way to the prior one in that it utilizes the conditional marker *manyakey* 'if' to set up a hypothetical situation (line 18). In addition, like the previous extract, the

speaker maximizes the plausibility of the example by positioning herself and her classmate as participants in her story (18–24: “Let’s say that I never get sick my entire life, and Jenny gets sick all the time, but I have to pay all the tax and I don’t use it.”). However, this turn also illustrates a different construction in the use of sentence-ending suffixes along with other features; she employs an unmarked form *-ko* (line 20) and a causal marker *-nikka* (line 22). Given its sequential position and action import, this is the turn place where *-canh-* is expected to be used. However, rather than using *-canh-*, Sue ends her turn with *-nikka* in line 15. *-nikka* is a connective that is traditionally noted to mark causality and is typically translated to be the counterpart of the English ‘because.’<sup>25</sup> It also functions in the utterance final position, particularly in naturally occurring conversations (S. Sohn, 2003). Sue’s use of *-nikka* in line 22, is thus non-target like as an utterance marked with *-nikka* expresses the speaker’s strong sense of causality.

#### 4.4.4 Summary: Use and nonuse of *-canh-* in first position

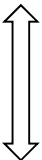
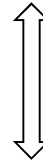
This section investigated the ways in which the suffix *-canh-* is used or not used to give accounts in first position by L2 Korean students at different proficiency levels. Through an analysis of cases from advanced-level students’ classroom interaction and by consulting the related published research, I showed that *-canh-* is used to appeal to the recipient to treat what is said as shared information. The analysis also demonstrated that *-canh-* is routinely used to establish speakers’ claims of recipients’ knowledge based on three sources: the ongoing interactional environment, universal/social “common sense” knowledge, and unshared information such as hypothetical instances. *-canh-* is a powerful device used by participants to construct social action by managing different types of information in ways that enable interactants to attend to their relative access to epistemic domains.

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<sup>25</sup> Closely translated as ‘because,’ ‘since’ or ‘when,’ the clausal connective *-(u)nikka* not only manifests itself as a connective denoting causality and temporality but also functions in the utterance final position, especially in naturally occurring conversations (S. Sohn, 2003).

In terms of second language development, I showed that intermediate students have limited range in their use of *-canh-* according to proposed knowledge type. I did so through an analysis of instances from intermediate students that are comparable to instances from advanced students or Korean L1 speakers. While the extracts presented in this section demonstrate that speakers at both proficiency levels engage in similar practices of account giving, presenting their opinions with supporting examples that involve commonly shared knowledge, they also illustrate that the employment of linguistic resources differs depending on proficiency levels. Table 4.1 categorizes the types of information that the speakers invoked for accomplishing the particular action of giving an account in the extracts in this section.

Table 4.1. Types of information and level of sharedness proposed by *-canh-* utterances in first position

Sequential position: First position (multi-unit turn)					
Action: Account giving					
Epistemic congruence	Level of Sharedness	Type of knowledge	Extract number		
			Adv.	Inter	Use
<div style="text-align: center;">           High              Low         </div>	<div style="text-align: center;">           High              Low         </div>	Information with immediate access	4.6-7, 4.9	4.8, 4.10	O
		Common sense knowledge	4.12-13 4.18-19	4.14-15	O
				4.16-17 4.20	X
		Unshared information	4.22-23		O
				4.24	X

Students at both levels display competence in employing *-canh-* when they give accounts by proposing information with direct on-the-spot access; however, the general picture for L2 advanced students is much closer to that for L1 speakers in terms of a diversified range of turn constructions as well as ways to manage shared knowledge

throughout the continuum. Intermediate students use different forms with simpler functions, such as unmarked *-ko* or causal ending *-nikka*, in the same sequential position when they propose common sense knowledge and information that involves hypothetical situations. More specifically, the distribution in the use of *-canh-* according to the presentation of different types of knowledge suggests a developmental order; that is, managing common and indirect knowledge using *-canh-* is a skill acquired later than the ability to use *-canh-to* manage first-hand knowledge. In this regard, this study attempts to identify developmental patterns by investigating the distribution and kinds of shared information L2 speakers manage with the use of *-canh-*.

#### 4.5 The use of *-canh* in second position: Disagreeing

In the previous section, we observe the use and nonuse of *-canh-* utterances in first position when speakers provide various types of knowledge in support of their claims to build common ground. In the current section, I showcase how the turn generated by a *-canh-* utterance works as a dispreferred response (Ju & Sohn, 2011; K. Suh, 2002) in second position. Whereas *-canh-* in first position is typically employed to give accounts for speakers' claims in the middle of a multi-unit turn, the use of *-canh-* in second position challenges the prior speaker's claim of by proposing various types of information. In other words, the speaker of a *-canh-* utterance projects disaffiliative action (Stivers, 2008) in response to a prior speaker's assertion. This use of *-canh-* in the responsive position by Korean L1 speakers is exemplified in Extract 4.25 below.

Extract 4.25. L1 Korean speaker: From Ju & Sohn (2011, pp. 8-9)

16 A: ya o-nci il-nyen-to nem-ess-nuntay [ne-n cal hay?=  
INTJ come-since one-year-even over-PST-CIRCUM you-TOP well do  
Hey, it's been more than a year (since you came), do you do (it) well?

- 17 B: [uh
- 18 → =ani ku-ay-nun yenge kongpwu-lul: (.) ha-**canh**-a? hhh  
 no that-child-TOP English study-AC do-CANH-IE  
**No, as for her, (she) studies (.) English, right? hhh**

Facing A's challenge on B's English proficiency in line 16, A rejects the validity of B's challenge using *-canh-* in line 18. In this utterance with *-canh-*, A provides the information that B's sister studies English, which makes an implicit contrast between himself and his sister and brings about the interactional consequence of challenge. The current study's data set also contains a collection of similar instances of *-canh-* displaying disalignment in second position. The following Figure 4.2 shows the sequential positions where the suffix *-canh-* occurs in responsive position in the collection of the present study data, along with an example.

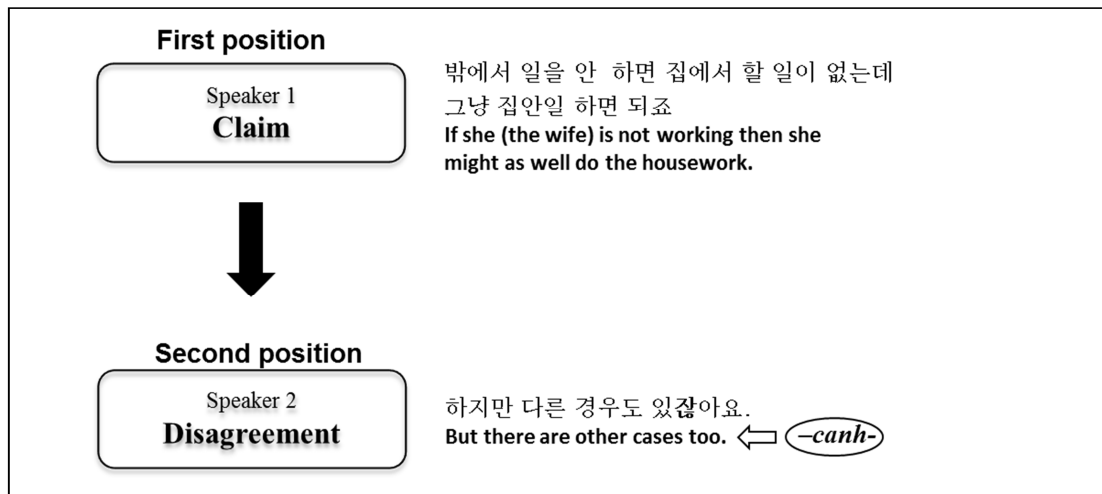


Figure 4.2. *-canh-* in second position

In response to the interlocutor's claim or challenge, the disagreement is usually introduced by means of contrastive markers such as a discourse marker *kuntey* 'but' (Y. Park, 1999), or a negative response particle *ani* 'no' (H. Kim, 2013). The interpersonal modal suffix *-canh-* is employed in the turn-final position. A possible advantage of using *-canh-* in

this sequential position for achieving dispreferred action such as disagreement is that the appeal to shared knowledge is presented in a way that is difficult to reject. The disaffiliative claim delivered with a *-canh-* utterance cannot simply be rejected. Instead, it takes extra interactional work for the co-participant to deal with the underlying assumption of the appeal to shared knowledge. This is evidenced by the high frequency of agreement tokens by the recipients in response to *-canh-* utterances (Ju & Sohn, 2011; K. Suh, 2002).

Although the speaker primarily claims that the proposed information was already known to the recipient by employing *-canh-*, the details of dispreferred actions are varied according to turn construction and proposed types of information; a variety of epistemic accesses to the proposed information is implied in *-canh-* utterances in second position. What is interesting regarding these differences in epistemic accesses in the use of *-canh-* are the corresponding differences in its use according to L2 speakers' proficiency level. In what follows, I focus on the use of *-canh-* occurring in this second position and its variations according to the speakers' differing proficiency levels. Different recipients' uptake of *-canh-* utterances according to different levels of access managed through the use of *-canh-* is also discussed.

#### **4.5.1 Use of *-canh-* in second position: Proposing equal access to information with common sense knowledge**

This chapter examines occurrences of *-canh-* in second position by both advanced and intermediate-level students. These *-canh-* utterances formulate matters to which both the speaker and the recipient have some degree of access. They mark information reasonably believed to be true, such as common sense and universal phenomena (K. Suh, 2002). What is common in the use of *-canh-* in these cases is that the proposed information, formulated as account giving, is something that is to be taken up by the recipient as an "account" that is part of the dispreferred response, that is, an account for not agreeing to the interlocutors' claim.

Extract 4.26 below shows such a case in the talk of a L1 speaker. The speaker makes an unchallengeable claim by deploying three consecutive *-canh-* utterances in lines 5, 6, and 8. In other words, a range of *-canh-* uses is deployed in order to both claim and back up the disagreement.

Extract 4.26. L1 Korean speaker: Adapted from Kawanish (1994 p. 91)

(Up to this point, one of the participants, J has been talking about how his impression of the U.S. has changed. He said that he thought American society was sexually "chaotic," but through having attended Bible study groups and dealing with classmates, he found that he was wrong. Beginning in line 5, Y responds to J's telling.)

- 05      Y:    → hankwuk-un taycecycek-ulo an            kule-ss **canh**-ayo=  
                  Korea-TOP    usually-ADV    NEG like that-PST-CANH-POL  
                  **But Korea, on the whole, is not like that (as you know).**
- 06                   → =kuntay yeki-nun kule-n       ay tul-i       manh-**canh**-ayo=  
                          but    here-TOP that-ATTR kid-PL-NOM a lot-CANH-POL  
                          **But here, there are many such people (as you know).**
- 07                   sengcek-ulo       mwunlan-hako                   kule-n saynghwal-ul ha-nun  
                          sexually-ADV promiscuous-and:CONN that-ATTR live-ACC do-ATTR
- 08                   → ay-tul-I       man-**canh**-ayo  
                          kid-PL-NOM a lot-CANH-POL  
                          **There are many who are sexually promiscuous and lead such lives (don't you think so?).**

The present study data shows that speakers invoke common sense norms as grounds for defending themselves (or others) against a challenge. More specifically, the *-canh-* utterances provide information in great detail along with exemplification or contrast. In terms of turn design, the speaker starts his or her turn with a qualifying clause (Mori, 1999)<sup>26</sup> using *-ciman* and partially accepting the other participant's contrasting view. Then the speaker projects his or her argument by using a *-canh-* utterance. That is, the speaker first

<sup>26</sup> "Self-qualifying clause" refers to a type of "partial disagreement," (Pomerantz, 1984) that by integrating a self-qualification admits limitations and the possibility of different perspectives with a speaker's claim (Mori, 1999). This practice is reported cross-linguistically in English, Japanese, Korean (Y. Park, 1996), Finnish (Sorjonen, 1996), and Dutch (Houtkoop, 1987).

acknowledges the prior speaker's claim but then moves on to launch a challenge by employing *-canh-*.

**Advanced.** The following extract comes from an advanced-level classroom debate on whether Koreans' quick-tempered dispositions contribute to the growth of the country.

Extract 4.27. Wendy: Quick-tempered Korean people

- 10 Erika: °어° 빨리빨리(.) 문-빨리빨리 문화가↑,(.)  
 11 좋은 영향을 미치는: (.) 미쳤다고  
 12 볼 수도 있지만; 제가 생각할 때는 (.2)  
 13 °이제° (.)너무(.)°이케° 재빨리 해내야  
 14 인정받는 생각이:(.2) 그런 성향 의식-  
 15 그런 의식이 강하기 때문에, (.2) 한국에서  
 16 친구백구십사년이랑 구십오년에 이제:  
 17 성-성-성-성수대교 붕괴사건이라던지,  
 18 삼풍백화점 붕괴사건 같은: 그런(.)  
 19 부실 공사로 인해 참사가 생기는 상황이  
 20 발생했고, 또: 이제: (.5) 빨리빨리 문화  
 21 때문에: 발전하는 편리한 생활때문에,  
 22 조금중 같은 후유증도 생기고요,  
 23 어느 뉴스에 따르면 사회-회사에 다니는 사람들  
 24 팔십퍼센트가 우울증에 시달린다고 했고,  
 25 또: 하나 더 얘기하자면;(.2)°이제°(.2)  
 26 빨리빨리문화 때문에=°이제° 한국에  
 27 맥도날드나 롯데리아 같은 그: fastfood 문화가(.2)  
 28 생기기 시작하면서, 요즘 한국 사람중에  
 29 비만인 사람이 굉장히 많다고  
 30 °들었거든요?°  
 31 그래서(.) 빨리빨리 문화를:한국 사람에게  
 32 긍정적인 영향을 미쳤다고보다는 좀  
 33 부정적인 영향을 미쳤다고 생각합니다  
 34 Ron: °음° ((nods))  
 35 Wendy: 우선 한국인의 급한 성격이  
 36 대충대충하는 성격하고? 다소:(.)  
 37 이어지는 점이 없을 수는 없지만?  
 38 급한 성격이 있는 사람:이 있는가  
 39 하면; 급한 성격으로 일을 열심히 잘  
 40 → 하는 사람도 있잖아요 책에도 그렇구. 그래서↑  
 41 그 성수대교나 (.) <삼풍백화점[은>  
 42 ((looks at the article))  
 43 Erika: [((laugh))]  
 44 Wendy: ((laugh)) 이거는? 쯔 급한 성격때문이 아니라



((Transcript lines 10-30 not presented here))

Umm... You can say that *ppalli-ppalli* culture<sup>27</sup> has a positive impact but I think now that because the obsession of finishing everything in haste is so strong, there were a number of incidents that has happened. Like the 1994 and 1995, the Seong- Seong - Seong - Seongsoo Bridge incident, SamPoong Mall incident... These cases of disasters happened and now... Because of *ppalli-ppalli* culture ... because of the comfort of this... there are aftereffects of this, such as impatience and...

- 31 kulayse(.) ppalli ppalli mwunhwa-lul:hankwuk salam-eykey  
so hurry hurry culture-ACC Korea person-to
- 32 kungcengcekin yenghyang-ul michy-ess-ta-ki-potanun com  
positive influence-ACC give-PST-PLN-NML-than a little
- 33 pwucengcekin yenghyang-ul michy-ess-tako sayngkak-hapnita  
negative influence-ACC give-PST-QT think-DEF  
**That is why, rather than a positive influence, I think this has been a negative effect for Koreans living in this fast-paced culture.**
- 34 Ron: °um\* ((nods))
- 35 Wendy: wusen hankwukin-uy kupha-n sengkyek-i  
first Korean pepope-GEN hasty-ATTR personality-NOM
- 36 taychwungtaychwungha-nun sengkyek-hako? taso:(.)  
careless-ATTR personality-and a little
- 37 ieci-nun cem-i eps-ul swu-nun eps-ciman?  
connect-ATTR point-NOM not exis can-ATTR not exist-but
- 38 kupha-n sengkyek-i iss-nun salam:-i iss-nunka  
hasty-ATTR personality-NOM exist-ATTR person-NOM exist-Q
- 39 ha-myen꺠 kupha-n sengkyek-ulo il-ul yelsimhi cal  
do-COND hasty-ATTR personality-by work-ACC hard well
- 40 → ha-nun salam-to iss-**canh**-ayo chayk-ey-to kuleh-kwu. kulayse꺠  
do-ATTR person-also exist-CANH-POL book-at-also that-CONN so
- 41 ku sengswutaykyo-na (.) <samphwung paykhwacem-[un>  
that Seongsoo bridge-or Sampoong department store-TOP
- 42 ((looks at the article))  
**First of all, although there is a bit of relation between Korean's quick temper and the lines of carelessness, nothing can be problem free. There are (quick tempered) people who rush through in work but there are also people who speed through their work diligently, right? like in the books. So, Seongsoo Bridge or Sampoong Mall are...**
- 43 Erika: [((laugh))]

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<sup>27</sup> *ppalli-ppalli* can be literally translated into “hurry, hurry” frequently used when the speaker wants others to speed up ‘*ppalli-ppalli* culture’ usually refers to quick tempered Korean people. Sociologists attribute ‘*ppalli-ppalli* culture’ to the country's rapid economic growth.

44 Wendy: ((laugh)) i-ke-nun? ccom kupha-n sengkyek ttaymwun-i anila  
**This is not about being a fast tempered,**

One of the students, Erika, takes a quite long turn arguing that Koreans' impetuous dispositions bring about negative consequences in that too much emphasis on speed leads to unmeticulous results (lines 10-33). To support this claim, Erika brings up examples of events and phenomena that happened in Korea. In response to Erika's assertion, Wendy provides her disaffiliative view using *-canh-* from line 35 to line 42. Here, Wendy provides a long turn of disagreement as she rebuffs Erika's lengthy argument item-by-item. In this extract, Wendy challenges Erika's examples about collapses of a bridge and a mall. In the beginning of the turn in lines 35-37, Wendy acknowledges Erika's prior argument by employing a self-qualifying clause using *-ciman* by admitting the correlation between quick temper and the carelessness. In her ensuing utterance in lines 38-40, Wendy challenges Erika's prior assertion by pointing out other examples of hard-working people with hot-tempered personalities using *-canh-* ("there are also people who speed through their work diligently, right?"). The particle *-to* 'also, too' (line 40) contributes to highlights the common trait of the proposed information. In the following utterances in lines 40-42, Wendy additionally backs up her disagreement by referring to a book as a source of authority. Erika responds with laughter in line 43. Wendy's turn in this extract shows a case of *-canh-* working as an effective means of accomplishing disagreement. With the use of *-canh-*utterance, the proposed information is formulated as an account for disagreeing to the recipient's prior claim. One more instance of the case in point is observed in the following Extract 4.28.

Extract 4.28. Ariel: Division of house chores

36 Ariel: 아니: 그럼 잠깐: >읽을게요.< ((looks at the screen))  
 37 돈이 많이 버는 사람 일이 돈을:  
 38 적게버는 사람보다 더 힘들다고  
 39 단정지을 수는 없지만: 그만큼 그 사람의

40           노력과 능력. (.)>그니까<: 능력도 있지만  
41           노력이 더 있고 또 그만큼 책임감(.)이  
42           → 더 많은 직-직위라고 볼 수 있잖아요:  
43           딱 보며[는 어  
44 Daisy:           [돈을 더 받으니까  
45 Ariel:           더 받으니까 그만큼 할 것두  
46           신경 써야 될 것두 많은데: 어: (.)  
47           더 어: 그러며는 집안 일까지  
48           → 신경쓸려고 하든 힘들잖아요.  
49 John:           \*네 죄송한데\* 그렇게 말을 하시면요,  
50           그 돈과: >가사 분담에 대해서  
51           그렇게 말씀을 하시면< 돈과 사랑에 대해서도  
52           그렇게 얘기할 수 있어요=

36 Ariel:           ani: kulem camkkan: >ilk-ulkey-yo.< ((looks at the screen))  
no then briefly read-PRM-POL  
**No, then I'll read it just a bit.**

37           ton-i       manhi pe-nun       salam il-i       ton-ul:  
money-NOM a lot earn-ATTR person work-NOM money-ACC

38           cek-key     pe-nun       salam-pota te himtul-tako  
less-ADV earn-ATTR person-than more tired-QT

39           tancengci-ul swunun eps-ciman: kumankhum ku salam-uy  
conclude-can           NEG-but       as much that person-GEN

40           nolyek-kwa nunglyek. (.)>kunikka<: nunglyek-to iss-ciman  
effort-and competence           so competence-also exist-but  
**It is still early to to conclude that the person making more money works harder than  
the person making less money. However, that much more integrity and effort... I  
mean, we can assume that he (or she) may have the competence**

41           nolyek-i       te iss-ko       tto kumankhum chaykimkam(.)i  
effort-NOM more exist-CONN also as much responsibility-NOM

42           → te       manh-un cik-cikwi-lako pol swu iss-~~canh~~-ayo:  
more a lot-ATTR position-QT see       can-CANH-POL

43           ttak pomye[nun e  
just see-COND  
**but he (or she) must put in that much effort and the position has more responsibility,  
right?**

44 Daisy:                           [ton-ul       te       pat-unikka  
money-ACC more receive-because  
**Because they he (or she) gets more money.**

45 Ariel:           te       pat-unikka       kumankhum ha-l       kes-twu  
more receive-because as much do-ATTR thing-also

46           sinkyeng sse-ya toy-l kes-twu       manh-untey: e: (.)  
concern-should-ATTR thing-also a lot-CIRCUM

47           te e: kulemyenun cipanil-kkaci  
more           then housework-until

Because he (or she) gets more money they have more things to do... umm...

- 48 → sinkyengssu-llyeko ha-mun himtul-**canh**-ayo.  
concern-in order to do-COND tired-CANH-POL  
**More... Umm... then it'll be too much handle if he (or she) has to worry about the housework, on top of all that, right?**
- 49 John: 'ney coysong-hantey' kuleh-key mal-ul ha-si-myen-yo,  
yes sorry-CIRCUM I like that-ADV say-ADV do-HON-COND-POL
- 50 ku ton-kwa: >kasa pwuntam-ey tayhayse kuleh-key  
that money-and housework division-about like that-ADV
- 51 malssum-ul ha-si-myen< ton-kwa salang-ey tayhayse-to  
say-ADD do-HON-COND money-and love-about-also
- 52 kuleh-key yaykiha-l swu iss-eyo=  
like that-ADV say-can-POL  
**Yes, pardon me but if you say that about splitting the housework, you can also apply that to love. So you're saying that if I make more money then my wife will love me more.**

Preceding this extract, John argues that division of house chores should not be decided according to income because the intensity of a job does not always match the amount of income. The main speaker in this segment, Ariel, displays a contrasting view in the beginning of her turn by launching a turn-initial negative response particle *ani* (H. Kim, 2013) in line 36. Note that this turn of disagreement with *-canh-* is formulated in a similar way to that shown by Wendy in the previous Extract 4.27 above. She starts her turn by partially accepting her interlocutor's view by launching a qualifying clause (Mori, 1999) using *-ciman* (lines 37-39: "It is still early to to conclude that the person making more money works harder than the person making less money,"). Then the speaker moves on to her main argument that is contrary to the prior speaker's, using *-canh-* by conveying a common assumption that the position with high income requires more effort and responsibility (lines 39-42: "he (or she) must put in that much effort and the position has more responsibility, right?") This instance showcases the use of *-canh-* for giving a defensible account by giving common sense knowledge while disagreeing with the previous speaker. In this utterance, Ariel delivers common knowledge- a job with high salary requires more responsibility -as

shared by using *-canh-* to make a sharp contrast with the prior speaker's view. This turn of disagreement receives Daisy's support in line 44, evidenced by Daisy's provision of an account for Ariel's claim ("Because they get more money."). Subsequent to Daisy's supportive moves, in line 48, Ariel provides an additional counter argument using *-canh-* that housework will be excessive burden to the person who has a job with more responsibility ("It'll be too much handle if the person has to worry about the house work, on top of all that, right?"). Again, we witness that proposing shared knowledge, as is done with *-canh-*, serves as a resource to project disagreement in talk.

**Intermediate.** In the intermediate-level students' *-canh-* utterances in second position, both the use and the absence of the suffix are identified. I first present instances of intermediate students' use of *-canh-* in second position for doing disaffiliative action by proposing common sense information. Then I discuss the non-occurrence of *-canh-* in the same sequential environment in other interactions of the intermediate-level students. In the following Extract 4.29, students have a discussion on infant care by married working parents. Preceding this segment, CL asserts that kids should be raised by their parents, not anyone else. Upon this assertion, Jenny starts giving a disagreeing view by producing 'but' in line 41. Then she challenges CL with a *-canh-* utterance, which both claims and supports the disagreement (line 48-49).

#### Extract 4.29. Jenny: Infant care

41 Jenny: but if you >그-그거< ((looks at teacher)) 막-막걸리? what?  
 42 ALL: ((laughing))  
 43 Teacher: 맞-laugh 맞벌이.  
 44 Jenny: 맞벌이 ((laugh)) 맞벌이  
 45 ALL: ((laugh))  
 46 Jenny: 하면: 왜 그거 해면:: 하면:  
 47 CL: yeah  
 48 Jenny: 어: ((laugh)) 어: 뭐지? 그 아이 키울 때  
 49 → 시간 ◦없잖아요◦  
 50 Sue: just hire an (.) 아줌마  
 51 Jenny: 아: no no no [no

52 Sue: [no problems  
53 Jenny: 아줌마[:  
54 CL: [아니 근데:  
55 (.)  
56 Jenny: >어뜨케< 아이: 키울거예요?  
57 CL: >like< (.) 뭐지? (.) 아마: 저는: (.) 미래에:  
58 Jenny: ((looks at CL and rolls eyes))

41 Jenny: but if you >ku--ku-ke<((looks at teacher))mak--makkelli? what?  
that that-thing Korean rice wine  
**But if you... that... mak-makgeolli? What?**

42 ALL: ((laughing))

43 Teacher: mac-((laugh)) macpeli.  
double income  
**Double income.**

44 Jenny: macpeli ((laugh)) macpeli  
double income double income  
**Double income.**

45 ALL: ((laugh))

46 Jenny: ha-myen: way **ku-ke** **hay-myen::** ha-myen:  
do-COND DM that-thing do-COND do-COND  
**If you do that, because... if you do that...**

47 CL: yeah

48 Jenny: e: ((laugh)) e: mwe-ci? ku ai khiwu-l ttay  
what-COMM:IE that kid raise-when  
**Um... umm... what's it? When you're raising your child**

49 → sikan °eps-**canh**-ayo°  
time NEG-CANH-POL  
**You don't have time for that, right?**

50 Sue: just hire an (.) acwumma  
maid  
**Just hire a housemaid.**

51 Jenny: a: no no no [no

52 Sue: [no problems

53 Jenny: acwumma [:  
maid  
**Housemaid.**

54 CL: [ani kuntay: (.)  
no but  
**No but,**

55 Jenny: >ettukhey< ai: khiwu-l ke-yeyyo?  
how raise-PROS-POL  
**How will you raise your child?**

56 CL: >like< (.) mwe-ci? (.) ama: ce-nun: (.) milay-ey:  
what-COMM:IE probably I-TOP future-at  
**Like, what's it. I will most likely in the future**

57 Jenny: ((looks at CL and rolls eyes))

In line 41, Jenny employs an *if*-clause in English to suggest a context of a double-income family as background for the upcoming disagreement. After a few lines of word-searching for ‘double-income’ from line 41 to line 44, Jenny resumes the turn of disagreement in line 46 by recycling the previous *if*-clause, this time in Korean using a conditional marker *-myen*. Subsequent to a delay with elongation and a word-search marker *mweci* ‘What is it’ in line 48, Jenny finally deploys a *-canh-* utterance to challenge the prior interlocutor’s claim that working married couples do not usually have enough time to take care their children. Then she challenges CL with a *-canh-* utterance (“But if you both working, when you’re raising your child, you don’t have time for that, right?”). Note that this use of *-canh-* for delivering common knowledge in second position, as in Extracts 4.27 and 4.28, and 4.29 highlights the equality of epistemic access and successfully accomplishes disagreement. Jenny’s disagreement is challenged again by Sue’s suggestion of alternative in line 50 (“Just hire a maid”). As a response to it, in her third turn, Jenny formulates her turn as a wh-question (“How will you raise your child?”) to counter challenges Sue’s disagreement (K. Yoon, 2006). A similar pattern is can be observed in the following intermediate students’ interaction. The students are having a discussion on the division of house chores between working married couples.

Extract 4.30. Jenny: Cleaning cow's poo

088 Jenny: okay.↓ (.5) like (.8) 저::어 Sue 생각에서는: (.)  
089 돈 더 많이 버는 사람이>°professional job°이죠<  
090 =그거:: 솔직히 not always. (.3) 항상 안  
091 그래요=이케(.2) like(.)°예이 들면↑(.)  
092 소꿉! (.4) 치워요.

093 Sue: what?(.) ewww ((laughs))  
 094 ALL: ((laugh))  
 095 CL: how XXX 집안일  
 096 Jenny: no! not 집안일: 일!  
 097 Sue: as a job.  
 098 Jenny: yeah! ((looks at CL))  
 099 Sue: yeah!  
 100 ALL: ((laughing))  
 101 Jenny: 그거 진짜(.) 힘든 job.=아니면, (.7) like (2)  
 102 ((looks at the teacher)) 코끼리:: (1.5) 애기(.2)  
 103 만들기. (.) Okay?  
 104 ALL: ((laughing))  
 105 Sue: what do you mean:: making elephant's XXX?  
 106 Jenny: yeah! You put it in! okay? 그거 디게 어려운(.2) 일  
 107 (.3) ((laughs)) 이니까, (.2) 근데(.2) what if(.)  
 108 딴 사람은 뭐 아르바이트해서 십불  
 109 받아.(.2) 한 시간에.(.2) 근데 일을 더 less 해.  
 110 =he is just sell. 근데 소똥 치우는 사람  
 111 is like >일을 더 많이 하는데 돈 더 적게  
 112 버니깐 like 그 집안에 들어갈 때 (.) like (.)  
 113 → 소똥 치우는 사람이 더 힘들 거잖아(.8)  
 114 like that does make sense.

((lines 88-91: Transcript not presented here))

92 so ttong!(.4) chiwe-yo.  
 cow poo clean-POL  
**Okay. Like, Sue you think that the person who makes more money has a professional job, right? But actually, that's not always true. Like, for example, let's say he cleans cow's poo.**

93 Sue: what?(.) ewww ((laughs))  
 94 ALL: ((laugh))  
 95 CL: how XXX cipanil  
 housework  
**How housework**  
 96 Jenny: no! not cipanil: il!  
 housework work  
**No! not housework, job!**  
 97 Sue: as a job.  
 98 Jenny: yeah! ((looks at CL))  
 99 Sue: yeah!  
 100 ALL: ((laughing))  
 101 Jenny: ku-ke cincca(.) himtu-nun job.=animyen, (.7) like (2)  
 that-thing really tired-ATTR or  
 102 ((looks at the teacher)) khokkili:: (1.5) ayki(.2)  
 elephant baby



103 mantul-ki. (.) Okay?  
 make-NML  
**Like, that's a really tough job. Or like making elephants have offspring (elephant reproduction). Okay?**

104 ALL: ((laugh))

105 Sue: what do you mean:: making elephant's XXX?

106 Jenny: yeah! You put it in! okay? ku-ke tikey elyewu-n(.2) il  
 that-thing very difficult-ATTR work

107 (.3) ((laughs)) i-nikka, (.2) kuntey(.2) what if(.)  
 COP-because but

108 tta-n salam-un mwe alupaithu-hay-se sip-pwul  
 other-ATTR person-TOP DM part time job-do-and 10-dollar

109 pat-a. (.2) han sikan-ey(.2) kuntey il-ul te less hay.  
 get-IE one hour-per but work-ACC more do  
**Yeah! You put it in! Okay? It's a really hard job, but you earn a lot of money for that.  
 Okay, that's, really worrisome. But what if the other person is a part-timer who makes  
 \$10 an hour and works less.**

110 =he is just sell. kuntey so ttong chiwu-nun salam  
 but cow poo clean-ATTR person

111 is like >il-ul te manhi ha-nunten ton te cek-key  
 work-ACC more a lot do-CIRCUM money more less-ADV

112 pe-nikkan like ku cip an-ey tuleka-l ttay (.) like (.)  
 earn-because that house inside-at come in-when

113 → so ttong chiwu-nun salam-ika te himtu-l ke-**canh**-a(.8)  
 cow poo clean-ATTR person-NOM more tired-PROS-CANH-IE

114 like that does make sense.  
**All he does is just selling. But because the person who cleans up cow poo works more  
 but makes less, he/she must be so much more tired when he/she gets home, right?  
 Like that, does make sense?**

Right before this extract begins, Sue argues that a person with less income should just quit his or her job and do all the housework to support the other person for the reason that the person with more income would probably have a better job. This instance begins with Jenny's challenge towards Sue's argument (lines 88-91). Here, Jenny points out that higher income does not guarantee better job. To support her challenge, Jenny projects a made-up example of a job in the next utterance in line 92: cleaning up cow's excrement. Sue expresses surprise in line 93 by producing "what" along with an exclamation *eww* and laughter,

arguably due to the idiosyncratic characteristic of the example. Nevertheless, this turn also works as a disaffiliative move by indexing the inappropriateness of Jenny's example. After a few lines of a side sequence to clarify the proffered example (lines 95-100), Jenny gives an evaluative comment on the job in line 101 ("It's a really hard job."). After a micropause in line 101, Jenny provides an alternative example of a job: making elephants have offspring. However, the bizarreness of the example is elevated, as evidenced in Sue's subsequent initiation of repair in line 105 by asking for a clarification in the form of a wh-question ("What do you mean?"). This is both a question and a challenge and can be treated as a "double-barreled" action (Schegloff, 2007). In response, Jenny offers an example of an easy job starting from line 107 with a higher wage as a contrasting example. By launching a discourse marker *kuntay* 'but' in line 107 along with a conditional clause "what if," Jenny marks the beginning of the projection of a comparing example. Here she describes this part-time job as a job that requires fewer working hours with more income. By re-launching *kuntay* in line 109, Jenny once again brings up the prior example of cleaning animals' excrement in line 110. Using *-canh-*, she describes how the person with that job is physically more burdened, although she or he earns less ("But because the person who cleans up cow poo works more but makes less, he/she must be so much more tired when he/she gets home, right?"). This lengthy multi-unit turn using *-canh-* is highly comparable to other extracts from advanced students in that the speaker provides information in great detail to build common ground for the disagreement.

#### **4.5.2 Use and non use of *-canh-* in second position: Claiming shared knowledge**

I have thus far examined the use of *-canh-* in second position by both advanced and intermediate students. Advanced-level students' conversations show both higher frequency and a far more diverse range of usage of *-canh-*. Although intermediate students' turn

construction displays features that do not occur in that of L1 speakers, they showed the occurrence of *-canh-* in second position in response to an interlocutor as a disaffiliative action. However, the intermediate students' data does not always display the use of *-canh-* corresponding to that of advanced or L1 speakers. This chapter examines the different distributions in the use of *-canh-* according to students' proficiency level. More specifically, I examine the use and nonuse of *-canh-* according to the level of epistemic access between participants from complete equality to absolute divergence. Examples of diverse sequences where different kinds of actions are being achieved by the target forms are discussed in the analysis.

