CO-PARTICIPATION IN STORY ELICITING AND NARRATING PHASES:

AN ANALYSIS OF KOREAN REPORTED SPEECH IN MEDIA TALK

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To my parents

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates a talk show host's questioning, active listening and coparticipating practices in story elciting and narrating phases in a Korean television talk show, particularly focusing on the use of reported speech and bodily actions. The host's use of reported speech was quite noteworthy because the utterances realized in a form of reported speech are not exclusively "reports" of past events. Viewing reported speech as a creative linguistic resource, instances of reported speech that were not only uttered, but also left unsaid are examined. Unexpressed instances of reported speech include self-quotations, conjectures, inferences and hypothetical utterances.

This study's data consists of 1,045 minutes of Korean TV talk show. The selected guest speakers are prominent individuals from varying fields. This research is primarily concerned with (1) how the host brings the guest speakers' past experience into the present moment and heightens the narratives' tellability; (2) how the host achieves his institutional role; and (3) how the host displays his involvement in the storytelling and collaboratively co-constructs the story-in-progress with the guest speaker.

This study suggests that in questioning sequence, the host uses reported speech to display a less knowledgeable epistemic status; to communicate the tellability of a guest's non-normative speech event; and to prompt the guest's version of story. In listening sequence, the host's use of quoted formulation conveys his immediate understanding, committed affiliation; summarizes the guest's previous turns; resolves misunderstanding caused by trouble sources; and allows the

host to take back the conversational floor and close down the ongoing topic. This study also shows that the host signals his affiliation through the employment of reported speech and embodied action. The host recycles the story climax; jointly accomplishes storytelling by co-completing or assumingly enacting what the guest's story character must have thought, felt or said at the time of the narrated story; and builds common ground by sharing his personal experience.

Through the analyses, this study demonstrates the multi-functional aspects of Korean reported speech. It also provides implications for the view of reported speech as a social action and conversational practice.

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LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[	The point where overlapping talk starts
]	The point where overlapping talk ends
=	Contiguous utterances (no break or gap)
(0.0)	Length of silence in tenths of a second
(.)	Micro pause; a noticeable silence that is not readily measurable
.	Falling or final intonation; not necessarily the end of a sentence
?	Rising intonation; not necessarily a question
,	Contiguous intonation
:	Sound stretch
-	Abrupt cut-off or self-interruption
word	Underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis
WORD	Upper case indicates especially loud talk
° °	Soft or quiet talk
↑↓	Sharper rise in or lowering of pitch
< >	A stretch of talk is markedly slowed or drawn out
> <	Compressed or rushed talk
hhh	Laughter, or hearable exhalation or aspiration (outbreaths)
.hhh	Hearable inhalation or inbreath
(h)	Aspiration within a word
(( ))	Transcriber's remarks, gestural descriptions
(word)	Uncertainty on the transcriber's part
( )	Something is being said, but is unintelligible

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN INTERLINER GLOSSES

AC	Accusative particle	INTROS	Introspective
AD	Adverbial suffix	NM	Nominative case particle
AH	Addressee honorific		
ATTR	Attributive	NOM	Nominalizer suffix
COMM	Committal	PL	Plural suffix or particle
CORREL	Correlative	POL	Polite speech level, suffix
DC	Declarative sentence-type suffix	PR	Propositive sentence-type suffix
DCT:RE	Deductive reasoning		
DEF	Deferential speech level	PST	Past tense and perfect aspect suffix
EX	Exclamatory suffix	Q	Question marker
HEARSAY	Hearsay marker	QT	Quotative particle
Hon.	Honorific word	RT	Retrospective mood suffix
HT	Honorific title		
IM	Imperative sentence-type suffix	SH	Subject Honorific
		TC	Topic-contrast particle
IMPFV	Imperfective	UNASSIM	Unassimilated
IN	Indicative mood suffix	VOC	Vocative particle

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

As someone living outside of her home country and studying in Hawai‘i, having access to Korean television programs was not merely a treat for me, but also provided an opportunity to consciously and analytically inspect media talk in-depth and observe the social actions performed by televised participants in a broadcast setting. My “a-ha” moment for this dissertation occurred when one particular speaking practice recurrently came to my attention, namely the practice of *reported speech*. Bakhtin defines reported speech as follows:

> The transmission and assessment of the speech of other, the discourse of another, is one of the most widespread and fundamental topics of human speech (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 337)

Within the talk show setting, it was commonly observed that talk show guests use reported speech to fruitfully instantiate what others or they (might) have said in the past. Contrastingly, the hosts’ use of reported speech was quite noteworthy because such utterances were not merely “reports” of past events. Rather, the hosts accomplished various communicative goals throughout the talk show sequences. The surrounding environments that invoked the production of reported speech include not only storytelling sequences, but also various kinds of non-narrative contexts such as questioning sequences, active listening sequences, and agreeing or disagreeing sequences. Moreover, I realized that the utterances realized in a form of reported speech are not exclusively “reports” of past events. Instances of reported speech, which have never been explicitly expressed aloud, could also be frequently observed during storytelling sequences.

Because reported speech is produced in various contexts, speakers’ use of it cannot be analyzed in isolation. Examining reported speech requires one to ask: (1) what invokes the next speaker’s production of reported speech and (2) what follows the speaker’s production of reported speech? Reported speech, therefore, should be

treated as a product of interactionally accomplished action with discourse functional and sequential considerations:

> The accomplishment of social action requires that not only the party producing an action, but also that others present, such as its addressee, be able to systematically recognize the shape and character of what is occurring (C. Goodwin, 2000, p.1491)

Based on these premises, this dissertation investigates a talk show host's coparticipating practices in story eliciting and narrating phases in a Korean television talk show, particularly focusing on the use of reported speech and bodily actions. This research is primarily concerned with (1) how the host brings the guest speakers' past experience into the present moment and heightens the narratives' tellability; (2) how the host achieves his institutional role (e.g., displaying an immediate understanding towards the teller, clarifying any confusion, maximizing comprehensibility for viewers, summarizing, terminating the ongoing topic, and marking a topic shift); and (3) how the host, as an active listener as well as a co-teller, displays his involvement in the storytelling and collaboratively co-constructs the story-in-progress with the guest speaker.

1.2. Theoretical Background on Television Talk Shows

Tolson (2001b) characterizes TV talk shows as having three unique features: (1) a close affinity with everyday conversation, (2) production in an institutional setting, and (3) the presence of an "overhearing audience." Although TV talk shows fall into the category of institutional discourse (e.g., pre-allocated roles of questioner and respondent, institutional setting), it is much less rigid and less formal in terms of its organization and content when compared with other institutionally-controlled broadcast talks shows like political interviews or news interviews. Furthermore, recorded TV talk shows are expected to be broadcasted at a later time and to be shared with an invisible audience.[1] Therefore, the topics being discussed should be appropriate for both the immediate context and the invisible audience.

[1] It is important to note that Korean nighttime TV talk shows typically do not feature studio audiences. The presence of a studio audience is likely to be observed in certain types of

Ilie (2001) attempts to locate the socio-historical origin of the talk show by tracing it back through European history where conversational interaction had prospered: a talk show-like conversational interaction had been actively practiced at the *academy* in Italy in the 16th century, in the *salon* in France in the 17th century and in *coffee-houses*, *assemblies*, and *clubs* in England in the 18th century. The talk show's early socio-cultural settings have both private and public features, and according to Ilie (ibid.), today's talk shows are a "modern Anglo-Saxon version" of such historical settings (p. 215).

1.3. Previous Research on Television Talk Shows

Among the various types of media talk, the genre of news interviews and conferences (Clayman, 1988; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Greatbatch, 1988; Heritage, 1985; Heritage and Roth, 1995; Haddington, 2004; Weizman, 2006), including political interviews (Lauerbach, 2006), and television debates/discussion (Georgakopoulou and Patrona, 2000), has received extensive focus. Contrastingly, the emergence of research on television talk show (or tabloid talk shows and celebrity talk shows) discourse began relatively recently (Eriksson, 2010; Gregori-Signes, 2000; Ilie, 2001; Martínez, 2003; Tanaka, 2006; Thornborrow, 2001b, 2007; Tolson, 2001b). TV talk shows, though, are one of the most complex and dynamic genres and exhibit a wide range of discourses: ordinary conversation, questioning, storytelling, teasing, therapeutic discourse, etc. (Ilie, 2001). Thus, while news interviews and TV talk shows fall along the continuum of broadcast discourse, TV talk shows should be examined from another perspective. The difference between news interviews and talk show interviews can be inferred from Clayman and Heritage's (2002) analysis on the primary organizing principles for turn-taking in news interviews: (1) the rights and obligations between interview participants are quite distinct-that is, the interviewer asks questions and the interviewee answers them; (2) that the interview talk is produced for both a studio audience on-site as

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morning-time talk shows and political debate shows. However, the participation of the studio audience is very limited, compared to American talk shows. See 1.5.1 for a detailed description of Korean TV talk shows.

well as a non-present audience and thus is "doubly articulated," as Scannell (1991) points out; and (3) that neutrality is produced through specific features of turn design and sequential conduct (e.g. footing shift and withholding third-turn receipts).

TV talk shows are viewed as particular speech events –labeled "semi-institutional discourse" (ibid.) –that are expected to be entertaining and informative and, thus, are often referred to as "infotainment" (p.211). This particular type of TV program has indeed become one of the most popular genres on television. Some variations between shows include the number of guest speakers (i.e., a group of guests or an individual interviewee), the types of guest speaker (i.e., a celebrity or a common person), and the level of the studio audience's participation (i.e., Are they allowed to interrupt to question or to comment during the show?). For example, the American TV talk show the *Jerry Springer Show* often casts common people involved in controversial or taboo topics as guest speaker(s). The guest speaker(s) also interact with the actively participating studio audience who questions, comments or even accuses the guest speaker(s) regarding the particular topic. On the other hand, CNN's *Larry King Live* is a probing type of interview talk show that involves one or two celebrity guest speaker(s) with no present studio audience.

Despite the ubiquity and popularity of talk shows, academic analysis on this specific type of broadcast talk has, until recently, been much neglected (Fairclough, 1995; Hutchby, 1995, 1996; Scannell, 1991). Many studies have examined the difference between ordinary talk and institutional talk based on an assumption that ordinary conversation is a standard kind of speech event (Tolson, 2001c and see Sacks *et al*., 1974 for the basic turn-taking system of ordinary conversation). For example, Gregori-Signes (2000) systematically compared the turn-taking organization of tabloid talk shows and the features of conversation as outlined by Sacks *et al*. (1974).

Additionally, the talk of lay participants, a call-in audience or a guest speaker, and public participation have also been of academic interest. For example, Hutchby (2001b) examined how lay participants bolster their "individual speakership" by claiming first-hand knowledge of the topic being discussed (p.495). Investigations have also been conducted to determine how lay participants construct their public identities as callers, questioners, advise seekers, and opinion givers (Thornborrow,

2001a) and how arguments emerge from the narrative produced by lay participants and function as an opposing stance (Thornborrow, 2007).

To date, though, there are relatively few studies that examine host-guest speaker interaction and focus on the role of the host (or interviewer). Eriksson (2010), viewing narrative as a "collaborative project" (p.530), showed how a talk show host's co-participation invokes the studio audience's laughter at possible laughable points. For that reason, the host is labeled as a "dramatizer" (Thornborrow, 2001b) in addition to other established host multi-roles, such as "story elicitor", "primary recipient" and "problematizer" (See also Ochs and Taylor, 1992 for a complete categorization of narrative participant roles[2]). Hosts' story-eliciting strategies have been investigated by Tanaka (2006). In his study, Tanaka focused on non-interrogative forms to examine the ways in which Japanese TV interview hosts elicit stories from their guest speakers. My study will look at how a talk show host effectively plays multi-functional roles (i.e., story elicitor, primary recipient, dramatizer, problematizer) throughout the interview-in-progress. I will specifically focus on the host's use of reported speech.

1.3.1. Talk shows as a narrative context

Extract (1.1) '*The Ellen DeGeneres Show'* (IR: Ellen, IE: Guest speaker)

```
01 EL:      Alright well your story is amazing [when I heard] this
            story
02 IE:                                         [thank you  ]
03 EL:      I- I was like I have to meet this girl
04          it's just AMAzing what you did↑
            ((9 lines deleted))
13 EL:      SO how did you- I- how did you do- do this?
```

[2] Ochs and Taylor (1992, pp.309-311), in analyzing family narrative discourse, categorized the participant roles that exist within a narrative activity. The *protagonist* is the leading or principal character in the narrative. The *elicitor* is a fellow co-narrator who asks for a narrative to be told and prompts to the *initial* teller to express the first declarative proposition about a narrative event. The story is then told to the *primary recipient*, the person to whom the narrative is predominantly oriented. A *problematizer* is a co-narrator who renders the action, condition, thought, or feeling of the protagonist or co-narrator problematic. The *problematize*, on the other hand, is a co-narrator whose action condition, thought, or feeling is rendered problematic.

The above example, taken from the American talk show *The Ellen DeGeneres Show* presents one common way talk show hosts elicit stories from their guest speakers. Ellen, the host, seems to know or, at least, acknowledges what the story-to-be-told is about. She characterizes the guest's story in a broad sense as 'amazing' (lines 1 and 4) and makes it clear that the story is worth being shared with the studio audience and, more widely, with the prospective TV viewers. Ellen then moves the conversation along by prompting her guest to tell her story by uttering, 'So how did you do it?' (line 13).

In conversational narratives, the storyteller often initiates a telling activity with attention-drawing story prefaces, such as 'I have something terrible to tell you' or 'Something really wonderful happened today' (extracted from Sacks, 1992). In broadcast settings, however, the storyteller does not need to (or cannot) do the interactional work necessary to tell the prospective story; rather, the stories that emerge in talk show settings are likely to be planned by the talk show host instead. The host is often briefed about the guest speaker, the topics to be discussed, and the stories to be told (Thornborrow, 2001b). Therefore, in contrast to the kind of storytelling that occurs in conversational narratives, a storyteller's reported stories are not, in a conversational sense, "news" to the host.

Moreover, within this broadcast setting, the talk show host is oriented to particular institution-specific goals. The host, as the questioner, decides which questions to ask and when to ask them. Correspondingly, the guest produces a narrative at the production of the host's prompt. Within this framework, then, the host decides the production of the guest's story at the relevant moments and thereby moves the show along.

1.3.2. Coparticipation in storytelling sequences

Although there exists a body of research on broadcast talk as mediated public discourse, few studies focus on a host's (story recipient) participation in the guest speaker's story-in-progress (cf. Bell and van Leeuwen, 1994; Martínez, 2003; Norrick, 2010). Early studies in media discourse mostly focused on television programs that are comparatively rigid in structure, like news interviews (Clayman, 1992; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Jucker, 1986). In such genres of media discourse, a host's active participation (e.g., response tokens, evaluative comments, supportive involvement) is

rarely observed, as it can be "treated as offering support for an interviewee, or as exerting an inappropriate influence on the shape and trajectory of interviewee responses" (Clayman and Heritage, 2002, p.128). Therefore, the host was not normally a focal participant in early media discourse research. In order to fully understand how interviewees' responses are prompted and shaped, the host's co-participation needs to be considered as well.

Referring to "co-construction" as "the joint creation of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other culturally meaningful reality," Jacoby and Ochs (1995, p.171) claim that "everything is co-constructed" (p.177) through interlocutors' active co-participation:

> Indeed, to acknowledge that everything is co-constructed is to affirm that participants to interaction are not passive robots living out preprogrammed linguistic "rules," discourse "conventions," or cultural prescriptions for social identity. (pp.177-178)

Co-construction not only involves the co-participants' affiliative and sympathetic interactions but argumentative, disagreeing interactions as well (ibid.). Through co-construction, participants involved in a speech event engage in meaning-making activities and assign certain interpretations. Interpretation is thus seen as a "form of recontextualization" (Duranti, 1986, p.244) that is cooperatively accomplished by co-participants:

> [T]he form and content of talk is continuously re-shaped by the co-participants, through their ability to create certain alignments and suggest or impose certain interpretations (p.242).

> [The] interpretation (of texts, sounds, etc.) is not a passive activity whereby the audience is just trying to figure out what the author meant to communicate. Rather, it is a way of making sense of what someone said (or wrote or drew) by linking it to a word or context that the audience can make sense of (p.244).

Viewing speech as an interactive achievement, a story is seen as a "concerted action" (Lerner, 1992, p.247) in which both the teller *and* the recipient interactively co-participate (Bavelas and Coates and Johnson, 2000; Duranti, 1986; C. Goodwin, 1984, 1986; Holt, 2007; Mandelbaum, 1993; Monzoni, 2004; Ochs and Capps, 2001;

Oropeza-Escobar, 2011; Sacks, 1974, 1992; Schegloff, 2007). In a storytelling sequence, the story recipient plays a significant role in designing and co-constructing the story-in-progress.

The types of utterances that co-participants produce in mid-telling and their consequent influences to the story-in-progress have been topics of continued interest for researchers. Mandelbaum (1993) discusses the kinds of interim responses that story recipients produce and where such responses fall within a continuum of recipiency. She identified this continuum as ranging from "passive recipiency" (e.g., mm hm, uh huh), which "minimally influence[s] the ongoing course of the story," to "active recipiency," which "strongly influence[s] what a teller says next" (p.252). Recipients' active recipiency has been examined in other fields and sub-disciplines. Bavelas *et al*. (2000), for example, conducted experiments that examined listeners' responses and their effects on the narrator by qualitatively and quantitatively microanalyzing dialogue [what kind of dialogue]. They differentiated the listeners' responses into *generic* responses (e.g., mhm, mm, mm-hm, among many others) and *specific* responses, which are tightly attached to and served to illustrate what the storyteller is narrating. The examined responses' differentiated functions are listed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Generic and Specific Listener Responses (adapted from Bavelas *et al*. 2000, p. 944)

Differences	
Generic responses	Specific responses
Are *listening.*	Are *co-telling.*
Keep the listener as *audience* or *observer*.	Make the listener an *actor* in the story.
Are made *to* or *at* the story or narrator.	Are made *with* the story or narrator.
Are *generally* related to the narrative.	Are *specific* to this point in the narrative.
Are *external* to the narrative plot.	Are *internal* to the narrative plot.
Responds to the narrative plot.	*Act upon* (add to) the narrative plot.
Communicate *general understanding.*	Communicate *specific* understanding.
Indicate understanding of the *words.*	Indicate understanding of the *implications* of the words.

Norrick (2010) showed that interviewers' participation in American television celebrity interviews, such as "signals of listenership, emotional involvement, uptake of information, understanding, surprise and the like", are utilized as resources to "prompt, assist and complement" their guest speakers' storytelling (p.526). Eriksson (2010) also demonstrated that politicians' personal recounts during the interview process are carried out as a "collaborative project" (p.530) between the host, the guest, and the studio audience. Eriksson examined the host's coparticipation at each phase of the storytelling sequence. One noticeable point made in this study is that the host, at a potentially laughable point, acts as a *dramatizer* and invokes laughter from the studio audience by producing humorous comments and questions. Additionally, Eriksson points out that the studio audience plays a significant role in such contexts because they are the primary and immediate recipient of the laughable moments.

Another topic of continued interest to researchers is how the story recipient, presenting himself as either a knowing recipient, who "is presumed to have prior knowledge of the event being described," or as an unknowing recipient, "who . . . [is] treated as not yet informed about that event" (C. Goodwin, 1987, p.118), displays his alignment towards the storyteller and how the employment of shared knowledge contributes to the development of the storytelling (Lerner, 1992; Norrick, 2000, 2010). Lerner (ibid.), for example, demonstrated how a coparticipant aligns with the storyteller by employing a "shared knowledge of events" (p.248) and assists the storyteller throughout the story preface, the storytelling, and in the reception of the story . Lerner pointed out that a coparticipant's "assisted story initiation" at story preface (p.250) can take three forms: (1) story prompt, (2) story provocation, and (3) reminiscence recognition solicit. In a story prompt, one of the participants elicits a story from another participant by displaying his/her shared knowledge of story events (e.g., "Oh you haftuh tell'm about yer typewriter honey"). During a story provocation, a participant may teasingly imitate what another participant "did or said in a way that caricatures, misrepresents, or sequentially isolates their actions," (p.254) thereby occasioning the parodied participant's version of the story in a form of [rejection + explanation]. Lastly, during a reminiscence recognition sequence, a participant can initiate storytelling with another knowing participant while casting unaddressed

coparticipants as recipients. For example, 'Dave' is the knowing participant in "Dave, remember when we usetta wear the same size shoe?"

In the next section, I will discuss the multiple narrative roles that the talk show host plays throughout an interview.

1.3.3. Talk show host as multi-participant roles

Within an institutional setting, like an interview, storytelling largely consists of an eliciting phase and a narrating phase. Using Ochs and Taylor's (1992) and Thornborrow (2001b), this section introduces the multiple narrative roles that the talk show host strategically performs throughout the narrative phase. Specifically, I will explore how the talk show host plays the role of 'story elicitor', 'primary recipient', 'problematizer' (Ochs and Taylor, 1992) and 'dramatizer' (Thornborrow, 2001b).

In contrast to ordinary conversation[3], an interviewing host generally initiates and mediates a guest's story elicitation.[4] Because the host is often briefed in advance about a guest's story and is already familiar with prospective topics, the host will sometimes refer to the guest's pre-interview, a preliminary interview conducted prior to the actual interview, to prompt a guest's story. In the case of Korean television talk shows, a program scriptwriter or producer meets the prospective guest in advance and goes over the questions and the topics to be discussed. Thus, the talk show host already knows, though not specifically, about the prospective guest.[5]

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[3] In ordinary conversation, storytelling often begins with attention-drawing story prefaces, such as 'I have something terrible to tell you' or 'Something really wonderful happened today' (extracted from Sacks, 1992).

[4] When the guest voluntarily initiates the story, though only a small number of cases are found, the host needs to authorize the guest's unplanned telling:

Ex. 1 (Host: Kang, Guest: Minho)

Minho:	A! na cincca wuskin ke isseyo.
	Ah! I have something really funny (to tell you).
Kang:	**Yes yes.**
	[story begins]

[5] The below example is segmented from the actual interview excerpt:

Extract (1.2) (Guest: Paik)

01	Host:	sasil *interview* ttay cehuy-tul-i cal al-ci mos-hayss-ten emenim-ey tayhan iyaki-lul manhi hasyess-tako tul-ess-ketun-yo.
		In fact, {I} heard that {you} talked about your mother during pre-interview. We haven't heard about your mother before.

In the narrating phase, the host interchangeably shifts roles among 'primary recipient', 'problematizer' and 'dramatizer.' As a 'primary recipient', the host displays his understanding towards the narrated story, emotionally supports the guest's position, prompts the guest for further elaboration, and signals the guest to continue with the story-in-progress. In this role, devices such as receipt tokens, continuers, repetition, laughs, and nods are frequently employed.

The 'problematizer' role helps the host achieve a more elaborate storytelling from the guest by pointing out possible problems regarding the actions, thoughts, feelings, etc. described in the story (Eriksson, 2010). The following is an example of 'Host as Problematizer' as taken from the Korean data.

Extract (1.3) (Guest: JY)

01	JY:	When I participate in an international competition,
02		I do an interview.
03		{Thay ask} "Why do Korean golfers always play well?"
04		I always say something like "Our parents are always travelling with us,
05		so we have to do our best and are trained mentally strong"
06	Host:	oykwuk senswu-tul-uy sikak-eyse pol ttaynun cham hankwuk
07		tayhanminkwuk yeca senswu-tul pwumonim-tul-un cham
08		yupyelna-ta yolansulep-ta ilen sayngkak-i tul-keyss-nuntey-yo?
		Foreign golfers may think,"Korean parents are so peculiar and bizarre"

While the guest speaker acknowledges the effort and sacrifices the guest speakers made in regards to their daughter's achievements (lines 4-5), the host looks at the Korean parents' actions from a foreigner's perspective and problematizes their conduct (lines 6-8). In response, JY refutes the host's perspective by explaining that

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02	Paik:	**Yes.**
03	Host:	**{You mean} your mother was an object of pity during your childhood.**
04		**What does that mean?**
		[story begins]

The host refers to the 'pre-interview' and claims its tellability by displaying his unfamiliarity towards the topic (line 1). He picks up a piece of information that he already acquired from the pre-interview and requests for elaboration (lines 3-4).

many foreign golfers now treat what young Korean golfers have done (i.e., traveling and attending international golf competitions together with their child) as an ideal example (not shown above). Likewise, the host's problematization can prompt further stories from the guest speaker and thus makes the interview-in-progress fruitful.

The host also contributes to the performative aspect of the guest's narrative by actively engaging in the production of the story, or role-playing as a 'dramatizer' (Thornborrow, 2001b). For example, a host can engage in the dramatization of and display involvement in a guest's narrative through the repetition of significant elements of or punch line phrases from the guest's narrative[6] (Karatsu, 2012; Tannen, 1989; Thornborrow, 2001). Another way a host may act as a dramatizer, as mentioned in the previous section, is to invoke laughter from the studio audience at a potentially humorous point in the narrative with laughable comments or questions (Eriksson, 2010).

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[6] The examples below demonstrate how the host acts as a 'Dramatizer' by repeating elements from the guest's previous narrative to display the his unexpected surprise.

Extract (1.4) (Guest: Jin)

01	Jin:	[story]
02		**It takes approximately two to three hours to portion out food {in Amazon tribes}.**
03	Host:	umsik nanwu-nuntey-man twu sikan kelli-n-ta-ko-yo?
		{You mean} it takes two hours just to portion out food?

Extract (1.5) (Guest: Hyun)

01	Hyun:	[story]
02		**I came back ti Korea from Amazon in August.**
03		**Wherever I went, I felt so cold, I kept shivering.**
04	Host:	tayhanminkwuk yelum-i nemwunato chwuwess-ta-ko-yo?
		{You mean} the Korean summer felt freezing cold?

Extract (1.6) (Guest: Sue)

01	Sue:	[story]
02		**Because I kept dancing for the last five years with a bone fracture.**
03	Host:	ppye-ka kum-i ka iss-nun sangthay-yess-ta-ko-yo?
		{You mean} you had a bone fracture?

In sum, a talk show host is not a passive participant who merely asks questions and listens to what is being told, but is an active participant who is closely involved at each phase of the guest's storytelling sequence.

1.4. Previous Research on Reported Speech

In everyday interaction, reported speech, or "speech within speech, utterance within utterance," and "speech about speech, utterance about utterance," is one of the most frequently observed conversational practices (Vološinov, 1986, p. 115). As Bakhtin (1981) pointed out in his analysis of discourse:

> In real life we hear speech about speakers and their discourse at every step. We can go so far as to say that in real life people talk most of all about what others talk about – they transmit, recall, weigh and pass judgment on other people's words, opinions, assertions, information; people are upset by others' words, or agree with them, context them, refer to them and so forth (p.338).

Work on reported speech has been widely examined for its pervasiveness in a variety of research disciplines including linguistics, literary criticism, philosophy, psycholinguistics, anthropology, communication and sociology.[7] Though extensive, studies on reported speech, within the domain of linguistics, can be conceptualized in terms of three central concerns: (1) the forms of reported speech; (2) the authenticity or representation of reported speech; and (3) the interactional functions of reported speech, or *what it does* (Clift and Holt, 2007). Among the three, the last concern continues to be the primary focus of ongoing research on reported speech. In the following sections, I will examine the three questions mentioned above.

1.4.1. Forms of reported speech

Traditional literature on reported speech has extensively focused on the dyadic distinction between direct and indirect reported speech, distinguishing the two by their linguistic properties (Banfield, 1973; Boeder, 2002; Mayes, 1990; Longacre, 1985). Therefore, shifts in linguistic forms, such as deictic items (e.g., I, you, he/she, today, here), verb tense, and changes in voice quality, were of major concern. Researchers realized, though, that the speech reporting forms often observed in talk-in-interaction did not neatly fall into the established categories of direct and indirect reported speech.

[7] See Güldemann and Roncador (2002) for a comprehensive bibliography on reported speech, particularly with regard to linguistic domains.

These amalgam forms of direct and indirect reported speech are labeled as 'free direct' or 'quasi-direct' speech (Banfield, 1973, 1983; Coulmas, 1986). Acknowledging such specialized forms of reported speech and various alternatives of 'quotatives', or introductory components of reported speech such as 'go/goes' and 'be like', blurred the boundary between direct and indirect reported speech. Consequently, much recent work has given a great deal of attention to the various categories of quotation; reported or represented thought[8] (Golato, 2002; Maynard, 1996; Vandelanotte, 2004; Vásques and Urzúa, 2009), utterances that have never actually been said or thought in the past and are known as future dialogue or hypothetical quotation (Sams, 2010; Simmons and LeCouteur, 2011); and other specialized categories of reported speech, such as 'free indirect discourse'.[9]

Conversation analytic research has also shown that the distinction between direct reported speech and indirect reported speech is not clear-cut. Bolden (2004), for example, examined the onset (i.e., the left-side boundary of reported speech) and offset (i.e., the right-side boundary of reported speech) of reported speech and found some ambiguous cases of offset, where the talk occurring after the quote cannot be clearly characterized as framing the talk or part of the quoted talk. Bolden refers to such a display of unclear demarcation as "fading out" (p.1106). Previous studies also noticed that reported speech can be initiated with direct reported speech but end with indirect reported speech (Holt, 1996 and see Extract (1.11) for Korean example). Moreover, reported speech is not always a report of past events. Sams (2010) examined quotations of inner speech and future dialogue and claimed that these quotations demonstrated the speakers' mental states based on contextual clues and prosodic information. Another form of reported speech examined by Simmons and LeCouteur (2011) is called 'hypothetical active-voicing' (HAV). Simmons and

[8] Vološinov (1973) also acknowledges non-verbal communication of reported speech, known as "inner speech"

[9] Indirect reported speech and 'free indirect discourse' are not addressed in this study. For further reading on this linguistic form of 'free indirect discourse', see Banfield (1973), Coulmas (1986), Suzuki (2002) and Wierzbicka (1974). This study examines only direct reported speech/thought and hypothetical reported speech.

leCouteur analyzed therapists' enactment of hypothetical talk that their interlocutors might use in a future situation.

CA studies also reveal a number of ways that speakers can mark spoken discourse as reported speech, as speakers mark written discourse through the use of quotation marks (Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen, 1999). In addition to using lexico-syntactic devices, reported speech can be marked through the use of prosodic markings like "global pitch (register) and loudness shifts, global changes in speech rate and shifts to isochronous timing," and paralinguistic voice quality effects such as breathiness, nasality, brightness, etc. (p.482).

Because of the various specialized speech reporting forms, drawing a line between direct or indirect reported speech has become unnecessary. In actual discourse, we can observe various forms of reported speech that are neither direct nor indirect reported speech. An English example from an American celebrity talk show demonstrates how reported speech cannot be neatly characterized as either direct or indirect. In the example below, a young female guest on *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*, who purchased a house at the age of fourteen, tells the story of how she was able to purchase her home.

Extract (1.7) *The Ellen DeGeneres Show* (IR: Ellen, IE: Guest)

```
32 IE:          the:: market went do:wn (.) a whole bunch >especially in<
                Florida=and:
33              (.) we got that house for twelve thousand dollars↑
34              [((smiling))] it was actually- it was [listed           ]
35 IR:          [   Whoa    ]                         [((chuckle laugh))]
36 IE:          for sixteen thousand↑ but- um-
37 IR:          good- good to negotiate twel[ve] [that was] too high
38 IE:                                       [YES][  yes    ]
39              Yes=
40 IR:    →     =[I WON'T] pay sixteen thousand for [this house   ]
41 IE:           [hehehe]                           [hehehe I- no]
42              I had six and I was like
43              Mom do you wanna (.) go have some (    )
44              do you wanna uh um >pay (    )< and she was like (.)
45              uh:: (0.2) she- she- was sort of shocked at first,
                [story continues]
```

Because the guest paid much less than the initial price, the host hypothetically states what she believed the guest speaker might have thought when she saw the house's original price, 'I won't pay sixteen thousand for this house' (line 40). This is an English example of hypothetical quotation.

Such specialized forms can be also observed in Korean talk-in-interaction. Rhee (2007), for example, observed a mixed form of reported speech, known as 'bare direct quotation'.[10] The reporting design of Korean quoted speech and its grammatical organization are quite different from English quoted speech. The most distinguished differences are the syntactic order of quotative constructions and the presence of a quotative particle that must be followed by the quoted speech if present. Park (2009, p.81) illustrates the fully structured Korean direct quoted construction as follows:

(Speaker of the quote) + 'Quoted speech' + (Quotative Particle) + ('say' Verb)
1 2 3 4

The elements in parentheses can be optionally omitted in spoken discourse. Although the quotative construction is "freely scrambled," that is, the first element, 'speaker of the quote,' can possibly be produced after the third element, 'quotative particle', a certain element like 'quotative particle' must follow the 'quoted speech' (H. Sohn, 1999, p.321). It has traditionally been accepted that the properties of direct reported speech include direct quotative particles such as *–lako* or *– hako,* whereas *–ko* belongs to the properties of indirect reported speech.[11] However, drawing a line between direct and indirect reported speech in Korean is also difficult:

Extract (1.8) (Guest: Minho)

03 Choi: → 엄마 나 진짜 잠도 안 오고 마음이 편안해지는
04 → 수면할 수 있는 그런 편안한
05 → 약 좀 지어달라고 그랬어요.

03 Choi: → emma na cincca cam-to an o-ko maum-i phyenhay-ci-nun
Mom I really sleep-also not come-and heart-NM comfortable-become-

[10] An example of 'Bare Direct Quotation' from Rhee (2007, p.195):

Nay-ka ttaci-ess-ci, Kimsacang tangsin ettehkey na-hanthey kule-lswuiss-nya?
I-NOM protest-Pst-End President.Kim you how I-to do.so-can-Q
'I protested. "President Kim, how can you do this to me?"

[11] H. Sohn (1999, p.324) examined grammatical features of two direct quotative particles *hako* and *lako*: "In direct quotation the quoted expression is followed by the particle *hako* 'saying' (derived from the verb stem *ha* 'say' and the conjuctive suffix *ko* 'and') or *lako* 'saying' (derived probably from the copulative declarative *(i)la* and the contracted form of *hako*), and ends with a quoting verb"

ATTR

04 → swumyenha-l swu iss-nun kulen phyenanha-n
Sleep-ATTR can exist-ATTR such comfortale-ATTR

05 → *yak com ci-e tal-la-**ko** kulay-ss-eyo.*
Medicine little make-CONN give-IMPER-**QT** like:that-PST-POL.

"Mom I can't go to sleep" and asked her to get me some sleeping pill so that {I} could have a comfortable sleep.

Notice in line 3 that Choi initiates direct reported speech overtly with the addressee term *emma* 'mom' and deictic *na* 'I.' This directly quoted speech, though, is abandoned mid-course and is instead followed by the indirect quotative particle *–ko* (line 5). Since the 'quotative particle' does not exist in English, it is difficult to show the combined features of Korean direct and indirect reported speech through an English translation, but, as the above example demonstrates, the occurrence of such amalgam forms of quoted speech in spoken discourse is indeed ubiquitous. Thus, making a distinction between direct and indirect reported speech in Korean based on the use of particular grammatical resources has also become meaningless.

1.4.2. Authenticity of reported speech

The fact that directly quoted speech is marked with a double quotation mark and indirectly quoted speech is zero-marked may contribute to the misconception that directly quotes speech is "more *authentic*" or *accurate* than indirectly quoted speech (Li, 1986, p.41). In fact, many researchers claim that direct reported speech provides a more "*faithful verbatim report* of a person's actual words" (Toolon, 1988, p.120; italics in the original).

However, research on the authenticity of reported speech reveals that such speech may not be as accurate as once believed. In an unpublished study, Wade and Clark found that people sometimes do not reproduce speech verbatim even when they are capable of doing so and argue that directly quoted speech is not an accurate rendition of the original utterance.[12] A total of sixteen participants memorized a brief scene from the movie 'Breakfast at Tiffany's' word-by-word. When they were asked

[12] See Clark & Gerrig (1990) for the detailed analysis on Wade and Clark's experiment.

to recount the memorized scene 'as accurately as possible', they showed near-perfect verbatim repetition of the original script. When the participants were asked to tell what the movie was about, on the other hand, the participants produced verbatim quotation only 62% of the time. Similarly, Mayes (1990) asserted that at least half of the direct reported speech in her data was not verbatim speech or prior utterances, but rather "inventions of the speaker" (p. 330). In sum, through an employment of (hypothetically) reported speech, speakers create the illusion of authenticity from what appears to be an objective stance.

Likewise, as Leech (1980, p.58) claims, because reported speech cannot be categorized as either "true" or "false," the authenticity of such speech should not simply be decided based on the category of its reporting form. In other words, the term 'reported speech' should not be characterized by its literal meaning. Finding 'reported speech' misleading, Tannen (1989) problematizes the term and asserts that the term 'constructed dialogue' should be used instead:

> I am claiming that when a speaker represents an utterance as the words of another, what results is by no means describable as 'reported speech.' Rather it is constructed dialogue. And the construction of the dialogue represents an active, creative, transforming move which expresses the relationship not between the quoted party and the topic of talk but rather the quoting party and the audience to whom the quotation is delivered (p.109).

Wooffitt (1992) also criticizes the term and asserts that the utterances in reported talk should be referred to as "active voice":

> …speakers may formulate information so that it can be heard as reported talk when in fact it is unlikely, or, in some cases, impossible, that the words so reported were actually said in that way. […] it is more useful to begin with the assumption that the speakers are designing certain utterances to be heard *as if* they were said at the time. Therefore, it is not accurate to refer solely in terms of reported speech; instead, we will refer to 'active voices' in the accounts (p.177, emphasis in original).

Many researchers acknowledge that the term 'reported speech' is a misnomer because it is not an accurate reproduction of the material being quoted and is being used in a different context, or recontextualized (Buttny, 1997; Sternberg, 1982; Shuman, 1983). Even so, they continue to hold the term 'reported speech' for its popularity. My analysis demonstrates that talk show participants' use of speech reporting practices

are more accurately described as ‘constructed dialogue’ or ‘represented speech/dialogue’ (Kuo, 2001; Myers, 1999) and I will also use the more commonly acknowledged term “reported speech” to refer to direct reported speech/thought and hypothetical reported speech/thought.

1.4.3. Performance of reported speech

Early linguistic studies have primarily been concerned with structural questions drawing on a collection of decontextualized and often hypothetically constructed instances of reported speech. A recent move away from textual materials towards natural language data as well as a growing interest in and awareness of speech reporting have generated a number of empirical studies focusing on the functional aspects of reported speech. A collection of studies in Güldemann and Roncador (2002), for example, investigated the grammatical, semantic and pragmatic problems associated with the functional properties of reported speech in a range of different languages other than English (e.g., Bantu, Egyptian, South Caucasian, German, Cerma, Tamil, Japanese, Bengali, Dogon, etc.).

Also, researchers have been interested in storytellers’ use of narrative reported speech embedded in a story framework or narrative context. Particularly, many studies have focused on the dramaturgical or theatrical quality of direct reported speech (Labov, 1972; Li, 1986; Lowe and Hurlimann, 2002; Mayes, 1990; Tannen, 1989; Wierzbicka, 1974). The use of direct reported speech provides a “vivid” (Labov, ibid.) atmosphere to the narrated story event. Moreover, direct reported speech prompts a feeling of immediateness between the storyteller and the recipient’s work of “sense-making” (Tannen, 1989).

More recent work on direct reported speech (including variant forms of reported speech) and associated lexico-syntactic, paralinguistic devices within the conversation analytic framework aim to examine the functions of reported speech on an *interactional* rather than *textual* level. Examinations of the switch from non-reported to reported speech within various kinds of framing environments and contexts have revealed a number of social actions that are performed by participants. For example, studies have shown that when speakers switch between non-reported to reported speech, speakers strengthen their claim more firmly (Wooffitt, 1992); recipients are given access to speakers’ reported utterances and recipients are

provided with evidence (Holt,1996); speakers pre-empt resistance from coparticipants (Simmons and LeCouteur, 2011); speakers heighten their evidentiality (Couper-Kuhlen, 2007); speakers evaluate the narrated event (Haakana, 2007); and speakers give a detailed context for the information provided in the previous utterance (Galatolo, 2007), etc.

Moreover, Golato's (2000) lexico-syntactic analysis on the German quotatives *Und ich so/und er so* 'and I'm like/and he's like', showed that the quotatives turn a mere telling into a performance of the narrated story. Such performance is achieved by introducing emotion and gestures, and by conveying the story punch line or corresponding noteworthy elements of the story. Prosodic changes in reported speech also play a crucial role. The speakers' concurrent use of prosodic devices and shifts in voice quality can contextualize the speaker's point of view (Günthner, 1999), convey the speakers' evaluative stances (Holt, 2000) and even criticize others (Buttny, 1997).

1.5. Theoretical Background

As this dissertation focuses on the host's verbal – specifically through speech reporting forms – and non-verbal coparticipation with guest speakers in a talk show setting, I will discuss the key theoretical background and contributions of *conversation analysis and institutional talk* (Section 1.4.1) and *embodiment* (Section 1.4.2) as related to this study. This broad theoretical sketch will help the reader understand how the interdisciplinary characteristics of the present study come together in the discussion of narrative as a jointly constructed performance and the coparticipant's verbal and non-verbal practices in Korean broadcast talk settings.

1.5.1. Conversation analysis and institutional talk

Drawing on Erving Goffman's work on human interaction (Goffman, 1963, 1964, 1967, 1981) and Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (Heritage, 1984), conversation analysis (CA) was initially developed by Harvey Sacks and his two colleagues, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. Goffman's work contributed to CA by positing that face-to-face interaction, as a social institution, is worthy of analysis in its own right and has an underlying structural organization and social order. CA was also influenced by Garfinkel's argument that the nature, production and recognition of

social actions are possible because of the methods of reasoning and the commonsense knowledge that 'members of society' use as the medium for 'sense-making' activities.

Based on the most fundamental assumption that "social action and interaction can be found to exhibit organized patterns of stable, recurrent structural features" (Heritage, 1984, p.241), CA seeks to "aims to see how finely the details of actual, naturally occurring conversation can be subjected to analysis that will yield the technology of conversation" (Sacks, 1984b, p.413). Additionally, as Hutchby and Wooffitt describe, CA looks at conversation as an examinable product of interaction (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). CA can be characterized by three fundamental assumptions (Heritage, 1984; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008): (1) social actions and interactions are structurally organized with stable and recurrent structural features; (2) contributions to interaction are contextually oriented –that is, talk is *context-shaped* (i.e., understanding the current action is achieved with the reference to the context) and *context-renewing* (i.e., current action will form the immediate context for the next action); and (3) talk is a product of *mutual understanding* –that is, the production of a "next action" demonstrates how interactant(s) understood the "preceding action." Based on these three components, CA research is interested in analyzing the various interactional resources and structural organizations that constitute conversation.

With regards to the structure of talk-in-interaction, Drew (2005) articulates four basic CA concepts that provide the organizational foundation for talk-in-interaction: (1) conversations consist of *turns* that are built out of *turn construction units* (TCUs), which include words, clauses, phrases or sentences; (2) *turn design* is closely oriented to what action is being accomplished; (3) conversation is not merely a speech event but accomplishes particular *social actions*; and (4) the collection of 'systematically organized patterns of sequences of turns' (p.89) constitute *sequence organization*. One basic example of sequence organization is the *adjacency pair* (e.g., greeting-greeting, assessment-agreement, offer/invitation-acceptance/rejection). That is, after having said the first pair part (FPP), the speaker expects the recipient to respond with the relevant second pair part (SPP).

On a methodological level, the most basic assumptions behind the CA approach are "unmotivated looking" (Sacks, 1984b) and the 'use of naturally occurring conversation', as opposed to experimentally designed or pre-arranged

settings (e.g., experiments in laboratories). As Sacks (1984) points out, hypothetically invented or recollected instances are not appropriate for CA research:

> I want to argue that, however rich our imaginations are, if we use hypothetical or hypothetical-typical versions of the world we are constrained by reference to what an audience, an audience of professionals, can accept as reasonable. That might not appear to be a terrible constraint until we come to look at the kinds of things that actually occur. Were I to say about many of the objects we work with "Let us suppose that this happened; now I am going to consider it," then an audience might feel hesitant about what I would make of it by reference to whether such things happen. That is to say, under such a constraint many things that actually occur are debarred from use as a basis for theorizing about conversation (p.25).

The general procedures for collecting 'naturally occurring interaction' include audio- or video-recording conversations in their natural contexts and, subsequently, transcribing the data using the CA transcription method developed by Jefferson (2004).

CA is interested in analyzing the pattern of linguistic practices in *ordinary* conversation with a special emphasis on the *naturalness* of data. Early CA studies did not pay much attention to the *institutional character* of talk but rather attempted to discover the *orderly nature* of talk.[13] Ironically, however, the first CA study, as conducted by Sacks, examined conversations that took place within an institutional setting: telephone calls to a suicide prevention center. Studies on 'institutional talk', which aim to investigate "the connection between talk and its social context" (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008, p.138), flourished in the late 1970s. The types of institutional talk include courtroom discourse, news interviews, radio phone-ins and therapeutic discourse (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Heritage, 2005).

As a methodological framework, the scope of CA research can be defined by the form of CA being applied. Heritage (2005) distinguished two forms of CA: 'basic' or 'pure' (ten Have, 1999) CA and 'institutional' or 'applied' (ten Have, 1999) CA. Whereas basic CA studies conversation itself as an institution, institutional CA uses

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[13] Extensive studies were done on the organization of talk in 'ordinary conversation' (e.g., telephone or face-to-face conversation between family members or friends), which is defined as "forms of interaction that are not confined to specialized settings or to the execution of particular tasks" (Heritage, 2005, p.104).

basic CA as a resource to examine the operation of conversation in social institutions, such as in law enforcement (Schegloff, 1991), the law (Atkinson and Drew, 1979), medicine (West, 1984), education, and mass media. Institutional CA also dominantly focuses on sequences, turn-allocations, turn-types, activity types, discourse roles, interactional organizations, etc. (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006).

Broadcast talk has become a routine source of data within the CA tradition (Montgomery, 2001). CA research on broadcast talk has examined news interviews, talk radios, TV discussions, political interviews and celebrity talk shows (or tabloid talk shows) (Clayman, 1988; Eriksson, 2010; Georgakopoulou and Patrona, 2000; Greatbatch, 1988; Greogori-Signes, 2000; Haddington, 2004; Heritage, 1985; Hutchby, 1996; Lauerbach, 2006; Martínez, 2003; Tanaka, 2006; Thornborrow, 2001b, 2007; Weizman, 2006). These studies examine the institutional features of broadcast talk, such as turn-taking systems, question-answer sequences, turn-designs, the construction of identities, the production of narratives within interview talks, displays of interviewer's stance, and audience participation, to name a few. The various studies broadcast talk has led to the accumulation of numerous media discourse data that includes American, British, Israeli, Japanese, and Greek broadcast talks.

In the next section, I will consider the functions of interactants' physical embodiment, including torso, head and gaze movement; hand gestures; facial expressions, and the findings that are relevant to the present study.

1.5.2. Embodiment

There has been relatively little research on physical embodiment within a CA framework. This is because many CA practitioners are exclusively concerned with *talk* in interaction, but not *action* in interaction (Streek, 2009). Kendon (1990) notes that such emphasis on talk may have emerged for practical reasons:

> Conversation analysis originated in sociology, not linguistics, and talk was seized upon for study mainly because it was an aspect of human social action that could readily be recorded (p.46).

Despite CA researchers' predominant interest in talk, there are some conversation analysts, particularly Charles and Majorie Goodwin, who have recognized the

significance of nonverbal practices situated within a local context as a form of social organization. Goodwin and Goodwin note that:

> …by investigating gestures within particular events, it is possible to begin to study in some detail not only how participants find it to be meaningful, but also how they use that meaningfulness as a constitutive feature of the social organization of the activities they are engaged in (C. Goodwin and M. Goodwin, 1986, p.51).

In face-to-face conversation, participants consistently and continuously provide a great deal of non-vocal information (e.g., breathing, relieving itches, ingesting food, drinking, smoking, etc.) that fall outside of the scope of the talk-in-progress (C. Goodwin, 1986). Among them, talk-relevant body behaviors function as sources of information about the talk in progress and provide speakers with a resource for the display of meaning.

Much of the early research on gestural work focused on gestures as symbolic signs (for example, Morris *et al*., 1979). However, gestures should be examined with "their occurrences at specific moments in time and at particular points in space" (C. Goodwin, 1986, p.47). Previous research on embodied work shows that bodily conduct, particularly hand gestures and gaze, perform multiple functions. For example, Heath maintained that gestures should be seen as resources to solicit coparticipants' attention and to increase recipiency in medical consultations (Heath, 1984) and Mondana found that gestures achieve a specific form of participation through embodied turn-taking practices in multi-party political meetings (Mondana, 2013). Thus, conversation analytical research on embodied work shows that speakers coordinate their speech with various types of multi-modal resources such as hand gestures, finger pointing, facial expressions, bodily orientations, gaze redirections and postural shifts.

As this dissertation examines the story recipient's use of speech reporting forms in conjunction with multi-modal resources, I need to mention some CA studies that are concerned with speakers' concurrent use of speech reporting forms and bodily conduct (Goodwin, 2007; Park, 2009; Sidnell, 2006). Sidnell (2006), for instance, observed that in reenactments, context mutual orientation is achieved through not just speech but also associated gestures and talk-relevant actions (e.g., honking a car horn).

Coparticipants' reproduction of another's gestures and actions, or "dialogic embodied action," as labeled by Arnold (2012, p.270), organized intersubjective engagement, facilitates coparticipants' aligning participant roles and structures sequential organization through visibly constituted actions (ibid.). Also, Niemelä (2010), drawing on the notion of *reporting space* or "a frame for potential active multimodal involvement in the stance-taking activity" (p.3258), revealed the importance of embodied aspects of communication in speech reporting activities. Her study showed that recipients make use of the reporting space provided by the teller for subsequent enactments and displays of stance.

There are only a few studies that examine Korean speakers' use of reported speech in conjunction with bodily actions within the CA tradition. Park's (2009) study on the interaction between grammar and multimodal resources in multiparty face-to-face ordinary conversation is most noteworthy. Park examined the asymmetrical display between grammatical markers and multimodal resources by analyzing three types of reported speech (i.e., self-quotation, co-party quotation, third-party quotation). She suggested that "the minimal employment of grammar" is closely related to "the maximal use of resources available" (p.99). In other words, the speaker tends to employ more multimodal resources when grammatical resources are weakly realized and vise versa. Her study is notable in that it examines the situational context for the employment of multimodal resources in the speech reporting context. However, it is not easy to analyze the specific participant's bodily conducts because the teller and the recipient are not strictly distinguished in ordinary conversation.

A hearer's coparticipation, including the deployment of nonverbal practices, is particularly emphasized by Goodwin (2007). Goodwin criticized Goffman's approach to participation frameworks, which categorized speakers into author, animator, or principal,[14] for neglecting the actions of hearers. Goodwin's

[14] Goffman articulated three meanings for the term "speaker" (1981):

> One meaning, perhaps the dominant, is that of *animator*, that is, the sounding box from which utterances come. A second is *author*, the agent who puts together, composes, or scripts the lines that are uttered. A third is that of *principal*, the party to whose position, stand, and belief the words attest (p. 226, emphasis in original).

participation framework encompasses the embodied actions of "silent (though consequential) participants" (p. 17), and he notes that:

> …hearers are: first, visibly co-participating in the organization of the talk in progress; second, engaged in detailed analysis of the unfolding structure of that talk; and third, using that analysis to make projections relevant to their own participation in it (p.24).

1.6. Data and Method

The TV variety /talk shows on Korean TV are quite different from that of American shows.[15] In this section, I will first briefly compare Korean variety shows with American TV shows. Next, I will introduce the primary data source for this study: a semi-structured, video-recording of Korean TV talk show *Muluphphak Tosa*, or 'Knee-drop Guru'. Lastly, I will introduce the transcription convention and the organization of the three-line transcript used in this study.

