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Interaction, grammar, and stance in reported speech

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Sangbok Kim

2012

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Interaction, grammar, and stance in reported speech

by

Sangbok Kim

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Sung-ock Shin Sohn, Chair

Analyzing naturally-occurring conversational video data using the frameworks of interactional linguistics and discourse analysis, this dissertation addresses some of the issues related to the study of reported speech. For the purposes of this analysis, I define reported speech as the ways in which reporting speakers negotiate between the referential content of a reported utterance and the embodied form of speaking that displays their stance towards the reported character and his or her talk. The study aims to contribute to our common understanding of reported speech constructions by describing general, formal features of the constructions through a corpus-based analysis of video data, and analyzing Korean speakers' choices between the proximal deictic reporting verb *ile-* 'go like this' and the distal verb *kule-* 'say like that'.

Corpus-based analyses of the transcripts of the video data show that speakers use reported speech constructions during spoken interaction very differently than they do in written discourse. Due to the characteristics of spontaneous conversation, in which interlocutors constantly monitor each other's action, reporting speakers choose to use one mode of reported speech (e.g., direct speech) above another (e.g., indirect speech) according to the unfolding social situation. They frame reported speech using one reporting verb above the other, and quote the utterance of a single participant instead of a speech exchange where two or more participants are involved. Thus, the analysis of Korean conversational data suggests that speakers' grammatical construction of reported speech is locally and interactively organized rather than static and predetermined.

A detailed analysis of the interactional and sequential context in which the deictic reporting verbs are used shows that the selection of one deictic form over the other – a choice that allows speakers to negotiate between the referential meaning of the reported utterance and the embodied form (i.e. stance) – is made along with observable degrees of animation done by the reporting speaker. This shows that reporting speakers do not simply produce a stream of reported utterances, but also individuate the referent fused into it. The proximal verb *ile-* 'go like this' is used by reporting speakers to communicate with the addressees the embodied form of speaking being animated perceptually visible or immediate and temporally proximal 'inside the boundaries of the current interactive field.' The distal verb *kule-* 'say like that' is selected by reporting speakers to individuate and communicate with the addressees the referential meaning that is animated as occurring in the story world, being animated 'outside the boundaries of the current interactive field. The predominant occurrence of the deictic

reporting verbs in casual conversation shows, first, that the components fused into the reported utterance, such as the referential meaning and the embodied form, are not equally communicated among the interlocutors. Instead, one is foregrounded while the other is backgrounded (or vice versa) according to the unfolding talk in interaction. Second, the choice to employ one deictic reporting verb over the other is an interactional resource for both speakers and addressees to achieve this type of communicative goal.

The findings from this study of the interactional functions of the deictic reporting verbs in Korean conversation can shed light on how speakers in other languages make use of the referential meaning of reported speech and the embodied form of speaking that displays stance in communication.

The dissertation of Sangbok Kim is approved.

Schoichi Iwasaki

Hongyin Tao

Charles Goodwin

Sung-ock Shin Sohn, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2012

*To Yoonyung, Chaywoo and Jungwoo*



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## LIST OF GLOSS ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative case particle
AUX	Auxiliary verb
CONJ	Conjunctor
DAT	Dative case particle
DC	Declarative sentence type
FUT	Future tense
HEARSAY	Hearsay marker
HON	Subject honorific
IM	Imperative sentence type
IN	Indicative mood
NOM	Nominative case particle
NMN	Nominalizer
REL	Relativizer
PL	Plural particle
PRST	Present tense
PST	Past tense
QS	Interrogative sentence type
QT	Quotative particle

TOP            Topic-contrast particle

VOC            Vocative particle

## TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

- [ The point where overlapping talk starts
- ] The point where overlapping talk ends
- = contiguous utterances
- (0.5) length of silence in tenths of a second
- (.) micro-pause
- ? / , / . rising /continuing /falling intonation
- : sound stretch
- cut-off or self-interruption
- word underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis
- WOrd upper case indicates especially loud talk
- \_: inflected falling intonation contour
- ⋮: inflected rising intonation contour
- ↑ sharper rises in pitch than would be indicated by combination of colons and underlining
- >< compressed or rushed talk
- > immediately following talk is jump-started
- hhh laughter or breathing
- (hh) laughter occurring inside the boundaries of a word
- (( )) transcriber's remarks
- ( ) unintelligible stretch
- { } boundaries of reported utterance



**YALE ROMANIZATION TABLE OF KOREAN LETTERS *HANGEUL***

Korean alphabet (Consonants)	Phonemic value (IPA)	Phonetic value (IPA)	Yale	Korean alphabet (Vowels)	Phonemic value (IPA)	Phonetic value (IPA)	Yale
ㅂ	/p/	[p,b]	<b>p</b>	ㅣ	/i/	[i]	<b>i</b>
ㅃ	/ph/	[ph]	<b>ph</b>	ㅑ	/wi,y/	[wi,y]	<b>wi</b>
ㅍ	/pʰ/	[pʰ]	<b>pp</b>	ㅓ	/e/	[e]	<b>ey</b>
ㅌ	/t/	[t,d]	<b>t</b>	ㅕ	/je/	[je]	<b>yey</b>
ㅍ	/th/	[th]	<b>th</b>	ㅗ	/we/	[we]	<b>wey</b>
ㅑ	/tʰ/	[tʰ]	<b>tt</b>	ㅛ	/we, ø/	[we, ø]	<b>oy</b>
ㅓ	/s/	[sh]	<b>s</b>	ㅜ	/ɛ/	[ɛ]	<b>ay</b>
ㅆ	/ss/	[sʰ]	<b>ss</b>	ㅠ	/jɛ/	[jɛ]	<b>yay</b>
ㅈ	/c/	[c,j]	<b>c</b>	ㅝ	/wɛ/	[wɛ]	<b>way</b>
ㅊ	/ch/	[ch]	<b>ch</b>	ㅡ	/i/	[i]	<b>u</b>
ㅌ	/cʰ/	[cʰ]	<b>cc</b>	ㅟ	/ə/	[ə]	<b>e</b>
ㅋ	/k/	[k,g]	<b>k</b>	ㅠ	/jə/	[jə]	<b>ye</b>
ㆁ	/kh/	[kh]	<b>kh</b>	ㅡ	/wə/	[wə]	<b>we</b>
ㆁ	/kʰ/	[kʰ]	<b>kk</b>	ㅢ	/a/	[a]	<b>a</b>
ㄹ	/m/	[m]	<b>m</b>	ㅣ	/ja/	[ja]	<b>ya</b>
ㄴ	/n/	[n]	<b>n</b>	ㅤ	/wa/	[wa]	<b>wa</b>
ㅇ	/ŋ/	[ŋ]	<b>ng</b>	ㅥ	/u/	[u]	<b>wu</b>
ㄷ	/l/	[l,r]	<b>l</b>	ㅦ	/ju/	[ju]	<b>y(w)u</b>
ㅎ	/h/	[h]	<b>h</b>	ㅧ	/o/	[o]	<b>o</b>
				ㅨ	/jo/	[jo]	<b>yo</b>
				ㅩ	/i, i/	[i, i]	<b>uy</b>