#### 4.5.2.1 Proposing information as shared but not recognized

As with *-canh-* in first position, speakers use *-canh-* in second position to propose information that is available to observe on-the-spot in the course of interaction to challenge a prior speaker's assertion or as a disaffiliative move. In other words, the speaker points out information that the recipient can observe but that is presumably unnoticed. In such an utterance, a high degree of speaker certainty about his grasp of the matter at hand appears to be implicated in the use of *-canh-*. This use of *-canh-* can be observed in the following L1 speakers' interaction.

Extract 4.31. L1 Korean speaker: Adapted from Ju & Sohn (2011, p. 8)

- 06     E:     =y-ay-ka way i-lay?  
               this-child-NM why this do:INT  
               **Why do you do this?**
- 07     J:     hah hah hah hah [hah hah hah hah ey(hhh):::
- 08     E:                               [na-to **himang**-kacko sal-e:: way **i-lay::?**  
   I-too hope-with live-INT why this-do:INT  
   **Even I live with hope. Why do (you) do this?**
- 09            i naimanhun enni-to::, huh huh huh huh  
               this old older sister-even  
               **Even this old older sister, huh huh huh huh'**

- 10 J: → kulayto enni-nun:: ↑master-ha-**canh**-a::↑  
still older sister-TC master-do-COMM-INT  
**Still you are doing master's.**
- 11 J: → [na-nun incey ↑**under-canh-a**↑  
I-TC still undergraduate-COMM-INT  
**(I) am still (an) under(graduate student).**
- 12 E: [ma(h)ster?

E challenges J's complaint regarding her age by providing self-deprecation about her older age in lines 6 and 8. In response to this, J makes a counter argument using a *-canh-* utterance to redirect the focus of the talk from age to academic status in lines 10 and 11. Information such as participants' age or academic status clearly indicates equality of epistemic access between both participants. The high level of sharedness assists to build strong grounds for disagreement using *-canh-*. The following analysis exhibits L2 speakers' use of *-canh-* in comparable sequential environments.

The first two examples from advanced students' interactions display the use of *-canh-* when invoking shared knowledge by directly referring to material objects on the spot: class handouts. The following Extract 4.32 is from the very beginning of the discussion on the topic of donation-based admission to college in South Korea. Before they came to class to debate, students were told to decide their stance on the issue, to develop supporting ideas, and to post them up on the class website to share with their classmates. The teacher collected the students' postings and made handouts for distribution.

#### Extract 4.32. Daisy: Debate rule

- 07 Daisy: daisy:↑::: 다 반대해갖고 제가 찬성 썼[어요  
08 Teacher: [음  
09 John: daisy 야 근데 너는 두 번째꺼 기여 입학제:  
10 찬성이라고 했는데 왜 반대처럼 들려 이유가?  
11 Daisy: →그 다음에 <하지만.> 썼잖아:  
12 (.6)  
13 John: ((reads the article and laughs))  
14 Teacher: 네 그거는 이따: ((laugh))  
15 ALL: ((laughing))

16 Teacher: 얘기 하구요↑ ((laughing voice)) 학교 체벌.  
 17 John: debate 할 때는 절대로 그걸 갖다가  
 18 인정해주면((shakes hand)) 안되는  
 19 거예요° ((laugh))=  
 20 Daisy: 어차피 말할 거잖아  
 21 Teacher: ((sigh)) 네 ((laugh))  
 22 ALL: ((laughing))  
 23 Daisy: [네].

07 Daisy: daisy:↑::: ta pantayhay-kacko cey-ka chanseng sse-ss-[eyo  
 all disagree-so I-NOM agree write-PST-POL  
**I agreed because everyone else disagrees.**

08 Teacher: [um

09 John: daisy-ya kuntay ne-nun twu penccay-kke kiye iphak-cey:  
 VOC but you-TOP second-thing donation admission-system  
**Hey Daisy, you wrote that you agreed with donation-based admission for the second one, but how come it sounds like you're disagreeing with it?**

10 chanseng-ilako hay-ss-nuntay way pantay-chelem tully-e iyu-ka?  
 agree-QT do-PST-CIRCUM why disagree-like hear-IE reason-NOM

11 Daisy: →ku taum-ey <haciman.> sse-ss-canh-a:  
 that next-at but write-PST-CANH-IE  
**That's why I wrote 'however' after.**

12 (.6)

13 John: ((reads the article and laughs))

14 Teacher: ney ku-ke-nun itta: ((laugh))  
 yes that-thing-TOP later

15 ALL: ((laughing))

16 Teacher: yaykiha-kwu-yo↑ ((laughing voice)) hakkyo cheypel.  
 talk-CONN-POL school punishment  
**Okay, let's talk about that later. Corporal punishment in school.**

17 John: debate ha-l ttay-nun celtaylo ku-ke-l kactaka  
 deate do-when-TOP never that-thing-ACC and

18 incenghay-cwu-myen((shakes hand)) an toy-nun  
 admit-give-COND NEG become-ATTR

19 ke-yey'yo'((laugh))=  
 thing-POL  
**You should never admit acceptance in debates.**

20 Daisy: =echaphi malha-l ke-canh-a  
 anyhow say-PROS-CANH-IE  
**(I) was going to say it anyway.**

21 Teacher: ((sigh)) ney ((laugh))  
 yes

Alright.  
 22 ALL: (( laugh ))  
 23 Daisy: [ney.  
           yes  
           Alright.

This segment takes place right before students begin a debate on donation-based admission to college in South Korea. Before the day of debate, students share viewpoints from different groups along with supporting details via handout. While they review the handout together in class, one of the students, John explicitly names Daisy (line 7) and produces a negative evaluation of Daisy's supporting details on the handout by constructing his turn in a why-question ("how come it sounds like you're disagreeing with it?") in lines 9-10. The form of why question is used as challenge (Koshik, 2002). Also note that John employs an intimate level of speech and a vocative, which index "off-stage" non-presentational talk (Cook, 2008).<sup>28</sup> This negative evaluation of Daisy runs the risk of being a face threatening act (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In response to John's direct criticism, Daisy confronts it using *-canh-* in line 11. Note that in this turn with *-canh-* ("That's why I wrote 'however' after."). Daisy pinpoints the part of the handout John should focus on (*kwu taumey* 'next to, after'), framing it as a direct report of the part of the sentence in the handout (*haciman* 'but, however'). That is, in the face of the strongly negative stance displayed in John's prior turn, Daisy deploys the practice of *-canh-* suffixing when asserting an opposite position. The off-stage conversation initiated by John is maintained by Daisy's take-up in her alignment with the intimate speech level. The argument is quite heated, as evidenced by louder than usual voices.

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<sup>28</sup> Cook (2008) introduces the distinction between "on-stage" presentational and "off-stage" non-presentational frames (Goffman, 1974) in her discussion of speech style shift as an important aspect of sociolinguistic competence in Japanese.

In summary, facing the negative evaluation towards her in the first pair part, by using *-canh-*, Daisy formulates the second pair part as a defensive disagreement with an on-the-spot resource for evidence. In other words, *-canh-* gives an emphatic rejection followed by a complete denial of the grounds for John's prior claim, and finally a basis for this denial. What is also interesting in this extract is that neither Daisy explains the implication of the proposed information nor does John ask for clarification makes relevant that both interlocutors are orienting to the information as shared knowledge. John's following turn in line 13 attests that Daisy's denial of John's claim has been admitted. John reads the corresponding part of the handout and acknowledges Daisy's assertion with the following laughter. In the next turn in lines 14 and 16, the teacher attempts to close the off-stage context and initiates an on-stage context for the class by employing a polite speech level (Cook, 2008). In the following Extract 4.33, the turn of disagreement with *-canh-* is constructed in a similar way to the prior extract in that the speaker explicitly refers to the source of evidence at hand.

Extract 4.33. Daisy: Love V.S. Money

- 120 Daisy:      우리는 지금: 돈을 더 많이 버는 사람이 (.2)  
 121              >그 모지?< 가사일을 덜 해야된다고 생각하는  
 122              걸 말하는거지, (.) >그 모지?< 그  
 123              사람이 돈 더 많이 벌면 사랑을 더  
 124              → 받아야 한다. 그 질문 아니잖아요.  
 125 Ariel:      네.  
 126 Teacher:    지금 십칠분이 되서 시간이  
 127              다 되가지구여,
- 120 Daisy:      wuli-nun cikum: ton-ul te      manhi pe-nun      salam-i (.2)  
                  we-TOP    now   money-ACC more a lot earn-ATTR person-NOM
- 121              >ku mo-ci?<              kasail-ul tel hay-ya toyn-tako sayngkakha-nun  
                  that what-COMM:IE housework-ACC less do-should-QT think-ATTR
- 122              ke-l malha-nun-ke-ci, (.) >ku mo-ci?< ku  
                  thing-ACC say-ATTR-thing-COMM that what-COMM:IE that
- 123              salam-i ton te manhi pel-myen salang-ul te  
                  person-NOM money more a lot earn-COND love-ACC more

- 124 → pata-ya han-ta. ku cilmwun ani-**canh**-ayo.  
 receive-should-PLN that question NEG-CANH-POL  
**We're talking about whether the person who makes more money should do less of the housework, what's it, we're not talking about whether the person making more money should receive more love, right?**
- 125 Ariel: ney.  
 yes  
**Yes.**
- 126 Teacher: cikum sipchil-pwun-i toy-se sikan-i  
 now seventeen-minute-NOM become-because time-NOM
- 127 ta toy-kacikwu-ye,  
 all become-so-POL  
**Now it's already 17 minutes.**

Here, the students are also having a debate on the division of housework between working married couples. Prior to this extract, one of the students, John, argues that if couples are married because they are in love, this kind of issue would not even matter in the first place (lines not shown here). In response to this claim, in lines 120-124, Daisy clarifies the original question they had earlier by referring to the handout using *-canh-* (“We’re talking about whether the person who makes more money should do less of the housework, we’re not talking about whether the person making more money should receive more love, right?”). This turn works as a challenge by confirming how the import of the original question is different from what John has implicated in his prior utterances. Daisy’s use of an inclusive pronoun *wuli* ‘we’ (line 120) for the subject of the utterance also contributes to creating common ground between the interlocutors. Along with the use of the pronoun, in line 120, the specific time formulation *cikum* ‘right now’ also aids in building strong disagreement by emphasizing the instantaneousness of the proposed information.

This turn of disagreement with *-canh-* is constructed in a similar way to the prior extract in that the speaker explicitly refers to the source of evidence at hand. In other words, in order to refute the interlocutor’s claim, the speakers in both extracts assess their



interlocutors' previous claims as erroneous by referring to the shared object, the handout. It is also notable that, along with their use of *-canh-*, Daisy deploys a negation form as a turn increment. By overtly rejecting the prior speaker's proffered claim with these interactional resources, this turn not only explains the reason for Daisy's prior assertion but also challenges John's previous opinion against Daisy. In summary, Daisy, the speaker of the *-canh-* utterance, invokes what they have discussed and replaces it with an overt criticism. The source of Daisy's turn of challenge in lines 120-124 is available from the shared object of handout; therefore, it can be treated as information to which John had prior epistemic access. This treats John's previous claim as invalid. Another member in the same group, Ariel, produces an agreement token *ney* in line 125.

Through the analysis of the extracts in this section, we have observed how participants deploy *-canh-* utterances in second position to make disagreements and how complete equality of epistemic access to proposed information aids to build solid ground for the disagreements. As it is interactionally complex to challenge such appeals to shared knowledge when they are proposed with a material object on the spot for evidence, the turn with *-canh-* enables the speaker to pursue her/his line of argumentation.

**Intermediate.** The extract below shows a sequential environment parallel to that seen in Extracts 4.32 and 4.33 in the sense that the speaker refers to the material on the spot in delivering a dispreferred response.

#### Extract 4.34. Jenny: Billionaire

04 Jenny:        지금 뭐죠? 그 >뉴스 들으셨어요?<=중국이  
 05                어: (.2) they-they're number two? ((gesture)) (.2)  
 06                like ((hand gesture))under America?  
 07 Teacher:    아 그 경[제  
 08 Jenny:        [ 제일 많은 billionaire  
 09                (.)  
 10 Teacher:    아::: 그:  
 11 Jenny:        ((thumb up))

12 Teacher: 백만장자: >그니까< 부자가 많은 나라요?  
 13 Jenny: yep=  
 14 Teacher: =네  
 15 Jenny: 그: >amount of< billionaires  
 16 Teacher: 네  
 17 Jenny: 그 country?  
 18 Teacher: 네 백만장자  
 19 Jenny: 미국이 [제일 제일 위에고요  
 20 Teacher: [\*많은 거요:]  
 21 Jenny: 중국=  
 22 Teacher: =\*중국\*  
 23 Jenny: I think they (.) took off (.) Japan or some[thing  
 24 Teacher: \*음:~  
 25 Jenny: the second low  
 26 Teacher: [~음:~  
 27 Sue: yeah but [인구 XX  
 28 Jenny: [just recently  
 29 Sue: 영향.  
 30 Teacher: \*음:~  
 31 (.)  
 32 Jenny: 음? ((looks at soo))  
 33 Sue: they weren't 인구 밀-  
 34 Teacher: 음:  
 35 (.2)  
 36 Sue: the ratio of popul-  
 37 Jenny: 그래두요 전에는 뭐 >like like<  
 38 십-십년 전에는 >like<  
 39 Teacher: \*음:~  
 40 Jenny: XXX[XXXX  
 41 Teacher: [없었는데 지금: 증가[하고 있어요:]  
 42 Jenny: → [이등이니깐요[:  
 43 Teacher: [아:  
 44 Jenny: thant's like ((nods))  
 45 Teacher: \*>그래서<\* 굳이 돈도 많고 잘 나가고 있는데  
 46 자기 체제를: >그니까< 공산주의를 바꿀  
 47 이유가 별로 \*없다는 거죠\*  
 48 Jenny: \*I don't know\*  
 49 (.)  
 50 Teacher: \*그래요?\* 그러면 점점 그: 통일에  
 51 가능성은 멀어지는 건가요?  
 52 Sue: 네  
 53 Teacher: 여러분: >그렇게 생각해요?<  
 54 Sue: ((nods))  
  
 04 Jenny: cikum mwe-cyo? ku >nyusu tul-usy-ess-eyo?<=ccwungkwuk-i  
 now what-COMM:IE that new hear-HON-PST-POL China-NOM  
  
 05 e: (.2) they-they're number two? ((makes 'V' sign with index  
  
 06 and middle fingers))(.2) like under America?  
**What is that? Did you hear about that news? That China's number two? Like, under America?**

- 07 Teacher: a ku kyeng[cey  
that economy  
**Oh, that economy**
- 08 Jenny: [ceyil manh-un billionaire  
most many-ATTR  
**Country with most billionaires**
- 09 (.)
- 10 Teacher: a : ku:  
that  
**Oh, that**
- 11 Jenny: ((thumb up))
- 12 Teacher: paykmancangca: >kunikka< **pwuca**-ka manh-un nala-yo?  
millionaires so rich-NOM many-ATTR country-POL  
**Millionaires. So, the country with the richest people?**
- 13 Jenny: yep=
- 14 Teacher: =ney  
yes  
**I see.**
- 15 Jenny: ku: >amount of< billionaires  
that  
**The amount of billionaires**
- 16 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 17 Jenny: ku country?  
that  
**That country?**
- 18 Teacher: ney paykmancangca  
yes millionaires  
**Yes, millionaires**
- 19 Jenny: mikwuk-i [ceyil ceyil wi-ey-ko-yo  
U.S.-NOM most most top-at-CONN-POL  
**America is at the top.**
- 20 Teacher: [°manh-un ke-yoꝯ°  
many-ATTR thing-POL  
**The most?**
- 21 Jenny: ccwungkwuk=  
China  
**China**
- 22 Teacher: =°cwungkwuk°  
China  
**China**

23 Jenny: I think they (.) took off (.) Japan or some[thing]

24 Teacher: [ 'um: '

25 Jenny: the second low

26 Teacher: 'um: '

27 Sue: **yeah** but [inkwu XX  
population  
**Yeah, but the population**

28 Jenny: [just recently

29 Sue: yenghyang.  
influence  
**Influence**

30 Teacher: 'um: '

31 (.)

32 Jenny: um? ((looks at Sue))

33 Sue: they weren't inkwu mil-  
**Population densi-**

34 Teacher: um:

35 (.2)

36 Sue: the ratio of popul-XXXX

37 Jenny: kulaytwu-yo cen-ey-nun mwe >like like<  
nonetheless-POL before-at-TOP DM

38 sip-sip-nyen cen-ey-nun >like<  
ten ten-year ago-at-TOP  
**But in the past, like ten years ago, like**

39 Teacher: 'um: '

40 Jenny: XXX[XXXX

41 Teacher: [eps-ess-nuntey cikum: cunka-[ha-ko iss-eyo;  
not exist-PST-CIRCUM now increase-PROG-POL  
**They were not there, but now they are going up.**

42 Jenny: → [i-tung-inikkan-yo[:  
two-plase-because-POL  
**They're the second.**

43 Teacher: [ah:

44 Jenny: that's like ((nods))

45 Teacher: °>kulayse<° kwuti ton-to manh-ko cal naka-ko iss-nuntey  
so obstinately money-also many-CONN well go-PROG-CIRCUM

46           caki cheycey-lul: >kunikka< kongsancwuuy-lul pakkwu-l  
             self system-ACC       so           communism-ACC   change-ATTR

47           iyu-ka       pyello       'eps-ta-nun       ke-cyo'  
             reason-NOM not particularly not exist-PLN-ATTR thing-COMM:POL  
             **So you're saying that China does not really have a reason to change their political  
             system, I mean, change their ways of communism because they're rich and well off.**

48 Jenny:    'I don't know'

49           ( . )

50 Teacher:  'kulay-yo?'   kule-myen       cemcem       ku: thongil-ey  
             like that-POL then-COND more and more that unification-GEN

51           kanungseng-un   mel-eci-nun       ke-n-ka-yo? ( . )  
             possibility-TOP far-become-ATTR thing-ATTR-Q-POL  
             **Is that right? Then are we having less hope for unification?**

52 Sue:      ney  
               yes  
               **Yes.**

53 Teacher:  yelepwn: >kuleh-key   sayngkak-hay-yo?<  
             everyone   like that-ADV think-POL  
             **You guys think so too?**

54 Sue:      (( nods ))

The topic of the discussion in the extract is the future prospect for Korean reunification. Prior to this extract, the class read an article regarding the twenty countries with the highest proportion of billionaires. In regard to the discussion topic, Jenny maintains her negative view on reunification. To support this claim, Jenny consults the article the class just read and makes an assumption that China will no longer support North Korea as they have before, because China has no reason to run the risk of worldwide accusations as they already have strong economic power. This extract begins with Jenny's account for the claim by reporting the part of the article that China has overtaken Japan to occupy the second place in the ranking (lines 4-6). After the teacher's acknowledgement in the next turns (lines 7, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, and 26), another student, Sue, projects her disaligning stance by initiating

her turn with a *pro forma* agreement<sup>29</sup> format (Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007) in line 27 (“Yeah, but”). Here, Sue counters Jenny’s supporting account by attributing China’s high proportion of millionaires to their high population density (lines 27, 33, and 36). In response to Sue’s challenge, Jenny provides a defensive account based on the article starting in line 37 to give a counter argument. Her use of turn-initial *kulayto-yo* ‘nonetheless’ in lines 37-38 and 40-42 foretells the forthcoming disagreement. Subsequently, Jenny, with the teacher’s assistance, gives the details that China’s ranking has been growing drastically compared to ten years ago (lines 38 to 42: “But in the past, like then years ago...they’re second.”). Like Extract 4.33 and 4.34 from the advanced students, this information comes from an article that other participants have immediate access to. Jenny, however, employs a marker of causality – *nikka* (S. Sohn, 2003) as a sentence-ending suffix instead of –*canh*– in specifying the rank of China (line 42).

Another type of information that a *-canh-* utterance delivers in second position includes B-event information (Labov & Fanshel, 1977);<sup>30</sup> that is, information in the addressee's domain of knowledge. In such utterances, the speakers formulate matters that the addressee has primary epistemic rights to; for example, the addressee's personal habits (as in Extract 4.35) or the addressee's mental state (as in Extract 4.36).

- 12 Ariel: 백퍼센트 다 해줬으면 좋겠다고  
13 John: 네? (.) 백퍼센트다요? 아:: 그건 싫어요.  
14 ((shakes head))아, 그건 [싫어요.  
15 Teacher: [((laugh)) 질문이 XXx

<sup>30</sup> Labov and Fanshel (1977) distinguished between A-events (known to A, but not to B) and B-events (known to B, but not to A), using this to base an analysis of declarative questions (Refer to Chapter 2 for more review).

16 Daisy: → [혼자서는 다 하잖아.  
 17 (0.6)  
 18 John: 백퍼센트 다하라고요? 하긴 뭐 예쁘고  
 19 돈 많고 >그러니까< 가능성? 그냥 좀  
 20 유지하라고 하고 좀 하죠.  
 21 Daisy: [연관성이 없어요  
 22 Teacher: [((laugh))  
 23 John: 연관성 [많아요  
 24 Daisy: [아니 일관성이 없어요.  
 25 John: 예. 일관성이 없죠.

12 Ariel: payk-pheseynthu ta hay-cw-ess-umyen coh-keyss-tako  
 hundred-percent all do-give-PST-COND good-DCT:RE-QT  
**Like if she asks you to do all 100% of it.**

13 John: **ney?** (.) **payk-pheseynthu ta-yo?** a:: ku-ke-n silh-eyo.  
 yes hundred-percent all-PO that-thing-ATTR dislike-POL  
**What? 100%? Oh I don't like that.**

14 ((shake his head))a, ku-ke-n [silh-eyo.  
 that-thing-ATTR dislike-POL  
**Oh I don't like that**

15 Teacher: [((laugh)) cilmwun-i  
 question-NOM  
**The question is...**

16 Daisy: → [honcase-nun ta ha-**canh**-a.  
 alone-TOP all do-CANH-IE  
**But you do everything by yourself.**

17 (0.6)

18 John: payk-pheseynthu ta-ha-lako-yo? hakin mwe yeyppu-ko  
 hundred-percent all-do-QT-POL well DM pretty-CONN

19 ton manh-ko >kulenikka< kanungseng? kunyang com  
 money many-CONN so possibility just a little-DM

20 yuciha-lako ha-ko com ha-cyo.  
 keep-QT do-CONN DM do-COMM:POL  
**Do all 100% of it? Well, I guess there's a possibility since she's pretty and rich. I'll just tell her to take it easy.**

21 Daisy: [yengkawseng-i eps-eyo  
 correlation-NOM not exist-POL  
**There is no relationship.**

22 Teacher: [((laugh))

23 John: yengkawseng [manh-ayo  
 correlation many-POL  
**There's a lot of relationships.**

24 Daisy: [ani ilkwawseng-i eps-eyo.  
 no consistency-NOM not exist-POL

**No, I mean no consistency**

25 John:       yey. ilkwanseng-i   eps-cyo.  
                  yes consistency-NOM not exist-POL  
                  **Right, there's no consistency**

Prior to this extract, while discussing the distribution of housework between husband and wife, one of the female students initiates a question to the male students in class about whether they would take charge of the housework if a wealthy and good-looking wife asked them to do so. Upon one of the male students' answering that he would, Ariel narrows down her initial question in line 12 by providing a specific amount of labor that he is supposed to do; one hundred percent. The recipient, John, responds to this question with a Korean open class repair initiator *ney?* 'What?' in line 13 with rising intonation, foreshadowing his alternative stance of disagreement (Drew, 1997), which puts the prior speaker in a position to account for having asked such a question. The following repetition of the part of A's question expresses surprise with a sudden increase in volume and elongation of the vowel; these features also show John's orientation towards Daisy's question as being inappropriate or out of the ordinary (Raymond, 2003; Stivers, 2011). Then he explicitly displays his negative stance in lines 13-14 by saying "I don't like that" twice with embodied action of shaking his head.

In overlap with John's repeated negative assessment, Daisy produces a turn of disagreement using *-canh-* in line 16 ("But you do everything by yourself."). The *-canh-* utterance here delivers personal information about John regarding his housekeeping. Although it is possible that she obtained this information from previous discussion with John in and outside of the class, this turn formulates references and actions to which the recipient arguably has greater rights and access with *-canh-*, and therefore establishes a relatively flat epistemic gradient between speaker and recipient (Heritage, 2012a). As a point of departure,



Daisy describes an action with John as its agent that falls within John's first-hand experience and outside of Daisy's. The use of the word *honca* 'alone' (line 16) also serves to locate the action within John's domain of experience and obligation. However, although the turn asserts information about the recipient (i.e., information to which the recipient has access and rights), it does not, in its explicit design with a *-canh-* utterance, diminish the speaker's claim to access. Daisy's immediate dispreferred action, by employing a *-canh-* utterance, creates an even epistemic gradient (Heritage & Raymond, 2012) that embodies counter information that makes relevant a reconciliatory account from John (Robinson, 2009). The consequence of this type of disagreement using *-canh-* is displayed in the following long pause in line 17. After a long pause, in line 18 John repeatedly produces part of Ariel's specified question ("Do all 100% of it?"), resetting the sequential position of the utterance (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

This response from the recipient of the *-canh-* utterance is distinguished from the one discussed in the previous section 4.5.2.1. When there is epistemic congruence between participants towards information delivered in *-canh-* utterances, the recipient of a disagreement with *-canh-* tends to accept the speaker's challenge. On the other hand, lack of epistemic congruency raises a possibility of counter challenge or disapproval from the recipient, as shown in this extract. However, John's response in the next turn in lines 18-20 shows an alteration from his earlier response, and this also shows the strong force of Daisy's disagreement using *-canh-*. Upon John's contradictory stance projected in his response, Daisy subsequently disregards John's account (produced at lines 18-20), by overtly saying "There's no consistency" in line 21, claiming that his answers are not consistent. The following instance shows another case in point.

Extract 4.36. Daisy: American's way of thinking

- 22 John: 그런 것까지 생각하면서 그런 법을  
23 만들다보며는 그림 뭐: 정말 막(.) 뭐라고하죠?  
24 (.6) ((looks at Ariel)) (.2)도둑놈은 어떻게 잡구요  
25 살인범은 어떻게 잡아요 ((laughing voice))=  
26 Ariel: =네 (.) 그[리구  
27 Daisy: [그런데  
28 John: [대통령은 어떻게 뽑고요  
29 Daisy: [오빠가 말한것처럼 어 뭐지? 한국  
30 사람들의 생각을 생각해보면:  
31 John: 예=  
32 Daisy: → =오빠랑은 다르잖아요 오빠는 미국식으로  
33 생각하니까: 그 <사람>이 죄를 졌으니까,  
34 그 사람만 보지만, 한국 사람들은 그  
35 가족들을 [보면서  
36 John: [°아:° [저는  
37 Daisy: [죄없는 **그리고** 아까 말했듯이:  
38 범죄자가 있는: 어 주위에 집을 사지 >않는다고  
39 그랬잖아요<=  
40 John: °네°=  
41 Ariel: =좋은 환경에서(.)어 자녀들을 키우고 하고  
42 싶기 땀에  
43 John: °네°
- 22 John: kule-n kes-kkaci sayngkakha-myense kule-n pep-ul  
that-ATTR thing-till think-while that-ATTR law-ACC
- 23 mantul-tapomye-nun kulem mwe: cengmal mak(.) mwe-lako-ha-cyo?  
make-work on-ATTR then DM really DM what-QT-do-COMM:POL
- 24 (.6) ((looks at Ariel))(.2)totwuknom-un ettehkey cap-kwu-yo  
thief-TOP how catch-CONN-POL
- 25 salinpem-un ettehkey cap-ayo ((laughing voice))=  
murder-TOP how catch-POL  
**If we have to take even those things into consideration when making laws, then,  
what's it called? How do we catch thieves and how do we catch murders?**
- 26 Ariel: =ney (.) ku[likwu  
yes and  
**Right, and**
- 27 Daisy: [kulentye  
but  
**But**
- 28 John: [taythonglyeng-un ettehkey ppop-ko-yo  
president-TOP how elect-CONN-POL  
**How do we choose the presidents?**
- 29 Daisy: [oppa-ka malha-n kes chelem e mwe-ci? hankwuk  
brother-NOM say-PST:ATTR thing like what-COMM:IE Korea

30            salam-tul-uy   sayngkak-ul   sayngkakh-ay po-myen:  
people-PL-GEN   thought-ACC       think-try-COND  
**Like you said, um... What's it called? When considering the way Koreans think...**

31 John:          yey=  
yes  
**Yes.**

32            → =oppa-lang-un       tallu-**canh**-ayo       oppa-nun   mikwuk-sik-ulo  
brother-with-TOP different-CANH-POL brother-TOP U.S,-way-ADV

33            sayngkakha-nikka: ku <salam>-i coyl-ul cy-ess-unikka,  
think-because that person-NOM crime-ACC commit-PST-because

34            ku salam-man po-ciman, hankwuk salam-tul-un ku  
that person-only see-but Korea people-PL-TOP that

35            kacok-tul-ul [po-myense  
family-PL-ACC see-while  
**It's different from you. You are thinking from an American's way of thinking. If one commits a crime, only that perpetrator is considered, but Korean people also consider his/her family altogether.**

36 John:                              [°a:° [ce-nun  
I-TOP  
**Oh, I...**

37 Daisy:    [coy eps-nun **kuliko** akka malhay-ss-tusi:  
crime not exist-ATTR and before say-PST-like

38            pemcoyca-ka iss-nun: e cwuwi-ey cip-ul sa-ci >anh-nun-tako  
criminal-NOM exist-ATTR near-at house-ACC buy-NEG-ATTR-QT

39            kulay-ss-canh-ayo<  
like that-PST-CANH-POL  
**Innocent people, like the article said, people do not buy houses that are near a criminal's home, right?**

40 John:                              °ney°=  
yes  
**Yes.**

41 Ariel:                              =coh-un hwankyeng-eyse(.)e canye-tul-ul khiwu-ko ha-ko  
good-ATTR environment-at child-PL-ACC raise-CONN do-CONN

42            siph-ki ttaymey;  
want-NML because  
**Because they want to raise their children in a good environment.**

43 John:                              °ney°  
yes  
**Yes.**

This extract is from a student debate about criminals and publicity. Prior to this extract, the students had a debate about whether criminals' information should be publicized.

The first team, with Daisy, argues that revealing criminals' information is a kind of infraction of human rights considering Korea's guilt-by-association system. On the other hand, the other team, with John, displays a contrasting view. This extract begins with John's long turn of disagreement in response to Daisy's prior argument (lines 22-25). Here, John argues that unless we consider criminals and their families separately, it would not be possible to catch thieves or murderers and it would not even be possible to elect a president. Although his claim is delivered in a face-threatening manner, with the consecutive use of *wh*-interrogatives (Koshik, 2005; K. Yoon, 2006), it is also somewhat mitigated with laughing voice. Another member of John's team, Ariel, supports John by launching an agreement marker *ney* 'yes' in the next turn in line 26. In overlap with Ariel's conjunctive *kulikwu* 'and' (line 26), in line 27, Daisy produces a disjunctive marker *kulentey* 'but, however' at loud volume as a harbinger of disagreement. In overlap with John's additional comment for his previous argument (line 28), Daisy projects her disagreeing view based on what John has said. This direct reference to John's prior utterance is explicitly evidenced by using *-chelem* clause (*as if*-clause in English) in line 29 saying *oppa-ka malhan kes* 'like you said'.

Immediately after John's acknowledgement in line 31, Daisy presents how Korean people think in a different way from John, using *-canh*<sup>31</sup> in line 32 ("It's different from you."). Her *-canh*- utterance is produced contains information that Daisy has less rights and access to as she talks about the recipient's way of thinking. In her subsequent utterance, Daisy elaborates her disagreement by giving an account that John is different from Koreans in terms of his way of thinking. Again, we witness how the speaker of a *-canh*- utterance delivers information that falls within the recipient's epistemic domain; the *-canh*- utterance makes a comment on the recipient's mental state and delivers it as shared information. In

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<sup>31</sup> This turn with *-canh*- is discussed again as an example of the preemptive use of *-canh*- as a way of immediate disagreement that is followed by an account in Section 4.5.3.

response to this claim referencing the information that falls within his domain of knowledge, the recipient John gives the the change-of-state token *ah*. The ensuing production of pronoun “I” works as harbingers of his pursuit of a recipient’s revised understanding.

In this extract, we observe a clear case of a *–canh-* utterance that provides comments on others’ mental state. This use of *–canh-* is particularly noteworthy in that the argument delivering a B-event to B without mitigation shows the participants’ strong orientation to the activity of argument. The next extract shows a comparable sequential environment to that discussed in Extract 4.37, but without the deployment of *–canh-*. This extract comes from an intermediate students’ classroom discussion on consumption of dog meat in South Korea.

#### Extract 4.37. Sue: Loving beef

- 08 Teacher: 그러니까 진희 씨는 먹기 싫지만 보신탕  
 09 먹는 거에 대해서 아주 나쁘다고 생각하지는  
 10 않는다. 이거예요?  
 11 Jenny: well, 저 생각해서는 강아 강아지  
 12 불쌍한데요, 그러니까:::I don't know  
 13 I guess it's their 마음  
 14 Sue: → 그럼 왜 소 먹어요?  
 15 Jenny: cuz I love 소.  
 16 Sue: ((laughs; extends hands outward)) It's the same thing.
- 08 Teacher: kulenikka jenney ssi-nun mek-ki silh-ciman posinthang  
 so VOC-TOP eat-NML dislike-but dog soup  
 09 mek-nun ke-ey tayhayse acwu nappu-tako sayngkakha-ci-nun  
 eat-ATTR thing-about very bad-QT think-ATTR  
 10 anh-nun-ta. i-ke-yeyyo?  
 NEG-ATTR-PLN this thing-POL  
**So you're saying that you don't want to eat it, but you don't think eating dog soup is really bad. Is that right?**  
 11 Jenny: well, ce sayngkakhay-se-nun kanga kangaci  
 I think-and-TOP puppy  
 12 pwulssangha-ntey-yo, kulenikka::: I don't know  
 feel sorry-CIRCUM-POL so  
 13 I guess it's their maum  
 mind  
**Well, for me, I feel sorry for puppies, I mean, I don't know. I guess it's their choice.**

14 Sue:     → kulem way so mek-eyo?  
              then why cow eat-POL  
              **Why do you eat cows then?**

15 Jenny:     cuz I love so.  
              **Because I love cows.**

16 Sue:       ((laughs; extends hands outward)) It's the same thing.

Prior to this extract, one of the students, Jenny, presents her negative view towards people who eat dog meat while partially accepting it as a custom of Korea. Starting from line 8, the teacher reformulates Jenny's prior utterance and requests confirmation on her understanding of Jenny's view (line 8-10). In the following turn (lines 11-13), Jenny reformulates her prior answer in a downgraded manner without changing her original view on the issue. Her turn-final use of a sentence-ending suffix *nuntey* (Y. Park, 1999) and a discourse marker *kulenikka* 'so' (Im, 2011) with vowel elongation expresses her hesitation to give the account of her assessment (line 12). Jenny's subsequent utterance with hedges in the form of epistemic expressions "I don't know" (line 12) and "I guess" (line 13) indexes a downgraded epistemic claim. Sue then issues a reciprocal inquiry about Jenny's opinion of the consumption of dog meat (line 14: "Why do you eat cows then?"), as a way to challenge and prompt Jenny to explain her dislike of dog meat. In this turn of challenge, Sue places the cows along the same line of dogs which implies that cows and dogs are in the same category. This argument is made evident in her subsequent turn in line 16 ("It's the same thing.").