1.6.1. Korean TV variety shows with the aspects of talk shows

Korean talk shows can be divided into two subcategories: morning-time and nighttime talk shows. Morning-time talk shows generally target housewives and often focus on information-giving rather than entertainment. They provide useful lifestyle tips (e.g., cooking, housework, child care, healthy life, etc.) and share family-oriented narratives (e.g., an adoptee or an orphaned person desperately finding his/her birth parents, a multicultural family, a family with triplets or even quadruplets, etc.). These programs are better categorized as humanistic entertainment rather than light entertainment, which is usually aired during nighttime programs.

What I am primarily concerned with in this study is nighttime TV talk shows that provide both information and entertainment, or what is otherwise known as

[15] The talk show is generally viewed as a subcategory of the variety show. I include variety shows with strong talk shows characteristics in this study because there are relatively few one-to-one Korean talk shows.

"infotainment" (Ilie, 2001). Eight types of well-known talk shows from the three largest national television networks (SBS, KBS, MBC)[16] are listed below.[17]

Table 1.2 Korean Night Time Talk Shows

Talk show*	Number of hosts	Number of guests	Guest type	Studio audience
A	4 +**	Multi	Celebrity	Absent
B	3	Single	Celebrity	Absent
C	4+**	Multi	Non-celebrity	Present
D	4	Multi	Celebrity	Absent
E	4	Multi	Celebrity	Absent
F	2	Multi	Both	Absent
G	2	Multi	Both	Absent
H	2	Multi	Celebrity	Absent

* : The mentioned talk shows are all currently broadcasted (as of September, 2013) and each program is identified with its full name below: A: *Happy together*, B: *Healing Camp, aren't you happy*, C: *Hello Counselor*, D: *Hwasin- Controller of the Heart*, E: *Golden Fishery - Radio star*, F: *Honey*, G: *Star Junior Show*, H: *Three Wheels*
** : In addition to the fixed main host(s), there are peripheral panel(s).

First, it is extremely rare to find a Korean single-host talk show. This is a remarkable difference when compared to American TV talk shows, which are often comprised of a single host whose name is also the title of the show (e.g., *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*, *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, *Jerry Springer*, *Larry King Live*, *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, *The Jenny Jones Show*, among others). Korean talk shows, on the other hand, often have at least two hosts.[18] Additionally, an advisory

[16] SBS refers to Seoul Broadcasting System, KBS refers to Korea Broadcasting System and MBC refers to *Munhwa* Broadcasting Corporation (Cultural Broadcasting Corporation when translated).

[17] Thus, TV talk shows operated by cable operators are all excluded.

[18] In the 1990s, a celebrity hosting his/her own talk show was very trendy and popular: '*Joo Byung Jin's Show*' (1993), '*Lee Hong Ryul's Show*' (1995), '*Lee Seung Yeon's Say Say Say*' (1998), '*Kim Hye Soo's Plus You*' (1998-2000), '*Suh Sewon's Show*' (1998-2002). Recently, however, Korean single-host talk shows have generally experienced notorious doldrums. For example, '*Park Joon Hoon's Show*' (2008-2009) lasted only four months and '*Joo Byung Jin's Talk Concert*' (2011-2012) lasted about six months. One exceptional case is '*Paik Ji*

panel, often consisting of celebrities, may participate in hosting the show. Table 1.3, depicting talk shows A and C, presents the usual host make-up of Korean talk shows. In talk show A, there are a total of four hosts and three panelists but only three guests.

Table 1.3 Multi-hosts and Multi-panels*

A	
C	

* : G refers ‘Guest’, H refers ‘Host’ and P refers ‘Panel’.

Notably, in Korean talk shows, the number of hosts and panelist often out-number the guest(s), which is very unlikely to occur in American TV talk shows. When a talk show has multiparty hosts, an asymmetrical distribution of power can be observed. In talk show A, for instance, H1 is the one who opens and closes the talk show and most frequently asks the guests questions. The program is distinctively led by H1, who has more control over the flow of talk than the other hosts. It is H1 who always initiates the topic, does the questioning, and summarizes the talk-in-progress.

Second, the appearance of a single guest is comparatively rare on Korean talk shows. Among the enlisted talk shows, for example, only talk show B will host a single guest speaker. The remaining shows host multi-party guests, ranging from three to more than ten guests (See Table 1.2 and 1.4).

Table 1.4 The Number of Guest Speakers*

B	

Yeon’s People Inside’, although it is not mentioned above since it is run by a cable operator. This show has been broadcasted since May 2009 (as of present).

H	

* H refers ‘Host’ and G refers ‘Guest’.

This may be because that many celebrities appear on Korean TV talks shows for promotional purposes (e.g., singers promoting their music albums, actors and actresses promoting their prospective film). Also, hosting multiple guests can lead to a higher viewing rate. In talk show B, the hosts raise questions about the guest’s personal stories (e.g., how he/she was raised, what is his/her success story, etc.), whereas in talk show H, the hosts provide a particular topic and seek the guests’ personal opinion and/or experience with regard to the presented issue.

Third, like the hosting of a single guest, the appearance of a non-celebrity guest speaker on Korean talk shows is also uncommon. Only talk show (C) hosts ordinary people and shares their personal concerns (refer to the second row in Table 1.2). While talk shows F and G host both celebrity and non-celebrity guest speakers, such non-celebrity guests are usually the family of the celebrity guests. This may also be associated with the shows’ viewing rating, which is considered a primary concern in the Korean TV industry.

Table 1.5 The Type of Guest Speaker

F	
G	

Although non-celebrity guest speakers participate in shows F and G, the topical issues are primarily about the celebrity guest speakers. For example, in talk shows that invite

both celebrities and their family members, such family members (husband and wife in talk show (F) and children in talk show (G)) often expose hidden details about their celebrity family member, or information on the "behind-the-scenes life" (e.g., 'what my actress mother *actually* wears at home' or 'how I met my actor husband') of the celebrity.

Lastly, it should be noted that having the presence of a studio audience is very rare for Korean talk shows. The presence of a studio audience is almost unnecessary because interactions between talk show participants and the studio audience are uncommon in Korea. When necessary, laughing sounds or applause are artificially inserted. In the case of political or presidential debates, however, the studio audience often asks questions on behalf of the public.

1.6.2. Data source: *Mwuluphphak tosa*

This study's data consists of a semi-structured, video-recording of television talk show *Muluphphak Tosa*, or 'Knee-drop Guru', which aired on MBC (*Munhwa* Broadcasting Corporation) from 2007 to 2011 and 2012 to 2013. *Muluphphak Tosa* was hosted by 'Kang, Hotong' (indicated in the excerpts as Kang), a former traditional Korean wrestling champion. Every week, one (or sometimes a couple) prominent public figures – usually celebrities, athletes, Olympic medalists, authors, etc. – were interviewed. Although the original recording was approximately five to six hours, the actual broadcast was approximately 40 to 80 minutes depending on each guest. *Muluphphak Tosa* was the first talk show in Korea to discuss its guest speakers' private lives, dealing with issues like rumors, scandals, and life stories that had not yet been exposed to the public. When Kang brought up "tough" topics, he often took a "soft" attitude, asking easy and open-ended questions that allowed him to build a close rapport with his guests. The show can be compared to American TV talk shows such as *Larry King*, *Oprah Winfrey* or *The Ellen DeGeneres Show* as Kang appeared to be a compassionate, sympathetic, and sensitive interviewer.

Within the institutional setting of *Muluphpak Tosa*, Kang and his guests would enter into a hypothetical role-play relationship. As the show's name indicates and as communicated through his dress, Kang's role was to act as a *tosa*, 'spiritual guide, guru.' The guest speakers, in keeping with the *tosa* theme, were

positioned as patrons seeking Kang's help to resolve an issue. This unique hypothetical *tosa* - guest relationship influenced the organization of the show's progression: first, the guest enters the studio setting, (2) Kang asks, 'What is your anxiety?', (3) the guest's responds, (4) Kang thoroughly questions the guest that the guest responds to, and (5) Kang provides a solution. Most often, the fourth sequence takes up the majority of the talk show. A total of four participants are involved: Kang, the host and the one who primarily questions the guest; a guest speaker; and two peripheral participants who mostly provide active backchannels, brief assessments, and laugh tokens. Unlike typical American talk shows, an on-site studio audience is absent.

The illustrations below depict the organization of the *Muluphphak Tosa*:

Figure 1.1. Guest's visit to the studio
Figure 1.2. Seating arrangement during the talk show-in-progress
Figure 1.3. Ending sequence

During the show all participants are seated around a table with IR on the left, IE on the right, and the peripheral characters seated on the side. Rather than having the participants look into the camera, the talk show proceeds with each participant facing each other. The only time that the participants become aware of the presence of the camera is during the ending sequence, when all participants face the camera and pose for 'Good Bye'. Additionally, the ending sequence indicates that the hypothetical role-play that the participants were involved in has come to an end.

This study's data consists of 1,045 minutes (approximately 17 hours 25 minutes) of recorded data. The selected guest speakers (Total: 15 males, 5 females) are prominent individuals from varying fields.

Table 1.6 Focal Guest Speakers

No.	Guest	Sex	Age	Occupation	Duration
1	JY	F	Early 20s	Golfer	36 min
2	Ran	F	Early 30s	Weightlifter	46 min
3	Hana	F	Early 30s	Cellist	45 min
4	Sue	F	Mid 40s	Ballerina	73 min
5	Han	F	Mid 50s	Relief worker	70 min
6	Park	M	Mid 20s	Swimmer	50 min
7	Hoon	M	Mid 20s	Speed skater	42 min
8	Minho (Min)	M	Mid 30s	Judoist	40 min
9	DH (Daeho)	M	Mid 30s	Baseball player	80 min
10	Choo	M	Mid 30s	Baseball player	87 min
11	Sam	M	Mid 30s	(Australian)	70 min
12	Jin & Hyun & Song	M	Early 40s	Producers	80 min
13	Wong	M	Early 40s	Actor	67 min
14	Jong	M	Mid 40s	Baseball player	74 min
15	Kwak	M	Mid 40s	Film Producer	33 min
16	Hong	M	Late 40s	Mountain climber	35 min
17	Man	M	Mid 50s	Baseball coach	85 min
18	Heo	M	Mid 60s	Writer	32 min

1.6.3. Transcription

The recorded talk show interviews were transcribed following the Jefferson transcription method (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Jefferson, 2004). For each extract, I provide two sets of scripts: a Korean script and a translated three-line transcription script. The three-line transcription script is structured as follows: (1) in the first line, Korean words are romanized according to Yale Romanization, (2) the second line is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and (3) the third line is an English translation. Certain loanwords or English words are purposefully kept unromanized for easier recognition, but are italicized. In the example shown below, the English word ‘touchpad’ is left unromanized but italicized in the Korean Romanization transcription for easier recognition:

```
121 Kang:     kuleko swunkan touchpad ttak ccik-ko
              And    momentarily touchpad just touch-and
              And then {you} immediately touched the touchpad and
```

Also, contextually or situationally understood grammatical items (e.g., subject or object of a sentence) can be frequently omitted in spoken discourse (Sohn, 1999), and so were omitted in the three-line transcript. Such unexpressed elements are indicated in brackets { } in the English translation.

1.7. Research Questions

Based on the discussion of television talk shows, reported speech, and CA developed in this chapter, the following research questions guide this study and its examination of the *Muluphphak Tosa*'s host: (1) How does the talk show host activate his institutional role as a *story elicitor*, *primary recipient* and *dramatizer*? (2) How does the talk show host successfully employ the questioning practices in conjunction with reported speech? (3) How does the talk show host accomplish the work of active participation and mutual affiliation through repetition, paraphrase and collaborative storytelling? (4) How do participants coordinate reported speech and multimodal resources such as gaze, gesture, facial expression, and body orientation in talk-in-interaction? 5) What are the interactional and social actions of non-narrative Korean reported speech used by story recipients situated within a storytelling activity in a broadcast talk setting?

1.8. Overview of the Disseration

To answer the above questions, this dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2 examines the talk show host's questioning practices through an employment of speech reporting forms. First, the chapter describes the occurrences of reported speech/thought situated within questioning sequences and presents some Korean examples from this study's data collection. Second, I will demonstrate four ways of eliciting stories through the coordination of quoted speech and multimodal resources in questioning sequences. Specifically, I will show how the host (1) draws upon the possible inquiries that the non-present TV audience may have for the guest speaker and hypothetically quotes the audience; (2) refers to rumors concerning the guest speaker and requests that the guest speaker respond to such rumors; (3) heightens the tellability of the current story event, and (4) provides his own personal

account, often embedded within instances of reported speech, and asks the guest speaker to share his/her similar story.

In Chapter 3, the host's first type of listening practice –formulating what the guest speaker just said – is examined. Specifically, this chapter is concerned with the formulation of utterances in reported speech and thought. I will discuss the ways the host (partially) repeats or paraphrases the guest speakers' previous statements, their various functions and sequential force, and the conversational and institutional consequences achieved through the employment of reported speech. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the host's formulating utterances can be functionally different depending on the sequential placement. Three types of formulating utterances will be examined: those following a question and a response, those produced in a storytelling context, and those uttered in a playful context.

Chapter 4 continues this study's examination of the talk show host's listening practices and investigates the host's second type of listening practice –affiliating with the guest speaker. I will show how the host, as an active coparticipant, engages in more involved forms of participation and displays a sense of closeness and mutual affiliation with the guest speaker. Additionally, this chapter presents three ways in which the host displays his affiliative attitude: through his verbal and nonverbal reenactment of the guest speaker's story's climax; through his collaborative (and sometimes creative) tellings as they are embedded within instances of reported speech; and through his analogizing of the guest's personal narrative by sharing a similar personal story.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I summarize what I have discussed so far and present the implications of this research on Korean reported speech and broadcast talks.

CHAPTER 2

QUESTIONING PRACTICES: SOLICITING STORIES

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I examine how the *Mwuluphphak tosa* host, Kang, interviews, or, more specifically, questions, his guests by employing either direct or hypothetical reported speech, which are incorporated into the questioning sequence in a variety of creative ways. Specifically, I examine four types of reported speech embedded within the questioning sequences found in my data and investigate the following: Who is being quoted? How does the interviewer freely shift between institutional and non-institutional roles? How is reported speech sequentially organized in the questioning sequence? What are the interactional consequences of the embedded reported speech in pursuing the action of questioning?

The four types of questioning sequence reported speech are discussed in Sections 2.3 through 2.6. In Section 2.3, I examine how the host quotes the non-present TV audience (i.e., invisible TV viewers) and questions the guest on behalf their behalf. In Section 2.4, I will demonstrate how the host quotes a third party to indicate his less knowledgeable (or [K-]) epistemic status, often marking his sentence with the sentence ender *–tela* to do so. I then show in Section 2.5 how the host uses generally accepted attitudes and opinions, often marked with the suffix *–ketun*, to indicate that a story is noticeable and tellable and then provides that story through the employment of reported speech. Lastly, in Section 2.6, I present how the multi-turns of reported speech are embedded in the host's personal story and prompt the guest's 'second story' (Sacks, 1992).

2.2. Questioning in Television Talk Shows

In the CA tradition, a question is viewed as the first pair part (FPP) of the adjacency pair produced by the current speaker. The FPP then occasions the next speaker to produce the second pair part (SPP) in the following turn (Schegloff, 2007). Although the communicative function of questioning seems to be grounded on the

basis of a particular syntactic form, namely, the interrogative sentence, as Freed and Ehrlich (2009) have pointed out, "no single linguistic factor determines whether a particular utterance is understood as 'doing questioning" and therefore "a definition of questions that includes both functional and sequential considerations" is required (p.6). Indeed, many researchers (e.g., Freed and Ehrlich, 2009; Heritage and Roth, 1995; Labov and Fanshel, 1977; Raymond, 2000; Sidnell, 2010; Stivers, 2010) have suggested that there are a number of ways to accomplish the act of questioning; it is not necessary to rely only on interrogative syntax.

The declarative question is one such questioning option. Declarative utterances often function as questions, accompanied with a tag question and/or a rising intonation (Labov and Fanshel, 1977; Raymond, 2000; Stivers, 2010; Yoon 2010). Stivers (2010) showed that the declarative form is the most commonly used question type based on a quantitative analysis of 350 questions in American spoken English. Yoon's (2010) analysis of Korean data reveals a similar result. She demonstrated that the number of question-functioning declarative sentence endings occurs more frequently than overt interrogative endings in Korean conversation.

Conversely, certain interrogative forms are understood as not 'doing questioning.' For example, in the context of news interviews, negative interrogative forms with interrogative frames such as 'Isn't it,' 'Don't you,' and 'Doesn't this' display the speaker's point of view and are often used to portray an assertive stance (Heritage, 2002, p.1428). The stance-taking function of negative interrogative forms is primarily attributable to their sequential position as a third-turn receipt rather than a first-turn utterance in a question-response adjacency pair

Freed and Ehrlich (2010) suggest that the term "question" be defined broadly, positing it as an utterance that, based on its functional and sequential dimensions, (1) solicits and/or is are treated by the recipient as soliciting information, confirmation, or action and (2) is delivered as a way to create a slot for the recipient to produce a responsive turn. In particular, questioning plays a significant role in media talk when eliciting narratives, requesting information, asking for opinions, and displaying a stance. As Heritage and Roth (1995) pointed out, the interview is "a question-driven form of interaction" (p. 2) that moves the interviewing sequence forward. Clayman (2010) argues that questions occurring in the context of news interviews include not

only interrogative forms and non-interrogative forms but also certain kinds of questioning forms such as B-event statements and rising intonation.

Because of their similarities, TV talk shows generally employ the same questioning forms as news interviews; however, because TV talk shows have both conversation and institutional features, they are able to utilize questioning forms that news interviews are not. As Ilie (2001) explains, talk show are an example of semi-institutional discourse, consisting of both conversational and institutional features. Talk shows' semi-institutional nature is due to their "public extension of the private sphere of casual conversation" (p. 215). Unlike news interviews, in which interviewers are expected to almost exclusively act within their institutional roles as professionals and remain neutral by withholding third-turn comments, TV talk show hosts are allowed to shift between institutional and non-institutional roles. As a result, such shifting allows talk show hosts to generate a number of different question forms, that is, from "conversationally framed questions" to "institutionally framed questions" (Ilie, 2001, p. 221).

2.2.1. Reported speech/thought situated in questioning sequences

Questions implement distinct social actions, such as requests for information, challenges, and complaints. As mentioned earlier, 'doing questioning' is not always nor primarily accomplished with interrogative forms. There are a number of ways to design questions, including, for example, incorporating syntactic (interrogative, declarative, negative, tag), intonational, and sequential features as well as contexts. Negative interrogatives, for instance, display a speaker's assertive stance and declarative questions with rising intonation often seek a recipient's confirmation. In my data, I note that the TV talk show host often quotes the voice of a co-present (i.e., guest) or non-present party in a questioning sequence, particularly when soliciting stories from guest speakers. The two following examples demonstrate the various ways hosts can questions guests. Extract 2.1 shows how the host of *The Jerry Springer Show* presents a series of interrogative questions without any subsequent third-turn. Contrastingly, Extract 2.2 depicts the host's use of an embedded wh-question within an elaborately designed questioning sequence (Extract 2.2).

Extract (2.1) Adapted from Myers (2001, p.177)

```
01 JS:        how old you're seventeen now
02 D :        uh huh
03 JS:        ok when did you start really dating him?
04 D :        July '96
05 JS:        and how old were you then?
06 D :        sixteen
07 JS:        is that a little. too young to be dating an adult?(3.0)
08 D :        .not in my opinion. my parents' opinion and my sister-in-law
09            obviously yeah but not in mine
```

In the first extract, JS, the host, asks D, the guest, four information-seeking questions (lines 1, 3, 5, and 7): three wh-questions and one type-conforming question. Each question straightforwardly prompts either a confirmation or a short answer. JS does not provide any D with an opportunity to provide a third-turn comment. Instead, he immediately proceeds with the next question. Compare this excerpt with Extract (2.2), which is taken from another American talk show, *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*. In this extract, the host, EL, constructs a pre-questioning sequence (lines 1 and 3) consisting of multi-unit turns and an instance of reported speech before finally producing her actual question in line 13,

Extract (2.2) The Ellen DeGeneres Show: "14 year-old girl who bought a house"

```
01 EL:        alright well your story is amazing [when I heard] this story
02 IE:                                           [thank you  ]
03 EL: →      I- I was like I have to meet this girl
04            it's just AMAzing what you did↑
05 IE:        [((about to say something))] [((nod))]
06 EL:        [ you know                 ]  [     mo]st people at your
              age
07            a-as soon as they have (.) ten dollars of spending
08            [it or hundred dollars]
09 IE:        [eh eh eh eh eh eh eh ]
10 EL:        of buying a phone: or something but you actually (.)uh: saved
11            money and- and uh- RE:ally interesting way right?
12 IE:        ((nodding)) yes
13 EL:        SO how did you- I- how did you do- do this?
```

In line 1, EL characterizes the guest's story as "amazing," and organizes it as one that is not only tellable but also hearable as indicated by EL's self-quoted reported thought, 'I have to meet this girl' (line 3). Here, EL, as the host, makes it explicit that the guest's story is sufficiently worthwhile to share with her overhearing and non-present audience. ELsubsequently displays her affirmative stance toward the guest and the story-to-be-reported with "It's just amazing what you did" in line 4. The

guest, at this point, is about to launch into her story about what she *amazingly did*, but withholds her turn when Ellen continues to hold the floor with "You know" (line 6) and then talks about her fourteen year old guest's monetary consumption pattern by comparing her with others her age (line 6). Throughout this pre-questioning sequence, the guest produces only minimal tokens (lines 2 and 12), laughter particles (line 9), non-verbal action (lines 5 and 12), and does not compete for the conversational floor. In line 13, Ellen finally provides the guest with a legitimate slot to fully respond with an explicit question, 'So how did you- I- how did you do- do this?'

In an interviewing context, interviewer-initiated questioning is common, especially when soliciting the interviewee's story. In interviewer-initiated questioning, the interviewer is likely to produce a story preface, matters of tellability, and a stance, and thus the story often consists of multiple turn construction units (TCUs). In this extract, ELelaborately builds the story-preface by characterizing her guest's story, matters of tellability, and her stance before soliciting her guest's story. In so doing, EL provides a legitimate ground for her guest to directly begin her storytelling.

2.2.2. Questioning and quoting in Korean

In this section, I will introduce a variety of lexico-grammatical options available for forming questions and quotations in the Korean language and examine how the quotative construction is actually incorporated into the questioning sequence in the interview context. Firstly, a sentence is understood as a question by adding an interrogative sentence ending. Such endings include the neutral-level ender *-(nu)nya*, the plain-level enders *-ni* and *-(nu)nya*, the familiar-level enders *-na* and *-(n)ka*, and the deferential-level ender *-kka* (Sohn, 1999). Declarative sentences with rising intonation can also be treated as questions. Direct quotative construction, which is similar to verbal complement construction, is structured as 'SUBJECT + REPORTED SPEECH + DIRECT QUOATIVE MARKER *-lako* or *-hako* + SPEECH VERB,' as seen in Extract (2.3).

Extract (2.3) Adapted from Sohn (1999, p.325)

```
Nami nun 'ca  -keyss-sup-ni-ta' la(ko) malhay-ess-ta.
Nami TC  sleep-will -AH -IN-DC   QT    say -PST-DC
Nami said, "I will go to sleep."
```

In colloquial spoken discourse, though, almost all the framing elements, including subject, quotative marker, and speech verb, can be omitted without creating confusion.

Questions are sometimes employed as a single TCU without a preliminary sequence. However, the questioning sequence is often much more elaborately built with extended turns, especially when soliciting the interviewee's story. I will present a collection of instances where reported speech/thought is situated prior to, embedded within, or appearing after the question in various sequential environments in the interview context.

Extract (2.4) (H: Host, G: Guest)

01 H:	Q_{pre} →	전학을 갔는데¿ 3 학년 때¿ 교실에 갔더니
02		웬 고등학생이 앉아있더라::
03	Q_{b1} →	그게 모든 이야기가 다 사실입니까?
04 G:		예 사실입니다. 신수가 딱 왔는데:-
05 H:	Q_{b2} →	당시 상황이 어떤 상황이었습니까¿

01 H:	Q_{pre} →	cenhak-ul kass-nuntey¿ sam haknyen ttay¿ kyosil-ey kass-te-ni School:transfer-AC go:PST-CIRCUM three grade when classroom-to go:PST-RT-DET **"When {I} was transferred schools in the 3rd grade,**
02		wueyn kotunghaksayng-i anc-a-iss-te-la:: What:on:earth high:school:student-NM sit-CONN-exist-RT-INTROS **{I} saw a high school kid sitting in the classroom"**
02	Q_{b1} →	kukey motun iyaki-ka ta sasil-ip-ni-kka? That all story-NM all truth-AH-IN-Q **Is that story all true?**
03 G:		yey sasil-ip-ni-ta. *Sinsoo*-ka ttak wass-nuntey:- Yes truth-AH-IN-DC. NAME-NM just come:PST-CIRCUM **Yes it's true. Sinsoo came in-**
04 H:	Q_{b2} →	tangsi sanghwang-i etten sanghwang-i-ess-sup-ni-kka¿ At:that:time situation-NM what:kind situation-COP-PST-AH-IN-Q **What kind of situation was it¿**

Here, the hearsay reported speech in lines 1-2 is used as a pre-questioning sequence that needs to be confirmed or agreed to prior to the base questions. Although the reported speech is produced without a quotative marker and speech verb, the guest properly understands the host's question. The hearsay reported speech quoted from a non-present third party is followed by a type-conforming question (i.e., yes/no

question) requesting confirmation (line 2). The anaphoric expression *kukey modun iyaki*, 'that story,' refers to the preceding reported speech. In line 4, the host subsequently provides a wh-question asking for further elaboration on the "situation at the time." Note that the reported speech serves as an integral part of questioning since the questions alone do not make sense without these preceding anaphoric references.

The following extract presents comparable features. Prior to the extract, the host had stated that becoming a female weightlifter must have been a difficult decision for the guest speaker. The extract begins with the host quoting a third party's, the guest's father, suggestion that the guest try weightlifting as a future career.

Extract (2.5)[19] (H: Host, G: Guest)

```
01 H:   Qpre →   ((low pitch))<[  미  란  ]아:(.)너 역도 해[봐                    ]>
02 G:                          [((smiling))]            [((escalated smiling))]he
03 H:   Qpre →   너 역(h)도(h) 선수(h) 해봐 >그 소리 들었을 때<
04               얼마나 충격을 받았을 것(h)이며(h)::[hehehe]
05 G:                                            [hhhhhh]
06 H:   Qb   →   그 시작이 너무 궁금하거든요¿

01 H:  Qpre → ((low pitch))<[  Milan  ]a:(.)ne yekto hay-
               [pwa              ]>
                             NAME-VOC you weightlifting do-try:INT
                             "Miran {why don't} you try weightlifting"

02 G:                        [((smile))]
               [((escalated smile))]he
                                  he

03 H:  Qpre →  ne yek(h)to(h) senswu(h)hay pwa >ku soli tul-ess-ul ttay<
               You weightlifting athlete do try:INT that sound hear-PST-
               ATTR when
               When {you} heard "Why don't you try weightlifting"

04             elmana chwungkyek-ul pat-ass-ul kes(h)i-mye
               (h)::[hehehe]
               How:much shock-AC receive-PST-ATTR thing-COP-and
               How shocked were {you} and

05 G:                [hhhhhh]
                      hhhhhh
```

[19] See Extract (2.18) for the full excerpt.

06 H: Q_b → ku sicak-i nemwu kwungkumha-ketun-yo¿
That start-NM too curious-CORREL-POL
{I am} really curious how you started¿

In the pre-questioning sequence, the host states what the guest's father may have said in the past (lines 1 and 3) and then asks the guest about her reaction to the hypothetical suggestion (the host assumes that the guest must have been 'shocked' (line 4)). As with Extract 2.4, the host's reported speech is produced in isolation without any framing quotative marker or speech verb. Although the question is formatted as a declarative sentence, the host marks it as question by using rising intonation. The anaphoric feature of the base question is marked by a deictic *ku sicak,* 'that start.' Therefore, the base question is fully comprehensible when it is parasitic to the preceding reported speech reference.

Extract 2.6 is similar to the previous two examples. The reported speech is situated as a pre-questioning sequence.

Extract (2.6) (H: Host)

01 H: 인터뷰를 보니까요
02 Q_{pre} → 음악이라는 것은 내 인생의 가장 중요한 부분이지만
03 Q_{pre} → 음악이 내 전부가 되는 것은 원치 않는다 라고 했습니다
04 Q_b → 어떤 메시지입니까?

01 H: *interview*-lul po-nikka-yo
Interview-AC see-when-POL
{I} saw {your} interviews

02 Q_{pre} → umak-i-lanun kes-un nay insayng-uy kacang cwungyoha-n pwupwun-i-ciman
music-NM-QT thing-TC my life-of most important-ATTR part-COP-but

03 Q_{pre} → umak-i nay cenpwu-ka toy-nun kes-un wen-chi anh-nun-ta lako hay-ss-supni-ta
music-NM my all-NM become-ATTR thing-TC want NOT-IN-DC QT

{You} said, "Music is the most important part of my life but I do not wish it to be my everything"

04 Q_b → etten *message*-ip-ni-kka?
What:kind message-COP-AH-IN-Q
What kind of message is that?

In this extract, the host brings the guest's past speech into the current reporting context. Recall that in Extract 2.4 the host said *etten sanghwang,* 'situation at that time,' and, in Extract 2.5, said *ku sicak,* 'that start,' to refer to an earlier context. Again, in this extract, Kang provides a simple wh-question marked with an *etten message*, 'what kind of message,' to refer to the preceding talk. Unlike the previous two instances of reported speech, this instance is framed with a direct quotative marker, '*-lako,*' and a speech verb, '*-hata*' (line 3).

As Extracts 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6 demonstrate, the 'reported speech/thought + question' is a common type of question design in which the host quotes a co-present or a non-co-present party in a questioning sequence. Without the preceding talk (i.e., reported speech/thought), the question is not fully comprehensible. If I take the questions – 'What kind of situation was it?' Extract 2.4, 'I am really curious how you started' Extract 2.5, and 'What kind of message is that?' Extract 2.6 – out of the questioning sequences, they are semantically incomplete and thus difficult to understand what the host is asking without referring back to the previous anaphoric references.

There are cases, though not as frequent as the previous examples, in which the reported speech/thought is embedded within (Extract 2.7) or is produced after (Extract 2.8) the questioning sequence. Consider the following example in which the host embeds a simple instance of reported speech within a question, thus fragmenting the question into two parts. Prior to the extract, the host claimed that catcher is not a highly preferred position for professional baseball players compared to other attention-drawing positions.

Extract (2.7) (H: Host)

```
01 H:   Qb  →   그 많은 화려한 포지션을 두고  왜
02      Qins →  나는 포수를 해야겠다!
03      Qb  →   결정을 하셨을까요?

01 H:  Qb  →   ku manh-un hwalyeha-n position-ul twu-ko way
               That many-ATTR fancy-ATTR position-AC put:aside-and why

02     Qins →  na-nun phoswu-lul hay-ya-keyss-ta!
               I-TC catcher-AC do-must-will-DC
```

03 Q_b → kyelceng-ul ha-sy-ess-ul-kka-yo?
Decision-AC do-SH-PST-ACC-Q-POL

Leaving all those fancy positions behind, why did {you} make up your mind and decide 'I will be a catcher!'?

Whether the host's utterance is a single sentence or two sentences is not clear. The utterance seems to consist of two separate TCUs as displayed by a plain speech level ending *-ta* in line 2 and a polite speech level ending '*-yo*' in line 3. However, the directly quoted reported thought, 'I will play a catcher,' is inserted in the middle of the *way* 'why'-prefaced question, 'why did you decide ~?

In Extract (2.8), a hypothetically quoted reported thought, 'Will I win the medal?' is produced immediately after the question, 'Do you remember what you were thinking when making a final turn at 350 meters?' Prior to Extract (2.8), the guest was recounting the moment he dramatically won a gold medal in the 400m men's swimming competition at the World Championship.

Extract (2.8) (H: Host, G: Guest)

01 H: Q_b → 기억이 납니까= >350 미터에서 턴 하면서<
02 Q_{post} → 내가 오 육 윈데:: .hh 메달권에 들어 갈 수 있을까?
03 G: 그니까 제가 희한하게도 그 때 50 미터 올 때 (.) 그 데이터 없어요

01 H: Q_b → kiek-i na-p-ni-kka= >350 *meter*-eyse *turn* ha-myense<
Memory-NM remember-AH-IN-Q 350 meter-at turn do-while
Do {you} remember when {you} were making the turn at 350 meters

02 Q_{post} → nay-ka o yuk wi-ntey:: .hh *medal*-kwen-ey tul-e ka-l swu iss-ul-kka?
I- NM five six rank-CIRCUM medal-range-in enter-CONN go-ATTR can exist-ATTR-Q

'I'm currently 5th-6th place. Will I be able to win the medal?'

03 G: kunikka cey-ka huyhanhakey-to ku ttay 50 *meter* o-l ttay (.) ku *data* eps-eyo
so I-NM weirdly-also that time NUMBER meter come-ATTR when that data not:exist-POL
I mean, what is so strange is that I cannot remember anything in that last 50 meters

In line 1, the host produces a simple question, ‘Do you remember?’ Although this short sentence takes an interrogative format, it does not fully function as a question, as it does not give much background information. Moreover, the subsequent clause, ‘when you were making the turn at 350 meters,’ is immediately latched on to the previous utterance so there is no interactional space for the guest to respond. The clause, ‘when you were making the turn at 350 meters,’ indicates the specific moment to be recounted. In line 2, the host articulates the guest’s possible *kiek,* ‘memory,’ in a hypothetically quoted reported thought, ‘Will I be able to win the medal?’ Again, the host does not provide a framing verbum dicendi, such as, ‘Were you thinking that-.’ By using hypothetically quoted reported thought, the host states what the guest might have thought at the time of the described incident and leads the guest to orient to that specific situation. Consequently, the guest orients to the moment of ‘making a turn at 350 meters’ and responds in line 3 that he cannot recall the last 50 meters of the race.

I have thus far shown (1) the design of Korean quotative construction, (2) the sequential organization of the (pre-)questioning sequence, and (3) the interactional characters in the (pre-)questioning sequence. I have also considered cases of ‘reported speech/thought + question’ type where the yes/no or wh-questions are not fully comprehensible without taking the pre-questioning sequence into account. Because the pre-questioning sequence is compositionally integral to the question and the question often displays anaphoric features that refer to the preceding component, looked at broadly, the questioning sequence should embed both the interrogative sentence and the relevant pre-questioning sequence.

2.3. Questioning on Behalf of a Non-present TV Audience

In this section, I examine a collection of instances in which the host quotes the non-present TV talk show audience during the pre-questioning sequence. There are a number of institutional discourses (e.g., counselor-counselee, teacher-student, doctor-patient) in which two conversation participants are typically involved, but in television talk show discourse the host is aware that the conversation he is having with his guest is being recorded and will be later broadcasted to the public. As a result, the TV hosts normally crafts the question in a way that the studio audience and

overhearing audience is the primary address of the guests' responses (Heritage, 1985; Iile, 2001). However, unlike typical American talk shows, many Korean TV celebrity talk shows do not have an overhearing audience in a studio setting, so an immediate reaction (e.g., sympathetic applause, laughter, hooting, booing) from the studio audience is rarely observed. Despite the absence of a physical audience, a Korean talk show host will consistently activate his institutional role as the host and mention the invisible and prospective *sichengcatul,* 'television audience,' who will watch the show at a later time. The following example is a case in point.

Extract (2.9) (Host: Kang)

```
01 Kang:        시청자 분들에게 이제 최종 꿈을
02              말씀 해 주시기 바랍니다=
03              =먼저 >이원희 선수에게 기회를 드리겠습니다↑<

01 Kang:        sichengca pwun-tul-eykey icey choycong kkwum-ul
                Television:adience person:HON-PL-to now final dream-AC

02              malssum hay cwu-si-ki pala-p-ni-ta=
                speech:HON say-HON-NOM wish-AH-IN-DC

                Please tell the TV audience your dream

03              =mence >'Lee Wonhee' senswu-eykey kihoy-lul tuli-
                keyss-sup-ni-ta↑<
                First:of:all NAME athlete-to chance-AC give:HON-will-
                AH-IN-DC
                {I} will first start with Mr.Lee
```

In line 2, the host explicitly mentions the talk show audience *out there* and brings up questions derived from public, rather than his own curiosity, by treating the (overhearing or non-present) audience as the primary addressee of the guest's response (Heritage, 1985; Schegloff, 1992). Such institutionally constructed questions are powerful in soliciting responses. Extract (2.10) depicts Kang, the host, raising questions on behalf of the TV audience.

Extract (2.10) (Host: Kang)

```
01 Kang:        >근데 이제< ((lip smacking)) 제일 궁금한 건
02              아마 시청자분들도 (.) 뭐 그런 생각이 들지 모르겠지만↑
03              우리랑 다르다는 게 제일 신기한 거 잖아요,
                (3 irrelevant lines deleted)
```

08 느꼈을 때 얼마나 충격적이었을까요?

01 Kang: >kuntey icey< ((lip smacking)) ceyil kwungkumha-n ke-n
But now most curious-ATTR thing-ATTR
But the most curious thing is that

02 ama sichengca-pwun-tul-to (.) mwe kulen sayngkak-i tul-ci molu-keyss-ciman↑
maybe audience-person:HON-PL-too DM such thought-NM come:across-CONN not:know-will-but
maybe the tv audience might think the same

03 wuli-lang talu-ta-nun key ceyil sinkiha-n ke canh-ayo,
We with different-DC-ATTR thing most interesting-ATTR thing COMM-POL
{They (people in Amazon)} are different from in many ways, which is amazing

((3 irrelevant lines in which Kang mentions polygamy as an example))

08 nukky-ess-ul ttay elmana chwungkyekcek-i-ess-ul-kka-yo?
Feel-PST-ATTR when how:much shocking-COP-PST-ATTR-Q-POL
How shocked were {you} when you saw {that difference}?

In line 1, Kang brings up 'the most curious thing'. He then inserts 'maybe the tv audience might think the same' within the questioning sequence (line 2), although the question still makes sense if the inserted clause is omitted. Kang bring up the 'most curious thing' on the grounds that the TV audience may feel the same way about the matter at hand. Accordingly, Kang, as a representative of the public, aligns himself with the TV audience and suggests that the subsequent question in line 8, 'How shocked were you when you saw the difference?,' is worth asking because many people are curious about the difference between 'us' and 'the people in Amazon.'

Not only, though, does the TV talk show host become a "spokesperson" for the TV audience, but the host also acts as a "delivery man" who conveys what the TV audience *might* think or say about the current topic. In such cases, the interviewer quotes the TV audience's speech, which is likely to be hypothetical, by employing reported speech. Extracts (2.11) and (2.12) demonstrate how the host questions on behalf of TV audience.

Extract (2.11) is taken from Kang's interview with Hana, a renowned female cellist. The excerpt is from the beginning of the interview. As an initiating remark,

Kang quotes what *manhun sichengcapwuntul*, 'a large group of the TV audience' (line 1), expects to learn about Hana.

Extract (2.11) (Host: Kang, Guest: Hana)

```
01 Kang:        오늘은 그 많은 시청자 분들은
02       →      ((animating voice)) 우리 아들 우리 딸 어떻게 하면
03       →      장한나처럼 저렇게 키울 수가 있지?
04 Hana:        ((looking down)) hhh
05 Kang:  →     도대체 부모님은 어떤 교육을 시켰길래
06       →      또 어떻게 그 음악인인데 하버드 대학교:::를 가고
07       →      또 >공부는 또< >어떻게 시켰다는 거야!<
08 Hana:        ((smiling)) hhh
09 Kang:        ((back to the normal voice)) 있는 그대로 진정성을 가지고
10              현실적인 대화를 나눠 보기를 저희들이 희망해 보겠습니다
11 Hana:        ((nodding)) 네
12 Kang:        수많은 악기들 중에 6살 때 첼로랑
13              운명적인 만남을 가지게 된 계기가 뭡니까?
```

```
01 Kang:        onul-un ku manh-n sichengca pwun-tul-un
                Today-TC that many-ATTR audience person:HON-PL-TC
                "Today, a lot of the TV audience {may think}

02      →       ((animating voice)) wuli atul wuli ttal ettehkey ha-myen
                                    Our son our daughter how do-then

03      →       'Jang, Hana'-chelem celehkey khiwu-l swu-ka iss-ci?
                NAME-like like:that raise-ATTR can-NM exist-COMM
                "How can I raise my sons and daughters like Hana?"

04 Hana:        ((looking down)) hhh
                                 hhh

05 Kang:→       totaychey pwumo-nim-un etten kyoyuk-ul sikhy-ess-killay
                What:on:earth parents-HT-TC what:kind education-AC make:do-
                PST-for:doing
                "What kind of education did her parents provide {her}"

06      →       tto ettehkey ku umakin-intey Harvard tayhakkyo:::lul ka-ko
                And how that musician-but Harvard university-AC go-and

07      →       tto >kongpwu-nun tto< >ettehkey sikhy-ess-ta-nun ke-ya!<
                And study-TC also how make:do-PST-QT-ATTR thing-INT

                "Also, how did she, as a musician, study and get
                into Harvard {as a non-music major}!"
```

08 Hana: ((smiling)) hhh
hhh

09 Kang: ((back to normal voice)) iss-nun kutaylo cincengseng-ul kaci-ko
Exist-ATTR the:way:it:is sincerity-AC have-and

10 hyensilcek-i-n tayhwa-lul nanwe po-ki-lul cehuy-tul-i huymang-hay po-keyss-sup-ni-ta
realistic-COP-ATTR conversation:AC share:ATTR try-NOM-AC we-PL-NM hope-do-try-will-AH-IN-DC

We hope to have a honest and sincere conversation

11 Hana: ((nodding)) ney
Yes

12 Kang: swumanh-un akki-tul cwung-ey 6 sal ttay *cello*-lang
Countless-ATTR instrument-PL among-in six year:old when cello-with

13 wunmyengcek-i-n mannam-ul kaci-key toy-n kyeyki-ka mwe-pni-kka?
Dramatic-COP-ATTR encounter-AC have-AD become-ATTR motivation-NM what-DEF-Q

Out of all the other instruments, why did you choose to learn the cello when you were six?

Kang produces two consecutive sets of directly quoted reported speech in lines 2-3 and lines 5-7. Here, the subject, 'the TV audience,' is overtly marked, but the framing quotative marker and speech verb are contextually omitted. Nevertheless, Kang's remarks are perfectly recognized as quoted speech through voice demarcation. For instance, in lines 3, 5, and 7, Kang portrays the TV audience, using a dramatically animated voice (e.g., high pitch, loud tone, rapid speech fluency). He then shifts back to his interviewer-like voice quality (e.g., low pitch, normal tone, normal speech fluency) as he announces the official start of the interview in lines 9-10.

Hana also recognizes Kang's utterances in lines 3, 5, and 7 as quoted speech rather than questions, though interrogatively structured (e.g., wh-question, rising intonation), as evidenced by her second position responses in lines 4 and 8. In line 4, Hana displays a humble attitude by dropping her head and looking down while shyly laughing. In line 8, Hana again laughs with a smile on her face and does not compete for the conversational floor. Hana's behavior indicates her understanding that Kang's

interrogatively formatted reported speech are not response-seeking questions. It is only when Kang returns to the interviewer's position and states, 'We hope to have a honest and sincere conversation,' in lines 9-10, that Hana finally responds, 'Yes,' in line 11. Subsequently, Kang asks the first question of the interview in lines 12-13.

Extract (2.11) shows that, on the one hand, Kang, as the host, instantiates the public's interest in Hana's personal history through the employment of hypothetically quoted reported speech. Kang *becomes* the TV audience and presents possible inquiries that the audience may have: How did Hana's parents educate her? How did she get into Harvard University? In what kind of environment did Hana grow up? On the other hand, what Kang personally wishes to learn from Hana and to achieve in the interview is neutrally presented through the voice of the TV audience. Extract (2.12) shows Kang using reported speech in a similar manner. The extract is excerpted from Kang's interview with 'Honggil Um' ('Hong' in the extract), a male mountain climber in his late 40s. Prior to the extract, Hong discussed his experience climbing a mountain called 'Lhotse Shar.' Kang asks, on behalf of the TV audience, about the items Hong brought in his hiking backpack when he climbed Lhotse Shar (lines 5-6 and 9).

Extract (2.12) (Host: Kang, Guest: Hong)

```
01 Kang:        >근데 그- 이제 저-< 사실은 그 등산화 [ 뭐 ] 등산복-
02 Hong:                                          [° 예 °]
03 Kang:        >시청자 분들이 인제< 젤 궁금하게 생각하는게:
04 Hong:        예
05 Kang:    →   .hh 그러면 과연 >엄홍길 대장이< 그 로체샤르를,
06          →   [  이    ]렇게 올라갔을때::
07 Hong:        [((nodding))]
08              예
09 Kang:    →   ((배낭을 가리키며)) 그 배- 배낭 안에 과연 뭐- 어떤 게 들어있을까
10              이런 게 궁금: .hh 하게 생각 할 거 같아서요,

01 Kang:        >kuntey ku- icey ce-< sasil-un ku tungsanhwa [ mwe ]
                tungsanpok-
                But that now that truth-TC that hiking:boots DM
                hiking:wears
                But that- now uh- actually those hiking boots and
                hiking wear

02 Hong:                                                  [°Yey°]
                                                            Yes
```

03 Kang: >sichengca pwun-tul-i incey< ceyl kwungkumha-key sayngkakha-nun-key:>
audience person:HON-PL-NM now most curious-AD think-ATTR-thing
What the TV audience is most curious about is

04 Hong: Yey
Yes

05 Kang: → .hh kulemyen kwayen >'Um Hong Gil' taycang-i< ku 'Lhotse Shar'-lul,
Then really NAME captain-NM that NAME-AC

06 → [I]lehkey ollaka-ss-ul ttay::
Like:this climb-PST-ATTR when
.hh 'when Mr.Um Hong Gil(=Hong) climbed Mt. Lhotse Shar

07 Hong: [((nodding))]

08 Yey
Yes

09 Kang: → ku pay-paynang an-ey kwayen mwe-etten key tul-e-iss-ul-kka
That backpack inside-at really what what:kind thing contain-ATTR-exist-ATTR-Q
((pointing Hong's backpack)) What- What kind of stuff {did he carry} in his back- backpack'

10 ile-n key kwungkum: .hh ha-key sayngkak ha-l ke kath-ase-yo,
Like:thin thing curious do-AD think do-ATTR thing seem-so-POL
The audience is curious about such things.

Kang's first turn is marked as an incomplete utterance with some critical disfluency (e.g., 'but uh-,' 'now uh-,' absence of verb) and fails to deliver the message clearly. Kang mentions 'hiking boots' and 'hiking wear,' but suddenly abandons the TCU-in-the-progress. Then, in line 3, Kang reformulates whatever he was attempting to achieve in the previous turn. He mentions that the forthcoming question is primarily on behalf of the TV audience in the format of 'What the TV audience is most curious about is-' (line 3). In lines 5, 6 and 9, Kang animates the TV audience's curiosity through the use of directly quoted speech, which are an interrogatively formatted utterance marked with a wh-question word and an interrogative sentence ending *–kka* (line 9). The reported speech is then followed by

Kang's mitigated assumption, 'It seems that the audience is curious about such things' (line 10), rather than an overt question.

Although the embedded subject (i.e., What kind of items do you carry in your backpack?) is not normally considered taboo, Kang approaches the subject in an indirect and inarticulate manner (e.g., disfluency, hypothetical quoting, speaking on behalf of the third party, employment of mitigation *–ul kes kath-* 'seems'). Here, the embedded question is not seeking information or the guest's opinion. Rather, it performs the action of a request – that is, Kang requests to 'take the personal belongings out of the guest's backpack.' The request is strategically accomplished by hypothetically quoting what the TV audience is curious about Hong.

In this section, I examined instances in which the interviewer asks questions on behalf of the non-co-present TV audience. By presenting such questions, the host, as a "spokesperson," exhibits the public's interest and thereby aligns himself with the TV audience. The host becomes one among the TV audience and presents possible inquiries that the audience may have for the guest through the employment of (hypothetical) reported speech or thought.

2.4. Displaying an Asymmetrical Epistemic Status: Recipient (K-) Initiation

In talk show interviews, the host conducts various institutional activities: topic initiation, guest introduction, sequence closing, and, most importantly, questioning. The act of questioning, or requesting information/opinion/storytelling, can be done and pursued on the grounds that the guest speaker has more epistemic access to the ongoing topic (or more knowledgeable [K+]) than the host who is less knowledgeable [K-] about the story event to be told (Heritage, 2012). The notion of territories of knowledge was initially acknowledged in Heritage and Labov and Fanshel's distinction between A-events (known to A, but not to B) and B-events (knows to B, but not to A) (Heritage, 1985; Labov and Fanshel, 1977). Sidnell (2010, p. 25), like Labov and Fanshel, also noted that "[t]ypically, B events involve characterizations of what the recipients know, feel, or believe or, alternatively, what they have done or said" and claimed that "the assertion of a B event is routinely understood as constituting a request for confirmation and thus as doing questioning." Therefore,

because B-events can be accessed only by B (i.e., guest speaker), they often involve B's firsthand experiences and feelings.

Building on these ideas, Heritage (2012) considered the participants' relative epistemic access to certain domains of knowledge, known as *epistemic status*, and the speakers' corresponding stance, known as *epistemic stance*:

> We will refer to this relative positioning as *epistemic status*, in which persons recognize one another to be more or less knowledgeable concerning some domain of knowledge as a more or less settled matter of fact. […] Epistemic stance concerns how speakers position themselves in terms of epistemic status in and through the design of turns at talk (pp.32-33).

In the talk show setting, storytelling can be initiated by the host positioning himself "in a relatively unknowing (or K-) position relative to others concerning the matter at hand," thereby "inviting or eliciting information from [a] projectedly more knowing (or K+) recipient" (p.33). In other words, to prompt a guest's story, the host presents what he has heard (or purported to hear) through the employment of reported speech and then seeks a further telling.

In this section, I will consider three examples of quoted speech produced by a less knowledgeable speaker [K-] to a more knowledgeable speaker [K+], and examine how the embedded quotations are locally organized and managed. Specifically, I consider the ways in which the host detaches from the produced report by employing reported speech while inviting the guest's confirmation and soliciting relevant stories.

Extract (2.13) opens with Kang announcing a new topic (lines 1-2).Kang follows the announcement with a K- epistemic status claim (lines 3-4, 6-7, and 10-12), which eventually leads to him asking his guest, DH, a yes/no question in line 13. Prior to his question, Kang presents something newsworthy that is relevant to the topic being discussed through the voice of a non-present third party, Choo, who previously appeared as a guest on the talk show.

Extract (2.13) (Host: Kang, Guest: DH)

01	Kang:	이대호 선수의 **학창** 시절로>저희들이 한 번
02		들어가 보도록 하겠습니다<¿
03		추 선수: 그 방송을: 저 모니터를:
04		>했을겁니다::<

05 DH: °예°=
06 Kang: =이대호 선수를 발굴한 **<u>건</u>** 본인이었다,
07 [(.)] 이제 [그렇게] 말씀을하셨거든요¿=
08 DH: [((slight nodding))] [((nodding))]
09 네
10 Kang: → 전학을 갔는데¿ 3 학년 때¿
11 → 교실에 갔더니 웬 고등학생이
12 → 앉아있더라::
13 그게 모든 이야기가 다 사실입니까?

01 Kang: 'Lee Daeho' senswu-uy hakchang sicel-lo >cehuy-tul-i han pen
NAME athlete-of school:life period-to we(hum.)-PL -NM one time

02 tuleka-po-tolok ha-keyss-sup-ni-ta<¿
enter -try-INDUC do-will-AH-IN-DC

We will explore Lee Daeho's (DH) school life period.