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Focus of the study

The present study investigates some of the practices through which speakers of Korean quote the talk of another or themselves in talk-in-interaction. In our daily lives, we are often faced with the need to reproduce an utterance from another context (for example, from the past) while speaking to a co-present addressee to achieve some social purpose. We may quote another's talk to make an assessment of that talk and the person whose utterance is being delivered (e.g., as laughable) to the addressee. We may also quote our own prior utterances, produced in front of another in the past, in order to share past feeling with the addressee in the present social context. Therefore, what motivates us to use a reported speech practice at a particular moment in our social interactions with others is of great interest.

Voloshinov (1973) and Goffman (1981) both highlight how being a speaker and, especially, quoting the talk of another involves not just conveying the referential content of one's utterances, but also involves the production of an action done towards both the talk being reported and the person whose talk is quoted. Such an action includes the production of phenomena that extend beyond the stream of speech to also display the speaker's stance. Voloshinov (1973) claimed the following:

... the dynamic interrelationship of these two factors, the speech being reported (the other person's speech) and the speech doing the reporting (the author's speech). After all, the two actually do exist, function, and take shape only in their interrelation, and not on their own, the one apart from the other. The reported speech and the reporting context are but

the terms of a dynamic interrelationship. This dynamism reflects the dynamism of social interorientation in verbal ideological communication between people (within, of course, the vital and steadfast tendencies of that communication. (p. 119)

In the literature on reported speech, there has been a great deal of work on ways in which reported speech is delivered, including modes of reported speech (e.g., direct versus indirect speech), the issue of authenticity of reported content, types of reporting verbs, and social actions done through reported speech. However, there still remains a problem to be addressed regarding stancetaking phenomena in reported speech practices: how can we analyze the ways in which the reporting speaker's stance is displayed and communicated with the addressee? The present study aims to provide detailed analyses of stancetaking in reported speech by focusing on Korean conversation.

To describe stancetaking phenomena, this project focuses on the use of reporting verbs among various types of verbs, especially, on the deictic reporting verbs in opposition: the proximal reporting verb *ile-* 'go like this' and the distal verb *kule-* 'say like that'. I will show that these deictic verbs are crucial linguistic devices used by Korean speakers to communicate both the referential content of the reported utterance and the stance that is taken toward both the reported talk and the reported speaker.

The study also aims to provide comprehensive formal descriptions of reported speech constructions in Korean that were commonly found naturally occurring face-to-face conversations. Such comprehensive formal descriptions have not been done in the literature of reported speech in Korean. As a result, some grammatical forms (e.g., the deictic reporting verb *ile-* 'go like this') in reported speech constructions that appear only in spoken discourse are often



(incorrectly) treated in the literature as equivalent to those used in written discourse (e.g., the reporting verb *malha-* ‘say’). One major goal of the current project is thus to understand the function of Korean deictic reporting verbs that only appear in spontaneous conversation.

## 1.2 Research questions

The present study will answer the following three research questions:

1. How do reporting speakers formulate reported speech constructions in spontaneous talk-in-interaction? What features of reported speech constructions differ between spoken discourse and written discourse? This question will be discussed in chapter 4.
2. How do deictic reporting verbs function differently from non-deictic verbs? When and for what purposes do Korean speakers choose to use the proximal reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ above the distal one *kule-* ‘say like that’? Put another way, what action does the selected deictic verb help the speaker accomplish in that reporting context? Chapter 5 will deal with these questions.
3. Speakers frequently quote more than a single character’s talk. In other words, they deliver a speech exchange in which two or more characters talk in a story event, termed a ‘reported dialogue’ in the present study. While quoting such an exchange, speakers alternate between the proximal reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ and the distal one *kule-* ‘say like that’ in a seemingly regular pattern. What interactional purposes are served by this practice? This question will be answered in chapter 6.

### 1.3 Organization of the study

The study is organized as follows. Chapter 2 reviews previous studies done on reported speech in Korean and other languages. Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical frameworks of the study and describes the database used for the study. Chapter 4 provides formal descriptions of reported speech constructions in Korean based on the transcripts of video data, and gives background information for the main analytical chapters that follow. Chapter 5 analyzes ways in which reporting speakers formulate reported speech constructions and convey both the referential meaning of the reported utterance and their own stance through the choice between the two deictic reporting verbs *ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that’. Chapter 6 analyzes the ways that speakers deliver a speech exchange among reported individuals and take a stance towards the talk being reported. Chapter 7 concludes the analysis and makes suggestions for future studies.

## Chapter 2: Literature review

### 2.1 Previous studies on reported speech

In recent years, there have been four main areas of research on reported speech: modes of reported speech, types of reporting verbs, the authenticity of reported content, and what social actions are accomplished by reporting speakers towards reported content and the character(s) in the reported story event.

#### 2.1.1 Modes of reported speech

Many studies have been done on the basis of the quoted content to describe modes of reported speech, such as direct, indirect, and/or quasi-direct speech.

Structural linguistic studies divide reported speech into direct, indirect and/or quasi-direct speech, based on the content delivered by the reporting speaker. Direct reported speech is considered to be the exact words of the reported speaker (Jespersen 1924; Li 1986), whereas indirect reported speech is a summarized or modified version of the character's original utterance from the reporting speaker's point of view (Coulmas 1986; Lee and Short 1981). Thus, in direct reported speech, all deictic references (e.g., personal, spatial, temporal) are anchored to the reported world, as in Excerpt 1.

(1) M. Goodwin (1990: 243)

19 Chopper: Lemme~tell~ya.=Guess what. (0.8) We  
20 was comin' home from practice, (0.4)  
21 and, three boys came up there (.) and

22            asked~us~for~money~and~Tony~did~like~  
 23            this. (0.6)  
 24            \*hh ((raising hands up))  
 25        →    “I AIN’T GOT n(h)(hh) o (m(h)oney)”  
 26 Pete:        \*hh Hah~hah!

The personal pronoun ‘I’ used in direct reported speech at line 25 is co-referential with Tony, the individual who produced the original utterance in the story event. In indirect speech, however, all deictic expressions are translated into those that are suitable for the reporting situation, as in Excerpt 2.