The challenge issued by a wh-question in this extract is comparable to the turns with the use of *-canh-* in the previous Extracts 4.35 and 4.36. It refutes Jenny's prior claim by providing information that clearly falls into the recipient's domain of epistemic access; her personal eating habits. What displays a stark contrast to the advanced students' turn of disagreement is that Sue's turn is constructed as a form of wh-question that challenges the

prior speaker's view in a direct manner. The use of the question form is one of the ways to accomplish disagreement by commenting on the recipient's domain of epistemic territory. However, given the institutional context of the classroom (Markee, 2000; Seedhouse, 2004), Sue's turn of challenge in line 14, is not socially affiliative, as it is produced in a blunt, unmitigated, and face-threatening manner. This use of a question form in a challenge also brings about different consequences in terms of recipients' following uptake. Jenny's following turn in line 15 ("Cuz I low cows.") providing a reason why she eats beef demonstrates Jenny's understanding of Sue's challenge as a genuine question that requires an answer as a second pair part.

#### 4.5.3 Preemptive use of *-canh-* in second position

This chapter discusses the use of *-canh-* in second position for types of actions besides those already identified in L1 speaker data (see Kawanishi, 1994; Ju & Sohn, 2011; K. Suh, 2002) these are cases in which *-canh-* itself is used to construct disagreement, which I have termed "preemptive use." The target disagreement turn using *-canh-* is built in a way that projects a disagreement from the very beginning. Before articulating what he or she disagrees with, the speaker projects a dispreferred response using *-canh-*. These "early" disagreements using *-canh-* are often produced in environments of ongoing disputes. My speculation about the speaker's incentive for preempting a possible source of disagreement is partially supported by the observation that the speaker's deployment of "early" *-canh-* is often prompted by the recipient's lack of uptake or display of hesitation, which is indicative of an upcoming disagreement (Pochon-Berger, 2011). The following instance, which is taken from the same sequence cited in Extract 4.36 (partially reproduced below as Extract 4.38), exemplifies the case in point.

Extract 4.38. Daisy: It is different from you

32 Daisy:       =오빠랑은 달르잖아요 오빠는 미국식으로

33 생각해니까: 그 <사람>이 죄를 졌으니까,  
34 그 사람만 보지만, 한국 사람들은 그  
35 가족들을 [보면서  
36 John: [°a:° [저는

32 → =oppa-lang-un tallu-**canh**-ayo oppa-nun mikwuk-sik-ulo  
brother-with-TOP different-CANH-POL brother-TOP U.S.,-way-ADV

33 sayngkakha-nikka: ku <salam>-i coyl-ul cy-ess-unikka,  
think-because that person-NOM crime-ACC commit-PST-because

34 ku salam-man po-ciman, hankwuk salam-tul-un ku  
that person-only see-but Korea peopoe-PL-TOP that

35 kacok-tul-ul [po-myense  
family-PL-ACC see-while  
It's different from you. You are thinking from an American's way of thinking. If one  
commits a crime, only that perpetrator is considered, but Korean people also consider  
his/her family altogether.

36 John: [°a:° [ce-nun  
I-TOP  
Oh, I...

In response to the interlocutor's claim, the target disagreement turn with *-canh-* appears in Daisy's turn in line 1 ("It's different from you."). Latching on to the prior speaker's assertion, Daisy preemptively projects a turn of disagreement using *-canh-*. Note that Daisy does not specify what it is that is different from John. The object and the essence of the disagreement follow in her next utterance in lines 32-35. The following Extract 4.39 is a reproduced from Extract 4.24. The focus of the discussion in this section is John's use of *-canh-* in line 9 ("It's like that.").

Extract 4.39. John: It's like that

05 Daisy:                               (((points at John)) 짧은 여자들만  
06                               ((laughing))  
07 ALL:                               ((laughing))  
08 Daisy:                               오빠 (((laughing)))  
09 John:       →           [아 근데 >그렇잖아요 < 이렇게 한 번씩 한 번씩  
10                               교차하는 것도 좋은 거 같지만 :  
11                               만약에 내: 입맛이; 좋은 restaurant 가는 거  
12                               좋아하구 뭐: 좋은 커피 마시고  
13                               그러다보면서 되게 부담가잖아요 ;  
14                               대학생인여자한테=>그니까 어떻게





conveyed through participants and, thus, to enhance the speaker's status as disagreements and/or criticisms. This Extract 4.40 below comes from the discussion regarding division of housework according to income.

Extract 4.40. Wendy: Bus driver

- 45 Ken: ((looks at a paper in his hand)) 밖에서 일을  
 46 안 하며는(.) 할--집에서 할 일이 없는데  
 47 =그냥 집안일 하면 되죠 ((laughing voice))  
 48 (.2)  
 49 Wendy: → 하지만(.) ((left arm up)) 다른 경우도 있잖아요.  
 50 (.)아까 amy 씨가 말 했듯이  
 51 ((touching Amy's desk with left hand)) 남편은  
 52 버스- >뭐 이렇게 해서< (. ) 일을: 해서↑  
 53 >돈을 버는 양이 중요한 게 아니라< 일을 하는  
 54 양이: 돈을 더 적게 벌어도  
 55 <많>으면 어쩔 [건데요:  
 56 Ken: [그러면 wendy 씨 말은 버스-버스  
 57 운전하는 사람들이 일이 쉽다는 말이에요?=  
 58 Wendy: =아니 쉽다는 말은 아닌데요,= there [are
- 45 Ken: ((looks at a paper in his hand)) pakk-eyse il-ul  
 outside-at work-ACC  
 46 an ha-myen-un(.) ha-l--cip-eyse hal il-i  
 NEG do-COND-TOP do-ATTR house-at do-ATTR work-NOM  
 47 eps-nuntey=kunyang cipanil ha-myen toy-cyo ((laughing voice))  
 not exist-CIRCUM just housework do-COND okay-COMM:POL  
**If she is not working then she has nothing to do at home. Then she might as well do the housework, isn't she?**  
 48 (.2)  
 49 Wendy: → haciman(.) ((left arm up)) talu-n kyengwu-to iss-**canh**-ayo.  
 but different-ATTR case-also exist-CANH-POL  
**But there are other cases too.**  
 50 (.)akka amy ssi-ka mal hay-ss-tusi  
 before VOC-NOM say do-PST-like  
 51 ((touching Amy's desk with left hand)) namphyen-un  
 husband-TOP  
 52 pesu- >mwe ilehkey hay-se< (. ) il-ul: hay-se↑  
 bust DM like this do-and work-ACC do-and  
 53 >ton-ul pe-nun yang-i cwungyoha-n key anila< il-ul  
 money-ACC earn-ATTR amount-NOM import-ATTR thing not work-ACC



This section has discussed the use of *-canh-* in second position to project disagreement. The analysis provides evidence that the speakers orient to *-canh-* utterances as conveying a challenging stance. In second position, *-canh-* is used by the speaker to invite the addressee to recognize the relevance of the utterance, which makes evident that the speaker has held a different view on the given issue. In other words, by using *-canh-* the speaker may resist, disagree, or disconfirm the accuracy of the formulation and/or its speaker's stance vis-à-vis the ongoing course of action. Table 4.2 below categorizes the types of information that the speakers invoked for accomplishing the particular action of disagreement in the data presented in this section, and indicates the distribution of the *-canh-* utterances in second position identified in the current data set.

Sequential position: Second position					
Action: Disagreement					
Epistemic congruence	Level of Sharedness	Type of knowledge	Extract number		
			Adv.	Inter	Use
<div>High</div> <div>↑↓</div> <div>Low</div>	<div>High</div> <div>↑↓</div> <div>Low</div>	Directly shared but unrecognized	4.32-33		O
				4.34	
		Common sense knowledge	4.27-28	4.29-30	O
		B-event information	4.35-36		O
				4.37	
Unshared information	4.38-40		O		
			N/A		

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absence of *-canh-* in delivering certain types of shared knowledge is a distinctive linguistic-pragmatic feature that characterizes account giving at lower levels of competence in the current data. This observation suggests that the intermediate-level speakers in this study had not yet fully developed their competence in the use of *-canh-*.

#### **4.6 The use of *-canh-* in third position: Counter challenge**

In the previous two sections, we have examined the use of final *-canh-* in two major sequential contexts—account giving and disagreeing. In this section, I want to focus attention on, and briefly illustrate another prevalent environment for the use of final *-canh-* when the utterance to which final *-canh-* attaches is launched to deal with a disagreement from interlocutors. Pomerantz (1984) argues that the speaker often reaffirms the position she or he has taken in the third position, upgrading the intensity of the evaluation when a speaker of a first assessment faces a disagreement with by its recipient. Similar patterns are recognized in the use of *-canh-* in the current data set. By using *-canh-*, the speaker marks interlocutor's challenge as groundless and re-asserts his or her position. Of particular interest is the advanced students' use of *-canh-* in third position, which is not found in other proficiency level students' data and thus constitutes a noteworthy distinction between advanced and intermediate-level students. The following Figure 4.3 displays sequential environments where the suffix *-canh-* occurs in third position in the collection of the current study data

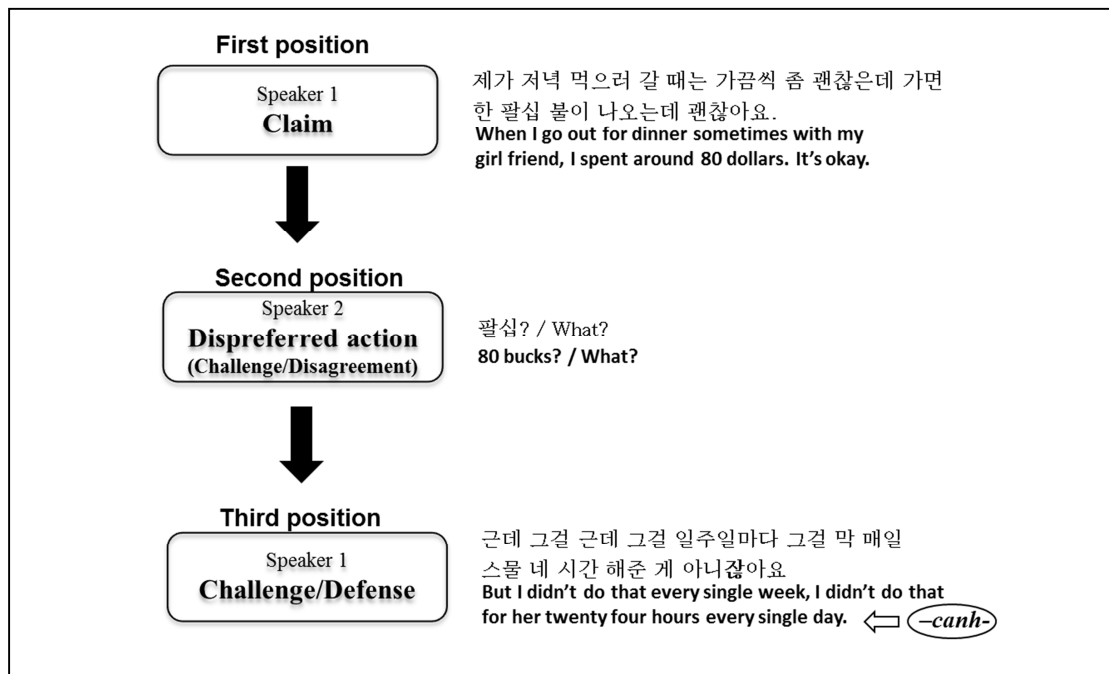


Figure 4.3. *-canh-* in third position

Facing any type of disaffiliative move towards his or her prior claim, the speaker uses a *-canh-* utterance to make a counter argument in third position. The se manifestations of *-canh-* is discussed in the following subsections.

#### 4.6.1 Denying the existence of self-provided instances

In this section, I provide analysis of the use of *-canh-* in third position in a function that is recurrently identified in the current data set. The following three extracts exhibit advanced students' use of *-canh-* in detailing unrealizable instances. Speakers are apt to exaggerate a particular aspect of a given issue in asserting their opinions. Another particularly noticeable feature present in all three extracts is that the turns with *-canh-* occur with a negation form of *-anita* in the face of interlocutors' disaffiliation or challenges. Therefore, the speaker continues to challenge interlocutors' reaffirmed position by challenging its grounds: this challenge using *-canh-* is tilted towards a yes-type answer (Heritage, 2002; Schegloff,

2007).

The *-canh-* utterances on these occasions serve to do a “double-barreled” action (Schegloff, 2007), which can be both an account giving and a counter challenge towards an interlocutor’s prior utterance. By employing turns with *-canh-*, the speaker builds common ground to support the position that the proposed case is too extreme to be carried out. Such extreme examples delivered with *-canh-* indicate that the event to be accounted for does not accord with common sense and is, thus, possibly inappropriate or unwarranted. Accordingly, *-canh-* utterances communicate a challenging stance towards responsible agent(s) and are frequently complicated by additional, negatively valenced actions, such as complaining, criticizing, and blaming. The following extract from an advanced-level classroom interaction illustrates an interesting case in point.

Extract 4.41. Dan: A date with ex-girlfriend

- 13 Dan: 돈까스를 먹는데요=그게 한  
14 육십불인가 칠십불 [나왔어요.  
15 Jenny: [Huhhhh:::~::~:  
16 Sue: [What?  
17 Dan: [그래서 그거 먹고 나서(.8) 찬 먹으러=개가  
18 커피 먹고 싶다고-먹고 싶어했어요. 그  
19 그래서 제가 oh 커피 먹으러 가자(.2)  
20 커피: 제가 내주고, °그냥 그런  
21 팬참아요.° ((nods)) °  
22 Teacher: °네°  
23 Sue: [haha  
24 Dan: [근데 그걸 근데 그걸  
25 일주일마다 그걸(.) 막(.) <매:일>:: 스물 네시간 hh  
26 → 해준게 아니[잖아요  
27 Teacher: [아

- 13 Dan: tonkkaswu-lul mek-nuntey-yo = kukey han  
pork cutlet-ACC eat-CIRCUM-POL that thing around

- 14 ywuksip pwul-inka chilsip pwul [nawa-ss-eyo.  
sixty dollar-Q seventy dollar comeout-PST-POL  
**So, we went for something like that and ate something there, we ate pork cutlets  
and it came out to sixty or seventy dollars.**

- 15 Jenny: [Huhhhh:::~::~:

- 16 Sue: [What?
- 17 Dan: [kulayse ku-ke mek-ko nase(.8)cha mek-ule=kyay-ka  
so that-thing eat-CONN:after tea eat-to that kid-NOM
- 18 kephi mek-ko siphta-ko-mek-ko ship-e-hay-ss-eyo.  
coffee eat want-CONN eat want-PSV do-PST-POL  
**So after we ate that we went out for tea- she said she wanted to drink coffee.**
- 19 kulayse ce-ka oh kephi mek-ule ka-ca(.2)  
so I-NOM coffee eat-to go-SUGG
- 20 kephi: ce-ka nay-cwu-ko<sup>o</sup>kunayng kule-n  
coffee I-NOM pay-give-CONN just-DM like that-RL
- 21 kowaynchanh-ayo.<sup>o</sup>((nods))  
okay- POL  
**So I said "Oh let's go out for coffee" and I paid. Just something like that...it's okay.**
- 22 Teacher: <sup>o</sup>ney<sup>o</sup>  
yes  
**I see.**
- 23 Sue [haha
- 24 Dan: [**kuntey kuke-1** kuntey kuke-1  
but that-ACC but that-ACC
- 25 ilcwuil-mata kuke-1(.) mak (.)<may:il>::sumwul ney-sikan hh  
a week -every that-ACC DM everyday twenty four hour
- 26 → hay-cwu-n key ani-[**canh**-ayo.  
do-give-ATTR thing NEG-CANH-POL  
**But that, but I didn't do that every single week, that...like, I didn't do that for her twenty four hours every single day, right?**
- 27 Teacher: [ah

This extract comes from a classroom discussion on the differences between how men and women spend money when they are on a date. Preceding this extract, one of the advanced students, Dan, claims that it is natural for men to spend more money. In the support of the claim, Dan tells a story based on his experience with his ex-girlfriend. This extract begins with the climax of his story that the bill was \$60-70 for pork cutlets he had with his ex-girlfriend (lines 13-14). The interlocutors address the modality (Kjærbeck & Asmuß, 2005) of the story as a surprise in lines 15-16. It is first evidenced by Jenny's production of emotive token *Huhhhh:::* before Dan reaches to the completion of his turn, of which the intonation



and final vowel stretch are produced in an exaggerated manner (line 15). Sue's overlapped production of "what" in line 16 with rising intonation is also hearable as surprise, registering Dan's case as troublesome. Upon this reaction, Dan self-justifies his behavior in lines 17-21. The use of an adjective *kowayncahn̄ta* 'to be okay, all right' in line 21 particularly highlights speaker's dense stance in response to interlocutors' disaligning reactions.

The teacher provides a lukewarm reaction (line 22) and the other student's laughter (line 23) in response to his follow-up turn. A similar lack of involvement of one participant in the course of the interaction is treated as a possible indication of impending disagreement. Dan interprets this display of surprise as signaling that something needs further clarification and provides an account to explain his behavior by using *-canh-* with a negation form of *anita* in lines 24-26 (But I didn't do that every single week, I didn't do that for her twenty four hours every single day, right?). In this turn, Dan defends himself by providing a detailed extreme case and appeals to a common ground of understanding that such an instance would be impossible to realize—which makes the claim that he did not extravagantly spend money on a date. In other words, Dan justifies and minimizes the impact of his conduct by using *-canh-* along with extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986), ranging from every week to every hour of every day (line 25). Upon this, the teacher produces the change-of-state token *ah* in the next line 27.

The following extract is also another case in point from an advanced students' classroom discussion. The class is having a debate on the division of housework according to one's income. Throughout the interaction, Wendy takes the side that the division of labor should not be measured only by one's income, and the other participant, Ken, repeatedly challenges Wendy's stance. Having encountered negative evaluations from interlocutors, the speaker constructs an extreme version of reality (which is unlikely to happen) and builds

common ground about its unfeasibility using *-canh-*.

Extract 4.42. Wendy: Jerk-of-a-husband's ashtray

- 01 Wendy: >예를 들어서< 주식하고 청소부를  
 02 좀 생각해보세요:((laughing voice))  
 03 Ken: 주식도 좀 쉬운 일 아니ately:((laughing voice))  
 04 그렇죠 머리를 쓰는 일이죠=하지만:  
 05 시간이 많이(.) 남는 일이잖아요.  
 06 Ken: ((nods))  
 07 Wendy: 그러면 그 남는 시간에 자기는 먹을 거  
 08 다 먹고 그 막 어질르고  
 09 집 어지르구,((shaving left arm))  
 10 그레놓구: 뭐 아내는 >예를 들어서<  
 11 청소분데: 막↓ 하루종일 막 이렇게  
 12 청소하고 들어와서: 완전 녹춘데  
 13 그 땡땡거리는 남편  
 14 ((hitting the desk with right hand)) 재떨이나  
 15 → 치우고 있어야 되는 그 말이 안 되잖아요.  
 16 Ken: 청소부면 청소 잘 하겠는데요:  
 17 ALL: ((laugh))  
 18 Ken: 그러면(.) 집-집안 청소도 좀  
 19 하면 되지 shh ((laughs))  
 20 ALL: ((laugh))  
 21 Wendy: 아: 진짜. ((turns her head in the right side and scratches 22 head))
- 01 Wendy: >yeylul tul-ese< cwusik-hako chengsopwu-lul  
 for example stock-and:CONN cleaner-ACC  
 02 com sayngkakh-ay po-sey-yo:((laughing voice))  
 DM think- SUGG-HON-POL  
 For example let's think about a stock broker and a professional maid couple.  
 03 Ken: cwusik-to com swiw-un il ani-ntey-yo:  
 stock-also DM easy-ATTR work NEG-CIRCUM-POL  
 Stock broking is not an easy job, you know.  
 04 Wendy: kuleh-cyo meli-lul ssu-nun il-i-cyo=haciman:  
 that-COMM:POL brain-ACC use-ATTR work-COP-COMM:POL but  
 05 sikan-i manhi(.) nam-nun il-i-canh-ayo.  
 time-NOM a lot remain-ATTR work-COP-CANH-POL  
 Right, it's a job which requires lots of brain work. But it's a job with lots of free time,  
 right?  
 06 Ken: ((nods))  
 07 Wendy: kulemyen ku nam-nun sikan-ey caki-nun mek-ul ke  
 then that remain-ATTR time-at self-TOP eat-PRS thing  
 08 ta mek-ko ta mek-ko ku mak ecillu-ko

- all eat-CONN all eat-CONN that DM mess up-CONN
- 09           cip ecilu-kwu, ((shaves left arm))  
house mess up-CONN
- 10           kulay-noh-kwuꞤ mwe anay-nun >yey-lul tul-ese<  
that-lay-CONN DM wife-TOP for example
- 11           chengsopwu-ntey: makꞤ halwu congil mak ilehkey  
cleaner-CIRCUM DM all day long DM like this
- 12           chengsoha-ko tule-wa- seꞤ wancen nokcho-ntey  
clean-CONN come in-after totally exhausted-CIRCUM  
**So then, with that free time, he eats what he wants to eat, leaves things where he wants to, and the wife, for example is a professional maid, who cleans all day long, and when she comes home, she's dead tired.**
- 13           ku tteng tteng-keli-nun namphyen  
that arrogant-ATTR husband
- 14           ((hits the desk with her right hand)) caytteli-na  
ashtray-just
- 15           → chiwu-ko iss-eya toy-nun ku mal-i an toy-**canh**-ayo.  
clean-PRPG should-ATTR that make sense NEG-CANH-POL  
**Then, it doesn't make sense that she has to clean up her jerk-of-a-husband's ashtray.**
- 16 Ken:       chengsopwu-myen chengso cal ha-keyss-nuntay-yoꞤ  
cleaner-COND cleaning well do-DCT:RE-CIRCUM-POL  
**If she's a maid, then she should be good at cleaning.**
- 17 ALL:       ((laugh))
- 18 Ken:       kulemyen(.) cip-cip-an chengso-to com  
then house house-inside cleaning-also a little
- 18           ha-myen toy-ci shh ((laughs))  
do-COND become-COMM  
**If that's the case she can also clean the house.**
- 19 ALL:       ((laugh))
- 20 Wendy:     ah: cincca. ((turns head to the right side and scratches  
really
- 21           head))  
**Oh geez.**

In this segment, upon the repeated challenges, Wendy brings up an example of a couple: a wife who works as a cleaner outside the home, and a husband who is a stockbroker and works at home (lines 1–2). Ken challenges Wendy's disagreeing turn by asserting that “Stockbroking is not an easy job.” in line 3. In response to this challenge, Wendy projects a

*pro-forma* agreement (Schegloff, 2007) in line 4; she briefly agrees to Ken's prior turn at first by producing an agreement token *kuleh-cyo* 'right' and provides an elaboration using a committal *-ci* (H. Lee, 1999) by saying "it's a job which requires lots of brain work." However, this affiliative stance immediately turns into disagreement with the use of a contrastive marker *haciman* 'but, however' and *-canh-* when she points out that stock broking allows a flexible working schedule (line 5: "But it's a job with lots of free time."). After Ken acknowledges Wendy's turn in which she uses *-canh-*, by nodding in line 6, Wendy gives a detailed hypothetical description of a couple that is unlikely to exist in reality (lines 7–9). Here, the husband is depicted as a person with numerous undesirable characteristics who messes up the house even in his free time. The unpleasant nature of the husband is demonstrated by the way Wendy constructs her utterances using linguistic resources such as discourse markers *ta* 'everything', *mak* 'carelessly' (line 8), and the idiomatic expression *ttengtengkeli-ta* 'arrogant' (line 13). In contrast, the wife is described as a person who works diligently both in and outside of the house (lines 10–12: "and the wife, for example is a professional maid, who cleans all day long, and when she comes home, she's dead tired."). This can be seen as upgrading Wendy's earlier claim by highlighting the negative consequences. Note that Wendy herself evaluates this scene as nonsense using *-canh-* in line 15 ("Then, does it make sense that she has to clean up her jerk-of-a-husband's ashtray?"). Using *-canh-* along with the negation *anita* thus invokes the common ground that the presented case is not realistic. The disaffiliation implicit in the description of the example became explicit in the speaker's final turn with *-canh-*, which rejects the feasibility of what the prior speaker, Ken, has said. This turn of disagreement receives another challenge by Ken in line 16 ("If she is a maid, then she should be good at cleaning."). As is evident from Wendy and the other interlocutors' subsequent talk and reactions, this response is intended

and understood as a joke (lines 17-21).

The last extract is also another case in point from a classroom discussion of advanced students. In this extract, the students again are having an argument regarding the division of household work between husband and wife. The main speaker, John, maintains that one's income should not be considered as a criterion.

#### Extract 4.43. John: A girlfriend working at Burger King

- 01 Ariel: 왜: 사랑 그게 그게 뭐예요?  
02 John: 아 >그니까< 맨 처음에 사람이 만나는게요,  
03 Ariel: 네  
04 John: 어떤 상황의 조건으로 만나는지↑ 아니며는  
05 자연스럽게 만나는지 그게-그게 차이점이잖아요.  
05 Ariel: 네!  
07 John: >그니까< 만약에 제가: 여자를 만났는데↑  
08 저 여자가↑ 정말(.) 돈도 없고↑ 그냥 진짜  
09 뭐 버거킹에서 햄버거를 뒤집고 있는데  
10 사랑에 빠져갖고 결혼을 하기 전에  
11 그런 조건을 갖다가 우리는 생각한 다음에  
12 결혼을 할까요? ((pointing A))  
13 → 부러먹어야지. 그게 아니잖아요.  
14 Ariel: 아니죠 근데  
15 John: [더: 저 사람이 해야 한다는 게  
16 마땅하니까 저여자랑 살면 내가  
17 집안일을 안 하겠다.  
18 (.2)  
19 Daisy: 더 나가서 [일하니까요].

- 01 Ariel: way: salang kukey kukey mwe-yeyyo?  
why love that:NOM that:NOM what-POL  
**Why, love? what's that? (Why did you bring up love in this context?)**
- 02 John: a >kunikka< mayn cheum-ey salam-i manna-nun key-yo,  
so very first-at person-NOM meet-ATTR thing-POL  
**Ah, I mean, when people meet for the first time,**
- 03 Ariel: ney  
yes  
**Yeah**
- 04 John: etten sanghwang-uy coken-ulo manna-nun-ci↑ ani-myen-un  
some situation-GEN condition-ADV meet-ATTR-NOM or
- 05 cayensulepkey manna-nun-ci kukey-kukey chaicem-i-canha-yo.  
naturally meet-ATTR-NOM that-NOM difference-COP-CANH-POL  
**If you're meeting under certain conditions, or if you just meet naturally. That's the difference, right?**

- 06 Ariel:     ney  
              yes  
              **Yes!**
- 07 John:       >kunikka< manyakey cey-ka: yeca-lul manna-ss-nuntey↑  
                  so           if           I-NOM    woman-ACC meet-PST-CIRCUM
- 08               ce yec-ka↑ cengmal(.) ton-to eps-ko↑ kunyang cincca  
                  that women-NOM really money-also not exist-CONN just really
- 09               mwe pekehing-eyse haympeke-lul twiciph-ko iss-nuntey  
                  DM Burger King-at hamburger-ACC flip-PROG-CIRCUM  
                  **So say that I meet a girl, that girl has absolutely no money and flips hamburgers at Burger King for a living.**
- 10               salang-ey ppacye-kacko kyelhon-ul ha-ki cen-ey  
                  love-at fall and:CONN marry-ACC do-NML before-at
- 11               kule-n coken-ul kactaka wuli-nun sayngkak-ha-n taum-ey  
                  that-ATTR condition-ACC CONN we-TOP think-do-ATTR after-at
- 12               kyelhon-ul ha-lkka-yo? ((pointing Ariel))  
                  marry-ACC do-Q-POL
- 13               → pwulye-mek-eya-ci. **kukey ani-canh-ayo.**  
                                  abuse-COMM that-ADV NEG-CANH-POL  
                  **Say that I fall in love with that girl, would I really take into consideration those conditions before marrying her? "I should abuse her" is NOT what I'm thinking, right?**
- 14 Ariel:       ani-cyo kun[tey  
                  no-COMM:POL but  
                  **You wouldn't, but**
- 15 John:                       [te: ce salam-i hay-ya ha-n-ta-nun key  
                                  more that person-NOM do-should-ATTR-PLN-TOP thing
- 16               mattangha-nikka ce yeca-lang sal-myen nay-ka  
                  deserve-because that women-and live-if I-NOM
- 17               cipanil-ul an ha-keyss-ta.  
                  housework-ACC NEG do-DCT:RE  
                  **Because what she is doing should be appropriate, if I live with her I won't be doing any housework.**
- 18               (.2)
- 19 Daisy:       te naka-se [il ha-nikkan-yo.  
                  more go out-after work do-because-POL  
                  **Because you leave the house and do work.**

This segment begins with Ariel's clarification request upon John's previous utterance in line 1. This turn displays her disaffiliative stance towards John in the form of a wh-question. In response, John begins to provide a revised version of his argument with accounts

to support it (lines 2–5). Here, he launches his turn using *-canh-* to provide background information before he moves on to the main point. Having established the relevant background, and after receiving an affirmative answer from the interlocutor (line 6), John details his claim by giving an extreme and unrealizable example that can support his position on the issue (lines 7–12). John takes himself as the protagonist who is in love and decides to get married with a girl with no money working at Burger King. This turn begins with a discourse marker *kunikka* ‘so’ and a conditional marker *manyakey* ‘if’ in line 7. John subsequently provides a detailed description of a girl who is in an undesirable social (working at Burger King) and financial (no money) situation in lines 8–9. By employing a pronoun *wuli* ‘we’ as a subject (line 11), he formulates the end of this utterance as a yes-no question, which works as a challenge (Koshik, 2002) by pointing out that the statement he delivers is nonsense. His next utterance in line 13 in a direct quotative form embodies the inner thought of the subject of the prior statement. Challenge towards the other interlocutor is clearly attested by the subsequent use of *-canh-* along with the form of negation (line 13: “*I should abuse her* is not what I’m thinking .”). Here, John gives a negative response using *-canh-* to his own question. In summary, upon disagreement or challenge from an interlocutor, the speaker counter challenges by providing extreme cases. John’s turn using *-canh-* receives *pro-forma* agreement by Ariel in the following turn.

The three extracts discussed in this section display a similar pattern of account giving using *-canh-*. By providing such detailed examples using *-canh-*, the speakers efficiently display disalignment towards a prior speaker’s stance. The speaker’s interactional goal is thus accomplished by an appeal to the common ground that the implausibility of the proposed information does not need further explication. Use of *-canh-* in proposing this type of knowledge is a remarkable feature that is found in advanced students’ interactions. This

pattern of use is not present in the intermediate students' interactions in the current data set.

#### 4.6.2 Commenting on a recipient's or third party's mental state

This section discusses another use of *-canh-* in third position. In terms of epistemic primacy, the speaker is rarely fully qualified to comment on the other's mental or physical state (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). However, recurrent patterns with the use of *-canh-* in providing views about others' mental states are observed in the current data set. The following extract shows how this use of *-canh-* is exhibited in the current data set. Here, the students are again engaged in a quarrelsome debate on the issue of the division of housework between married couples. In this segment, the participants deploy the *-canh-* suffix five times (marked by the arrows), and interestingly, all five *-canh-* suffixes are attached to the central arguments supporting speakers' counter position towards the recipient. The first team, including John, maintains that money should not be a criterion for the decision. The second team holds the opposing view that the person who makes less money should do more housework. It is interesting to see how each team makes a claim by remarking on a third party's mental states or action by using *-canh-*.

##### Extract 4.44. Ariel: Women in the past

- 177 John: [네 뭐 평균 소득같은 걸 봐가지구  
178 남자들이 여성보다 더 많이 벌었으니까  
179 그러면: 여자한테 다 시켜도 된다는  
180 뜻인가요?  
181 Daisy: → 했잖아요=  
182 Ariel: → =했잖아요 ((laugh))  
183 John: 근데 그게 공평하다고 느끼시지  
184 → 았으셨잖아요. ((palms upward and toward Dan bee))  
185 (.2)  
186 Daisy: 그 때는 여자들이 일을 안 했으니깐.  
187 John: 예? 그걸 그래도 그걸 갖다가 공평하다고  
188 느끼셨어요? 그 상황이요? 돈을 더  
189 벌니까-남편이 돈을 더 버니까? 내가  
190 일을 더 해야된다 그렇게 생각을  
191 하셨을 거°같애 [요?°  
192 Daisy: [네 물론 해야죠.  
193 John: 네 물론 해야 되는데



- 194 [그걸 갖다가 인식적으로 어떻게  
195 Daisy: [당연히 해야죠  
196 John: 생각하실 [건지  
197 Ariel: → [네 **생각은 안해도 따랐잖아요.**  
198 여자들이. 여태까지: 여자들이  
199 가사분담하는 이유가:  
200 John: 예  
201 Ariel: 남자들이 돈을 벌어오니까 그만큼 자기- [자신이  
202 Daisy: [자기가:  
203 Ariel: 아무리(.)음: 불공평 해도: 할 일이 있다고  
204 생각해서 한거잖아요=  
205 John: =°네°=
- 177 John: [ney mwe phyengkyun sotuk-kath-un ke-l pwa-kacikwu  
yes DM average income like that-ATTR thing-ACC see-so
- 178 namca-tul-i yeseng-pota te manhi pel-ess-unikka  
man-PL-NOM woman-than more a lot earn-PST-because
- 179 kulemyen: yeca-hanthey ta sikhy-eto toynta-nun  
then woman-to all order okay-ATTR
- 180 ttus-inka-yo?  
mean-Q-POL  
**Okay, since the average income is higher for men than women, then should women do all of the housework?**
- 181 Daisy: → hay-ss-**canh**-ayo=  
do-PST-CANH-POL  
**They did.**
- 182 Ariel: → =hay-ss-**canh**-ayo ((laugh))  
do-PST-CANH-POL  
**They did.**
- 183 John: kuntey kukey kongphyengha-tako nukki-si-ci  
but that:NOM fair-QT feel-HON-NOM
- 184 → anh-usy-ess-**canh**-ayo. ((palms upward and towards D))  
NEG-HON-PST-CANH-POL  
**But you didn't feel it's fair, right?**
- 185 (.2)
- 186 Daisy: ku ttay-nun yeca-tul-i il-ul an hay-ss-unikka-n.  
that when-ATTR woman-PL-NOM work-ACC NEG do-PST-because-ATTR  
**Because back then, women didn't work.**
- 187 John: yey? kuke-l kulayto kuke-l kactaka kongphyengha-tako  
yes that-ACC nevertheless that-ACC so fair-QT
- 188 nukki-sy-ess-eyo? ku sanghwang-i-yo? ton-ul te  
feel-PST-POL that situation-NOM-POL money-ACC more
- 189 pel-nikka-namphyen-i ton-ul te pe-nikka? nay-ka  
earn-because husband-NOM money-ACC more earn-because I-NOM



They did it because they thought it had to be done, no matter how unfair it was, right?