03 Choo senswu: ku pangsong-ul: ce *monitor*-lul:
Choo athlete that broadcast-AC that monitor-AC

04 >hay-ss-ul-ke-p-ni-ta::<
do-PST-ATTR-thing-AH-IN-DC
{You} must have seen Mr.Choo's episode.

05 DH: °yey°=
Yes.

06 Kang: ='Lee Daeho' senswu-lul palkwul-ha-n ke-n ponin-i-ess-ta,
NAME athlete-AC discover-do-ATTR thing-TC self-NM-PST-DC
"It was I who first discovered DH",

07 [(.)][icey] kulehkey malssum-ul ha-sy-ess-ketun-yo¿=
now that:way word:HON-AC say-SH-PST-CORREL-POL
That was what he said

08 DH: [((slight nod))] [((nod))]

09 ney
Yes

10 Kang: → cenhak -ul ka-ss -nuntey¿ sam haknyen ttay¿
transfer-AC go-PST-CIRCUM three grade period
"Being transferred to a new school in 3rd grade"

11 → kyosil -ey ka-ss -teni weyn kotunghaksayng -i
classroom-to go-PST-DET what:one:earth high: school:

```
                student-NM

12        →     anc-a-iss-te-la::
                sit-CONN-exist-RT-INTROS

                "{I found} a high school kid sitting in the elementary
                classroom"

13              kukey motun iyaki-ka ta sasil-ip-ni-kka?
                that all  story-NM all fact-AH-IN-Q
                Is this story all true?
```

After establishing a new topic, DH's 'school life' in lines 1-2, Kang somewhat disjunctively indicates that 'Mr. Choo's episode' is the source of the information for the subsequent talk in lines 3-4 (Schegloff, 1997). It is contextually inferable that the 'principle' of the indirect report (i.e., 'Mr. Choo') is established here (Goffman, 1981). Kang then continues to make [K-] claims in a multi-TCU turn accompanied by both directly and indirectly quoted speech in line 6 and lines 10-12. Receipted with DH's recognition in line 9, Kang produces the second reported speech, this time in a direct manner with further time (i.e., third grade) and place (i.e., classroom) references (lines 10-12). Having stated his [K-] epistemic status with regard to the story event, Kang asks DH a yes-no question to authenticate the story in line 13.

Because Kang is in a less knowledgeable position than DH, Kang consistently specifies that his is not a firsthand report, thereby displaying a lack of certitude on his part. First, and most explicitly, Kang's use of hearsay speech plays a powerful role. The sentence ender *–tela*[20] in the directly quoted report (lines 10-12) is used to "report a particular experience s/he had related to the matter being discussed" (M.-S. Kim 2006, p. 67). Second, Kang explicitly detaches the report from himself by making it clear that the source of information is a third party, 'Mr. Choo's episode' (line 3). Third, Kang poses a confirmation-seeking question to DH, the firsthand experience holder, with each hearsay reported speech. The declaratively-formatted question ('That was what he said¿': line 7) seeks DH's confirmation of the first reported speech. The second reported speech is then

[20] See M.-S. Kim (2006) for an analysis of *–tela.*

followed by a more straightforward confirmation-seeking question, 'Is this all true?' (line 13).

In the current reporting context, it appears relevant that Kang takes an objective stance and reconfirms the previous locution with the shared experience holder, DH. On closer inspection, however, the host's subjective stance is implicitly marked by the way his reported speech is structured, stressed, and delivered. Note the particular word choices in the first report, *itayho senswulul* ***palkwul*** *han ken* ***ponin****iessta,* 'It was I who first discovered DH' (line 6). The word *palkwul,* 'excavation/unearthing,' is metaphorically used to emphasize that Choo discovered DH's potential. The emphasis is also placed on the word *ponin,* 'self,' through the conversely organized word order. In Korean word order, it is natural to say '*ponin* 'self' picked out DH's talent.' By positioning *ponin* at the end of the sentence, Kang stresses the credit to be given to Choo for DH's start in baseball.

The deployment of [K-] epistemic status claims and the embedded reported speech implicitly suggest the extent of knowledge to which Kang is oriented regarding the current topic and the contextually relevant background information. In building a relevant context, Kang furnishes DH with the basic components, such as a character (i.e., Choo), the temporal (i.e., third grade) and spatial (i.e., classroom) setting, and the action being performed (i.e., 'I found a high school kid sitting in the elementary school classroom'), with which to develop a possible response.

As Extract 2.13 demonstrates, the ways in which the questioner constructs, emphasizes, and delivers the reported speech embedded within claims of [K-] epistemic status are significant in prompting the guest's confirmation and elaboration. Another similar example of claiming [K-] epistemic status in questioning sequence comes from Extract 2.14, in which the host presents hearsay about Choo, a professional major league baseball (MLB) player, in quotative forms (lines 6-7) and verifies its authenticity (line 10) by asking a type-conforming question.

Extract (2.14) (Host: Kang, Guest: Choo)

```
01 Kang:        아니 그-- >이제< 들리는 얘기가:-- 뭐 >사실이면 사실이다
02              아니면 아니다< 하면 되는 겁니다 >왜냐하면<
03              여러가지-- 추신수 선수 >같은 경우에는
```

04 이 정도 선수 급이 되면,< 구단에서 움직이거든요¿
05 (0.7)>그래서< **만약에** (.) 아시안 게임 금메달을 따지 못 했을 경우에↑
06 → <구단에서> 시민권:::: (.)을 뭐 제안 했다더라
07 → 아니면 뭐 .hh (.) >어떻게< 귀화설이 >있다더라<
08 **뭐?** 설:: **너무나도** 많았거든요
09 Choo:: °네°=
10 Kang: =예 (.) >사실입니까?<

01 Kang: ani ku-- tulli-nun yayki-ka:-- mwe >sasil-i-myen sasil-i-ta
DM that hear-ATTR story-NM what truth-COP-then truth-COP-DC
Well, regarding the story that {I} heard

02 ani-myen ani-ta< ha-myen toy-nun ke-p-ni-ta >waynyahamyen<
No-then no-DC say-then become-ATTR thing-AH-IN-DC because
{You} can just say it's true if it's true or not true if it's not true because

03 yelekaci— 'Choo Sinsoo' senswu kathun kyengwu-ey-nun
Various NAME athlete like case-at-TC
various- In your case, for example

04 i cengto senswu kup-i toy-myen kwutan-eyse wumciki-ketun-yo¿
This degree athlete level-NM become-then team-from move-CORREL-POL
When a player reaches your level, the team takes action (=takes out the paper of naturalization)¿

05 kulayse manyak-ey (.) Asian Game kummeytal-ul ttaci mos hay-ss-ul kyengwu-ey↑
so if-at Asian Game gold:medal-AC earn not do-PST-ATTR case-at
So if {you} failed to win the Asian Game gold medal_

06 → <kwutan-eyse> siminkwen:::: (.)ul mwe ceyan hay-ss-ta-te-la
Team-at citizenship-AC DM offer do-PST-DC-RT-INTROS
"{I heard} the team has offered {Mr.Choo} citizenship"

07 → animyen mwe .hh kwihwa-sel-i iss-ta-te-la
Or DM naturalization-rumor-NM exist-DC-RT-INTROS
Or .hh "{I heard} there is a rumor of naturalization"

08 mwe? sel:: nemwunato manh-ass-ketun-yo
What rumor too many-PST-CORREL-POL
There are too many rumors

09 Choo: °ney°=
Yes

```
10 Kang:      =yey (.) >sasil-ip-ni-kka<?
              Yes truth-AH-IN-Q
              Yes. Is it true?
```

To understand the extract, the social and cultural context surrounding Choo's situation needs to be clarified. As a MLB player in the United States, Choo has not yet fulfilled his mandatory military service in Korea; thus, Choo's carrying out of his military service has been a big issue inside and outside Korea. The fulfillment of military service has always been a way to measure a public figure's principles and morals. Therefore, bringing up such a sensitive issue takes great tact.

In this extract, the rumors that Kang anonymously quotes are embedded within his claims of [K-] epistemic status and his topical sensitivity to the topic is marked at various levels through his explicit hesitancy toward the ongoing topic the presented rumor. Kang's employment of a hearsay report marked with *–tela* is the most noticeable. As mentioned earlier, the hearsay quotations, both 'I heard the team has offered you citizenship' (line 6) and 'I heard there is a rumor of naturalization' (line 7), are uttered in the voice of the anonymous. Kang makes it clear that the quoted speech is beyond the boundary of his firsthand experience by leaving the original reference unspecified, as in 'the story that I heard' (line 1) and 'There are too many rumors' (line 8).

Also, one can observe a recurring disfluency on Kang's part. In line 1, a hearsay report is expected to follow 'the story which I heard,' but Kang abruptly abandons his telling mid-course. Kang then suggests in line 2 that Choo can simply answer the following question by stating that the rumor is either true or false without giving any details, as shown in 'it's true f it is true and not true if it's not true.' This inserted remark is intended to reduce the pressure on Choo to produce an answer. Kang resumes talking in line 3, but the ongoing TCU-in-the-making is again abandoned, as in 'Various-.' The abandoned turn is contextually conjectured that Kang may say 'Numerous rumors,' as it is the central concern here. Kang's repetitive act of abandoning the ongoing TCU not only effectively displays his cautious attitude toward the current topic, but also implicitly indicates the degree of sensitivity of the forthcoming question to Choo.

Lastly, Kang displays his hesitancy by discontinuing the talk-in-progress after the elongated words, such as *siminkwen::::* ,'citizenship' (line 6) and *se::l,* 'rumor' (line 9); a marked pause in line 5; and the recurrent use of discourse markers, such as *mwe* (lines 1, 6, 7, and 8) (see Extract (2.15) for a detail analysis of *mwe*) and *icey* (lines 1, 3).

The last example depicts a similar structure. In Extract (2.15), the host presents three *–tela* post-faced hearsay rumors (lines 2-3, 6-7, and 10-11 consecutively) about Kwak, a renowned male film director. As will be shown, in this interview, Kang deploys gaze directions as a resource to clearly demarcate the third-party's reported speech from his own speech.

Extract (2.15) (Host: Kang, Guest: Kwak)

```
01 Kang:          .hhh <친구> 흥행 이후에, 참 >별의별 이야기들이
02          →     다 있었습니다.< ((gazing down left)) 뭐 곽경택: 감독이↑
03          →     (0.5) <실제> ((gazing Kwak)) >조폭이라더라!<
04 Kwak:          hehehe
06 Kang:    →     어 뭐 ((gazing down left)) >이를테면< 조폭과 아주 그
07          →     ((gazing Kwak)) 깊은 관계에 [ 연 ]루가 돼있다더라.
08 Kwak:                                    [°네°]
09                네:
10 Kang:    →     어 ((gazing down left)) 뭐 일본 야쿠자에서↑
11          →     곽경택을 ((gazing Kwak)) 영입하려 한다더라.
12 ALL:           hahahaha
                  (irrelevant lines deleted)
13 Kang:          직접 곽경택 감독님은 조폭이 맞습니까?

01 Kang:          .hhh <chinkwu[21]> hunghayng ihwu-ey, cham >pyel-uy-pyel iyaki-
                  tul-i
                  TITLE success after-at really all:sorts:of story-PL-NM

02          →     ta iss-ess-supni-ta.< ((gazing down left)) mwe 'Kwak
                  Kyung Taek': kamtok-i↑
                  all exist-PST-AH-IN-DC. Like NAME-producer-NM

                  After the big success of the movie <Friends>, there
                  were all sorts of stories.
```

[21] A Korean action-drama movie, released in 2001, where a conflict between two transnational organized crime groups turns two old friends into enemies.

Figure 2.1. (Line 2**)**

03 → (0.5) <silcey> ((gazing Kwak)) >cophok-i-la-te-la!<
Actually member:of:transnational:organized:crime-RT-INTROS
"Like 'The director 'Kwak' is actually a member of transnational organized crime!"

Figure 2.2. (Line 3**)**

04 Kwak: hehehe
hehehe

06 Kang: → e mwe ((gazing down left)) >ilultheymyen< cophok-kwa acwu ku
DM like so:to:speak member: of: transnational: organized: crime-with really that

Figure 2.3. (Line 6**)**

07 → ((gazing Kwak)) kiph-un kwankyey-ey [yen]lwu-ka tway-iss-ta-te-la.
Deep-ATTR relationship-at involve-NM become-exist-DC-RT-INTROS

"Uh like, so to speak, for example "{He} is deeply involved in transnational organized crime."

Figure 2.4. (Line 7**)**

08 Kwak: [°ney°]
Yes
09 ((smiling)) ney:
Yes

10 Kang: → e ((gazing down left)) mwe ilpon yakuza-eyse↑
DM like Japanese Yakuza-from

Figure 2.5. (Line 10**)**

11 → 'Kwak Kyung Taek'-ul ((gazing Kwak)) yengip-ha-lye ha-n-ta-te-la.
NAME-AC scout-do-in:order:to do-IN-DC-RT-INTROS

"Uh like "Japanese Yakuza[22] are interested in scouting 'Kwak'.""

Figure 2.6. (Line 11**)**

12 ALL: hahahaha
hahahaha

(irrelevant lines deleted)

13 Kang: cikcep 'Kwak Kyung Taek' kamtok-nim-un cophok-i mac-sup-ni-kka?
Directly NAME producer-HT-TC
member:of:transnational:organized:crime-NM correct-AH-IN-Q
Directly {speaking}, are you a member of transnational organized crime?

Kang mentions Kwak's successful movie *Chinkwu*, 'Friend,' which is a non-fiction drama that tells the story of two conflicting criminal alliances that turn two old friends into enemies, and brings up a rumor that Kwak is deeply involved with *cophok*, 'transnational organized crime.' In asking about Kwak's relationship with *cophok*, Kang brings up three hearsay rumors among the *pyeluypyel iyaki*, 'all sorts of stories' (line 1). Each *–tela* post-faced reported speech is enacted in the voice of the anonymous. Although the source of the hearsay rumors is unspecified, Kang makes it explicit that he is a mere 'animator' or delivery man with regard to the presented rumors (Goffman, 1981).

Kang employs various resources to explicitly distinguish the hearsay rumor from his own speech. Gaze redirection is one example. Sidnell (2006), in

[22] *Yakuza* is the Japanese term for members of transnational organized crime syndicates in Japan

considering the multimodal and interactive character of reenactments,[23] noted that speakers present not only the linguistic features of the original utterance (e.g., lexis, prosody, grammar) to their recipients, but also present body orientation, positioning, gaze, and gestures used in the original utterance as well. Sidnell (ibid.) examined how speaker gaze plays a crucial role with respect to the "*right-side* boundary of the reenactment" (p. 382, emphasis in original). In the above example, however, Kang's gaze redirection occurs in the left-side boundary of the reenactment as well.[24] Kang gazes away from the interviewee prior to each initiation of his reenactment of the anonymous hearsay. The direction of his gaze withdrawal (i.e., down-leftward) is also consistent (see Figures 1, 3, and 5). Kang only returns his gaze to the Kwak when he reaches the middle of his reenactment and maintains mutual gaze until he completes the reenacted segment (see Figures 2, 4, and 6). By engaging in such gaze redirection, Kang makes the third-party quotation even more explicit.

In addition, the framing discourse marker *mwe* (lines 2 and 10), which is employed as the left-side boundary of the reenactment, displays Kang's lack of certitude and distanced attitude toward the conveyed hearsay reports. The discourse marker *mwe* in the above example can be roughly interpreted as 'something like, things like.' K.-H. Suh (2007), in analyzing the interactional functions of the Korean wh-phrase *mwe*, claimed that *mwe* foregrounds the speaker's "non-commitment to specificity" and thereby serves as a hedging device (p. 84). Therefore, the employment of *mwe* prior to the reported speech degrades Kang's certainty regarding the delivered report. In a similar vein, the adverb *ilultheymyen* 'so to speak, for example' (line 6), which is preceded by the second report, also exhibits Kang's non-committal and non-imposing attitude by reducing the level of the report's authenticity.

Kang presents three instances of hearsay rumors that are relevant to Kwak. Consequently. Kang's claims of less knowledgeable epistemic status provide the

---

[23] See Sidnell (2006) for the distinction between reenactments and direct reported speech and Clark and Gerrig (1990) for the distinction between demonstration and description.

[24] Left-side boundary of the reenactment refers to initiation of the reenacted segment and right-side boundary of the reenactment refers to completion of the reenacted segment.

grounds with which to ask the yes/no question ‘Are you a member of transnational organized crime?’ (line 13).

In summary, in this section I have examined the interactional functions of third-party quoted speech and unidentified quoted speech embedded within claims of less epistemic status. The use of reported speech –particularly marked with the – *tela* post-faced speech – explicitly detaches the host from the story event at hand, thereby indicating that the host is not a firsthand experience holder. Furthermore, how the host builds, organizes, and delivers the reported speech embedded within the [K-] claims is significant in prompting the guest’s confirmation and further elaboration.

2.5. Treating the Story Event as Tellable

In contrast to casual conversations where the narrator voluntarily uses a story preface (e.g., “Something really weird happened to me on the way to work this morning” (Sacks, 1992, p. 530)) and self-initiates a story, stories told in a media setting are produced in a distinctive way. Many researchers have found that storytelling in institutional settings is often invited or elicited (Cuff and Francis, 1978; Liddicoat, 2007; Thornborrow, 2001b). Moreover, Thornborrow (2001b) noted that story elicitation through questions such as “Have you ever experienced~?” or “Has it ever happened to you?” is indeed a common practice in TV talk shows.

If story elicitation is such a common practice, then, within the context of TV talk shows, what kind of story is elicited? More specifically, what kind of story is *worth* eliciting? Stories should be worth telling – that is, they should not only be tellable but also hearable, reportable, and *broadcastable*. Tellability is considered a significant opening device in storytelling (Karatsu, 2012; Labov, 1972; Sacks, 1992; Thornborrow and Coates, 2005). The talk show guests’ talking story events, experiences, and emotions that are abnormal, unusual, noticeable, or deviant are found to be particularly salient (Becker, 1999; Sacks, 1992). For example, in examining what makes an accident “local news,” Sacks observed:

> The fact that it’s an accident is, by itself, no grounds for it to be local news. Not any accident is local news. What makes an accident local news is, e.g.,

> that it's a 'big accident,' in that people were killed, or something on that order (p. 12).

In other words, the host finds what is *tellable* in what he has heard and brings such circumstances up in his interview questions. In heightening the tellability of the actual story event, the host often embeds quoted speech in the question and treats story events as worthy of telling. To examine the use of reported speech in the pre-questionign sequence, I analyze the following examples: the story of a baseball player hitting a homerun under a high-pressure situation (Extract 2.16); a former baseball player becoming a catcher, which is considered to be a less popular position (Extract 2.17); a female teenager entering the world of weightlifting, which is a sport not many would deem feminine (e.g., ballet, rhythmic gymnastics) (Extract 2.18); and a teenage golfer maintaining a complete poker face during a million dollar competition (Extract 2.19).

In the first Extract (2.16), the host, Kang, claims that Choo hitting a home run at first bat is something worth telling because body usually get tense when one is pressured to win the game.

Extract (2.16) (Host: Kang, Guest: Choo)

```
01 Kang:    추 선수에게는 무엇>보다도< 아시안게임이
02          중요한 경기였거든요¿
03 Choo:    ((slight nodding))
04 Kang:    >아무래도 이게< 반:드시 이겨야 된다=그러면
05          몸에 힘이 >들어가기 마련이거든요¿<
06          (0.5) 근데 첫 타석부터  >홈런 쳤다 말이에요<.
07          마음에 부담감이 (.) 없었습니까?

01 Kang:    'Choo' senswu-eykey-nun mwues->pota-to< Asian Game-i
            NAME athlete-to-TC what-than-too Asian Game-NM

02          cwungyoha-n kyengki-yess-ketun-yo¿
            important-ATTR competition-PST-CORREAL-POL
            This Asian Game was important, particularly for you¿[25]
```

[25] Extract (2.14) provides a detailed account of why the Asian Game was important to Choo. His winning a gold medal in the Asian Game was considered by many to be the most successful and patriotic way for him to justify being exempted from mandatory military service.

03 Choo: ((slight nodding))

04 Kang: >amwulayto ikey< pan:tusi ikye-ya toy-n-ta=kulemyen
Anyhow this at:any:cost win-must become-ATTR-DC then
05 mom-ey him-i >tuleka-ki malyeni-ketun-yo¿<

The body gets tense when {you} are pressured to win the game at any cost¿

06 (0.5) kuntey ches thasek-pwuthe >*home run* chy-ess-ta mal-ieyyo.<
But first at:the:bat-from home run hit-PST-DC word-POL

07 maum-ey pwutamkam-i (.) eps-ess-sup-ni-kka?
Heart-at pressure-NM not:exist-PST-AH-IN-Q

But you hit a home run at first bat.
Didn't you feel any pressure?

In building 'Choo hitting a home run at the first bat' as a candidate for newsworthiness, Kang makes two claims: (1) the Asian Game was important to Choo (lines 1-2) and (2) a person's body tenses up when he pressured to win a game at any cost (lines 4-5). Each claim is delivered through the sentence-ending suffix (henceforth SES) *–ketun*.[26] Speakers often use the SES *–ketun* in marking their commonly accepted general values in furthering their viewpoint (K.-H. Kim and K.-H. Suh, 2010).[27] By expressing the commonly accepted general values in prior to questioning, the speaker expects the recipient to take the *–ketun*-utterance as "undisputable fact" (ibid. p. 433) and consequently prompts the recipient's "immediate appreciation or acknowledgement of the import of the event or state of affairs being described" (ibid. p. 425). For example, the first *–ketun*-utterance, "This Asian Game was important", is followed by Choo's non-verbal acknowledgement (nodding) in line 3.

Kang's *–ketun* marked claim in lines 4-5 is particularly interesting, as it reveals contrastive aspect with the following turn. During this second claim, Kang

[26] It is generally agreed that the sentence-ending suffix *–ketun* originated from its use as a connective (M.-J. Park & S.-S. Sohn, 2002).

[27] K.-H. Kim (2010, p. 243) further stated that "*ketun*-marked information is formulated as being empirically grounded on the speaker's personal knowledge/experience or on common knowledge."

builds upon and states the commonly held view that Choo must have felt pressured to win the Asian Game. In contrast to the common conception that one's 'body gets tense when you are pressured to win' (lines 4-5) and the underlying expectation that it is difficult to show the best of your ability if pressured, Choo displayed an impressive performance by hitting a home run the first time he went up to bat. The juxtaposition between the common conception and expectation surrounding Choo's first time at bat and his actual performance is marked by the turn-initial *kuntey*, 'but' (line 6). By identifying the contrast between what Choo did and what was expected of him, Kang is able to indicate the tellability of Choo's story, which leads Kang to ask Choo, 'Didn't you feel any pressure?' in line 7.

Extract (2.17) is excerpted from the interview with Man, a former professional baseball catcher and current manager of the 'SK Wyverns.'

Extract (2.17) (Host: Kang, OB)

```
04 Kang:    사실은 >어떻게 보면< 선수들 사이에서는
05          <인기가 없는↑> 포지션 중에 하나가::::
06          °포수거든요°,
07 OB:      음:
08 Kang:    그 많은 화려한 포지션을 두고 왜
09          나는 포수를 해야겠다!
10          결정을 하셨을까요?

04 Kang:  sasil-un >ettehkey po -myen< senswu -tul saieyse-nun
          fact -TC  how     see-then  athlete-PL  among  -TC

05        <inki    -ka eps     -nun↑> position cwung-ey hana-ka::::
          popularity-NM not:exist-ATTR position  among-at one -NM

06        °phoswu -ketun -yo°,
          catcher-CORREAL-POL

          In fact, many feel that catcher is an unpopular baseball
          position.

07 OB:    um:
          Hm:

08 Kang:  ku  manh-un  hwalyeha-n   position-ul twu  -ko  way
          that many-ATTR fancy  -ATTR position -AC leave-and why

09        na-nun phoswu -lul hayya  -keyss-ta!
          I -TC  catcher-AC  need:to-will-DC

10        kyelceng-ul ha-sy-ess-ul-kka-yo?
          decision-AC do-SH-PST-ATTR-Q-POL
```

Why did you leave such fancy positions behind and decide 'I will be a catcher!'?

In this extract, in which [describe what is happening], the questioning sequence consists of three parts: Kang makes a claim about what is normally understood with *–ketun* (lines 4-6), surfaces the matter of tellability (lines 8-9), and asks a question based on the solicited story's tell-worthiness (line 10). Kang, who has less professional knowledge of baseball than Man, claims that baseball catcher is one of the more 'unpopular positions' (line 5) and marks the statement with *–ketun*. As mentioned earlier, a *–ketun*-marked utterance indicates generally accepted believes (K.-H. Kim and K.-H. Suh, 2010) and therefore is produced in an attempt to pre-empt any possible disagreement from the co-present participant.

After providing his *–ketun* marked utterance in line 6, Kang engages in hypothetically quoted reported thought, 'I will be a catcher!' (line 9), stating what he assumes Man thought, and treats the possibility that Man voluntarily chose to be a catcher as something noteworthy. Whether Man had voluntarily decided to become a catcher or not is never mentioned directly in the interview talk and the assumption of authenticity is not a primary concern. In questioning Man's start as a catcher, Kang manifests the story's tellability through a dramatic contrast, as the catcher position, which is described as one of the more 'unpopular positions' (line 5), is contrastively juxtaposed with 'fancy positions' in line 8. Through Kang's delivery of hypothetical reported thought, Man's decision is marked through a subject *na-nun,* 'I-TC,' and the Korean modal *–keyss*, as in *hay-ya-**keyss**-ta* 'need to do', which marks Man's strong will and intention (Koo and Lehmann, 2010; K.-H. Suh and K.-H. Kim, 2000). The *-keyss*-marked reported thought is inserted in a why- question, as in 'Why did you decide 'I will be a catcher' leaving so many fancy positions behind?' (lines 8-10). In other words, Kang presents what is considered to be the norm and puts it in dramatic contrast with what seems to be odd and noticeable, thereby creating powerful tellability.

The following example similarly shows a contrast between the story event and commonly held beliefs regarding the relevant topic to demonstrate the solicited story's tellability. In Extract (2.18), Kang asks JY how she started weightlifting as a

teenage girl, especially focusing on her initial reaction to her father's suggestion to try weightlifting.

Extract (2.18) (Host: Kang, Guest: Ran)

```
01 Kang:        운동 선수이기:: (.) 전[에                ]
02 Ran:                              [((slight nodding))]
03 Kang:        ((two hands placing on chest)) 여자 였을꺼  [고:       ]
04 Ran:                                                    [((nodding))]
05 Kang:        [여자의 감수성을 가지고 있을 텐데                                ]
06              [((head-tilt & a girly face with hands on his heart))]
07              갑자기 집에 있는데↑ 아버님이↑
08       →      ((low pitch)) <[미란아:    ] (.) 너 역도 해[봐>                  ]
09 Ran:                        [((smiling))]            [((escalated smiling))he]
10 Kang:  →     너 역(h)도(h) 선수(h) 해봐
11              >그 소리 들었을 때< 얼마나 충격을
12              받았을 것(h)이며(h)::[hehehe]
13 Ran:                              [hhhhhh]
14 Kang:        그 시작이 너무 궁금하거든요¿
```

```
01 Kang:    wuntong senswu-i-ki:: (.) cen-[ey              ]
            Sports athlete-COP-NOM before-at
```

Figure 2.7 (Line 1)

```
02 MR:                                      [((slight nodding))]
03 Kang:    ((two hands placing on chest)) yeca yess-ul kke -[ko:       ]
                                            woman PST-ATTR-thing-and
```

Figure 2.8 (Line 3)

{You} must have been a girl before becoming an athlete

```
04 MR:                                                  [((nodding))]
05 Kang:    yeca -uy [kamswuseng -ul kaci-ko iss-ul they-ntey       ]
            woman-of sensibility-AC have-and exist-ATTR-CIRCUM
```

{You} must have had girl's sensibility before

Weightlifting.

06 [((head-tilt & a girly face with hands on his heart))]

Figure 2.9 (Line 6)

07 kapcaki cip -ey iss-nuntey↑ apenim↑-i¿
suddenly house-at be-CIRCUM father:HON-NM

08 → ((low pitch))<[Milan]-a:(.) ne yekto hay-[pwa]>
Miran-VOC you weightlifting do-try:INT

We were at home and father suddenly said, "Miran try weightlifting"

09 Ran: [((smile))] [((escalated smile))]

10 Kang: → ne yek(h)to(h) senswu(h) hay-pwa
you weightlift athlete do-try:INT
"You try weigh(h)tlift(h)ing"

11 >ku soli tul -ess-ul ttay< elmana chwungkyek-ul
that sound hear-PST-ATTR when how:much shock -AC

12 pat-ass-ul kes(h)-i-mye(h):: [ehhehe]
receive-PST-ATTR thing-COP-and

When you heard that word, how shocked were you? hehehe

13 Ran: [hhhhhh]
hhhhhh

14 Kang: ku **sicak**-i **nemwu** kwungkumha-ketun -yo¿
that start-NM too curious -CORREL-POL
{I'm} really curious how you started¿

In characterizing the start of Ran's career as a weightlifter as a candidate for tellability, Kang makes two claims: (1) *yeca* ***yess-ul*** *kke-ko,* 'You must have had some womanly qualities' (lines 1 and 3), and (2) *yeca-uy kamswuseng-ul kaciko* ***iss-ul****theyntey,* 'You must have had womanly sensibilities' (line 5), through the deployment of the Korean presumptive suffix *–ss ul*. The word *yeca,* 'woman,' symbolically reflects 'woman-ness in heart,' rather than the state of being female, as shown by Kang's hand gesture and body orientation (e.g., head-tilting, hands placed

on his heart, facial expression) (see Figures 2.8 and 2.9). Although Kang was not present during the events being described, he characterizes Ran as a typical teenage girl going through an emotional period (lines 1-5).

Considering how a typical teenage girl may feel about being a weightlifter, the way Ran's father suggests that she try weightlifting is something that goes against social norms and expectations. The direct manner of Ran's father is displayed in Kang's speech style, such as when Kang utters, *ne yekto hay pwa,* 'you try weightlifting' (lines 8 and 10).[28] Kang recontextualizes the father's utterance as if it were produced abruptly without concern for Ran's sensibilities. Ran's immediate reaction to her father's suggestion (i.e., how shocked she was by her father's suggestion) is a major tellable aspect in the present context. In seeking a more detailed explanation, Kang reveals his explicit curiosity about Ran's feelings at the time of the story context with 'I'm very curious about your beginning' (line 14).

In sum, this excerpt shows how Kang first builds on what is considered to be the norm (lines 1-5) and contrasts it with what actually happened, which is something noticeable and abnormal (lines 7-8 and 10). Consequently, this contrast emphasizes that Kang's question needs to be answered.

In Extracts (2.17) and (2.18), Kang initially provided what are generally accepted as norms and then points out what seems to be non-normativite through hypothetically quoted reported speech (e.g., 'I will be a catcher!' and "You try weightlifting"). Contrastingly, in Extract (2.19), the pre-questioning sequence is produced in reversed order. Kang first reads out what the interviewee, a renowned

[28] The directness of Ran's father's speech is further heightened when compared to indirect alternatives like 'why don't you try weightlifting?' or 'don't you think weightlifting is fun?' Regardless of whether Ran's father actually uttered his recommendation directly or not, the authenticity of Kang's quoted speech is not a primary concern to conversation participants. In fact, the verbatim reporting here seems unlikely. The reported speech is interspersed with laughing particles (line 10), but it is assumed that, in the original context, Ran's father would not have suggested that his daughter try weightlifting as a joke. See Holt (1996) and Mayes (1990) for an extensive analysis of authenticity in the study of reported speech.

ballerina named Sue, had said in a pre-interview[29] (lines 3-6) and finds her pre-interview talk particularly noticeable and even "goose-bumpy" (lines 1 and 7). While seeking for agreement from the peripheral host, Yoo, Kang draws on his professional knowledge, marking his utterance with SES *–ketun*, as a former athlete as a way to further his viewpoint that the athlete's body muscles know the ropes. This is the opposite of Sue's pre-interview talk (lines 9-10, 12-14, and 16), thereby creating a matter of tellability. The main host Kang and the peripheral panel host Yoo are

Extract (2.19) (Hosts: Kang & Yoo, Guest: Sue)

```
01 Kang:    >저는< (.) >소름끼치는 말이 하나 [있어요::,  ]<
02 Sue:                                      [((nodding))]
03 Kang:    .hh ((gazing down, reading)) 아침에 일어나면 ((gazing up))
04          매일 매일 몸이 ((gazing down)) 아파요:. 그런데 어느 날
05          몸이 아프지 않으면 제 스스로 저를 꾸짖고
06          반성하게 돼요:. ((page flipping and gazing up))
07          .hh 난 이 말을 들으면서 나는 소름을 끼쳤거든요↑
08 Sue:     ((smiling)) 음:
09 Kang:    왜냐하면은, 10 년 이상 하게 되면
10          몸에 ((tapping his wrist)) <근육> 자체에서도 요령이 생겨요,
11 Sue:     ((nodding)) 음 그렇죠 ((nodding))
12 Kang:    >그래서< ((gazing Yoo)) 아—뭐 ((gazing Sue))
13          열 시간 스무 시간 ((gazing Yoo)) 운동을 하더라도,
14          ((gazing at Sue)) <웬만큼> [견뎌내거든요=]
15 Sue:                                [((nodding))]
16 Kang:    [>이것을< 아프다는 걸 못 느끼게] 되거든요,
17 Sue:     [   (( n o d d i n g ))  ]
18 Kang:    >[얼마만큼] 하기 때문에< 매:일 이걸
19 Sue:      [그게-- ]
20 Kang:    >20 년을 했는데도< 몸이 아침마다 아플까요?
21 Sue:     예. >그니까< 허리가: 아팠을 때는 [response continues]

01 Kang:    >ce-nun< (.) >solumkkichi-nun mal-i hana [iss-eyo::, ]<
            I-TC goosebumpy-ATTR word-NM one exist-POL
            {Your pre-interview} gave me goose bumps
02 Sue:                                              [((nodding))]
```

[29] Thornborrow (2001b, p. 120) elaborated: "In talk shows, hosts are normally already familiar with many of the stories that are going to be told on their show through the process of planning and structuring the broadcast. Consequently, these stories are not news to them in the conversational sense." Such preparation prior to the talk show includes the guest's pre-interview talk and/or some kind of research from earlier media appearances (Eriksson, 2010).

03 Kang: .hh ((gazing down, reading)) achim-ey ilena-myen
((gazing up))
Morning-at wake:up-then

Figure 2.10 (Line 3)

04 mayil mayil mom-i ((gazing down)) apha-yo:. kulentey enu nal
Everyday everyday body-NM hurt-POL but some:day

05 mom-i aphu-ci anh-umyen cey susulo ce-lul kkwucic-ko
Body-NM hurt-NOM not-then I self I-AC scold-and

06 panseng-ha-key tway-yo:. ((page flipping and gazing up))
Self:introspect-do-AD become-POL

"{My} body hurts every single day when I wake up in the morning. But if I wake up and don't feel any pain, I scold myself and take time for self-introspection."

07 .hh nan i mal-ul tul-umyense na-nun solum-ul kkichy-ess-ketun-yo↑
I:TC this word-AC hear-while I-TC goosebump-AC shudder-PST-CORREL-POL
Hearing those words, I felt goose bumps

08 Sue: ((smiling)) um:
Em

09 Kang: waynyahamyen-un, sip nyen isang ha-key toy-myen
Because-TC ten years above do-AD become-then

10 mom-ey ((tapping his wrist and gazing Yoo)) <kunyuk>
((gazing Sue))
cachey-eyse-to yolyeng-i sayngky-eyo,
body-at muscle itself-from-too tip-NM form-POL

Because, if you are an athlete for more than 10 years, your body's muscles know the ropes.

Figure 2.11 (Line 10)

11 Sue: ((nodding)) um kuleh-cyo. ((nodding))

Correct-COMM:POL
Em That's right.

12 Kang: > kulayse<((gazing Yoo))a-- mwe((gazing Sue))
So uh- like

13 yel sikan sumwu sikan ((gazing Yoo)) wuntong-ul ha-te-lato,
Ten hours twenty hours sport-AC do-RT-even
even if {you} exercise for 10 hours, 20 hours,

14 ((gazing Sue)) <weynmankhum> [kyenty-e-nay-ketun-yo=]
Considerably endure-CONN-do:all:the:way-CORREL-POL
{The body} endures to some extent=

15 Sue: [((nodding))]

16 Kang: [=>i-kes-ul< aphu-ta-nun kel mos nukki-key] toy-ketun-yo,
This-thing-AC hurt-DC-ATTR thing not feel-AD become-CORREL-POL
{The body} can't feel the pain,

17 Sue: [((n o d d i n g))]

18 Kang: >[elmamankhum] ha-ki ttaymwuney< may:il ikel
How:much do-NOM since everyday this:thing

19 Sue: [kukey--]
That's-

20 Kang: >20 nyen-ul hay-ss-nuntey-to< mom-i achim-mata aphu-l-kka-yo?
20 years-AC do-PST-but-too body-NM morning-every hurt-ATTR-Q-POL
How much did you have to exercise to feel pain, despite the fact that {you} have done this for last 20 years?

21 Sue: yey. >kunikka< heli-ka: aph-ass-ul ttay-nun
Yes so waist-NM hurt-PST-ATTR when-TC
Yes. So when {my} waist hurts

[response continues]

Extract 2.19 begins with Kang gazing down at a piece of paper and quoting the words that gave him 'goose bumps' (see Figure 2.10), "My body hurts every single day when I wake up in the morning. But if I wake up and don't feel any pain, I scold myself and take time for self-introspection." Although Kang does not mention who originally stated the quoted speech, it can be contextually inferred that Kang is quoting Sue's pre-interview talk. The word *solumkkichinta,* 'gives goose bumps'

(lines 1 and 7), is often used to describe one's feelings when watching a horror movie or seeing something disgusting or repulsive; therefore, its employment in a positive assessment conveys a much more extreme and dramatic effect than other similar assessments, such as 'surprising' or 'unbelievable.'

After indicating that he finds Sue's workout regimen unusual, Kang employs his professional knowledge as a former athlete, marked with SES *–ketun*, to support his opinion that the athlete's muscles are used to the body. Kang explains that the body of someone who has been an athlete for more than ten years becomes accustomed to the rigors of training (lines 9-10: "Because, if you are an athlete for more than 10 years, your body's muscles know the ropes"). While tapping his wrist, Kang gazes at and specifically addresses Yoo, who has little knowledge of the professional athlete (see Figure 2.11).[30] As Sidnell explains, "Speaker gaze is often used to select from among the coparticipants a particular person to whom the talk of the moment is specifically addressed" (Sidnell, 2006 p. 378). Kang's gaze, which culminates in the mutual gaze between him and Yoo, works to select Yoo as the person to whom his account is addressed.

Kang gazes back and forth between Sue and Yoo (lines 10 and 12-14). Kang's second claim describing how body muscles normally respond to regular exercise is marked with a SES *–ketun*. As mentioned earlier, Kang delivers his claim as one that is not arguable and considered a generally accepted belief. Making his claim not arguable, Kang treats Sue's pre-interview talk (i.e., 'I mostly wake up in pain and if not, I scold myself') as amazing and tell-worthy since professional athletes with trained body muscles do not usually feel pain after daily exercise.

The contrast between Sue's goose bump-inducing story and the generally accepted belief that the experienced athlete's body should not be painful with daily exercise creates a matter of tellability that provides a topically interesting, intriguing story that is reportable to the talk show audience.

[30] Gaze direction is often used to specifically address a particular person among multiple co-participants at the moment of talk (Sidnell, 2006). Speaker gaze in the organization of reenactments, however, is distinctive from a non-reenactment situation (Sidnell, ibid., p. 378).

With regards to the three excerpts examined so far, I noted that they share similar structures. In each extract, Kang treated the guests' stories events as abnormal and noticeable by demonstrating a sharp contrast between the guests' story events and what most people may think in or about the story's circumstances: (1) "catcher is an unpopular position" and "Man's voluntary decision to become a catcher" (Extract 2.17); (2) "a teenage girl has a womanly sensibility" and "Ran's father's suggestion that his daughter become a weightlifter" (Extract 2.18); and (3) "an athlete's muscles do not feel pain due to regular training" and "Sue's belief that she should scold herself if she does not feel any pain the morning after she has trained" (Extract 2.19). By using quoted speech, Kang dramatizes the guests' experiences and thus markedly contrasts such speech with how others may think about the situation.

2.6. Telling My Story and Seeking the Second Story

After observing this study's data, I found that most *guest speakers* produce stories in the second turn (i.e., response to the host's question). In contrast, a relatively small number of cases exist where the *host* tells his own (or makes up) stories as a way to solicit a relevant experience that the guest speaker may have had in the past. In such cases, stories are situated in the first position (i.e., questions) and deployed as an interactional strategy to solicit the guest's "second story" (Sacks, 1992, p. 3), a storytelling in response to the host's first storytelling.

The occurrence of a "first story" followed by "second story" is rarely examined in the news interview context because a news interviewer is typically seen as maintaining neutrality. Considering that a news interviewer's institutionality primarily lies in providing topic-relevant questions on behalf of an overhearing (or non-co-present) audience and eliciting responses from interviewees, it would seem odd for an news interviewer to tell a story. However, as Iile (2001) noted, the most distinctive difference between talk shows and news interviews is that talk show hosts can freely express their opinions and feelings without regard to the guest's telling and/or opinion. For example, Oprah Winfrey often self-discloses about herself by bringing up personal stories (e.g., her working class background, issues with her weight, and child sexual abuse experience) in her talk show program (Haag, 1993).

As a former wrestler, Kang often shares past (or made-up) anecdotes with his athlete guests, thereby building common ground and powerfully soliciting relevant stories. The anecdote is deployed as an interactional event in which Kang shares "cocategorial incumbency" (Roulston *et al*., 2001) with interviewees by displaying his professional "knowledge and understanding regarding the topic of inquiry" (p. 748). This shared knowledge mutually connects Kang, the former athlete, and his guests, the current athletes. Kang's storytelling not only seeks a response but also builds rapport with the interviewee prior to the question. Consider the example in Extract (2.20), which shows Kang telling his guest, Choo, how he celebrated the day he won a wrestling championship match (lines 1-7) and then asking Choo how he spent the night after winning a gold medal in the Gangzhou Asian Game (lines 9-10).

Extract (2.20) (Host: Kang, Guest: Choo)

01 Kang:	아니 그 궁금한게:- 저도 참 운동했던 기억이 납니다.
02	천하장사가 **딱!** 되지 않습니까,
03	그러면 그 날 뭐 아홉 시 열 시 끝나지 않습니까¿
04	그러면 이제 팀내 사기가 ↑**하**늘을 찌릅니다.
05	맥주를 가지고 이제 축하 파티도 하고:
06	**밤::새** 놀거든요, 그래도 안 피곤합니다=이제
07	>왜냐하면< 이 타이틀 지었으니까=
08 Choo:	=예
09 Kang:	광저우 아시안게임 금메달을 확정되는
10	그 날 밤 어떻게 보내셨습니까¿

01 Kang:	ani ku kwungkum-ha-n-key:-- ce-to cham wuntonghay-ss-te-n kiek-i na-p-ni-ta. DM that curious-do-ATTR-thing I-too really exercise-PST-RT-ATTR memory-NM remember-AH-IN-DC **What I'd like to know- I also remember the time I used to play as an athlete.**
02	chenhacangsa-ka ttak! toy-ci anh-sup-ni-kka, Chapion-NM just become-NOM not-AH-IN-Q **You know, when {I} became a champion**
03	kulemyen ku nal mwe ahop si yel si kkuthna-ci anh-sup-ni-kka¿ Then that day like nine o'clock ten o'clock end-NOM not-AH-IN-Q **That day, the {official event} was over around 9 p.m., 10 p.m.**
04	kulemyen icey thim nay saki-ka ha↑nul-ul ccilu-p-ni-ta. Then now team inside spirit-NM sky-AC reach-AH-IN-DC **Our spirits were so high?**

05 maykcwu-lul kaci-ko icey chwukha *party*-to ha-ko:
Beer-AC have-and then congratulation party-also do-and
{We} drank beers and then threw a party?

06 pam::say nol-ketun-yo, kulayto an phikonha-p-ni-ta=icey
All:night play-CORREL-POL even:so not tired-AH-IN-DC now
enjoyed {ourselves} all night long; {I} was not tired

07 >waynyahamyen< i *title*-ul ci-ess-unikka=
Because this title-AC settle-PST-so
because {I} won the title

08 Choo: =Yey
Yes

09 Kang: 'Guangzhou' Asian Game kummeytal-ul hwakceng-toy-nun
NAME Asian Game gold:medal-AC decide-become-ATTR

10 ku nal pam ettehkey ponay-sy-ess-sup-ni-kka¿
That day night how spend-SH-PST-AH-IN-Q

How did {you} spend the night the day you won the gold medal in the Guangzhou Asian Game?

At the beginning of Extract (2.20), Kang abandons his initial questioning mid-TCU, "What I'd like to know-," and instead mentions his past experience as an athlete (line 1). In lines 2-7, Kang tells Choo about how he celebrated winning the championship title. His story includes descriptions about the thrilling atmosphere, "spirits were so high" (line 4), the party he attended, 'drinking beers and throwing a party' (line 5), and 'staying up all night' (line 6). Having described how he celebrated winning the Korean traditional wrestling championship title, Kang prompts Choo to explain how he celebrated winning the gold medal in the Gangzhou Asian Game by asking, 'How did you spend the night the day you won the gold medal in the Guangzhou Asian Game?' (lines 9-10). By prefacing his question with a story involving similar circumstances, Kang expects to hear a similar story from Choo.

Extract (2.20) consists of descriptions only, but in some cases, the host's proffered story also include selective (re)enactments. I will pay close attention to the host's first story, which is accompanied by reported speech. I particularly focus on how Kang's institutional goal-oriented activity is achieved through storytelling, revealing a three-step process that is enacted in his questioning sequence. This

process begins with the host establishing a frame of understanding that concurrently builds the specific setting of the story to be told. Second, the host tells his story, often displaying his orientation through multiple turns of directly reported speech. Third, the host asks a question relevant to the first story. Thus, the analyses of extracts from (2.21) to (2.24) aim to investigate the following questions: What kind of linguistic resources does the host deploy in establishing a frame of understanding? How is the reported speech locally organized and managed in the story? What does the host accomplish through his storytelling? How is the guest's second story initiated?

The following is a lengthy extract in which Kang builds a hypothetical story of a child rebelling against his/her parents (lines 155-165 and 167-170). The question, 'What was the biggest fight you had with your parents?' (lines 175-176), triggers a relevant story from JY, a female professional golfer in her twenties.

Extract (2.21) (Host: Kang, Guest: JY)

150	Kang:		그런데 이 예민한 시기에 감정적인 나이에
151			운동도 해야되지 그 부모님은 개입을
152			하지 또 성적이 잘 나오면 되는데
153			못 나오면은 또 이게 뭐 또 싸우지
154	JY:		((nodding))
155	Kang:		뭐 부모님은 또
156			((gazing left down and looking at JY))
157		a→	**어떻게** 뒷바라지를 해서 널
158		a→	키우고 있는데
159			((gazing down and up)) ((exaggerated prosody))
160		b→	부모님 나도 >잘 하고 싶은데 나도
161		b→	잘 하고 싶은데 내가 못 하고
162		b→	싶어서 못하냐고 (맘 같아서는?)<
163		a→	그래 그렇지만 우리 이제부터
164		b→	그래 아버지 이제 열심히 할게요
165			((low pitch voice)) 이렇게 되면 되는데:: [이 반대로]
166	JY:		[he he he]
167	Kang:	a→	내가 어떻게 널 뒷바라지 했는데
168		b→	((exaggerated prosody)) 내가 아버지 내가 얼마나 힘든지 아세요
169			그러고 싸우고 우당탕탕 집 나가고
170		b→	모르겠다!
171			((low pitch voice))
			이 ((pointing to JY)) 될 수 있다니까
172			(0.5)
173			그죠:?

174 JY: ((nodding)) °그죠°

175 Kang: 그래서 제일 크게 했던 반항이

176 뭡니까? 부모님에게.

150 Kang: kulentey i yeyminha-n siki-ey kamcengcek-in nai-ey
But this sensitive-ATTR period-at emotional-ATTR age-at

151 wuntong-to hay-ya:toy-ci ku pwumo-nim-un kayip-ul
sport-too do-need-COMM that parent-HT -TC intervention-AC

152 ha-ci tto sengcek-i cal nao -myen toy-nuntey
do-COMM also result -NM well come:out-then become-but

153 mos nao -myen-un tto ikey mwe tto ssawu-ci
cannot come:out-then-TC again this what again fight-COMM

But at such a sensitive and emotional age, {you} are playing golf and your parents are involved in your life. If you do well then everything is okay, but if not, then you argue with your parents

154 JY: ((nodding))

155 Kang: mwe pwumo -nim-un tto
like parent-HT -TC again
And then your parent says

156 ((gazing left down and looking at JY))

157 a→ **ettehkey**: twispalaci-lul hay-se nay-ka ne -l
How look:after-AC do -and I -NM you-AC

158 a→ khiwu-ko iss-nuntey
Raise-and be-but

"How did I raise you (=Do you know how much I devoted to looking after and raising you)"

159 ((gazing down and up)) ((exaggerated prosody))

160 b→ pwumo -nim na-to >cal ha-ko siph-untey na-to
parent-HT I -too well do-and wish-but I -too
"Mom, Dad, I also want to do well, but"

161 b→ cal ha-ko siph-untey nay-ka mos ha-ko
well do-and wish-but I -NM cannot do-and

162 b→ siph-ese mos -ha-nya-ko. (mam-kathasenun?)<
wish-so cannot-do-Q:IE-QT mind-if:I:could

"Mom, Dad, I want to do well too

It's not that I don't want to do well. If I could-"

163 a→ kulay kulehciman wuli icey pwuthe--
okay however we now from
"Okay, but from now on, we-"

164 b→ kulay apeci icey yelsimhi ha-l -key-yo
okay father now hard do-ATTR-will-POL
"Okay, father, I will try hard from now on"

165 ((low pitch voice)) ilehkey toy -myen toy -nuntey::
this:way become-if become-but
This is a nice way of solving a problem::

166 JY: hehehe
hehehe

167 Kang:a→ i pantay-lo nay-ka ettehkey ne-l twispalaci hay-ss-nuntey
this oppsite-in I-NM how you-AC look:after do –PST-but
In contrast, they might say, "how did I raise you" (=Do you know how much I devoted to looking after and raising you?)

168 b→ ((exaggerated prosody))nay-ka apeci nay-ka elmana himtu-n -ci
I-NM father I-NM how:much tired-ATTR-COMM

169 b→ a -sey-yo kule -ko ssawu-ko **wutangthangthang**
know-HON-POL say:that-and fight-and mimetic words

"Father, father, do you know how much of a hard time I'm having" You say that and then you fight '*wutangthangthang*[31]'

170 b→ cip naka-ko **molu -keyss -ta**!
house exit-and not:know-DCT:RE-DC
You stomp angrily out of the house, thinking 'I don't care!'

171 ((low pitch voice))
i ((pointing to the JY)) toy -l swu iss –ta-nikka
this become-ATTR way to:be-DC-since
It can happen

[31] *Wutangthangthang*: An onomatopoeic word for a breaking/smashing sound or a foot stomping sound.