(2) [Rahman: II-4] (simplified) in Clift and Holt (2007:4)

01 Jenny:    An’ I:van had said to me in the mo:rning  
 02            → would I run’im through to Saltburn .hh

In Excerpt 2, the pronoun ‘I’ refers to Jenny, the current speaker who is reporting Ivan’s past utterance from the reporting situation.

Some of the structural linguistic studies in this area (e.g., Banfield, 1973, 1982; Coulmas, 1986; Yule et al, 1992) have focused on quasi-direct or free indirect speech that contains mixed contents of both direct and indirect reported speech. In quasi-direct speech, for example, the backshifted tenses and third person pronouns of indirect speech are combined with the direct speech versions of non-shifted deictic expressions of time and place, inverted questions, vocatives, and interjections (Yule et al., 1992). An example of this can be seen in Excerpt 3.

(3) [NB: II: 2: 10] in Clift and Holt (2007:4)

01 Nancy: ... I only had o:ne (0.3) .hhhhhh (0.4)  
02           dero:gatory remark? if: you c'd call it  
03           tha:t a:nd ah, h (0.6) u-it ca:me from a  
04 →       gi:rl (0.2) and she said she fe:lt thet  
05 →       I: would of gott'n more out'v the cla:ss  
06 →       if I hed not been en eVOLder, h w'tever  
07 →       sh'meant by tha:t, .hhhhh u-but that  
08 →       ah:::, (0.5) I will c'ntinue t'remember  
09 →       th'class en gro:w from it. Er sump'n (.)

In lines 4–9, the pronouns are anchored to the reporting situation, but ‘eVOLder’ (line 6) seems to be directly reported. In lines 8–9, ‘I will c’ntinue t’remember th’class en gro:w from it’ appears also to be directly reported. A number of functionally-oriented studies categorized reported speech into direct and indirect speech, based on whether reporting speakers purported to convey either the referential meaning of reported speech or both the referential meaning and the original form of speaking.

According to Li (1986), direct reported speech is considered to convey both the form (e.g., intonation, gestures, facial expressions) and the referential content of the reported character’s original utterance. In indirect speech, the reporter intends to convey only the referential meaning of the reported utterance that originates from the reported character, and the form of speaking belongs to the reporting speaker. Thus, according to Li, if the quoted utterance is presented with an angry voice in direct speech, then such anger belongs to the reported speaker. However, if such anger is embedded in indirect speech mode, then that anger belongs to the reporting speaker as a comment on the reported utterance.

In a similar vein, Coulmas (1986:2) proposed that direct reported speech “is not the reporter’s speech, but remains the reported speaker’s speech whose role is played by the reporter.” Indirect reported speech is thus related from the current speaker’s point of view.

However, the ways in which modes of reported speech are distinguished using different structural and functional features have been questioned by recent empirical work. Analyses of reported speech in interaction have revealed that the structural and functional distinctions between, for example, direct speech and indirect speech are not always clear-cut. In her study in German ordinary conversation, Günthner (1997) demonstrated that both direct and indirect speech, to the contrary of Li’s (1986) and Coulmas’ (1986) claims, can incorporate expressive features (e.g., angry voice) of the reporting speaker into the quoted content. Günthner (1997) demonstrated how, in an instance of hearsay report, a reporting speaker used indirect speech (indicated by subjunctive mood marker) with “affectively marked prosody,” whereas the reporting speaker used direct speech with “unmarked prosody”.<sup>1</sup> Bolden (2004), examining Russian conversation, also showed that the boundaries between reported speech and the other parts of the non-reported talk may not be clear-cut at all, mainly due to what she termed “fading-out”. She proposed that fading-out may serve various interactional functions, such as marking potential problems of alignment or evidentiality. Thus, a speaker may begin reported speech with what appears to be direct speech, but then switch to indirect speech to achieve some interactional end.

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<sup>1</sup> Although this phenomenon occurs in a speech exchange or dialogue in which two characters’ utterances are reported in turns in a sequence, and thus the speaker employs such modes of reported speech as “rhetorical devices” (p.264), it provides a clear evidence for rejecting the structural and functional perspectives.

The present study will look at these three modes of reported speech (direct, indirect, and quasi-direct) to examine the structural description of reported speech in Korean. I argue here that any mode of reported speech can convey both the referential content and the form of the reported utterance. I additionally argue that when reported speech is framed with a deictic reporting verb in spoken discourse, the form is more focused than the referential content or vice versa.

### 2.1.2 Types of reporting verbs

The concern with different modes of reported speech has led to scholarly interest in the various types of reporting verbs, sometimes called “quotatives” (Mathis and Yule, 1994), and their functions.

Lucy (1993) showed that the reporting verb *ki-* ‘go like this’ in Yucatec Maya, an indigenous language of southeastern Mexico, is used to simply present the whole act of speaking done by the reported speaker, though the verb is not used with the intention of predicating about predication. And thus the reporting verb *ki-* always introduces direct mode of speech.

Romaine and Lange (1991) find that *be like* in English and *ich so* ‘I’m like’ and *er so* ‘he’s like’ in German also introduce a direct mode of speech since they focus on presenting the form of speaking.

Lucy (1993) also argued that when special reporting verbs (rather than more “ordinary” saying verbs like English *say*) are used for reported speech, they not only share the general meaning of the quoted utterance, but also foreground different aspects of the conversation than the more “ordinary” verbs (e.g., a specific form embedded into the quoted content). For example, in Yucatec Maya, the reporting verb *ki-* ‘go like this’ not only shares the general meaning of ‘a’

*al* ‘say’, but also contrasts with it in what is foregrounded by the form. In English, *be like* not only shares the general meaning of the canonical verb *say*, but also contrasts with it in representing the internal thought of the reported character (Blyth et al., 1990; Romaine and Lange, 1991; Ferrara and Bell, 1995; Tagliamonte and Hudson, 1999; Macaulay, 2001; Cukor-Avila 2002).

It seems that the selection of a reporting verb can determine what mode of speech is available to the speaker (at least in a SVO-language). In addition, the use of one reporting verb instead of another can be an interactional move with metapragmatic importance (Günthner, 1997; Lucy, 1993; Silverstein, 1985).

The present study will demonstrate that the proximal deictic reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ only introduces direct reported speech, due to its deictic property. Chapter 4 will illustrate the reflexive or metapragmatic functions of reporting verbs in Korean as a whole.

### **2.1.3 The authenticity of reported content**

Among many previous studies, there is a unanimous view that indirect reported speech lacks authenticity. For indirect speech is treated as a mere summary or a gist of previous utterance from the reporting speaker.