205 John: = 'ney' =  
yes  
Yes.

John's challenge in line 177 prompts a few rounds of conflict between the participants. In lines 177-180, John challenges the other party's view by referring to the difference in average income according to gender. By employing a question form in challenging his interlocutors, John makes an answer a relevant next turn. In response to this challenge, Daisy and Ariel provide answers using *-canh-* (lines 181-182). It is noteworthy that they employ *-canh-* with past tense marking to speak for a third party: women in the past ("They did."). This turn of assertion with *-canh-* is responded to with another use of *-canh-* by John (lines 183-184: "But you didn't feel it's fair, right?"). The use of a perception verb 'to feel' along with *-canh-* overtly displays the speaker's claim to knowing the third party's mental state. By making comments on the third party's mental states that are clearly within neither the speakers' nor the recipients' epistemic domain, the speakers build common ground to make their arguments. Shortly after this sequence is brought to conclusion, speaker Daisy displays a disagreeing stance and follows it with an assertion that women in those days did not have jobs, which is hearably a rebuttal of John's stated position on the matter at hand (line 186: "Because back then, women didn't work.").

Continuing the discussion, John consistently challenges the other party by questioning their cognitive states on the issue from line 187 to line 191. His consecutive placement of three questions displays his aggravated challenging stance. In response to John's last question formulation, which serves as a double-barreled action of challenge, Daisy, in line 192, gives a

type-confirming answer *ney* ‘yes’ but a dispreferred response using *mwullon* ‘of course’<sup>32</sup> with a committal *-ci* (H. Lee, 1999). Upon this, John once again challenges Daisy by narrowing down the range of his question (Kasper & Ross, 2007) to the domain of cognition of the interlocutors (lines 193-194). While responding to John’s question (line 195: “Yes, of course I should.”), Ariel once again challenges John using *-canh-* (line 197: “Even if women didn’t think about it, they followed.”). Note that Ariel argues that women traditionally follow what men say even though they think it is unfair (line 197-199, 201, 203-204). Notice that this challenge is answered by another challenge using *-canh-* (line 203: “They did it because they thought it had to be done, no matter how unfair it was, right?”) that adds an explanation of why women take more charge of doing household chores. Just as in the previous turn, this turn with *-canh-* conveys information regarding a third party’s mental state. The challenging stance is underlined by speakers’ repeated and emphatic delivery of *-canh-* utterances. This turn receives an acknowledgement token *ney* ‘yes’ in line 205 from John. In this extract, we observe how use of *-canh-* in third position productively used to challenge interlocutors by providing comment on recipient’s or third party’s mental states.

#### 4.7 Chapter summary

Addressing the lack of research on L2 Korean language speakers’ development in the use of grammatical resources in naturally occurring interactions, this chapter examined L2 Korean language speakers’ use and nonuse of a Korean interpersonal modal ending *-canh-* in classroom interactions. Focusing on three different sequential positions and different types of proposed information, I showed L2 speakers’ management of convergence and divergence of epistemic access between interlocutors projected through the epistemic stance by the use of –

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<sup>32</sup> Stivers (2011) found cross-linguistic similarities in responses with “of course” and its equivalents projecting challenging stances in English, Dutch, Italian, and Japanese.

*canh-*. As demonstrated in the extracts from advanced-level students, the focal suffix *-canh-* signals the matter as known to the recipient and thereby serves as a resource that proposes that the recipient is in a position of a knowledgeable addressee (K+ position) vis-à-vis the knowledge in question (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

Development in the use of *-canh-* is further supported by examining comparable sequences in which final *-canh-* is absent. I showed the distribution of *-canh-* utterances according to proficiency level in terms of the presentation of different types of knowledge and sequential positions. In first position, *-canh-* regularly occurs in the part of a turn in which account giving is underway within the multi-unit turn of opinion presenting. While the advanced-level students employed *-canh-* in presenting all types of information, the intermediate-level students used different forms in the same sequential environment when they conveyed information regarding common sense or hypothetical situations. In second position, *-canh-* utterances are associated with the action of disagreement in response to a prior speaker's claim or assertion. Unlike advanced-level students, intermediate-level students employ *-canh-* utterances in contexts with high epistemic congruence between the interlocutors. Occurrences of *-canh-* utterances in third position for making challenges are identified only in advanced-level students' interactions. Upon disagreement or challenge from an interlocutor, the speaker counter challenges by using a *-canh-* utterance to build a common ground upon which to appeal to other participants' understanding of an example's unfeasibility.

In the possible environments for this suffix, the intermediate-level speakers used invariant forms with clear functions, such as the connective *-nikka* or the unmarked form *-ko*, which are usually introduced early in Korean language learning. It seems that, due to the interactional nature of *-canh-*, which compared to other suffixes can be used in more various

patterns for more various purposes in actual conversations, acquiring the skill to use *-canh-* in all patterns is somewhat difficult. Through close analysis using the methodology of conversation analysis, this study captures L2 speakers' development in the use of target suffixes by comparing the competencies demonstrated by speakers at different proficiency levels.

By attending to the influence of epistemic balance and imbalance upon the employment of *-canh-* utterances in giving accounts and challenges, this chapter demonstrates a variety of ways in which speakers perform the same action of disagreement using *-canh-* by managing the degree of sharedness of the proposed information. Also, it shows that sequential position is one of the crucial resources that make interactants' epistemic claims visible. I also demonstrate the way in which CA can be used to examine how second language speakers use the local linguistic resources to achieve certain interactional goals in the target language.

## CHAPTER 5

### –*KETUN*: INFORMING AS AN INTERACTIONAL RESOURCE

#### 5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I identified how, within the activity of negotiating opinions during classroom interactions, advanced-level Korean language students make use of –*canh*- in first, second, and third position to give accounts and make disagreeing assertions. Comparing similar sequential contexts from advanced and intermediate-level students' interactions, I also suggested a developmental distribution in the use of –*canh*- according to proficiency levels. In the present chapter, attention is paid to another target resource: a Korean interpersonal modal ending –*ketun*. This chapter begins by discussing previous accounts of –*ketun*. Based on previous research, I show how L1 speakers use –*ketun* in order to furnish the background for examining L2 speakers' use of it. I then identify the boundaries of the target collection of cases. Finally, I turn my attention to the use of –*ketun* in the data set. As I did for –*canh*- in Chapter 4, I point out two actions that are accomplished with –*ketun* utterances by advanced-level students according to sequential position: account giving and disagreement. I then take a developmental perspective, analyzing intermediate-level students' data to explicate the use of –*ketun* by students at different levels.

#### 5.2 Previous studies on –*ketun*

It is widely acknowledged that the use of –*ketun* as a sentence-ending suffix originates from its use as a clausal connective that functions as a correlative or to mark the conditional (H. Lee, 1996; H. Sohn, 1999; K. Suh, 1996). Many scholars view –*ketun* as having undergone a process of grammaticalization and now, in Modern Korean, being used

predominantly as a sentence-ending suffix (Koo & Rhee, 2001; Park & Sohn, 2001; S. Sohn, 2010). Semantic and pragmatic features of *-ketun* as an emerging sentence-ending suffix have been investigated in a number of studies. For instance, it has been noted that the function of *-ketun* is to mark an utterance as providing a reason (H. Lee, 1996; J. Lee, 2000; C. Suh, 1996) or to mark a proposition that serves as a presupposition of strong factuality (Y. Ko, 1995; J. Lee, 2000). Previous studies in the field of Korean linguistics have illuminated a number of important semantic and pragmatic features of the sentence-ending suffix *-ketun*. However, these analyses focus on textual relations and syntactic sentence-level characteristics using made-up examples and linguists' intuition, which become problematic when compared to analyses based on examples taken from spontaneous conversational discourse.

More recently, *-ketun* has been examined from a more interactional perspective. Koo and Rhee (2001) examine how the conditional marker *-ketun* has come to be used as a sentence-ending suffix through grammaticalization. Drawing on historical data as well as a corpus database, they show how as an emerging suffix, *-ketun* has acquired several functions: discourse conjunction, providing the background of discourse, and marking transition-relevant points in discourse. Park and Sohn (2001) examine the emerging interactional function of *-ketun* as a sentence-ending suffix by combining theories of discourse, grammaticalization, and intonation. By examining its sequential positioning, they show how *-ketun* has developed as an interactional marker highlighting the speaker's epistemic stance in regard to the information status and interactional goal. They analyze *-ketun* according to two sequential positions: within the turn and in utterance-final position. When connecting a speaker's claim and supplementary account, *-ketun* within the same turn is used to provide background for upcoming details. *-ketun* in the turn-final position functions as a sequence



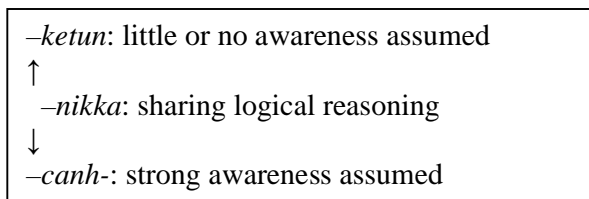
expander, inviting the recipient to take the next turn. Several studies have also investigated the association of prosody with the interactional functions of *-ketun* (Y. Chae, 1998; J. Shin, 2000; M. Park, 2013; Park & Sohn, 2002). These studies suggest that *-ketun* as a discourse modality marker solicits an uptake from the recipient when it is produced with rising intonation. In particular, M. Park (2013) found that *-ketun* is the only suffix that shows a high frequency of high boundary tone (H%) among a large number of Korean sentence-ending suffixes. Park identified H% more frequently when *-ketun* is used like an insertion sequence to connect preceding to following fragments of talk. She further argues that H% emphasizes the interactional aspect of *-ketun* by projecting the speaker's stance that the information delivered is unknown to the addressee. In this way, the speaker elicits the hearer's involvement in the discourse through turn expansion. On the other hand, *-ketun* with a low boundary tone (L%) is mainly used to give a response to a prior question. Therefore, *-ketun* with L% more often fulfils the function of providing a reason and is used less often to elicit an addressee's involvement.

In terms of the nature of the information *-ketun* marks, what is delivered in the *-ketun* utterance tends to be information belonging exclusively to the speaker's territory of knowledge (Kamio, 1997), such as the speaker's own confirmed experience or "A-event" information (Labov & Fanshel, 1977); that is, information that the speaker knows but the hearer does not. In other words, *-ketun* has been discussed as a suffix that is typically used when the speaker knows the reference better than the addressees, at least when the speaker has (and is recognized as having) the epistemic capacity to competently assess the information he or she delivers in the utterance (Y. Chae, 1998; Koo & Rhee, 2001; J. Lee, 2000; J. Shin, 2000).

### *Conversation analytic studies on –ketun*

In this section, I will introduce studies on *–ketun* that provide a relevant baseline for the current study, as I did for *–canh-* in the previous chapter. Previous conversation-analytic research examining *–ketun* has focused on its functions as a vehicle for actions other than informing. The groundbreaking conversation-analytic study on *–ketun* by Y. Park (1998) analyzed naturally occurring conversations by L1 speakers of Korean. She discusses *–ketun* in terms of information status, noting its use as a marker of information assumed to be unshared by the interlocutor. She also suggests that *–ketun*'s main function is to give information for clarification, justification, or presentation of dispreferred status. She argues that *–ketun* is not only used to express a reason or an explanation but also to mark the speaker's judgment about the status of the information vis-à-vis the interlocutor's knowledge of it.

In her analysis of *–ketun* in terms of information status, Park compares *–ketun* with the suffix *–canh-*, explaining that it facilitates the speaker's expression of judgment about the interlocutor's awareness of the information she or he delivers. As shown in Figure 5.1, Park argues that while *–canh-* is used when the interlocutor is aware of the information, *–ketun* is used when the speaker assumes that the information he or she is conveying is not shared by interlocutors.



*Figure 5.1.* Speaker's judgment about the interlocutor's awareness of the information being imparted (Adapted from Y. Park, 1998, p. 73)

K. Kim (2010) and Kim and Suh (2009) provide the most comprehensive account of *-ketun* from the perspective of conversation analysis. In recent studies on *-ketun* using conversation analysis, K. Kim (2010) and Kim and Suh (2009) examine how the practice of informing with the use of *-ketun* provides a basis for the action of account-giving. Drawing on Y. Park (1998), they observe (i) the nature of information indexed by *-ketun* in terms of how it is grounded; and (ii) the sequential positions where the *-ketun* utterance is embedded. While pointing out the interactional meaning of *-ketun* as noticing and managing a gap in knowledge between the hearers, they pay extra attention to the use of *-ketun* in terms of how the information it conveys is grounded—whether it is based on the speaker’s personal knowledge or common knowledge. These studies present cases in which the information in the *-ketun* utterance includes characteristics of common knowledge, which is not necessarily unknown to the recipient. Specifically, in the practices of counter-informing, participants formulate their account with *-ketun* by drawing upon some general, common understanding rather than upon their direct knowledge or personal experience. Similar practices by L2 speakers in the use of *-ketun* in terms of types of information were also found in the current data set.

In terms of sequential position, Kim and Suh found that informing sequences with *-ketun*-marked utterances solicit the recipient’s uptake when *-ketun* is used in the first pair part of the informing sequence. In this position, the informing sequence generated by *-ketun* occurs as pre-expansion before the main action sequence is projected (Schegloff, 2007). In a multi-turn unit, *-ketun* utterances occur in the form of a parenthetical sequence (Schegloff, 2007) that works to propose to the recipient a revised understanding of the speaker’s prior talk. On the other hand, *-ketun* utterances in the second position produce a dispreferred response such as counter-informing. The *-ketun* utterance here marks information that

disputes the prior speaker's claim or action by drawing upon information within the speaker's domain (Kamio, 1997).

In summary, *-ketun* has been argued to be a suffix claiming "epistemic primacy" (Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011): a speaker claims to have more access to the reference. Epistemic primacy towards proposed information might come from the speaker's first-hand experience with it or prior knowledge of it, while the addressee does not have any access to the reference or has only second-hand experience. Therefore, a *-ketun*-marked utterance recurrently manipulates the intensity of the evaluation in order to provide support or a basis for the claim of epistemic primacy. Following this line of research, various discourse-organizational features of *-ketun* utterances are analyzed in this dissertation in terms of the sequential structure they generate and the actions they execute.

### **5.3 Delimitating the boundaries of practice: Sequential environment and interactional import of *-ketun***

In this section, as I did in Chapter 4 for *-canh-*, I will introduce the boundaries of *-ketun* utterances in the present data set in terms of sequential environment and interactional import. It was commonly found in the current data set that a speaker uses a *-ketun* utterance to claim epistemic primacy while marking information as not shared by interlocutors by evoking his or her independent knowledge. On the other hand, social actions accomplished by the use of *-ketun* are found to be different according to sequential placement (K. Kim, 2010; Kim & Suh, 2009). Such social actions are found to be similar to those of *-canh-*, but they are done by managing different dimensions of epistemic domain. That is, in first position, an utterance with *-ketun* is employed to give an account for the speaker's prior or subsequent claim. In second position, a *-ketun* utterance is used to disagree with an interlocutor's prior claim. In third position, the speaker employs a *-ketun* utterance to make

counter-challenges in response to an interlocutor's disaligning action towards the speaker. Manipulating intonational contour is one of the ways that participants effectively accomplish the action in which they are engaged when using *-ketun*. Corresponding to M. Park's (2013) argument, the differing intonational contours of the *-ketun* utterance appear to be related to the differing courses of action in which the participants are engaged. When *-ketun* is used in first position to give accounts, it seems to be associated with falling intonation. On the other hand, in doing disagreement using *-ketun* in second position, rising intonation has been observed. The details of turn construction and observed features will be discussed in the following sections.

As in Chapter 4, the data in this chapter will be presented according to the sequential position where the target form *-ketun* occurs: first, second, and third position. Comparable sequences representing different proficiency level students will be compared in order to demonstrate how the same actions are achieved in somewhat different ways by interactants who have different ranges of resources. What is worth mentioning at the outset is that only one instance of *-ketun* occurs in the data from the intermediate-level students. Therefore, the comparison will discuss their nonuse of *-ketun* in sequential environments that are similar to the sequential environments where *-ketun* utterances are used by advanced-level students and L1 speakers.<sup>33</sup>

#### **5.4 The use of *-ketun* in first position: Claiming epistemic primacy in account giving**

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<sup>33</sup> This finding corresponds to the findings documented in S. Sohn (2006) in a study that compared *-canh-* and *-ketun* in pedagogical perspective. Using a large spoken corpus, Sohn found that the frequency of *-canh-* was significantly higher than that of *-ketun* (69.23% : 30.76%). Given that both *-canh-* and *-ketun* are introduced in the same level of Korean textbook (intermediate 1; Cho et al., 2001), this extremely low frequency in the use of *-ketun* by intermediate-level students suggest certain implications in terms of language pedagogy

Much like *-canh-*, when *-ketun* is produced in first position it regularly occurs as part of a turn in which informing or reporting is underway. The multi-unit turn is generally produced in two parts: the first establishes the speaker's stance through an assertion, and the second accounts for the speaker's assertion. A *-ketun* utterance is used to provide an account by conveying information while claiming epistemic primacy (K. Kim, 2010; Kim & Suh, 2009; Y. Park, 1998). In other words, with a *-ketun* account giving, the speaker orients to her or his account as one she or he is entitled to make. This strong epistemic claim made by a *-ketun* utterance may be hedged or epistemically downgraded to mitigate the assertive force of the speaker's claim. As concurrent features, expressions of mitigation or minimization are frequently observed along with *-ketun* utterances. Figure 5.2 below shows the use of *-ketun* in first position in the current data along with an example.

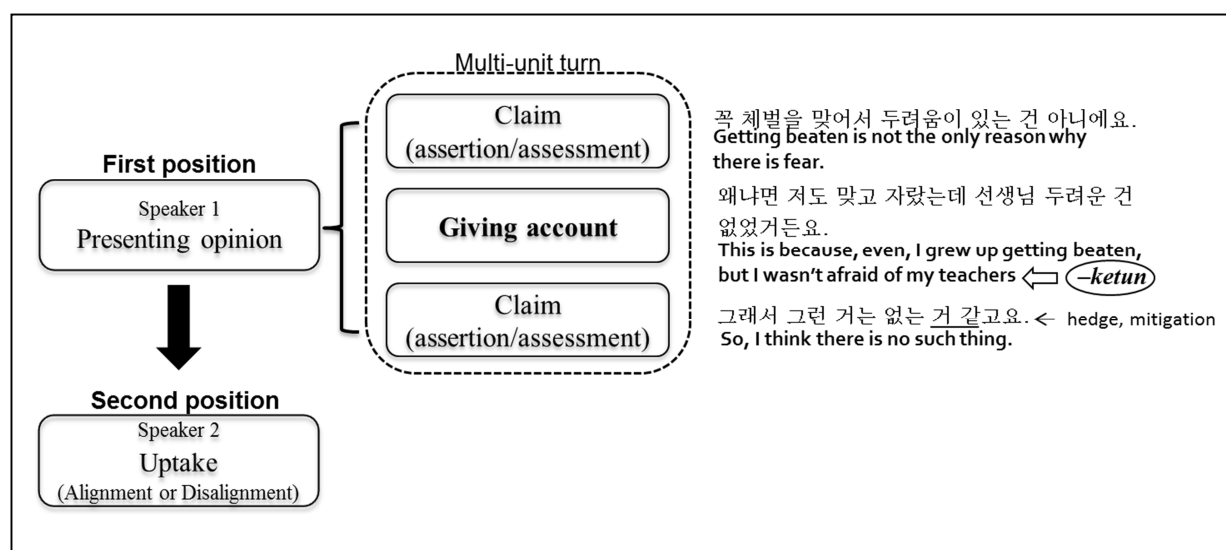


Figure 5.2. *-ketun* in first position

K. Kim (2010) specifically argues that a *-ketun* utterance in the middle of a multi-unit turn is used to provide a background account to boost the addressee's understanding of the import of the speaker's main argument. As this information with the *-ketun* utterance

takes the form of a parenthetical sequence, the recipient's uptake is not explicitly solicited (Schegloff, 2007). In the analysis, K. Kim (2010) discusses how information proposed with *-ketun* utterances is grounded and suggests two different types of information delivered via *-ketun* utterances: (1) information with empirical grounds and (2) information with common ground. This distinction also applies in the current data set and showed telling differences according to proficiency levels. In the following analysis, I will present the data by referring to Kim's categories of information in the use of *-ketun*.

#### 5.4.1 Personal grounds: Marking the sources of information

The first type of information discussed by K. Kim (2010) is that delivered in the turns of account giving where *-ketun* marks information as having a personal ground that belongs exclusively to the speaker's territory of knowledge. The following extract drawn from L1 speakers' conversation shows a case in point.

Extract 5.1. L1 Korean speaker: From K. Kim (2010, p. 224)

01      K:    → yeki-nun ( ) ponmwun-un ttek - i **-ketun**,  
    here-TOP main text-TOP 'ttek'-COP-KETUN

02            → ttek -i -lako hwaksilhi nao-**ketun**-yo,  
    'ttek'COP-QT clearly come out-KETUN-POL  
    **Here, in the main text, it is ttek. Clearly it is shown as ttek.**

In this extract, the speaker K, a Korean language teacher, is having an argument with other teachers on the correct spelling of a Korean word. In lines 1 and 2, K deploys a *-ketun* utterance to support her claim by proposing information with an empirical ground: the textbook. The present data set from L2 speakers of Korean contains interactions similar to that in the L1 data in Extract 5.1 in which speakers mark their sources in a specific way. That is, sources of information are marked as (1) firsthand knowledge; knowledge from the speaker's direct experience and (2) secondhand knowledge; knowledge that the speaker personally obtained from other sources.

### 5.4.1.1 Firsthand knowledge

The first type of information delivered with *-ketun* utterances is firsthand knowledge that the speaker directly experienced or perceived. In the context of opinion presenting, a speaker's claim can be subsequently supported and justified by evidence grounded in the speaker's direct experience or knowledge using *-ketun*. Speaker's independent epistemic primacy (Hayano, 2011; Heritage, 2012b) is also marked by a pronoun 'I' or a past tense marker in *-ketun* utterances. The exclusive right to the information and a higher degree of speaker certainty about his or her grasp of the matter at hand is thus a unique feature of this practice.

**Advanced.** The following three extracts display advanced students' use of *-ketun* forms for delivering firsthand information when giving an account for a claim. The following extract comes from a classroom debate on the topic of corporal punishment at school in South Korea. Prior to this extract, the group arguing against physical punishment provides a reason for their view by explaining a general custom of Korea. They assert that physical punishment in school has no educational effect but merely creates an atmosphere of dread in educational environments.

#### Extract 5.2. Ariel: Fear

- 47 Ariel: 네. daisy 씨가 말한 거는요[:  
48 John: [°네°  
49 Ariel: 두려움으로 가 갖고[:  
50 John: [°네°  
51 Ariel: 하트는: 집에서도 두렵고 여기서도 두려워서  
52 >그래서< 그런 게 부담되구: 또 어 제대로  
53 배울 수 있(.)능가 그걸 얘기 하셨는데요  
54 John: °음°  
55 Ariel: 꼭 (.) 처벌을 맞아서: 두려움이  
56 있(.)는 건 아니에요 >왜냐면< 저도 맞고





- 61                   sensayngnim-ul twulyeweha-ci anh-umyen  
                       teacher-ACC       scared-NOM   NEG-COND
- 62                   ku-ke-n yek(.)<sup>o</sup>hyokwa ani-eyyo?<sup>o</sup>  
                       that thing-ATTR opposite effect NET-COP-POL  
                       **Then, isn't it an opposite effect if you're not afraid of your teacher despite getting  
                       beaten?**

This extract starts from Ariel's presentation of a contrasting view to Daisy. Ariel summarizes the upshot of Daisy's prior claim from line 47 to line 53 before making her disagreeing claim. Subsequently, in lines 55–56, she provides her claim with a conclusive remark, using an unmarked form *-yo*, that the fear does not come from the punishment. The following causal *waynyamyen* 'because' in line 56 marks the upcoming account giving. Packed within the *-ketun* utterance, she provides an empirical justification for her previous proposition by saying that she experienced physical punishment by saying "I, myself, grew up getting beaten, but I wasn't afraid of my teachers." (lines 56-58). In this *-ketun* utterance, Ariel provides information about her personal experience. By reporting a past event that displays her own prior engagement with the matter under discussion, the speaker indexes her stance by laying claim to primary rights to do the assessing. In other words, her *-ketun*-utterance delivers information that is exclusively within this speaker's epistemic domain (Heritage, 2012a). The ensuing utterance recapitulates her prior assertion, this time in a mitigated manner by using an epistemic expression *-kes kath-* 'it seems' in line 59. Her response is then immediately met with disalignment from Daisy in an overlap.

A similar case of the use of *-ketun* can also be found in the following Extract 5.3. Here, participants are engaged in a discussion on the range of physical punishment. One of the participants, Daisy, asserts that only beating can be regarded as corporal punishment. On the other hand, A has the broader perspective that any kind of physical punishment, including anything that cause physical distress, is in the realm of the corporal punishment.

### Extract 5.3. Ariel: Invisible chair

47 Ariel: 아 근데 여기서 신체적 체벌 중에서도:  
 48 손들고 ((raises both arms)) 그것도 신체적  
 49 체벌이거든요: 그[ 래서  
 50 Daisy: [맞는 건 아니잖아요=  
 51 Ariel: 네 근데 맞는 것도: 어느 정도:: (.) 저도  
 52 반대하는 입장이 [고: >제가<  
 53 Daisy: [근데 어-  
 54 Ariel: 그 벌서기 이렇게?  
 55 ((puts her both hands up towards ceiling)) 하고 아니며는  
 56 이거 ((sits on the invisible chair)) 의자에 앉는 거  
 57 → 이거. 진짜 힘들거든요:  
 58 Teacher: ((chuckles))  
 59 Ariel: 죽어요. 한 삼십분 있으면서 쓰러져요.  
 60 아무튼 그런 것도 신체적 벌로:  
 61 생각해갖고 저는 (.) 그런 건 찬성한다고 (.)  
 62 °한 거거든요:°

47 Ariel: a kuntay yeki-se sincheycek cheypel cwungeyse-to:  
 but hear-at physical punishment among-also

48 son-tul-ko((raises both arms))ku-kes-to sincheycek  
 hand-raise-CONN that-thing-also physical

49 cheypel-i-ketun-yo: ku[layse  
 punishment-COP-KETUN-POL so  
**Oh, but standing with your arms up is one of the physical punishments, you know.**  
**So...**

50 Daisy: [mac-nun ke-n ani-canh-ayo=  
 be beaten-ATTR thing-ATTR NEG-CANH-POL  
**But that's not getting beaten.**

51 Ariel: ney kuntay mac-nun kes-to: enu cengto:: (.) ce-to  
 yes but be betan-ATTR thing-also somewhat I-also

52 pantayha-nun ipcang-i-[ko: >cey-ka<  
 against-ATTR position-COP-CONN I-NOM  
**Yes, getting beaten is also ...somewhat... I am also against it, I**

53 Daisy: [kuntay e-  
 but  
**But**

54 Ariel: ku pelse-ki ilehkey?  
 that stand-NML like this

55 ((puts her both hands up towards ceiling))hako animyenun  
 and-CONN or

56 i-ke ((sits on the invisible chair))uycaey anc-nun ke  
 thing-thing chair sit-ATTR thing

- 57           → i-ke.           cincca himtul-**ketun**-yo:  
               this-thing really tired-KETUN-POL   do-try-PST-CIRCUM  
               **The punishment like this? Or like this (sitting on an invisible chair), as if sitting on a chair. This is really hard, you know.**
- 58 Teacher:   ((chuckles))
- 59 Ariel:      cwuk-eyo. han samsip-pwun iss-umyenun ssulecy-eyo.  
               die-POL around thirty-minute stay-COND pass out-POL  
               **You're going to die. You're going to pass out if you do that for about 30 minutes**
- 60           amwuthun       kule-n       kes-to   sincheycek       pel-lo:  
               anyway like that-ATTR thing-also physical punishment-as
- 61           sayngkak-haykacko ce-nun(.) kule-n ke-n chansenghan-tako(.)  
               think-so           I-TOP like that-ATTR thing-ATTR agree-QT
- 62           'ha-n       ke ketun-yo:'  
               do-ATTR thing KETUN-POL  
               **. Anyways, I've always thought those were also physical punishments and I agreed for those reasons, you know.**

This extract begins with Ariel's assertion using *-ketun* as she informs Daisy that standing with the arms held up is a type of physical punishment (lines 47–49). Daisy's following utterance is ceased by Ariel's challenge using *-canh*<sup>34</sup> (line 50) in overlap with Daisy's production of *kulayse* 'so' in line 49. In response to this challenge, Ariel reaffirms her prior assertion in lines 51–52 by saying that she does not totally agree with physical punishment if it involves with getting beten. This turn again faces a challenge from Daisy that is made evident by Daisy's use of the disjunctive marker *kuntay* 'but, however' in the next turn in line 53. Ariel however, continues her turn by giving supporting accounts for her assertion (lines 54–57). In this utterance, along with the use of *-ketun*, Ariel displays her own knowledge of physical punishment by demonstrating the punishments with embodied action. By displaying herself as a person who actually has experienced such punishments, Ariel presents her greater right to the information than any other participant in the interaction. Ariel's claim of epistemic primacy is accentuated even more with her use of an adverb *cincca*

<sup>34</sup> The use of *-canh*- in second position is discussed in Chapter 4.

‘really’ in a *-ketun* utterance in line 57 (“This is really hard, you know.”). Her following utterance in lines 59-62 is also loaded with intensity as an epistemic claim. The first upgrade is accomplished with the use of an extreme case formulation “You’re going to die” in line 59. In addition, she provides a specific amount of time that one can bear the punishment. These resources work together to display a reinforced claim of speaker’s epistemic primacy with *-ketun* utterances. Once again, we witness how the *-ketun* format confers upon the speaker a legitimate right to make such assessments.

The following Extract 5.4 is the last case in point. Here, upon the teacher’s request, Mina, as a person who speaks more than three languages, suggests effective ways to learn foreign languages.

#### Extract 5.4. Mina: Learning languages

- 11 Teacher: 뭐 한국 학생이나 아니며는 음: 뭐: 그-(.)  
 12 일본어를 공부하겠다는 학생이나 그  
 13 추천해줄만한 그런 공부방법  
 14 같은 게 있으세요?  
 15 Mina: 그냥 적극적으로: 이렇게:: 친구두 사귀구<sub>ㄹ</sub>  
 16 Teacher: 예  
 17 Mina: 학교에서만 배울 게 아니라, 나가서요:  
 18 Teacher: 예  
 19 Mina: 친구두 사귀구<sub>ㄹ</sub> 텔레비두 보구<sub>ㄹ</sub> 영화두  
 20 보구<sub>ㄹ</sub> (.) 그렇게 (.) 그::언어를 자주 쓸 수 있는 기회를  
 21 만드는게 제일 좋은 거 같아요.  
 22 Teacher: 아::  
 23 Mina: 저두 한국말두-한국말두  
 24 Teacher: 예  
 25 Mina: **계::**속 안 쓰다가 쓸려그러며는 막 생각이  
 26 → 안나구 일어두 그렇구 영어두 그렇거든요<sub>ㄹ</sub>  
 27 Teacher: 예  
 28 Mina: 그러니까 안 쓰며는: 언어라는 게 금방  
 29 잊어버리는 거 같아요.  
 30 Teacher: 예.  
 31 Mina: 항상: 배운 것두 이렇게 연습할 기회를  
 32 만들구: 이러는 게 제일 난 거 같아요.  
 33 Teacher: 예
- 11 Teacher: mwe hankwuk haksayng-ina animyenun um: mwe: ku-(.)  
 DM Korea always-or or DM that

- 12 ilpone-lul kongpwuha-keyss-ta-nun haksayng-ina ku  
Japanese-ACC study-DCT:RE-PLN-ATTR student-or that
- 13 chwuchenhay-cwul-manha-n kule-n kongpwu pangpep  
recommend-give-worth-ATTR that-ATTR study method
- 14 kath-un key iss-usey-yo?  
like that-ATTR thing have-SH-POL  
**Do you have any study tips for Korean students or students learning Japanese?**
- 15 Mina: kunyang cekukcekulwu: ilehkey:: chinkwu-twu sakwi-kwu;  
just actively like this friend-also make-CONN  
**Just, actively make friends, like this.**
- 16 Teacher: yey  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 17 Mina: hakkyo-eyse-man paywul key ani-la, naka-se-yo:  
school-at-only learn thing NEG-and go out-at-POL  
**Not just staying in the classroom but outside, too.**
- 18 Teacher: yey  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 19 Mina: chinkwu-twu sakwi-kwu; theyleypi-twu po-kwu; yenghwa-twu  
friend-also make-CONN television-also watch-CONN movie-also
- 20 po-kwu; (.) kulehkey (.) ku::ene-lul cacwu ssu-l swu iss-nun  
watch-CONN like that that language-ACC often use-can-ATTR
- 21 kihoy-lul mantu-nun-key ceyil coh-un ke kathay-yo.  
opportunity-ACC make-ATTR thing most good-ATTR think-POL  
**I think it's important to make opportunities where you can use the language consistently by making friends, watching TV, watching movies, stuff like that.**
- 22 Teacher: a::
- 23 Mina: ce-twu hankwukmal-twu-hankwukmal-twu  
I-also Korean language-also Korean language-also  
**I also, the Korean language too,**
- 24 Teacher: yey  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 25 Mina: **kyey::sok** an ssu-taka ssu-llye-kule-myen-un mak  
consistently NEG use-while use-in order to-that-COND-ATTR DM
- 26 sayngkak-i an na-kwu ile-twu kuleh-kwu  
thought-NOM NEG come out-CONN Japanese-also like that-CONN
- 27 → yenge-twu kuleh-**ketun**-yo;  
English-also like that-KETUN-POL  
**I can't talk when I haven't spoken in that language for a long time. Japanese, and English too, you know.**

- 28 Teacher: yey  
yes  
**I see.**
- 29 Mina: kulenikka an ssu-mye-nun: ene-lanun key kumpang  
so NEG use-COND-ATTR language-QT:ATTR thing soon
- 30 icepeli-nun ke kath-ayyo.  
forget-ATTR think-POL  
**That's why, the thing about language is that, if you don't use it, you forget it soon.**
- 31 Teacher: yey.  
yes  
**I see**
- 32 Mina: hangsang: paywu-n kes-twu ilehkey yensupha-l kihoy-lul  
always learn-ATTR thing-also like this practice practice-ACC
- 33 mantul-kwu: ile-nun key ceyil nan ke kath-ayyo.  
make-CONN like this-ATTR thing most good think-POL  
**That's why I think it's best to always make opportunities to practice what you learned, like this.**
- 34 Teacher: yey  
yes  
**I see.**

In response to the teacher's request in lines 11–14, Mina maintains that making as many opportunities as possible to practice is the best way to learn languages. While providing this claim, she provides a list of activities to make such opportunities including making friends, watching TV, and watching movies (lines 15, 17, 19–21). After completing her claim using an epistemic expression *-kes kath-* in line 21, Mina introduces her own experience as an example starting in line 23, using *-ketun* to support her recommendation. Her use of the pronoun *ce* 'I' as a subject of the utterance along with a particle *-to* 'also, too' also shows that the experiencer of the proposed information is herself. In the ensuing utterance in line 25, she uses an adverb *kyeysok* 'continuously, constantly' with louder volume and vowel lengthening to highlight the importance of persistent use of target languages in language learning. When the action of giving supporting accounts is formulated in its completed state, Mina employs a *-ketun* utterance while commenting on how her Japanese and English suffered attrition when she did not use them consistently (lines 25–27: "I can't talk when I

haven't spoken in that language for a long time, Japanese, and English, you know.") In other words, throughout this turn of giving accounts to support her claim, the speaker employs –*ketun* to claim her epistemic primacy that originates from her own language learning experience.