Figure 2.12 (Line 171)

```
172             (0.5)
173             ku   -cyo:?
                right-COMM:POL
                Right?[32]

174 JY:         ((nodding)) °kucho°
                            Correct:COMM:POL
                            Right.

175 Kang:       kulayse ceyil khu-key hay-ss-ten panhang-i
                so      most  big-AD  do -PST-RT rebel  -NM

176             mwe -p-ni-kka? pwumo -nim-eykey.
                what-AH-IN-Q   parent-HT -to
                So what was the biggest fight you had with {your}
                Parents?
```

The host's question, 'So what was the biggest fight you had with your parents?' (lines 175-176), is prompted by two deliberately constructed hypothetical stories. Prior to the commencement of the first story, Kang reveals the difficulties that an athlete (or presumably JY) may experience during her 'sensitive and emotional age' (line 150). Kang also orients JY to this subjective stance by suggesting that a parent-child argument is likely to be occasioned by parents becoming involved in a child's life (line 151). Here, we see that Kang not only establishes a frame of understanding from JY's standpoint but also specifically sets up his hypothetical story as being between an athlete child and her parents. This story setting roughly projects the general referential contents of the following story (i.e., what the story is about).

The story section of Kang's talk embodies two stories and each mostly consists of a hypothetical conversation between the parents ('a→') and their child ('b→'). The former story (lines 155-164) and latter story (lines 167-170) unfold in a similar fashion: both are initiated by a complaint made by one of the parents.

[32] The speaker uses an upward or questioning intonation, or 'try-marking' intonation (Schegloff, 1979), to invite the recipient's acknowledgment (Hutchyby & Wooffitt, 1998).

Compare two interrogatively formatted complaints used in both stories: ***ettehkey*** *twispalacilul hayse nayka nel khiwuko issnuntey*, '**How** did I look after and raise you' (lines 157-158), and *nayka* ***ettehkey*** *nel twispalaci hayssnuntey*, '**How** did I look after you' (line 167). These sentences demonstrate the parent's dissatisfaction with his child by implicitly asserting that the child's achievement does not meet the parent's expectation. Each story, however, develops differently. One story ends in reconciliation and the other ends with in a fight. In the first story, both parent and child reach a mutual understanding, with the child stating, 'father, I will try hard from now' (line 164). Contrastingly, the second story ends in conflict, with the child angrily leaving and exclaiming, 'I don't care!' (line 170).

Given the divergent endings of each story, what is the point of the storytelling? First, the stories provide the preface with which to ask JY to share her relevant experiences concerning the topic at hand. While the first story is presented as an idealistic and exemplary outcome, the second is described as a more likely situation, as marked by *i toyl swu isstanikka*, 'it can happen' (line 171). Additionally, Kang's pointing to JY in advance of his utterance can be contextually understood as 'it can happen ***to you***.' In fact, the second story is what Kang eventually wants to deliver, as it is directly relevant to the question, 'So what was your biggest fight you had with your parents?'. In line 154, JY nods, acknowledging the possibility of the described event. This affirmation enables Kang to proceed with requesting JY to recall her past relevant experience.

Second, the two hypothetical stories and the shift in how Kang uses the addressee terms embedded in his reported speech allow Kang to implicitly orient JY to his eventual question. Kang first presents an argument between a neutrally set-up parent-child dyadic relationship, as indicated in 'parents intervene' (line 151) and 'parents say' (line 156). The use of 'parents' continues from the outset of the first storytelling, as in '*Pwumonim* 'Mom, Dad, I also want to do well but' (line 160). This addressee term, however, shifts from *pwumonim*, 'parents,' to *apeci*, 'father,' as seen in '*Apeci*, I will try harder' (line 164) and '*Apeci*, do you know how difficult I am?' (line 168). JY said earlier that her father had taken care of her on and off the field, working as a manager after her mother passed away (not shown in the above excerpt).

As the story protagonist eventually turns out to resemble JY, she is involuntarily positioned within Kang's story frame.

Furthermore, Kang characterizes the second story's protagonist as a disobedient and rebellious child, as indicated by *wutangthangthang cip nakako*, 'stomp angrily out of the house' (line 169). This child, which shares a distinctive similarity with JY, is negatively depicted, thereby putting JY in a position where she somehow needs to respond to the prior story. After telling his hypothetical story, Kang provides an opportunity for JY to elaborate on the described event. However, JY provides no immediate uptake after the second story is finished (line 172). Kang then provides an agreement-seeking question, 'Right?' (line 173). Receipted with JY's affirmative uptake, Kang finally proceeds with the target question, 'What was your biggest rebellion against your parents?' (lines 175-176).

The following excerpt is the beginning of JY's response sequence to Kang's question. JY provides a relevant experience she went through when she turned twenty.

Extract (2.22) (Host: Kang; Guest: JY)

```
177 JY:     한창 스무 살: (.) 되가주구↑ 이제 한창 반항하고 싶잖아[요::      ]
178 Kang:                                                    [((nodding))]
179 JY:     >그런데< 아-- 제가 첫 날 경기를 못 했어요.
180         못 >해 가주구< 아빠가 잔뜩 화가 나신 상태였는데,
            [story continues]

177 JY:     hancham sumwu sal: toy-kacwu-kwu↑ hanchang panhang-ha-
            ko siph-canh-a[  yo::    ]
            the:peak twenty years:old become:like-and the:peak
            rebel-do-and wish-COMM-POL
            You know, when {I} became twenty I wanted to rebel
            against my parents
178 Kang:               [((nodding))]

179 JY:     >kulentey< a-- cey-ka ches nal kyengki-lul mos hay-ss-eyo.
            But I-NM first day competition-AC not:well do-PST-POL
            But- I did not do well on the first day of competition.

179         mos >hay-kacwu-kwu< appa-ka canttuk hwa-ka na-si-n
            sangthay-yess-nuntey,
            cannot do-like:that-and dad-NM fully anger-NM get-SH-
            ATTR condition-PST-CIRCUM
            Dad got really mad because I didn't do well,
            [story continues]
```

In response to the question, JY maintains topical coherence, as indicated in 'You know I turned twenty and wanted to rebel against my parents' (line 177), and provides her relevant experience. Here, Kang's first story triggers JY's relevant telling. Thus, JY's second story shows that she understood the function of Kang's first story (Ryave, 1978; Sacks, 1992): to elicit a topical response.

Similarly, in Excerpt (2.23), Kang elicits a story from his guest, Min, a gold medalist in Judo, in two ways: (1) he claims to have professional knowledge regarding 'the life of an athlete' and (2) he displays a favorable attitude toward the described event. As mentioned earlier, Kang was a renowned *ssilum*, 'Korean traditional wrestling,' athlete and won the national title five times. In Extract (2.23), Kang talks about his past experience of intentionally not attending daily training (lines 1-15). Kang's story embodies two sets of reported speech – that is, Kang talking to his mother as indicated by 'a' (lines 6-7) and his mother talking to the training coach on the phone as indicated by 'b' (lines 9-15). Kang then asks Min whether he has had a similar experience (line 16).

Extract (2.23) (Host: Kang, OB; Guest: Min)

01	Kang:	저희도 사실은 그 훈련을 많이 하거든요:
02		>그러다< 보면:: 운동 선수의 어머님은 다
03		연기자입니다↑ 아침부터 새벽 훈련을
04		다섯 시 반에 가야되잖아요:
05	OB:	예
06	Kang:	>근데 그 때까지 안 오면,< 딱 전화가 옵니다.
07	Min:	°음°
08	OB:	음=
09	Kang:	=집으로 [그러면]
10	OB:	[아::]
		((in dramatic regional dialect))
11	Kang: a→	엄마 내 진:짜 죽겠다 한 번만 살려줘라
12	a→	진(h)짜(h) 오늘 나가면 내 죽겠다=
13		=그러면은 어무이가 전화를 떡 받아요.
		((picking up phone))
14	b→	.hh <아이고:: 코치님:> 지금 호동이가
15	b→	지금 아무리 깨워도 지금 정신을 잃어가지고
16	b→	못 일어나고 있어요: 아이고 어제 새벽에 응급실
17	b→	갔다가:: 아이고 의사 선생님이 훈련
18	b→	나가면 큰::일난다고 >그래가지고 지금<

19 b→ 그래도 내보낼라고 깨워도 깨우는데도

20 b→ 안 일어나고 있어요:: hhhhhehehehe

21 최민호 선수도 그럴 때 있어요?

01 Kang: cehuy -to sasil-un ku hwunlyen-ul manhi ha-ketun -yo:
we(hum.)-too truth-TC that training-AC much do-CORREL-POL
You know we do a lot of training too

02 >kuleta< po-myen:: wuntong senswu-uy emeni-nun ta
Such:that see-then athlete-of mother-TC all

03 yenkica-ip-ni-ta↑ achim-pwuthe saypyek hwunlyen-ul
Actor-AH-IN-DC morning-from early:morning training-AC

04 tases-si pan-ey ka-ya toy-canh-ayo:
five-o'clock half-at go-need become-you:know-POL

Athletes' mothers are all performers. You know we need to attend early morning training by 5:30 a.m.

05 OB: yey
Yes

06 Kang: >kuntey ku ttay-kkaci an o-myen,< ttak cenhwa-ka o-p-ni-ta.
but that time-upto not come-then just phone-NM come-AH-IN-DC
But if you don't arrive on time, then they call you.

07 Min: °um°
Em

08 OB: um=
Em

09 Kang: =cip-ulo [kulemyen]
home-to then
They call the house

10 OB: [a::]
oh::

((in dramatic regional dialect))

11 Kang: a→ emma nay cin:cca cwuk-keyss-ta han pen-man sallye cwe-la
mom I really die-will-DC one time-only save:for-IM
"Mom, I really could die. Save me one time"

12 a→ cin(h)cca(h) onul naka-myen nay cwuk-keyss-ta
really today go:out-then I die-will-DC
"If I go out today, I could die"

13 kulemyen-un emwui-ka cenhwa-lul ttek pat-ayo.

then-TC mother-NM phone-AC DM receive-POL
Then mother picks up the phone.

14 b→ .hh <aiko:: *coach*-nim:> cikum hotong-i-ka
coach-HT now NAME-VOC-NM

15 b→ cikum amwuli kkayw-eto cikum cengsin-ul ilhe-kaciko
now no:matter:how wake-even:so now mental-AC lose-so

16 b→ mos ilena-ko iss-eyo: aiko ecey saypyek-ey ungkupsil
cannot wake- exist-POL yesterday late:night-at ER:room

17 b→ ka-ss-taka:: aiko uysa sensayng-nim-i hwunlyen
go-POST-after doctor teacher-HT-NM training

18 b→ naka -myen khu-n::-il -nan -tako >kulay-kaciko cikum<
go:out-then big-ATTR-matter-occur-RT say:so-and now

19 b→ kulayto nayponay-l-lako kkayw-eto kkaywu-nuntey-to
even:so send-ATTR-in:order:to wake-even:so wake-CIRCUM-even

20 b→ an ilena-ko iss-eyo:: hhhhhehehehe
not wake-and exist-POL

"*Aiko*::[33] Hotong lost consciousness and {he} is unable to wake up. *Aiko* {he} went to an emergency room last night. *Aiko* the doctor said not to send {him} to training. {I'm} trying to wake {him} up now anyway, but he doesn't wake up." hhhhhhhehehe

21 'Choi Minho' senswu-to kule-l ttay iss-eyo?
NAME athlete-too like:that-ATTR time exist-POL
Have you ever experienced something similar?

To elicit Min's story, 'Have you ever experienced something similar?', Kang draws on his experience as a professional athlete. This is achieved in two ways: First, Kang establishes a frame of understanding (i.e., What is an athlete's day like?) and claims personal familiarity with the described experience through the usage of tense, specific references, and sentential suffixes. Second, Kang provides Min with a personal anectodate utilizing multi-layered direct reported speech.

[33] *Aiko* is an exclamatory discourse marker which can be roughly translated into 'Oh my,' 'My goodness,' 'Ouch,' etc. depending on the context.

As the story unfolds, Kang talks about his past athletic training, 'In fact, we also do lots of training' and categorizes himself as a member of the *ssilum* 'Korean traditional wrestling' team with the plural form *cwhuy,* 'we' (line 1). Despite the fact that Kang actually *was* a member of the *ssilum* team, he uses a present verb or the "historical present" (Perrino, 2011) *ha-*, 'do,' instead of *hayss-*, 'did,' for the past event, as in '***ha-****ketunyo,*' as if he is currently living an athlete's life. The notion of "historical present" refers to the narrator using non-past temporal deixis for a past event. Perrino (2011, p. 96) claims that using the "historical present" in storytelling not only "heightens emotion" but also "connects" the story and the storytelling event. Thus, Kang's use of "historical present" displays the connectedness between his past as a young athlete in the story and his present self (i.e., talk show host) in the storytelling event, thereby claiming his familiarity with the athlete lifestyle and establish his frame of understanding regarding athelets.

In the following sequence, Kang builds the story setting with *saypyek hwunlyenul tases si paney kayatoy****-canhayo,*** 'You know we need to attend early morning training by 5:30 a.m.' (lines 3-4). These specific reference items (e.g., early morning training, 5:30 a.m.) suggest that Kang acknowledges the typical athlete's practice schedule. The sentential suffix '*-canhayo*' also connotes a sense of shared knowledge with the co-participant (Kim, 2003). Kang's assertive manner is marked with a present tense declarative sentential suffix '*-p/supnita,*' as in *wuntong senswuuy emeninun ta yenkica****-ipnita,*** 'Athlete's mothers are all performers' (lines 2-3) and *ku ttay kkaci an omyen ttak cenhwaka o****-pnita*** 'If you don't arrive on time, then they call you' (line 6), thereby claiming Kang's professional knowledge about the current topic.

Based on the above, a close inspection of lines 1-6 reveals that Kang's athlete-specific professional knowledge is displayed through shifts in tense, his specific use of lexical items, and sentential suffixes. While Kang indicates his familiarity with the described event, a sense of shared knowledge between the two participants is inferred concurrently.

Subsequently, in lines 11-20, Kang continues to strengthen his claim of familiarity with the current topic by telling a personal anecdote. Although the level of his authenticity is not explicitly mentioned, Kang's use of the person reference

hotong (i.e., Kang's first name), the employment of his hometown regional dialect while engaging in reported speech (e.g., *nay* 'I' instead of *na* in line 11, *emwui* 'mom' instead of *emeni* in line 13), and his intonation contour suggest that he is providing a firsthand account. The story itself consists primarily of direct reported speech. In his desparate plea that his mother 'save' him from training, Kang uses extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986) in his direct reported speech, 'I really could die' (line 11) and 'If I go out today, I could die' (line 12). In reponse, Kang's mother performs an exaggerated 'act out' (e.g., repetitive use of *aiko* 'oh my' in lines 14, 16, and 17) and gives Kang's coach a made up excuse (lines 14-20).

Despite using a personal anecdote to preface and thus orient Min to his interview question, Min fails to provide a relevant second story.

Extract (2.24) (Host: Kang, Guest: Min)

```
22 Min:     저는 합숙훈련을 해가지고요 엄마랑 같이 안 살았어요.
23 Kang:    아:: eheh
24 Min:     ((clapping once)) 아! 나 진짜 웃긴거 있어요.
25 Kang:    예(h) hehe

22 Min:     ce-nun hapswuk hwunlyen-ul hay kaciko-yo emma-lang
            kathi an sal-ass-eyo.
            I-TC camp training-AC do so-POL mom-with together not
            live-PST-POL
            I did traning camp, so I didn't live with [my?] mom.

23 Kang:    A:: hehe
            Oh:: hehe

24 Min:     ((clapping once)) a! na cincca wuski-n ke iss-eyo.
                              I really funny-ATTR thing exist-POL
                              Ah! I have a funny story to tell.

25 Kang:    Yey(h) hehe
            Yes hehe
            [story continues]
```

Identifying Kang's story as a story as an episode of a mother making up an excuse on behalf of her child, Min fails to proffer an answer to Kang's interview question because he trained at a training camp (line 22). However, Min initiates a self-story preface in line 24, 'Oh I have a funny story to tell' and tells Kang the story of how his mother sent him a book to remedy his insomnia (not shown in

above excerpt). Although Min's self-initiated story may not be what Kang had intended (i.e., displaying lack of diligence), Min is able to find another source, 'mothers,' with which to maintain topical relevancy with Kang's prior story (i.e., a mother-related event).

So far, I have demonstrated how the host's 'first story' in the questioning sequence solicits the guest's topically coherent 'second story' (Sacks, 1992). During this questioning sequence, the host creates a hypothetical story (Extract 2.21) or tells a story about his past experience (Extract 2.23) and, thereby prompts the guest speakers to produce their own relevant narratives. Such story elicitation also creates a logical link between the two stories, as the host's story shapes the guest's story. Additionally, the connection between the two stories is 'interactionally relevant' (Sacks, 1992, p. 7), since the content of the guest's proffered story shows how s/he understood the function of the host's prior story.

2.7. Summary

In this chapter, I have examined (1) how the talk show host performs various questioning strategies, particularly story-eliciting strategies, when interviewing his guest, (2) how reported speech/thought is incorporated into the host's questioning sequence, and (3) the interactional imports and consequences. The above analysis demonstrated that, in eliciting stories, a host may neutrally formulate questions that are personal and/or sensitive through the voice of a non-co-present TV audience (Section 2.3); embed a third-party's reported speech in [K-] claims and present them to the guest, who is a firsthand experience holder, thereby prompting the guest's further elaboration of the described event (Section 2.4); treat the guest's story event as abnormal and noticeable by providing an opposing viewpoint, thereby creating a matter of tellability (Section 2.5); and share a personal or made-up story to prompt the guest's relevant second story (Section 2.6).

As mentioned earlier, the host's grammar usage (e.g., interrogative question) was understood as a primary resource in accomplishing questioning. Focusing not only on the grammar but also on the functional and sequential dimensions of Kang's utterances, the extracts demonstrated that questioning in talk show discourse is

realized in various ways. The host's use of reported speech in a questioning sequence is a case in point. Because the talk show is a genre of "semi-institutional discourse" (Ilie, 2001), the host is allowed to freely shift between institutional and non-institutional roles. The (re)enactment of co-present or non-present characters is effective in prompting the guests' opinions and stories.

This chapter's analysis showed that the use of reported speech enabled the host to distance himself from the issue in question. In Sections 2.3, for example, the host acts as an "animator" (Goffman, 1981) and merely delivers the inquiries that the TV audience may have for the guest. Similarly, in Section 2.4, the host, who is in a less knowledgeable position than the interviewee, quotes a third-party's (either specified or left unknown) hearsay reports and seeks confirmation of the described event from the interviewee as a firsthand experience holder. The illustration in Figure 2.13 shows the "layering of voices" (Bakhtin, 1981) explicated in Sections 2.3 and 2.4.

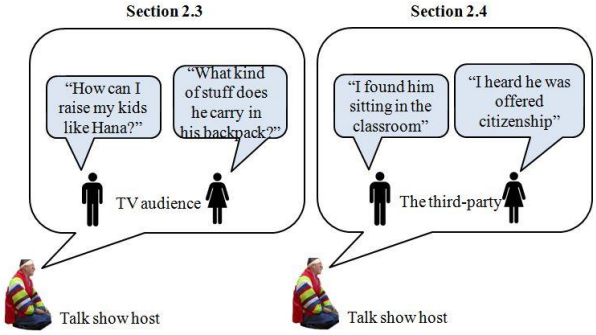

Figure 2.13. An illustration of "layering of voices"

I also showed that the host effectively prompts the guests' responses through the employment of reported speech. In Section 2.5, the tellability of the guests' story is created through the sharp contrast between what is considered a generally accepted belief, often claimed with the *–ketun* suffix, and the guests' non-normative story events as provided in the form of quoted speech. The instances of quoted speech in Section 2.5 are shown in Figure 2.14.

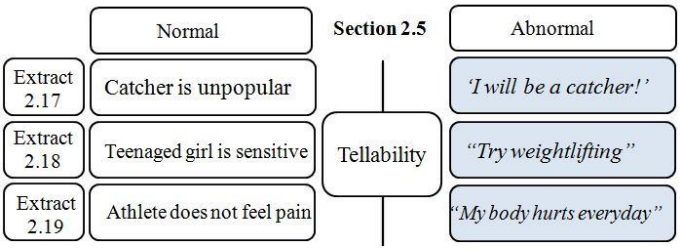

Figure 2.14. Tellability creations

In Section 2.6, the instances of reported speech are incorporated into the host's first story, which is either personal or hypothetical. Although it is not a frequently observed story-elicitation strategy, I found that its employment effectively invites the guest's topically relevant second story (see Figure 2.15).

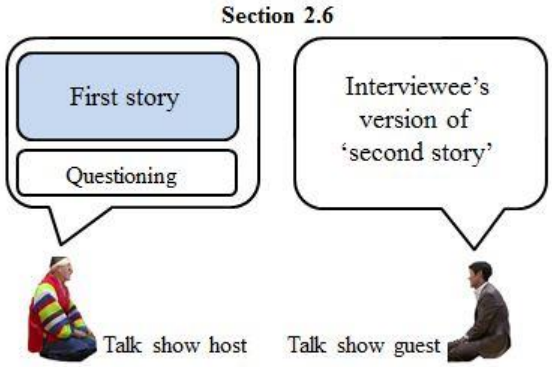

Figure 2.15. Solicitation of the second story

In this chapter, I have examined how the host activates his institutional role as a questioner or story elicitor, uses direct or hypothetical reported speech creatively in a questioning sequence, and accomplishes the action of questioning effectively. In Chapters 3 and 4, I will examine how the host activates his institutional role as an active listener and performs his 'listening practices' in the third-turn position. In particular, drawing on the notion of 'formulation' (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970), I will closely examine the ways in which the host formulates the guest's previous response in reported speech.

CHAPTER 3

LISTENING PRACTICES I: FORMULATING THE PREVIOUS STATEMENT

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on how the *Mwuluphphaktosa* host's responding practices in the third turn position (i.e., a turn following a question and a response). There are various ways for the host to display his immediate understanding of a guest's response, from simple response tokens such as *a* 'oh', *e* 'yeah', *ney* 'yes' to more complex and lengthy response tokens. It is noticed that the host frequently partially repeats or paraphrases what a guest has just said through the employment of reported speech, or what I call *(re)enactments*.

Drawing on Grafinkel and Sacks (1970) notion of 'formulation', this chapter will examine reported speech and thought through the lens of formulating utterances. Specifically, this chapter seeks to answer the following questions: How are the instances of reported speech/thought realized institutionally? What can be (re)enacted in the third turn position? In what sequential environments do speakers produce formulating utterances? How does the guest respond to the host's third turn (re)enactments? What are the interactional and institutional consequences achieved through the employment of reported speech? This chapter aims to answer these questions by investigating the ways in which such reported speech/thought is used in particular sequential environments.

Section 3.2 introduces the notion of 'formulation', as used by Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) and later by Heritage (1985), and examines how formulating utterances quoted in the voice of a story character, most likely the co-present party, are designed and practiced in the third turn position. Subsequently, the section looks at what turns, if any, can be prefaced or followed by a formulating utterance. Lastly, this section analyzes the utterance-by-utterance organization of interview conversations by looking at the response speaker's subsequent turn.

In Sections 3.3-3.6, I will examine a collection of extracts in which the third turn follows a question and response:

The third turn formulation

1→ Host: A question
2→ Guest: A Response
3⇒ Host: A third turn

For instance, in Section 3.3, I examine how the host, at the beginning of the show, routinely raises a pre-set question, such as 'What is your purpose of visit?' or 'What concerns you the most these days?', during his third turn formulation. The host's third turn production is usually followed by either the guest's confirmation or disconfirmation, thus forming a 'formulation-decision' adjacency pair. The subsequent turns following the 'formulation-decision' adjacency pair and the conversational consequences are discussed in Section 3.4.

In Sections 3.3-3.4, I have fixed the sequential environment of possible third turn production within the talk show participants' routine exchange of a pre-set question and response. However, in Sections 3.5-3.6, I demonstrate three examples of formulation occurring in storytelling contexts. During the telling, a story can be flexibly interspersed with the recipient's formulating utterances. In Section 3.5, I will examine how the host produces formulating utterances as a way to provide an alternative interpretation of the teller's previously reported story event. Often, the host's formulating utterances occur in a post-punch line sequence due to the structural alignment, although it can be positioned elsewhere. Extract (3.10) and Extract (3.11), show formulations upon story completion whereas Extract (3.12) shows formulation in the mid-story development phase. As for Section 3.6, the host's playful and somewhat teasingly produced mischievous third turns are closely examined, demonstrating how talk shows function as 'infotainment' (Tolson, 2001c).

3.2. Formulation in an Interview Context

How the host (i.e. questioner) understands the guests' responses, which range from a brief description to a lengthy reported event, and displays his understanding can be examined through the lens of formulation. Heritage (1984, p.100) notes that 'formulating' is a particular kind of television interview conduct engaged in by questioners. Such formulations are commonly observed in various institutionalized

interactions such as courtroom interactions, service conversations (e.g. counselor-client) or television interviews. Interestingly, though, questioner formulation is not a usual occurrence in daily conversation (Heritage and Watson, 1980, p.249,). What, then, is a formulation? The indexical and reflexive features of formulations are well-described by Garfinkel and Sacks:[34]

> A member may treat some part of the conversation as an occasion to describe that conversation, to explain it, or characterize it, or explicate, or translate, or summarise, or furnish the gist of it, or take note of its accordance with rules, or remark on its departure from rules. (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970, p.350).

In line with Garfinkel and Sack's description, formulation in the interviewing context involves glossing, summarizing, clarifying, developing the gist of the conversation based on the previous turn, and closing- down the topic. In the examples below, I show how formulating utterances quoted in the voice of a co-present party (i.e. guest) are designed and practiced in the third turn position. Such utterances can be partial reiterations of previous turn(s), reconstructed with new additions or summarized. The examples demonstrate Kang's, the host, use of formulated utterances quoted in a co-present party's voices. Prior to each example, the guests told the host their biggest concern at the moment of interviewing and, in return, the host *formulated* their responses.

Example (1)[35]

```
                [Sue responds]
07 Kang:        sikan-i hulu-myen hulu-l-swulok pwumo-nim-ey tayhan kuliwum-kwa
                Time-NM flow-then flow-ATTR-the:more parent-HT-to
                toward nostagia-and

08              aythusham-i tewuk te kheci-n-ta:¿
                Affection-NM more:and:more grow-ATTR-DC

                {So you mean} "As time goes by, nostalgic and
                affectionate feelings develop for one's parents¿"
```

[34] The word 'formulating' was initially termed by Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) and later by Heritage and Watson (1980).

[35] See Extract (3.4) for a full version of the conversation.

09 Sue: Yey=
Yes

Example (2)[36]

[Minho responds]
07 Kang: a:: icey tto tasi,
Now and again
Oh '{I} need to'

08 Minho: °Yey°
Yes

09 Kang: *London Olympic* -ul wihayse,
London Olympic-AC for
'for the London Olympic,'

10 Minho: °Yey°
Yes

11 Kang: icey cwunpi-lul hay-ya toy-nuntey
Now preparation-AC do-need become-but
'get prepared myself but'

12 Minho: °Yey°
Yes

13 Kang: ku hoktokha-n hwunlyen-ul tasi ikye-nay-l swu iss-ul-kka¿
That severe-ATTR training-AC again win-do:all:the:way-ATTR can exist-ATTR-Q
'Will {I} be able to overcome that severe training¿'

14 Minho: ((nodding)) °Yey°
°Yes°

Example (3)[37]

[Hoon responds]
15 Kang: wuo:: ikey ((looking down)) nemwunato khu-n yoksim-i ani-n-ka::
This too big-ATTR greed-NM not-ATTR-Q
Wow Isn't that way too big a wish:::

16 >kulenikka< tongkyey *Olympic* sasang ((finger making two))
So winter Olympic for:the:first:time
"So, for the first time in the Winter Olympic"

[36] See Extract (3.5) for a full version of the conversation.
[37] See Extract (3.7) for a full version of the conversation.

17 twu congmok-eyse kummeytal-ul tta-ko siph-ta!
two event-from gold:medal-AC win-and wish-DC
"{I} want to win two gold medals!"

18 Hoon: kulssey kukey kkok *Olympic*-i ani-eto↑ *short track*-eyse-to han pen
Well that must Olympic-NM not-even:so short track-from-too one time

19 .tch .hh cengsang-ey se po-ko-siph-[eyo::]
top-at stand try-and-wish-POL

Well, even if it's not in the Olympic, {I} want to be the best in short track as well

Example (4)[38]

[DH responds]
28 Kang: e::: kulenikka na-to sasil-un >mwuluphphaktosa-lul mence naka-ss-eya
So I-also fact-TC 'Mr.Knee-Drop Show'-AC first appear-PST-need

29 toy-nuntey<, kyelkwacekulo >mwuluphphaktosa-ka hyenyek
Become-but eventually 'Mr. Knee-Drop Show'-NM present

30 senswu cwung-ey 'Choo sinsoo' senswu-ka mence naka-ss-ta¿
Athlete among NAME athlete-NM first appear-PST-DC

Oh "I should've appeared on 'Mr.Guru Talk Show' First, but since I didn't, Choo appeared before I did"

31 DH: Yey
Yes

Example (5)[39]

[Heo responds]
13 Kang: ani kulem onul 'Heo Youngman' hwapayk-uy komin-un melikhalak-i ppacye-se komin-ip-ni-ta
DM then today NAME artist-of concern-TC hair-NM lose-so concern-AH-IN-DC
Artist Heo's concern for today is:
"My growing concern is the hair loss"

14 ettehkey ha-myen melikhalak-i tasi na-l swu iss-ul-kka-yo=[ip ni kka?]
How do-then hair-NM again grow-ATTR can exist-ATTR-Q-POL

[38] See Extract (3.8) for a full version of the conversation.
[39] See Extract (3.2) for a full version of the conversation.

"How can {I} get my hair to grow back." Is this so?

15 Heo: [((nodding))] °yey°

Yes

As the above examples demonstrate, the third turn (re)enactment can be produced by itself without any preceding or following quoative linguistic resources such as quotative markers (e.g. *-lako, -hako*), speech verb, or subject (Example 1). In such cases, the host consciously or unconsciously demarcates the reported speech from the preceding or following turn through a differentiated speech level, tonal shift, gestural and/or gaze shift. Often, the host's immediate understanding *a* 'oh', *e* 'I see'; surprise *wuwa* 'wow'; or sympathy is preceded by the formulating utterance (Example 2). Simultaneously, the level of emotion displayed in the host's response tokens is indicated with word elongation, as in *a::*, *wuo::*, *e::* in Examples (2)-(4). The host's immediate display of understanding may then be followed by the speaker's assessment (Example 3). In line 15, Kang initially displays his surprise with *wuo* 'wow' and assesses the 'object' described by the guest in the previous turn as *yoksim* 'greed'. Subsequently, Kang reenacts what the guest has said and prefaces the statement with *kulenikka* 'so, in other words' (line 16).

As shown in Examples 3 and 4, the host's third turn reenactment is often prefaced by *kulenikka* or an abbreviated form *kunikka* 'so, I mean, in other words' when rephrasing, confirming and/or clarifying what the guest has said in earlier statements. H.-R. Kim (2011, p.52) examined how the use of a *kulenikka*-prefaced turn engaged in 're-ordering'. Kim claimed that responding speakers use a turn-beginning *kulenikka*-prefaced turn in second position to "re-prioritize" and "re-organize" (ibid., p.62) necessary information according to its degree of significance or relevance before correctly answering the first-turn speaker's question. K.-H. Kim and K.-H Suh (1996), like H.-R. Kim (2011), have also argued that the most basic function of *kulenikka* is the reformulation of prior talk, which frequently occurs in self-editing contexts. Although the present study looks at the third turns produced by a question speaker (i.e. the host), what is achieved through a *kulenikka*-prefaced turn is not irrelevant. Particularly, when the guest produces multi-TCU responses with ungrammatical and/or unreferenced items, the host attempts to enhance the responses'

comprehensibility for television viewers through a *kulenikka*-prefaced formulating utterance in the third turn position.

Compared to Example (1), where the formulating utterance is independently produced, the formulating utterance embedded in Example (5) is framed with a preceding and following turn. The formulating utterance, which I name X, is incorporated into the sentence 'So your concern for today is X. Is it so?' (lines 13-14).. The embedded formulating utterance, X, is ungrammatical because it is produced in a full sentence and the interrogative copular verb *–ipnikka* cannot be used independently. Despite this ungrammatical usage, though, the conveyed message is well manifested and even sounds natural as it is used in spoken discourse.

I have thus far briefly examined what can possibly be preceded or followed by a formulating utterance within the question speaker's turn. I now turn to utterance-by-utterance organization by looking at the response speaker's subsequent turn, a turn following the third-turn receipt. Notice that Examples (1)-(3) and (5) involve the responding speaker's simple verbal and non-verbal (e.g. nodding) confirmations in response to the questioning speaker's formulating utterance. Formulations occasion either *confirmation*, such as 'yeah', 'okay', 'sure', or *disconfirmation*, such as 'no', 'no but', or other variants, as in Example 4. Consequently, two adjacent turns form a 'formulation-decision' adjacency pair (Heritage and Watson, 1980, pp.252-253). This study's data also indicates that a formulating utterance is likely to be produced with slight rising intonation regardless of its sentence type and thereby seeks the guest's confirmation (or disconfirmation).

3.3. The Third Turn Following a Pre-set Question 'What is the Purpose of Your Visit?' and a Response

The most distinctive feature of this particular talk-show derives from the host's role as a *tosa* 'guru' who dresses as a funny-looking psychic and helps solve guests' concerns during his or her 'visit'. While the guest is actually invited to the talk show, the talk show host acts as if the guest voluntarily made his/her visit to the 'enlightened person' to solve his/her problem. Therefore, at the beginning of the interview, the host always asks, 'What is your concern?', 'What made you visit here?'

or ‘What is the purpose of your visit today?’ In this section, I will look closely at the sequence following the host’s pre-set question and the guest’s response and discuss the host’s employment of reported speech or thought in the third turn position.

Extract (3.1) comes from Kang’s interview with Jong, a baseball player in his forties. This conversation occurrs at the beginning of the talk show and shows Kang asking Jong why he has visited the show (lines 1-2, 4 and 6).

Extract (3.1) (Host: Kang, Guest: Jong)

```
01 Kang:        지금 대한민국에서 가장 부러울 게 없는,
02              우리 이종범 선수°가° 뭐가 아쉬[워서],
03 Jong:                                    [hhh]
                (2 irrelevant lines deleted)
06 Kang:        이렇게 예. 고민을: (.) 가지고 >오셨습니까<. 뭡니까!
07 Jong:        선수 생활을 더 하고 싶어서 °그랬습니다°.
08 Yoo:         ((nodding)) °음::°.
09 Kang:        마흔입니다.
10 Jong:        예.
11 Kang:        내년 시즌에 이젠 [마흔 한 살].
12 Jong:                         [마흔 하나죠]=°예 한국 나이로°.
13 Kang:    →   근데 아직:도 더 선수:가 하고 싶은데 어떻게 하면 좋을까요=
14          →   =무릎팍 도사님 해결 해 주시오¿
15 Jong:        ((nodding)) ((smiling)) 그렇죠.

01 Kang:        cikum tayhanminkwuk-eyse kacang pwule-wul key eps-nun,
                Now Korea-in most admire-ATTR thing not:exist-ATTR

02              wuli ‘Lee Jongbum’ senswu-°ka° mwe-ka aswi[we-se],
                Our NAME athlete-NM what-NM feel:lack:of-and

                Right now, Jong is the most envied person in Korea,

03 Jong:
                                                        [hhhh]
                                                        hhhh
                (2 irrelevant lines deleted)

06 Kang:        ilehkey yey. komin-ul: (.) kaci-ko >osy-ess-sup-ni-
                kka<. Mwe-p-ni-kka!
                like:this yes concern-AC bring-and come:HON-AH-IN-Q what-AH-IN-Q
                Yes. What brought you here? What is it!

07 Jong:        senswu saynghwal-ul te ha-ko siph-ese °kulay-ss-sup-ni-
                ta°.
                Athlete life-AC more do-and wish-so do:such-PST-AH-IN-
DC
                {I} want to continue my athletic career.
```

08 Yoo: ((nodding)) °um::°.
em.

09 Kang: mahun i-p-ni-ta.
Forty COP-AH-IN-DC
{You} are forty.

10 Jong: Yey.
Yes.

11 Kang: naynyen *season*-ey icey-n [mahun han sal].
Next:year season-at then-TC forty one years:old
Next year {you/I} will be [forty one].

12 Jong: [mahun hana-cyo].°yey hankwuk nai-lo°.
Forty one-COMM:POL Yes Korean age-by
Forty one. Yes, in Korean age.

13 Kang: → kuntey acik:to te senswu:ka hako siph-untey ettehkey ha-myen coh-ul-kka-yo=
But still more athlete-NM do-and wish-CIRCUM how do-then good-ATTR-Q-POL
"But {I} still want to continue {my} athletic career, so what should {I} do"

14 → =mwuluphphak tosa-nim haykyel hay cwu-si-o¿
Mr. Guru-HT solve do give-AH-IM
"Mr. Guru, solve {my} problem¿"

15 Jong: ((nodding)) ((smiling)) kuleh-cyo.
Right-COMM:POL
Right.

At first glance, the talk show viewers, who may lack information about Jong, may find it difficult to understand why Jong is concerned about continuing his professional baseball career. Jong simply states, 'I want to continue my athletic career' (line 7) and does not address the reason for his concern. Consequently, Kang provides information about Jong (his age) so that the talk show viewers may infer that Jong's concern for his athletic career stems from his age (line 9). Having provided the non-co-present audience with contextual details, Kang clarifies Jong's issue in the reported speech '*But* I *still* want to continue my athletic career' in line 13. By adding the phrase 'But I still want to', Kang's re-presented third turn embeds the reason why Jong is concerned with the continuation of his athletic career. Although it is an

interrogatively constructed question, Kang does not give Jong a chance to respond. The question is not designed to elicit recipiency; rather it is a continuation of Kang's reported speech quoted in Jong's voice. Kang then immediately initiates a new imperative turn, 'Mr. Guru, solve my problem' (line 14). The addressee term *Mwuluphphak tosanim* 'Mr. Guru' explicitly marks that Kang's third turns are, indeed, reenacted in Jong's voice.

In sum, Kang tries to maximize the talk show viewers' comprehension regarding Jong's presented issue through rephrased turns and the phrase 'I still want to'. Concurrently, Kang re-presents Jong's earlier turn by deploying reported speech as if it is a prima facie verbatim report and thereby maintains objectivity. Kang's last third turn ends with rising intonation, inviting Jong's confirmation. Jong, in return, verbally and non-verbally confirms.

A related example is shown below, which is extracted from an interview with Heo, a renowned manga artist in his sixties. The excerpt is also from the beginning of the talk show. In this extract, Kang explicitly asks Heo the reason for his visit (lines 1-2) and Heo quite lengthily replies (lines 3-7, 9-11). Kang then restates what Heo has tells him (lines 13-14).

Extract (3.2) (Host: Kang, Guest: Heo)

```
01 Kang:        자! 허영만 화백께서 무슨 고민이 있어서 이 무릎팍 도사를 자기 발로
02              >성큼성큼< °찾아[>오셨습니까°<]
03 Heo:                      [제        가] 머리를 요렇게 ((combing)) 빗다 보니까,
04              그 전에는 좀 많이 ((placing his right hand on his head))
05              있었어요. >여길< 빗다 보니까 없던 삼각주°가°
06              ((makes a triangle with his index fingers and places them on his head))
07              요렇::게 넓어져[요].
08 Kang:                     [예]예.
09 Heo:         그런데 이 머리카락이,
10              ((right hands placing on each side of head)) 점점점 >이렇게<
11              M자 형으로 해 가지고 제가 요즘 (.) 이런 꼴이 됐[어요((smiling))].
12 Kang:                                                  [hehehehehehehe]
13          →   아니 그럼 오늘 허영만 화백의 고민은 머리카락이 빠져서 고민입니다.
14          →   어떻게 하면 머리카락이 다시 날 수 있을까요=[입  니  까?]
15 Heo:                                              [((nodding))] °예°.
16 Kang:        °예°. hehehehehehe
```

```
01 Kang:    ca! 'Heo Young Man' hwapayk-kkeyse mwusun komin-i iss-
```

ese i mwuluphphak tosa-lul caki pal-lo
Now NAME artist-NM:AH what:kind concern-NM exist-so
this Mr.Guru-AC self foot-by

02 >sengkhumsengkhum[40]< °chac-a[>o-sy-ess-sup-ni-kka°<],
Search-CONN-come-AH-PST-AH-IN-Q

Well! What's made the Artist Heo visit Mr.Guru?

03 Heo: [cey-ka] meli-lul yolehkey ((combing)) pis-ta po-nikka
I-NM hair-AC like:this comb-while see-then
I was combing my hair like this,

04 ku cen-ey-nun com manhi ((placing his right hand on his head))
That before-at-TC little much
{I} used to have much more {hair} here.

05 iss-ess-eyo. >yeki-l< pis-ta po-nikka eps-ten samkakcwu-°ka°
Exist-PST-POL here-AC comb-while see-then not:exist-RT:TC delta-NM
{I} was combing here and {found} a delta

06 ((makes a triangle on his head with his index fingers and moves upward))

Figure 3.1-3.2 (Line 6)

07 yoleh::key nelp-e-cye-[yo].
Like:this wide-CONN-become-POL
which broadens like this.

08 Kang: [yey]yey.
Yes yes.

09 Heo: kulentey i melikhalak-i,
But this hair-NM

10 ((right hands on each side of head)) cemcemcem
>ilehkey< [Placing his hands on each side of his head]

[40] S*engkhumsengkhum* is a mimetic word for walking with quick and long steps.

Slowly like:this

Figure 3.3 (Line 10)

11 'M' ca hyeng-ulo hay kaciko cey-ka yocum (.) ile-n kkol-i tway-ss-[eyo ((smiling))].
M-letter form-to do and I-NM these:days like:this-ATTR shape-NM become-PST-POL
But then my hairline gradually developed into an M-shape and turned into this.

12 Kang: [hehehehehehehe]
hehehehehehehe

13 → ani kulem onul 'Heo Young Man' hwapayk-uy komin-un melikhalak-i ppacye-se komin-ip-ni-ta
DM then today NAME artist-of concern-TC hair-NM lose-so concern-AH-IN-DC
Then the artist Heo's concern for today is "My growing concern is hair loss"

14 → ettehkey ha-myen melikhalak-i tasi na-l swu iss-ul-kka-yo= [ip-ni-kka?]
How do-then hair-NM again grow-ATTR can exist-ATTR-Q-POL AH-IN-Q
How can {I} get my hair to grow back? Is it so?

15 Heo: [((nodding))] °yey°.
Yes.

16 Kang: °yey°. hehehehehehe
Yes. hehehehehehe

In line 12, Kang laughs at Heo's self-deprecating utterance, displaying his understanding of the laughable item (Glenn, 2003). Kang treats Heo's complaint as somewhat lighthearted and humorous, which is not congruent with the image of a *Hwapayk* 'artist:HON'. Subsequently, Kang re-confirms what Heo has told him through the structure of 'So your concern is X. Is that so?' (lines 13-14). Kang could have simply summarized the prior turns by replacing X with 'my hair loss', as in 'Then the artist Heo's concern for today is hair loss', but instead replaces X with two turns of reported speech 'My growing concern is hair loss. How can I get my hair to grow back?' (lines 13-14) and seeks Heo's confirmation through the interrogative

copular verb '*-ipnikka?*', which cannot be used independently and is thus ungrammatical. Although Kang uses the interrogative copular verb incorrectly, Heo, contextually understanding the use of the interrogative copular verb as 'Is it so?', instantly confirms both non-verbally and verbally.

Here, Kang restates Heo's earlier turns through embedded reported speech. Many researchers agree that the issue of authentic delivery in reported speech is secondary (Volosinov, 1971; Tannen, 1989; Mayes, 1990). Kang's reported speech purports to restate Heo's earlier turns faithfully. Heo did explicitly state his concern, but described it rather metaphorically and did not mention the words 'hair loss'. Kang, though, directly mentions Heo's concern in a hypothetically constructed reported speech, 'My growing concern is hair loss' (line 13). As the host, Kang objectively re-presents the experience "owned" by Heo and invites Heo's confirmation (Heritage, 1985). Moreover, by re-presenting Heo's concern, Kang simultaneously clarifies any ambiguity created in the earlier turns for talk show viewers.

Another similar example is shown below and depicts an interview with JY, a famous female golfer in her twenties20s. During JY's interview, she tells Kang that people think she has only one type of facial expression (lines 3 and 5). Kang rephrases what he has just heard and seeks JY's confirmation (lines 6 and 8).

Extract (3.3) (Host: Kang, Guest: JY)

01 Kang:		**그렇게** <바쁜> 일정에도 뭐가 >답답해서<
02		자기 발로 >**성큼성큼**< (0.8) 찾아 오셨습니까.
03 JY:		.hh 어:: ((lip smacking)) 사람들이: 제가 한 가지 표정- 만 지어서 그런지=,
04 Kang:		=네.
05 JY:		표정이 한 가지 밖에 (.) 있다고 밖에 생각을 안 하세요.
06 Kang:	→	(0.3) 아 표정이 하나 밖에 없다고 사람들이 오해해요¿
07 JY:		네.
08 Kang:	→	무릎팍도사님 어떻게 하면 좋을까요¿
09 JY:		네.

01 Kang:	kulehkey <pappu-n> ilceng-ey-to mwe-ka >taptapha-yse<
	Such:that busy-ATTR schedule-at-even what-NM feel:heavy-so
02	caki pal-lo >sengkhumsengkhum< (0.8) chac-a o-sy-ess-sup-ni-kka.
	Self foot-by search-CONN come-AH-PST-AH-IN-Q
	Despite having such a busy schedule, what brought you here?

03 JY: .hh e:: ((lip smacking)) salam-tul-i: cey-ka han kaci phyoceng- man ci-ese kulenci=,
People-PL-NM I-NM one type facial:expression only make-so assumably
.hh Eh people think maybe because I only make one faciel expression,

04 Kang: =Ney.
Yes.

05 JY: phyoceng-i han kaci pakkey (.) iss-tako pakkey sayngkak-ul an ha-sey-yo.
facial:expression-NM one type only exist-QT only think-AC not do-SH-POL
{They} think {I} have only one facial expression.

06 Kang: → (0.3) a phyoceng-i hana pakkey eps-tako salam-tul-i ohayhay-yo¿
Facial:expression-NM one only not:exist-QT people-PL-NM misunderstand-POL
Oh "people misunderstand that {I} have only one facial expression¿"

07 JY: Ney.
Yes.

08 Kang: → mwuluphphaktosa-nim ettehkey ha-myen coh-ul-kka-yo¿
Mr. Guru-HT how do-then good-ATTR-Q-POL
Mr. Guru, what should {I} do¿

09 JY: Ney.
Yes .

JY begins this extract by complaining that her maintained poker face during competitions gives people the misconceived idea that she has only one facial expression. In giving her account of this misconception, JY ungrammatically uses the negative polarity item *pakkey* 'except for' in line 5. The delimiter *pakkey* must be followed by negations such as *an* 'not', *mos* 'cannot', or *epsta* 'do not exist, do not have' as in *phyocengi hana* ***pakkey epsta*** 'to have only one facial expression'. JY, though, mistakenly produces the opposite word, *issta* 'to exist, to have' instead. She then reproduces *pakkey* and, as a result, the whole sentence sounds awkward.

Consider the first third turn in line 6: Kang begins with a change-of-state token *a* 'oh' (Heritage, 1984) and clarifies what JY said with upward intonation, thereby seeking JY's confirmation. But Kang's use of rising intonation results in

slight confusion, as it is difficult to assume whether the contextually omitted subject indicates *you* or *I*. However, by using the explicit addressee term *Mwuluphaktosanim* 'Mr. Guru' (i.e. Kang) in his second third turn, Kang makes it clear that his delivered third turns are reported speech quoted in JY's voice, as in 'Mr. Guru, what should *I* do?' (line 8). Apart from the use of an addressee term, it is worth noting that the question and response adjacency pair in lines 8-9 reveals how JY understands Kang's question. In response to Kang's wh-question, JY gives a type-conforming response (i.e. a 'yes' or 'no' response), which appears ungrammatical. JY acknowledges that Kang is not actually seeking a response to his wh-question but is presenting what JY has just said. As each of Kang's quoted third turns with rising intonation are used in the context of eliciting recipiency, JY thus confirms with 'Yes' in lines 7 and 9. Taken together, Kang clarifies the vagueness resulting from JY's inappropriate use of *pakkey* 'except for' during his third turn position and simultaneously re-presents her experience through the deployment of reported speech. I have thus far shown some instances of the host's third turn position deployment of reported speech in response to the guest's responses. The organization of such talk can be schematized as following:

```
1 → A: Question
2 → B: Response
3 ⇒ C: Formulation (i.e. Reported speech in third turn)
4 → D: Decision (i.e. (Dis) Confirmation)
5 → E: Host's initiative
```

The previous three examples focused on the first three turns (i.e. A to C). Kang rephrased what the guests told him and provided a clearer presentation of their resposes, especially when a response was imperfectly produced. Consequently, the host is not a mere passive listener but rather an assistant teller who clarifies the chief teller's response when such responses are (1) contextually lacking (Extract 3.1.); (2) described in an indirect manner (Extract 3.2); or ungrammatical (Extract 3.3). In such cases, Kang provided additional accounts on behalf of the talk show viewers. His third turn formulation were then usually followed by the guest's confirmation, which formed a formulation-decision adjacency pair. Subsequently, Kang took the initiative to continue the sequence. In Section 3.4, I will broaden the focus of this chapter by analyzing the sequence after the third turn into account (i.e. C to E).

3.4. The Third Turn as a Preparatory to Proceed to the Next Action

Unlike ordinary conversation, where the total length of time allotted to each topic is not normally determined in advance, the television interviewer needs to time-manage the ongoing talk and evenly allocate time to various topics as planned. Usually, the host is the only one who has access to the temporal situation and the guest is not aware of any time constraints. It is the host, then, who primarily concludes the ongoing topic. In such cases, this study's data indicates that the host summarizes the ongoing topic through the employment of reported speech. Norrick (2010, p.538) examines how Oprah Winfrey sums up the guest's story by using 'constructed dialogue'.

In this section, I will focus on the subsequent turns following the formulation-decision adjacency pair. The following extract is excerpted from Kang's interview with Sue, a renowned female ballerina. Sue went abroad to study ballet when she was a teenager. Since then, she has lived in Germany while her parents have lived in Korea. Like the previous examples, this extract has a question and response adjacency pair (lines 1-6) as well as a formulation and decision pair (lines 7-9).

Extract (3.4) (Host: Kang, Guest: Sue)

01 Kang:		**월**:드 >발레리나 < 강:>수진씨께서< **무슨** 고민이 있어서,
02		이 이역만리↑(.) 저희 >부족한< 두 도사를 **모**:든 스케(h)쥴을
03		정리(h)시키(h)면서**까지** **직접** °이곳으로 저희들을 불러오셨나이까.°
04 Sue:		예: 시간이 흐르면 흐를수록:, 부모님에 대한 마음이 애틋해져요.
05		저희들을 이렇게 그- 잘 키워주셨는데,
06		거기에 대한 (.) **보**답을 못해주는 (.)°그런 마음이요°.
07 Kang:	→	시간이 흐르면 흐를수록 부모님에 대한 그리움과
08	→	애틋함이 더욱 더 커진다:¿
09 Sue:		예=.
10 Kang:		=정확하게 그러면 부모님하고 몇 살 때부터 지금 떨어져서 °사셨습니까°.

01 Kang:	*Wo:rld >ballerina*< 'Ka:ng >Soojin'-ssi-kkeyse< mwusun komin-i iss-ese,
	World ballerina NAME-VOC-NM:HON what:kind concern-NM exist-so
02	i iyekmanli↑(.) cehuy >pwucokha-n< twu tosa-lul mo:tun *sche(h)dule*-ul
	this far we(hum.) lacking-ATTR two guru-AC all schedule-AC

03 cengli(h)-sikhi(h)-myense-kkaci cikcep °i kos-ulo cehuy-tul-ul Pwul-le-o-sy-ess-naikka.
Clear-order-while-even directy this place-to we(hum.)-PL-AC call-CONN-come-AH-PST-Q

What on earth is the World-famious Ballerina 'Kang Soojin' so concerned with that we flew all the way from Korean to here(=Germany).