However, when it comes to the authenticity of direct reported speech, there are two contrasting positions. One position is that direct reported speech is more accurate than indirect reported speech and thus shows a greater fidelity to the original source of information (Bally, 1914; Lips, 1926; Leech, 1974; Philips, 1986), since the former “is not the reporter’s speech, but remains the reported speaker’s speech whose role is played by the reporting speaker” (Coulmas, 1986:2). Direct speech is thus treated as a verbatim reenactment of an actual previous speech in



that it quotes not only the original referential meaning, but also the original form (e.g., prosody, non-verbal messages). Indirect speech, then, is seen as merely a restatement of previously-occurring speech.

The other position is that the original content, in direct speech as well as in indirect speech, gets altered by the reporting speaker in the reporting context. Voloshinov (1971, 1973) first pointed this out:

Reported speech is regarded by the speaker as an utterance belonging to *someone else*, an utterance that was originally totally independent, complete in its construction, and lying outside the given context. Now, it is from this independent existence that reported speech is transposed into an authorial context while retaining its own referential content and at least the rudiments of its own linguistic integrity, its original constructional independence. The author's utterance, in incorporating the other utterance, brings into play syntactic, stylistic, and compositional norms for its partial assimilation, that is, its adaptation to the syntactic, compositional, and stylistic design of the author's utterance, while preserving (if only in rudimentary form) the initial autonomy (in syntactic, compositional, and stylistic terms) of the reported utterance, which otherwise could not be grasped in full. (p.116)

Voloshinov claims that that the original content in the reported context is transformed by the reporting speaker into the reporting context, and thus it is inevitably altered anyway. Tannen (1986) also pointed out that reporting speakers cannot exactly replay what the original speaker said, due to their limited memory of the original event. Mayes (1990) investigated ways in which

reporting speakers quote another's talk. Based on her corpus, she claimed that at least 50 percent, out of 320 direct quotes, could be viewed as doubtful.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the matter of authenticity of reported speech, the present study supports Voloshinov's position. That is, the truth value of any speech mode gets altered in the reporting context. Chapter 4 will show an excerpt in which the direct speech mode does not contain any truth value, but instead is used to deliver only how the reported utterance was originally said, and to convey the reporter's evaluation toward the reported character in the reporting context.

#### **2.1.4 Doing social actions through reported speech**

Much conversation analytic work has investigated what reported speech does in social interaction, following Voloshinov's (1971,1973) and Goffman's (1981) claims. Particularly relevant is Goffman's (1981:227) proposal that reported speech is a natural upshot of a more general phenomenon in interaction: shifts in "footing", defined as "the alignment of an individual to a particular utterance...." Speakers constantly change their footing during social interaction, particularly during reported speech events. The various shifted roles of a speaker are "laminated" (Goffman, 1974, 1981) on what Goffman called the *production format* of an utterance.

Using Goffman's concept of footing, M. Goodwin (1990), in her study on African American children's talk, revealed that reported speech can be used to make contentious comments by a third party relevant to the children targeted by those comments.

Much work in conversation analysis has focused on social actions done through reported speech (Holt, 2007). For example, as direct reported speech is understood as replaying the original locution of an utterance, it can be used to provide evidence to support the reporting

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<sup>2</sup> For this reason, Tannen uses the term "constructed dialogue" instead of reported speech.

speaker's claim (for example, at court trials). Clayman and Heritage (2002) showed that during news interviews, interviewers use direct reported speech to detach their own responsibility in asking a serious question to their interviewees.

Drawing upon these previous studies, the present study will analyze how speakers, through shifts in footing, display their stance towards the quoted speech and how to make the recipients align with them in the reporting context.

## **2.2 Previous studies of reported speech in Korean**

Recent work on reported speech in Korean has ranged from the analysis of lexical and syntactic phenomena (e.g., the taxonomy of quotative verbs, the structural distribution and properties of different forms of reported speech and their syntactic functions) to studies of its discursive functions in everyday social interaction.

### **2.2.1 Structural and functional approaches**

Most previous studies of traditional Korean grammar from a formal linguistics perspective have focused on the taxonomy of quotative verbs, such as canonical verbs of saying (e.g., *say*), psycho-cognitive verbs (e.g., *think*, *believe*), and decoding verbs (e.g., *hear*). Such work has examined the appearance of these verbs in the syntactic matrix clause dependant on the reported content (P. Lee 1993), their grammaticalization with the quotative particle *-ko* (a complementizer), and topics that similarly overlook the deictic reporting verbs examined in the present study. The deictic verbs discussed here have also been excluded from the list of reporting verbs (J. Suh, 1996; P. Lee, 1993; S. Kim, 1999). Only a few studies have mentioned the appearance of either one or both of these deictic verbs as reporting verbs (J. Shin, 1998; M.

Yang, 1998). However, the primary concern of this research was not to address any interactional functions of the deictic reporting verbs in talk in interaction. Rather, they treat these deictic verbs as alternatives for the canonical verb of saying, *malha-* ‘say’, or its grammaticalized form *ha-* ‘say’, on the basis of statistical results from a large collection of corpora or the researchers’ own invented sentences.

### **2.2.2 Discourse analytic approach**

M. Kim (2006) adopts a discourse analytic framework to show how, in ordinary conversation, a speaker manipulates and shifts between alternate evidential markers as an interactional resources to negotiate or justify an adopted stance, to distribute responsibility for one’s action, to mark transitions in the on-going discourse and interaction, or to reorganize the participation framework of the interaction. Of most relevance to the present study is the way that she compared the functions of the hearsay evidential *-tay*, the clausal connective *-myense*, and the quotative particle *-ko* as marking different stances and interactional roles using Goffman’s (1981) categorization of the speaker.

S. Sohn and M. Park (2003) examined the functional contrast of two Korean indirect quotative particles (the short form *-tay* ‘hearsay’ and its long form *-tako kule/ha-* ‘say’) in formal and informal discourse. One finding was that the short form *-tay* incorporates the speaker’s epistemic stance (i.e., of inaccessible information) into – but does not explicitly refer to – the quoted message, while the long form *-tako kule/ha-* “frames” (Goffman, 1974) its propositional content. In addition, the two quotatives show stylistic variation that is interactionally motivated, as the short form *-tay* appears more frequently in informal conversations than its long form. Compared to structural approaches to reported speech, these

studies provide valuable insights into the interactive nature of Korean quotatives in naturally occurring conversation, though their scope is limited to indirect speech.