I have thus far shown how advanced-level Korean L2 speakers claim epistemic primacy when giving accounts by employing –*ketun* utterances. The speakers describe their personal experiences in great detail to claim greater epistemic rights to the information. The next section will illustrate how intermediate-level students, in similar sequential environments, construct their turns differently by using other resources than –*ketun* and will discuss the interactional outcomes.

**Intermediate.** The following three extracts illustrate comparable sequential environments in intermediate level students' interactions. The first short extract (Extract 5.5) is the only instance of a –*ketun* utterance by an intermediate student in this data set. Here, the students share their opinions on the division of household chores for married couples.

#### Extract 5.5. CL: I really love to cook

07 Teacher: >그니까< 집안일을 CL 씨가 일을  
08 한다고 해도 나중에 집안일을 하고 싶어요.  
09 (.)  
10 CL: 네 바쁘면 남편[도 (.2) 되고 도와주고  
11 Teacher: [°음 음  
12 CL: → 네 전 요리하는 거 진짜 좋아하거든요 ((laugh))  
13 Teacher: 음  
14 Jenny: 요리?  
15 CL: °응°  
16 Jenny: oh man:  
17 Sue: he can't 요리 at all?  
18 Teacher: 그럼 남편이: 남편이 집안일을  
19 다하는 건 싫어요?

07 Teacher: >kunikka< cipanil-ul CL ssi-ka il-ul  
so housework-ACC VOC-NOM work-ACC  
08 han-tako hay-to nacwungey cipanil-ul ha-ko siph-eyo;  
do-QT do-still later housework-ACC do-want-POL



So, would you still like to do the housework even if you were working as well?

09 (.)

10 CL: ney pappumyen namphyen[-to (.2) toy-ko towa-cwu-ko  
yes husband husband-also okay-CONN help-give-CONN  
**Yes, if I'm busy, my husband can help me out.**

11 Teacher: [°um um

12 CL: → ney ce-n yoli-ha-nun ke cincca cohaha-**ketun**-yo ((laugh))  
yes I-TOP cook-ATTR thing really like-KETUN-POL  
**Yes, I really love to cook.**

13 Teacher: um

14 Jenny: yoli?  
cooking  
**cooking?**

15 CL: °ung°  
yes  
**Yes.**

16 Jenny: oh man:

17 Sue: he can't yoli at all?  
cooking  
**he can't cook at all?**

18 Teacher: kulem namphyen-i: namphyen-i cipanil-ul  
then husband-NOM husband-NOM housework-ACC

19 ta ha-nun ke-n silh-eyo?  
all do-ATTR thing-ATTR dislike-POL  
**Then, you wouldn't like it if your husband did all the housework?**

Prior to this extract, one of the students, Ed, presents CL's opinion on behalf of her that CL would like to do the household chores for her husband. In response, the teacher repeats a portion of Ed's prior turn with a rising contour, thereby requesting confirmation from the original speaker CL (line 7–8). In response to this, CL produces a confirmation marker *ney* 'yes' in line 10, and then elaborates her opinion by saying that her husband could also give her assistance. Subsequently, she proceeds to give a supporting account for her opinion by providing information about her personal interest in cooking as a reason for her preference for doing the household chores (line 12: "I really love to cook."). This information

in the speaker's domain is marked with a pronoun "I" and the suffix *-ketun*. Although CL constructs her turn more simply than more advanced students might, this sequence of opinion presentation is developed similarly to the advanced students' interactions discussed above. By using *-ketun*, the speakers provide information exclusively within their own domain (from the speaker's own experience) in giving supporting accounts for their claim. One of the remarkable distinctions found in this case is the level of formality in the interactional settings. As can be seen in Extract 5.5, these students' conversation is limited to personal information dealing with personal preferences. In contrast, the advanced-level students' conversation showed structured arguments and supporting accounts at a more abstract level.<sup>35</sup> While a discussion of task difficulty or complexity in language learning (Robinson, 2001) is beyond the scope of this dissertation, a possible explanation for this difference may be linked to intermediate level students' exceptionally infrequent use of *-ketun* throughout the current data set.

The following two extracts from intermediate students' interaction present interesting cases for comparison. Prior to this extract, the teacher asks the students to talk about anything they think of when they hear the word "feminist."

#### Extract 5.6. Ron: Women's university

03 Ron:           저는 페미니스트라고 생각할 때  
04                   >like< 이대여자대학교?  
05 Teacher:   네: 이[ 화여자대학  
06 Ron:                   [like 이대--이대::에서 온 여자들은 보통  
07                   >like< 성격이 (.2) uh: 제 친구--다른:(.) >like<  
08                   남녀 학교:를 다니는 여자보다 성--성격이  
09                   → 아주 달라요.  
10 Teacher:   어떻게 달라요

03 Ron:           ce-nun phayminisuthu-lako sayngkakha-l ttay

<sup>35</sup> This finding corresponds to the proficiency description of advanced and intermediate level for oral proficiency interview (OPI) by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL; <http://www.actfl.org/>).

I-TOP      feminist-QT      think-when

04                    >like< itay-yeca-tayhakkyo?  
                          Ewha-women-university  
**When I think of feminists, like Ewha women's university?**

05 Teacher:      ney: i[hwa-yeca-tayhak  
                          yes Ewha-women-university  
**Yes, Ewha women's university.**

06 Ron:                    [like because **itay--**itay::eyse o-n yeca-tul-un pothong  
                                  EWU EWU-from come-ATTR woman-PL-TOP usually

07                    >like< sengkyek-i(.2) uh: cey chinkwu-- talu-n:(.) >like<  
                          personality-NOM    I-GEN friend different-ATTR

08                    nam-nye hakkyo-lul tani-nun yeca-pota seng--sengkyek-i  
                          women-man school-ACC attend-ATTR women-than personality-NOM

09                    → acwu tall-ayo.  
                          very different-POL  
**Like, because, the personalities of EWU graduates are... My friend... Her personality is very different from the average girl from a coed college.**

10 Teacher:      ettehkey talla-yo  
                          how different-POL  
**How different?**

In lines 3-4, Ron provides 'Ewha Women's University' in South Korea as a response to the teacher's question. He finishes his turn with a proper noun 'Ewha Women's University' pronounces with rising intonation and final vowel stretching that are understood as confirmation seeking by the teacher. After a brief side sequence of clarification on the words for 'Ewha Women's University' in lines 4-5, Ron starts presenting the reason for his answer by launching an English discourse marker "because" in line 6. Then he proceeds to provide assessment on the personality of women who studied at Ewha Women's University by saying that they are different from lines 6 to line 9 ("because, the personalities of EWU graduates are... My friend... Her personality is very different from the average girl from a coed college."). In this turn of account giving, Ron initially applies the case to women who attend the college in general by using a plural marker *tul* and the adverb *potong* 'usually, typically' in line 6. Then in line 7 he narrows down the case by foregrounding a very specific person:

his friend who attended that school. By particularizing the proposed information to the case of his friend, Ron alters the type of proposed information to that which falls within his epistemic domain. The use of an adverb *acwu* ‘very’ (line 9) serves to enhance the private nature of this information. What Ron accomplishes here in lines 6–9 indeed appears to be similar to what the advanced students do with the use of *-ketun* in the excerpts discussed in Extracts 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4. As the case of the speaker’s friend indisputably falls into the speaker’s domain, this is a sequential place where *-ketun* can occur. However, he employs an unmarked form for the sentence-ending suffix. In brief, Ron’s account giving in lines 6–9 is similar to that of the advanced students’ account giving except for Ron’s use of the unmarked sentence ending *-yo*. Although the non-occurrence of *-ketun* does not cause any significant consequences, such as misunderstanding or a breakdown of the on-going interaction, the design of his turn without *ketun* does not index his epistemic primacy for the delivered information. In the next turn, the teacher launches a follow-up question in line 10 by asking how different they are.

The instance below (Extract 5.7) that is followed by a conversation in Extract 5.6 shows another instance for comparison. The main speaker, Ron, gives a negative evaluation on social ineptitude of women in Korea, especially the graduates of a women-only university.

#### Extract 5.7. Ron: Girls schools

- 38 Teacher: 혹시 예, 예나 아니며는 왜 그렇게 생각하는지::  
 39 Ron: 제가 아는 친구 중에 (.) 한 여자가 >like< 여자::  
 40 like um: <어렸을 때부터 여자 중학교:>  
 41 Teacher: 네  
 42 Ron: 여자 고등학교, 여자 대학교를 다녔는데  
 43 like 남자에 대한 like uhh:: (.) 남자에 대해서 (.)  
 44 → uh like(.) 좀 다르게 대해요. like uh.. 이상- like  
 45 >다른 여자보다< like 아마(.) 다른 남자랑 같이 일하거나  
 46 like 같이(.) 생활할 수 없는 것 같아요  
 47 Teacher: 음:::: 혹시 저런 (.3) 여자들 본 적 있어요?  
 48 Ron: 네. ((laughing))

- 38 Teacher: hoksi yey, yey-na animyenun way kulehkey sayngkakha-nunci::  
perhaps example example-or or why like that think-whether  
**Can you give an example or why do you think that way?**
- 39 Ron cey-ka a-nun chinkwu cwungey(.) han yeca-ka >like< yeca::  
I-NOM know-ATTR friend among one woman-NOM woman
- 40 like um: <elye-ss-ul ttay-pwuthe yeca cwunghakkyo:>  
young-PST-when-from woman middle school  
**One of the friends, she, like umm... She went to a girls middle school**
- 41 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 42 Ron: yeca kotunghakkyo, yeca tayhakkyo-lul tanye-ss-nuntey  
woman high school woman university-ACC attend-PST-CIRCUM
- 43 like namca-ey tayha-n like uhh::(.) namca-ey tayhayse(.)  
man-about -ATTR man-about
- 44 → uh like (.)com talukey tayhay-yo. like uh:: isang- like  
a litte differently treat-POL strange  
**She went to an all girls high school and college and... like.. she acts differently towards men. Like uh... weird... like,**
- 45 >talun yeca-pota< like ama(.)talun namca-lang kathi ilha-kena  
other woman-than probably other man-with together work-or
- 46 like kathi (.) saynghwalha-l swu eps-nun kes kath-ayo  
together live-cannot-ATTR seem-POL  
**I don't think she will be able to work with men like other women.**
- 47 Teacher: um::: hoksi cele-n (.3) yeca-tul po-n cek iss-eyo?  
perhaps that-ATTR woman-PL see-ever-exist-POL  
**Hmm... Have you seen those types of women before?**
- 48 Ron: ney. ((laughing))  
yes  
**Yes.**

In line 38, the teacher demands that Ron provide an example or reason for his prior claim. In response to the teacher's request, Ron brings up a case of his friend in Korea in line 39. Here, he formulates a turn of account giving with information that falls within his personal domain of epistemic territory, in that he delivers information that he has from his own observation of his friend. This is clearly marked by the person reference of his female friend in Korea by saying "One of the friends" in line 39. Subsequently, in lines 40 and 42,

Ron gives more detailed information about the friend regarding her educational background from middle school to college using a background provider *-nuntey* (Y. Park, 1999). Then he illustrates her behavior as something different from that of others in lines 43–44 (“She acts differently towards men.”). This turn is highly comparable to the advanced level students’ turns with *-ketun* (Extracts 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4) considering its sequential position, action import, and management of epistemic access to the information. However, Ron uses an unmarked form *-yo* instead of *-ketun* as an ending suffix. Then he provides an evaluation of his friend in lines 44–46 (“Weird...I don’t think she will be able to work with men like other women”). This evaluation is initially formulated with an adjective *isanghata* ‘strange’ in line 44, but it is broken off in the middle by a mitigated version in lines 45–46 using an adverb *ama* ‘probably’ (line 45) and an hedgming expression *-kes kath-* ‘it seems’ (line 46). In the following turn, the teacher opens the floor to the class by asking other students if they know of any similar examples. The last extract from an intermediate level student also presents a similar case. In this extract, the class talks about a tendency of Korean people.

#### Extract 5.8. Jenny: high heels

- 01 Jenny: 근데: 한국 여자들은 구두 너무 많이  
 02 신는 것 같아요.  
 03 Teacher: 그래요?  
 04 Jenny: >I don’t know< 그--그 때 한국 갔을 때요:  
 05 여자들 다 비 와던지 >like< 아무거나 **always wearing**  
 06 → **high heels** 봤어요  
 07 Teacher: 네.  
 08 Jenny: 이상해요 쯤.  
 09 Teacher 왜 그런 거 같아요?  
 10 CL 그:: 한국은 [그냥 모습?  
 11 Jenny: [한국에서는 네. 그거: 중요한 거 같아요  
 12 Teacher 네. 외모
- 01 Jenny: kuntey: hankwuk yeca-tul-un kwutwu nemwu manhi  
 but Korea woman-PL-TOP heels too much  
 02 sin-nun kes kath-ayyo.  
 wear-ATTR seem-POL

**But I think Korean women wear heels too much.**

- 03 Teacher kulay-yo?  
like that-POL  
**Is that so?**
- 04 Jenny: >I don't know< ku-- ku ttay hankwuk ka-ss-ul ttay-yo  
that that time Korea go-PST-when-POL
- 05 yeca-tul ta pi wa-ten-ci >like< amwukena **always wearing**  
woman-PL all rain come-PST-whether anything
- 06 → **high heels** pwa-ss-eyo  
see-PST-POL  
**I don't know. When I went to Korea, whether it was raining or what not, I always saw them wearing high heels.**
- 07 Teacher ney.  
yes  
**I see.**
- 08 Jenny: isanghay-yo. ccom.  
strange-POL a little  
**It's a little weird.**
- 09 Teacher: way kule-n ke kath-ayyo.  
why like that-ATTR thing seem-POL  
**Why do think they do that?**
- 10 CL: ku hankwuk-un [kunyang mosup?  
that Korea-TOP just appearance  
**Korea is just, figure?**
- 11 Jenny: [hankwuk-eyse-nun ney. ku-ke  
Korea-at-TOP yes that-thing
- 12 cwungyoha-n ke kath-ayyo.  
important-ATTR seem-POL  
**I think in Korea, yes, that's important.**
- 13 Teacher ney. oymo  
yes appearance  
**Yes, appearance.**

In lines 1-2, Jenny provides a negative assessment that Korean women wear high heels too much. She mitigates her assessment with the epistemic expression *-kes kath-* 'it seems'. In the following turn in line 3, the teacher acknowledges Jenny's turn in the form of a confirmation request (*kulay-yo?* 'Is that so?'). Jenny does not treat this question as a straightforward confirmation request, but as one that involves the possibility of non-alignment towards her prior claim, which she therefore feels impelled to defend, as evidenced

by her following utterances. In line 4, Jenny starts her turn with another hedge, “I don’t know” (Weatherall, 2011), then gives an account by presenting her own experience when she was in Korea (lines 4–6: “When I went to Korea, whether it was raining or what not, I always saw them wearing high heels.”). Here, Jenny gives information from her own observation by formulating the turn with detailed description of the time and place. She starts out by setting a past time frame along with a local reference term in line 4 (“when I went to Korea”) marking that the action took place in the past. Then she describes what she saw by saying that she constantly witnessed Korean women wearing high heels (lines 5–6). The use of extreme case formulations *amwukena* ‘anything, whatever’ and ‘always’ (Edwards, 2000; Pomerantz, 1986) in line 5 also contributes to accomplishing this negative assessment. Such formulation invites a hearer to recognize the described women as wearing heels excessively. Attention can also be directed here to her use of a perception verb *pota* ‘see’ (line 6) in the past tense to show her direct observation. This turn is highly comparable to the extracts of advanced-level students’ interactions in that the speaker conveys information that is in her epistemic territory in order to give an account for her prior claim. However, we once again witness that an intermediate-level student uses an unmarked form in the place where *-ketun* is anticipated to occur. In positions where *-ketun* is expected, Jenny uses an unmarked ending *-yo*. Extracts 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 show intermediate level students’ different ways of achieving the same action of account giving without using *-ketun*.

#### **5.4.1.2 Secondhand knowledge**

Information delivered with the use of *-ketun* in giving accounts also includes secondhand knowledge that the speaker obtained from other sources. The information is not from the speaker’s direct experience but it is based on personal grounds for which the speaker has a certain amount of epistemic primacy, while the recipient does not. Of additional interest



here is that *-ketun* frequently occurs with a variety of other linguistic resources. Past tense marking, quotative constructions, and perceptive verbs such as *alta* ‘to know’ or *tutta* ‘to hear’ are deployed as resources to claim the speaker’s epistemic access by showing that the speaker has sufficient knowledge to make the claim (Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011). Along with these resources, the extracts in this section show the use of another resource: reference to the speaker’s social identity to give a basis to the speaker’s epistemic primacy embodied with *-ketun*. Through the use of *-ketun* along with these semiotic resources, the speaker marks the source of information and claims epistemic primacy that he or she has about the information (Heritage 2012a; Heritage & Raymond, 2005). By providing accounts to support their claims in this way, speakers not only claim to know better than their hearers, but show this through their stronger or more precise evaluation. In this section, I will present two instances from advanced-level students’ interactions with *-ketun* utterances and two from intermediate-level students’ interactions without *-ketun* utterances.

**Advanced.** First to be discussed are the two extracts selected from the advanced-level students’ interactions. In Extract 5.9, an extended version of Extract 4.27, the class is having a debate on the influence of Koreans’ hasty disposition on the country’s societal and economic development. In response to teacher’s question (lines 1-3) an advanced student, Erika offers a typical sequence of opinion-presenting that consists of the main claim and supporting accounts (lines 10-33).

#### Extract 5.9. Erika: Increase of overweight

- 01 Teacher: 이 한국인의 급한 성격이 한국  
 02 사회에 긍정적인 영향을 미쳤다라는  
 03 의견에 대해 어떻게 생각[하세요?  
 ((lines omitted))  
 07 Erika: 저는 <반대합니[다>  
 08 Teacher: [네: 왜요?  
 09 (.6)  
 10 Erika: °어° 빨리빨리(.) 문-빨리빨리 문화가↑,(.)

11 좋은 영향을 미치는: (.) 미쳤다고  
 12 볼 수도 있지만, 제가 생각할 때는 (.2)  
 13 °이제° (.)너무 (.)°이케° 재빨리 해내야  
 14 인정받는 생각이: (.2) 그런 성향 의식-  
 15 그런 의식이 강하기 때문에, (.2) 한국에서  
 16 친구백구십사년이랑 구십오년에 이제:  
 17 성-성-성-성수대교 붕괴사건이라던지,  
 18 삼풍백화점 붕괴사건 같은: 그런 (.)  
 19 부실 공사로 인해 참사가 생기는 상황이  
 20 발생했고, 또: 이제: (.5) 빨리빨리 문화  
 21 때문에: 발전하는 편리한 생활때문에,  
 22 조급증 같은 후유증도 생기고요,  
 23 어느 뉴스에 따르면 사회·회사에 다니는 사람들  
 24 팔십퍼센트가 우울증에 시달린다고 했고,  
 25 또: 하나 더 얘기하자면, (.2)°이제° (.2)  
 26 빨리빨리문화 때문에=°이제° 한국에  
 27 맥도날드나 롯데리아 같은 그: fastfood 문화가 (.2)  
 28 생기기 시작하면서, 요즘 한국 사람중에  
 29 비만인 사람이 굉장히 많다고  
 30 → °들었거든요?°  
 31 그래서 (.) 빨리빨리 문화를: 한국 사람에게  
 32 긍정적인 영향을 미쳤다고보다는 좀  
 33 부정적인 영향을 미쳤다고 생각합니다  
 34 Ron: °음° ((nods))

01 Teacher: i hankwukin-uy kupha-n sengkyek-i hankwuk  
 this Korean people-GEN hasty-ATTR personality-NOM Korea  
 02 sahoey-ey kungcengcekin yenghyang-ul michyessta-la-nun  
 society-at positive influence-ACC give-QT-ATTR  
 03 uykyen-ey tayhay ettehkey sayngkak[ha-sey-yo?  
 opinion-about how think-HON-POL  
**What do you think of the opinion on that Korean people's quick-tempered nature has a positive influence on Korean society?**  
 ((lines omitted))  
 07 Erika: ce-nun <pantayha-pni[ta>  
 I-TOP disagree-DEF  
**I disagree.**  
 08 Teacher: [ney: way-yo?  
 yes why-POL  
**Okay. why?**  
 09 (.6)  
 10 Erika: °e° ppalli ppalli(.) mwun-ppalli ppalli mwunhwa-ka↑,(.)  
 hurry hurry hurry hurry culture-NOM  
 11 coh-un yenghyang-ul michi-nun: (.) michy-ess-tako  
 good-ATTR influence-ACC give-ATTR give-PST-QT  
 12 pol swu-to iss-ciman, cey-ka sayngkakha-l ttay-nun (.2)

see can:also-but I-NOM think-when-TOP

13 'icey' (.)nemwu(.)'ikhey' cayppalli haynay-ya  
now too like this quickly accomplish-should

14 incengpat-nun sayngkak-i:(.2) kule-n senghyang uysik-  
recognition-receive-ATTR thought-NOM that-ATTR tendency sense

15 kule-n uysik-i kangha-ki ttaymwuney, (.2) hankwuk-eyse  
like that-ATTR sense-NOM strong-NML because Korea-at

16 chenkwpaykkwusipsa-nyen-ilang kwusipo-nyen-ey icey:  
1994-year-and 95-year-at DM

17 seng-seng-seng-sengswu-taykyo pwungkoy saken-i-latenci,  
Seongsu Bridge collapse incident-COP-or

18 samphwung-paykhwacem pwungkoy saken kath-un: kule-n(.)  
Sampoong Dept. store collapse incident like-ATTR that-ATTR

19 pwusil kongsa-lo inhay chamsa-ka sayngki-nun sanghwang-i  
poor construction-by disaster-NOM occur-ATTR situation-NOM

20 palsaynghay-ss-ko, tto: icey: (.5) ppalli ppalli mwunhwa  
happen-PST-and:CONN also DM hurry hurry culture

21 ttaymwuney: palcenhanun phyenlihan saynghwal ttaymwuney,  
because of develop-ATTR convenient-ATTR life because of  
22 cukupkath-un hwuyucung-to sayngki-ko-yo,  
**Umm... You can say that *ppalli-ppalli* culture has a positive impact but I think now that  
because the obsession of finishing everything in haste is so strong, there were a  
number of incidents that has happened. Like the 1994 and 1995, the Seong- Seong -  
Seong - Seongsoo Bridge incident, SamPoong Mall incident... These cases of disasters  
happened and now... Because of *ppalli-ppalli* culture ... because of the comfort of  
this... there are aftereffects of this, such as impatience and...**

23 enu nyusu-ey ttalumyen saho-yhoysaey tani-nun salam-tul  
some news-according to society company attend-ATTR people-PL

24 phalsip-pheseynthu-ka wuwulcung-ey sitalli-n-tako hay-ss-ko,  
80 percent-NOM depression-by suffer-ATTR-QT do-PST-CONN

25 tto: hana te yaykiha-ca-myen(.2)'icey'(.2)  
also one more say-SUGG-COND DM

26 ppalli ppalli mwunhwa ttaymwuney='icey' hankwuk-ey  
hurry hurry culture because of DM Korea-at

27 mayktonaltu-na losteylia kath-un ku: fastfood-mwunhwa-ka(.2)  
Mcdonalds-or Lotte Ria like-ATTR that culture-NOM

28 sayngki-ki sicakha-myense yocum hankwuk salam cwungey  
come up-NML begin-while recently Korea person among

29 piman-i-n salam-i koyngcanghi manh-tako  
overweight-COP-ATTR person-NOM extremely many-QT

30 → 'tul-ess-**ketun**-yo?'  
hear-PST-KETUN-POL

According to this one news, 80% of company workers suffer from depression. Adding in another side note, I heard that because of this fast-paced culture in Korea, these fast food restaurants like McDonald's and Lotteria has started to emerge and there are a lot of Koreans that are overweight.

- 31 kulayse(.) ppalli ppalli mwunhwa-lul:hankwuk salam-eykey  
so hurry hurry culture-ACC Korea person-to
- 32 kungcengcekin yenghyang-ul michy-ess-ta-ki-potanun com  
positive influence-ACC give-PST-PLN-NML-than a little
- 33 pwucengcekin yenghyang-ul michy-ess-tako sayngkak-hapnita  
negative influence-ACC give-PST-QT think-DEF  
**That is why, rather than a positive influence, I think this has been a negative effect for Koreans living in this fast-paced culture.**
- 33 Ron: °um° ((nods))

In line 7, Erika begins with her turn by presenting her negative stance in an overt manner by saying “I disagree.” Upon the teacher’s request in line 8, Erika launches quite a long turn of account giving by introducing a number of actual incidents and phenomena that happened in Korea (lines 10–30). This turn of account giving begins with a self-qualifying clause (Mori, 1999) by accepting the opposing view using a connective *–ciman* (lines 10-12). Subsequently, Erika supports her view by listing some incidents that took place in Korea as examples of the negative effect of hasty disposition. Her examples are largely divided into three parts: (1) a list of incidents that includes the collapse of a department store and a bridge in the 1990s (lines 15-20); (2) a description of the high rates of depression and mental illness in Korea (lines 20-24); and (3) a mention of the increased rate of obesity in Korea due to the rapid spread of fast food franchises (lines 25-30). In the third part, Erika deploys a *–ketun* utterance (line 29: “I heard that because of this fast-paced culture in Korea, these fast food restaurants like McDonald’s and Lotteria has started to emerge and there are a lot of Koreans that are overweight.”). Note that other than *–ketun*, Erika constructs her turn with a perception verb *tutta* ‘to hear’ in the quotative form with past tense marking (line 30). Thus, the *–ketun* utterance along with other resources implies that the proposed information is from

a clear source. The *-ketun*-marked information is formulated as a crucial piece of related information that the interlocutors should know in order to fully understand Erika's message. The seriousness of the matter is also emphasized by the use of an adverbial *koyngcanghi* 'very, extremely' in line 29. Based on the accounts she has provided, Erika makes a final claim and brings her sequence of opinion-presentation to a close in lines 30-33.

The following Extract 5.10 (reproduced from Extract 4.18) shows another case in point. The class is engaged in a discussion on corporal punishment in South Korea. In this segment, the main speaker, John, talks about Korea's educational environment and its differences from that in the U.S.

Extract 5.10. John: Public elementary schools in Korea

- 01 Jonh: =한국에 쯤 문제가 있는 게 국-  
 02 ((looks at teacher)) 국민학교: 네  
 03 Teacher: 네 초등학[교  
 04 Jonh: [모지 초등학교가  
 05 국민학교였기 때문에 사립학교가 많이  
 06 → 없다고((looks at teacher)) 알고 있거든요?  
 07 Teacher: ((nods))  
 08 John: ((looks at Daisy))=그러기 때문에  
 09 미국 같은 경우에 비교를 해보면 만약에  
 10 어떤 문제아-문제아<sup>o</sup>라고 하나요?=  
 11 Teacher: =네=
- 01 John: =hankwuk-ey ccom mwuncey-ka iss-nun key kwuk-  
 Korea-in a little problem-NOM exist-ATTR thing
- 02 ((looks at teacher)) kwukminhakkyo: ney  
 elementary school yes
- 03 Teacher: ney chotunghak[kyo  
 yes elementary school
- 04 John: [mo-ci chotunghakkyo-ka  
 what-COMM:IE elementary school-NOM
- 05 kwukminhakkyoyess-ki ttaymwuney salip-hakkyo-ka manhi  
 elementary school-NML because private school-NOM a lot
- 06 → eps-tako((looks at teacher)) al-ko iss-**ketun**-yo?  
 not exist-QT know-PROG-KETUN-POL

There is a bit of problem in Korea. I heard that there aren't many private elementary schools because Korean government used to run elementary schools. So that's why, when comparing the US... the troublemaker? Is that what they're called?

07 Teacher: ((nods))

08 ((looks at Daisy))=kule-ki ttaymwuney  
like that-NML because

09 Jonh: mikwuk kath-un kyengwu-ey pikyo-lul hay-po-myen manyakey  
US like-ATTR case-in compare-ACC do-try-COND if

10 **If you compare it to America's case, if there was a...**  
ette-n mwunceya--mwunceya-'lako ha-na-yo?\*=  
some-ATTR trouble kid trouble kid-QT do-Q-POL?  
**what would you call it? trouble kid? problem child? trouble maker?"**

11 Teacher: =ney=  
yes  
Yes.

In line 1, John gives a somewhat negative assessment of Korea's education system by saying "There is a bit of problem in Korea." After securing confirmation from the teacher on the word for 'elementary school' in Korean (lines 2-3), John sets out the necessary background for his subsequent assessment regarding the small number of private elementary schools in South Korea (lines 4-6). Note that this provision of background information is formulated with a *-ketun* utterance (line 6: "I heard that there aren't many private elementary schools because Korean government used to run elementary schools."). This utterance is formulated in a similar way to the instance above in Extract 5.9 in terms of other linguistic resources used in combination with *-ketun*. John introduces information about the school system in Korea as information he obtained from another source by combining the use of a quotative form *-tako*, a perception verb *alta* 'to know', and *-ketun* (line 6). His eye gaze towards the teacher suggests that John nominates the teacher as another knowledgeable party for this information (line 6). Subsequent to the teacher's acknowledgement through nodding in line 7, John moves his eye gaze to another party, Daisy, and moves on to elaborate on the case of the US to make a comparison (line 8).

In brief, the *-ketun*-marked information, which tends to be presented as being empirically based and speaker-relevant, leads the recipient to accept it as grounds for an account for the claim. This analysis of the previous instances from the advanced level students' data has revealed that speakers use *-ketun* to propose that they possess sufficient information with unproblematic access to it by designing their turns with *-ketun* in combination with other resources, such as quotative forms, certain types of verbs, and person, time, and place references.

**Intermediate.** The following two extracts from intermediate-level students show interactions with sequences and information management comparable to those in the advanced students' interactions discussed in the previous section. Prior to this extract, the teacher asked the students if they have ever experienced or heard of any kind of discrimination in Korea.

#### Extract 5.11. Ron: Discriminations in Korea

- 04 Teacher: 들어본 적 있어요?  
 05 Wendy: 애들이 학교에서 적응을 못 한다구::  
 06 Teacher: 음:  
 07 Ron: 한국 많이 (.) 차별(.) 하--하죠? like 혼혈::  
 08 >왜냐면< 제가:(.3)uh 제가 er 제가 한국에 갔을 때  
 09 제 친구가 차별을 많이 당했다고  
 10 → 했어요. 혼혈이기 때문에.  
 11 Teacher: 그래요? 친구가 뭐:: 한국 사람::  
 12 Ron: 네 ((nods)) 아니면 (.) 친구가 uh 한국 사람이지만,  
 13 영어로 >I mean< 한국말을 못 하니까 like uh uh::  
 14 차별을 uh:: 차별을 [받았어요  
 15 Teacher: [네 네. 그 친구가 한국 사람처럼 생겼어요?  
 16 Ron: 네.
- 04 Teacher: tul-epo-n cek iss-eyo?  
 hear-ever-ATTR exist-POL  
**Have you heard of it?**
- 05 Wendy: ay-tul-i hakkyo-eyse cekung-ul mos han-takwu::  
 kid-PL-NOM school-at adjust-ACC NEG do-QT  
**I heard that kids have a hard time adjusting in school.**
- 06 Teacher: um:
- 07 Ron: hankwuk manhi(.) chapyel (.)ha--ha-cyo? like honhyel::

- Korea a lot discrimination do-COMM:POL mixed-blood  
**There's a lot of discrimination in Korea, right? Like, mixed people...**
- 08 >waynyamyen<cey-ka:(.3)uh er cey-ka hankwuk-ey ka-ss-ul ttay  
because I-NOM I-NOM Korea-at go-PST-when
- 09 cey chinkwu-ka chapyel-ul manhi tanghay-ss-tako  
I:GEN friend-NOM discrimination-ACC a lot suffer-PST-QT
- 10 → hay-ss-eyo. honhyeli-ki ttaymwuney.  
do-PST-POL mixed blood-NML because  
**Because... I ... Err.. When I went to Korea, one of my friends told me he was discriminated... because he is mixed.**
- 11 Teacher: kulay-yo? chinkwu-ka mwe:: hankwuk salam::  
like that-POL friend-TOP DM Korea person  
**Really? Was your friend Korean?**
- 12 Ron: ney ((nods)) animyen(.)chinkwu-ka uh hankwuk salam-i-ciman,  
yes or friend-NOM Korea person-COP-but
- 13 yenge-lo >I mean< hankwukmal-ul mos ha-nikka like uh uh::  
English-by Korean language-ACC NEG do-because
- 14 chapyel-ul uh::chapyel-ul[pat-ass-eyo  
discrimination-ACC  
**Yes. Or... the friend uh... He's Korean but he spoke English, I mean, he can't speak Korean, like uh... uh... he got discriminated.**
- 15 Teacher: [**ney** ney. ku chinkwu-ka hankwuk salam-chelem sayngky-ess-eyo?  
yes yes that friend-NOM Korea person-as if look-PST-POL  
**I see, I see. Does your friend look Korean?**
- 16 Ron: ney.  
yes  
**Yes**

After Wendy's turn regarding discrimination towards foreigners in school in line 5, Ron selects himself as the next speaker and gives an assessment on the prevalence of discrimination in Korea (line 7). This assessment is mitigated through the use of a form of tag question (Heritage & Raymond, 2005)<sup>36</sup> using the Korean committal *-ci* (H. Lee, 1999). Without securing the interlocutor's answer, Ron immediately gives an account for his assessment by introducing the case of his friend who is part Korean (lines 8-10: "Because, when I went to Korea, one of my friends told me he was discriminated because he is mixed.").

<sup>36</sup> Heritage and Raymond (2005) found that speakers downgrade their assertion with epistemic primacy through the use of a tag question in first position.



The beginning of the account is marked by a discourse marker *waynyamyen* ‘because’ in line 8. His following utterance is very similar to the Extract 5.9 and 5.10 discussed above in terms of turn design and the high degree of specificity of the proposed information. As Erika did in Extract 5.8, Ron’s provision of time and place references in the past tense marks how he obtained the information. His subsequent utterance in line 9 with the use of a hearsay marker *-tako* with past tense marking is also highly comparable to Extract 5.9 and Extract 5.10. Ron first asserts that he had a prior conversation with his friend regarding this matter, and then moves on to cite that conversation as evidence for Ron’s knowledge of and involvement in the reported matter. However, Ron completes his turn using an unmarked form *-yo* instead of *-ketun* (line 10). Nonuse of *-ketun* seems to push the speaker to make an additional effort to produce the following increment using *ttaymwuney* ‘because of’ in line 10 to reaffirm the reason for his friend being discriminated against. In response to Ron’s speech, the teacher gives an acknowledgement and launches a follow-up question in line 11.