04 Sue: yey:sikan-i hulu-myen hulu-l-swulok:, pwumo-nim-ey tayhan maum-i aythushay-cy-eyo.
Yes time-NM flow-then flow-ATTR-the:more parent-HT-to toward feeling-NM affectionate-become-POL
Yes, as time goes by, {I} feel for {my} parents more and more.

05 cehuy-tul-ul ilehkey ku- cal khiwe-cwu-sy-ess-nuntey,
We(hum.)-PL-AC like:this that- well raise:CONN-give-SH-PST-but

06 keki-ey tayhan (.)potap-ul mos hay cwu-nun(.)°kule-n maum-i-yo°.
That-to about repay-AC cannot do give-ATTR that-TC feeling-COP-POL
I feel that they raised me so well, but I've given them nothing.

07 Kang: → sikan-i hulu-myen hulu-l-swulok pwumo-nim-ey tayhan kuliwum-kwa
Time-NM flow-then flow-ATTR-the:more parents-HT-to toward nostalgia-and

08 → aythusham-i tewuk te kheci-n-ta:¿
Affection-NM more more grow-ATTR-DC

As time goes by, nostalgic and affectionate feeling for your parents grow bigger¿

09 Sue: Yey=.
Yes.

10 Kang: =cenghwakha-key kulemyen pwumo-nim-hako myech sal ttay pwuthe cikum ttelecy-ese °sa-sy-ess-sup-ni-kka°.
Exact-AD then parent-HT-with what age when from now apart-so live-AH-PST-AH-IN-Q
Exactly when did you leave your parents.

In lines 7-8, Kang displays his full understanding towards Sue's response by partially re-presenting her *komin* 'worry, concern' in reported speech during his third turn position. Kang's third turn reenactment simultaneously exhibits that he fully understood Sue's answer and summarizes what she had just said. Additionally, by

employing this instance of reported speech with rising intonation, Kang seeks Sue's confirmation on his displayed understanding. Kang's upward intonation-marked third turn solicits Sue's confirmation, which then enables him to proceed with the next action.

In the interviewing context, the third turn receipt links the present and following sequence, as it sums up what Sue has been telling Kang and functions to mark the following action. Kang proceeds with the next action upon Sue's response and is able to ask in the following turn, 'Exactly when did you leave your parents?' (line 10). The second question, prefaced with a connective *kulemyen* 'then', is topically relevant to and developed from Sue's concern. Sue initially produces the issue of her growing nostalgia towards her parents, and Kang accordingly furthers the ongoing topic by disccusing how Sue moved out of her parents' home when she was young so that she could study abroad. .

Extract (3.5) below is a similar example in which the third turn receipt is located on the boundary between the ongoing and the following topics. This example is from an interview with Minho, a male Judo Olympic medalist.

Extract (3.5) (Host: Kang, Guest: Minho)

```
01 Kang:          >사실은< 우리 그:: 그야말로 우리 >국민 영웅< (.) <최민호 선수가:>
02                >타 프로 예능 프로< 모::두 다 거절해 주시면서까지↑ 무슨 고민이
03                있어서 이 무릎팍 도사를↑ 어려운 >발걸음 해 주셨습니까<.
04 Minho:         어::운동을 이제 다시 시작하려고 하는데:,
05 Kang:          예.
06 Minho:         다시 그걸 극복하고:: 내가 이겨낼 수 있을까.
07 Kang:      →   아:: 이제 또 다시,
08 Minho:         °예°.
09 Kang:      →   런던 올림픽을 위해서,
10 Minho:         °예°.
11 Kang:      →   이제 준비를 해야 되는데,
12 Minho:         °예°.
13 Kang:      →   그 혹독한 훈련을 다시 이겨낼 수 있을까,
14 Minho:         ((nodding)) °예°.
15 Kang:          .hh 뭐 태능선수촌에 들어가기 전의 그 두려움 그런겁니까?
16 Minho:         예 >그렇죠< 막 >들어갈까 말까 들어[갈까 말까]<.
17 Kang:                                          [hhhhhhh] 예예. [hh ]
18 Minho:                                                        [( )]
19                마음을 추스려서 들어가잖아요.
20 Kang:          아니 그게 두려움까지 올 정도면은 최민호 선수는 훈련할 때 어떻게 해요¿
```

01 Kang: >sasil-un< wuli ku:: kuyamallo wuli >kwukmin yengwung< (.)
<'Choi Minho' senswu-ka:>
Fact-TC our that so:to:speak our national hero NAME athlete-NM

02 >tha phulo yeynung phulo< mo::twu ta kecel-hay cwu-si-myense-kkaci↑ mwusun komin-i
other program entertainment program all reject-do give-SH-while-even what:kind concern-NM

03 isse-se i mwuluphphak tosa-lul↑ elyewu-n >palkelum hay cwu-sy-ess-sup-ni-kka<.
Exist-so this Mr.Guru-AC difficult step do-give-SH-PST-AH-IN-Q

What has brought our national hero, Minho, to visit this enlightened Mr. Guru and reject all other TV shows?

04 Minho: e::wuntong-ul icey tasi sicakha-lyeko ha-nuntey:,
Exercise-AC now again start-do-about:to do-CIRCUM
Uh, {I} am planning to start training again.

05 Kang: Yey.
Yes.

06 Minho: tasi kuke-l kukpokha-ko:: nay-ka ikyenay-l swu iss-ul-kka.
Again that-AC overcome-and I-NM win-ATTR can exist-ATTR-Q
Will I be able to overcome {it} and win again.

07 Kang: → a:: icey tto tasi,
Now and again
Oh '{I} need to,

08 Minho: °Yey°.
Yes.

09 Kang: → *London Olympic*-ul wihayse,
London Olympic-AC for
for the London Olympics,

10 Minho: °Yey°.
Yes.

11 Kang: → icey cwunpi-lul hay-ya toy-nuntey,
Now preparation-AC do-will become-but
get prepared myself but,

12 Minho: °Yey°.
Yes.

13 Kang: → ku hoktokha-n hwunlyen-ul tasi ikyenay-l swu iss-ul-kka,
That severe-ATTR training-AC again win-ATTR can exist-ATTR-Q

Will {I} be able to overcome that severe training,'

14 Minho: ((nodding)) °Yey°.
°Yes°.

15 Kang: .hh mwe thaynungsenswuchon-ey tul-e-ka-ki cen-uy ku twulyewum kule-n-ke-p-ni-kka?
DM PLACE NAME-to enter-CONN-go-NOM before-of that fear such:that-ATTR-thing-AH-IN-Q
Is that a fear you had before entering the national athletic training center?

16 Minho: yey >kuleh-cyo< mak >tul-e-ka-l-kka mal-kka tul-e[-ka-l-kka mal-kka]<.
Yes correct-COMM:POL DM enter-CONN-go-ATTR-Q not:ATTR-Q enter-CONN-go-ATTR-Q not:ATTR-Q
Yes, right, like, 'Should {I} enter or not enter?'

17 Kang: [h h h h h h h h] Yey Yey. [hh]h
Yes Yes. hhh

18 Minho: [( )]

19 maum-ul chwusuly-ese tul-e-ka-canh-ayo.
Feeling-AC calm-and enter-CONN-go-COMM-POL
You know, {you} need to pull yourself together before getting into (the center).

20 Kang: ani kukey twulyewum-kkaci o-l cengto-myen-un 'Choi Minho' senswu-nun hwunlyenha-l ttay ettehkey hay-yo¿
DM that fear-even come-ATTR degree-then-TC NAME athlete-TC training-ATTR when how do-POL
I mean, considering that the training center brings you such fear, I wonder, what is your training style like?

This shares a similar structure with the previous examples. Kang initiates his first question (lines 1-3) and Minho replies (lines 4 and 6). Kang subsequently re-presents Minho's earlier response while in the third turn position (lines 7, 9, 11 and 13). In Kang's mid-TCU, Minho quietly provides a continuer 'Yes' on each phrasal break. Upon Minho's confirmation (line 14), Kang asks an additional question (line 15) and then finally shifts the topic (line 20).

Notice that Minho's response in line 6 is vague and uses the undefined deictic item *ku kel* 'that thing', as in 'overcome that thing'. Although Minho's use of the unidentified object, 'that thing', renders his response ambiguous, Kang displays his full understanding of the response through a change-of-state token *a::* 'o::h' in line 7

(Heritage, 1984). Contextually understanding what the undefined deictic item indicates, Kang proposes a possible lexical item *ku hoktokhan hwunlyen* 'that severe training' in line 13. Upon Kang's third turn completion, Minho says 'yes' and nods in line 14, indicating his confirmation. Interestingly, the three prior yeses in lines 8, 10, and 12 do not function as confirmation, but as "continuers," (Jefferson 1984, Schegloff 1982). After receiving Minho's confirmation, Kang elaborates the undefined deictic with another possible answer, 'fear before entering the National athletic training center' (line 15). Minho then confirms and demonstrates the fear described in Kang's prior turn by using quoted thought (line 16). As Minho completes his turn, Kang proceeds with the next action and moves on to the ancillary topic by asking Minho's about his training style.

Here, Kang's third turn receipt has multiple functions. First, it clarifies the ambiguity embedded in Minho's response, 'that thing'. Second, from a wider perspective, the third turn receipt summarizes what Minho has been telling Kang in prior turns and concurrently provides the grounds for an ancillary topic shift by topicalizing 'the severe training' he will endure in the following question.

The following extract is another example in which the host's third turn receipt plays a significant role in the boundary between the present and future topic. This lengthy excerpt is segmented from an interview with Choo, a Korean baseball player in the US Major Leagues. Notably, in this interview, one can observe that Kang inserts a series of questions (lines 13, 15, 21, 23 and 25) between the initial question (line 1) and the formulating utterance (line 34).

Extract (3.6) (Host: Kang, Guest: Choo)

01 Kang: <진정성 있는> 추 선수의 오늘의 >고민은< (.) 뭡니까?
02 Choo: (0.2) 어:: ((sigh)) 많은 사람들은: 고민이 없을 것 같고,
03 다 이렇게 >항상< 좋을 것 같이 보이지만 제가 오늘
04 이 자리를 찾은 이유는 너무 운동만 하다 보니까,
05 정말 좋은: 아빠↑좋은 남편이 되고 싶은데, 그리고 또
06 제일 중요한 거는 좋은 **아**들이 되고 싶은데 정말 그렇게 못해줘서
07 [어]떻게 해야 고민을 풀 수 있을까.
08 Kang: [((sigh))]
09 Choo: 해서 예. 이 자리에 °나왔습니다°.
10 Kang: 이야::: 아마 이 고민은요, (0.2) <무릎팍 도사> 의뢰인 중에
11 **가장** 진지하면서도 **가장** 풀기 어려운 고민이 아닌가::.
12 Choo: 저도 생각을 해 봤는데 야구를 관두지 않는 이상은 힘들 것 같기도 하고=

13 Kang: =지금 그 슬하에 **아**드님 두분이시죠¿
14 Choo: 예=.
15 Kang: =몇 살 몇 살입니까.
16 Choo: 저희 한국 나이로 하면 큰 애가 7 살이고요,
17 Kang: 예.
18 Choo: 작은 애가 이제 15 개월 됐나¿
19 Kang: 15 개월.
20 Choo: ((nodding)) 예. [°14 개월¿°]
21 Kang: [그럼] 집은 어딥니까=지금?
22 Choo: 아 애리조나에 있습니다=.
23 Kang: =구단은요,
24 Choo: 구단은 클리블랜드=>그러니까< **끝과** 끝이에요=미국에서. 동부 서부.
25 Kang: 예 예 예 그 **아이**랑 365 일 중 보낼 수
26 있는 시간:은 >어떻게 됩니까<?
27 Choo: 한 4 개월 정도 되는데요, 그 4 개월도 띄엄띄엄 [보게되죠].
28 OB: [음 :::]
(6 lines deleted)
35 Kang: → >결국< 마음가 달리↑ 주어진 여건상 함께 할 **시간**이 없다:.
36 Choo: ((nodding)) 예.
37 Kang: 저 같은 경우도 이제 뭐 1 박 2 일이라든지
38 >이를테면< 다른 프로에서
39 이제 뭐 출장을 갈 때 있지 않습니까=그러면
40 <이삼 일만에> 집에 들어오더라도 >어색하거든요<¿
41 Choo: ((smiling)) hehe
42 Kang: 하(h)물며(h) eheh 시즌을 보내다가 몇 개월만에 아들을 보면:
43 Choo: 예.
44 Kang: 낯은 안가립니까¿

01 Kang: <cincengseng iss-nun> 'Choo' senswu-uy onul-uy >komin-un< (.) mwe-p-ni-kka?
Sincerity exist-ATTR NAME athlete-of today-of concern-TC what-AH-IN-Q
What is your sincere concern for today?

02 Choo: (0.2)e:: ((sigh)) manh-un salam-tul-un: komin-i eps-ul-kes-kath-ko,
Many-ATTR people-PL-TC concern-NM not:exist-ATTR-thing-seem-and

03 ta ilehkey >hangsang< coh-ul kes kathi poi-ciman cey-ka onul
All like:this always good-ATTR thing seem appear-but I-NM today

04 I cali-lul chac-un iyu-nun nemwu wuntong-man ha-ta ponikka,
This place-AC visit-ATTR reason-TC too exercise-only do-since

05 cengmal coh-un: appa↑ coh-un namphyen-i toy-ko siph-untey, kuliko tto
really good-ATTR dad good-ATTR husband-NM become-and wish-but and also

06 ceyil cwungyoha-n ke-nun coh-un atul-i toy-ko siph-

untey cengmal kulehkey mos haycw-ese
most important-ATTR thing-TC good-TC son-NM become-and
wish-but really such:that cannot do:give-so

07 [e]ttehkey hayya komin-ul phwu-l swu iss-ul-kka.
How do:need concern-AC solve-ATTR can exist-ATTR-Q

(0.2) Um, people may think {I} have no worries and am always happy, but the reaosn for my visit today is that I have always been playing baseball, and now I want to be a good father, good husband,and, most importantly, a good son, but I wasn't able to do so. What should I do to solve my problem?

08 Kang: [((sigh))]

09 Choo: hayse yey. i cali-ey °nawa-ss-sup-ni-ta°.
Do-and Yes this place-at come:out-PST-AH-IN-DC
So yes, I came to see you.

10 Kang: iya::: ama i komin-un-yo, (0.2) <mwuluphphak tosa> uyloyin cwung-ey
wow maybe this concern-TC-POL Mr.Guru client among-at

11 kacang cinciha-myense-to kacang phwulki elyewu-n komin-i ani-n-ka:: .
most serious-while-and most solve-NOM hard-ATTR concern-NM not-ATTR-Q

Wow, this concern seems to be the most difficult concern I've had among the past interviewees.

12 Choo: ce-to sayngkak-ul haypwa-ss-nuntey yakwu-lul kwantwu-ci anh-nun isang-un himtu-l kes kath-ki-to ha-ko=
I-too thing-AC do:try-PST-but baseball-AC quit-NOM not-ATTR now:that-TC difficult-ATTR thing seem-NOM-too do-and

I have thought about this and it seems impossible unless I quit my job.

13 Kang: =cikum ku sulha-ey atu-nim twu pwun i-si-cyo¿
Now that under:the:parental:roof-at son-HT two person:HON COP-SH-COMM:POL
{You} have two sons, right¿

14 Choo: Yey=.
Yes.

15 Kang: =myech sal myech sal i-p-ni-kka.
What age what age COP-AH-IN-Q

How old are they?

16 Choo: cehuy hankwuk nai-lo ha-myen khun ay-ka ilkop sal i-ko-yo,
We(hum.) Korean age-by do-then big-ATTR kid-NM seven years:old COP-and-POL
In Korean age, the oldest one is seven,

17 Kang: Yey.
Yes.

18 Choo: cak-un ay-ka icey sipo kaywel tway-ss-na¿
Small-ATTR kid-NM now fifteen monthos become-PST-Q
The youngest one is now fifteen months¿

19 Kang: sipo kaywel.
Fifteen months
Fifteen months.

20 Choo: ((nodding)) Yey. [°sipsa kaywel¿°]
Yes fourteen months
Yes. fourteen months¿

21 Kang: [kulem]cip-un eti-p-ni-kka=cikum?
Then house-TC where-AH-IN-Q now
Then, where is {your} house now?

22 Choo: a *Arizona*-ey iss-sup-ni-ta=.
Arizona-at exist-AH-IN-DC
Ah, it's in Arizona=.

23 Kang: =kwutan-un-yo,
Team-TC-POL
What about the team,

24 Choo: kwutan-un *Cleveland.*=>kulenikka< kkuth kwa kkuth-i-eyyo=mikwuk-eyes. tongpwu sepwu.
Team-TC Cleveland so end and end-COP-POL American-at east:part west:part
The team is in Cleveland. In other words, it's from one end to another in American. East West.

25 Kang: yey yey yey ku ai-lang sampayk wuksip o-il cwung ponay-l swu
Yes Yes Yes that kid-with 365-day middle spend-ATTR can

26 iss-nun sikan:-un >ettehkey toy-p-ni-kka<?
Exist-ATTR time-TC how become-AH-IN-Q

Yes, yes, yes. How much time can you spend with your children in a year?

27 Choo: han sa kaywel cengto toy-nuntey-yo, ku sa kaywel-to

ttuyemttuyem [po-key toy-cyo].
Approximately four months about can-CIRCUM-POL that four months- Also sparsely see-AD become-COMM:POL
About four months, but those four months are not consistent.

28 OB: [Um:::]
Hm

(6 lines deleted)

35 Kang: → >kyelkwuk< maum-kwa talli↑ cwuecin yeken sang hamkkey-ha-l sikan-i eps-ta:.
Eventually feeling-and differently given situation upon together-do-ATTR time-NM not:exist-DC
In other words, despite what I wish, we don't spend enough time together under the current circumstances.

36 Choo: ((nodding)) Yey.
Yes.

37 Kang: ce kathun kyengwu-to icey mwe 'il pak i il' ilatunci
I same case-also now DM TV PROGRAM NAME or

38 >ilultheymyen< talun phulo-eyse
So:to:speak other program-at

39 icey mwe chwulcang-ul ka-l ttay iss-cianh-sup-ni-kka=kulemyen
Then DM business:trip-AC go-ATTR when exist-COMM-AH-IN-Q then

In my case, I went on a trip to another TV program, '1 Night 2 Days', then

40 <I sam il-man-ey> cip-ey tul-e-o-telato >esaykha-ketun-yo<¿
Two three day-when-in house-to enter-CONN-come-even:so strange-CORREL-POL
When I came home two to three days later, I felt awkward.

41 Choo: ((smiling)) hehe
hehe

42 Kang: ha(h)mwulmye(h) hehe *season*-ul ponay-taka myech kaywel man-ey atul-ul po-myen:
Moreover season-AC spend-after several months when-at son-AC see-then
Moreover, when {you} are away the whole season and then see your sons months later

43 Choo: Yey.
Yes.

44 Kang: nach-un an kali-p-ni-kka¿
Face-TC not shy-AH-IN-Q
Don't {they} experience stranger anxiety¿

The extract begins with Kang asking Choo a pre-set question in line 1. Choo replies that he wants to be a 'good father', a 'good husband' and a 'good son'. Kang, whose role within the talk show frame is characterized as a *tosa* 'guru', shows surprise towards Choo's serious concern over his family-oriented role. Hearing Choo's concern, Kang immediately sighs in line 8 in overlap with Choo's concluding remark 'So I came to see you' (line 9). In lines 10-11, Kang displays his surprise at the level of difficulty and depth of Choo's concern with an unusually drawn out *iya::::* 'wow' and claims that Choo brought 'the most difficult concern'.

Upon termination of Choo's telling, Kang attempts to give problem-solving advice. He first asks a series of questions seeking background information on Choo's family matters, particularly focusing on Choo's concern about being 'a good father' (line 5). Kang also asks about the number of children Choo has and their ages (lines 13 and 15), the location of Choo's house and the baseball team (lines 21 and 23), and the amount of time Choo spends with his children in a year (lines 25-26). Kang's questioning resembles legal-cross examination, as his question call for short answers (Myers, 2001, p.178). During this time, Kang withholds any third turn receipts.

Having received Choo's response to each question, Kang identifies Choo's problem and quotes it in Choo's voice, 'In other words, despite what I wish, we don't spend enough time together under the current circumstances' (line 35) thereby displaying his understanding of Choo's situation. Choo, in return, verbally and non-verbally confirms Kang's third turn receipt. After this formulation-decision adjacency pair is exchanged in lines 35-36, Kang proceeds with the next action by giving a brief 'first story' by telling his personal experience of his son having stranger-anxiety[41] when Kang was away from home for a couple of days (lines 37-40). Subsequently,

[41] Stranger anxiety is a type of distress that young children experience when exposed to people unfamilar to them.

Kang seeks Choo's 'second story' (Sacks, 1992) with a follow-up question 'Don't they experience stranger-anxiety?' (lines 44).

As observed in this extract, Kang identifies that Choo's problem is the insufficient free time he has to spend with his family due to his lengthy absences from home and topicalizes this issue as a further topic. Kang then tells his personal 'first story', which is associated with Kang's feeling of awkwardness after he was away from home for a short time, and thereafter solicits Choo's relevant 'second story.' Likewise, without Choo's confirmation, Kang may not move on to the next action. In such cases, the interviewer may have to re-produce the second third turn receipt.

The extract below demonstrates how a host may not move onto the next action when confronted with the guest's disconfirmation during conversation. The extract is segmented from an interview with Hoon, an Olympic gold medalist in speed skating and a former short track skater. In response to Kang's initial question (lines 1), Hoon tells Kang that he wants to win another championship title in short track skating (lines 2-4).

Extract (3.7) (Host: Kang, Guest: Hoon)

```
01 Kang:        >이승훈 선수의< 진정한 고민이 >무엇입니까<?
02 Hoon:        제가 이:: 쇼트트랙에도 욕심이 있-- >있고<. (0.2)
03              스피드에도 욕심이 ((clapping))있고(.)
04              두 가지가 다 욕심이 나요::.
                (5 lines deleted in which Kang expresses his great surprise at
                Hoon's response)
10 Kang:        아니(h)hehe 그거를 스피드스케이팅에서 >금메달을 땄음에도 불구하고<,
11              이제 슬::슬 쇼트트랙도 궁금하다구요?
12              금메달이- (.) 생각이 납니까?
13 Hoon:        아이 그럼요:: 요거 하나하고 싶으면,
14              또 하나하고 싶고 이게 사람이 욕심이::.
15 Kang:        우오:: 이게 ((looking down)) 너무나도 큰 욕심이 아닌가::,
16        →     >그러니까< 동계올림픽 사상 ((finger making two))
17        →     두 종목에서 금메달을 따고 싶다!
18 Hoon:        글쎄 그게 꼭 올림픽이 아니어도↑ 쇼트트랙에서도 한 번
19              .tch .hh 정상에 서 보고싶[어요::].
20 Kang:                                [세계를] 한 번 제패해 보고 싶[다]!
21 Hoon:                                                          [네].
22 Kang:        그런 선수가 있습니까?

01 Kang:        >'Lee Seung Hoon' senswu-uy< cincengha-n komin-i
                >mwues-i-p-ni-kka<?
                NAME athlete-of sincere-ATTR concern-NM what-COP-AH-IN-Q
                What is Lee Seung Hoon's real concern?
```

02 Hoon: cey-ka i:: *short track*-ey-to yoksim-i iss-- >iss-ko<. (0.2)
I-NM this short track-at-also greed-NM exist exist-and
I want the short track title and.

03 *speed*-ey-to yoksim-i ((clapping))iss-ko (.)
Speed:skating-at-also greed-NM exist-and
{I} also want the title for speed skating and

04 twu kaci-ka ta yoksim-i na-yo::.
Two kind-NM all greed-NM have-POL
{I} want to do well in both.

(5 lines deleted in which Kang expresses his great surprise at Hoon's response)

10 Kang: ani(h)hehe kuke-lul *speed skating*-eyse >kummeytal-ul tta-ss-um-eyto pwulkwuha-ko<?
DM that-AC speed skating-at gold:medal-AC win-PST-NOM-even:so and

11 kummeytal-i-- (.) sayngkak-i na-p-ni-kka?
Gold:medal-NM thought-NM have-AH-IN-Q

I mean, even though {you} won that (=gold medal) in speed skating you want another one in short track?

12 icey sul::sul *short track*-to kwungkum-ha-takwu-yo
now slowly short track-also curious-do-QT-POL
{You} are curious about short track as well?

13 Hoon: ai kulem-yo:: yo ke hana ha-ko siph-umyen,
Of course:POL this thing one do-and wish-then

14 tto hana ha-ko siph-ko ikey salam-i yoksim-i::.
Also one do-and wish-and this human-NM greed-NM

Of course, human greed follows one thing after another.

15 Kang: wuo:: ikey ((looking down)) nemwunato khu-n yoksim-i ani-n-ka::,
Wow this too:much big-ATTR greed-NM not-ATTR-Q
Wow, Isn't it way too big a wish?

16 → >kulenikka< tongkyey *Olympic* sasang ((finger making two))
So winter Olympic for:the:first:time
So for the first time in Winter Olympic

17 → twu congmok-eyse kummeytal-ul tta-ko siph-ta!
two event-at gold:medal-AC win-and wish-DC
'{I} want to win two gold medals!'

18 Hoon: kulssey kukey kkok *Olympic*-i ani-eto↑ *short track*-eyse-to han pen
Well that must Olympic-NM not-though short track-at-also one time

19 .tch .hh cengsang-ey se po-kosiph-[eyo::.]
top-at stand try-and wish-POL

Well, even if not in the Olympics, {I} want to be in the top place in short track as well.

```
20 Kang:                                        [seykyey-lul] han pen
                                                  World-AC one time
             Ceyphay-hay po-ko siph[-ta]!
             Win-do try-and wish-DC
            '{I} want to conquer the world!'

21 Hoon:                              [Ney].
                                       Yes.

22 Kang:     kule-n senswu-ka iss-sup-ni-kka?
             such:that-TC athlete-NM exist-AH-IN-Q
             Is there such an athlete?
```

Surprised at Hoon's response to his question, 'What is Lee Seung Hoon's real concern?', Kang reconfirms Hoon's answer in line 12. Kang's display of surprise 'wow' and assessment towards Hoon's wish are followed by the re-enacted third turn formulation *kulenikka* 'so, in other words', as in 'So for the first time in Winter Olympic, I want to win two gold medals!' (lines 16-17).

Unlike the earlier excerpts where the interviewee's confirmation is provided immediately or even in overlap with the interviewer's third turn, Kang's third turn receipt fails to initially receive the interviewee's confirmation. Instead of providing a confirmatory agreement, Hoon takes a dispreferred action (Pomerantz, 1984), which is delayed with the 'pre-disagreement marker' *kulssey*, 'Well' (line 18). Hoon clarifies that his goal of 'being in the top place' is not necessarily limited to an Olympic gold medal. Consequently, Kang drops the word 'Olympic' and re-paraphrases his earlier third turn with 'I want to conquer the world (in short track as well)' (line 20). On Kang's second attempt, Hoon immediately provides a confirmation in overlap with Kang's turn (line 21). Receiving a 'yes' from Hoon, Kang finally proceeds with the follow-up question 'Is there such an athlete?' (line 22), moving towards the ancillary topic.

It is noticed that Kang constantly attempts to summarize what was said in previous turns through formulating utterances in the third turn position, which can be characterized as a preparatory action to mark a subtopic shift. This attempt to close the ongoing sequence is successfully achieved through the counter-participant's confirmation.

I have thus far examined turns following the host's initial question and the guest's response at the beginning of the talk show. As shown in Extracts (3.4) – (3.7),

the host asks a topically relevant follow-up question upon the third turn receipt-confirmation sequence. Moreover, during his third turn position, the host also attempts to formulate the guest's prior turn, allowing him to perform various actions in the following sequence. I will introduce one example that does not occur in a pre-set question and a response sequence.

Extract (3.8) is excerpted from an interview with DH, a famous baseball player. This conversation is taken from the very beginning of the talk show, even before Kang asks the DH about the purpose of his visit. The excerpt begins with Kang accusing DH of breaking his promise to appear on his talk show before any other TV programs.

Extract (3.8) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo, OB; Guest: DH)

```
01 Kang:          >아니< 근데:: 예능 프로그램에서 인제
02                ((gazing down right)) 그:: 무릎팍도사:: ((gazing DH))만
03                ((gazing YOO and OB)) <단독 출연>하겠다 [라고]
04 OB:                                                    [어::]
05 Kang:          본인이 말씀을 해 놓고↑((gazing down))[이제] 1 박 2 일에서
06 YOO:                                                [어::]
07 Kang:          ((gazing DH)) 이승기 씨를 홀라당 먼저 공개가 돼 가지고, 예.
08                왜 이승기씨랑 갑자기 그렇게.
09 DH:            예 저도 무릎팍도사부터 먼저 나오려고 했었는데,
10 Kang:          예(h).
11 DH:            갑자기 승기가 전화가 와 가지고
12                부산에 와야 되는데 갈 데가 없다,
13                또 아는 사람이라곤 저밖에 없다,
14                갑자기 전화가 와서 >°이렇게°< 부탁을 하는데,
15                [그]래도 국민동- 동생이: 부탁을 하는데,
16 Kang:          [예].
17 DH:            제가 거절을 하면: 안 돼잖아요=그래서.
18 Kang:          어::.
19 DH:            그런 생각을 하고 있는데,
20                뭐 최근에는 추신수가 먼저 나왔더라고요¿
21 Kang:          ((gazing YOO and OB)) [hahahahaha]
22 OB & YOO:                            [haha[hahahaha]]
23 DH:                                       [hehehehe]
24                저도 야구선순데 저보다 신수가 먼저 나오는거 보니까
25                .hhh 먼저 어기신 것 같아가주구.
26 Kang:          hahahahaha[hahahahaha]
27 DH:                      [그래서 저도-] 나왔던 것 같아요=.
28 Kang:    →     어::: 그러니까 나도 사실은 >무릎팍도사를 먼저 나갔어야
29          →     되는데<, 결과적으로 >무릎팍도사가 현역 선수 중에<
30          →     추신수 선수가 먼저 나갔다¿
31 DH:            예.
```

32 Kang: → 서로 약속을 어긴게 아니냐:¿

33 DH: 그렇죠 먼[저—]

34 Kang: [예] 서로 화해합시다=그러면.

35 ((pulling out the right hand to handshake))

01 Kang: >ani< kuntey:: yeynung program-eyse incey
DM but entertainment program-at now

02 ((gazing down right)) ku:: mwuluphphaktosa:: ((gazing DH))man
That Mr.Guru Show only

03 ((gazing YOO and OB)) <tantok chwulyen> ha-keyss-ta [lako]
Exclusive appearance do-will-DC QT

By the way, {you} said that "{I} would be appear on this talk show only" and

04 OB: [E::]
Oh

05 Kang: ponin-i malssum-ul hay noh-ko↑ ((gazing down))[icey]'1 pak 2 il'-eyse
self-NM speech:HON-AC say after-and then '1 Day 2 Night'-at
{You} appeared in '1 Night 2 Days'[42] the other day

06 YOO: [E::]
Oh

07 Kang: ((gazing DH))'Lee Seungki' ssi-lul hollatang mence kongkay-ka tway-kaciko, yey.
NAME-VOC-AC at:one first open:to:the:public-NM become-and yes
with 'Lee Seungki' in prior to {us}, yeah

08 way 'Lee Seungki' ssi-lang kapcaki kulehkey.
Why NAME VOC-with suddenly like:that
Why did {you} meet suddenly with 'Lee Seungki'.

09 DH: yey ceto mwuluphphaktosa-pwuthe mence nao-lyeko hay-ss-ess-nuntey,
Yes I-also Mr.Guru-from first appear-intend do-PST-PST-but
Yes, I was going to appear on this talk show first, but,

10 Kang: Yey(h).
Yes.

11 DH: kapcaki 'Seungki'-ka cenhwa-ka wa kaciko
Suddenly NAME-NM phone-NM come and
'Seungki' unexpectedly called {me} and {said}

12 'Busan'-ey wa-ya toy-nuntey ka-l tey-ka eps-ta,
PLACE NAME-at come-need become-CIRCUM go-ATTR place-NM not:exist-DC
"I need to go to Busan and there is no place to go",

[42] *1 Night 2 Days* is a Korean reality-variety show that has aired since 2007.

13 tto anun salam-i-lako-n ce pakkey eps-ta,
And familiar person-NM-COP-QT-TC I only not:exist-DC
And I am the only person {he} knows,

14 kapcaki cenhwa-ka wa-se >°ilehkey°< pwuthak-ul ha-nuntey,
Suddenly phone-NM come-and like:this favor-AC ask-CIRCUM
{He} suddenly called {me} and asked me a favor,

15 [ku]layto kwukmin tong- tongsayng-i: pwuthak-ul ha-nuntey
Though national brother-NM favor-AC ask-CIRCUM
A famous bro- brother is asking {me} a favor

16 Kang: [Yey].
Yes.

17 DH: cey-ka kecel-ul ha-myen: an tway-canh-ayo=kulayse.
I-NM reject-AC do-then not become-COMM-POL so
I couldn't reject.

18 Kang: E::
Oh

19 DH: kule-n sayngkak-ul ha-ko iss-nuntey,
Such:that-TC thought-AC do-and be-CIRCUM
{I've} been thinking about that but,

20 mwe choykun-ey-nun 'Choo sinsoo'-ka mence nawa-ss-te-la-ko-yo¿
DM recent-at-TC NAME-NM first appear-PST-RT-INTROS-QT-POL
{I see} 'Choo sinsoo' appeared on this talk show before me¿

21 Kang: ((gazing YOO and OB)) [hahahahaha]
hahahahaha

22 OB & YOO: [haha[hahahaha]]
haha hahahaha

23 DH: [hehehehe]
hehehehe

24 ce-to yakwu senswu-ntey ce-pota 'Sinsoo'-ka mence
naonun-ke po-nikka
I-also baseball athlete-COP:CIRCUM I-than NAME-NM
first appear-thing see-since

I am also a baseball player and seeing that Choo appeared on this talk show before {me}

25 .hhh mence eki-si-n kes kath-a-kacwukwu.
First break-SH-ATTR thing seem-CONN-and:so
{I} think {you} broke the promise first.

26 Kang: hahahahaha[ha ha ha ha ha]
hahahahaha ha ha ha ha ha

27 DH: [kulayse ce-to-] nawa-ss-te-n kes kath-ayo=.
So I-also appear-PST-RT-ATTR thing seem-POL

So I also- appeared on the {other TV programs}.

28 Kang: → e::: kulenikka na-to sasil-un >mwuluphphaktosa-lul mence naka-ss-eya
So I-also fact-TC Mr.Guru-AC first appear-PST-need

29 → toy-nuntey<, kyelkwacekulo >mwuluphphaktosa-ka hyenyek
Become-but eventually Mr.Guru-NM present

30 → senswu cwung-ey 'Choo Sinsoo' senswu-ka mence nak-ass-ta¿
Athlete among-in NAME athlete-NM first appear-PST-DC

"Oh, so I should've appeared on Mr.Guru's talk show first, but Choo appeared before {I} did"

31 DH: Yey.
Yes.

32 Kang: → selo yaksok-ul eki-n-key ani-nya:¿
Each:other promise-AC break-ATTR-thing not-Q
"Didn't {we} both mutually break the promise"¿

33 DH: kuleh-cyo men[ce—]
Right-COMM:POL first
Right, first-

34 Kang: [yey] selo hwahayha-p-si-ta=kulemyen.
Yes each:other make:up-AH-RQ-PR then
Okay, Let's make up then.

35 ((pulling out the right hand to handshake))

Prior to this interview, DH appeared on another TV reality-variety show named 1 *pak* 2 *il* '1 Night 2 Days' before the present talk show. This extract begins with Kang teasingly accusing DH of breaking his promise to exclusively appear on *Mwuluphphaktosa* by quoting what DH had said earlier, 'I will be appearing only on *Mwuluphphaktosa* 'The Knee-Drop Guru'' (lines 2-3). Kang continues asking DH why he appeared on another TV program in line 8. DH explains that he broke his promise because of a non-present third party named 'Seungki' (line 8). Specifically, DH asserts that he unexpectedly received a call from Seungki and was asked to appear on the TV variety show, which was a request that he found too difficult to reject (lines 11-15 and 17). What is more interesting here, though, is that DH conversely accuses Kang of having another famous baseball player, 'Choo', on the current talk show prior to DH (lines 20 and 24-25). DH's argument brings the ongoing talk to a

humorous climax with shared laughter between the interview participants, including the two peripheral hosts (lines 21-23, 25-26).

After DH completes his response, Kang displays his understanding with an unusually drawn-out 'O:::h' (line 28). Kang then focuses on DH's accusation and re-orders the information DH provided in his prior turns as prefaced by *kulenikka*, 'so, in other words'. Kang's following third turn is re-enacted through DH's voice, as indexed by the subject *na-to* 'I also' (line 28). In quoting DH's voice, Kang orderly rephrases what was said by DH in earlier turns (lines 28-30) and draws an inference that 'both of us mutually broke the promise' (line 32). As shown earlier in Examples (1) – (5), a third turn receipt is likely to follow by a confirmation. Upon each TCU completion in lines 31 and 33, DH produces a positive confirmation. While Kang's paraphrased third turn receipt re-orders the presented information, thereby clarifying what DH has said in the previous turn, it simultaneously functions as Kang's preparatory action to mark the next action. Having received DH's confirmation, Kang attempts to resolve the conflict even though it is humorously resolve the conflict. Kang's strong intent to proceed with the next action cuts off DH's continuing turn mid-course 'first-' (line 33) and puts forward a verbal reconciliation 'Let's make up' (line 34) as well as a non-verbal act (i.e., handshaking: line 35).

In this section, I examined instances in which the host's third turn formulating utterance following the pre-set question and response functions as a sequence-closure. The formulating utterance not only summarizes the guest's multi-turn responses in compacted form, but also allows the host to take back the conversational floor to initiate the next action. Here, the preference for formulation-confirmation adjacency pairs is a prerequisite to proceed to the next action. The host has to re-produce the third turn formulation if the third-turn reenactment is disconfirmed by the guest, as shown in Extract (3.7). Also, such confirmation is normally kept brief and does not develop into an extended turn. In a case where the guest maintains the floor upon confirmation, it is likely that the extended turn is not receipted (see Extract 3.11 for details) or cut-off mid-course by the host.

3.5. The Multi-functional Formulation in the Storytelling Context

I have thus far shown a collection of instances where the host handles various interactional consequences with third turn quoted speech following a pre-set question and response. In this section, I examine the host's formulating utterances as they occur in the storytelling context. While a storyteller (i.e., guest) primarily holds the floor in producing a story, the story recipient (i.e., host) recurrently displays his active listenership. One explicit and distinctive way a host may display his active listenership as well as escalated involvement in the interview conversation is to jump into the guest's story-world and proffer an alternative interpretation of the reported story event in quoted speech as if he is a first-hand experiencer. By doing so, the host actively reflects his own understanding of the guest's story (Norrick, 2010).

Stories often consist of multi-TCUs and, consequently, a recipient needs to think about the appropriate moment to display his/her listenership. Although it is not strictly fixed, the recipient tends to conduct discreet non-verbal and verbal actions so as not to interfere with the story in progress. There is general agreement among researchers that a recipient's vocal "continuers" (Schegloff, 1982), such as 'mm hm', 'uh huh', 'yes', and non-vocal actions, such as nods and smiles, produced mid-storytelling do not compete for the storyteller's floor. Instead, the recipient typically waits until the storyteller's narrative reaches completion to fully comment on the reported event. In such a case, the full-turn formulation functions as a sequence-closure.

In the first two examples, Extracts (3.9) and (3.10), I show the typical storytelling case of a host producing formulations in a post-punchline sequence or upon story completion, whereas in Extract (3.11), the host's formulation is produced mid-storytelling.

The first extract is taken from an interview between Kang and Choo. Prior to this extract (3.9), Kang initially brought up a sensitive question regarding the Cincinnati Reds' offer of US citizenship to Choo as a way for him to avoid Korea's two year mandatory military service (not shown below). Fulfillment of military service, particularly for prominent public figures, is seen as indicative of one's moral standing and is therefore regarded as a sensitive Korean social issue. Kang presents

the rumor of Choo's offer of US citizenship with a hearsay marker '*-tela*' as if he had unintentionally *picked up* the rumor from somewhere and seeks Choo's verification. The degree of sensitivity in delivering the question is marked through the host's explicit hesitancy towards the ongoing topic and the presented rumor. Having heard Choo's talk, Kang proffers an upgraded version of an alternative interpretation quoted in Choo's inner voice (line 61). The occasioning of this upgraded formulating utterance will be closely examined. For reasons of space, the questioning sequence[43] and some irrelevant lines mid-course are deleted. The excerpt begins with Choo's response to Kang's question regarding the US citizenship offer from the team.

Extract (3.9) (Host: Kang, Guest: Choo)

```
12 Choo:          (1.0)((nodding)) 예 사실입니다 he 예 사실이고:

                  (11 lines deleted in which Choo expresses his thankfulness
                  to the team for caring about Choo's visa status
                  whenever he makes regular visit to Korea)

24 Choo:          그 이야길 처음에 들었을 때는
25                아 날 이 만큼 생각해주::는구나 라고 생각>했었어요<.
26                =근데 그렇게 안- 못 하겠더라구요.
27                °그리고° 그렇게 해서도 안 될거고:.
          (5 lines are deleted)
33 Choo:          정말 내가 이런 길로 가야되나¿ 아닌데. 그렇게 하게 되면 (.)
34                저희 부모님. 우리 애들한테 정말 부끄러운 (.)
35                아버지가 되고↑ 아들이 될 수 [있단 생각°해요°].
36 Kang:                                       [((smiling))hh]hhhhh
37 Choo:          >어떻게 보면< 저희 부모님[도↑ (.)   ] 한국사람°이고°,
38 Kang:                                     [((nodding))]
39 Choo:          저 또한 한국사람이고. 우리 애들도↑
40                미국에서 태어났지만↑ °한국사람°.
41                그니까 나라가 있기 때문에,(.) 저희 아버지가 계시는 거고,
42                저 또한 있고 그리고 우리 애들도 있는 거 >아니겠습니까<?
43 Kang:          ((nodding))
                  (12 lines deleted)
61 Choo:          그래서 아시안 게임에 처음에 대표팀에 뽑혔을 때 저는
62                (0.2) 기회가 왔구나 정말 내가 (.) 보여줄 수 있는
63                만큼 보여주고↑ (.)금메달을 꼭 나라에 가져 오겠다.
64 Kang:    →     음 선물하고 싶[다].
65 Choo:                         [네].

12 Choo:          (1.0)((nodding)) yey sasil-ipni-ta ((laugh)) yey
                  sasil-i-ko:
                  Yes fact-COP-AH-IN-DC yes fact-COP-and
```

[43] See Extract (2.14) for a full version of the questioning sequence.

Yes, it's true. Yes, it's true.

(11 lines deleted in which Choo expresses his thankfulness to the team for caring about Choo's visa status whenever he makes regular visit to Korea)

24 Choo: ku iyaki-l cheum-ey tul-ess-ul ttay-nun
That story-AC first-at hear-PST-ATTR when-TC
When {I} first heard the story (=team worrying about my visa status)

25 a na-l imankhum sayngkakhay-cwu::nun-kwuna lako sayngkak>hay-ss-ess-eyo<.
Ah I-AC this:much think-give-ATTR-UNASSIM-QT think-PST-PST-POL
{I} thought, 'Ah {they} care about me so much'

26 =kuntey kulehkey an- mos ha-keyss-te-la-kwu-yo.
But that:way not cannot do-will-RT-INTROS-QT-POL
but I didn't- couldn't do it that way (=accept a citizenship offer).

27 °kuliko° kulehkey hay-se-to an toy-l-ke-ko:.
And that:way do-and-even not can-ATTR-thing-and
and it shouldn't be done in such a way.

(5 lines deleted)

33 cengmal nay-ka ile-n kil-lo ka-ya-toy-na¿ ani-ntey.
Kulehkey ha-key toy-myen (.)
really I-NM like:this-ATTR way-to go-need-become-Q
Not-but that:way do-AD become-then

34 cehuy pwumo-nim. wuli aytul-hanthey cengmal pwukkulew-un (.)
Our(hum.) parent-HT our son-to really embarrassing-ATTR

35 apeci-ka toy-ko↑ atul-i toy-l swu [iss-ta-n sayngkak°hay-yo°]
Father-NM become-and son-NM become-ATTR can be-DC-ATTR think-POL

'Do I really have to do it this way? No, I shouldn't' I thought, if I decide to do it that way, I will be an embarrassing father and son to my children and parents.

36 Kang: [((smiling))hhhhhhhhh]hh
hhhhhhhh hh

37 Choo: >ettehkey po-myen< cehuy pwumo-nim[-to↑ (.)] hankwuk salam°-i-ko°,
how see-then our(hum.) parent-HT-also Korea person-COP-and
My parents are also Korean and,

38 Kang: [((nodding))]

39 Choo: ce ttohan hankwuk salam-i-ko. wuli ay-tul-to↑
I also Korea person-COP-and our child-PL-also

40 mikwuk-eyse thayen-ass-ciman↑ °hankwuk salam°.
USA-at born-PST-but Korea person

I am also Korean and my children are also Korean, even though they were born in the United States.

41 kunikka nala-ka iss-ki ttaymwuney,(.) cehuy apeci-ka kyeysi-nun ke-ko,
so country-NM exist-NOM since our(hum.) father-NM exist:HON-ATTR thing-and

42 (.)ce ttohan iss-ko kuliko wuli ay-tul-to iss-nun ke >ani-keyss-sup-ni-kka<?
I also exist-and and our child-PL-also exist-ATTR thing not-DCT:RT-AH-IN-Q

Because my country exists, my father exists, and my children exist,right?

43 Kang: ((nodding))

(12 lines deleted)

61 Choo: kulayse *Asian game*-ey cheum-ey tayphyo thim-ey ppophy-ess-ul ttay ce-nun
so Asian Game-at first-at National:team-et picked-RL time I-TC
When I first selected to be on the National team for Asian Game

62 (0.2)kihoy-ka wa-ss-kwuna cengmal nay-ka (.) poyecwu-l swu iss-nun
Chance-NM come-PST-UNASSIM really I-NM show:give-ATTR can be-ATTR

63 mankhum poyecwu-ko↑ (.)kum-meytal-ul kkok nala-ey kacy-e o-keyss-ta
as:much:as show:give-and gold-medal-AC must country-to bring-CONN come-DCT:RT-DC

'Here is my chance to really show what I can do and bring a gold medal for {my} country'

64 Kang: → Um senmwul ha-ko siph[-ta].
Gift do-and wish-DC
'{I} want to present {with the gold}.'

65 Choo: [Ney].
Yes.

Content-wise, the above extract can be divided into three parts: (1) Choo's display of sensitivity towards 'citizenship' (lines 24-35); (2) Choo's display of patriotism towards his mother country (lines 37- 42) and (3) Choo's story completion followed by Kang's subsequent formulation (lines 61-65). The first part is constructed with oblique references that can be difficult to understand without acknowledging the context of Korea's mandatory military service, whereas the message embedded in the second part is quite straightforward through the recurrent use of a particular sentence structure. Because the host's third turn formulation is shaped by the guest's story

construction, I will particularly focus on how the Choo's epistemic stance is oriented to throughout the storytelling.

Choo initially confirms Kang's question regarding his team's offer of US citizenship (line 12). As Kang did earlier, Choo treats the ongoing issue with careful sensitivity. Choo uses a range of linguistic resources such as deictic words, a self-repaired turn, and reported speech to convey his concerned stance. First, Choo never mentions the topic word 'citizenship'; instead, he indirectly refers to the topic through the deictic words *i* 'this' and *ku* 'that'. For example, Choo's use of ***ku*** *iyaki*' 'that talk' in line 24 refers to the team offering Choo citizenship, and the recurrent use of ***ku****lehkey* 'that way' in lines 26, 27, 33 and ***i****len kil* 'this way' in line 33 refer to his consideration of the team's offer. Second, Choo self-repairs from '*an* (not)-do it' to '*mos* (cannot)-do it' in line 26, indicating his determination not to give up his Korean nationality. Third, the use of reported speech 'Do I really have to go this way? No, I shouldn't.' (line 33) effectively shows his inner anxiety over the described story event.

In the second part of his response, Choo emphasizes that the blood flowing in his family over three generations marks their Korean identity, even though his children were born in the United States. Here, Choo highlights his blood-based ethnic national identity through the repetitive pattern of 'X is also Korean' as in 'My parents are also Korean' (line 37), 'I am also Korean' (line 39) and 'My children are also Korean' (lines 39-40). Another repetitive pattern 'X exists' can be found subsequently in lines 41-42. Choo claims the significance of his country by repeating 'My father exists' (line 41), 'I also exist' (line 42) and 'My children also exist' (line 42).

The underlying context of this interview is that winning a gold medal in the Asian Games, which is perceived as a great *kihoy* 'chance' (line 62) by Choo, will bring Choo not only an exemption from mandatory military service, but will also allow him to maintain his Korean nationality. From the beginning of the extract, Choo has displayed a patriotic attitude toward his Korean nationality and the issue of American citizenship. Choo continuously shows his patriotic stance with reported thought 'I will bring the gold medal by all means for my country' (line 63), emphasizing that his goal to win the gold medal in the Asian Games stems more from patriotic motivation rather than his exemption from mandatory military service.

In the mid-storytelling phase, Kang mostly nods, smiles and produces unhearable laughter particles (lines 36, 38 and 43), thereby properly treating the story in progress. There is evidence that Kang aligns with the telling by supporting the "structural asymmetry" of the telling activity and by letting Choo have the floor until story completion (Stivers, 2008, p.34). Thus, a full turn response is likely to appear when the telling activity is moving toward the story's end. Kang's full turn response is observed in the latter part of Choo's story, which conveys his affiliative stance through a positively assessed formulating utterance (line 64). Kang strongly affiliates with Choo by upgrading Choo's previous reported thought with 'I want to present (my country with the gold)' (line 64). Here, as Choo has conveyed throughout the storytelling, Kang treats winning the gold medal not as a personal achievement but as something done for one's nation. Also, Kang rephrases Choo's original utterance of 'to bring the gold' in an upgraded manner with the metaphoric expression 'to *present* with the gold', displaying his positive assessment towards Choo's goal. Most importantly, Kang's formulating utterance quoted in Choo's inner voice aligns his stance with Choo thereby displaying much more committed affiliation. Consequently, because Kang's use of quotation reflects Choo's conveyed stance, Choo promptly acknowledges Kang's utterance with 'Yes' (line 65), creating a 'formulation-decision' adjacency pair.

The following example is taken from a story told during DH's interview. This well-known baseball player's family suffered from financial difficulties when he was a young teenage boy. For reasons of space, the extract starts with DH's story. Prior to the extract, Kang began this segment of the interview with a topic-initiating remark 'Well, I was also an athlete and it is likely that strong support from the coach makes other students and their parents jealous' (not shown below). Accordingly, DH responds by telling a topically relevant story.