More recently, Y. Park (2009) examined how parties in conversation employ different grammatical structures, such as the preference for minimized grammar (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979) in interaction with different multimodal resources or “semiotic resources” (C. Goodwin, 2002) while quoting different characters in their talk. In Park’s data, the participants tailor multimodal resources to the specific activities engaged with by co-present parties. For example, she finds that quotations of self and other lacked overt grammatical markers in the talk, instead employing such alternative resources as a wide range of sequential, vocal and embodied resources to manage the reporting activity. When a non-present individual is being quoted, quotative markers and laminator verbs are more frequent, not because multimodal resources are limited in the interaction, but because the parties were engaged in a different activity of stance display. The present study draws upon these previous studies using the conversation analytic framework, and examines one area that they have not yet looked at: the interactional functions of the deictic reporting verbs in direct, indirect, and quasi-direct modes of speech. While the deictic reporting verbs examined here predominantly occur in naturally occurring conversation, they have never been paid attention to in the literature of reported speech in Korean.

## **Chapter 3: Theoretical frameworks, data and analysis**

### **3.1. Theoretical frameworks of the study**

The major theoretical framework of the present study is interactional linguistics, an interaction-based methodology for analyzing such linguistic phenomena as discourse particles, connectives, word order, deixis, and prosody (Ford and Wagner, 1996; Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson, 1996; Selting and Couple-Kuhlen, 2001; Ford, Fox, and Thompson, 2002). Interactional linguistics is an interdisciplinary and cross-linguistic approach to grammar and interaction in the fields of discourse-functional linguistics, conversational analysis, and linguistic anthropology, and frames talk-in-interaction as an emerging product in human social interaction. The grammatical systems of specific languages are thus as a set of resources to accomplish interactional goals (Selting and Couple-Kuhlen, 2001). The theoretical framework of interactional linguistics contrasts with dominant approaches to linguistics during the twentieth century which examine either the form of language per se or the use of language of ideal individual speakers – isolated from the hearers – who produce grammatically perfect sentences (Couper-Kuhlen, E. and M. Selting, 2001).

Interactional linguistics, however, analyzes the organization of talk, social actions, and participation frameworks in naturally occurring conversational data and shows that linguistic structures and patterns, such as sentence (C. Goodwin, 1979), clauses (Ford, 1993), complementation (Tanaka, 2001), particles (Sorjonen, 1996), anaphora (Fox, 1987) and others, are interactional accomplishments achieved through coordination among co-participants of the talk. Language is thus seen as emerging in the moment-by-moment unfolding of talk-in-interaction.

In interactional linguistics, grammar is understood as one of the resources that participants use to do social interactional work (Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson, 1996). That is, interactional linguistics understands grammar as a resource for carrying out interactional actions and particular types of activities or social behaviors. For example, studies on the organization of turn-taking in conversation reveal that grammar is one of the key organizational resources in building and recognizing turn construction units (Schegloff, 1996, 2007; Ford and Thompson, 1996; Lerner, 1996). Grammar also organizes ways in which speakers manage “repair” in conversation (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 1987). The study on “prospective indexicals” (C. Goodwin, 1996) and some of its following studies (e.g., K. H. Kim and K. H. Suh, 2002) show ways in which grammar serves to the organization of the interactive work among participants in an upcoming activity, such as problem-solving or collaboration in identifying referents.

Interactional linguistics also views grammar as “an outcome of social interaction” (Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson, 1996:38). That is, grammar is shaped in return by social interaction that grammar organizes. Turn-taking organization, sequences, activities, participation frameworks, stances, trouble, expectations, and various contingencies emerging in the course of the interaction influence a shape of grammar (Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson, 1996). In addition to viewing grammar as a resource for interaction and an outcome of interaction, interactional linguistics further sees grammar as part of the essence of interaction itself (i.e., inherently interactional) (Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson, 1996:38–41). Grammar is a coordinated achievement of participants of talk-in-interaction, based on mutual on-going analysis of emerging talk, actions, and participation frameworks.

Based on these underlying principles of interactional linguistics, the present study analyzes the intricate relationship between grammar and talk-in-interaction observed in the use of different deictic reporting verbs in reported speech in Korean conversation.

This study also analyzes multimodal resources or “semiotic resources” (C. Goodwin, 2000) such as prosody, gesture, posture/orientation, and gaze, that are inseparable from the ways in which talk and action are organized. Extensive studies of the relationship between language and multimodal resources show that talk and multimodal resources mutually elaborate each other, and participants monitor such resources to organize and coordinate their own actions (C. Goodwin, 1999; LeBaron and Streeck, 2000; Linell, 2009; Streeck, 1993). For example, C. Goodwin (2007a, 2007b) and C. Goodwin and M. Goodwin (1987) emphasize the role of hearers who significantly contribute to speakers’ multimodal modifications of on-going utterances and projections of next turns.

Utilizing a similar focus on semiotic resources, the present study aims to provide a detailed and comprehensive account of the organization of reported speech in Korean conversation.

### **3.2. Data**

The present study makes exclusive use of naturally-occurring face-to-face conversational video data in Korean. The data for this study consists of ordinary conversations among native Korean speakers who live in the U.S. for work or academic study. These participants ranged in age from their twenties to sixties. The conversations were recorded beginning in 2005, and each involved either two parties or multiple parties. The database consists of about two hundred hours of face-to-face conversations, such as 1) talk among mutual friends at restaurants, bars, soccer



fields, home, or birthday parties; 2) casual talk between teachers and parents after school; and 3) informal discussions between soccer players discussing a game.

From the collection of the data, 17 hours of interaction consisting of 26 separate conversations, have been transcribed, and the phenomena for reported speech in the present study (i.e., oral proposal) have been observed from them.

All the data are transcribed according to conventions commonly used for conversation analytic research as developed by Gail Jefferson (1984).