Like other intermediate students’ cases, in this interaction, the non-occurrence of the target item does not impede the progress of the ongoing interaction (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). However, we can see that lower-proficiency level students have a limited range of resources for accomplishing certain interactional goals. Although it is not certain whether the intermediate-level students are not able to achieve these interactional functions, since students employ other linguistic or non linguistic resources to compensate for their less than full linguistic competence (Kasper & Kellerman, 1997), the intermediate level students in the current data are found to lack the specific linguistic resources for the functions shown in both the advanced level students’ data and the Korean L1 speakers’ data.

#### **5.4.2 Common domain: Without explicit marking the source of information**

The marker *-ketun* is also employed in first position when the speaker delivers information that is not necessarily new to the addressee. The L1 Korean speakers' interactions discussed by K. Kim (2010) show how commonsense knowledge is proposed by *-ketun* utterances to underscore the validity of the claim. The following example from a L1 speakers' interaction shows such a case.

Extract 5.12. L1 Korean speaker: From K. Kim (2010, p.226)

- 01 Customer:           kiponceki-n -kes -to an ha-ko  
                          basic-ATTR-thing-also NEG do-CONN
- 02                       → ku -ke -n           ani -**ketun**-yo:??<  
                          that-thing-TOP NEG KETUN-POL  
                          **It's not that I'm making an unreasonable request of you by ignoring the basic guidelines (that customers should respect), you know.**
- 03 Service Person:   wuli-ka tayha-nun salam -tul-i  
                          we -NOM meet-ATIR person-PL-NOM
- 04                       → kokayk -nim -ppwun-i ani -**ketun**-yo?  
                          customer-HON-only-NOM NEG-KETUN-POL  
                          **You are not the only customer that we serve, you know.**
- 05 Customer:           wuli-ka hyepcin mic -ko ha-n  
                          we NOM           believe-CONN do-ATTR
- 06                       ke-ci               kayin mic -ko  
                          thing COMM individual believe-CONN
- 07                       → ha-n -ke -n           ani-**ketun**-yo:??  
                          do-ATTR-thing-TOP NEG-KETUN-POL  
                          **(We have agreed to have a bidet installed) because we believed that the service person (who promised to provide the monthly "cleaning" service for free) represented the Hyup Jin Company, you know.**

In this conversation between a service clerk and a customer, *-ketun*-marked utterances occur three times, in lines 1, 4, and 7. With each utterance of *-ketun*, the participants project their counter-informing by invoking a general value rather than personally grounded information (K. Kim, 2010, p. 227). The current data set from L2 speakers displays similar uses of *-ketun* that marks information from the domain of specific expertise. In such mid-turn positions, the informing that is done with *-ketun* utterances is achieved in such a way to highlight a particular detail of the speaker's prior claim or assessment (K. Kim, 2010). In this

environment, the speaker uses a *-ketun* utterance to give a basis for a claim of epistemic primacy, but without the personalization of the information that we observed in the previous section.

**Advanced.** In the following extract, the class discusses South Korea's level of dependence on the U.S. in terms of military power. Starting from line 1, the teacher brings about the topic of the wartime operational control (OPCON) of South Korea. She introduces the current situation in which South Korea has peacetime control of its military forces, but the United States would take over in the event of hostilities.

#### Extract 5.13. Jonh: OPCON

- 01 Teacher: 전쟁이 일어났을 때는↑ 그 명->위에서  
 02 내려오는< 명령이, 한국 군::대가 아니라  
 03 미국의 명령을 따르는 걸루 (.2) °네°  
 04 >그거에 대해서< 어떻게 생각(.)°해요°  
 05 Daisy: [((shakes head))]  
 06 John: [>글쎄요< 그거는 지금 한국 전쟁이 아니라고  
 07 → 보고 있거든요 정치과학 쪽에서요: (.2)  
 08 그냥 미국에다 놔둬두 괜찮을 거 같아요  
 09 Teacher: °네[:°=
- 01 Teacher: cencayng-i ilena-ss-ul ttay-nun↑ ku myeng->wi-eyse  
 war-NOM take place-PST-when-TOP that top-from  
 02 naylyeo-nun< myenglyeng-i, hankwuk kwun::tay-ka ani-la  
 come down-ATTR order-NOM Korean military-NOM NEG-CONN  
 03 mikwuk-uy myenglyeng-ul ttalu-nun ke-l-lwu (.2) °ney°  
 U.S.-GEN order-ACC follow-ATTR thing-ACC-by yes  
 04 >ku-ke-ey tayhayse< ettehkey sayngkak(.)°hay-yo°  
 that-thing-about how think-POL  
**When a war breaks out, the order commanded from the top ranks... It's not from the Korean military but from the US. Yes, what do you think about that?**  
 05 Daisy: ((shakes head))  
 06 John: [>kulssey-yo< ku-ke-nun cikum hankwuk cencayng-i ani-lako  
 well-POL that-thing-TOP now Korea war-NOM NEG-QT  
 07 → po-ko iss-**ketun**-yo cengchi-kwahak ccok-eyse-yo: (.2)  
 see-PROG-KETUN-POL politics sicence side-at-POL  
 08 kunyang mikwuk-eyta nwatwe-twu kwaynchanhu-l ke kath-ayyo

just U.S.-at leave-still okay-PROS-seem-POL  
**Well, we don't consider that as the Korean War. In the political science field. I think  
 you can just leave it in the US.**

09 Teacher: 'ney[:'  
 yes  
 I see.

Starting from line 1, the teacher introduces the concept and background knowledge of OPCON to then class and then asks the students for their opinions on the issue (line 1–4). Upon the teacher's initiation, one of the students, Daisy, bodily displays her negative assessment of the issue by shaking her head (line 5). John subsequently self-selects as the next speaker and presents his opinion on the matter in lines 6–8. In overlap with Daisy's embodied action, he begins his turn with *kulsseyyo* 'well' (line 6), projecting circumlocation (Pomerantz, 1984; Heritage & Clayman, 2010). He then lays out the relevant background using *-ketun* to support his following assessment (lines 6-7: "Well, we don't consider that as the Korean War in the Political Science field."). In this turn of account giving using *-ketun*, he invokes knowledge in his domain of expertise, which comes from his social identity of a student majoring in political science. The reference to arguments from the field of political science formulates the information as being within John's epistemic domain and outside of the others'. Use of an adverbial *cikum* 'now' in line 6 and the progressive tense marking *-ko issta* in line 7 along with *-ketun* assist to emphasize the common ground of the state of knowledge in the field of political science. In other words, the *-ketun* utterance displays knowledge that is known to members in the group of expertise. After a short pause, John gives a conclusive assessment that the U.S. should keep the OPCON as it is now (line 8). Note that the assertive tone of his assessment is weakened by the discourse marker *kunyang* and the epistemic expression *-ket kath-*. The following segment from the same speaker presents a very similar development of a sequence with a *-ketun* utterance.

#### Extract 5.14. John: Communists in South Korea

- 01 John:       **중복세력을:** 지금↓ 이렇게 가만히 (.)배-배치?  
 02               배치 [해놔서  
 03 Teacher:       [음, 어:[:  
 04 John:               [배 배치? 그냥-그냥  
 05               놔둬야 [된다는 거  
 06 Teacher:       [방치=  
 07 John:               =예 방치해놓으면 안[된다=  
 08 Teacher:       [예  
 09 John:       왜냐=그 이유는 이제 이천십이년 사월:: 그 달에  
 10               이제 총선이 있고여: 십이월달에 대통령  
 11               선거가 있기 땀에 쫄 공백이 생기는  
 12               → 기간이거든요? 그래서 이대로 이렇게 (.) 엄: 그리고 또  
 13               이제 또 북한 정권이 이제 내년엔  
 14               강성대국이 된다는 그런 [말 ((laugh))  
 15 Teacher:       [(((laugh))) 선언을  
 16               하였기 때문에 어:: 혹시나 모르니까 이런 어:  
 17               이런 (.2) 중복 세력들을 갖다가 잘  
 18               (1.0)  
 19 Teacher:       네,  
 20 John:       (((laughing voice))) 뒤집어놔야 [(((laughing)))  
 21 Teacher:       [네,
- 01 John:       **congpwukseylyek-ul:** cikum↓ ilehkey kamanhi (.)pay-paychi?  
 02               paychi [hay-nwa-se  
               **The South Korean communists are currently just arranging like this... arrange?**  
 03 Teacher:       [um, e:[:  
 04 John:               [pay paychi? kunyang-kunyang  
 05               nwatwe-ya [toynta-nun ke  
               **Arr-Arrange? What's the word to just letting it be?**  
 06 Teacher:       [pangchi=  
               **To be left alone (in neglect).**  
 07 John:       =yey pangchihay-noh-umyen an [toyn-ta=  
               **Yes, we cannot leave it left alone**  
 08 Teacher:       [yey  
                       **Yes.**  
 09 John:       waynya= ku I    yu-nun icey ichensipi-nyen sa-wel:: ku tal-ey  
               because that reason-TOP DM    2012-year 4-month that month-at  
 10               icey chongsen-i iss-ko-ye: sipiwel-tal-ey taythonglyeng  
               DM general election-NOM exist-CONN-POL 11-month-at president  
 11               senke-ka iss-ki ttaymey ccom kongpayk-i sayngki-nun  
               election-NOM exist-because a little vacumme-NOM happen-ATTR

- 12 → kikan-i-**ketun**-yo? kulayse itaylo ilehkey (.) em: kuliko tto  
period-COP-KETUN-POL so as it is like this and also
- 13 icey tto pwukhan cengkwen-i icey naynyen-ey  
DM also North Korea regime-NOM now next year-at
- 14 kangsengtaykwuk-i toy-n-ta-nun kule-n [mal ((laugh))  
strong prosperous country-NOM become-ATTR-QT-ATTR that-ATTR say  
**The reason for this is because in April 2012, the general elections will be held and in  
December, the presidential elections will be held (in South Korea). So, there will be a  
period of a political vacuum, you know. So if it just... umm... and again, North Korean  
government announced that the regime in North Korea will become strong  
and prosperous next year.**
- 15 Teacher: [((laugh)) senen-ul  
proclaim-ACC  
**proclaimed**
- 16 John: hay-ess-ki ttaymwuney e:: hoksina molu-nikka  
do-PST-NML:because just in case do not know-because
- 17 ile-n e: ile-n (.2) congpwuk seylyekt-ul-ul kactaka cal  
this-ATTR this-ATTR following North force-ACC and well  
  
**Since they have proclaimed it... Um... Just in case these... these communists in South  
Korea should be...**
- 18 (1.0)
- 19 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 20 John: ((laughing voice)) twicipe-nwa-ya [((laughing))  
overturn-put-should  
**We need to overturn them.**
- 21 Teacher: [ney,  
yes  
**Yes.**

After reading an article regarding the enthusiastic followers of North Korean government in South Korea, John shows his negative view of them in lines 1–2 and 7. Subsequent to a few lines of lexical clarification with the teacher from line 2 to line 8, John restates his negative position in line 9. John starts giving an account for his view by producing *waynya*, ‘it’s bacause’ a shortened form of *waynyahamyen*. Here, John delivers information that is within his specific domain of expertise in great detail (lines 9-16). This can be observed in his very specific time formulations (2012, April) regarding political events

in South Korea (the general election and the presidential election) in lines 9-11. He then provides an implication of these events using *-ketun*: that they will cause a political vacuum (lines 11-12: “So, there will be a period of a political vacuum, you know.”). The present tense marking in the *-ketun* utterance marks that the conveyed information is not empirically grounded but from the domain of his expertise. In preparing a ground for presenting his own viewpoint and building up an argument, the speaker formulates the *-ketun* utterance with information whose validity is asserted to be something that is commonsensically known in his domain of expertise. These features of the turn’s design establish a positive epistemic gradient between John, who has access to the event and an entitlement to describe it, and the others, who presumably lack access to the information. Right after the *-ketun* utterance, the speaker once again asserts his position in lines 16-17 and 20.

**Intermediate** The following two extracts from intermediate-level students display similar sequential development without the use of *-ketun*. The first Extract 5.15 is from the same interaction in Extract 4.24.

#### Extract 5.15. Sue: health care system in other countries

01 Teacher: 네: >이제 여러분도< 다: 이거 좋다고 생각해요?  
 02 Jenny: yeah man:  
 03 Sue: 아니요;  
 04 Jenny: ((raises both hands)) socialist's party  
 05 Teacher: ((chuckles)) 왜 >아니라고<-왜 이게  
 06 별로 안 좋은 제도 같아요?  
 07 Sue: well(.2) uhm:: (.3) universal health care: system and  
 08 유럽하고 일본 a::nd 캐나다 다 있는데;  
 09 → (.) 거기에서; <병원:은> 좋지 않아요;  
 10 Teacher: 음[:  
 11 Sue: [their gesture  
 12 Teacher: 음:  
 13 Sue: it's not good.  
 14 Teacher: 음>그니까< 병원의 질이: 별루:  
 15 퀄리티가 별루 안 [좋  
 16 Sue: [퀄리티가 안: 좋[고↑  
 17 Teacher: [음:





information about countries with similar health care system by employing a background builder –*nuntey* (Y. Park, 1999), Sue projects another evaluative remark that their system is not good (line 9: “but hospitals there are not good.”). Note that this turn is highly comparable to the John’s turns in the advanced students’ interaction in Extract 5.14. The information delivered by Sue in this account is highly domain-specific. Given Sue’s identity as a student majoring in law and the high level of specificity of her information, this is the sequential place where the suffix –*ketun* can occur (line 9). However, she employs an unmarked form –*yo* instead of –*ketun* (line 9). Besides the nonuse of –*ketun*, this L2 speaker discourse also displays certain characteristics that make it substantially different from L1 speaker discourse in terms of the interactant’s linguistic competence, such as pauses, hesitations, and turn restarts (K. Kim, 2003).

The next extract from the intermediate-level students’ interaction displays another comparable case. Here the students share examples of gender discrimination in daily life. The main speaker, Jenny, mentions the hiring system of an American shipping company, Matson. Multiple possible sequential positions for –*ketun* utterances are observed.

#### Extract 5.16. Jenny: Matson

- 01 Jenny:        아니 그 matson 있죠? 그: **진짜** 큰 curtain?  
 02                그거(.) 맨: 위에서 crane 갖구  
 03                옮기는 거 있죠,  
 04 Teacher:    >네네네네<  
 05 Jenny:        그거! 원래 남자들! 하:: 뽐는데요  
 06 Teacher:    아:  
 07 Jenny:        왜냐면 그 위에 올라갈 때: 하루 종일 >like<  
 08                → eight hours? (.) 동안 올라가있으니깐요::  
 09                거기서 밥두 먹구, (.) 화장실 갈 때두  
 10                → 거기서 화장실 가니깐요:: They can’t come down.  
 11                (.2) 그러니까 여자들은 오줌 눌 때: >they need  
 12                things, extra stuffs<  
 13 Ed:           ((laugh))  
 14 Jenny:        남자들은 (.) 그냥(.) just cup is fine.  
 15 Teacher:    그게 차별이라고 생각해요?  
 16 Jenny:        **of course!**  
 17 Teacher:    여자가 하고 싶어도 못하는 거예요? 그 일을?  
 18 Jenny:        음:: 쯤요. 그:: uh(.2) 그 일, 왜냐면(.) 월급도,

- 19 → 돈도 많이 벌어요 six thousands.  
 20 Teacher: 음:: 많이 버는데, 네.
- 01 Jenny: ani ku matson iss-cyo? ku: **cincca** khun curtain?  
 no that Matson exist-COMM:POL that really big curtain
- 02 ku-ke(.) mayn: wi-eyse crane kac-kwu  
 that thing very top-at have-CONN
- 03 olmki-nun ke iss-cyo,  
 move-ATTR thing exist-COMM:POL  
**No, you know Matson, right? The really big curtain? You know the crane at the top moving things?**
- 04 Teacher: >ney ney ney ney<  
 yes yes yes yes  
**Yes, yes, yes, yes.**
- 05 Jenny: ku-ke! wenlay namca-tul! ha:: ppop-nuntey-yo,  
 thang-thing originally man-PL select-CIRCUM-POL  
**That one! They only hire men.**
- 06 Teacher: a:
- 07 Jenny: waynyamyen ku wi-ey ollaka-l ttay: halwu congil >like<  
 because that top-at go up-when all day long
- 08 → eight hours? (.) tongan ollaka-iss-unikkan-yo::  
 for go up-PROG-because-POL  
**Because, when you go up, you stay up for like 8 hours.**
- 09 keki-se pap-twu mek-kwu, (.) hwacangsil ka-l ttay-twu  
 there-at meal-also eat-CONN restroom go-when-also
- 10 → keki-se hwacangsil ka-nikkan-yo:: They can't come down.  
 there-at restroom go-because-POL  
**They also eat there and use the bathroom there. They can't come down.**
- 11 (.2) kulenikka yeca-tul-un ocwum nwu-l ttay: >they need  
 so woman-PL-TOP make pee-when
- 12 things, extra stuffs<  
**That's why, when women have to pee, they need things, extra stuffs.**
- 13 Ed: ((laugh))
- 14 Jenny: namca-tul-un (.) kunyang(.) just cup is fine.  
 man -PL-TOP  
**For men, just cup is fine.**
- 15 Teacher: kukey chapyel-ilako sayngkakhay-yo?  
 that thing discrimination-QT think-POL  
**Do you think that's discrimination?**
- 16 Jenny: **of course!**
- 17 Teacher: yeca-ka hako siphe-to mos-ha-nun ke-yeyyo? ku il-ul?

woman-NOM want-yet NEG-do-ATTR thing-POL that work-ACC  
**Women can't do that work even if they wanted to do?**

- 18 Jenny:      um:: ccom-yo. ku:: uh(.2) ku il, waynyamyen(.)  
                 a little-POL that                      that work because
- 19                      →walkup-to,      ton-to      manhi pel-eyo six thousands.  
                 salary-also money-also a lot earn-POL  
                 **Ummm... a little. That... uh, because that work makes a lot money. Six thousands.**
- 20 Teacher:      um:: manhi pe-nuntay, ney.  
                 a lot earn-CIRCUM  
                 **Umm... they make a lot, yes.**

In lines 1-3, Jenny secures recognizability of Matson by asking for a confirmation from her interlocutors with the use of the committal marker *-ci* (H. Lee, 1999). After the teacher's enthusiastic confirmation by repeating a confirmation marker four times in line 4, Jenny provides the information that Matson only hires males for a certain job by using a hearsay marker *-tay* (line 5) Upon this, the teacher marks her change of epistemic state from K- to K+ (Heritage, 2012a) by producing a change-of-state token *ah* in line 6. In the next turn, Jenny gives additional information to explain why Matson exclusively employ males for this job (lines 7-10: "Because, when you go up, you stay up for like eight hours. They also eat there and use the bathroom there. They can't come down."). Note that Jenny provides detailed information with specific amounts (lines 8) of time and a job description (lines 9-10) in this turn of account giving. The use of a hearsay marker in line 5 and the detailed description marks that the speaker has enough epistemic primacy on the information. However, she employs *-nikka* and codeswitching to English in places where *-ketun* could be used. (lines 8 and 10). In line 15, the teacher launches a third turn question in the form of a yes-no question. The recipient, Jenny, produces "of course" in the next turn (line 16) with a sudden increase in volume, challenging the question's askability (Raymond, 2003; Stivers, 2011). The teacher launches another follow-up question demanding explanation for that answer (line 17). This serves as a double-barreled action (Schegloff, 2007) of questioning and

requesting information. In response, Jenny first gives a kind of type-confirming answer, then providing an account in the subsequent utterance (lines 18-19). As a person with more knowledge (K+), Jenny provides information in her account giving. This is the third sequential position where *-ketun* could possibly be used. The recipients' epistemic position thus far has been built as K- throughout the interaction. However, Jenny uses an unmarked form *-yo* instead of *-ketun*.

### 5.4.3 Summary: Use and nonuse of *-ketun* in first position

This section investigated the ways L2 Korean students at different proficiency levels use or do not use the suffix *-ketun* in first position when giving accounts. Referencing the published research on *-ketun*, I demonstrated that *-ketun* is recurrently employed to give a basis for a claim by claiming epistemic primacy towards proposed information. Analyses of the data also showed that speakers give support to their claims by proffering stronger and more specific information that is more accessible to the speakers than to the others in the interaction. In other words, *-ketun* is a powerful device used by participants to claim epistemic primacy over the referent. More specifically, speakers formulate their *-ketun* utterance information as something they have personal grounds for knowing or as information that does not have an immediate empirical base but is known to people who have a specific domain of expertise.

Table 5.1 displays the data set for the current section, locating it within the categories of types of information that the speaker invoked for accomplishing the particular action of account giving. The table indicates that the advanced students show a notable diversification of techniques for giving accounts using *-ketun*. Intermediate students by contrast have a remarkably limited range in the use of *-ketun* throughout the analysis. The advanced

students' diversification may be an indicator of their more adaptive, context-sensitive conduct, suggesting an increased interactional competence.

Table 5.1. Types of information and level of exclusiveness of information proposed by *-ketun* utterances in first position

Sequential position: First position (multi-unit turn)					
Action: Account giving					
Level of exclusiveness	Type of knowledge	Extract number			
		Adv.	Inter	Use	
<div><div>High</div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div>Low</div></div>	Personal ground	Firsthand K.	5.2-4	5.5	O
				5.6-8	X
		Secondhand K.	5.9-10		O
				5.11	X
	Common domain	5.13-14		O	
			5.15-16	X	

Extreme low frequency of *-ketun* is a distinctive linguistic-pragmatic feature that characterizes account giving at lower levels of competence in the current data. This observation suggests that the intermediate-level speakers in this study had not yet fully developed their competence in the use of *-ketun*.

### 5.5 The use of *-ketun* in second position: From defensive detailing to unchallengeable disagreement

In the previous section, we observed L2 Korean speakers' use or nonuse of *-ketun* utterances in first position. In this section, we will observe the use and nonuse of *-ketun* in responsive positions. The following example from an interaction of L1 speakers displays how *-ketun* is used in the second position to project a dispreferred action.

Extract 5.17. L1 Korean speaker: From K. Kim (2010, pp. 228-229)

- 01 Customer:           mwul swuken iss -eyo?  
                          water towel exist-POL  
                          **Do you have a wet tissue?**
- 02 Employee:           → cehi mwul swuken ep -**ketun**-yo?  
                          we water towel not exist-KETUN-POL  
                          **We don't have a wet tissue.**
- 03 Customer:           ah mwul swuken eps -eyo?  
                          water towel not exist-POL  
                          **Oh, you don't have a wet tissue?**

This extract is from a conversation between a customer and an employee at a fastfood restaurant. In response to customer's request in line 1, the employee projects a dispreferred action with the use of *-ketun*. The conveyed information through the *-ketun* utterance is taken up by the customer as an account for not being able to comply with customer's request. Therefore, employee's informing is understood as a part of the dispreferred response by the customer. The classroom interactions of the current data set, shows *-ketun* being used in similar ways to give dispreferred responses (such as disagreement and challenge) in response to other interlocutors' claims.

In the current data set, I focus on *-ketun*-marked disagreement or challenge, in which a speaker takes the opposite position to a prior speaker's first assessment or claim. Proffering such a disagreement with *-ketun* often implies that the second speaker has a more legitimate view because he or she knows the issue better. Indeed, in many of the cases with *-ketun*-marked disagreement, the speaker invokes epistemic primacy as a basis for their disagreement.<sup>37</sup> This epistemic claim is well delivered by the way the *-ketun*-marked utterance is routinely embedded in the recurrent sequential format, shown in Figure 5.3.

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<sup>37</sup> *-ketun* used to convey negative assertions that challenge grounds for a prior claim also appears in the third position to counter a challenge in response to an interlocutor's challenge towards the speaker's original assertion (Refer to Section 5.3 for the detailed discussion).

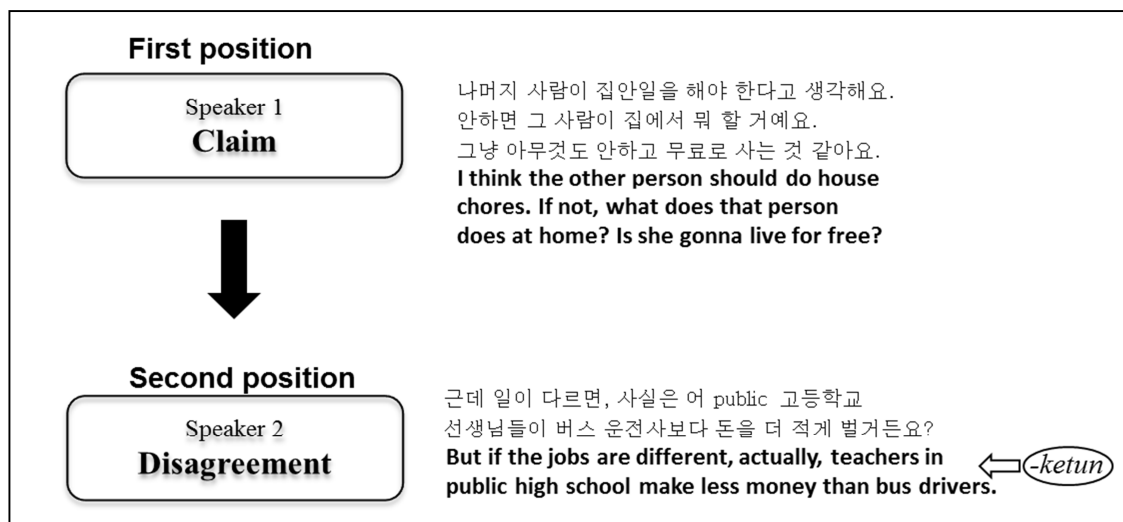


Figure 5.3. *-ketun* in second position

As in the use of *-ketun* in account giving, the types of information delivered by *-ketun* utterances in disagreement are largely from two sources. First, a *-ketun* utterance conveys the speaker's personal experience or mental state. Second, a *-ketun* utterance provides information based on non-personal grounds, such as domain specific knowledge.

### 5.5.1 Personal grounds: defensive detailing:

The first type of action that can be achieved by the speaker of a *-ketun* utterance in the second position is “defensive detailing” (Drew, 2005) in response to interlocutors' negative evaluation. By providing information that is exclusively in the speaker's epistemic territory, the speaker rejects an unfavorable identity suggested by the interlocutor(s). There is only one relevant case identified in the advanced students' interactions in present data set fit this context. In case of intermediate level learners, several cases of interactions that fit this sequential context are found but those cases are found with no *-ketun* marking.<sup>38</sup> The only case from an advanced student comes from an off-task context (Cook, 2008) when the

<sup>38</sup> This might be due to the intermediate students' levels of formality represented through the use of speech style or expressions; intermediate level students' classroom conversations are recurrently observed to become less formal compared to those of advanced level students even in the context of on-stage presentation.

speakers are engaged in conversation about personal daily life before the teacher's initiation of classroom discussion.

**Advanced.** Extract 5.18 provides the only instance of a case in point from an advanced student, who uses the *-ketun*-marked utterance to defend himself by rejecting the identity proposed by the interlocutor.

Extract 5.18. John: Presentation preparation

- 01 John: 열심히가 어제 밤에 열시부터 시작을  
02 해가지구 ((laughing voice))  
03 Teacher: 어제-  
04 John: 새벽 다섯시까지 일어나서 학교에서 ((laughing voice))  
05 XXXX는데  
06 Teacher: 아 오늘 발폰데 그렇게 [했다구요?  
07 John: [아니요 전에도  
08 했었는데요:  
09 Teacher: 네  
10 (.8)  
11 John: 요즘에:  
12 Teacher: 네  
13 (.2)  
14 John: 그: 거기서 저랑 (.) 같이 일하는 동료들이  
15 Teacher: 네.  
16 John: → 따른 애들도 대학을 다니거든요 많이:  
17 Teacher: 네.  
18 John: 특히 간호대학을요: 그러다보니까요 >이제<  
19 다음달이면 벌써: 졸업하는 애들두  
20 있구, (.) 기말고사 시험두 있구 하니까 애들이  
21 안 나오는 거예요:  
22 (.4)  
23 Teacher: XXXX? 음:  
24 John: 저는: >뭐라고하지?< full time 이니까:  
25 Teacher: 네[:  
26 John: [개들은 part time이라가지구 그냥, (.4)  
27 신경 잘 안 쓰는데=full time이니까  
28 (.)  
29 Teacher: 음::  
30 John: 집에 가면 전화 오고  
31 Teacher: 음  
32 John: 그다음에  
33 (.)  
34 Teacher: [네.  
35 John: [어쩔 수 없이 나가야 되는 일들이  
36 → 아직 있거든요  
37 Teacher: 네:  
38 John: 많아지는 거 같아요.  
39 Teacher: 네: ((laughs quietly))



- 01 John: yelsimhi-ka ecey pam-ey yelsi-pwuthe sicak-ul  
diligently-NOM yesterday night-at 10 o'clock-from begin-ACC
- 02 hay-kacikwu ((laughing voice))  
do-and  
**"Trying my best" started at 10p last night...**
- 03 Teacher: ecey-  
yesterday  
**Yesterday,**
- 04 John: saypyek tases-si-kkaci ilena-se hakkyo-eyse ((laughing voice))  
dawn 5 o'clock-until wake up-and school-at
- 05 XXXX-nuntey  
CIRCUM  
**I got up at 5AM and I (did) at school,**
- 06 Teacher: a onul palphyo-ntey kuleh-key [hay-ss-takwu-yo?  
today presentation-CIRCUM like that-ADV do-PST-QT-POL  
**Oh, you're presenting today and you did that?**
- 07 John: [ani-yo cen-ey-to  
no-POL before-at-also
- 08 hay-ss-ess-nuntey-yo:  
do-PST-CIRCUM-POL  
**No I did it before too, but...**
- 09 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 10 (.8)
- 11 John: yocum-ey:  
lately  
**Lately**
- 12 Teacher: ney  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 13 (.2)
- 14 John: ku: keki-se ce-lang (.) kathi il ha-nun tonglyo-tul-i  
that there-at I-with together work-ATTR colleague-PL-NOM  
**At that place, my coworkers and I**
- 15 Teacher: ney.  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 16 John: → ttalu-n ay-tul-to tayhak-ul tani-**ketun**-yo manhi:  
other-ATTR kid-PL-also college-ACC atten-KETUN-POL a lot  
**A lot of them go to college.**

- 17 Teacher: ney.  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 18 John: thukhi kanho tayhak-ul-yo: kuletapo-nikka-yo >icey<  
especially nursing school-ACC-POL so-because-POL DM
- 19 taum tal-i-myen pelsse: colepha-nun ay-tul-twu  
next month-COP-COND already graduate-ATTR kid-PL-also
- 20 iss-kwu, (.) kimalkosa sihem-twu iss-kwu ha-nikka ay-tul-i  
exist-CONN final exam-also eist-CONN do-because kid-PL-NOM
- 21 an nao-nun ke-eyyo:  
NEG come out-ATTR thing-POL  
**Especially nursing school. Because of that, many of them are not coming out because by the next month there are kids who are already graduating, and final exams.**
- 22 (.4)
- 23 Teacher: XXXX? um:
- 24 John: ce-nun: >mwe-lako-ha-ci?< full time i-nikka:  
I-TOP what-QT-do-COMM:IE full time COP-because  
**Because I'm.. what's it called.. Full time.**
- 25 Teacher: ney[:  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 26 John: [kyay-tul-un part time-i-lakacikwu kunyang, (.4)  
that kid-PL-TOP part time-COP-so just
- 27 sinkyeng cal an ssu-nuntey=full time-i-nikka  
care well NEG put-CIRCUM full time-COP-because  
**They don't really care because they're just part timers, but because I'm a full time worker.**
- 28 (.)
- 29 Teacher: um::
- 30 John: cip-ey ka-myen cenhwa-o-ko  
house-at go-COND call-come-CONN  
**I get phone calls when I home.**
- 31 Teacher: um
- 32 John:: ku taum-ey  
that next-at  
**and then**
- 33 (.)
- 34 Teacher: [ney.  
yes  
**Yes.**

- 35 John:        [eccel swu eps-i naka-ya toy-nun il-tul-i  
                 cannot help-ADV go out-should-ATTR work-PL-NOM
- 36                → acik        iss-**ketun**-yo  
                 still exist-KETUN-POL  
                 **And there's work that I have to take care.**
- 37 Teacher:    ney:  
                 yes  
                 **Yes.**
- 38 John:        manhaci-nun ke kath-ayyo.  
                 increase-ATTR think-POL  
                 **I think it's increasing.**
- 39 Teacher:    ney: ((laughs quietly))  
                 yes  
                 **Yes.**

This extract is from students' off-task classroom interaction (Cook, 2008) before they begin a classroom discussion. Immediately preceding this extract, the participants were engaged in a conversation on how they spent the last night. In lines 1-2 and 4-5, John describes the amount of time he spent preparing a presentation that he has to give later that day. In the next turn (line 6) the teacher displays her surprise by producing a change-of-state token *ah* along with a question with a sudden increase in volume, which displays her understanding of how little time he took to prepare his presentation. In overlap with the teacher's turn, John produces a negative response particle *ani* 'no' (line 7) to block the challenge (H. Kim, 2013) and reasserts his position by providing conflicting information that he prepared the presentation awhile ago, using the suffix *-nuntey* (line 8) with vowel elongation, which indexes provision of background information (Y. Park, 1999). After the teacher's go-ahead-marking *ney* 'yes' (line 9) and the ensuing long pause (line 10), John resumes his turn in line 11 by launching *yocumey* 'nowadays' as the time frame. Subsequently, he gives information regarding his co-workers as a reason for his last minute preparation in lines 14-16 using *-ketun*. The way in which John uses the *-ketun* utterance to build an invincible ground in order to defend himself by giving information within his

epistemic territory is notable. He gives more information about his co-workers, describing them in lengthy detail in his next turn in lines 14-16 and 18-21. In lines 24 and 26-27 John additionally provides background information about himself that he is a full time worker in contrast to co workers who work part time. Then, he once again projects a turn with *-ketun* (lines 35-36) in defending himself by giving detailed information that highlights the unavoidability of covering others' work shifts.

That is, facing a delayed and minimal response, the speaker refutes the proposed identity of delinquent and pursues the recipients' further support by elaborating his claim using *-ketun*. In rejecting the prior speaker's claim, the second speaker may evoke his or her personal information in the realm of epistemic authority and, therefore, threaten the basis of the prior speaker's assessment (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). The speaker's extension of prior assertions and the recipient's construction of an agreeing turn are observed through the teacher's immediate response in line 37.

**Intermediate.** The following two extracts from intermediate students' interactions display similar sequential places in which *-ketun* could but does not occur.