Extract (3.10) (Host: Kang, Guest: DH)

```
20 DH:          네 >어머님 아버님들이<, 너무 좀: (.)어렵다는 걸 아시고
21              더 가엽게 여기시고 더 좋게 해 주시는 부모님이 (.)
22              >있는 반면에<, .hhhh 제가 시합을 뛰면
23              그 아이들이 시합을 >못 뛰는 애들도< [있잖아요]=,
24 Kang:                                          [음::    ].
25 DH:          =그러면 또 그걸 시기하시는 (.) 학부모[님들이] 있었어요.
```

26 Kang: [음::].
27 DH: 그래서 쟤는 왜 돈도 안내고:
28 뭐 간식거리나 <안 하면서> 왜 자꾸 시합을 뛰주냐:::
29 이런 말이 많았거든요=>왜냐하면<,
30 **다** 돈을 내시고 간식도 해오시는데
31 저는 못하니까:: [그게 참--].
32 Kang: [음 음::].
33 DH: 어린 마음에 눈칫밥이 먹게 되더라구요.
34 눈치도 >보게 되고=막<
35 그래서 >어렸을 때부터< 생각했던게,
36 후배들 보다 야구 못 하면 난 시합을 못 뛴다.
37 라는 생각을 많이 했었고,
38 Kang: ((안타깝게)) 음:::.
39 DH: 그리고 여기 있는 선수들에서 제일 잘 해야지 저런 말이 안 나온다,
40 라는 생각도 많이 했었고.
41 Kang: → 이건 뭐 실력으로 극복할 수 밖에 없다라는 [이제-]
42 DH: [예] 그것밖에 없었어요.
(5 lines deleted where DH somewhat tediously expresses his thankful feeling towards the team coach)
48 Kang: 그 부모님이 그- 그 저 기합을 줬는데
49 집으로 찾아왔다는 얘기가 뭡니까?

20 DH: ney >emenim apenim-tul-i<, nemwu com: (.)elyepta-nun ke-l a-si-ko
Yes mother:HON father:HON-PL-NM very little difficult-DC-ATTR thing-AC know-SH-and
Yes, there were mothers and fathers who knew that {I} was in a very difficult situation and

21 te kayep-key yeki-si-ko te coh-key hay cwu-si-nun pwumo-nim-i
More poor-AD treat-SH-and more good-AD do give-SH-ATTR parent-HT-NM

22 (.)>iss-nun panmyeney<, .hhhh cey-ka sihap-ul ttwi-myen
Exist-ATTR on:the:other:hand I-NM competition-AC run-then

treated {me} with concern and warmth. But on the other hand, when I participated in the games,

23 ku ai-tul-i sihap-ul >mos ttwi-nun ay-tul-to<[iss-canh-ayo]=,
That kid-PL-NM competition-AC cannot run-ATTR kid-PL-also exist-COMM-POL
there were students who couldn't play {because of limited positions},

24 Kang: [Um::.]
Em.

25 DH: =kulemyen tto kuke-l sikiha-si-nun (.) hakpwumo[-nim-tul-i] iss-ess-eyo.
Then also that-AC envy-SH-ATTR school:parents-HT-PL-NM
Then there were also parents who were envied {of my playing}.

26 Kang: [Um::.]
Em::.

27 DH: kulayse cyay-nun way ton-to an nay-ko:
So that:kid-TC why money-also not pay-and

28 mwe kansikkeli-na <an ha-myense> way cakkwu sihap-ul ttwi-cwu-nya:::
DM snack-or not do-while why often competition-AC run-give-INT:Q

So "Why does he keep playing when he can't pay for the activity fee and can't bring snacks"

29 ile-n mal-i manh-ass-ketun-yo=>waynyahamyen<,
Such-TC word-NM many-PST-CORREL-POL because
There were many {people} saying such things

30 ta ton-ul nay-si-ko kansik-to hay o-si-nuntey
All money-AC pay-SH-and snack-also bring come-SH-but
everybody pays the fees and brings snacks but

31 ce-nun mos ha-nikka:: [kukey cham-].
I-TC cannot bring-since that really
I was not able to do that:: That was really-.

32 Kang: [um um:::.]
em em:::.

33 DH: eli-n maum-ey nwunchispap-i mek-key toy-telakwu-yo.
Young-ATTR feeling-at study:others-NM have-AD become-RT-INTROS-QT-POL
It made me uncomfortable.

34 nwunchi-to >po-key toy-ko=mak<
Sense-also study-AD become-and DM
{I} also tended to study others' faces

35 DH: kulayse ely-ess-ul ttay pwuthe sayngkakhay-ss-ten-key,
So young-PST-ATTR when from think-PST-RT:TC-AD
So since I was young,{I} used to think that,

36 hwupay-tul pota yakwu mos ha-myen na-n sihap-ul mos ttwi-n-ta.
Junior-PL than baseball cannot do-then I-TC competition-AC cannot run-ATTR-DC
'If I fail to outdo others, I won't be able to play'.

37 lanun sayngkak-ul manhi hayss-ess-ko,
QT thought-AC much do:PST-PST-and
such thoughts crossed {my} mind a lot and,

38 Kang: ((sympathetically)) um:::.
Em:::.

39 DH: kuliko yeki iss-nun senswu-tul-eyse ceyil cal hay-yaci
And here exist-ATTR athlete-PL-among most well do-need:COMM

40 celen mal-i an nao-n-ta lanun sayngkak-to manhi hay-ss-ess-ko,

such:that word-NM not come:out-ATTR-DC QT thought-also much do-PST-PST-and

and {I} also thought 'jealousy would not be an issue if I became the best among them all' and,

41 Kang: → ike-n mwe sillyek-ulo kukpokha-l swu pakkey eps-ta-Lanun [icey-]
This-TC like ability-by overcome-ATTR can only not-DC-QT now
It was like '{I} need to overcome through my own ability' then-

42 DH: [yey] kukes-pakkey eps-ess-eyo.
Yes that:thing-only not-PST-POL
Yes, that was the only way.

(5 lines deleted where DH somewhat tediously expresses his thankful feeling towards the team coach)

48 Kang: ku pwumo-nim-i ku-- ku ce kihap-ul cwe-ss-nuntey
That parent-HT-NM that that that punishment-AC give-PST-CIRCUM

49 cip-ulo chac-a-wass-tanun yayki-ka mwe-p-ni-kka?
House-to visit-CONN-come:PST-QT story-NM what-AH-IN-Q

What is the story about you punishing a {junior} athlete and his parents {later} coming to your house {to confront you about it}?

The central part of the story is DH's description about how his status in the baseball club aroused the jealousy of some students and their parents (lines 20-23, 25). Using quoted speech, DH explains that certain parents were jealous of him 'playing as a regular member' (line 28) when he was 'unable to pay the activity fee'(line 27) and 'couldn't bring the snacks' (line 28). In line 36 and 39, DH expresses how he felt about the events in his story through reported thought 'If I fail to outdo others, I wouldn't be able to play' and 'Jealousy would not be an issue if I became the best among them all'.

Kang's third turn responses to the story are similar to the previous extract. Throughout DH's storytelling, he recurrently displays sympathetic response tokens *um::* 'em::' (lines 24, 27, 32, 38), properly treating the story in progress. DH produces two similar turns of reported thought consecutively, indicating that the story has reached its completion (lines 36-37 and 39). Kang then presents DH's reported thoughts and quotes them DH's inner voice 'I need to overcome with my own ability' (line 41) as if he had been the story protagonist.

In addition to reflecting his active listenership, Kang's alternatively interpreted formulation in quoted speech also functions as a sequence-closure. I have shown that the 'formulation-decision' adjacency pair often marks a point to prepare for the sub/topic shift. After Kang's proffers his formulating utterance in the third turn position, DH promptly agrees 'Yes that was the only way' (line 42). In the deleted subsequent sequence, DH then expresses his thankfulness towards his team coach, but Kang provides little or no reactive token. Although Kang could have displayed some kind of empathy toward DH at this point, he does not produce any comments. Instead, Kang disjunctively brings up a new episode-soliciting question 'What is the story about you punishing a junior athlete and his parents later coming to your house to confront you about it?' (lines 48-49), which is topically irrelevant. Having seen the multiple functions achieved through the host's formulating utterance, it can be said that the formulation illustrates a significant aspect of institutionalized talk.

The occurrence of brief response tokens during the initial phase of story development and a full turn response upon story completion seem appropriate for their structural alignment with the storytelling activity in progress (Stivers, 2008). However, the distribution and sequential occurrence of the host's listening practices cannot be strictly regulated. As a result, the guest's storytelling can be interspersed with the host's formulating utterance. Extract (3.11) is a case in point, where the host's formulating utterance (lines 137 and 139) occurs in the middle of Man's story development. Man is a distinguished former professional baseball player for the 'Samsung Lions'. Man engages in lengthy storytelling, which continues for about five minutes. Extract (3.11) only includes the beginning Man's story. The questioning sequence is constructed through multi-unit turns and thus not included in this extract for reasons of space. Prior to the extract, Kang announced that he was going to ask an 'uncomfortable question' and requests that Man provide him with a relevant episode of an 'overheated incident' Man experienced with a rival team in the past. Kang assumes that Man's history with his former team has been marked by an intensive rivalry with the 'KIA Tigers', as the 'Samsung Lions' and the 'Kia Tigers' are the representative teams of the east and west parts of the Korean peninsula, respectively.

Extract (3.11) (Host: Kang, Guest: Man)

117 Man: 그렇죠. 한 번은:: 해태 타이거스 팀이,이제 대구
118 원정 경기를 왔습니다. 첫 게임에서는 우리:
119 해태 타이거한테 졌고 둘째 게임도 졌습니다=
120 =홈에서 그니까 관중들이 막 (0.2)
121 이 **라이벌**한테 지니까 더 분한 거예요 그래서
122 야 마지막 세 게임 때는 안 이기겠[나:],
123 Kang: [음음]
(6 lines deleted in which Man recounts that the 'Tigers' outscored 'Lions' by ten points)
130 Man: 야::: 그래갖고 팬들이 기대가 많으면 실망도 많듯이,
131 Kang: 예.
132 Man: 이제 분한 거예요 팬들이 인제=마 그래서
133 야 마지막 8 회 말에 이만수 한 번 나오니까
134 **이만수 한 번 치는거 보고 우리 가자::**
135 Kang: 어::
136 Man: 예 뭐 그런 기대를 하고 있었어요,
137 Kang: → 뭐 이기지 못하더라도 [이만]수의 시원한
138 Man: [예]
139 Kang: → 홈런 보면 그래도 뭐 좀 스트레스 풀리지 **않겠나!**
140 Man: 그래서 뭐 겜은 이미 벌써 넘어갔[고],
141 Kang: [아하]
142 Man: >그래갖고< 주자가 원 아웃에 주자가 1 루가 나갔어요,

117 Man: kuleh-cyo. han pen-un:: '*Haitai Tigers*' team-i, icey '*Taegu*'
Correct-COMM:POL one time-TC NAME team-NM now PLACE NAME

118 wenceng kyengki-lul wa-ss-sup-ni-ta. ches *game*-eyse-nun wuli:
Away game-AC come-PST-AH-IN-DC first game-at-TC we

119 '*Haitai Tigers*'-hanthey cye-ss-ko twulccay *game*-to cye-ss-sup-ni-ta=
NAME-to lose-PST-and second game-also lose-PST-AH-IN-DC

Right. One time the 'Haitai Tigers' came to 'Taegu' on Their away- game. {We} lost on the first day and lost again on the second day

118 =*home*-eyse kunikka kwancwung-tul-i mak (0.2)
Home-at like:that:so audience-PL-NM DM

121 i *rival*-hanthey ci-nikka te pwunha-n ke-yeyyo kulayse
This rival-to lose-so more angry-ATTR thing-POL so

The home audience got mad because we lost to the rival team so

122 ya macimak sey *game* ttay-nun an iki-keyss-[na:],
Hey last third game when-TC not win-DCT:RT-Q:INT
Hey, {we} will win the last game at least,

123 Kang: [Em Em]

(6 lines deleted in which Man recounts that
the 'Tigers' outscored 'Lions' by ten points)

130 Man: ya::: kulaykacko *fan*-tul-i kitay-ka manh-umyen silmang-to manh-tusi,
wow so fan-PL-NM expectation-NM high-then disappointment-also high-as
Wow:::so the fans' high expectations can lead to much disappointment,

131 Kang: Yey.
Yes.

132 Man: icey pwunha-n ke-yeyyo *fan*-tul-i incey=ma kulayse
Now mad-ATTR thing-POL fan-PL-NM now DM so
The fans got mad then so

133 ya macimak 8 hoy mal-ey 'Lee Man Soo' han pen nao-nikka
Hey last 8 inning end-at NAME one time come:out-so
Hey, Man's last time at bat will be in the 8th inning so

134 'Lee Man soo' han pen chi-nun-ke po-ko wuli ka-ca::
NAME one time hit-ATTR-thing see-and we go-PR
let's watch Man bat and go home

135 Kang: E::
Oh

136 Man: yey mwe kulen kitay-lul ha-ko iss-ess-eyo,
Yes like that expectation-AC do-and be-PST-POL
Yes, they had such expectations {of me},

137 Kang: → mwe iki-ci mos-ha-telato '[Lee Man]Soo'-uy siwenha-n
Like win-NOM cannot-do-even:so NAME-of cool-ATTR
Even though we lost the game, watching Man

138 Man: [Yey]
Yes

139 Kang: → *home run* po-myen kulayto mwe com *stress* phwulli-ci anh-keyss-na!
Home run see-then though DM little stress relieve-NOM not-DCT:RT-Q:INT
hit the home run will relieve the stress!

140 Man: kulayse mwe *game*-un imi pelsse nemeka-ss-[ko],
So DM game-TC already already lose-PST-and
So flipping the score was impossible by then and,

141 Kang: [aha]
I see

142 Man: >kulaykacko< cwuca-ka *one out*-ey cwuca-ka il lwu-ka naka-ss-eyo,
And:then hitter-NM one out-at hitter-NM first base-NM go:out-PST-POL
So there were two more outcounts and the hitter was on

first base,

In line 117, Man confirms that he has experienced an 'overheated incident' and recounts one past occasion. Specifically, he references the Samsung Lion's opposing team, 'Tigers' (line 117) and later refers to them as a 'rival' (line 121). In line 122, Man produces two turns of reported speech hypothetically quoted in the voice of 'Lions' fans. The first reported speech 'Hey the Lions will win the last game at least', which is produced because the Lions have already lost two games in a row, embeds the expectation the fans had at the time of the described story event. The second reported speech 'Hey, Man's last time at bat will be in the 8th inning, so let's watch Man bat and go home' (lines 133-134) is presumably produced in the middle of the game when the Lions were losing.

In response to Man's first instance of reported speech, Kang displays his immediate understanding with 'mm hm' (line 123) in overlap Kang's reported speech. Man's second reported speech is followed by Kang's alternatively interpreted formulating utterance. Because talk show viewers may not understand why Lions fans might have waited to watch Man's last chance at bat when it seemed impossible for the Lions to win the game, Kang hypothetically quotes Lions fans' expectations by stating, 'Even though we lose the game, watching Man hit the home run will relieve the stress!' (lines 137 and 139). In so doing, Kang treats the TV audience as the primary addressee rather than the guest on-site (Heritage, 1985; Schegloff, 1992).

As Extracts (3.9) and (3.10) have shown, the host's formulation turns produced upon the story completion prompt the guest's confirmation. By doing so, the host takes back the floor and leads the interview conversation to the next topic. Contrastingly, in Extract (3.11), Kang's formulating utterance is stated before the story has reached completion, so it remains unknown what the 'overheated incident' is about. Thus, Kang's formulating utterance is not projected to take the floor back but, instead, activates his institutional role as a talk show host and provides an alternative interpretation of the guest's quoted speech on behalf of talk show viewers Accordingly, Man continues to hold the floor.

In this section, I have analyzed how the host uses quoted formulating utterances upon story completion (Extracts 3.9 and 3.10) and in the middle of a guest's storytelling (Extract 3.11) to achieve different interactional goals. In Extract

(3.9), for example, the guest provokes a certain type of acknowledgement (e.g., sympathetic, encouraging, affiliative, etc.) from the host throughout the storytelling with various linguistic resources. The expected third turn formulation displays not only the host's full understanding of the story but also a committed affiliation with the guest. I have argued that the host in mid-storytelling normally produces short tokens, such as *mm hm*, nods, and smiles, while withholding full-turn responses until story completion. The full-turn formulation-decision adjacency pair often functions as a sequence-closure that marks a point to prepare for a topic shift as shown in Extract (3.10). I also showed that a full-turn response situated mid-storytelling can clarify the vagueness and provide an alternative interpretation on behalf of talk show viewers (Extract 3.11).

3.6 Teasing the Guest with Playful Formulations

As "infotainment", talk show interviews are playful in character (Tolson 1991), and hosts often bring the ongoing talk to a humorous climax by intentionally providing somewhat inappropriate or overdone third turns to put the guest in a difficult situation. Norrick (1994), in analyzing the interplay between aggression and solidarity in sarcasm and mocking, notes:

> Especially in customary joking relationship, sarcasm and mocking can express both aggression and solidarity – aggression in the message, attacking others for their foibles and errors, and solidarity in the metamessage, including others in a playful relationship with increased involvement (p. 423).

This is not taken as seriously inappropriate, but rather as a face-threatening game between public representation(s). Moreover, such inappropriate third turns build rapport between interview participants.

Therefore, it should be noted that there is a boundary between real and public personas. Kang's public personaas a talk show host is known as being quite pushy to guests, which may be influenced by his past career as an athlete. When Kang teases guests with playful or sometimes even offensive formulations, the guests' confirmation are usually delayed in the following turn. I will examine three examples in which Kang teasingly produces overdone third turn formulations quoted in a hypothetically constructed voice, thereby placing the target participant in an

uncomfortable situation. The target participants in Extracts (3.12) and (3.13) are the guests, but in Extract (3.14), one of peripheral interviewers, OB, is teased.

The first Extract (3.12) is excerpted from an interview with Sue. Prior to the extract, Sue tells the story about a Monacan ballet school principal who first recognized Sue's talent for ballet during a visit to Korea. Sue was selected by the principal to attend the Monacan ballet school and received a full scholarship when she was only a junior high school student. As Kang believes that Sue is attempting to highlight her talent, he recurrently teases her for showing-off (lines 26-27, 50-51, 53-55, 57 and 59).

Extract (3.12) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo Guest: Sue)

```
24 Sue:          교장선생님께서 <뭔가가> 다르다는 걸 알았대요
25               제가 어렸을 때
26 Kang:   →     ((smiling)) 예:: >교장 선생님께서< 말로
27         →     표현할 수 없지만 뭔가가 뛰어났다=대단했다↑
28 Sue:          ((smiling)) 뭐 그러시더라고요 예 [hehehehe]
29 Kang:                                          [ha ha ha]hahaha
30 Yoo:          끝까지 자랑이시네요 hhh
31 Sue:          hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh
                (14 lines deleted)
46 Sue:          전 그냥 발레가 우-우- 그냥 무작정 좋아서,
47               다른 나라 가서 더 배우고 싶다는
48               이 마음 밖에 없었고,
49               그 생각 [밖에 없었기 때문에  ]
50 Kang:                [그니까 중학교 나이에]
51               외국 교장 선생님 발탁돼가지고 갈 정도면:,
52 Sue:          음
53 Kang:         친구들에게 자랑도 우쭐대면서 할 수도 있는
54               와중에↑강수진 씨는 그냥 그런 거 생각 안하고,
55         →     [나는        ] 가서 좋은 것 배우[고          ]
56 Sue:          [((nodding))]               [((nodding))]
57 Kang:   →     훌륭한 발레리나로 성장해야지 라는,
58 Sue:          예
59 Kang:         훌륭한 학생이었다?
60 Sue:          hehehehehe 예(h)
61               그냥 보통 학(h)생이(h)었어요 hehe
62 Kang:         hahahaha
```

```
24 Sue:      kyocang sensayngnim-kkeyse <mwenka-ka> taluta-nun ke-l
             ala-ss-tay-yo
             principal teacher:HT-NM:HON what:ATTR:NM-NM different-ATTR
             thing-AC know-PST-HEARSAY-POL
             The principal said that she knew {I} was something
             different

25           cey-ka ely-ess-ul ttay
```

I-NM young-PST-ATTR when
when I was young

26 Kang: → ((smiling)) yey:: >kyocang sensayng-nim-kkeyse< mal-lo
Yes principal teacher-HT-NM:HON word-by

27 → phyohyenha-l swu eps-ciman mwenka-ka ttwiena-ss-ta=taytanhay-ss-ta↑
express-ATTR can not-but what:ATTR:NM-NM excellent-PST-DC outstanding-PST-DC

I see. The principal {said} "It's hard to express in words, but something was exceptional and outstanding↑"

28 Sue: ((smiling)) mwe kule-si-te-la-ko-yo yey [hehehehe]
What say-SH-RT-INTROS-QT-POL Yes
That's what {she} said Yes hehehehe

29 Kang: [hahaha]hahaha
hahaha hahaha

30 Yoo: kkuth-kkaci calang-i-si-ney-yo hhh
End-until boast-COP-AH-INTERR-POL
{You} are boasting endlessly hhh

31 Sue: hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh
hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh

(14 lines deleted)

46 Sue: ce-n kunyang *ballet*-ka wu-wu- kunyang mwucakceng coh-ase,
I-TC just ballet-NM just blindly like-so
I just liked ballet uh- uh- just liked {it} for no reason,

47 talun nala ka-se te paywu-ko siph-ta-nun
Other country go-and more learn-and wish-QT-ATTR

48 i maum pakkey eps-ess-ko,
This feeling only not-PST-and

49 ku sayngkak [pakkey eps-ess-ki ttaymwuney]
That thought only not-PST-NOM since

{I} just wanted to learn ballet abroad and, that was the only thing that {I} could think of

50 Kang: [kunikka cwunghakkyo nai-ey]
So middle:school age-at
So as a middle-school-age student

51 ykwuk kyocang sensayng-nim palthak-tway kaciko ka-l cengto-myen:,
foreign:country principal teacher-HT scout-become and go-ATTR degree-then
whose talent was enough to be selected by a foreign principal,

52 Sue: Um
Em

53 Kang: chinkwu-tul-eykey calang-to wuccwultay-myense ha-l swu-to iss-nun
Friend-PL-to boast-also brag-while do-ATTR can-also be-ATTR

54 wacwung-ey↑ 'Kang Sue jin' ssi-nun kunyang kulen ke sayngkak an ha-ko,
whilst-at NAME VOC-TC just such:that thing thought not do-and

She could have bragged about it to friends, but Ms. Suejin Kang is the kind of person who does not think that way and {instead}

55 → [na-nun] ka-se coh-un kes paywu-[ko]
I-TC go-and good-ATTR thing learn-and

56 Sue: [((nodding))] [((nodding))]

57 Kang: → hwullyungha-n *ballerina*-lo sengcanghay-yaci lanun,
Great-ATTR ballerina-to grow-will:COMM QT
'I will study hard and become a great ballerina'

58 Sue: Yey
Yes

59 Kang: hwullyungha-n haksayng-i-ess-ta?
Excellent-ATTR student-COP-PST-DC
{Sue} was an excellent student?

60 Sue: hehehehehe Yey(h)
hehehehehe Yes

61 kunyang pothong hak(h)sayng-i(h)-ess-eyo hehe
Just normal student-COP-PST-POL
{I} was just a normal stu(h)dent hehe

62 Kang: hahahaha
hahahaha

In this extract, two instances of the host's playful third turn formulations are observed. First, in line 24, Sue indirectly quotes how the Monacan principal had assessed her talent as 'something was different', with a hearsay marker '*-tay*'. Kang, in return, displays his immediate understanding 'I see::' and upgrades the principal's praise by elaborating the word 'different' with *ttwienassta* 'exceptional' and *taytanhayssta* 'outstanding' (line 27). Kang's response lacks a speech verb and quotative marker and is therefore ungrammatical. However, the use of a neutral speech level sentence ending '*-ta*' and a rising intonation in the context of paraphrasing the principal's comments about Sue strongly suggest that the utterance is

understood as reported speech. Such interpretation is further supported by Sue's following confirmation 'That's what she had said' in line 28.

Second, in lines 46-49, Sue attempts to describe the enthusiasm she had to learn ballet, even at a young age. In response, Kang reformulates Sue's statement with a *kunikka* 'so, in other words'-prefaced third turn in line 50. Kang then presents an imaginary figure who 'arrogantly' (line 53) shows off one's achievement to one's friends and then contrasts this fictional figure with Sue, who appears to be modest and enthusiastic, as demonstrated through the hypothetically constructed inner voice 'I will study hard and become a wonderful ballerina' (lines 55 and 57). Sue shyly laughs and gives a weak confirmation. However, Sue immediately downgrades Kang's final turn 'Sue was such an excellent student?' (line 59) to 'just a normal student' (line 61).

Notice that two turns of reported speech in lines 26-27 and 55, 57 over-praise Sue. Such overdone praise often presents the guest with the moral dilemma of presenting herself as a modest person, especially when such praise is quoted in the guest's own voice. However, the guest's reaction to the third turn formulations seems to depend on who is being quoted. Kang's first formulation, which is quoted in the third party's (i.e., the principal) voice, is weakly confirmed by Sue with shy laughing particles. Sue does agree that she was in fact 'exceptional' and 'outstanding'. Kang then subsequently illustrates a hardworking and enthusiastic image of Sue through his second formulation, which is hypothetically quoted in a co-present party's (i.e., Sue) voice. This time, however, Sue disconfirms and downgrades Kang's hypothetically quoted statement.

A similar practice of placing the guest in an uncomfortable position is observable in the following segment, which is excerpted from Kang's interview with Kwak, a well-known film producer. This time, Kang roleplays as Kwak and overly criticizes a closely acquainted third party (i.e., Park) who is not present at the interview. In lines 1-2, Kang initially brings up a new topic related to Park, a prominent film producer, as in 'I heard your daughter envied Park when you still unknown' and attempts to put Kwak in a rivalry with Park. Kwak then tells the story of Park wearing fancy sunglasses and a trench coat when visiting his daughter's school, which he did not appreciate.

Extract (3.13) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo, OB; Guest: Kwak)

01 Kang: <무명 시절 때:: (0.3) 스타::> 감독 박찬욱
02 감독을 ((gazing Kwak))따님께서 굉장히 부러워했다고:.
03 Kwak: 아 그렇죠.
04 Kang: 음:.
05 Kwak: 예 (.) 같은 학(h)교 댕(h)기니까.
06 Kang: 예. >따님끼리도< 또 친구분[:]
07 Kwak: [예].
08 Kang: [>°이라면서요¿°<]
09 Kwak: [((nodding))예예].
(6 irrelevant lines deleted)
16 Kwak: 찬욱이 형이 좀 이렇게 바바리코트를
17 좀 안 입고 다녔으면 좋겠어요,
18 Kang: ((in-breath)) 어: 왜 박찬욱 감독님
19 바바리코트 입을 때 **<u>참</u>** 지적이고,
20 Kwak: 예.
21 Kang: 예. [지?-]
22 Kwak: [근데] 딸이 자꾸 그러잖아요=아빠 바바리코트 없어?
23 Kang: hahaha[ha ha ha]
24 Kwak: [hehehehe]
25 Kang: 예.
26 Kwak: (있어요 저도) 바바리코트가. 아니 찬욱이 형이
27 이렇게 이: 학교에 자주 찾아 가세요,
28 딸을 이 데리고 집에 가고 >이제< 이러거든요.
29 [근데] 찬욱이 형은 좀 스타일리쉬 하잖아요=,
30 Kang: [예].
31 Kwak: =이제 선글라스 [딱 끼고] 바바리코트 딱 입고,
32 OB: [음::]
33 Kwak: >그게< 우리 딸이 부러웠나봐요=그런게.
34 Kang: → 네. 바바리코트를: >입고 다닌다는 거 자체가< 겉멋:을 좀 부린다¿
35 Kwak: 하! ((shaking his head)) 하 이(h)야(h):
36 Kang: ( ) 잠깐 그렇잖아요,
37 Kwak: 그니깐 그걸 **<u>패션</u>**이라고 봐야지,
38 그걸 겉멋이라 얘기하니까 조금 그러네요↑
39 Yoo: °음°.
40 Kwak: **<u>아니</u>** 그 [옷]이라는 게 자기 연출↑이잖아요=
41 Kang: [그-]
42 → =그 패션을 박찬욱 감독님이 >바바리 코-트를<
43 → 입고 다니시는 모습을 눈뜨고 못 봐주겠다↑=
44 =[그 말씀이십니까¿]
45 Kwak: [he he he he he]
46 우리 **딸** 앞에서는 좀 안 입었으면 좋겠다°니까°
47 Kang: 아:::

01 Kang: <mwumyeng sicel ttay:: (0.3) *star*::> kamtok 'Park Chan Wook'
Unknown period when star director NAME

02 kamtok-ul ((gazing Kwak)) ttanim-kkeyse koyngcanghi
pwulewehay-ss-tako:.

Director-AC daughter:HT-NM:HON extremely envy-PST-QT

{I heard that} {your} daughter envied the famous star producer 'Park Chan Wook' when {you} were still unknown.

03 Kwak: a kuleh-cyo.
Oh correct-COMM:POL
Oh yes.

04 Kang: um:.
Em.

05 Kwak: yey (.) kathun hak(h)kyo tayng(h)ki-nikka.
Yes same school go-NOM-since
Yes since {they=two girls} go to the same school.

06 Kang: yey. >ttanim-kkili-to< tto chinkwu-pwun[:]
Yes daughter:HT-each:other-also too friend-person:HON
Yes.

07 Kwak: [Yey].
Yes.

08 Kang: [>°i-lamyense-yo¿°<]
COP-QT:HEARSAY-POL
I heard that the two girls are friends¿

09 Kwak: [((nodding))Yey yey].
Yes yes.

(6 irrelevant lines deleted)

16 Kwak: 'Chanwook'-i hyeng-i com ilehkey *Burberry coat*-lul
NAME-NM older:brother-NM DM like:this Burberry coat-AC

17 com an ip-ko tanye-ss-umyen coh-keyss-eyo,
DM not wear-and go-PST-then good-DCT:RT-POL
{I} hope 'Chanwook' doesn't wear his trench coat,

18 Kang: ((in-breath)) e: way 'Park Chan Wook' kamtok-nim
Why NAME director-HT

19 *Burberry coat* ip-ul ttay cham ciceki-ko,
Burberry coat wear-ATTR when really intelligent-and

Oh Producer 'Park' looks really intelligent in his Burberry coat and,

20 Kwak: Yey.
Yes.

21 Kang: Yey. [ci--]
Yes. intel-

22 Kwak: [kuntey] ttal-i cakkwu kule-canh-ayo=appa
Burberry coat eps-e?
But daughter-NM often say:that-COMM-POL Dad Burberry coat not-INT

But {my} daughter kept saying "Dad, don't you have a Burberry coat?"

23 Kang: hahahahaha[ha ha ha]
hahahahaha ha ha ha

24 Kwak: [hehehehe]
hehehehe

25 Kang: Yey.
Yes.

26 Kwak: (iss-eyo ce-to) *Burberry coat*-ka. ani 'Chan wook'-i hyeng-i
Have-POL I-also Burberry coat-NM DM NAME-NM older:brother-NM
(I also have) a Burberry trench coat.

27 ilehkey i: hakkyo-ey cacwu chac-a-ka-sey-yo,
Like:this this school-at frequently visit-CONN-go-SH-POL
I mean, Brother Park often goes to the school,

28 ttal-ul i teyli-ko cip-ey ka-ko >icey< ile-ketun-yo.
Daughter-AC DM pick:up-and house-to go-and then like:this-CORREL-POL
{He} picks his girl up and takes her home.

29 [kuntey] 'Chan wook'-i hyeng-un com *stylish* ha-canh-ayo=,
But NAME-NM older:brother-TC little stylish do-COMM-POL
But Brother Park is a stylish person, you know,

30 Kang: [Yey].
Yes.

31 Kwak: =icey *sunglass* [ttak kki-ko] *Burberry coat* ttak ip-ko,
Then sunglass just wear-and Burberry coat just wear-and
{He} wears his sunglasses and the Burberry coat and,

32 OB: [um::.]
em.

33 Kwak: >kukey< wuli ttal-i pwulewe-ss-na-pwa-yo=kulenkey.
That our daughter-NM envy-PST-Q:INT-seem-POL such:that
{I think} my daughter envied those things.

34 Kang: → Ney. *Burberry coat*-lul: >ip-ko tani-n-ta-nun ke cachey-ka< keth-mes:-ul com pwuli-n-ta¿
Yes. Burberry coat-AC wear-and go-ATTR-QT-ATTR thing itself-NM surface-beauty-AC little make-ATTR-DC
Yes. {You mean} "Wearing the Burberry coat is showy¿"

35 Kwak: Ha! ((shaking his head)) Ha i(h)ya(h):
Ha! Ha w(h)ow(h)

36 Kang: ( ) camkkan kuleh-canh-ayo,
Moment such:that-COMM-POL
Wait, isn't it so,

37 Kwak: kunikkan kuke-l *fashion*-i-lako pwa-ya-ci,

So that-AC fashion-COP-QT see-need-COMM
I think it should be called 'fashion',

38 kukel keth-mes-i-la yaykiha-nikka cokum kuleney-yo↑
That:thing:AC surface-beauty-COP-QT say-then little such:that-POL
Calling it superficial is not quite right↑

39 Yoo: °um°.
em.

40 Kwak: ani ku [os]-i-lanun key caki yenchwul↑-i-canh-ayo=
DM that clothing-COP-QT thing self presentation-COP-COMM-POL
I mean clothing is self-presentation=

41 Kang: [ku-]
that-

42 =ku *fashion*-ul 'Park Chan Wook' kamtok-nim-i >*Burberry coat*-lul<
that fashion-AC NAME director-HT-NM Burberry coat-AC

43 → ip-ko tani-si-nun mosup-ul nwun ttu-ko mos pwa-cwu-keyss-ta↑=
Wear-and go-SH-ATTR view-AC eye open-and cannot see-give-DCT:RT-DC

44 → =[ku malssum-i-si-p-ni-kka¿]
That word:HON-COP-SH-AH-IN-Q

="I can't bear Park wearing trench coat "
Is this what you meant¿

45 Kwak: [he he he he he]
he he he he he

46 wuli ttal aph-eyse-nun com an ip-ess-umyen coh-keyss-ta-°nikka°
Our daughter front-at-TC DM not wear-PST-then good-DCT:RT-DC-I:mean
{I mean}, {I} hope Park does not wear it in front of my daughter

47 Kang: a:::
Oh

At the beginning of this extract, Kang comically sets up a rivalry between Kwak and 'Park' and constantly tries to make Kwak speak ill of Park. Kang first presents the issue of Kwak's daughter envying Park, the 'star producer', and draws a sharp contrast between Park and Kwak, who was still relatively 'unknown' at the time (lines 1-2).

Kwak responds by somewhat disjunctively expressing his wish that Park not wear his trench coat (lines 16-17), though he later describes Park's taste in fashion as

'stylish' (line 29). In contrast to Kwak's negative opinion, Kang asserts that Park looks 'intelligent' in his trench coat (line 19). Prompted by Kang's disagreement, Kwak accounts for his negative perspective and initiates a relevant story (lines 22, 26-29, 31 and 33). It can be inferred that Kwak's daughter also wants her father to wear a trench coat as shown in Kwak's reported speech 'Dad, don't you have a Burberry coat?' (line 22).

Upon story completion, Kang begins speaking ill of Park through Kwak's hypothetically constructing voice and claims that Park's trench coat is *keth mes*[44] 'showy' (line 34). Kang's negative assessment with slight upward intonation seeks Kwak's confirmation. Because the delivered critique is quoted in Kwak's voice, as if Kwak has negatively assessed Park's fashion taste, Kwak strongly disconfirms Kang's formulation. Kwak immediately displays his strong disagreement towards the mischievous third turn verbally through *Ha!*, which can be contextually translated as 'No way!' (line 35) and a subsequent ironically toned *iya:* 'wo:w' with interspersed laughing particles. He also expresses his disagreement non-verbally through head shaking (line 35). Kwak then promptly points out that 'showy' is not an appropriate word and replaces it with the positively assessed word choices 'fashion' (line 37) and 'self-presentation' (line 40). Kang, however, does not give up over-criticizing Park. In lines 42-33, Kang re-produces another quoted formulation, 'I can't bear to watch Park wearing the trench coat' (literally translated, 'cannot watch with my eyes open'. Again, Kwak does not confirm Kang's utterance. Kwak instead provides a self-formulated downgraded version 'I hope Park does not wear it in front of my daughter' (line 46). Kang finally stops teasing Kwak and reacts as if he has finally understood Kwak's intention with the drawn out 'oh:::' (line 47) and then voluntarily moves on to the next topic (not shown above). Thus, as the interaction between Kwak and Kang demonstrates, when the host recurrently produces somewhat inappropriate and entertainment-oriented third turn receipts, the guest displays strong disagreement toward the utterances and even corrects the earlier third turn through self-formulation.

Extract (3.14) is different from the previous two extracts in that the target participant being teased by Kang is not the talk show guest, but a peripheral host

[44] Literally translated, *keth mes* means 'surfaced beauty'.

named OB. In this extract, Kang is interviewing a famous athlete couple, Lee and Kim. This interview was recorded one week before their wedding. Lee is male former Olympic gold medalist in Judo and Kim is a female golfer. In particular, I focus on how Kang puts OB in a difficult situation with playful formulations and how OB reacts to the formulating utterances.

Extract (3.14) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo, OB; Guests: Kim (F), Lee (M))

001 Kang: 여기에서 제일 궁금한 게 >올라이즈 밴드<가 김미현 선수의
002 >전화번호도< 받게 되고↑=그리고 김미현 선수의 병원까지
003 병문안을 >갔다고 그러더라고요<,
004 Kim: [((nodding)) °네°]
005 Kang: [왜 가신]겁[니까]
006 OB: [예 ( )] 갔죠 병원에
007 Kang: 예?
008 OB: he 아- 아 사심없이 그냥 팬이라 갔습니다
009 Kang: [예?]
010 Kim: [스쿠-] 스쿠터 타고 오셨어요
011 Kang: 네:
012 Kim: °스쿠터°
013 OB: 강남에서 그 때 제가: 오토**바**이를 하나 샀는데::
014 Kang: [예.]
015 Kim: [hehe]he
016 OB: 그 근처(h)에 계시다길래:: 아 갔다니까요
017 Kang: ((smiling)) 네 뭐 아무나 아픈 사람 있으면 다 찾아갑니까?
(8 lines deleted)
026 Kang: =그래서 병문안을 왜 갔습니까?
027 OB: 아(h) 병문안 그냥 (0.3) 거기에 병원이 있어서 갔습니다.
028 Kang: hahahahahahaha[ha] [hehehehehehehe]
029 OB: [예?]
030 Yoo: [그냥이 뭐야 hehe]
031 OB: 아 집에 가는데 거기에 **병**원이 있더라고요=
032 =그래갖고 갔다니까요:: 예.
[Storytelling]
081 Kang: → 자! 나는 사랑해서 갔다고 할 수는 없지만,
082 → 그래도 **혹**시나 하는 마음 **1**%라도, hehe 내가 지금
083 → 가서 혹시나 김미현씨에게 이게 어떤 식으로든 좀- 좀
084 → 1%라도 내 마음이 전달이 돼서, 뭐 **조**::금만 한편으로
085 → 마음 **저**::: 구석에라도, **저**::: 뒤에. **저**:: 끝에 >조금이라도<
086 → 그런 마음은 좀- 좀 있었다?
(1 line deleted)
088 OB: 잠깐만요.
(2 irrelavant lines deleted)
091 OB: 지금 내를 죽이려고 지금 네?
092 Kang: hehehehehehe

001 Kang: yeki-eyse ceyil kwungkumha-n key >'All Lies Band'(=OB)<-ka

'Kim Mihyun'(=Kim) senswu-uy Here-at most curious-ATTR thing NAME-NM NAME athlete-of

002 >cenhwa penho-to< pat-key toy-ko↑=kuliko 'Kim Mihyun' senswu-uy pyengwen-kkaci phone number-also receive-AD become-and and NAME athlete-of hospital-too

003 pyengmwunan-ul >ka-ss-tako kule-te-la-ko-yo<,
Hospital:visit-AC go-PST-QT say:that-RT-INTROS-QT-POL

{I} heard that {OB} got Kim's phone number and visited her when she was hospitalized,

004 Kim: [((nodding)) °Ney°]
Yes

005 Kang: [way ka -si -n]-ke-p-[ni-kka]?
Why go-AH-ATTR-thing-AH-IN-Q
Why did {you} go?

006 OB: [yey ( )] kass-cyo pyengwen-ey
Yes go:PST-COMM:POL hospital-to
Yes ( ) {I} went to the hospital

007 Kang: Yey?
What?

008 OB: he he a- a sasim-epsi kunyang *fan*-i-la ka-ss-sup-ni-ta
Personal:feeling-without just fan-NM-so go-PST-AH-IN-DC
he he uh- uh not for any personal reasons, I just went there as a fan

009 Kang: [Yey?]
What?

010 Kim: [*scoo*-] *scooter* tha-ko o-sy-ess-eyo
Scooter ride-and come-SH-PST-POL
scoo- {He} came on a scooter

011 Kang: Ney:
I see

012 Kim: °*Scooter*°
Scooter

013 OB: 'Gangnam'-eyse ku ttay cey-ka: othopai-lul hana sa-ss-nuntey::
PLACE NAME-at that time I-NM motorcycle-AC one buy-PST-CIRCUM
{I} purchased a motorcycle in 'Gangnam' at that time

014 Kang: [Yey.]
Yes.

015 Kim: [hehe]he
hehe he

016 OB: ku kunche(h)-ey kyeysi-ta-killay:: a ka-ss-ta-nikka-yo
That near-at exist:HON-DC-so DM go-PST-DC-because-POL
{She said} she was nearby so I went there

017 Kang: ((smiling)) ney mwe amwuna aphu-n salam iss-umyen ta chac-a-ka-p-ni-kka?
Yes DM anyone hurt-ATTR person exist-then all visit-CONN-go-AH-IN-Q
I see. Do you visit anyone who is sick?

(8 lines deleted)

026 Kang: =kulayse pyengmwunan-ul way ka-ss-sup-ni-kka?
So hospital:visit-AC why go-PST-AH-IN-Q
So why did you go to the hospital?

027 OB: a(h) pyengmwunan kunyang (0.3) keki-ey pyengwen-i iss-ese ka-ss-sup-ni-ta.
Hospital just there-at hospital-NM exist-so go-PST-AH-IN-DC
Ah {I} just (0.3) went there because hospital was there.

028 Kang: hahahahahahaha[ha] [hehe hehe hehe hehe]
hahahahahahahaha hehe hehe hehe hehe

029 OB: [Yey?]
What?

030 Yoo: [kunyang-i mwe-ya hehe]
Just-NM what-INT
What do you mean 'just' hehe

031 OB: a cip-ey ka-nuntey keki-ey pyengwen-i iss-te-la-ko-yo=.
Ah house-at go-CIRCUM there-at hospital-NM exist-RT-INTROS-QT-POL
Ah, {I} was on my way home and there was the hospital.

032 =kulaykacko ka-ss-ta-nikka-yo:: yey.
So go-PST-DC-because-POL Yes
So I went to the hospital. Yes.

[Storytelling]

081 Kang: → ca! na-nun salanghay-se ka-ss-tako ha-l swu-nun eps-ciman,
Okay I-TC love-so go-PST-QT say-ATTR can-TC not-but

082 → kulayto hoksina ha-nun maum il phlo lato, hehe nay-ka cikum
Still what:if do-ATTR feeling one percent even I-NM now

083 → ka-se hoksina 'Kim Mihyun'-ssi-eykey ikey etten sik-ulo-tun com- com
go-and what:if NAME-VOC-to this whichever way-by-or DM DM

084 → il phlo lato nay maum-i cental-i tway-se, mwe co::kum-mam Han phyen-ulo
one percent event I feeling-NM deliver-NM become-so DM little heart one side-to

085 → maum ce::: kwusek-ey-lato, ce::: twi-ey. ce:: kkuth-ey >cokum-ilato<
heart that end-from-though that back-from that end-at little-

even

086 → kulen maum-un com- com iss-ess-ta?
Such feeling-TC little little exist-PST-DC

Okay! "{I} can't say I went to see {her} because {I} love her but, somewhere in my heart, {I} did have have some feelings toward Kim"

(1 line deleted)

088 OB: camkkanman-yo.
Moment-POL
Wait a second.

(2 irrelavant lines deleted)

091 OB: cikum nay-lul cwuki-lyeko cikum ney?
Now I-AC kill-intend now yes
{You} are trying to kill me now, yeah?

092 Kang: hehehehehehe
hehehehehehe

This extract begins with Kang mentioning how OB visited Kim while she was hospitalized and teasing OB for having secret feelings for Kim (lines 5, 7, 9, 17 and 26). OB strongly disapproves of Kang's assumption (lines 8, 16, 27, 31, 88 and 92). Here, OB and Kim are both first-hand experiencers, and Kang is the one who actively puts OB in a difficult situation by recurrently asking why he visited Kim in the hospital. Kang initially brings up the story event with the hearsay marker *-telako* (lines 1-3). In overlap with Kim and OB's mutual confirmations (lines 4 and 6), Kang begins what appears to be a straightforward interrogation.

After not receiving a clear response from OB after asking his first question 'Why did you go there?' (line 5), Kang re-attempts the questioning with 'What?' (line 7). OB then responds that he is a fan of Kim, so he went to the hospital without *sasim* 'personal feeling' (line 8). Kang, however, does not treat OB's response as authentic and reformulates the question for the third time 'What?' (line 9). This time, OB explains that he happened to be near the hospital where Kim was and drove there with his new motorcycle (lines 13 and 15). Kang verbally confirms with 'Yes' but the smirky smile on his face and his subsequent turn utterance 'Do you visit anyone who is sick?' (line 17) implies that he does not consider OB's third response as sincere either. Kang's suspicion is further evidenced by his repetition of the initial question for the fourth time 'So why did you go to the hospital?' (line 26). Overwhelmed by

Kang's persistent questioning, OB humorously replies that he *just* found the hospital on his way back home (line 27), which is disapproved of by another peripheral host, Yoo, with 'What do you mean *just*?' (line 30).

Having assessed that OB's visit to the hospital was something unusual and suspicious (despite OB's strong disagreement), Kang uses the turn-initial *Ca!* 'Okay!' (lines 81-86) and then produces a lengthy turn, which he hypothetically quotes in OB's voice. During this turn, Kang creatively speaks as OB and describes how he felt towards Kim during the time of the story. The lengthy turn ends with a neutral speech level sentence ending *–ta* and rising intonation, reflecting the common feature of a formulating utterance. In response to Kang's formulation, OB delays the conversation with a dispreferred response 'Wait a second' (line 88) and shows a strong disaffiliation with Kang 'Are you trying to kill me?' (line 91).

In this section, I have shown instances where the host produces third turn formulations that are playful in character. The interviewer creatively reenacts what the guest said in a previous statement through the guest's voice. Unlike formulations that trigger guests' confirmation, these overdone formulations call for disconfirmation. Such discomfirmation results because the host's overdone self-praise, critique towards the third-party, etc. is enacted through the medium of the guest's voice and thus the guest is faced with the dilemma of whether to publicly agree with the host's accusation.

3.7. Summary

I have so far demonstrated how the talk show host (re)enacts the guest (or the third party) through quoted speech in the third turn position and concurrently reformulates what the guest's previous statements. I showed that formulation, as a multifunctional device, enables the host to display his immediate understanding, to summarize what was said in earlier turns, and to resolve misunderstanding caused by the trouble source. Moreover, use of the formulation-confirmation adjacency pair allows the host to close down the current topic.

In Section 3.3, for instance, I examined the third turn formulation following a pre-set question 'What is the purpose of your visit?' or 'What is your biggest concern?' and its subsequent response. In the third turn position, the host rephrases what the guest said, especially when the guests' responses are vague, contextually lacking, or ungrammatical. I also argued that the host is not a mere passive listener but rather an assistant teller who adds details to the guests' responses.

In Section 3.4, I showed that the third turn formulation-decision adjacency pair acts as a transition for the next action. That is, the host takes back the conversational floor and initiates the next action by asking a topically relevant follow-up question or a new topic-shift question.

The host's (re)formulations are also observed in storytelling contexts – either upon story completion or during mid-storytelling – as shown in Section 3.5. Because (re)formulations are shaped by the guest's story, they display not only the host's understanding of the story, but also the host's committed affiliation with the guest.

There are cases where the third turn (re)formulations are not likely to be received with confirmations as presented in Section 3.6. The host sometimes produces overdone formulations (e.g., praise, critique, etc) that are playful in character. Because they are enacted through the guest's voice, he/she tends to disagree with the host's formulating utterances.

In (re)formulations, the host partially or wholly rephrases the previous statement. Table 3.1 lists some examples found in the extracts presented in Chapter 3. The *italicized* components indicate the rephrased words in varying degrees. The first three examples show the ways in which the host fully rephrases the guests' responses. As shown in Table 3.1, only certain components (e.g., verbs, adjectives, noun phrases, etc.) can be rephrased. Through quoted third turn (re)formulations, the host (a) develops the guests' responses by defining the metaphors (e.g., 'delta' – 'hairloss'), explicating the deictic items (e.g., 'that' – 'that severe training'), and detailing the emotional states (e.g., 'feel for my parents' – 'nostalgic and affectionate feeling for my parents') brought up during the interview conversation; (b) affiliates or disaffiliates with guests by upgrading (e.g., 'to bring the gold medal' – 'to present with the gold medal', 'to do well' – 'to win gold medal') or downgrading (e.g.,

‘stylish’ – ‘showy’); or (c) proffers an alternative interpretation (e.g., ‘people think’ – ‘people misunderstand’).

The host’s formulating utterance often pairs with the guests’ confirmation and the adjacency pair enables the host to move on to the next action. The last column in Table 3.1 displays how the guests respond to the host’s formulating utterance. Except for two disconfirming examples (Ex. 2 and Ex. 8), the guests verbally and non-verbally confirm the host’s formulations. In cases where the host fails to produce an appropriate third turn (re)formulation, the guests correct the host’s misinterpretation (Ex. 2) or strongly disagree with the playful misinterpretation (Ex. 8).

In this chapter, I have shown how the host actively participates in on-going interview talk as an assistant teller rather than a laid-back listener, clarifies ambiguities, affiliates with guests, summarizes the on-going sequence, and initiates a new sequence through quoted speech. In Chapter 4, I will examine more specifically how the host signals his affiliation or emotional attachment towards guests as well as their story through direct reported speech.

Table 3.1 Examples of Partial or Full Paraphrase in Reformulations

NO.	Extract		Guest's Response	Host's (Re)formulation	Guest's Decision
1	3.2	Full Paraphrase	"I found a delta, which broadens like this."	"*My growing concern is hairloss*"	((nodding)) "Yes"
2	3.7		"I want to do well in both short track and speed skating."	"*For the first time in the Winter Olympics, I want to win two gold medals.*"	"Well, even if not in the Olympics, I want to be in the top place in short track as well."
3	3.10		'If I failed to outdo others, I won't be able to play'	*'I need to overcome through my own ability'*	"Yes, that was the only way."
4	3.3	Verb Paraphrase	"People think I have only one facial expression."	"People *misunderstand* that I have only one facial expression."	"Yes."
5	3.9		"I will bring home(?) a gold medal."	"I want to *present [who?—you need to present the gold medal to someone]* with a gold medal."	"Yes."
6	3.4	Others	"As time goes by, I feel for my parents more and more."	"As time goes by, *nostalgic and affectionate feeling* for my parents grow bigger."	"Yes."
7	3.5		"Would I be able to overcome that and win again?"	"Would I be able to overcome that *severe training*?"	((nodding)) "Yes"
8	3.11		"Park wearing a trench coat is stylish."	"Park wearing a trench coat is *showy*."	Ha! ((shaking his head)) Ha wo(h)w

CHAPTER 4

LISTENING PRACTICES II: AFFILIATING

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I examined how *Mwuluphphaktosa* talk show host, Kang, produces third-turn formulations in quoted speech as a multifunctional device to respond to guests' subsequent turns. We saw that the third-turn formulation not only demonstrates the host's comprehension of the topic at hand, but is also used to summarize the previous speaker's tellings, resolve any misunderstandings caused by trouble sources that come up during the interview, and even close down the ongoing talk. This chapter, as a continued examination of the *Mwuluphphaktosa* talk show host's listening practices, investigates how Kang acts as an "active story recipient" and engages in more active and involved forms of participation during interviews. In particular, this chapter will focus on how Kang displays his affiliation with guests by adopting the voice of a character in the guest's story, or by "chiming in" (Sams, 2010, p. 3149) and becoming an active participant in the story (Couper-Kuhlen, 1998; Holt, 2000; Niemelä, 2005).