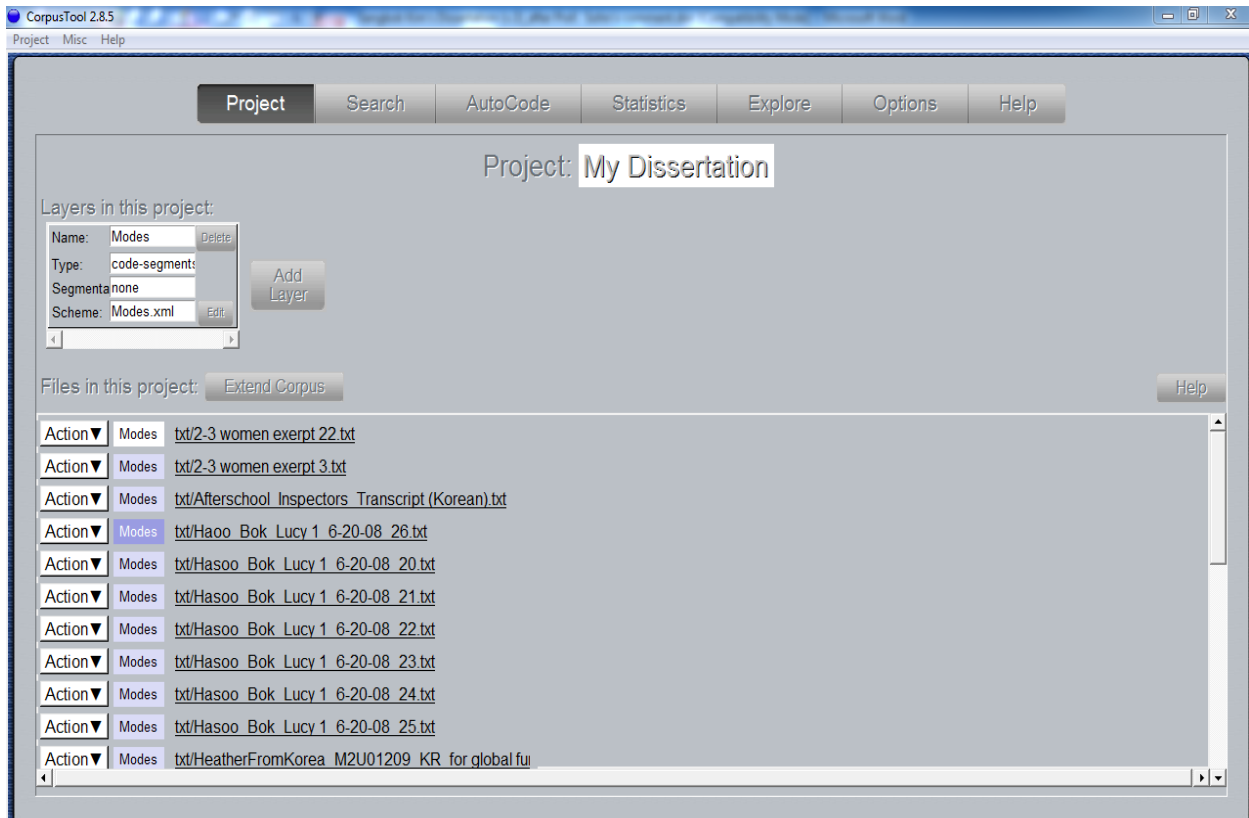
Korean sentences are Romanized according to the Yale system, and the quoted content in any modes of reported speech (both linguistic and non-linguistic expressions) is indicated with curly brackets, { }, to show the boundary between the reported and reporting utterances, although this boundary is sometimes not clear-cut. Under the Romanized sentences, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are provided to give information about the meanings and grammatical properties of individual words and parts of words. The grammatical descriptions of Korean morphemes are based on H. S. Lee (1991), H. M. Sohn (1999), and a modified version of both to fit the grammatical analysis for the present study. Under the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, the English translation is given. The sentential elements (such as noun phrases and predicates), which are often omitted or left unexpressed in the Korean transcript because the discourse context makes the sentence easily understandable, are presented inside parenthesis, ( ), in the English translation.

The original Korean transcript is also provided separately from Romanized sentences, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and English translation so that Korean speaking readers can have direct visual access to the utterances.

### 3.3 Analysis of the corpus data

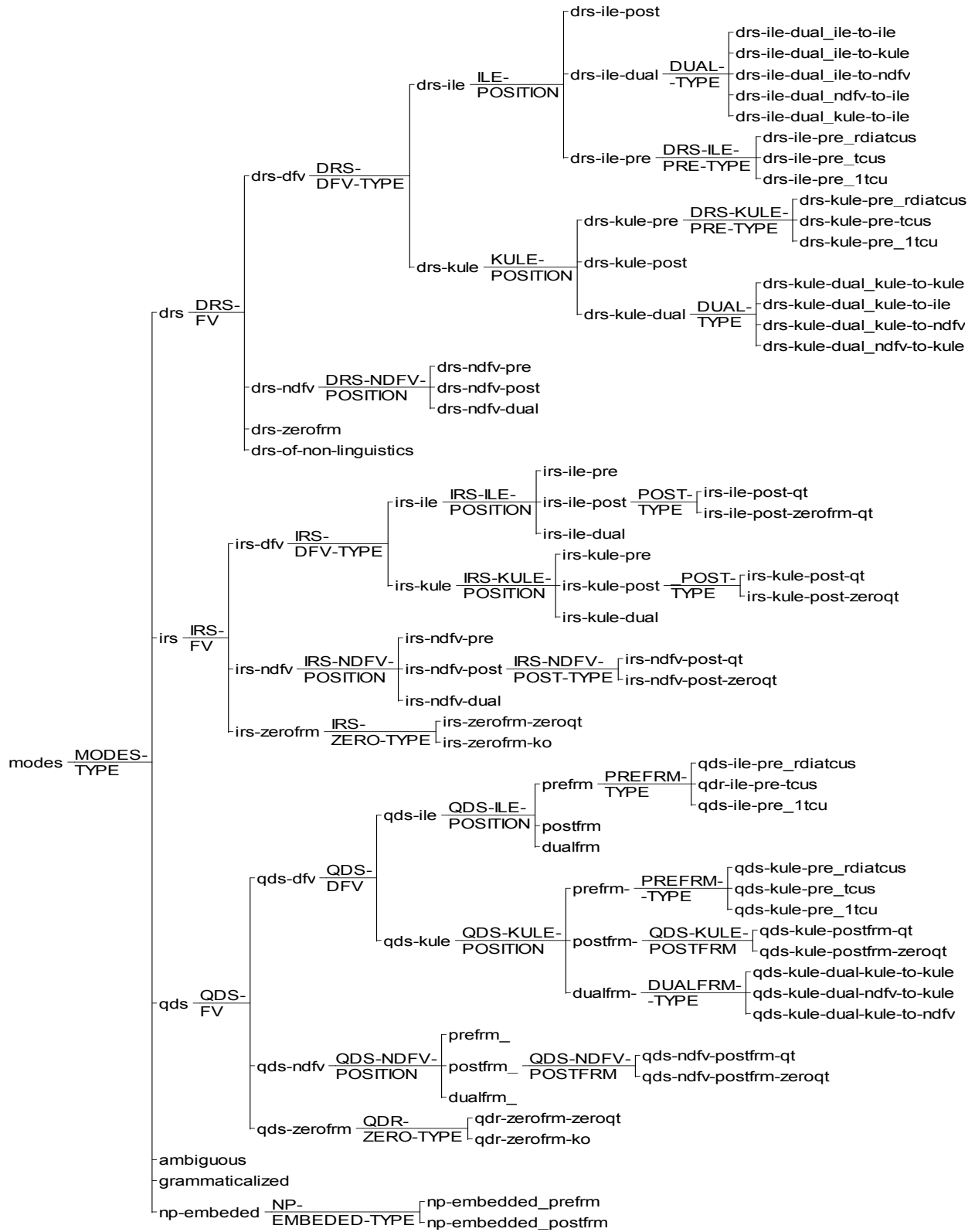
Here I provide a quantitative analysis of the transcripts of the video data produced using the UAM CorpusTool (Version 2.8.5), which allows the users to annotate texts and images. It provides two options for analysis: document coding and segment coding. In ‘document coding,’ the document (text or image) as a whole is assigned features. For example, these features could represent the register of the document (field, tenor, mode), or text-type. The present study used ‘segment coding’ in which the analyst could select segments (i.e., reported speech constructions) within the text files, and assign features (e.g., direct reported speech, indirect reported speech) to each of the segments, as in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Layers of reported speech constructions in UAM CorpusTool