Extract 5.19. Sue: High standards for boys

- 44 Jenny: 뭐죠? ((points at soo)) looks like her standards  
 45 are really high?  
 46 Sue: phhhh:  
 47 Teacher: °음:° 보는 눈이 높아요? 눈이 높아요?  
 48 Sue: 아니[요 ((waves hand))  
 49 Jenny: [진짜] 높아요  
 50 Teacher: 네에:  
 51 Sue: → 아니요 if you see my ex boyfriends, 안 높아요  
 52 ALL: ((laugh))
- 44 Jenny: mwe-cyo? ((points at Sue)) looks like her standards  
 what-COMM:POL  
 45 are really high?  
**What's it? Looks like her standards are really high?**  
 46 Sue: phhhh



again refutes the suggested identity of a person with high standards (line 51). This is the sequential place where *-ketun* could have been employed. Facing a repeated negative evaluation from an interlocutor towards her, Sue defends herself in the second turn by giving very personal information regarding her ex-boyfriends. As this information delivered in an account giving falls exclusively within the speaker's epistemic domain, *-ketun* is highly anticipated to be used in this specific position. However, she uses an unmarked form *-yo*. In response to S's turn of disagreement, other participants respond with laughter in line 52. The following Extract 5.20 displays another case of non-occurrence of *-ketun* in accomplishing defensive detailing in an intermediate-level students' interaction.

Extract 5.20. Ron: Cost sharing for a date

- 01 Ron: well, cheum(.) chem- cheum-ey-nun (.2) yeca chinkwu-ka  
 02 um: a, an naye-to toyn-tako hay-ss-hay-ss-nuntay ka-lswulok  
 03 I-NOM always pay-should-PST-POL girl friend-NOM  
 04 Teacher: 그래요?  
 05 Ron: ah 근데 내고 싶지 않아 않아도 내야 됐어요.  
 06 Ken: hahaha  
 07 Teacher: 내고 싶지 않았는데 내야 됐어요?  
 08 Ron: 네  
 09 Teacher: 왜요? >그니까< 내라고 했어요? 아니면: 웬지  
 10 내야 될 것 같은 그런=  
 11 Ron: =>no no no< 여자 친구가 내라고 했어요.  
 12 ALL: ((laugh))  
 13 Teacher: 나 돈 없으니까 니가 내라 그랬어요?=  
 14 Ron: → =근데 여자친구는 저보다 돈 많이 못- 못 벌어요.  
 15 Teacher: 아::  
 16 Ron: 그래서 제가 항상 내야 했어요.  
 17 Teacher: 아아: 그런 상황을 또 알면
- 01 Ron: well, cheum(.) chem- cheum-ey-nun (.2) yeca chinkwu-ka  
 first time first time-at-TOP girl friend-NOM
- 02 um: a, an naye-to toyn-tako hay-ss-hay-ss-nuntay ka-lswulok  
 NEG pay-okay-QT do-PST do-PST-CIRCUM go-the more
- 03 cey-ka uh hangsang naye-ya tway-ss-eyo.  
 I-NOM always pay-should-PST-POL  
**Well, first, at first my girlfriend told me I didn't have to pay but overtime, I, uh, had to pay all the time.**
- 04 Teacher: kulay-yo?

- like that-POL  
Really?
- 05 Ron: ah kuntey nay-ko siph-ci anha anha-to nay-ya tway-ss-eyo.  
but pay- want- NEG-still pay-should-PST-POL  
**Ah, but I had to pay (even) when I didn't want to.**
- 06 Ken: hahaha
- 07 Teacher: nay-ko siphci anha-ss-nuntey nay-ya tway-ss-eyo?  
pay- want- NEG-PST-CIRCUM pay-should-PST-POL  
**You had to pay, even though you didn't want to?**
- 08 Ron: ney.  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 09 Teacher: way-yo? >kunikka< nay-lako hay-ss-eyo? animyen: waynci  
way-POL so pay-QT do-PST-POL or somehow
- 10 nay-ya toy-l kes kath-un kule-n=  
pay- should-think-ATTR that-ATTR  
**How come? So, she told you to pay? Or was it a situation where you felt like you had to...?**
- 11 Ron: =>no no no< yeca chinkwu-ka nay-lako hay-ss-eyo.  
girl friend-NOM pay-QT do-PST-POL  
**No no no. My girlfriend told me to pay.**
- 12 ALL: ((laugh))
- 13 Teacher: na ton eps-unikka ni-ka nay-la kulay-ss-eyo?=  
I money not exist-because you-NOM pay-IMP like that-PST-POL  
**She said, "Since I don't have money, you pay."?**
- 14 Ron: → =kuntey yeca chinkwu-nun ce-pota ton manhi mos mos pel-eyo.  
but girl firned-TOP I-than money a lot NEG NEG earn-POL  
**But my girlfriend doesn't make as much money as I do.**
- 15 Teacher: a::
- 16 Ron: kulayse cey-ka hangsang nay-ya hay-ss-eyo.  
so I-NOM always pay-should-PST-POL  
**So that's why I always had to pay.**
- 17 Teacher: aa:

While having a discussion on cost sharing for a date between unmarried couples, one of the students, Ron, presents his personal experience with his Korean girlfriend. In lines 1-3, he reports that he did not have to pay at the first stage of their relationship but afterwards, he had to pay all the time. Upon the teacher's acknowledgement in line 4 (*kulay-yo?* 'Really?'),

Ron makes an additional comment that he had to pay even on the occasions that he did not want to (line 5). This comment causes Ken's laughter in line 6. In addition, the teacher initiates a follow-up question for clarification about whether the girlfriend forced him to pay or he just felt that he should pay (lines 7-9). Upon the question, Ron gives an immediate negative answer in an overt manner by repeating "no" three times with sudden increases of speed and volume in line 10 and provides an answer that the girlfriend told him to pay. This direct explanation of the personal matter again causes laughter by other participants in line 12. The teacher launches another follow-up question in line 13, formulating it as reported speech and voicing Ron's girlfriend in a comical manner ("Since I don't have money, you pay.").

Even though Ron himself has contributed considerably to constructing his girlfriend's identity up to this point, the face-threatening (although comical) air becomes maximized at this point through other participants' joint construction of a playful atmosphere. In addition, the teacher's repetition of her prior question in lines 13 is constructed and heard as a challenge. At this point, when his face is at risk, he launches a contrastive marker *kuntey* in line 14, foreshadowing the upcoming disalignment (Y. Park, 1999). He then provides a defensive account of the reason for the girlfriend's behavior. Note that this information is highly personal, so no one present can make counter-claims to it. Given the sequential place, action import, and high level of exclusivity of the proposed information, *-ketun* could be expected to occur here. However, Ron uses an unmarked form *-yo*. Ron's nonuse of *-ketun* seems to be grounded in two factors: language learners' linguistic dysfluency and the management of a delicate issue. The intermediate students' interactions in this section offer rich examples for discussion on how L2 speakers' linguistic underdevelopment and interactional delicacies result in pauses, repetitions, and hesitation markers (Y. Kim, 2003).



### 5.5.2 Common domain: Disagreeing by proposing domain-specific information

This section discusses another way of deploying *-ketun* utterances to project a disaffiliative stance in second position. This use of *-ketun*-marked utterances is associated with the speaker's endeavors to attack earlier claims by an interlocutor that the speaker finds problematic by reference to the speaker's domain-specific knowledge or expertise. Therefore, occurrences of *-ketun* index that the speaker has a relatively strong and confident grasp of the matter in question. This is precisely what occurs in the following case from an advanced students' classroom interactions.

**Advanced.** In Extract 5.21 below, students are engaged in a debate regarding division of house chores between married couples according to income.

#### Extract 5.21. Amy: Jobs in Hawaii

- 01 Ron: °Ok.° uh:: 남-er ((shakes right hand)) 아내와  
 02 남편 중에 한 사람이::(.3) like 항상:  
 03 회사를 다니고(.2) 또 회사, 회사에서 아주  
 04 오랫동안(.) 있고: like 집에(.7) °like°  
 05 오랫동안: 있지 않아서 like 그런 나머지  
 06 >사람이< 집안 일을:: ((drops head))  
 07 해야 한다고 생각해요.=안하면 그 사람이  
 08 ((gazing at Wendy and Amy)) 집에서 뭐 할,  
 09 뭐 할 거예요. °like° 그냥::(.4) >아무것도< 안 하고  
 10 무료로 °사는 것 같아요. ° 어떻게 생각해요?  
 11 (3.0)  
 12 Amy: 근데(.) 일이 다르면::(.4) like(.2) 사실은(.3)  
 13 어(.) public(.3) 고등학교(.) 선생님들이  
 14 → 버스 운전사보다 돈을 더 적게 벌거든요?  
 15 (.2)  
 16 Ron: °고등학교 선생님이:네? 안 들려요:: °  
 17 Amy: Oh, umm 고등학교(.) 선생님들은 °저기°  
 18 → >빠스< 운전사보다(.3) 돈을 더 적[게 벌거든요?  
 19 Ron: [아:: 아::  
 20 Amy: 그럼:: 그 땐 어떻게 할 건가요? 일보다는::(.3)  
 21 일이 더 중요하지 돈이 더 중요°해요? °  
 22 Ron: 저는:: like, 맞벌이, 맞벌이 부부이면::(.2) uh::  
 23 like 돈: like 돈: 버는(.2) 금액?::(.4)  
 24 상관이 없다고 >생각하지만<=like like  
 25 맞벌 맞벌이 부부이면:: 무관계하지만 like  
 26 남편:: er >아내와 남편< 중에 한 사람이(.2)  
 27 일하지 않고: (.2) >일하지 않으면< like (2) 그 집안에

28 이바지할::(.3) like(.3) 그 집안에:: uhh (3) >집안일을<  
 29 °해야한다고 생각:° 모르겠어요 ((laugh))

((lines 1-10: Transcript not shown here.))  
**Wife, um, one among wife and husband, like always goes to work and work in the company for long time like he or she doesn't stay at home for long time, then, I think the other person should do house chores. If not, what does that person does at home? Is she or he gonna live for free? What do you think?**

11 (3.0)

12 Amy: kuntey(.) il-i talu-myen::(.4) like(.2) sasilun(.3)  
 but work-NOM different-COND actually

13 e(.) public(.3) kotunghakkyo(.) sensayngnim-tul-i  
 high school teacher-PL-NOM

14 → pesu wuncensa-pota ton-ul te cek-key pel-ketun-yo?  
 bus driver-than money-ACC more less-ADV earn-KETUN-POL  
**But if the jobs are different, actually, uh, teachers in public high school make less money than bus drivers, you know.**

15 (.2)

16 Ron: °kotunghakkyo sensayngnim-i:ney? an tul-lye-yo::°  
 high school teacher-NOM yes NEG listen-PSV-POL  
**High school teacher is...Pardon? I can't hear you.**

17 Amy: Oh, umm kotunghakkyo(.) sensayngnim-tul-un °ceki°

18 → >ppesu< wuncensa-pota(.3) ton-ul te cek-[key pel-**ketun**-yo?  
 bus driver-than money-ACC more less-ADV earn-KETUN-POL  
**Oh, umm high school teachers make less money than bus drivers.**

19 Ron: [a::a::

20 Amy: kulem:: ku ttayn ettehkey ha-l ke-n-ka-yo? il-pota-nun::(.3)  
 then that when how do-PROS thing-ATTR-Q-POL work-than-TOP

21 il-i te cwungyoha-ci ton-i te cwungyo°hay-yo°°  
 work-NOM more important-COMM money-NOM more important-POL  
**What would you do then? Job... Money is more important than the job?**

22 Ron: ce-nun:: like, macpeli, macpeli pwupwu-imyem::(.2) uh::  
 I-NOM double income double income coupld-COND

23 like ton: like ton:: pe-nun:(.2) kumayk?:(.4)  
 money money earn-ATTR amount

24 sangkwan-i eps-tako >sayngkakha-ciman<=like like  
 correlate-NOM not exist-QT think-but

25 macpel macpeli pwupwu-imyem:: mwu-kwankyeyha-ciman like  
 double income couple-COND not-relate-but:CONN

26 namphyen:: er >anay-wa namphyen< cwungey han salam-i(.2)  
 husband wife-and husband among one person-NOM

- 27            ilha-ci anh-ko:(.2) >ilha-ci anh-umyen< like (2) ku cipan-ey  
work-NEG-CONN            work-NEG-COND            that house-at
- 28            ipacihal::(.3) like(.3) ku cipan-ey:: uhh (3) >cipanil-ul<  
contribute            that house-at            housework-ACC
- 29            °hay-yahan-tako sayngkak:° molu-keyss-eyo ((laugh))  
do-should-QT    think do not know-DCT:RE-POL  
**I, like, I think if husband and wife both working, money... like, I think the amount of  
money doesn't matter, but ,like, one of them doesn't work, if one of them doesn't  
work, what can he or she contribute for the house... like, house... like, the house  
chores.. I dunno.**

Ron makes an assertion that the one who works less hours with less income should do more house chores, as he or she has more time to stay home in lines 1-10. After the subsequent three-seconds long pause in line 11, Amy launches a disjunctive marker *kuntey* (line 12), which foreshadows upcoming disagreement (Y. Park, 1999). Amy breaks off her following utterance “if the job is different” in the middle (line 12), and then provides examples of ‘different jobs’ in the following utterances (lines 12-14). In line 12, Amy produces some markers displaying perturbation before giving concrete examples such as pauses, elongation of the word, and fillers. Among these, an adverb *sasilun* ‘actually’ in line 12 signals the upcoming information. Subsequently, Amy gives information about two different jobs’ different incomes in Hawai‘i, using a *-ketun* utterance with rising intonation (lines 13-14).

Worthy of attention is the use of *-ketun* (line 14). The speaker shows her disagreeing stance without delivering explicit negatively valenced expressions. As a person who has grown up in Hawai‘i, she claims more knowledge regarding the matter in her projection of disagreement. Amy provides counter information (lines 12-14) by giving the example that bus drivers’ income is higher than high school teachers’, which implies that driving a bus is easier to do than teaching high school students. This is evidenced by her following turn in lines 20-21 (“Is money more important than the job?). Through this informing using *-ketun*,

Amy successfully makes a counter-argument to Ron's claim that income does not tell everything about a job. After a small pause in line 15, Ron addresses a problem in understanding the part after *kotunghak.kyo sensayngnim* 'a high school teacher' and initiates a repair in line 16. In response, Amy repeats her prior turn using *-ketun*, giving emphasis on 'bus driver' (lines 17-18). Ron immediately shows her revised understanding by producing the realization token *ah* followed by an *-ketun* utterance (line 19). Like the change-of-state token *oh* in English (Heritage, 1984b), Ron's *ah* here also embodies a claim that the recipient has undergone a cognitive change from unknowing to knowing. After securing Ron's understanding, Amy then challenges Ron by projecting a turn in the form of a yes-no question in lines 20-21. This question appears to convey strong reversed polarity assertions, thereby displaying the epistemic stance of the speaker (Koshik, 2005). It may be heard as implying that the assertions conveyed by the questions are common knowledge.

Extract 5.22 below is another case in point. In this extract, the students are discussing the presidential election in the United States. Prior to the extract, one of the students, Ko, presents his personal opinion on Barack Obama: that his political career is not long enough compared to the other candidates. The extract displays Sun's contrasting opinion in response to Ko.

#### Extract 5.22. Sun: Presidential candidates

15 Sun: 오바마 씨는 이케:(.)어 새로운(.) 이제 바깥에서(.)  
 16 이제 경험(.)이제 경험이 없다고 사람들이  
 17 그러는-하는데  
 18 Ko: 네에  
 19 Sun: 그래두: 그렇게 경험이 없는(.)분은  
 20 → 아니거든요.  
 21 Ko: 네[에  
 22 Sun: [충분히 시카고에서도 활동하신 분이구  
 23 Ko: 네에

15 Sun: obama ssi-nun ikhey:(.)e saylow-un(.) icye pakkath-eyse(.)  
 VOC-NOM like this-DM new-ATTR DM outside-at

16            icey kyenghem(.)icey kyenghem-i eps-tako salam-tul-i  
              DM experience DM experience-NOM not exist-QT person-PL-NOM

17            kule- nun -- ha-nuntey;  
              like that-ATTR do-CIRCUM  
              **Mr. Obama is like... umm... new... now from the outside... like people say that he is  
              not experienced**

18 Ko:            neyey  
                  yes  
                  **Yes.**

19 Sun:           kulaytwu: kulehkey kyenghem-i eps-nun(.)pwun-un  
                  but like that experience-NOM not exist-ATTR person:HON

20            → ani-**ketun**-yo.  
              NEG-KETUN-POL  
              **But he's not such an inexperienced person, you know.**

21 Ko:            ney[ey  
                  yes  
                  **I see.**

22 Sun:           [chwungpwunhi sikhako-eyse-to hwaltongha-sin pwun-ikwu  
                  sufficiently Chicago-at-also active-HON person:HON-CONN  
                  **He has been politically active in Chicago and**

23 Ko:            neyey  
                  yes  
                  **I see.**

In the beginning of this extract (lines 15-17), Sun recapitulates Ko's earlier negative evaluation of Obama as background information, using the quotative form *-tako* and *-nuntey* (Y. Park, 1999). After Ko's acknowledgment (line 18), Sun projects counter information in lines 19-20 using *-ketun*. Her disaffiliative stance is also signaled by a contrastive topical marker *-un* (line 19). Note that this information about Obama's political background is not a type of knowledge that the speaker has direct access to. However, the speaker forms it in that way by deploying the *-ketun* utterance. This use of *-ketun* corresponds to one of *-ketun*'s functions discussed by K. Kim (2010). While tackling the validity of Ko's claim by giving counter information with the *-ketun* utterance, Sun also makes a conversational move to mitigate the assertive force of her prior utterances by producing hedges with the use of *kulayto* 'nevertheless, still' and a delimiter *kulehkey* 'that much' in line 19. The use of *-ketun*



		teacher	teacher-TOP	school	attend-CIRCUM
65		<b>pesu wuncen</b>	<b>&gt;whatever,&lt;</b>	<b>wuncensa-nun,</b>	<b>hakkyo an::</b>
		bus drive		driver-TOP	school NEG
66	→	<b>tani-nuntey</b>	<b>ton te</b>	<b>pel-e!</b>	<b>Then what! oh::</b>
		attend-CIRCUM	money more	earn-IE	
		<b>Oh, Oh. Teacher. The teacher goes to school and the bus driver, whatever, doesn't go to school but they make more money. Then what. Oh.</b>			
67		<b>kulem cip-eyse</b>	<b>nwuka il-hay,</b>	<b>cip-eyse</b>	<b>nwuka il hay</b>
		then house-at	who:NOM	work-IE	house-at who:NOM
		<b>Then who does the housework? Who works at home?</b>			
68	Jenny:	<b>sensayngnim-i</b>	<b>il-ul kwantw-e?</b>	<b>kuliko cipanil-man</b>	<b>hay?</b>
		teacher-TOP	work-ACC	quit-IE	and housework-only
		<b>Should the teacher quit her job? And just do the housework? Oh, oh, what what.</b>			
69	Sue:	ee what what who's making more money?			
70	Jenny:	namphyen.			
		husband			
		<b>The husband.</b>			

Preceding this extract, one of the students, Sue, argued that the person with less income should do more house chores. Based on her production of “oh” three times, along with codeswitching to English in lines 62, 64, and 66, Jenny’s turn is largely divided into three parts: (1) a pre-disagreement move: she introduces an example (lines 62-63); (2) disagreement: a detailed description of the proposed example (lines 64-66); (3) upgraded disagreement: a direct challenge in the form of a question (lines 66-68). This extract begins with Jenny’s confrontation of Sue. To assert her position that income should not be the only criteria for who does the house chores, Jenny presents domain-specific information about jobs in Hawai‘i from line 62 to line 70, just like Amy did in Extract 5.21. Jenny’s turn and Sue’s following uptake show that the conversation develops into an aggravated discussion marked by the intimate speech style, codeswitching to English, and amplified volume and emphatic stress throughout Jenny’s turn. In line 62, Jenny starts out her turn by producing a change-of-state token “oh” and “yeah” with emphatic stress. She then indicates that the relevant example will be forthcoming by saying “for example” along with self praise that the

example is a good one. In line 63, Jenny introduces a case of a couple with two different jobs: a bus driver and a teacher. After a second production of the change-of state-token “oh” in line 64 she gives contrasting descriptions of the two jobs (lines 64-66).

Here is the sequential place where *-ketun* is expected to be used, as Amy did in Extract 5.21. Against the prior speaker’s claim, the current speaker calls on a dichotomized version of jobs in Hawai‘i to accomplish disagreement. This information is within a specific domain of expertise, and therefore is presented as a warrant for the disaffiliative move. However, Jenny, an intermediate student, does not employ *-ketun* but finishes the TCU with an unmarked form *-e* (line 66). The ways in which Jenny directly challenges Sue in the next turn in the form of questions is also worthy of attention (line 67). Grammatically affirmative yes/no questions are regularly used in a wide variety of contexts, both as challenges to the recipient’s actions or as challenges to prior turns (Koshik, 2005; K. Yoon, 2006). In response to these questions, Sue initiates a repair requesting a clarification of Jenny’s example.

In the following extract from the same conversation in Extract 4.30, three possible sequential positions for *-ketun* are identified, in all of which *-ketun* is not used, and instead three different alternative forms occur: (1) an unmarked ending *-yo*, (2) nonprovision of any alternative, and (3) a causal *-nikka*. Before this extract begins, S argues that a person with less income should just quit his or her job and do the housework to support the other, because higher income implies a higher level of professionalism.

Extract 5.24 (Reproduced from Extract 4.30) Jenny: Cleaning cow’s poo

088 Jenny:     okay.↓ (.5) like (.8) 저::어 수지 생각에서는: (.)  
 089             돈 더 많이 버는 사람이 >°professional job°이쥬<  
 090             =그거:: 솔직히 not always. (.3) 항상 안  
 091             → 그래요=이케(.2) like(.)°예이 들면↑(.)  
 092             소똥! (.4) 치워요.  
 093 Sue:       what?(.) ewww ((laughs))  
 094 ALL:       ((laugh))  
 095 CL:         how xxx 집안일



096 Jenny: no! not 집안일: 일!  
 097 Sue: as a job.  
 098 Jenny: yeah! ((looks at CL))  
 099 Sue: yeah!  
 100 ALL: ((laughing))  
 101 Jenny: → 그거 진짜(.1) 힘든 job.=아니면, (.7) like (2)  
 102 ((looks at the teacher)) 코끼리:: (1.5) 얘기(.2)  
 103 만들기. (.) Okay?  
 104 ALL: ((laughing))  
 105 Sue: what do you mean:: making elephant's XXX?  
 106 Jenny: → yeah! you put it in! okay? 그거 디게 어려운(.2) 일  
 107 (.3) ((laughs)) 이니까, (.2) 근데(.2) what if(.)  
 108 판 사람은 뭐 아르바이트해서 십불  
 109 받아.(.2) 한 시간에.(.2) 근데 일을 더 less 해.  
 110 =he is just sell. 근데 소퐁 치우는 사람  
 111 is like >일을 더 많이 하는데 돈 더 적게  
 112 버니깐 like 그 집안에 들어갈 때 (.) like (.)  
 113 소퐁 치우는 사람이 더 힘들 거잖아(.8)  
 114 like that does make sense.  
  
 88 Jenny: okay.↓ (.5) like (.8) ce:::e sue-ci sayngkak-eyse-nun: (.)  
 DM VOC think-at-TOP  
  
 89 ton te manhi pe-nun salam-ika >°professional job°i-cyo<  
 money more a lot earn-ATTR person-NOM COP-COMM:POL  
  
 90 =ku-ke:: solcikhi not always. (.3) hangsang an  
 that-thing frankly always NEG  
  
 91 → kulay-yo= ikhey(.2) like(.)°yeyi tulmyen↑(.)  
 like that-POL like this for example  
  
 92 so ttong!(.4) chiwe-yo.  
 cow poo clean-POL  
**Okay. Like, Sue you think that the person who makes more money has a professional  
 job, right? But actually, that's not always true. Like, for example, let's say he cleans  
 cow's poo.**  
  
 93 Sue: what?(.) ewww ((laughs))  
  
 94 ALL: ((laugh))  
  
 95 CL: how XXX cipanil  
 housework  
**How housework**  
  
 96 Jenny: no! not cipanil: il!  
 housework work  
**No! not housework, job!**  
  
 97 Sue: as a job.  
  
 98 Jenny: yeah! ((looks at CL))  
  
 99 Sue: yeah!

100 ALL: ((laughing))

101 Jenny: → ku-ke cincca(.) himtu-nun job.=animyen, (.7) like (2)  
that-thing really tired-ATTR or

102 ((looks at the teacher)) khokkili:: (1.5) ayki(.2)  
elephant baby

103 mantul-ki. (.) okay?  
make-NML  
**Like, that's a really tough job. Or like making elephants have offspring (elephant reproduction). Okay?**

104 ALL: ((laugh))

105 Sue: what do you mean:: making elephant's XXX?

106 Jenny: → yeah! you put it in! okay? ku-ke tikey elyewu-n(.2) il  
that-thing very difficult-ATTR work

107 (.3) ((laughs)) i-nikka, (.2) kuntey(.2) what if(.)  
COP-because but

108 tta-n salam-un mwe alupaithu-hay-se sip-pwul  
other-ATTR person-TOP DM part time job-do-and 10-dollar

109 pat-a. (.2) han sikan-ey.(.2) kuntey il-ul te less hay.  
get-IE one hour-per but work-ACC more do

110 =he is just sell. kuntey so ttong chiwu-nun salam  
but cow poo clean-ATTR person

111 is like >il-ul te manhi ha-nuntey ton te cek-key  
work-ACC more a lot do-CIRCUM money more less-ADV

112 pe-nikkan like ku cip an-ey tuleka-l ttay (.) like (.)  
earn-because that house inside-at come in-when

113 so ttong chiwu-nun salam-ika te himtu-l ke-**canh**-a(.8)  
cow poo clean-ATTR person-NOM more tired-PROS-CANH-IE

114 like that does make sense.  
**Yeah! You put it in! Okay? It's a really hard job, but you earn a lot of money for that. Okay, that's, really worrisome. But what if the other person is a part-timer who makes \$10 an hour and works less, all he does is just sell. But because the person who cleans up cow poo works more but makes less, he/she must be so much more tired when he/she gets home, right? Like that, does make sense?**

This segment begins with Jenny's challenge towards Sue's argument (lines 88-91) by providing the upshot of Sue's prior claim using a committal *-ci*. Explicit challenge on that upshot of the claim is immediately followed in English (line 90: "not always"), then soon changed to Korean (lines 90-91: *hansang an kulayyo* 'not always'). This is the first place

where *-ketun* is expected to occur, in that J provides specific examples of different jobs with different incomes that fall within her domain of information in the following utterance.

However, Jenny employs an unmarked form *-yo* (line 91).

In line 92, Jenny offers a detailed description of cleaning up cow's excrement. This encounters an objection by Sue whose disagreement is launched straightforwardly without any hesitation, by means of "what" along with laughter and the emotive token *ewu::* in line 93, of which the intonation and final vowel stretch are produced in an exaggerated manner. After a few lines of a side sequence on clarifying the example of the job (lines 95-100), Jenny gives an evaluative comment on the job in line 101. This is the second place where *-ketun* can take place. As the job of cleaning up animals' excrement is suggested by herself, an assessment of it is also in the speaker's epistemic domain. However, she finishes her turn with a nominalized form *-ki* (line 103) without drawing upon any sentence-ending suffix.

Subsequently, in lines 101-103, Jenny brings up another made-up example of a job: making elephants' offspring. Sue's subsequent initiation of repair by asking for a clarification shows an elevated disaffiliative stance (line 105: "what do you mean:: making elephant's XXX?"). In response, Jenny once again gives an assessment that it is a hard job in line 106. This is the last sequential place where *-ketun* could be used to claim the speaker's epistemic primacy given the fact that the example is devised by the speaker herself. Jenny, however, deploys a causal *-nikka* (line 107). In the following utterance, Jenny provides a contrasting example of an easy job with more income.


The three *-ketun* utterances discussed in Extracts 5.24 all deliver information over which the questioner has greater claim to knowledge, either because the information concerns something about which the speaker has an access as expertise of certain domains or which the speaker herself has invented. Although the employment of alternative forms other than *-ketun*

did not lead to any demonstrable orientation to it by the participants, it seems to result in more challenges from interlocutors.

### 5.5.3 Summary: Use and nonuse of *-ketun* in second position

In this section, we have observed Korean L2 speakers' use and nonuse of *-ketun* in second position, where second language speakers of Korean deliver disagreeing actions including defensive detailing and disagreement. The practices of different speakers with different language proficiencies doing the same action were compared. The following Table 5.2 summarizes the use and nonuse of *-ketun* in second position in terms of the level of epistemic primacy claimed by students at two different proficiency levels.

Table 5.2. Types of information and level of exclusiveness of information proposed by *-ketun* utterances in second position

Sequential position: Second position				
Action: Disagreement				
Level of exclusiveness	Type of knowledge	Extract number		
		Adv.	Inter	Use
<div style="text-align: center;">           High              Low         </div>	Personal ground	5.18		O
			5.19-20	X
	Common domain	5.21-22		O
			5.23-24	X

The analysis illustrates that while the advanced students demonstrate the ability to claim epistemic primacy in complex ways through the use of *-ketun* in their disaligning actions, the second language speakers at a lower proficiency level deploy different linguistic resources in the place *-ketun* is expected to be used. The use of *-nikka* instead of *-ketun* and nonprovision of a connective in a slot where it is expected to occur were observed as the main characteristics of intermediate-level students' data. In consequence, intermediate students' turns seem to face more challenges from interlocutors.

## 5.6 The use of *-ketun* in third position: From reaffirmation to enlightenment

The use of *-ketun* in third position shows a pattern similar to the use of *-canh-* in third position, as discussed in Chapter 4: (claim)-(disagreement)-(*-ketun*-suffixed counter-challenge). The turn of disagreement with *-ketun* appears in the third position in response to an interlocutor's challenge towards the speaker. By providing relevant information using a *-ketun* utterance, the speaker marks the interlocutor's challenge as groundless and re-affirms his or her own position. More generally, all third turns with *-ketun* deny the validity of prior disagreement from interlocutors and retrospectively reassert the speakers' epistemic primacy over the proposed information (Heritage, 1984b, 2002a). The following figure 5.4 shows the sequential positions where third turn *-ketun* utterances have been identified.

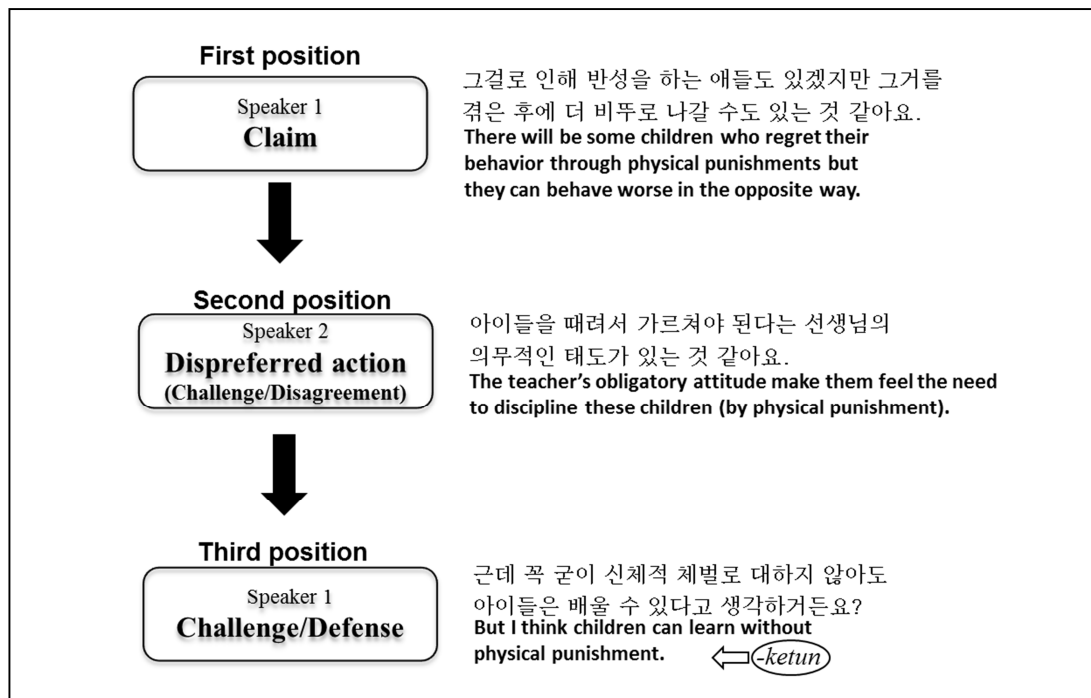


Figure 5.4. *-ketun* in third position

The examples demonstrate that *-ketun* is used as a vehicle to resist the basis of disagreement. The speaker denies the backbone of the interlocutor's disagreement and alters the course of the claim to the agenda initially set by the speaker.

### 5.6.1 Reaffirming initial claim with *-ko saynggakhata*

The use of *-ketun* in combination with the expression *-ko saynggakhata* 'I think that' is the first pattern that is associated with the use of *-ketun* in third position from advanced-level students' data. The following Figure 5.5 shows the sequential position of this practice.

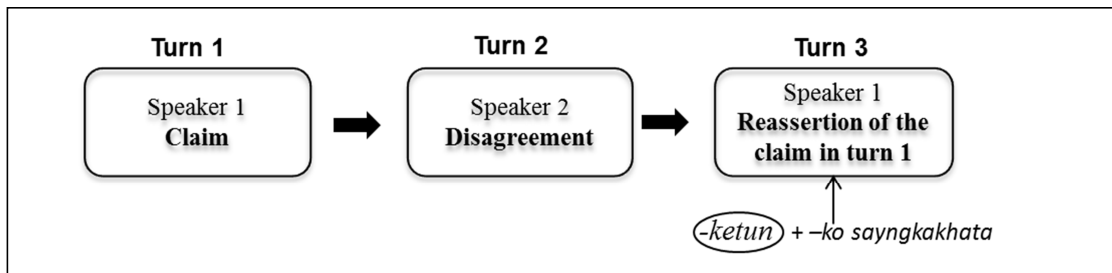


Figure 5.5. Use of *-ketun* in third position with *-ko saynggakhata*

When the initial claim is disagreed with by its recipient, the speaker reasserts her or his initial claim in the third position using a *-ketun* utterance with *-ko saynggakhata*, which publicly displays the speaker's internal state. Through this reassertion, the action projected with the *-ketun* utterance is a request for a revised understanding of his or her claim from the interlocutors. A similar development of sequence is also identified in intermediate-level students' interactions without the use of *-ketun*. To explore this phenomenon, let us begin with Extract 5.25 below from an advanced level students' interaction.

**Advanced.** This extract offers a case in which the combined use of final *-ketun* and the expression *-ko saynggakhata* serve as a vehicle for reaffirming an initial claim in third turn position.