In this chapter, I will conduct a detailed examination of the ways in which Kang's mutual affliation are actively invoked and achieved by the middle of the guest's story telling and particularly upon the story's climax. I begin by introducing the notion of 'affiliation' in relation to 'alignment'. I then turn my attention to Kang's use of reported speech in the middle of his guests' self-narrative. Through example extracts, this chapter will then three ways the host displays an empathetic attitude toward guests: (1) by recycling the story climax through reenactment (Section 4.3), (2) by engaging in collaborative storytelling (Section 4.4) and (3) by allegorizing the guest's personal account by sharing a similar story (Section 4.5).

4.2. Affiliation

The term 'affiliation' has been referred to as 'involvement', 'alignment', 'rapport', 'solidarity', 'empathy', and so on in various studies. Here, I will especially

differentiate between the terms ‘affiliation’ and ‘alignment’. Stivers (2008) clearly distinguishes the term the difference in the two terms:

> When a recipient *aligns* with a telling, he or she supports the structural asymmetry of the storytelling activity: that a storytelling is in progress and the teller has the floor until story completion. […] In contrast to *alignment*, with the term *affiliation* I mean that the hearer displays support of and endorses the teller’s conveyed stance. (p.34, 35, emphasis in the original)

By ‘affiliation’, I mean that the host, throughout the storytelling and upon the story’s completion, shares the guest’s emphatic moments, displays an associative attitude towards the guest, and assesses the reported event as the guest had intended.

Unlike many political interviews, where the interviewer is usually either neutral or challenges the interviewee, the host on celebrity interview talk-shows, such as *The Ellen Show* or *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, puts more effort into displaying his or her affiliation with guests (Heritage, 1985; Ilie, 2001). Stivers (2008, p.57) also claims that there is a recipient preference for affiliation with the position taken by the teller towards the event being reported. The recipient’s affiliations are elicited on the basis of the teller’s conveyed stances as marked throughout the guest’s mid-telling positions. A storyteller’s conveyed stances guide the recipient to appropriately respond to the reported event as the teller had intended. According to Sacks (1974), tellers often use story prefaces as a primary source to characterize the story and to show their stances.

In a talk show interview, however, a self-initiated story is not as frequent as in the conversational context. Rather, stories are often produced as a response to the host’s question or as a ‘second story’ to the host’s story. The range of resources that the guests utilize for conveying their stances in their stories mid-telling include lexical choices, use of deictics, metaphors, repetitions, prosody, sequential context and non-verbal embodiments. The host, in return, assesses and then displays his recipient stance towards the reported event.

Hosts rely on various interactional resources to display affiliation with a guest’s conveyed stance. There are a number of ways for a host to build rapport between talk show participants. One way is through an emphatic response. Empathy, according to Shuman (2006), is the “act of understanding others across time, space, or

any difference in experience" (p.152). Empathic responses often follow the climax of storytelling.

In my data, I observed that the *Mwuluphphaktosa* host, Kang, frequently reenacts a character in the guest's story (often a co-present party) during the guest's mid-telling. The use of reported speech/thought enables Kang to enter into the guest's story world and hypothetically *be* the story character. The following excerpt is extracted from an interview with JY, a famous female golfer. JY tells Kang about a time when she went against her father.

Extract (4.1) (Host: Kang, Guest: JY)

```
203 JY:      kulayse appa naka-nuntey mwusun mal-to an ha-nya
             so      Dad  exit -but   what  word-too not say-INT:Q
             So {Dad said} "I am leaving. Aren't you going to say
             anything?"

204          ilayse annyeng(h)hi kaseyyo hhh
             so Good bye:HON:POL
             So {I said} "Good Bye" hhh

205 Kang:    ((clenching both fists)) hhhh
                                      hhhh

206          ((smiling)) kanghay-cye-ya toy-n-ta kanghay-cye-ya
             toy-n-ta
             nanun ((smiling))
             strong-become-must become-ATTR-DC strong-become-must
             become-ATTR-DC I-TC
             'I have to be strong, I have to be strong'
```

The punch line of JY's story comes when JY sends her father off with 'Goodbye' as he outrageously prepares to leave (lines 203-204). The completion of JY's story is marked with JY's laughter, characterizing the reported event as laughable and amusing. Consequently, Kang affiliates with JY by hypothetically enacting how she must have felt with reported thought 'I have to be strong' (line 206).

Empathic responses also often involve allegorizing the teller's reported experience. The hearer's empathic responding is a process of *transvaluing* the personal to the larger-than-personal, universal, ordinary and shared (Greenblatt, 1981). I noted that in my data the talk show host often allegorizes a guest's emotionally or physically difficult experiences and consoles the guest by sharing his similar

experiences (See Section 4.5). The host's storytelling is indeed a great resource to build common ground with and to offer a "possibility of empathy" (Shuman, 2006, p.152) to his guest. Oprah Winfrey, possibly one of the most influential and successful women in the history of television, frequently brings up personal stories about her working class background, her past problems with weight, and how she suffered from child sexual abuse on her talk show program. Haag (1993, p.117) argues that such "self-disclosure" is one of the key strategies that Winfrey often uses in the construction of intimacy with her audience.

The co-construction of a story is another way that the host can build rapport with a guest. Storytelling is often produced with multiple tellers (Ochs et al., 1992; Ochs and Capps, 2001); thus, storytelling can be a highly interactional and collaborative activity in which participants work together. As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, a host is more than a mere laid-back listener (Bavelas and Coates and Johnson, 2000; Ochs and Capps, 2001; Oropeza-Escobar, 2011). Ochs and Capps (2001) claim that narratives are "tales that tellers and listeners map onto tellings of personal experience" and "even the most silent of listeners is an author of an emergent narrative" (p.21).

In the following section, I will specifically examine the host's production of quoted *specific* responses through story character (re)enactments.

4.3. Recycling the Story Climax

In this section, I demonstrate how the *Mwuluphphaktosa* guests' mid-storytelling reenactments are recycled by the talk show host as a resource to display his affiliation There is a general consensus among researchers that reported speech commonly, though not exclusively, occurs in narrative. Recurrently associated environments of recycled story climax include triggering laughter, making a joke, telling an amusing story and recounting the story climax (Drew, 1998; Golato, 2000; Holt, 2000; among others). Reported speech, as Buttny (1998) puts it, "captures the most crucial or interesting part of the narrative" (p. 49). Therefore, it is common for a storyteller to realize the story's climax in a form of reported speech with some distinctive multimodal and/or prosodic resources.

Frequently, hosts in general recycle the most dramatic part of the narrative, which tends to be produced in a form of reported speech, and *becomes* the presented story character through both verbal and non-verbal re-enactments. Thornborrow (2001b) points out that a talk show host's repetition of an element of a guest's response or story is a significant part of his role as a story recipient:

> Part of the work that the talk show host accomplishes in the role of (story) recipient is to dramatize the guest's story and the host does this by repeating of an element of the guest's response or story. In so doing, the host highlights the key moment and requests for confirmation (and she does this through repetition of an element of the story that functions as both a request for confirmation and a resource for highlighting and dramatizing a key moment in the story) (p. 131).

While taking Thornborrow's (ibid.) viewpoint that a host's repetition highlights and dramatizes the key moment of a story, this chapter also considers further interactive functions – that is, a host displays his emphatic and affiliative stance towards the guest as well as the guest's story by re-quoting and re-enacting the presented story character.

I present three examples of recycled story climax in this section. Extract 4.1 shows the host's recycling of the story climax through verbal re-enactment and Extracts 4.2 and 4.3 additionally display his non-verbal reenactments (e.g., hand gesture, body orientation, gaze shift, etc.). I will particularly focus on how the interactants accomplish mutual understanding with each other by examining whether the guest's conveyed stance (which is realized through certain linguistic forms, special lexical choices, gestural work, prosodic and voice quality) is congruent with the host's display of affiliation in the recycled turn.

In Extract (4.2), a guest speaker, Tae, produces a story in which he was disqualified after a false start in the Athens Olympics swimming preliminary. The beginning of the excerpt is marked with Tae staying in his dressing room after the disqualification (line 3). The conflict in Tae's story occurs when one of participants, 'Zhang Lin', the first qualifier in the preliminary round, enters the room after the match is completed.

Extract (4.2) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo; Guest: Tae)

03 Tae:		탈의실에서 이러고 있는데 장린 선수가 들어 왔어요↑
04		>이렇게< 눈이 마주쳤는데, (0.8)
05		>이렇게< ((좌측 아래쪽을 보며)) ((비웃듯이))피(h)
06		피식 웃으면서 이렇게 >샬라샬라< 하는 거예요=스탭이랑::
07		아 내 욕 하는구나 기분이 나빴어요=
08		=**괭장히** 나빴어요
09		그 때 어린- 나이(h)임에도 불구하고↑
10 Kang:		[hehe]
11 YOO:		[14 살의] 그 중 3 이면은:: 또 사춘기도 왕성할땐데::
12 Tae:		물론 내가 잘못했지만:,
13		그 때 당시 이제 (.) 목표를 삼았죠 (0.5)
14		내가 다른 선수::들은 (.) >못 이겨두↑< (0.3)
15		너 하나는 정말 이긴다::
16 Kang:	→	장린 너만큼은 이긴다!
17 Tae:		((살짝 고개를 끄덕이며 미소)) 예

03 Tae:	thaluysil-eyse ileko iss-nuntey 'Zhang Lin' senswu-ka tul-e wa-ss-eyo↑
	dressing:room-at like:this be-CIRCUM NAME athlete-NM enter-CONN-come-PST-POL
	{I} was in the dressing room and Zhang Lin came in↑
04	>ilehkey< nwun-i macwuchy-ess-nuntey, (0.8)
	Like:this eye-NM meet-PST-CIRCUM
	{Our} eyes met like this,
05	>ilehkey< ((gazing down left)) ((snickering))phi[45](h)
	Like this *phi*
06	phisik[46] wus-umyense ilehkey >syalla syalla< ha-nun ke-yeyyo=*staff*-ilang::
	laugh-while like:this blah blah say-ATTR thing-POL staff-with
	{He} sneered like this and then {said} blah blah with his staff
07	a nay yok ha-nun-kwuna kipwun-i napp-ass-eyo=
	Ah I curse say-ATTR-UNASSIM feeling-NM bad-PST-POL
	'Ah, he's talking ill of me behind my back'
	{I} was upset
08	=koyngcanghi napp-ass-eyo
	Extremely bad-PST-POL
	extremely upset.

[45] *Phi* is an onomatopoeic word for a sneering laugh.
[46] *Phisik* is an onomatopoeic word for a sneering laugh.

09 ku ttay eli-n-- nai(h)-im-eyto pwulkwuhako↑
That time young-ATTR age-NOM-even:though
Even though {I} was young then

10 Kang: [he he]
Hehe

11 YOO: [yel ney sal-uy] ku cwung sam-i-myen-un:: tto
sachwunki-to wangsengha-l-ttay-ntey::
fourteen years:old-of that 9th grade-NM-then-TC also
adolescence-also active-ATTR time-CIRCUM
{You were} a 14 year old 9th grader, so it must have been a tempestuous period

12 Tae: mwullon nay-ka calmos-hay-ss-ciman:,
Of:course I-NM fault-do-PST-but
Of course it was my fault but,

13 ku ttay tangsi icey (.) mokphyo-lul sam-ass-cyo (0.5)
that time then now (.) goal-AC set-PST-COMM:POL
I set a goal then

14 nay-ka talun senswu::-tul-un (.) >mos ikye-twu↑< (0.3)
I-NM other athlete::-PL-TC cannot win-even:though
Even when defeated by all others,

15 Tae: ne hana-nun cengmal iki-n-ta::
you one-TC really win-ATTR-DC
{I} will at least beat you

16 Kang: → 'Zhang Lin' ne mankhum-un iki-n-ta!
NAME you as:much:as-TC win-ATTR-DC
'Zhang Lin', {I} will at least beat you!

17 Tae: ((slightly nodding and smiling)) Yey
Yes

In lines 3-9 and 12-15, Tae produces a lengthy story comprised of a series of story events: (1) the protagonist (i.e., Tae) of the story stays in the dressing room after being disqualified (line 3), (2) the antagonist (i.e., Zhang Lin) enters the room and says something in Chinese to his staff (lines 3-6), (3) Tae gets upset supposing that Zhang Lin is speaking ill of him (lines 7-9) and (4) Tae makes up his mind to beat Zhang Lin someday (lines 12-15). Tae characterizes Zhang Lin as a snob by demonstrating how Zhang Lin behaved at the time of the story event (e.g., line 5: gazing down and snickering). In line 15, Tae accounts the story's climax with 'I will at least beat you' (line 15).

In response to Tae's production of the story climax, in line 16, Kang recycles the prior turn with an additional person reference to 'Zhang Lin' and reenacts the climax in Tae's voice, as in 'I will defeat you Zhang Lin at least!'. Kang's reenactment in the third turn position fulfills multiple functions. First, and most importantly, Kang's recycled turn displays his shared stance towards the story and Tae. There exists a preference for recipients to affiliate with the standpoint taken by the teller regarding the event being reported. When a recipient repeats a teller's turn in the second or third turn position, such repeats are seen as agreements with the teller's previous utterance and thus confirmatory (Schegloff, 1996).

Second, in summarizing Tae's multiple turn story, Kang activates his institutional role as a talk show host by clarifying the vague context created during Tae's prior turn. In line 16, Kang provides a person reference to 'Zhang Lin' on behalf of the talk show viewers. This person reference 'Zhang Lin' clarifies *ne* 'you', which was first mentioned in the beginning of the story (lines 1 and 3) and the omitted person reference in lines 5-6 'He sneered and talked with his staff'.

Third, Kang's recycled turn maintains the focus for the following turn and marks his turn as a sequence closure. In such aspects, Kang's recycling of Tae's turn is similar to 'news formulation' (See Chapter 3 for more information). After the third turn receipt, Kang transitionally moves his attention from the issue of 'disqualification' to 'Tae's possible inferiority complex towards Zhang Lin'.[47]

Tae confirms Kang's verbal re-enactment of the story climax in the next turn (line 17), thereby indicating that their mutual affiliation with each other has been achieved. In the next two examples, Kang both verbally and non-verbally re-enacts a character in the guest's proferred story and thus shows a more active degree of participation and involvement.

Prior to Extract (4.3), Tae tells Kang that he unexpectedly won the championship title in spite of the superior physical characteristics found in the

[47] Though not shown in the above excerpt (lines 18-22), Kang assesses Tae's reported thought 'I will win over you at least' as an overdone determination that may have derived from the language barrier between Tae and Zhang Lin, as in 'because you don't speak Chinese' (line 18), and Tae's possible 'inferiority complex' (line 20).

Western swimmers. The excerpt consists of the climax of Tae's story (lines 128-129) and its subsequent conclusion.

Extract (4.3) (Host: Kang, Guest: Tae)

121 Kang:		그러고 순간 터치패드 딱 ((오른손을 앞으로 뻗으며))
122		찍고 전광판을 ((뻗은 손을 오른쪽으로 이동하며))
123		봤습니까?
124 Tae:		네 봤죠.
125 Kang:		그 때는 기억이 나요? 이제부터¿
126 Tae:		네 그 때 부턴 기억이 나요.
127 Kang:		예.
128 Tae:		그 때는 아 내가 일- ((위를 쳐다보며 의심스러운 듯)) 내가 일 등?
129		(1.0) **<u>일 등!</u>**
130 Kang:		[야하하! hehehehe hehe hehe hehe hh hh hh hh hh hh hh hh hh hh]
131 Tae:		[he 막 ((손바닥을 위로 하여 양 손을 앞으로 뻗으며))이렇게 된거죠.]
132		(('home position'으로 복귀))
133 Kang:	→	((손바닥을 위로 하여 양 손을 앞으로 뻗으며)) [내가]
134 Tae:		[(XX)-]
135 Kang:	→	[세 계]선수권!
136 Tae:		[((손바닥을 위로 하여 양 손을 앞으로 뻗으며))]
137		예(h)

121 Kang:	kuleko swunkan *touchpad* ttak ((stretching his right palm forward))
	then moment touchpad just
122	ccik-ko cenkwangphan-ul ((moving his hand to the right))
	Touch-and scoreboard-AC
123	pwa-ss-sup-ni-kka?
	See-PST-AH-IN-Q
	And did {you} check the scoreboard immediately after hitting the touchpad?
124 Tae:	ney pwa-ss-cyo.
	Yes see-PST-COMM:POL
	Yes, {I} did.
125 Kang:	ku ttay-nun kiek-i na-yo? icey-pwuthe¿
	That time-TC memory-NM remember-POL then-from
	Do {you} remember? From that point¿
126 Tae:	ney ku ttay pwuthe-n kiek-i na-yo.
	Yes that time from-TC memory-NM remember-POL
	Yes, {I} remember from that point.

127 Kang: Yey.
Yes.

128 Tae: ku ttay-nun a nay-ka il- ((gazing up doubtfully))
nay-ka il tung?
That time-TC DM I-NM first I-NM first place
At that time, {I} was like, 'Oh I'm the fir- I'm the first?'

Figure 4.1 (Line 128)

129 (1.0) il tung!
First place
First place!

130 Kang: [yahaha! hehehehe hehe hehe hehe hh hh hh hh hh hh hh]
Yahaha![48] hehehehe hehe hehe hehe hh hh hh hh hh hh hh

131 Tae: [hehe mak
((two hands stretched out, palms facing upwards))
ilehkey toy-n-ke-cyo.]
DM like:this become:ATTR-thing-COMM:POL
hehe That's how it turned out.

Figure 4.2 (Line 131)

132 ((return to 'home position'[49]))

[48] Here, the turn-initial *Yahaha* is understood as Kang's display of surprise and is contextually equivalent to 'Oh wow!', 'My goodness!' in English.

[49] Sacks and Schegloff (2002), viewing body behavior as also sequentially organized, claim:

> "*A very large number of moves and sequences of moves in interaction end where they begin. That is, they end in the same place and regularly in the same position, which we are calling 'home position.' The moves depart from home and return to home.*" (p. 137, emphasis in original).

Figure 4.3 (Line 132)

```
133 Kang:   → ((two hands stretched out, palms facing upwards))
              [nay-ka]
                I-NM
                I am

134 Tae:                                                  [(XX)-]

135 Kang:   → [            sey kyey                        ]senswukwen!
                           World                          championship
                           The World Champion!

136 Tae:      [((two hands stretched out, palms facing upwards))]
```

Figure 4.4 (line 133-136)

```
137           Yey.(h)
              Yes.
```

Prior to the above excerpt, Tae elaborately provided an account of how slim his chances of winning a medal in the World Championship were through various resources: repetitively using a specific lexical choice, comparing the Asian and the European/American swimmers, providing a metaphoric example of an Asian person winning the 100M run, and referring to a specific person named 'Phelps'. Based on the background information provided by Tae, he reenacts the most dramatic, and unbelievable, moment he experienced after completing his race 'Oh I am the fir- first? The first!' (lines 128-129). In the pre-climax position, or immediately before the verbal reenactment of the story climax, Tae employs some non-verbal conduct (See Figure 4.1) to dramatize the unbelievable moment. Tae's conveyed stance characterizes his winning the title as dramatic and noteworthy.

Kang's laughter in line 130, produced in overlap with Tae's story completion, accordingly treats Tae's victory as worthy of attention. The mark of the story's

conclusion ‘That’s how it turned out’ (line 131) coincides with Tae’s congruent hand gesture (See Figure 4.2). In response to Tae’s story completion, both Tae and Kang exchange reciprocal understanding through mirrored turns and gestural work. As soon as Tae returns to ‘home position’ (Sacks and Schegloff, 2002) upon story completion, Kang immediately recycles Tae’s prior hand gesture and reenacts the story climax ‘I am the World Champion!’ (See Figure 4.4 and lines 133, 135). In sum, Kang’s recycled climax, which puts his subjective stance in parallel with Tae, prompts Tae’s further uptake and, accordingly, both participants reach a shared understanding of Tae’s experience (lines 133-136).

Similarly, in Extract (4.4), Kang and his guest, Paik, reach a shared understanding towards Paik’s reported story event through verbal and non-verbal (re)enactments. This time, Kang imitates Paik’s gaze pattern. In response to Kang’s question about how people reacted to Paik’s first broadcast (lines 61-62), Paik recounts how her broadcast partner, an experienced news anchorman named ‘Kang Sung Gu’, reacted after the live news program was over (line 63-66).

Extract (4.4) (Host: Kang; Guest: Paik)

61 Kang: 그 자리를 내려올 때 어떤 기분이 들던가요?
62 >이를테면< 그 주변의 반응!
63 Paik: 옆에 있던 (.) 강성구 앵커는 ((오른쪽 아래를 보며))
64 어우 안 떨리나봐? ((다시 Kang 을 보며))
65 이러셨던 거 ° 같아요 ° 그리고 ((고개를 오른쪽으로 치면서))
66 짜식 [이런 hehehe][((박수))]
67 Kang: [hahahahahahahaha][((박수))]
68 Paik: 다 제 선배님이시잖아요.
69 Kang: → 어 ((오른쪽을 보며))저 놈 봐라? ((Paik 을 보며))뭐 이런?
70 Paik: 그런 [거 였던 것 같아요.]
71 Kang: [당돌하고] 또 당당하게 잘::
72 이를테면 [헤치고 하니까:]
73 Paik: [그랬던 거 같아요.]

61 Kang: ku cali-lul nayly-e-o-l ttay etten kipwun-i tul-te-n-ka-yo?
That seat-AC come:down-CONN-come-ATTR when what:kind feeling-NM feel-RT-ATTR-Q-POL
How did you feel after the {first news broadcast}?

Figure 4.5 (Line 61: *ku cali-lul*)

62 >ilultheymyen< ku cwupyen-uy panung!
So:to:speak that around-of reaction
What did other people say!

63 Paik: yeph-ey iss-ten (.) 'Kang Sung Gu' *anchor*-nun
Side-at exist-RT:ATTR NAME anchor-TC
((gazing down and to the right))

64 ewu an ttelli-na-pwa?
DM not nervous-Q-seem

Figure 4.6 (Line 64: 'Wow')

Figure 4.7 (Line 64: 'You don't get nervous?')

65 ((gazing back at Kang)) ile-sy-ess-ten ke °kath-ayo° kuliko
Like:this-SH-PST-RT:ATTR thing seem:POL and

Figure 4.8 (Line 65: 'He said something like this')

'Kang Sung Gu', the anchorman next to me, {said}
"Wow {you} don't get nervous?"
{He said} something like this and
66 ((head tilt)) ccasik[50] [ile-n hehehe][((clapping))]
Kid like:this
"What a kid" {he said}

[50] *Ccasik* is a tensified word for *casik* 'child'. When informally used, it has a downgraded meaning of 'guy' or 'jerk'. In this extract, Paik's senior anchorman, 'Kang Sung Gu', contextually uses the term as a way to compliment Paik on her first news broadcast.

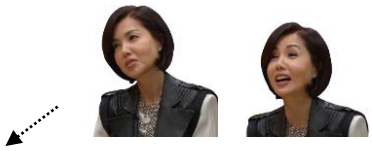

Figure 4.9 (Line 66: ((head tilt)) *cca*-)

Figure 4.10 (Line 66: *ilen hehe*)

67 Kang: [hahahahahahahaha][((clapping))]
Hahahahahahahaha

Figure 4.11 (Line 67)

68 Paik: ta cey senpay-nim-i-si-canh-ayo.
All my(hum.) senior-HT-COP-SH-COMM-POL
They are all seniors to me.

69 Kang: e ((gazing right)) ce nom pwa-la? ((gazing at Paik))
mwe ilen?
Oh that kid see-IM DM like:this
Oh "Look at that kid"? like this?

Figure 4.12 (Line 69: 'Look at that kid')

Figure 4.13 (Line 69: Like this?)

70 Paik: kulen [ke yess-te-n kes kath-ayo.]
Such:that thing PST-RT-ATTR thing seem-POL
{I} think that is what {he} meant.

71 Kang: [tangtolha-ko] tto tangtangha-key cal::
Daring-and also confident-AD well

72 ilultheymyen [heychi-ko ha-nikka:]
So:to:speak overcome-and do-since

Since then, you've overcome your {difficulties} with confidence

73 Paik: [kulay-ss-te-n ke kath-ayo.]
Such:that-PST-RT-ATTR thing seem-POL
I think so.

The excerpt above is structured as follows: (1) Kang questions how other people reacted to Paik's first news broadcast (lines 61-62), (2) Paik reenacts what the male news anchor 'Kang Sung Gu' said after her first broadcast (lines 63-66), (3) Kang displays his immediate understanding towards the reported story and both participants achieve mutual affiliation (line 67: laughing and clapping), (4) Kang then reenacts 'Kang Sung Gu' based on Paik's reenactment (line 69) and (5) Paik confirms Kang's reenactment (line 70).

The interactants' gaze patterns and embodiments are sequentially organized in relation to the concurrent talk-in-interaction. In the questioning sequence, Kang and Paik maintain mutual gaze (See Figure 4.5). Paik's first gaze shift occurs right before Paik's initiation of the first reenactment 'Wow, you don't get nervous?' (lines 63-64 and see Figures 4.6-4.7). Considering the grammatical organization of Korean quoted speech, Paik's gaze occurs in the middle of her quoted speech's production. Park (2009, p.81) illustrates the fully structured Korean direct quoted construction as follows:

(Speaker of the quote) + 'Quoted speech' + (Quotative Particle) + ('say' Verb)
1 2 3 4

The elements in parentheses can be omitted. Paik's first reenactment can be illustrated according to Park's schema:

Kang Sung Gu anchor-*nun*	***Gazing right down*** *Figures* 4.6-4.7	'Wow you don't get nervous?'	said something like this and- ***Mutual gaze*** *Figure* 4.8
1		2	4

The quotative particle in the above quoted speech is contextually omitted. Notice Paik's multiple gaze shifts are inserted mid-production. Paik gazes away from Kang prior to his reenactment and then engages in mutual gaze upon the reenactment's completion.

Paik continues the second reenactment, as indicated with 'and' (line 65). Paik's second reenactment and Kang's immediate uptake are illustrated below:

Paik:	***Head tilt*** *Figure 4.9*	‘What a kid’	{said} like this ***Mutual gaze*** *Figure 4.10*	***Laughing & clapping*** *Figure 4.11*
Kang				

Paik’s second reported speech ‘What a kid’ (line 66) indicates the male news anchor’s positive evaluation towards Paik’s first news broadcast. During this second reenactment, both the speaker of the quote and the quotative particle are contextually omitted. Again, Paik’s head tilt indicates the beginning of her quoted speech (See Figure 4.9). Paik marks her reenactment’s completion by engaging in mutual gaze with Kang (See Figure 4.10). Both Paik and Kang then jointly characterize the reported story event as laughable and possibly praiseworthy by laughing and clapping together (See Figure 4.11).

Kang, in return, re-reenacts Paik’s quoted speech in the subsequent turn, as shown in the following schema:

Oh	***Gazing right*** *Figure* 4.12	‘Look at that kid?’	like this? ***Mutual gaze*** *Figure* 4.13
		2	4

In line 69, Kang shifts his gaze to the right and initiates quoted speech (See Figure 4.12). After providing the reenactment with a rising intonation, Kang gazes back at Paik and asks for a confirmation ‘like this?’ (See Figure 4.13). Paik accordingly confirms Kang’s version of the reenactment.

As Extract (4.4) demonstrates, reported speech (i.e., right-side boundary) frequently results in interactants reaching mutual affiliation. In particular, a speaker’s use of mutual gaze after a (re)enactment is significant in achieving mutual affiliation. For example, Paik establishes mutual gaze upon each reenactment completion (lines 64 and 66, see Figure 4.11). Kang’s reenactment is also completed with mutual gaze and is confirmed by Paik. The mutual gaze between Kang and Paik recurrently appears and disappears, but its sequential occurrence is quite systematic. It often

occurs when the speaker is seeking the interlocutor's understanding, agreement, confirmation and/or assessment. Mutual gaze, indeed, is a strong indication of mutual affiliation (Haddington, 2006).

In this section, I showed that the story recipient (i.e., talk show host) recycles verbal and non-verbal reenactments, or the most interesting part of the narrative, by acting out one of the guest's story characters as a resource to display his affiliative stance towards the storyteller (i.e., guest) and, eventually, establish mutual affiliation with the interactant(s). Table 4.1 illustrates the recipient's multiple ways of extending the *fun* part of the on-going narrative, specifically recycling verbal and non-verbal reenactments that are originally produced by the storyteller in the prior turn.

Table 4.1 Recipient's Recycle of Story Climax

	Teller	Recipient
Extract 4.2	'I will at least beat you'	'Zhang Lin, I will at least beat you'
Extract 4.3	'I am the fir- first? The first!'	'I am the World Champion!'
Extract 4.4	"What a kid" he said like this	"Look at that kid" like this

In Extract (4.2), the recipient recycles the punch line of the story through a verbal reenactment. The recipient could have shown weaker cues of agreement, such as smiles, laughs, head nods and/or response tokens, but, instead, subsequently reenacts the teller's prior acting-out of the story character. In so doing, the recipient is able to display his active involvement in the teller's story.

I also analyzed two instances in which the host not only recycles the guests' quoted speech (i.e., auditory conducts) but also their gestural (re)embodiments (i.e., visual conduct), thereby establishing multiple channels of mutual understanding. In Extract (4.3), for instance, the host imitates the guest's quoted speech and

accompanies it with particular hand gestures, and in Extract (4.4), the host employs the guest's eye-gaze shifting while reenacting a story character. After the reenactment's completion, the host reaches mutual gaze with the guest and they achieve mutual understanding with each other. In sum, the host's re-embodiments, as a part of his reenactments, can be also seen as a significant collection of empathic and affiliative third-turn responses. In the following section, I will examine previous works on hosts' forms of participation in collaborative storytelling sequences.

4.4 Collaborative Storytelling

Previous studies have revealed various aspects of the audience's role during storytelling, which range from being passive participants (e.g., verbally/non-verbally displaying understanding through the use of continuers and nodding) to being more active (e.g., searching for a candidate word or linguistic form, collaborative completion) (Goodwin, 1979; Lerner, 1992, 2004; Oropeza-Escobar, 2011). In this section, I limit my focus to the recipient's active forms of participation to the storyteller, with a specific focus on the host's collaborative telling. A host's collaborative work can be locally accomplished within a single TCU. According to Lerner (2004), a collaborative turn is:

> a collaboration of two speakers producing a single syntactic unit not only in that a next speaker produces the completion to a TCU begun by a prior speaker, and that prior speaker does not continue once the pre-emptive completion begins, but also in that the first speaker ratifies the completion after its occurrence as an adequate rendition of the completion of the TCU they were about to voice (pp. 229-230).

In the storytelling context, a host may jump into the story-world framework and co-complete the telling in progress. A host's collaborative telling plays a significant role in directing and constructing the guest's story. The host, as a co-teller, clarifies, repairs, elaborates or continues the narrative in the flow of the telling. The host's interventions are often closely associated both topically and syntactically with the guest's prior turn and, therefore, are delivered without disrupting the guest's narrative (Monzoni, 2004). If the guest decides to include the host's intervention(s) in the story, he/she incorporates them in the flow of his/her own telling. By accepting the host's intervention(s), the storyteller indicates that mutual affiliation between the two

interactants has been attained. Therefore, co-telling is interactionally "achieved through collaborative actions performed by both recipients and tellers" (ibid., p.209).

In the following extracts, I will show two instances in which the *Mwuluphphaktosa* talk show host affiliatively orients to his guest's narrative through collaborative telling. The arrowed turns show Kang's intervention and the guest's acceptance. In the first example, Wong, who has built his acting career over time says that he is not afraid of failure.

Extract (4.5) (Host: Kang; Guest: Wong)

```
05 Wong:        이런 사람들은 절대 어떤 시련이 와도↑
06              ((head shaking)) 절대 포기하거나↑=
07 Kang:  →     =[무너지지 않죠:.]
08 Wong:  →      [예. 무너지지] 않죠
09 Kang:        [기초]가 좋으니깐
10 Wong:        [예.]

05 Wong:      ile-n salam-tul-un celtay etten silyen-i wa-to↑
              Such:this person-PL-TC never no:matter:what crisis-NM come-
though
              When such people, (like I), are faced with crisis

06            ((head shaking)) celtay phokiha-kena↑=
                               Never give:up-or
                               {they} never give up or↑=

07 Kang:  →   =[mwuneci-ci anh-cyo:.]
              Collapse-NOM not-COMM:POL
              =collapse.

08 Wong:  →     [Yey. Mwuneci-ci] anh-cyo.
                 Yes collapse-NOM not-COMM:POL
                 Yes. {They never} collapse.

09 Kang:      [kicho]-ka coh-unikkan.
              Base-NM good-since
              Because {they} have a firm foundation.

10 Wong:      [Yey.]
              Yes.
```

In his exchange with Kang, Wong claims that people who have gradually acquired popularity over a long period of time have a firm mentality. Therefore, even when they are faced with some kind of crisis, they never give up (lines 5-6). Wong's

turn X *–a/eto celtay* A *–kena*-- ‘Even if X, never A or-’ in line 6 is a noticeably incomplete sentence. Here, X refers to ‘facing a crisis’ and A refers to ‘giving up’. Because the sentence is coordinated with *–kena* ‘or’, it is clear that the projected component ‘B’ is closely related to the prior component ‘A’ (i.e., semantically related to ‘to give up’).

Kang accordingly produces the missing component ‘never collapse’ (first arrow at line 7) that is associated with the first component uttered by Wong ‘to give up’ and does not disrupt Wong’s telling in-progress. Thus, the turns produced by Wong and Kang collaboratively constitute a syntactically complete unit. Wong accepts Kang’s intervention with ‘Yes’ and repeats Kang’s prior intervention in line 8. The acceptance and the inclusion of Kang’s intervention in Wong’s story display their mutual affiliation with each other.

Consider another similar example. In the extract below, an Australian entertainer named Sam talks about his initial motivation to learn Korean.

Extract (4.6) (Host: Kang; Guest: Sam)

```
02 Sam:          한국에 대해서 아는 게 하나도 없었어요.
03               >근데< 생각하는 자체가, .hh 저도 모르면, (.)
04               주변 사람들은 (.) 똑같이 모를텐데::
05               그런 공부 하게되면: 나중에↑ 졸업하고 나서↑
06               이력서에다가↑ 한국말 가능합니다↑
07               한 마디 이렇게 하면,-
08 Kang:    →    경쟁력 있다↑
09 Sam:     →    그렇죠.
10 Kang:         ((surprised)) 아::

02 Sam:          hankwuk-ey tayhayse a-nun key hana-to eps-ess-eyo.
                 Korea-at about know-ATTR thing one-even not:exist-PST-POL
                 did not know anything about Korea.

03               >kuntey< sayngkakha-nun cachey-ka, .hh ce-to molu-myen, (.)
                 But think-ATTR itself-NM I-also not:know-then
                 But come to think of it, even if I din’t know about it,

04               cwupyen salam-tul-un (.) ttokkathi molu-l-theyntey::
                 Around person-PL-TC same not:know-ATTR-CIRCUM
                 The people around me were also the same

05               kulen kongpwu ha-key-toy-myen: nacwung-ey↑ colepha-ko na-se↑
                 Such study do-AD-become-then later-at graduate-and after-and
```

```
06              ilyekse-eytaka↑ hankwuk-mal kanungha-p-ni-ta↑
                Resume-at Korea-language possible-AH-IN-DC

07              han mati ilehkey ha-myen--,
                One word like:this write-then

                So if {I} study Korean, I can write down 'I can speak
                Korean' on {my} resume after I graduate then-,

08 Kang:    →   kyengcaynglyek iss-ta↑
                Competitive exist-DC
                {it's} competitive?

09 Sam:     →   kuleh-cyo.
                Right-COMM:POL
                Right.

10 Kang:        ((surprised)) a::
                              Oh
```

Sam's initial motivation to learn Korean derived from his as well as other people's ignorance about Korea (line 2). Because this widespread ignorance about Korea and Korean language was not something unusual in Australia at the time of Sam's story, Sam believed that fluency in Korean could be a special strength he could put on his resume after graduation. Here, Sam's turn at lines 4-7 'The people around me were also the same, so if I study Korean, I can write down "*I can speak Korean*" on my resume after I graduate then-' is cut off and incomplete; however, based on the sequential context, an adjective such as 'beneficial' or 'advantageous' is clearly projected. Having comprehended Sam's initial intent of learning Korean, Kang collaboratively completes the cut-off sentence with *kyengcaynglyek issta* 'to be competitive, to be a competing factor' (first arrowed turn). Sam, in return, accepts Kang's intervention (second arrowed turn).

In the above examples, the host collaboratively completes storytelling descriptively. In other cases, stories may consist of the multi-layered voices of story characters. I will look closely at examples where the host collaboratively completes what the story character said/thought at the time of the story event through a form of reported speech/thought (Extract 4.7). As shown in the earlier examples, the co-produced turns by the guest and host constitute one syntactically complete TCU. The host can go further beyond the collaborative turn-completion. In Extracts (4.8) and

(4.), I will examine the host's creative enactment of a character in the guest's story duing the guest's mid-telling. In Extract (4.10) and (4.11), I will show how the host's gestural work indicates the host's intense involvement in his co-telling of the guests' narrative.

Extract (4.7) is taken from an interview with the athletic couple Kim (F) and Lee (M). Lee says his fiancé, Kim, is nicknamed 'Detective Kim' for her abundance of curiosity (lines 143-144). Kim accordingly produces her present curiosity in the form of reported thought (line 159).

Extract (4.7) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo; Guests: Lee (M), Kim (F))

143 Lee:		그러니까 이 사람이 궁금증이 **<u>되게</u>** 많아요
144		김형사예요=별명이=김형사.
		(12 lines deleted where Lee talks about Kim's relevant anecdotes)
157 Kim:		솔직히 ((finger pointing to Kang)) 여기서도 궁금해요. 이 머리띠랑 옷이랑:
158 Kang:		예
159 Kim:	→	빨아입을까? [아니면]
160 Kang:	→	[hahahahaha]계속 입고 있을까
161 Kim:		((nodding))
162 Yoo:		제가 아는데 안 빨아입어요
163 Kang:		냄새나는 순간 빱니다=예.

143 Lee:	kulenikka i salam-i kwungkumcung-i <u>toykey</u> manh-ayo
	So this person-NM curiosity-NM very many-POL
	I mean, this person(=Kim) is curious about everything
144	kim-hyengsa-yeyyo=pyelmyeng-i=kim-hyengsa.
	LAST NAME-detective-POL nickname-NM LAST NAME-detective
	{Her} nickname is 'Detective Kim'='Detective Kim'.
	(12 lines deleted where Lee talks about Kim's relevant anecdotes)
157 Kim:	((Pointing finger at Kang)) solcikhi yekise-to
	kwungkumhay-yo.i melitti-lang os-ilang:
	frankly here-also curious-POL this hair:band-and
	clothing-and
	Frankly, {I'm} also curious about something right now.
	Regarding this hair band and the clothes

Figure. 4.14 (Line 157)

158 Kang: Yey.
Yes.

159 Kim: → ppal-a-ip-ul-kka? [animyen]
Wash-CONN-wear-ATTR-INT:Q
'Does {he} ever wash it? [or]'

160 Kang: → [hahahahaha]kyeysok ip-ko iss-ul-kka
Keep wear-and be-ATTR-INT:Q
[hahahahaha] '{Does he} keep wearing it?'

161 Kim: ((nodding))

162 Yoo: cey-ka a-nuntey an ppal-a-ip-eyo
I-NM know-CIRCUM not wash-CONN-wear-POL
I know he doesn't wash it

163 Kang: naymsay-na-nun swunkan ppa-p-ni-ta.=Yey.
Smell-get-ATTR moment wash-AH-IN-DC Yes
I wash it when it gets smelly. Yes.

In response to Lee's story about 'Detective Kim' (lines deleted), Kim confirms Lee's comment by expressing that she is currently curious about something, 'Frankly, I am also curious about something right now' (line 157). Kim's concurrent gestural accompaniment (See Figure 4.14) indexes that her current curiosity is associated with Kang, the host. Kim immediately specifies the objects of her curiosity: the 'hair band and clothes' that Kang is wearing during the talk show (line 157). Kim displays her curiosity in the form of interrogatively-formatted reported thought 'Does he ever wash them or-' (line 159). Notice that Kim's reported thought is cut off mid-course upon *animyen*- 'or, otherwise' in overlap with Kang's laughter, indicating that Kang recognizes Kim's curiosity as something laughable. Also, the location of the cut-off in Kim's talk *animyen*- 'or-' suggests that Kim will be projecting the opposite proposition of 'to wash them'. Accordingly, Kang co-completes the cut-off utterance with 'Does he keep wearing it?' (line 160) in a form of reported thought.

What Kim says before and what Kang says after Kim's use of *animyen* 'or' display contrasting values. Kang's intervention is structurally, syntactically and semantically produced in continuity with Kim's prior turn, and the turns produced by both of them make a complete TCU. Kang is able to display his full understanding

towards Kim through his voiced co-completion of her prior utterance. Moreover, Kang's intervention does not interfere with the progress of Kim's story.

There are instances where the story recipient contributes to part of the storytelling rather than just providing a collaborative turn sequence. Such contributions are viewed as *collaborative co-telling*. I will show three instances where the host-recipient, as a co-teller, creatively enacts a character from the guest's stories through reported speech or thought. Extract (4.8) is segmented from Kang's interview with Paik, one of the most renowned female journalists in Korea. The excerpt begins with Paik talking about how she felt when she decided to quit her job.

Extract (4.8) (Host: Kang; Guest: Paik)

```
093 Paik:        >그러구서< 일이 없으면 >좀 쉬자!< (0.5)
094              앵커아닌 삶을 좀 살아보자 (.)
095              앵커는 이 정도면 (0.3) 충분했어
096              ((clapping once))((smiling)) >그렇게 한거죠<
097 Kang:    →   정말 뉴스데스크를↑ 내가 할 수 있는 한
098          →   <최선을 다해서> 사랑했고 최선을 다해서
099          →   뜨겁게 일했기 때문에↑
100 Paik:    →   미련이 없어요.

093 Paik:        >kulekwuse< il-i eps-umyen >com swi-ca!< (0.5)
                 And:then work-NM not:have-then little rest-PR
                 'If I have nothing to do, I'll take this time to rest!'

094              anchor-ani-n salm-ul com sal-a-po-ca (.)
                 Anchor-not-ATTR life-AC little live-CONN-try-PR
                 'Let's live a life other than that of a news anchor'

095              anchor-nun i cengto-myen (0.3) chwungpwunhay-ss-e
                 Anchor-TC this much-then enough-PST-INT
                 'I think I had enough of my life as a news anchor'

096              ((clapping once))((smiling)) >kulehkey ha-n-ke-cyo<
                                  Like:that think-ATTR-thing-COMM:POL
                                          That's what I had in mind

097 Kang:    →   cengmal news desk-lul↑ nay-ka ha-l swu iss-nun han
                 Really news desk-AC I-NM do-ATTR can exist-ATTR
                 as:much

098          →   <choysen-ul ta hay-se> salanghay-ss-ko choysen-ul ta
                 hay-se
                 Best-AC all do-and love-PST-and best-AC all do-and
```

099 → ttukep-key ilhay-ss-ki ttaymwuney↑
Hot-AD work-PST-NOM because

'Because I really loved 'News Desk'[51] with all my heart and did my best'

100 Paik: → milyen-i eps-eyo.
Regret-NM not:have-POL
'{I} didn't regret it.'

In response to Kang mentioning her resignation, Paik talks about how much she had devoted to her career (not shown above) and her feelings when she decided to quit her job. Paik produces multiple turns of reported thought after the completion of her narrative (lines 92-95), which are marked with 'That's what I had in mind' (line 96) and a non-verbal indication (e.g., clapping). Subsequently, Kang, in continuity with Paik's prior self-narrative, states what Paik could have thought at the time of the described story event in lines 97-99. Kang does not (partially) repeat word-for-word what Paik had just enacted, but semantically produces a *reformulated* version of Paik's prior narrative.

Despite his reformulation of Paik's narrative, Kang's enactment displays his full understanding of Paik's situation and even invites Paik's collaborative completion. In line 99, Kang's subsequent telling is grammatically incomplete 'because I did my best with my job-'. Paik co-completes Kang's cut-off utterance with 'I didn't regret' (line 100). Both turns produced by Kang and Paik constitute one syntactically complete turn. Although Kang's active participation in co-telling may appear somewhat redundant, a strong affiliation between the two participants is achieved through the interactionally organized storytelling activity.

Compare the following example where Kang enacts a non-present third party based on the assumption inferred from Paik's descriptive narrative (line 48).

Extract (4.9) (Host: Kang; Guest: Paik)

37 Paik: 그리구:: 뉴스앵커를 뽑는거는요,=
38 =9 시 뉴스 앵커는, 오디션을 보고↑ <투표를 해요>,

[51] 'News Desk' has been the flagship daily evening news program for MBC (*Munhwa* Broadcasting Corporation) since 1970 and it was the #1-rated newscast in Korea when anchored by Paik.

39 그래서 그 투표를 해서 가장 <다득점>한 사람이
40 이제 뽑히는거죠=1 등을 하[면::]
41 Kang: [예::]
42 Paik: 그런데↑ 1 차가 끝났는데 제가 다득점이 나오니까
43 이거는 다시(h) 이렇게해서 <또 했는데>,
44 또 아마 다득점이 <나왔나보죠?>
45 Kang: 그럼 사실 검증됐던 어떤 어:: 앵커였다면,
46 바로 뭐 발탁이 됐을텐데¿
47 Paik: °그렇죠°
48 Kang: → 검증이 안 됐기 때문에 한 번 더 해 보자:::
49 Paik: 지금 생각 해 보면 ((nodding))그거였어요

37 Paik: kulikwu:: *news anchor*-lul ppop-nun ke-nun-yo,=
And news anchor-AC select-ATTR thing-ATTR-POL
So choosing the news anchor is,

38 =ahop-si *news anchor*-nun, *audition*-ul po-ko↑
<thwuphyo-lul hay-yo>,
Nine-o'clock news anchor-TC audition-AC take-and vote-AC do-POL
The nin o'clock news anchor is selected by auditions and voting,

39 kulayse ku thwuphyo-lul hay-se kacang <tatukcem>-ha-n
salam-i
So that vote-AC do-and most votes-earn-ATTR person-NM

40 icey ppophi-nun ke-cyo= il tung-ul ha-[myen::]
Then select-ATTR thing-COMM:POL first place-AC do-then

So the most highly voted person is chosen

41 Kang: [Yey::]
I see

42 Paik: kulentey↑ il cha-ka kkuthna-ss-nuntey cey-ka tatukcem-
i nao-nikka
But first time-NM end-PST-but I-NM most:votes-NM have-since

43 ike-nun tasi(h) ilehkey hay-se <tto hay-ss-nuntey>,
This:thing-TC again like:this do-and again do-PST-but

44 tto ama tatukcem-i <nawa-ss-na po-cyo?>
Again maybe most:votes-NM have-PST-Q seem-COMM:POL

When the first results came out, I received the most votes, so the auditions were re-conducted. But I believe I got the most votes again?

45 Kang: kulem sasil kemcungtway-ss-te-n etten e:: *anchor*-yess-tamyen,
Then fact verify-PST-RT-ATTR like anchor-PST-then

46 palo mwe palthak-i tway-ss-ul-theyntey¿
Right:away DM selection-NM can-PST-ATTR-CIRCUM

If you were an experienced anchor, then you could have been selected as the prime time news anchor right away?

47 Paik: °kuleh-cyo°
Correct-COMM:POL
Right

48 Kang: → kemcung-i an tway-ss-ki ttaymwuney han pen te hay po-ca:::
Verify-NM not have-PST-NOM since one time more do try-PR
"Since {she} is a rookie let's re-do the audition"

49 Paik: cikum sayngkak hay po-myen ((nodding)) kuke-yess-eyo
Now think do try-then that:thing-PST-POL
Come to think of it, ((nodding)) that was it

In this extract, Paik recounts how she was assigned as the main news anchorwoman of 'News Desk' when she was a young 24 year old trainee. As Paik explains in lines 37-44, she was still an apprentice when she received the most votes during her blind audition for the 'News Desk' anchor position, so the audition was re-conducted. She again received the most votes during the second audition (lines 37-44). In response to Paik's narrative, Kang accounts for the reason the audition was re-conducted 'If you were an experienced anchor, then you could have been selected as the prime time news anchor right away?' (lines 45-46). Having received Paik's confirmation, Kang creatively enacts people who were suspicious of Paik's ability 'Since she is a rookie, let's re-do the audition' (line 48). Kang, in fact, is not a first-hand experiencer of Paik's reported story event and Paik was not able to verify Kang's assumption because her epistemic access to that territory of information is limited. Rather, Kang's creative enactment is inferred based on the fact that the audition was conducted twice.

Kang's display of understanding and involvement in the story is shown through his enacted co-telling. Whereas Paik's telling is produced from her own scope of information (e.g., line 44: 'I believe I got the highest votes again?'), Kang's hypothetical and creative enactment of someone skeptical of Paik's ability during the story's events is produced through contextual inferences (e.g., line 48: 'Since she is a

rookie, let's re-do the audition). Paik's subsequent acknowledgment shows her and Kang's mutual affiliation with each other.

A story recipient's creative enactment can be displayed both verbally (e.g., reported speech/thought) and non-verbally (e.g., facial expression, hand gesture, body orientation, gaze shift, etc.). Extracts (4.10) and (4.11) are cases in point. By engaging in verbal and non-verbal actions, the story recipient demonstrates active forms of participation. The following example is extracted from an interview with JY, a young female professional golfer. In response to Kang's initial question 'So what was your biggest act of rebellion against your parents?' (line 174), JY recounts a relevant episode. Because the whole story is quite extensive in length, only the climax of the story is presented below.

Extract (4.10) (Host: Kang; Guest: JY)

174 Kang:		그래서 제일 크게 했던 반항이 뭡니까? 부모님에게
		(25 lines deleted where JY's friends advised her not to show her weak side when arguing with her parents)
200 JY:		아빠 이제 짐을 싸시는거예요
201		나가시려고 하시는거예요=
202 Kang:		=어=
203 JY:		=그래서 아빠 나가는데 무슨 말도 안 하냐
204		이래서 안녕(h)히가세요 hhh
205 Kang:	→	((clenching both fists)) hhhh
206	→	강해져야 된다 강해져야 된다
207		나는
208 JY:		네 아빠는 내가 당연히 잡을 줄 알고 hh
209 Kang:		Hhhhh

174 Kang:	kulayse ceyil khu-key hay-ss-te-n panhang-i mwe-p-ni-kka? Pwumonim-eykey
	So most big-AD do-PST-RT-ATTR rebel-NM what-AH-IN-Q
	So what was {your} biggest act of rebellion against your parents?
	(25 lines deleted where JY's friends advised her not to show weak side when arguing with the parents)
200 JY:	appa icey cim-ul ssa-si-nun ke-yeyyo
	Dad then luggage-AC pack-SH-ATTR thing-POL
	Dad was packing his luggage
201	naka-si-lyeko ha-si-nun ke-yeyyo=
	Exit-SH-intend do-SH-ATTR thing-POL
	{He} was about to leave the room

202 Kang: =e=
Yeah

203 JY: =kulayse appa naka-nuntey mwusun mal-to an ha-nya
So dad leave-CIRCUM any word-even not say-INT:Q
So {he said} "I am leaving now, so do you have any last words?"