The segments were further specified as sub-features or layers (e.g., deictic framing verbs, non-deictic framing verbs), as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Layers of features in UAM CorpusTool



ABBREVIATIONS:

**dfv** = deictic framing verb

**drs** = direct reported speech

**dual** = dual-framing

**dualfrm** = dual-framing

**dual\_ile-to-ile** indicates that *ile-* appears both *before* and *after* reported utterance, as in dual-framing.

**dual\_ile-to-kule** indicates that speakers start to frame reported utterance with *ile-* and then reframe it with *kule-*, as in dual-framing.

**dual\_ile-to-ndfv** indicates that speakers start to frame reported utterance with *ile-* and then reframe it with a non-deictic verb, as in dual-framing.

**dual\_ndfv-to-ile** indicates that speakers start to frame reported utterance with a non-deictic verb and then reframe it with *ile-*, as in dual-framing.

**dual\_kule-to-ile** indicates that speakers start to frame reported utterance with *kule-* and then reframe it with *ile-*, as in dual-framing

**ile** = *ile-* ‘go like this’

**irs** = indirect reported speech

**kule** = *kule-* ‘say like that’

**ndfv** = non-deictic framing verb

**post** = post-framing

**postfram** = post-framing verb

**pre** = pre-framing

**prefrm** = pre-framing verb

**pre\_rdiatcus** indicates that speakers produce more than one turn construction units, as in pre-framing of reported dialogue.

**qds** = quasi-direct speech

**zero** = zero framing

**zerofrm** = zero-framing verb

**pre\_tcus** indicates that speakers produce more than one turn construction units, as in pre-framing of a single reported utterance.

**pre\_1tus** indicates that speakers produce one turn construction unit, as in pre-framing of a single reported utterance.

**kule-to-kule** indicates that *kule-* appears both *before* and *after* reported utterance, as in dual-framing.

**qt** indicates that the quotative particle *-ko* appears at the end of reported reported utterance.

**zeroqt** indicates that the quotative particle *-ko* does not appears at the end of reported utterance.

The findings from the corpus analysis will be explained further in chapter 4.

## Chapter 4: Reported speech constructions in spoken Korean

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide formal descriptions of ‘reported speech constructions’<sup>3</sup> in Korean, based on the transcripts from video data of naturally occurring face-to-face conversations. In the literature on Korean linguistics, previous studies have described reported speech constructions occurring in a wide range of contexts, including intuitive sentences, written discourse data, or audio-based transcripts from telephone and face-to-face conversations.

The ways in which speakers quote another’s talk in naturally occurring conversations are somewhat different from what previous studies have described. Therefore, formal descriptions of reported speech constructions that appear in naturally occurring face-to-face conversations are essential to understand phenomena that will be analyzed in the following chapters of the present study.

The present chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.2 describes the morpho-syntactic descriptions of reported speech constructions. Section 4.3 introduces reporting verb types. Section 4.4 introduces modes of reported speech and their formal and functional differences. Section 4.5 introduces several ways of framing ‘reported speech’, such as postframing, preframing, dual framing, and zero framing. Section 4.6 summarizes the chapter.

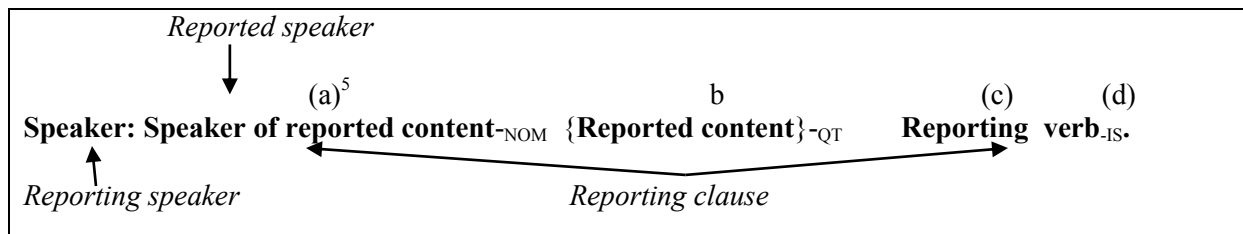
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<sup>3</sup> The present study will use the term ‘reported speech construction’ (cf. Voloshinov, 1973) to refer to the whole construction, including both the reported content and the reporting clause.

## 4.2 Morpho-syntactic descriptions of reported speech constructions

In Korean, reported content is embedded into the reporting clause, as indicated below with the curly bracket. Syntactically, reported content is thus the complement of a reporting verb in the reporting clause, as in Figure 3.

Figure 3. The structure of reported speech constructions<sup>4</sup>



In reported speech, the speaker of reported content or the reported speaker (i.e., the syntactic subject of a reporting verb) is syntactically optional, as indicated in Figure 3(a). Unlike in written discourse, reporting speakers in spoken discourse often drop the reported speaker when the latter is understood among interlocutors in the conversational context. Reported content, can be either linguistic expression (e.g., word, phrase, clause or sentence) or non-linguistic expression (e.g., gesture, facial display, sound), as seen in Figure 3(b). Reported content may or may not be suffixed by the quotative particle (QT) *-(i)lako* or *-ko*. In spoken speech, the quotative particle optionally appears to mark the boundary between reported and reporting discourse in direct, indirect or quasi-direct speech. In written ‘reported speech constructions,’