## Extract 5.25. Daisy: Corporal punishment

44 Daisy: 음: 어떤 애들은 그걸로 인해 반성을 하는  
 45 애들도 있겠지만 그:: 상황에:(.2)  
 46 >그거를 겪는< 다음 후에↑(.) 그::: >모지?< 더  
 47 뻘뻘루 나갈 수도 있(.)다는: 경향이 있는  
 48 거 \*같애요\*=더 그 **처음**에는 >맞았으니까< 그  
 49 두려움에 인해서 선생님 말도 잘듣고 그:  
 50 나쁜 짓을 안할려고 노력하겠죠?  
 51 Ariel: ((nods))  
 52 Daisy: 근데 제:::속 맞으면 어차피 맞을 건데 뭐하러  
 53 말을 듣구 있나: 그런 생각으로 인해↑  
 54 더 나쁜 짓 해갖구 똑같이 맞는데  
 55 John: \*아-·  
 56 Daisy: 더 나쁜(.)짓하면서 뻘뻘루 >나갈 수도  
 57 있을 것 같애요<  
 58 ((clears throat)) 그런 면을 봐갖구  
 59 더 과격한 체벌이 나오는 거 같애요 (.)  
 ((lines omitted))  
 82 John: 그래서 국민학교에서 이런 아이들을 갖다 가르쳐야  
 83 된다는 그런 선생님의 그::: (.2)  
 84 의무적인 태도가 있는 거 같기도 해요  
 85 (.)  
 86 Daisy: 근데 꼭 굳이 신체적 체벌:(.)로  
 87 대하지 않아두: 아이들은 배-어: (.)  
 88 → \*배울 수 있다고 >생각하거든요.<  
 89 따른 걸로 인해. 초등학생들도  
 90 Hana: 음:: 제 생각에도요,(.3) 앞에(.) 맞고:  
 91 선생님(.2) 앞에서만 그런 짓을 (.)  
 92 uhm 안 하는 것 (.)이↑  
 93 (.4) >되는 거< <같애(.)요.>

((lines 44-50 Transcriptions not presented here))

**Umm there will be some kids who regret their behavior through physical punishments but in that situation...after experiencing that... what is it? I think it can influence them to move towards the wrong path. When they get hit the first time around, because of the fear they have, they would be more inclined to listen to their teachers and not misbehave, right?**

51 Ariel: ((nods))  
 52 Daisy: kuntey kyey:::sok mac-umyen echaphi macu-l ke-ntey mwe ha-le  
 53 mal-ul tut-kwu iss-na: kule-n sayngkak-ulo inhay↑  
 54 te nappu-n cis hay-kackwu ttokkathi mac-nuntey  
**But if they are continuously hit, they will start to think, 'What's the whole point of listening? I'm going to get hit anyway.' And those thoughts will derive misconduct, which will result to the same amount of hitting (physical punishment).**  
 55 John: °ah-°  
 56 Daisy: te nappu-n(.)cis-ha-myense ppittwu-lwu >naka-l swu-to





This extract comes from the students' debate on the issue of corporal punishment in secondary school in South Korea. Prior to this extract, one of the participants advocated physical punishment, saying it provides young students who are less self-aware than adults with more opportunity to self-reflect through punishment. Subsequently, Daisy challenges this view by arguing that physical punishment may bring about side effects such as violence or juvenile delinquency even though it can appear effective at first (lines 44-57). The next speaker, John, challenges Daisy's prior opinion starting from line 58. John compares the different educational environments in Korea and the US to support his claim (lines 58-84). This is then immediately challenged by Daisy, who provides a disagreeing view, this time with the use of *-ketun* (lines 86-88). This use of *-ketun* in line 88 demonstrates complex management of making an assertion in the third turn. Daisy orients to a challenging stance by beginning her third turn response with the use of the disjunctive marker *kuntey* (Y. Park, 1999) in line 86, which foreshadows her disaligning view. Subsequently, she presents her opposing opinion using *-ketun* that even younger students can be disciplined in other ways without involvement of corporal punishment (line 88). In summary, upon the interlocutor's disaligning actions (disagreement, challenge, and confrontation), the speaker reinforces her claim by employing the suffix *-ketun*, rather than the suffix *-kes kath-* that she used in her initial claim. *-ketun* is incorporated into the form *-ko sayngkakhata* 'I think that'. This turn construction in the action of disagreement shows that the conveyed information is exclusively the speaker's own (*-ketun*) by attributing her assertion to her cognition (*-ko sayngkakhata*).

In terms of information management, Daisy is oriented to the personal ground (her cognitive status) of the information: in other words, she demonstrates that this is information that she has exclusive access to through her counter-informing using *-ketun* combined with *-ko sayngkakhata*. By deploying a *-ketun* utterance along with *-ko sayngkakhata*, the speaker

rejects the proposed agenda of the interlocutor for the reason of its inappropriateness. By reaffirming what she initially claims, Daisy demands a revised understanding of her claim from the interlocutor and thus refutes the claim of the interlocutor. When accounting for this type of assertion using *-ketun*, the speaker ties the assertion to the specific situation that she is in. In turn, the speaker orients to entitlement by resisting the recipients' understanding of the speaker's prior talk. Therefore, in this case, the suffix *-ketun* may be analyzed as a resource for "reasserting" the epistemic claim of the speaker by resetting the agenda. By using informing as an assertion, the speaker proposes that she has knowledge that the recipient lacks, which thereby represents a K+ position relative to a recipient's K- position. The suffix *-ketun* together with other turn-constructural resources, such as *-ko saynggakhata* and quiet volume, work to decrease the strong force of the speaker's disagreement. In lines 90-93, another participant provides an agreeing opinion.

**Intermediate.** Intermediate students' data exhibit similar sequential development with *-ko saynggakhata*. They orient to the interlocutor's disagreement as something not valid by reaffirming their position using *-ko saynggakhata*. However, in contrast to advanced students, intermediate students show an absence of *-ketun* in third turns, along with a lack of hedging devices, with the result that their assertions are often bald challenges. Intermediate students' nonuse of *-ketun* in third turns will be depicted in the following two extracts. The following sequence is comparable to that in Extract 5.25 and occurred during a conversation in which the class discusses a Korean newspaper article on the recent growth in the number of house husbands in South Korea.

Extract 5.26. Steve: Full time housekeeper

01 Ariel:	여러분은 남성 전업 주부에 대해 어떻게
02	생각합니까. 남성 전업 주부도 직업이라고
03	생각하나요?
04	(.2)

05 Steve: >아니요< ((smiles))  
 06 Ariel: 아니요?  
 ((lines omitted))  
 14 Steve: 그냥, (.6) 뭐. (1.0) 노는 거보다, (.) 다:들  
 15 집안일 해야 되니까 그냥 직업으로 생각 안해요.  
 16 Teacher: 음[:  
 ((lines omitted))  
 41 Teacher: 다른 사람들은 어떻게 생각°해요°  
 42 Daisy: 그거. (.2) 여자(.) 주부두: (.) 집안일 하는 거  
 43 일이라고 생각하는데 왜 남자는 안되[냐고  
 44 Teacher: [음  
 45 Daisy: 생각:해요. ((nods, looks at John))  
 46 John ((nods))  
 47 Teacher: 음::  
 48 (3.0)  
 49 Steve: 그냥-어: 전업-아:가사전업자는 그: (.7) ((rolls eyes))  
 50 → job. (.2) 그 일이라고 생각 안해요.  
 51 Teacher: 음 그럼 여자의 경우에도↓  
 52 Steve: 여자나 남자 경우에. ((nods))

01 Teacher: yelep-wun-un namseng cenep cwupwu-ey tayhay ettehkey  
 everyone-TOP male full time housewife-about how

02 sayngkakha-p-nikka. namseng cenep cwupwu-to cikep-i-lako  
 think-DEF-Q male full time housewife-also career-COP-QT

03 sayngkakha-'na-yo'  
 think- Q-POL  
**What do you think of house husband? Do you consider a house husband as a career?**

04 (.2)

05 Steve: >ani-yo< ((smiles))  
 no-POL  
**Nope.**

06 Ariel: ani-yo?  
 no-POL  
 ((lines omitted))

14 Steve: =kunyang, (.6)mwe. (1.0) no-nun ke-pota, (.)ta:tul  
 just DM hanging around-ATTR thing-than all-PL

15 cipanil hay-ya toy-nikka kunyang cikep-ulo sayngkak an hay-yo.  
 housework do-should do because just career-as think NEG- POL  
**I'm just.. like..rather than hanging around, I just don't consider it as a job because everyone has to do household work.**

16 Teacher: um[:  
 ((lines omitted))

41 Teacher: talun salam-tul-un ettehkey sayngkak'hay-yo'  
 other person-PL-ATTR how think-PL

**What do other people think?**

- 42 Daisy: ku-ke.(.2) yeca(.) cwupwu-twu: (.) cipanil ha-nun ke il-ilako  
that-thing woman housewife-also housework do-ATTR thing job-QT
- 43 il-ilako sayngkakha-nuntey way namca-nun an-toy-[nya-ko  
job-QT think-CIRCUM why man-TOP NEG should-Q-CONN  
**Since people consider 'housewife' as a career,**
- 44 Teacher: [um
- 45 Daisy: sayngkak:hay-yo. ((nods, looks at John))  
think -POL  
**I don't see why men cannot do the same for 'staying at home husband'.**
- 46 John: ((nods))
- 47 Teacher: um::
- 48 (3.0)
- 49 Steve: kunyang-e: cenep-a:kasa- cenepca-nun ku: (.7) ((rolls eyes))  
just full time housework full timer-TOP that
- 50 → job.(.2) ku il-ilako sayngkak an-hay-yo.  
that job-QT think NEG-POL  
**I just don't think a full time housekeeper...I don't consider it a career.**
- 51 Teacher: um kulem yeca-uy kyengwu-ey-to!  
then women-GEN case-at-also  
**Umm then does this apply to women as well?**
- 52 Steve: yeca-na namca kyengwu-ey. ((nodding))  
women-or man case-in  
**Yes, both.**

This extract is in response to a discussion question that one of the students, Ariel, raised on the issue after reading the article. She asked whether other students think that being a “stay at home husband” is an occupation (lines 1-3). Following the question, Steve provides a type-confirming answer (Raymond, 2010) “no” (line 5). Ariel’s following repetition of Steve’s prior turn with rising intonation (line 6) elicits the elaboration of his answer. In lines 14-15, Steve provides an account of his answer using the verb *sayngkakakata* saying that he does not consider doing household chores as a profession because anyone and everyone should do them. From line 16 to line 40 (transcription now shown), another student John gives his neutral opinion on the issue. Afterwards the teacher requests other students’

opinion in line 41. In response to it, one of the students presents her opposing view (lines 42-45) that being a house husband should also be considered a job based on her assertion of the consensual fact that being a housewife is widely accepted as a career. In line 46, another student displays his agreement with Ariel's opinion with the embodied action of nodding. After a long pause of three seconds in line 48, Steve disagrees with the prior speaker's opinion by reaffirming his initial claim that he does not consider doing housework as a career (lines 49-50).

This turn strongly resembles the one using *-ketun* in the last extract in terms of its action, turn construction, and sequential position. In his projection of a disagreeing view that reconfigures his initial claim, Steve constructs his turn of disagreement with the form *-ko sayngkakhata* 'I think that' as the advanced-level speaker, Daisy, did in the prior extract. The details of the turn construction and its consequences, however, are different from those of the advanced-level student's, in particular in the absence of *-ketun* and mitigating devices. His turn displays numerous nonnative-like features. First, the turn-initial use of a discourse marker *kunyang* 'just' in line 49 arguably shows that he does not have sufficient grounds for his disagreement. His turn (lines 49-50) also consists of perturbation, pauses, facial expressions, and code-switching (for a word search). He also does not employ the suffix *-ketun* where it is expected to be used (line 50). By not using *-ketun* in this position, his assertion is delivered in a more explicit manner. Without manipulation of information through the use of certain suffixes, his disagreement is constructed in a direct way that runs the risk of threatening the interlocutor's face or of being misunderstood.

Extract 5.27 below is the same segment of Extract 5.21, but this time the discussion focuses on Ron's nonuse of *-ketun*. It shows a similar instance of a third turn counter challenge without *-ketun* by an intermediate-level student. The class is having a discussion

Extract 5.27. Ron: Contribution for the house

01 Ron:            °ok.° uh:: nam-er ((shakes right hand)) anay-wa  
                       man                                      wife-and:CONN

02                    namphyen cwungey han salam-i::(.3) like hangsang:  
                     husband    among    one person-NOM                    always

03                    hoysa-lul tani-ko(.2) ttō hoysa, hoysa-eyse acwu  
                     company-ACC attend-CONN also company company-at very



22 Ron: ce-nun:: like, macpeli, macpeli pwupwu-imyen::(.2) uh::  
I-NOM double income double income coupld-COND

23 like ton: like ton:: pe-nun:(.2) kumayk?::(.4)  
money money earn-ATTR amount

24 sangkwan-i eps-tako >sayngkakha-ciman<=like like  
correlate-NOM not exist-QT think-but

25 macpel macpeli pwupwu-imyen:: mwu-kwankyeyha-ciman like  
double income couple-COND not-relate-but:CONN

26 namphyen:: er >anay-wa namphyen< cwungey han salam-i(.2)  
husband wife-and husband among one person-NOM

27 ilha-ci anh-ko:(.2) >ilha-ci anh-umyen< like (2) ku cipan-ey  
work-NEG-CONN work-NEG-COND that house-at

28 ipacihal::(.3) like(.3) ku cipan-ey:: uhh (3) >cipanil-ul<  
contribute that house-at housework-ACC

29 → °hay-yahan-tako sayngkak:° molu-keyss-eyo ((laugh))  
do-should-QT think do not know-DCT:RE-POL  
**I, like, I think if husband and wife both working, money... like, I think the amount of  
money doesn't matter, but ,like, one of them doesn't work, if one of them doesn't  
work, what can he or she contribute for the house... like, house... like, the house  
chores.. I dunno.**

After a long pause of three seconds (line 11), Ron faces Amy's disagreement (lines 12-14). Here, Amy gives a specific example of a couple using *-ketun*; one is a bus driver and the other one is a high school teacher in Hawai'i.<sup>39</sup> This example suggests that teaching at a high school requires more labor than driving a bus even though teachers make less money than bus drivers. Amy reconfirms her disaffiliative move towards Ron in lines 20-21 when she explicates the import of the prior example. Note the formulation of the challenge as a question (K. Yoon 2006a), while the type of job rather than the amount of money is emphasized. Upon this challenge, Ron projects a counter-challenge in lines 22-29 by re-affirming his position. In this turn of counter-challenge, he clarifies his prior assertion with some modifications. This turn starts with a qualifying clause using *-ciman* (lines 22-24) stating that the amount of income does not matter to him, as Amy said, if both husband and

<sup>39</sup> This turn of disagreement using *-ketun* is discussed in detail in Section 5.5.2 in Extract 5.21.



wife work. He follows up this point of his argument in the subsequent utterance; what does matter for him is the case of either husband or wife staying home without working (lines 25-27). After he presents a case he cannot accept, Ron reaffirms his initial claim using *-ko saynggakhata* that the one without income should do the house chores because if not, he or she does not contribute anything to the family (lines 27-29).

In summary, in response to the interlocutor's disagreement, the speaker projects a counter-challenge by offering a revised version of his argument using *-ko saynggakhata*. With this third turn challenge with *-ketun* together with *-ko saynggakhata*, the speaker conveys relevant information that supports that he is entitled to make such a claim. As represented in the transcript, a number of perturbations are observed in Ron's turn as displayed in the hesitations, turn restarts, lengthening, codeswitching, micropauses, and fillers. This dysfluency is maximized in the final part of the turn in that the speaker abandons his turn with a sudden decrease in volume before he produces a sentence ending suffix in line 29. Considering its sequential position and the use of *-ko saynggakhata*, this is the place where *-ketun* could be employed. As the speaker reiterates his own claim that he provided in the first position, the speaker is the only party who is knowledgeable about the information. However, he abandons his turn and completes it with "I don't know" along with the following laughter. As observed in the earlier extracts from intermediate-level students' interactions, nonuse of *-ketun* elicits clarification from the interlocutor (Extract 5.26), and brings about abandonment of the turn completion (Extract 5.27).

### **5.6.2 Enlightenment (via implicature)**

The interactional work of disagreeing accomplished through *-ketun* utterances in the interactions discussed in this section is not designed to be confrontational. It is rather more a product of the strategic employment of *-ketun* utterances for the purpose of informing. That

is, by bringing to the recipient's attention something that he or she is otherwise unaware or uninformed of, the speaker displays to the recipient that what the recipient has conveyed or stated in the prior turn is problematic with reference to this new information. The *-ketun* tokens in these examples, therefore, are not used to register disagreement *per se* but can be understood as instances of an emphatic "newsmarking" function, which is accomplished by marking that what is conveyed or stated in the *-ketun* utterance turn is noteworthy and implicative. It is a conversational resource that a Korean speaker may draw upon in order to highlight the salience and newsworthiness of a focal event, commonly by alerting his or her interlocutor to the implication (K. Kim, 2010; Kim & Suh, 2009). In such an assertion, the speaker formulates something that the addressee implied but did not articulate. In other words, the use of *-ketun* in reassertions appears to have an effect of foregrounding or reemphasizing the following utterance as the speaker's point of argument. This type of *-ketun* is found in advanced-level students' interactions, but not in those of the intermediate-level students.

I will present two sequences where *-ketun* is used in this way in third position. The following Extract 5.28 offers an instance that involves such a use of *-ketun*.

Extract 5.28. John: A daughter of a conglomerate

- 01 Teacher: 질문에 대답이 됐는데  
 02 이제 만족해요? ((gaze towards Ariel))  
 03 Ariel: 아니요 ((laugh)) 웬지 ((laugh))  
 04 질문을 ((looks at Daisy))  
 05 Daisy: 질문을 듣기 힘들어 ((laugh))  
 06 John: [아 근데 제가  
 07 이해 못했게요, >뭐냐며는< **진:짜**((hands up))  
 08 부자의 딸이며는 제 이별이잖아요=  
 09 → =제 이별은 열- 솔직히 열심히 일 안하거든요?  
 10 Teacher: 재별이세요?  
 11 John: [네?  
 12 Ariel: [어 그래도요: 네 재별이세에다가  
 13 [능력도 그만큼 따라 주구 해서
- 01 Teacher: cilmwun-ey taytap-i tway-ss-nuntay icy  
 question-at answer-NOM become-PST-CIRCUM now

- 02                   mancokhay-yo? ((gaze towards Ariel))  
                   satisfy-POL  
                   **He answered your question, are you happy now?**
- 03 Ariel:       ani-yo ((laugh)) waynci ((laugh))  
                  no-POL                               somehow
- 04                   cilmwun-ul ((looks at Daisy))  
                  question-ACC  
                  **No, I feel like the question was...**
- 05 Daisy:       cilmwun-ul     tut-ki   himtul-e (((laugh))  
                  question-ACC hear-NML hard-IE  
                  **It is hard to get an answer.**
- 06 John:   [a kuntey cey-ka  
   but        I-NOM
- 07                   ihay mos hay-ss-key-yo, >mwe-nya-myenun< **cin:cca**((hands up))  
                  understand NEG-PST-thing-POL what-Q-COND   really
- 08                   pwuca-uy ttal-i-myenun cey ipel-i-canh-ayo=  
                  rich-GEN daughter-COP-COND conglomerate junior-CANH-POL
- 09                   → =cey ipel-un yel- solcikhi yelsimhi il an ha-**ketun**-yo?  
                  conglomerate junior-TOP frankly hard work NEG-ketun-POL  
                  **Oh, but what I don't understand is... is that... The daughter of a really rich person  
                  makes her a conglomerate, right? But honestly, they really don't do any work at all,  
                  you know.**
- 10 Teacher:     caypel-isey-yo?  
                  conglomerate-junior-POL  
                  **A conglomerate?**
- 11 John:       [ney?  
                  yes  
                  **Pardon?**
- 12 Ariel:       [e kulayto-yo: ney caypel-isey-eytaka [nunglyek-to kumankhum  
                  but-POL   yes   conglomerate-junior-and ability-also that much
- 13                   ttala cwu-kwu hay-se  
                  follow give-CONN do-and  
                  **Umm... Yes. But still. Not only is she a child of a conglomerate but also a capable  
                  person.**

In line 5 John faces a challenge from Ariel. After invoking commonsense knowledge by using *-canh-* that a group chairman's daughter who succeeds to her father's business is

*chaebol* (lines 7-8),<sup>40</sup> John immediately projects the utterance of her main assertion using –*ketun* without any pause or silence (line 9). Here, John provides the information that the daughter of a conglomerate’s chairman does not really work hard. Through the use of a –*ketun* utterance here, John challenges the askability of Ariel’s initial question (Stivers, 2011). The speaker’s disaffiliative stance is not directly displayed but insinuated in the turn with –*ketun*. The third turn disagreement with the –*ketun* utterance targets something said in prior talk but not recognized by the interlocutor. Thus, although the speaker’s disaligning stance is not explicitly stated, a –*ketun*-marked third turn challenge referencing the prior speaker’s utterance can appear in talk and be warranted by implicature. This is a method for the speaker to legitimize or provide his or her claim of epistemic primacy while disagreeing with the basic valence of the evaluation proffered by the first speaker. In other words, John’s informing here, with the suffixing of –*ketun*, is meant to draw its recipient’s attention to something that he has otherwise overlooked or had no knowledge of, although exactly what this –*ketun* suffixed informing is alluding to is left unsaid. It can be noted that while this import is implicit in nature, with no subsequent explication ever provided, Ariel’s response in lines 12-13 nonetheless shows a good grasp of what exactly is implicated in John’s prior –*ketun* suffixed utterance. It is the recipient of the informing who subsequently explicates the interactional import of the –*ketun*-suffixed utterance. The following Extract 5.29 displays a similar case in point.

Extract 5.29. Ariel: Standing in the corner

40 Daisy: 신체적 체벌은: (.) 너무 강하다고  
 41 생각하지만 그거에 대해서 반대하지만  
 42 따른 체벌에 대해서는 저도 찬성이에요 막 (.)  
 43 손들구 서있던가 어 아니면 반성문을

<sup>40</sup> *Chaebol* refers to a South Korean form of business conglomerate. They are typically global multinationals owning numerous international enterprises, controlled by a chairman who has power over all the operations. There are several dozen large Korean family-controlled corporate groups that fall under this definition.

44 쓰던지 뭐 자기가 잘못 함으로써, 무슨  
 45 댓가가 있다, 뭐를 해야 된다하는 의식을  
 46 주는 거는 ‘괜찮다고 생각하거든요.’  
 47 Ariel: 아 근데 여기서 신체적 체벌 중에서도:  
 48 손들고 ((raises both arms)) 그것도 신체적  
 49 → 체벌이거든요: 그[래서  
 50 Daisy: [맞는 건 아니잖아요=

40 Daisy: sincheycek cheypel-un:(.) nemwu kangha-tako  
 physical punishment-TOP too strong-QT

41 sayngkakha-ciman ku-ke-ey tayhayse pantayha-ciman  
 think- but that-thing-about disagree-but

42 ttalu-n cheypel-ey tayhayse-nun ce-to chansengi-eyyo mak (.)  
 other-ATTR punishment-about-TOP I-also agree-POL DM  
**I think a physical punishment is a too harsh and I am against it. But I agree on the  
 other types of punishments.**

43 son tul-kwu se-iss-tenka e animyen pansengmwun-ul  
 hand raise-CONN stand-PROS-whether or reflection letter-ACC

44 ssu-tenci mwe cakik-a calmos ha-m-ulosse, mwusun  
 write-whether DM self-NOM fault do-NML-by certain

45 tayska-ka iss-ta, mwe-lul hay-ya toyntaha-nun uysik-ul  
 return-NOM exit-PLN what-ACC do- should- ATTR sense-ACC

46 cwu-nun ke-nun ‘kwaynchanh-tako sayngkakha-ketun-yo.’  
 give-ATTR thing-ATTR okay-QT think-KETUN-POL  
**Like holding your arms up or writing a letter of reflection or some sort of price of what  
 you’ve done wrong... I think making them know that they have done something  
 wrong is all right.**

47 Ariel: a kuntay yeki-se sincheycek cheypel cwungeyse-to:  
 but here-at physical punishment among-also

48 son tul-ko((raises both arms))ku-kes-to sincheycek  
 hand raise-CONN that-thing-also physical

49 →cheypel- i-**ketun**-yo: ku[layse  
 punishment-COP-KETUN-POL so  
**Oh, but standing with your arms up is one of the physical punishments, you know.  
 So...**

50 Daisy: [mac-nun ke-n ani-canh-ayo=  
 be beaten-ATTR thing-ATTR NEG-CANH-POL  
**But that’s not getting beaten, right?**

In this extract, students who have different views on the scope of corporal punishment are having a discussion. While Daisy takes the action of beating to be the only type of physical punishment, Ariel has a broader definition of it including being made to

stand with the arms held up. From line 40 to line 46, Daisy provides a revised version of her argument from the original one that she is not against other kinds of punishment except beating. In response to Daisy's modified claim on corporal punishment, in the third turn position A projects a contrastive marker *kuntey* (line 47) and a main action of disagreement (lines 48-49). Subsequently, she makes a counter argument using *-ketun* that standing in the corner with one's arms up comes within the range of physical punishment. Thus, the *-ketun* utterance here indexes the speaker's resistance to both the presupposition (i.e., being able to accept or reject the proposed understanding) and the action agenda set in the claim made by the prior speaker, and re-addresses the direction of the claim. Here, Ariel does not reject the validity of Daisy's prior assertion about the necessity of physical punishment but invites her to consider another aspect of the issue under discussion (the scope of physical punishment)—which Daisy had otherwise overlooked in expressing her opposition to Ariel's prior claim. In response, the recipient Daisy shows that she not only understands the *-ketun* utterance as a challenge; she also knows specifically what the challenge is about. *-ketun*'s basic function of informing (K. Kim, 2010) has the effect of leaving it to the interlocutor to figure out what the speaker disagrees about. Ariel's use of *-ketun* here and the claim of epistemic primacy embodied through it contrasts with Daisy's claim of epistemic primacy, though it is mitigated by Ariel's laughter that is produced with and after the turn. As can be seen, third-position accounts are primarily given as resistance-management devices to address the recipient's problematic uptake.

### 5.6.3 Summary: Use of *-ketun* in third position

In this section, I presented sequences where the advanced-level students deliver challenges with the use of *-ketun* in third position. In doing denial using *-ketun* utterances, the speakers modify their epistemic claim to the information in a way that is uniquely suited

to and quite effective in accomplishing the action that they are engaged in. The reaffirmation of the claim upgrades the epistemic strength of what would otherwise be a simple repetition or bald reassertion. The intermediate level students' inability to use *-ketun* clauses shows that they lack one resource with which third turn challenges can be delivered in a more modulated way.

In summary, similar to the analysis of *-canh-* discussed in Chapter 4, students display differing turn constructions through the use of *-ketun* even though their sequential organizations are similar. An advanced student first makes an assertion about the issue. When this assertion faces disagreement or challenges from interlocutors, the speaker projects another disagreement by employing the suffix *-ketun*. In this second version, the speaker challenges her interlocutor by reinforcing her initial stance. On the other hand, intermediate students display an explicit tone of disagreement by employing alternatives such as unmarked forms. Also, advanced students show the use of various types of hedges and their disagreements are syntactically mapped in ways that allow them to develop arguments.

## **5.7 Chapter summary**

This chapter investigated Korean L2 speakers' use and nonuse of the Korean interpersonal modal ending *-ketun* in classroom interactions. Focusing on three different sequential positions and different types of proposed information, I showed participants' variety of ways to claim epistemic primacy in achieving certain interactional goals by the use of *-ketun*. As demonstrated in the extracts from advanced-level students, the focal resource *-ketun* signals the matter as known to the speaker and thereby serves as a resource that proposes that the recipient is in a position of an uninformed addressee (K- position) vis-à-vis the knowledge in question (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). More specifically, students propose

information and suggest its basis in empirical and common ground along with other semiotic resources in order to support their claim in first position. When it occurs in second position, a *-ketun* utterance is used to project a disaffiliative stance to the prior speaker's claim by providing information in the speaker's domain. In third position, by claiming epistemic primacy, a *-ketun* utterance is used to make a challenge in response to an interlocutor's disagreement with the speaker's initial claim. The implication is that there exists a gap in knowledge, information, and awareness between a prior speaker and the *-ketun* speaker, which the launching of *-ketun*-suffixed informing or assertion intends to fill or underscore. *-ketun* has the capacity to claim some measure of access to, and rights over, the knowledge being presented. Comparison between less advanced and more advanced L2 speakers provides evidence for L2 interactional development in terms of diversification of participants' methods and approximation to how L1 speakers tend to use *-ketun* in many contexts. What is significant is that the advanced students in this data show a wide range of usages for accomplishing diverse actions using *-ketun*. The intermediate students, by contrast, show an exceptionally limited range of *-ketun* usage for doing the same actions in similar sequential positions. This distinction may indicate that advanced students have more adaptive, context-sensitive conduct, suggesting an increased interactional competence. In turn, what is at stake for the L2 speaker is not simply to develop skills for accomplishing certain actions, but to diversify his or her procedures for achieving those actions in order to be able to respond to the local contingencies of talk-in-interaction in a context-sensitive way (Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011).



## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

#### 6.1 Summary of findings

Drawing on a methodological framework of interactional linguistics and conversation analysis, this study investigates how L2 speakers of Korean use certain linguistic resources, specifically *-canh-* and *-ketun*, in the management of information in order to achieve certain interactional goals in Korean language classroom interactions. I conducted cross-sectional comparisons, analyzing how advanced and intermediate speakers achieve interactional goals by employing differing strategies for management of information. By examining interactional data, I have been able to establish that epistemic stance may be indexed not simply through particular lexical items or phrases but also by a combination of certain linguistic resources (which may be lexical items, phrases, particular syntactic constructions, or specific devices) and the position of a turn within a larger interactional sequence.

Advanced-level students' data showed a much higher use of *-canh-* and *-ketun* than intermediate-level students' data, not only in terms of frequency but also in terms of the variety of the suffixes' functions. The intermediate-level students' data showed four distinctive features. The first characteristic is the use of *-nikka* instead of *-canh-* or *-ketun*. The second is students' use of unmarked forms such as *-yo* and *-ko* where either *-canh-* or *-ketun* are expected to occur. The third is the nonprovision of any marker or abandonment of the turn, and the fourth is codeswitching to English. The first and second characteristics require more detailed discussion in future studies to address why students tend to use unmarked forms or *-nikka* and how these alternative forms deliver a different interactional import than *-canh-* and *-ketun*. Such research would contribute to drawing a fuller picture of the developmental order of the acquisition of the target endings.

## 6.2 Contributions and implications

In doing research on how the suffixes *-canh-* and *-ketun* are used in the management of information in L2 Korean interaction, I hope to contribute to the literature that has facilitated better understandings of how language, interaction, and development of interactional competence work together. By making social epistemics and interaction central concepts in my work, I hope to show how language use by second language speakers can be fully understood by adding the factors of management of information to the analysis (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Heritage 2012a, 2012b; Raymond & Heritage 2006; Stivers et al., 2011). I also intend to show that the development of interactional competence has much to offer any research tradition that seeks to understand the complexity of what L2 speakers accomplish through natural interaction (Kasper & Wagner, 2011).

More specifically, there are three contributions that this study aims to make in terms of theory and practice. First, this study aims to contribute to the growing body of research on interactional linguistics by focusing on examining (i) how particular suffixes serve as resources for accomplishing certain actions and (ii) how interlocutors achieve those actions through management and distribution of information through the use of the target suffixes. Second, through a bottom-up analysis of competent use of resources by L2 speakers using CA, the study adds to the existing empirical evidence that facilitates conceptualization of the development of interactional competence in L2 talk. As such, the current study contributes to the field of CA-SLA in which CA is used as a research methodology for SLA research. CA permits analysts to scrutinize a variety of functions of linguistic devices in interaction, which, in turn, allows identification of the various degrees of acquisition and development of second language. One of my objectives is to capture L2 speakers' development in the use of target suffixes by comparing the competencies demonstrated by speakers at different proficiency

levels. Although this study does not look at developmental changes that occur in the same L2 speakers over time, it aims to identify some general developmental processes in terms of the interactional competencies involved in the production of specific target items by adopting cross-sectional design. Future studies that adopt a longitudinal study design and obtain data from a variety of activities would contribute to expand the understanding of L2 speakers' development of interactional competence. I hope that the current study encourages this line of investigation so that the questions addressed here will be explored in more detail, and particularly so that the methodological usefulness of CA can be better exploited. Finally, this study aims to contribute to the teaching of Korean as a foreign/second language. While there is some literature on the instruction of *-canh-* and *-ketun* for L2 speakers of Korean (S. Sohn, 2006), it is my theoretical and practical impression that the teaching of these suffixes often occurs without attention to their interactional features. The most commonly used textbooks fail to illustrate the interactional richness of *-canh-* and *-ketun* in that their examples typically take the form of two-turn sequences, which do not reflect interlocutors' intersubjectivity in the moment-by-moment unfolding of their talk in interaction. By looking at how L2 speakers at different proficiency levels actually use the suffixes, I hope to provide Korean language teachers with information about the general developmental process involved in attaining competency in their production so as to facilitate the instruction of these suffixes in Korean language classrooms. Given the growing demand for methods of learning and teaching target suffixes in the field of Korean language pedagogy, I believe this research may have implications for the development of classroom materials as well as strategies for teaching interactional skills in Korean.

## **APPENDIX**

### **CONSENT FORM**

Agreement to Participate in  
Korean sentence ender Study

Eun-Ho Kim  
Primary Investigator  
[eunho@hawaii.edu](mailto:eunho@hawaii.edu)

This research project is being conducted as a component of a dissertation for a doctoral degree. The purpose of the project is to understand how native Korean utilize newly-emerging interactive sentence enders and what kind of semantic-pragmatic functions they perform.

Participation in the project will first consist of filling out a form on background information about you which will take less than 1 minute. Next your spontaneous natural conversation will be video recorded for the purpose of transcription. There is no minimum/maximum limit on the duration of recording. For example, if the conversation ends in 30 minutes the recording will be only 30 minutes long, i.e. the investigator does not have any control over the duration or whatsoever on the naturally occurring conversation.

The investigator will not recruit participants or give a certain topic to discuss for the purpose of conversation recording because it violates the nature of 'natural conversation'. As for the formal talk, such as Korean Student Association meeting, the investigator's presence would not be necessary or comfortable. In such case, the investigator will only leave the device and leave the site until the conversation ends.

Recorded video files will be transcribed in Korean with grammatical category glosses (e.g. POL- polite speech level, PLN- plain speech level) and English translation. The participants' names will be replaced with pseudonyms. Based on the transcription, the investigator's data analysis focusing on the participant's use of 'new sentence enders' will be performed.

The investigator believes there is little or no risk to participating in this research project. Participating in this research may be of no direct benefit to you. However, it is believed the results from this project will help to understand the reason for using new sentence enders in talk-in-interaction and its pragmatic functions in depth.

Research data will be confidential to the extent allowed by law. Agencies with research oversight, such as the UH Committee on Human Studies, have the authority to review research data. All research records will be stored in the primary investigators' hardware for the duration of the research project. All the research records will be destroyed upon completion of the project.

Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from participation at any time during the duration of the project with no penalty.

If you have any questions regarding this research project, please contact the researcher, Eun-Ho Kim, at [eunho@hawaii.edu](mailto:eunho@hawaii.edu).

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the UH Committee on Human Studies at (1) (808)956-5007, or [uhirb@hawaii.edu](mailto:uhirb@hawaii.edu)

**Participant:**

I have read and understand the above information, and agree to participate in this research project.

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Name (printed)

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Signature

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Date

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