204 ilayse annyeng(h)hikaseyyo hhh
Say:such Good Bye:HON:POL
So {I said} "Goodbye" hhh

Figure 4.15 'Home position'

205 Kang: → ((clenching both fists)) hhhh
Hhhh

206 → kanghay-cye-ya toy-n-ta kanghay-cye-ya toy-n-ta
Strong-become-need become-ATTR-DC strong-become-need become-ATTR-DC
'I need to be strong, I need to be strong'

Figure 4.16 (Line 206)

207 na-nun
I-TC

Figure 4.17 (Line 207)

208 JY: ney appa-nun nay-ka tangyenhi cap-ul cwul al-ko hh
Yes dad-TC I-NM of:course hold-ATTR as:if know-and
Yes, Dad thought I would definitely not let go of him hh

209 Kang: Hhhhh

Hhhhh

The story characters in JY's self-narrative include herself and her father. The climax of the story is JY's prospective reaction to her father's outrageous emotional state 'I'm leaving now, so do you have any last words?' (line 203). It is contextually inferred that JY's father is expecting some words of apology or regret from his daughter. The laughing point of the story for the story recipients is when JY sends her father off with "Goodbye" (line 204). Kang also recognizes the produced story as something laughable. Kang subsequently jumps into JY's story-world and *becomes* JY by creatively enacting what she could had thought at the time of story event 'I have to be strong' (line 206) and by demonstrating her emotional state through his clenched fists.

Notice that Kang's clenched fists is a departure from their "home position" (Sacks and Schegloff, 2002), which refers to the position of the hands in a relaxed state (See Figure 4.15). The creative enactment and the "stroke"[52] (Kendon, 2004), or major point of the hand movement, are concurrently displayed and show JY's determination to stay strong against her father (See Figure 4.16). Upon the enactment's completion, Kang "retracts", or returns his hands to their home position (See Figure 4.17). Here, the teller and recipient co-construct the story protagonist, JY. Their co-construction of the story character is accomplished by JY reporting what she actually said to her father and by Kang demonstrating what JY had emotionally undergone at that time through reported thought and gestural work. JY confirms Kang's intervened enactment and includes it as part of her narrative.

Kang's display of understanding towards JY's story protagonist is exhibited by his display of empathy towards the storyteller, his talk show guest. The host's co-construction of the story in progress and his affiliating attitude towards the protagonist of JY's story interactionally achieves mutual understanding with the guest.

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[52] Kendon (2004) divides the process of gesture production, or "gesture unit", into four types of "gesture phases", which include "preparation" (departure of the hand from its home position), "stroke" (the main hand movement of the gesture), "hold" (the moment when hand movement temporarily stops), and "recovery" (or "retraction", the return of the hand to its home position).

Consider another similar example where the host verbally and non-verbally enacts the story character, or the co-present party. The following extract is excerpted from Kang's interview with Daeho, a professional baseball player. In this extract, Daeho recounts a high school episode where he was unwillingly substituted by another pitcher after allowing a single. The excerpt begins right before the climax of the story.

Extract (4.11) (Host: Kang; Guest: Daeho)

```
39 Daeho:        그리고 한 7 회인가 6 회인가 됐는데
40               제가 안타를 하나 딱 맞았어요.
41               ((sigh)) 포수가 제 친구 송산이라는 친구였거든요¿
42 Kang:         예
43 Daeho:        감독님이 >이제< 마운드에 딱 올라오셔갖고
44               송산이 보고 딱 이렇게 물어봤[어요   ]
45 Kang:                                      [포수한-] 포수에[게 ]
46 Daeho:                                                    [포수]한테. 예.
47               힘이 좀 떨어진 것 같지 >그러는데<
48               송산이 하는 말이 예 감독님
49 Kang:         hahahahahahahahahah ((책상을 세게 치면서))
50 Daeho:        ((미소 지으며 뒷목을 잡음))
51 Kang:    →    ((Daeho 를 손가락으로 가리키며)) 난 아직 더 던지고 싶은데
52 Daeho:        ((자신을 손가락으로 가리키며)) 난 던지고 싶은데
53 Kang:    →    ((Daeho 손가락으로 가리키며)) 내 친구가
54 Daeho:        ((왼쪽 빈 공간을 손가락으로 가리키며)) 내 친구가
55               그것도 초등학교 동창인데!
56 Kang:         hahahahaha ((책상을 세게 치면서))

39 Daeho:        kuliko han chil hoy-i-nka yuk hoy-i-nka tway-ss-nuntey
                 And about seven inning-COP-Q six inning-COP-Q become-PST-
                 CIRCUM
                 And maybe in the 7th or 6th inning

40               cey-ka antha-lul hana ttak mac-ass-eyo
                 I-NM single-AC one just allow-PST-POL
                 I allowed a single.

41               ((sigh)) phoswu-ka cey chinkwu 'Song san'-ilanun
                 chinkwu-yess-ketun-yo¿
                 catcher-NM my friend NAME-QT friend-PST-CORREL-POL
                 The catcher was my friend, 'Song san'¿

42 Kang:         Yey.
                 I see.

43 Daeho:        kamtok-nim-i >icey< mound-ey ttak ollao-sye-kacko
```

Manager-HT-NM then mound-to just come:up-SH-and
The manager came up to the pitcher's mound and

44 songsan-i po-ko ttak ilehkey mwul-e pwa-ss-
[eyo.]
NAME-VOC see-and just like:this ask-CONN try-PST-POL
asked 'Songsan'.

45 Kang: [phoswu-han--]
catcher
To the catch-

phoswu-ey[key]
catcher-to
to the catcher

46 Daeho: [phoswu]-hanthey. Yey.
Catcher-to Yes
To the catcher. Yes.

47 him-i com tteleci-n kes kath-ci >kule-nuntey<
Power-NM little decrese-ATTR thing seem-COMM say-CIRCUM
{The manager} asked "You think he lost some power"

48 songsan-i ha-nun mal-i yey kamtok-nim.
NAME-VOC say-ATTR word-NM Yes manager-HT
Songsan replied "Yes, sir".

49 Kang: hahahahahahahahahaha ((powerfully strokes the table))
Hahahahahahahahahaha

50 Daeho: ((smiling)) ((puts his right hand behind his neck))

Figure 4. 18 (Line 50)

51 Kang: → ((Pointing finger at Daeho)) na-n acik te tenci-ko
siph-untey
I-TC still more throw-and wish-but
'I still want to throw some more'

Figure 4.19 (line 51)

52 Daeho: ((finger pointing at himself)) na-n tenci-ko siph-untey
I-TC throw-and wish-but
'I want to throw some more'

Figure 4.20 (line 52)

53 Kang: → ((finger pointing at Daeho)) nay chinkwu-ka
I friend-NM
How can my friend {do that to me}'

Figure 4.21 (line 53)

54 Daeho: ((pointing to the empty spot on his left)) nay chinkwu-ka
My friend-NM
'How can my friend {do that to me}'

55 ku-kes-to chotunghakkyo tongchang-i-ntey!
That-thing-even elementary:school friend-COP-but
And even more, he's my elementary school friend!

Figure 4.22 (Line 55)

56 Kang: hahahahaha ((powerfully strokes the desk))
hahahahaha

In line 41, Daeho provides a negative characterization of 'Song san' by introducing the story character with a sigh. The climax of Daeho's story is Songsan's response to the manager's question 'You think Daeho lost some power' (line 47) with a committal suffix *–ci* (which is comparable to an English tag question). In contrast to Daeho's expectation, Songsan answers, 'Yes sir' (line 48). Both the teller, Daeho, and the recipient, Kang, treat the exchange as a laughable story punch line. Kang laughs

heartily while Daeho smiles and engages in a particular hand gesture (See Figure 4.18). This particular hand gesture can be expressed by the colloquial expression *twismok capta*[53], literally translated 'to grab the nape of the neck'. The target gesture (or expression) is often used to display (or describe) the speaker's nonsensical and/or dumbfounded emotional state. Daeho's enactment indirectly shows how he felt towards Songsan's response to the manager (line 50). Daeho's non-verbal assessment appears to mark the end of his story. However, Kang continues the story by elaborating on Daeho's emotional state through reported thought 'I still want to throw some more' (line 51). Daeho confirms Kang's enactment by repeating Kang's prior turn in line 52. Kang then formulates the second enactment 'How can my friend do that to me' (line 53). Daeho, again, repeats Kang's prior turn and this time even upgrades it by detailing that Songsan is not *just* a friend, but someone he has been friends with since elementary school (line 55). Daeho's upgraded enactment functions as another punch line of the story, thereby inviting the host's second round of laughter.

Unlike Extract 4.10, in which the host becomes the story character through multiple channels of verbal and non-verbal enactments (i.e., 'I have to be strong' and a fist-clenching hand gesture), the repetitive use of finger pointing in this example is inconsistent and thus quite complex. Kang's first and second finger-pointing gestures towards Daeho (lines 51 and 53) seem to index that Daeho is the actual speaker of his voiced enactments. Daeho's finger-pointing gestures, on the other hand, seem to indicate the mentioned references in the enacted words *nan* 'I' (line 52) and *nay chinkwuka* 'my friend' (line 54). Therefore, Daeho points his finger towards himself in line 52 but towards the empty spot to his left in line 54. Although the targets of the guest and host's pointing gestures differ, the exchanged pointing gestures show a visible mutual understanding between the interactants as they work to produce the "next action".

[53] The idiomatic expression *twismos capta* 'to grab the nape of the neck' was originally used to describe when a person collapses due to a medical condition (e.g., strokes, faints, high blood pressure, etc.). However, is now used in various (negative) contexts. The expression can also be used to communicate when someone is enraged, surprised, shocked or dumbfounded.

Based on what has been analyzed so far, the functions of Kang's creative verbal and non-verbal enactments mid-storytelling include: (1) displaying his, as the story recipient, full understanding and empathy towards the story and the character in the guest's story, (2) actively co-constructing the story protagonist with the storyteller, and (3) dramatizing and furthering the story in progress, thereby prompting an additional telling from the storyteller.

In this section, I have demonstrated in detail how the host co-constructs the guest's narrative in the form of reported speech or thought. The host's co-construction is realized within a wide range of involvement. The previously presented extracts exist on a continuum of participation (See Figure 4.23).

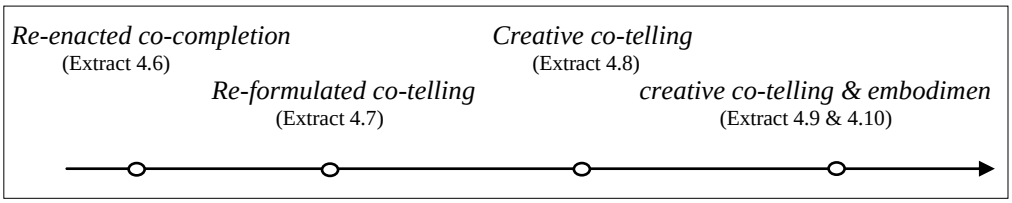

Figure 4.23 The participation continuum

The guest's turn and host's subsequent enacting turn are paired below in Table 4.3. A reenacted co-completion is the weakest form of active participation on the continuum (Extract 4.6). The co-produced turns by the guest and the host together constitute one syntactically complete TCU (See the first example in Table 4.3). The host's intervention displays his understanding towards the guest and the telling while not disrupting the progressivity of the story.

I have shown examples where the host actively contributes to part of the storytelling with full-turn or multi-turn TCU(s) of reported speech/thought (Extracts 4.7 and 4.8). The host's enactment of a character in the guest's story is based on the context provided by the guest. In Extract (4.7), the guest's emotional state, which was already enacted by Kang in a prior turn through reported thought, is re-formulated in Kang's subsequent turn (See the second example on the Table 4.1). The host's enactment is not echoed verbatim, but his conjectured enactment 'I did my best with my job' is contextually inferred from the guest's claim 'My life as a news anchor was enough'. Another example of a contextually inferred enactment is presented in Extract (4.8). Based on the guest's descriptive explanation of the situation at the time of the

reported story event (i.e., the audition was re-conducted because Paik, though receiving the most votes for the primetime news anchor position, was still an apparentice), the host's hypothetical enactment of a non-present party (i.e., people in a position of authority) is conjectured (See the third example in Table 4.2).

I also showed cases where the host accompanies non-verbal enactments (e.g., body orientation, hand gestures, gaze shift, and facial expressions) along with creative verbal enactments (Extracts 4.9 and 4.10). The turns produced by the guests and host co-construct the guests' story characters' emotions and personalities. In Extract (4.9), for example, the guest (i.e., the story protagonist) recounted his past utterance while the host creatively enacted the protagonist's emotional state (See the fourth example in Table 4.2). Similarly in Extract (4.10), the guest displayed his past emotional state with facial expressions and the host, in return, verbally enacted the protagonist's emotional state in a form of reported thought (See the fifth example in Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Form of Participation

	Sp (H: Host, G: Guest)	
Re-enacted co-completion (Extract 4.6)	G:	'Does he ever wash it? Or-'
	H:	'Does he keep wearing it?
	G:	((nodding))
Re-formulated co-telling (Extract 4.7)	G:	'Let's live a life other than a news anchor. I think my life as a news anchor was enough'
	H:	'Because I really loved 'News Desk' with all my hearts and did best with my job-'
	G:	'I don't regret it'
Creative co-telling (Extract 4.8)	G:	*Descriptive telling of the situation*
	H:	"Since she is a rookie let's re-do the audition"
	G:	Come to think of it, ((nodding)) that was it.
Creative co-telling & embodiment (Extracts 4.9 & 4.10)	G:	"I am leaving now so do you have any last word?" So I said "Good bye"
	H:	'I need to be strong, I need to be strong'
	G:	((nodding))
	G:	*Gestural work* (See figure 4.18)
	H:	'I still want to throw some more!'
	G:	'I want to throw some more!'

It is important to note that the host's collaborative telling is normally built upon a guest's prior sequence. There are occasions where the guest indirectly

accounts the underlying context of the story or his emotional state. The guest's implied projections are then made explicit by the host. By directly stating what has so far been implied by the guest, the host not only displays his understanding of the story in progress but also indicates that a mutual understanding between the guest and himself has been achieved.

Take the third turns produced by the guests in Extracts 4.9 – 4.11 into consideration. In these extracts, the guest verbally confirms the host's turn by confirmatory agreement (Extract 4.9), co-completion (Extract 4.10), and repetition (Extract 4.11); and/or non-verbally affiliates with the host (Extracts 4.7, 4.9 and 4.10: nodding). Therefore, it is noteworthy that the host's display of empathy and mutual understanding are achieved regardless of his degree of participation.

4.5 Allegorizing the Guest's Story: Making it Larger than a Personal Story

In this section, I examine the host's second-turn position in response to the guest's telling of his/her personal story. A personal story typically involves not only what the individual experienced or felt at a certain moment in the story event, but also what he had said and how he behaved to other people or vice versa. Such verbal and behavioral encounters outside of the self-realm are frequently observed in personal narratives; therefore, a personal story can hardly be considered 'personal'. M.H. Goodwin (1990), in analyzing the tellings of a group of young girls, claims that individuals' tellings inevitably include other voices through the form of reported speech.

When an individual shares a personal story, s/he can speak about a variety of topics –from something common to something extraordinary, something funny, or something that makes them proud, embarrassed, upset, mad, and so on. When an individual talks with an interlocutor and find some common ground, both can feel more attached to the other. As mentioned earlier, Winfrey's stories about her personal experiences and past issues are her way of getting close to her talk show audience and allows the audience to view Winfrey as *one of them*. Such displays of emotional involvement between conversation participants is important especially in talk-show

interviews where a fundamental difference between the guest and the host exists in terms of their institutional roles within the TV talk-show framework. The guest is urged to share his/her own personal experiences and openly exhibit varying degrees of emotions towards the reported events whereas the host commonly does not voluntarily recount his experiences in the talk-show program. Therefore, when a host responds to a guest's tellings with a personal account, such stories are meaningful and draw attention.

Additionally, the host can also act like a counselor, sympathizing, soothing, or dramatizing the guest's emotional state in a variety of ways:

> The talk show has also occasionally been compared to a *therapy session* because it provides an opportunity for some participants to give an account of their personal problems, physical, mental or social, and to be subsequently confronted with reactions and suggestions (Ilie, 2001, p.217, emphasis in the original).

In the following analyses, I will focus on how the host allegorizes the guest's personal accounts by sharing a similar story in the second-turn position. By telling a comparable story, the host suggests that what the guest felt or experienced at the time of the story event is neither something unusual nor exclusive to the guest. The four extracts in this section are, interestingly, all excerpted from Kang's interview with an Australian entertainer named Sam Hamington who mostly appears on Korean TV broadcasts. Moreover, one of peripheral hosts, Yoo, who usually produces "general responses" (Bavelas et al. 2000), actively displays his affiliation towards Sam by giving his own personal accounts.

Prior to Extract (4.12), Sam talked about the strict hierarchical Korean comedian inner-circle and particularly discussed one *senpay*[54] named 'Kim Byungman' who Sam believes is the most intimidating person he knows. In response to Sam's comparison of Korean comedian culture with military life (line 104), Yoo tells him about a similar experience he had (lines 107-109).

[54] The term *senpay* is roughly equivalent to the Western concept of a 'mentor'. The *senpay* relationship is decided based on time of entrance into a certain organization or company.

Extract (4.12) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo; Guest: Sam)

094 Sam: ((picks up phone)) 잘 지내냐고 이렇게 그
095 안부 전화도 무서워요:.
096 Kang: 예 he 예: 아니 뭐 김병만씨가 체구가 그렇게
097 크지도 않은데 왜 무서워요.
098 Sam: 이: 눈에 나오는<레이저> [촤아아아아악]
099 Kang: [hahahahahaha]
100 Sam: ((한 손으로 눈을 가리고 다른 손으로 뻗침)) 하::
101 Kang: ((smiling)) 아::
102 Sam: 병만이 형하고[:] 같이 일하다보니까,
103 Kang: [예]
예
104 Sam: .hh 군대 들어가니까 그런: 생각 많이 나더라구요.
105 Kang: 예::.=
106 Yoo: =어? 비슷하겠네: 어떻게 보면은↑
107 .hh 저도 그 개그맨 생활 할 때 군대갔다와서,
108 → .hh 야:: 이 개그맨 생활이 군대 생활이랑
109 → 되게 비슷하구나 느꼈었거든요.
110 Sam: 어 너:무 비슷해요.

094 Sam: ((picks up phone)) cal cinay-nya-ko ilehkey ku
Well live-Q-QT like:this that

095 anpwu cenhwa-to mwusewe-yo:.
Say:hello phone-also scared-POL

{I'm} scared to make a brief phone call {to Byungman}.

096 Kang: yey hehe yey: ani mwe 'Kim Byung Man' ssi-ka cheykwu-ka kulehkey
Yes Yes DM DM NAME-VOC-NM body-NM much

097 khu-ci-to anh-untey way mwusewe-yo.
big-NOM-even not-but why scared-POL

I see. hehe Yes. Mr.Kim Byungman is not a physically big guy, so why are {you} scared?

098 Sam: i: nwun-ey nao-nun <*laser*> [chwaaaaaak[55]]
This eye-at come:out-ATTR laser
He has lasers coming from his eyes

099 Kang: [hahahahahaha]
hahahahahaha

100 Sam: ((one hand covering his eyes, another hand stretch out)) ha::
Whoa

[55] *Chwaaaaaak* is an onomatopoeic word for strong jets of water, liquid, a laser, etc.

101 Kang: ((smiling)) a::
Oh::

102 Sam: 'Byungman'-i hyeng-hako[:] kathi il-hata ponikka,
NAME-VOC older:brother-with together work-while see-after
Working together with your brother 'Byungman',

103 Kang: [yey] yey
Yes Yes

104 Sam: .hh kwuntay tuleka-nikka kulen: sayngkak manhi na-te-la-kwu-yo.
Military enter-after such thought much have-RT-INTROS-QT-POL
military life[56] reminded me of {him}.

105 Kang: yey::.=
Yes.

106 Yoo: =e? pisusha-keyss-ney: ettehkey po-myen-un↑
Oh similar-DCT:RT-UNASSIM how see-then-TC
Oh? I can see how they could be similar

107 .hh ce-to ku kaykumayn saynghwal-ha-l ttay kwuntay ka-ss-ta-wase,
I-also that comedian life do-ATTR when but go-PST-after-come-and
When I was making a living as a comedian after my military service,

108 → .hh ya:: i kaykumayn saynghwal-i kwuntay saynghwal-ilang
Wow this comedian life-NM military life-with

109 → toykey pisusha-kwuna nukky-ess-ess-ketun-yo.
Very similar-UNASSIM feel-PST-PST-CORREL-POL

I also felt .hh 'Wow:: this comedian life is really similar to military life.'

110 Sam: e ne:mwu pisushay-yo.
Yeah really similar-POL
Yeah, it's really similar.

In lines 94-100, Sam describes how he feels towards 'Kim Byungman', one of his comedian *senpay* 'mentors', and that he is even scared to make a brief phone call to him. Sam further explains that working with 'Byungman' reminds him of Korean military life, aligning it with Korean comedian culture. In response to how Sam felt towards the strict and hierarchal culture of Korean comedians, Yoo, who treats the matter as more than personal, responds with 'Oh? That would be similar in

[56] Sam, at the time he appeared on the talk show, was concurrently starring in a Korean reality show titled *Cincca Sanai* 'Real Men', featuring six male celebrities who experience a week in the Korean army.

some sense' (line 106). Yoo then empathizes with Sam's experience by providing his own account in the form of reported thought. In so doing, Yoo suggests that even a native Korean person feels the same way as a foreigner does about Korean comedian culture. Sam displays immediate agreement while in the third-turn position (line 110).

In this extract, Yoo's reported thought is multi-functional in reflecting both Yoo and Sam's emotional state at the time of the story event. Notice that Sam's mentioning of *kulen sayngkak* 'such thought' (line 104) is followed by Yoo's enactment 'Wow this comedian life is really similar to military life' (lines 108-109). Yoo's enactment shows that he had similar feelings when he first experienced the Korean comedian inner-circle. But at the same time, Yoo's enactment also serves as an exemplified instantiation of what Sam must have thought at the time of the story's events. Yoo's employment of reported thought treats Sam's personal experience as a recognizably shared experience between Yoo and Sam.

In Extract (4.13), Sam raises an unsolved issue regarding his way of dealing with people noticing him on the street. Sam questions whether he should ignore or greet people who recognize him (lines 2-5). In response to Sam's complaint (though it is interrogatively structured), Yoo shares a similar experience.

Extract (4.13) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo; Guest: Sam)

```
02 Sam:          <한국에서> 그 뻔히 알면서 사람 지나갈 때:
03               이렇게 귓속말로 ° 야 >봐봐< 샘 해밍턴이다야 ° 아니면
04               어: 샘! (.) 이렇게 불렀을 때: .hh 내가 그냥
05               무시해야되나:: (.) [아]니면 인사해야 [되나::    ]
06 Yoo:                             [음:]           [>맞아 맞아.<]
07               뭐 저희도 다 겪고 있는건데, >만약에<
08        →      °>유세윤 유세윤이다 유세윤 유세-<°
09               했을 때,.hh 돌아:봤을 때와
10               안 돌아봤을 때::가 경우가 있잖아요↑
11 OB:           음
12 Yoo:   →      안 돌아보면, 뭐야 들릴텐데 안 돌아[본다, 어¿]
13 Kang:                                          [hhhhhhhh]
14 Yoo:   →      지가 무슨 슈퍼[스탄줄아나?   ]
15 Kang:                        [hehehehehehe]
16 Sam:          ((smiling))
17 Yoo:          >그리구↑< 돌아봤을 때는,
18 Sam:          네
19 Yoo:   →      아이구 안녕하세요 유세윤입- 안녕하세요하면은,
20        →      뭐야 지가 완전 연예인인줄 [알어::   ]
21 Kang:                                   [hahahaha][hahaha]
```

22 Sam: [그러니까]hhhh

02 Sam: <hankwuk-eyse> ku ppenhi al-myense salam cinaka-l ttay:
Korea-at that definitely know-though person pass-ATTR when
In Korea, when {people} know who you are and pass by

03 ilehkey kwissokmal-lo °ya >pwa pwa<'*Sam Hamington*'-i-ta ya° animyen
Like:this whisper-by hey look look NAME-COP-DC Hey or
{they} whisper like things like "Hey, look, that's 'Sam Hamington'" or

04 e: *Sam*! (.) ilehkey pwulle-ss-ul ttay: .hh nay-ka kunyang
Oh NAME like:this call-PST-ATTR when I-NM just
when {they} call me, they say "Hey Sam!"

05 mwusihay-ya toy-na:: (.) [a]nimyen insahay-ya [toy-na::]
Ignore-need Q or greet-need Q
I wonder if I should just ignore {them} or if I should greet {them}

06 Yoo: [um:] [>mac-a mac-a.<]
Right-INT right-INT
Em: Right right.

07 mwe cehuy-to ta kyekk-ko iss-nun-ke-ntey, >manyakey<
DM we(hum.)-also all experience-and be-ATTR-thing-CIRCUM if
We all experience such things. If {they say}

08 → °>'Yoo Seyyoon''Yoo Seyyoon'-i-ta 'Yoo Seyyoon''Yoo Sey-'<°
NAME NAME-COP-DC NAME NAME

09 hay-ss-ul ttay,.hh tola:pwa-ss-ul ttay-wa
Call-PST-ATTR when turn:around-PST-ATTR when-TC

10 an tola pwa-ss-ul ttay::-ka kyengwu-ka iss-canh-ayo↑
Not turn:around-PST-ATTR when-NM case-NM exist-COMM-POL

"That's 'Yoo'. That's 'Yoo'. 'Yoo'"
There are two options: you turn around or don't turn around

11 OB: um
Em

12 Yoo: → an tolapo-myen, mwe-ya tulli-l-theyntey an tola[po-n-ta, e¿]
Not turn:around-then what-INT hear-ATTR-CIRCUM not turn:around-ATTR-DC right
If {I} don't turn around, {they say} "What the hell? {He} must have heard us but didn't turn around?"

13 Kang: [hhhhhhhhhhh]
hhhhhhhhhh

14 Yoo: → ci-ka mwusun *super*[*star*-n cwul a-na?]
Self-NM some:kind super star-ATTR as:if know-INT:Q
"Does he think he is some kind of super star?"

15 Kang: [hehehehehehehehehe]
hehehehehehehehehe

16 Sam: ((smiling))

17 Yoo: >kulikwu↑< tola pwa-ss-ul ttay-nun,
And turn:around-PST-ATTR when-TC
and if {I} turn around,

18 Sam: ney
Yes

19 Yoo: → aikwu annyenghaseyyo 'Yoo Seyyoon'-i-p-annyenghaseyyo ha-myen-un,
DM Hello:HON:POL NAME-COP-AH Hello:HON:POL say-then-TC
If {I say}, "Oh, hello. {I'm} 'Yoo'. How are you?'",

20 → mwe-ya ci-ka wancen yenyeyin-i-n cwul [al-e::]
What-INT self-NM completely celebrity-COP-ATTR as:if know-INT
"What the hell, he acts like he's a celebrity"

21 Kang: [hahaha][hahaha]
hahahahahahaha

22 Sam: [kulenikka]
hhhh
That's what I mean hhhh

Sam is concerned about whether to ignore or greet people who recognize him (lines 2-5). Yoo actively acknowledges the occurrence of such situations 'right right' (line 6) in recognitional overlap with Sam's turn-completion. Although not accounted overtly, Yoo seems to understand why Sam is concerned about such situations. Yoo first treats Sam's experience as something others commonly experience as well with 'We all experience too' (line 7). Notice that Yoo's use of the word 'we' includes not only Yoo himself but also the other co-present parties: Kang and OB. Yoo then provides two instances of hypothetical reported speech (lines 12, 14, 19-20) to articulate the kind of negative reactions people may have regardless of what he decides to do: if he ignores them, people will say, 'Does he think he is some

kind of super star' (line 14), and if he greets them back, people will say, 'He acts like he's a celebrity' (line 20). Yoo's multiple turns of hypothetical direct reported speech not only explains the underlying reason why Sam brought up the particular issue (i.e., whether I ignore or greet the people I meet on the street, they view my reaction negatively) but also shows that Yoo empathizes with Sam and acknowledges the difficult positions that celebrity figures sometimes find themselves in. Sam, in return, actively agrees with Yoo, as in 'That's what I mean' (line 22).

Funny stories, like the two previous complaint stories, also invite the hosts', Kang and Yoo, shared emotional involvement and laughter. In Extract (4.14), Kang asks Sam what he likes about Korean drinking culture (line 65).

Extract (4.14) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo; Guest: Sam)

```
65 Kang:        술 문화 중에 >그럼< 뭐가 제일 좋았어요¿
66 Sam:         막상: 뭐 (.) 술 취하고 그 다음 날은 좀:
67              술 안 깨는데도, 사람들이 이해해요.
68 Kang:        아::
69 Sam:         역시 어제 재밌게 놀았죠? [이래요::]
70 Yoo:                                [hehehehe][hehehe]
71 Kang:                                        [hahahaha]
72 Sam:         다음에 같이 한 잔 합시다::↑ [막 이렇게 하고::]
73 Kang:                                [haha haha hha]  어우 [예::        ].
74 Yoo:                                                  [>(그러고보니)<]
                약간- 약간 자랑 같은 거도 있어요.
75        →     커어:: 어제 4 시까지 마셨잖아[::.         ]
76 Kang:                                    [hahahahahaha]
77 Sam:                                     [   그러니까   ]

65 Kang:        swul mwunhwa cwung-ey >kulem< mwe-ka ceyil coh-ass-eyo¿
                Alcohol culture middle-at then what-NM most like-PST-POL
                What do {you} like about {Korean} drinking culture

66 Sam:         maksang: mwe (.) swul chwiha-ko ku taum-nal-un com:
                Actually DM alcohol drunk-and that next-day-TC little

67              swul an kkay-nuntey-to, salam-tul-i ihayhay-yo.
                Alcohol not wake-but-even person-PL-NM understand-POL

                The next day, even {you} are experiencing a hangover,
                people understand.

68 Kang:        a::
                Oh::

69 Sam:         yeksi ecey caymi-ss-key nol-ass-cyo? [ilay-yo::]
```

Also yesterday fun-PST-AD play-PST-COMM:POL say-POL
{They} say, "Last night was fun, right?"

70 Yoo: [hehehehe][hehehe]
hehehehe hehehe

71 Kang: [hahahaha]
hahahaha

72 Sam: taum-ey kathi han can ha-p-si-ta::↑ [mak ilehkey ha-ko::]
Next-at together one drink do-AH-RQ-PR
{They} say, "Let's drink together next time"

73 Kang: [haha ha ha ha ha]ewu
hahahahahaha Wow
[yey::].
Yes

74 Yoo: [>(kulekoponi)<] yakkan- yakkan calang kathun ke-to iss-eyo.
Come:to:think:of:it little little boast like thing-also exist-POL
(Comes to think of it,) it's kind- kind of like a proud boast.

75 → khee:: ecey ney si-kkaci masy-ess-canh-a::.
Yesterday four o'clock-upto drink-PST-COMM-INT
Wow, {we} stayed out until four a.m.

76 Kang: [hahahahahaha]
hahahahahaha

77 Sam: [kulenikka]
That's what I mean

Sam points out that Korean people are understanding even when Sam is experiencing a hangover the following day. Sam specifically demonstrates such understanding in the form of reported speech, as in 'Last night was fun, right?' (line 69) and 'Let's drink together next time' (line 72). In response to Sam's description and demonstration of what he likes about Korean drinking culture, Kang treats, as he normally does, the reported event as something agreeable and funny through a short response token 'wow yes' and laughter (line 71 and 73). Subsequently, Yoo initiates a topically relevant telling with a turn-initial 'come to think of it' (line 74). Yoo supports what Sam has said by proffering another possible reaction (i.e., *calang* 'show-off') that drinking buddies may have the following day through a form of

hypothetical reported speech ‘We stayed out until four a.m, you know’ (line 75). Compared to Kang’s third-turn, Yoo displays more emphatic involvement with Sam’s story by hypothetically enacting a story character. Having received Yoo’s understanding and involvement, Sam no longer treats his story as a foreigner’s personal and extraordinary experience, but understands it as something acceptable and shared. Correspondingly, Sam strongly confirms Yoo’s telling with ‘That’s what I mean’ (line 77).

A host’s story is not merely a “second story” that is topically relevant to the guest’s “first story” (Sacks, 1992); rather, it often contains an underlying message that inter-personally supports, soothes, or sympathizes with the guest. The below example is a case in point. Prior to the excerpt, Sam openly talked about his childhood and family background (e.g., his parents’ divorce, his father’s coming-out, and his hatred towards his father). Sam also explained how tragedy struck his family when his father unexpectedly passed away soon after his divorced parents became good friends again. In the excerpt below, Sam talks about the time that he and his mother were deeply depressed following his father’s passing (lines 36-44). In response, Yoo shares what he learned from a similar experience (lines 45-55).

Extract (4.15) (Hosts: Kang, Yoo; Guest: Sam)

```
36 Sam:          근데 또-(3.0) 또 어머니 반응이 너무 ((크게 숨 내쉼))
37               심장 깨지는 느낌이었어요. 둘이 다시 친구됐는데,
39 Kang:         음
40 Sam:          사랑하는 사이였는데, 갑자기 그렇게 사랑했던
41               사람—이 잃으니까. (0.5) 사람은 진짜 (0.3)
42               미칠 수 밖에 없는거예요. (3.5) 그러다보니까,
43               (1.0)우울증 굉장히 심각하게 걸렸고.
44               .hh 어머니도 마찬가지고. (4.0)
45 Yoo:          저두:: 어머님 아버님이 일찍(.) 서로 헤어지셨는데,
46               .hh 음 전 뭐 >다른 거보다< 샘 형이랑:그래도 좀
47               친하다고 생각하고. 같이 얘기한 적도 많은데,
48               .hh 전 그냥 마냥: (0.3) 밝고, [까   ]불구
49 Kang:                                        [예 hh]
50 Yoo:          행복한 형이라 생각했는데::
51               .hhh 음:: 그 슬픔은 >그런 거< 같아요.
52        →      .hh 나만 왜 이렇게 슬플까
53        →      .hh 나만 왜 이렇게 슬플까=왜 나만 이럴까¿
54               생각하다가도↑알고보면, .hh 그들도 나만큼(2.0)
55               큰 슬픔이 (.) 다 있는 것 같더라구요.
```

56 Sam: 살다 보니까, 부모님들은 얼마나 소중한지
57 진짜 다시 생각하게 되더라구요.

36 Sam: kuntey tto- (3.0) tto emeni panung-i nemwu
((exhalation))
But also also mother reaction-NM too
But also- Also mom was so

37 simcang kkayci-nun nukkim-i-ess-eyo.twul-i tasi
chinkwu tway-ss-nuntey,
heart break-ATTR feeling-COP-PST-POL two-NM again
friend become-PST-but
**heartbroken. The two of them had just become friends
again,**

39 Kang: um
Em

40 Sam: salangha-nun sai-yess-nuntey, kapcaki kulehkey salanghay-ss-te-n
Love-ATTR relationship-PST-but suddently like:that love-PST-RT-ATTR

42 salam--i ilh-unikka. (0.5) salam-un cincca (0.3)
Person-NM lose-since person-TC really

42 michi-l swu pakkey eps-nun-ke-yeyyo. (3.5) kuleta ponikka,
Crazy-ATTR can only not-ATTR-thing-POL that:way see-after

43 (1.0) wuwulcung koyngcanghi simkakha-key kelly-ess-ko.
Depression extremely serious-AD experience-PST-and

44 .hh emeni-to machankaci-ko.(4.0)
Mother-also same-and

**{They} loved each other, and now my {mother} suddenly
lost her love. I really went crazy. {I} suffered from
serious depression. And so did {my} mother.**

45 Yoo: ce-twu:: emenim apenim-i ilccik (.) selo heyeci-sy-
ess-nuntey,
I-also mother:HT father:HT-NM early each other apart-SH-PST-CIRCUM
**My mother and father also divorced early in their
marriage.**

46 .hh um ce-n mwe >talun ke pota<*Sam* hyeng-ilang:
kulayto com
I-TC DM other thing than NAME older:brother-with though little

47 chinhata-ko sayngkakha-ko kathi yayki han cek-to manh-untey,
Close-QT think-and together conversation do time-also many-but

Um, most of all, {I} thought I was close to you and {I

thought} {we} talked a lot, but

48 .hh ce-n kunyang manyang: (0.3) palk-ko, [kka]pwul-kwu
I-TC just forever bright-and act:up-and
I just thought of {you} as a bright, playful, and

49 Kang: [yey hh]
Yes hh

50 Yoo: hayngpokha-n hyeng-i-la sayngkakhay-ss-nuntey::
Happy-ATTR older:brother-COP-QT think-PST-but
happy brother but

51 .hhh um:: ku sulphum-un >kulen ke< kath-ayo.
That sadness-TC such thing seem-POL
Um, {I} think the sadness {we} feel is like,

52 → .hh na-man way ilehkey sulphu-l-kka
I-only why like:this sad-ATTR-INT:Q
.hh 'Why am I the only one who is sad'

53 → .hh na-man way ilehkey sulphu-l-kka=way na-man ile-l-kka¿
I -only why like:this sad-ATTR-INT:Q why I-only like:this-ATTR-INT:Q
.hh 'Why am I the only one who is sad? Why am I like this¿'

54 sayngkakha-takato↑ al-ko-po-myen, .hh kutul-to na-mankhum (2.0)
Think-after know-and-see-then they-also I-as:much:as

55 khu-n sulphum-i (.) ta iss-nun kes kath-te-la-kwu-yo.
Big-ATTR sadness-NM all have-ATTR thing seem-RT-INTROS-QT-POL

Come to think of it, it seems that people are all given the same amount of sadness as I've had.

56 Sam: sal-ta bo-nikka, pwumo-nim-tul-un elmana socwungha-n-ci
Live-after see-then parent-HT-PL-TC how:much precious-ATTR-NOM

57 cicca tasi sayngkakha-key toy-te-la-kwu-yo.
Really again think-AD become-RT-INTROS-QT-POL

After all, {I} realized how precious my parents are {to me}.

Sam describes the difficult time he and his mother went through after his father's sudden death. The interspersed disfluency (e.g., cut-off, marked silence, inhalation) and the employed extreme case formulations (e.g., *nemwu* 'too', *michil*

swu pakkey epsnun keyeyyo ‘cannot help but to be gone crazy’, *koyngcanghi* ‘extremely’) (Pomerantz, 1986) make Sam’s story even more dramatic and sorrowful.

Again, in this extract, Yoo is the one who initially breaks the marked silence with an elongated turn-initial *cetwu*::: ‘I also:::’ (line 45). Yoo reports that he was also raised in a divorced family,which allows him to display his understanding of Sam’s situation and give advice. Yoo not only recounts his own experience, but also shares what he learned by explaining what ‘sadness’ means to him. Specifically, Yoo exhibits his empathy for Sam through reported speech ‘Why am I the only one who is sad?’, ‘Why am I like this?’ (lines 52-53) and his subsequent subjective stance towards the kind of sadness both he and Sam have felt ‘Come to think of it, it seems that people are all given the same amount of sadness as I’ve had’ (line 54-55). Through his employment of hypothetically enacted reported speech, Yoo illustrates what Sam (or anybody who is going through an emotional crisis) must have thought at the time of the described story event. Having established a shared empathy between Sam and himself, Yoo is able to make a generalization that most people have had to suffer through the kind of sadness that they have. Thus, Yoo’s subsequent storytelling generalizes Sam’s personal experience into something larger than a personal story. In response to Yoo’s telling, Sam confirms and shares what he has learned from his experience ‘I realized how important our parents are to my life’ (lines 56-57).

So far, in this section, we have seen that the host’s storytelling in response to the guest’s storytelling is one of the contributing factors that display the host’s affiliative attitude towards the co-present party. Moreover, when the host shares a similar experience in the second-turn position, such a narrative is more than a ‘second story’ (Sacks, 1992). What the host had similarly felt is reenacted in a form of reported thought, thereby building upon the guest’s shared emotion, as in ‘I also felt ‘Wow this comedian life is really similar with military life’’ (Extract 4.11) and ‘My parents are also divorced early […] ‘Why am I the only one who is sad?’’ (Extract 4.14).

The host’s storytelling not only builds rapport with the guest, but also consoles the guest by providing a meaningful lesson to the guest as well as the invisible TV viewers. The last extract particularly demonstrates this point. In my analysis of

Extract (4.15), I showed that Yoo comforts Sam with what he had learned from his own personal experience. Therefore, the host's storytelling can also be therapeutic.

4.6. Summary

This chapter investigated how the talk show host's affiliative stance is conveyed through the employment of reported speech and embodied action in a storytelling sequence, particularly upon story (near-) completion. Focusing on three specific third-turn sequence types (recycling the story climax, collaborative storytelling, and allegorizing the guest's story), I showed how speech reporting forms enable the host to co-construct the guest's story world as a resource to display his emphatic stance. When recycling the story climax, the host recycles not only the guest's verbal enactment but also his or her non-verbal enactment, such as hand gestural work, gaze directions and body orientation. These multimodal resources are frequently observed right before the initiation of the enactment, thereby functioning as left-side boundary markers.

I also demonstrated that the host can achieve collaborative storytelling by co-completing the guest's incomplete telling or assumably enacting what the guest (or another story character) must have thought, felt, or said at the time of the narrated event. It could perhaps be argued that the host's collaborative storytelling is a more active form of participation compared to recycling the story climax. Therefore, recycling the story climax falls along the very beginning of the creativity continuum because the host's near-repetition of the previous statement is not likely to be denied. I further suggest that collaborative storytelling, especially in the case of creative enactments, falls along the extreme end of the continuum for its level of involvement and creativity. However, the host's creative enactments possibly have a higher chance of being repaired or even challenged by the storyteller compared to other types of participation.

The host's allegorization of the guest's story, which often constitutes a multi-turn utterance, is a way of comforting and affiliating with the guest. By initiating the host's own personal experience, frequently marked with *ce to* 'I also' or *cehuy to* 'We

also', the host decreases the emotional distance between himself and the guest and builds a common ground between interlocutors.

The role of the TV host is commonly understood as a supervisor of the on-going TV program who mostly asks pre-fixed questions and guides the talk-in-progress as he/she had planned. However, I argue that this is not always the case. I demonstrated that the TV talk show host flexibly co-participates in constructing the teller's story world. Furthermore, his position as talk show host, or the story recipient, can even be shifted to the teller. Yet, the host still fulfills his institutional role by making the guest speaker comfortable and encouraging him/her to develop his/her responses. After all, 'the action being achieved' rather than the matter of 'who is telling the story' seems to decide the role of host/guest.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. Summary of the Chapters and Findings

My interest in studying reported speech and its multimodal characters initially began when I noticed its frequency in media discourse. Why do people employ reported speech when they are neither talking about a past event nor quoting a past locution? And, what do people accomplish through the employment of reported speech in talk-in-interaction? This dissertation investigates how a non-storytelling person (i.e., the host) in a television talk show setting employs reported speech and multimodal resources, including hand gestures, facial expressions, body orientation, gaze redirections, and voice quality, in order to accomplish a number of interactional goals. Specifically, I examined the talk show host's questioning, active listening, and coparticipating practices during the storytelling process.

In Chapter 2, I examined reported speech/thought situated within the talk show host's story-/response-eliciting questioning practices. In addition to using an interrogative form, questioning can be achieved by establishing the tellability of a teller's story. Four ways of establishing tellability through reported speech were identified. First, embedded reported speech can express inquiries that the non-co-present TV audience may have for the guest. Second, the host can display a less knowledgeable epistemic status through third-party reported speech. Third, the host can use reported speech to communicate the tellability of a guest's non-normative speech event. Fourth, the host provides a personal (or a hypothetical) story, which is embedded with instances of reported speech, to prompt the guest's version of the story.

In Chapter 3, I examined the host's use of quoted formulation in the third-turn position as a way to convey his active listening. In particular, I showed that the host's (partial) repeating/rephrasing formulations perform multiple interactional goals: they (1) display the host's immediate understanding and committed affiliation with the guest, (2) summarize what was said in earlier turns, (3) resolve misunderstandings caused by trouble sources, such as a lack of context or

ungrammatical items, and (4) allow the host to take back the conversational floor and close down the ongoing topic. There are also cases where the host teasingly produces overdone formulations (e.g., over-praise, over-critique) enacted through the guest's voice. In such cases, such third-turn formulations are expected to be either disconfirmed or downgraded by the guest. Thus, as I have argued, the host is an active participant rather than a mere laid-back listener.

In Chapter 4, I investigated the ways in which the talk show host signals his affiliative stance and involvement in the guest's storytelling through the employment of reported speech and embodied action, particularly focusing on story (near-) completion. Three different third-turn sequence types, which fall along a continuum of involvement and creativity, were examined and the following conclusions reached: first, the host dramatizes the story punch line by recycling the climax sequence with verbal and non-verbal enactments. The conversation participants' bodily conducts function as left-side boundary markers of reenactments and stroked embodied actions are retracted upon the completion of quoted speech. Second, the host jointly accomplishes storytelling by co-completing or assumingly enacting what the guest's story character must have thought, felt or said at the time of the narrated story. Third, the host builds common ground and decreases the emotional distance between himself and the guest by sharing his personal experience.

Through the analyses, I argued that the role of the talk show host is not just an institutional character who asks pre-fixed questions and guides the talk-in-progress as he/she had planned. Instead, the talk show host flexibly co-participates in constructing the teller's story world. Moreover, the host fulfills his role as a talk show host by making the guest speaker comfortable and encouraging him/her to develop his/her responses.

5.2. Implications of the Study

Viewing reported speech as a social action and conversational practice, the present study has aimed to contribute to the following two areas: studies on Korean reported speech and institutional talk –specifically, broadcast talk.

5.2.1. Korean reported speech

Previous researchers restricted the notion of 'quotation' within actual utterances (H. B. Choi, 1938, 1987; S.B. Lee, 1982; K. S. Nam, 1973) and reported thoughts (I. S. Kang, 1977; W. Huh, 1983, 1989; H. H. Lee, 1986; S. T. Kim, 1994). Therefore, they did not include self-quotations, conjectured or inferred reported speech and hypothetically quoted speech. Viewing reported speech as a creative linguistic resource to conduct various kinds of social actions, I examined instances of reported speech that were not only uttered, but also left unsaid. Unexpressed instances of reported speech include self-quotations, conjectures, inferences and even hypothetical utterances. For example, I analyzed quotes that the non-co-present party (i.e., the TV audience) would have said or thought at the time of the interview (Chapter 2.3); quotes that the interlocutor must have said, thought, or felt in the past (Chapter 2.5); quotes that the speaker him/herself may have uttered during the story event (Chapter 2.6; Chapter 4.5); quotes that are purposefully distorted for other interactional goals (Chapter 3.4); quotes that were just produced in the co-present interlocuter's previous turn(s) (Chapter 3.3.1; Chapter 4.3); and quotes that were inferably produced based on the story context (Chapter 4.4). In this respect, the present study deals with various kinds of direct reported speech that can be found in Korean spoken discourse. These variations are often concurrently produced with the speakers' embodied actions.

The second contribution of this study comes from the attention given to the multimodal character of reported speech. Traditional work on Korean reported speech was primarily concerned with its syntactic characteristics, grammaticalizing procedures and quotative markers (J.-H, Ahn, 2003; J.-Y. Kwon, 1998, K.-H. Lee, 2005, S.-H. Rhee, 2007b). More recent studies within the discourse or conversational analysis aim to reveal a discourse's functions (M.-S Kim, 2003; W.-P. Lee, 2005; S.-O. Sohn and M.-J. Park, 2003; M.-Y. Song, 2008) and multimodal characters (Y.-J. Park, 2009).

Building on recent interactional and conversational analysis work, this study closely examines how the speaker interactively employs embodied actions within the organization of reported speech, their function, and their interactional achievements. I demonstrated that embodied actions can be employed as a left-side boundary marker

and right-side boundary marker for reported speech and function as visible quotative markers (Chapters 2.4, 4.3). For example, the speaker's gaze-away from the interlocutor right before the initiation of reenactment and gaze-back to the interlocutor upon completion of the reenactment function as visible quotative markers. Embodied actions also indicate contextually omitted grammatical components (Chapters 2.6, 4.4); can deliver the speaker's epistemic stances (Chapters 2.5, 4.3 and 4.4); and can display the speaker's involvement and emotional attachment (Chapters 4.3, 4.4) in the interlocutor's story.

This study is also concerned with the relationship between 'who is being quoted' and the speaker's interactional goals. Particularly, four types of reported speech were examined: self-quotation, co-present party quotation, third-party quotation and unidentified quotation. The speakers decide to explicitly indicate where this information came from or to leave the source of information unexpressed depending on the content of their reports. The source of information is often specified when the speaker plays a "spokesperson" role for others (Chapter 2.3); communicates the tellability of an interlocutor's story (Chapter 2.5); solicits the interlocutor's version of the speaker's story (Chapter 2.6); or displays an immediate understanding and committed affiliation with the interlocutor (Chapter 3.3). When the source of information is left unsaid, the speaker's responsibility for engaging in reported speech is lessened (Chapter 2.4) or detached from the reported speech (Chapter 2.4). Likewise, the indication of 'who is being quoted' is strategically employed when the speaker attempts to bring up sensitive topics, hearsay rumors, and scandals.

5.2.2. Broadcast talks in Korea

Past media discourse studies were exhaustively focused on news editorials (W.-P. Lee, 2005), newspapers (W.-P. Lee, 2006, 2009), presidential election speeches (W.-P. Lee, 2007), television debates (G. Lim, 2001), political identities (W.-P. Lee, 2010), and political discourse (K.-S. Song, 2000). Most of these studies were interested in discovering these broadcast talks' embedded institutional character. Less strictly governed genres of broadcast talks such as celebrity talk shows, TV talk shows, and entertainment shows have received attention only very recently (M.-J. Jang, 2011; H. Ju, 2011; H.-R. Kim, 2011; M.-S. Kim, 2012; W.-P. Lee, 1999; J.-H. Park, 2007).

Building on this recent research, I concentrated on one specific type of TV talk show program for the present study. Following the sequential nature of the talk show program, I specifically focused on the host's questioning, listening and affiliating practices, and his institutional achievements through the employment of reported speech. The recipient's coparticipation can be analyzed in many different ways and at many different levels. Through empirical analysis, Chapter 2 reflects how the host conducts various types of questioning techniques, how he approaches sensitive topics, and how he effectively solicits stories and establishes the tellability of the guests' stories. Chapter 3 investigated how the host displays understanding, summarizes what the teller has said, clarifies vagueness, marks topic shifts, and conveys his epistemic stance. Chapter 4 analyzed how the host furthers the most interesting part of the story, co-tells the story-in-progress, shares common ground with the guest, and shows his affiliative attitude with the guest.

Overall, this present study presents empirical evidence of coparticipation within an institutional setting. However, the various levels of active recipiency are not limited within broadcast talk. This dissertation has attempted to show how the speaker conducts verbal and non-verbal behavior in talk-in-interaction. Specifically, I demonstrated how a particular linguistic device, namely reported speech, serves different functions and interactional purposes, and how the conversational and social circumstances affect how the host engages with the other participants. But, more importantly, this study contributes to the examination of reported speech within an conversation analysis framework by demonstrating how we can analyze the recipient's strategic uses of reported as an aspect of human social action.

5.3. Suggestions for Further Studies

The present study focused on native Korean speakers' coparticipating strategies through the non-narrative use of reported speech in story eliciting and story narrating phases. As this study has provided some significant findings on the actual syntactic constructions, coordination with bodily conduct, and interactional uses of reported speech in talk-in-interaction, I suggest that more research into reported speech occurring in various contexts may be a fruitful area of inquiry. It would be

valuable to examine the similarities and differences between native Korean and non-native Korean speakers' use of reported speech. This study included only one non-native Korean speaker's talk (See Sam's Extracts 4.5, 4.11, 4.12, 4.13). Although I did not include much non-native Korean data in this study, I observed non-native speakers' frequent use of reported speech in my data set as well as on other television talk shows. Interestingly, their uses of this particular linguistic device seem to disregard what Korean textbooks teach about quotative constructions. I believe that this comparative research can provide rich a resource for further investigation of reported speech and its interactional, conversational and pedagogical implications.

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