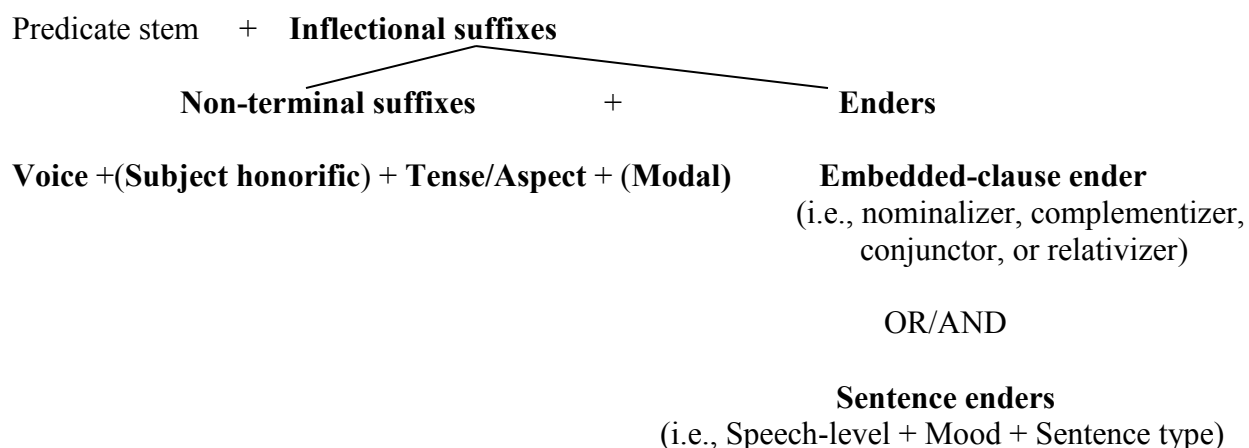
<sup>4</sup> NOM (Nominative case particle), QT (Quotative particle), IS (Inflectional suffixes)

<sup>5</sup> Parenthesis ‘( )’ indicates that the target inside it is optionally dropped out.



the quotative particle is obligatorily used for both direct reported speech and indirect reported speech (H. Sohn, 1998: 322-326; J. Suh, 1996: 1343).<sup>6</sup> This is because in written discourse, the writer is limited to purely linguistic forms (i.e., quotative particles and/or quotation marks) to mark the boundary between reporting and reported speech. However, in spoken discourse, a reporting speaker has various resources to do the same work, such as prosody, gestures, facial displays, and shifting voice between reporting and reported speakers. As in Figure 3(c) shows, reporting verbs are often dropped in direct reported speech, indirect reported speech, or quasi-direct speech. Lastly, various kinds of optional and obligatory ‘inflectional suffixes’ (IS), as seen in figure 3(d) above, are attached to the stem of a predicate (i.e., reporting verb), as in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Inflectional suffixes (Modified from H. Lee, 1989; H. Sohn, 1999:233)



<sup>6</sup> Quasi-direct speech was not introduced in the previous studies.

Non-terminal suffixes vary in whether they are active voice, passive voice, or causative voice. The active voice is unmarked or has a zero form, and the passive and causative voices are marked with their relevant forms, *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki* and *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*, *-wu*, *-chu*, respectively. There is only one subject honorific, *-(u)si*, which optionally appears when the subject of a sentence is honored by the speaker. There are four tenses (neutural *zero form*, present *-n/-nun* or *zero form*, past *-ss/-ess/-ass*, future *-(u)l*) and three aspects (simple *zero form*, progressive *-ko iss*, perfect *-ess ess/-ass ess*). There are two optional modals, intentional *-keyss* and prospective *-(u)li*. When they all occur in a predicate, they keep the order as shown in Figure 4 above.

An embedded-clause ender occurs when a subordinate clause is embedded into its main clause. When a nominal clause is embedded, a nominalizer (e.g., *-(u)m*, *-ki*) is attached to the predicate of the clause. When a complement clause is embedded, a complementizer (e.g., *-e/-a*; *-torok* ‘so that’) is attached to the predicate of the clause. When there are two verbs involved, for example, V1(Main V.) + V2(Aux.V), an embedded-clause ender is suffixed at V1 and sentence enders suffixed at V2.

Sentence enders consist of three categories: speech level, mood, and sentence type. In the categories of mood, which is frequently coalesced into single-syllable units (H. Sohn, 1999:234), there are indicative (e.g., *-ni*, *-nun*), retrospective (i.e., *-te*), and requestive (e.g., *-si*). A brief summary of speech level and sentence type suffixes are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Inflectional suffixes of speech level and sentence type

4 Sentence Types	4 Speech Levels			
	Addressee honorific		Addressee non-honorific	
	Formal (or Deferential)	Informal (or Polite)	Formal (or Plain)	Informal (or Soft casual; intimate)
<b>Declarative</b>	-ㅂ니다/습니다. -pnita/supnita  <i>철수 씨는 책을 읽습니다.</i> <i>Mr. Chelsu. reads a book.</i>	-어요/아요. -eyo/ayo  <i>철수 씨는 책을 <u>읽어요</u>.</i> <i>Mr. Chelsu reads a book.</i>	-(는)(ㄴ)다. -(nun)(n)ta  <i>(철수는) 책을 <u>읽는다</u>.</i> <i>Chelsu reads a book.</i>	-어/아. -e/a  <i>(철수는) 책을 <u>읽어</u>.</i> <i>Chelsu reads a book.</i>
<b>Interrogative (Rising intonation)</b>	~ㅂ니까?/습니까? -pnikka/supnikka  <i>철수 씨는 책을 <u>읽습니까?</u></i> <i>Does Mr. Chelsu read a book?</i>	-어요/아요? -eyo/ayo  <i>철수 씨는 책을 <u>읽어요?</u></i> <i>Does Mr. Chelsu reads a book?</i>	-니? OR -(으)냐/느냐? -ni/(u)nya/nunya  <i>철수는 책을 <u>읽니?/읽느냐?</u></i> <i>Does Chelsu read a book?</i>	-어/아? -e/a  <i>철수는 책을 <u>읽어?</u></i> <i>Does Chelsu read a book?</i>
<b>Propositive</b>	~(으)십시오. -(u)psita  <i>(우리) 책을 <u>읽읍시다</u>.</i> <i>Let us read a book.</i>	-어요/아요. -eyo/ayo  <i>(우리) 책을 <u>읽어요</u>.</i> <i>Let us read a book.</i>	-자. -ca  <i>(우리) 책을 <u>읽자</u>.</i> <i>Let us read a book.</i>	-어/아. -e/a  <i>(우리) 책을 <u>읽어</u>.</i> <i>Let us read a book.</i>
<b>Imperative (No subject)</b>	~(으)십시오 /~(으)십시오. -(u)sipsio /-(u)sipsiyo  <i>(철수 씨,) 책을 <u>읽으십시오/요</u>.</i> <i>(Mr. Chelsu, ) read a book.</i>	-어요/아요. -eyo/ayo  <i>(철수 씨,) 책을 <u>읽어요</u>.</i> <i>(Mr. Chelsu, ) read a book.</i>	-(어/아)라. -(e/a)la  <i>(철수,) 책을 <u>읽어라</u>.</i> <i>(Chelsu, ) read a book.</i>	-어/아. -e/a  <i>(철수,) 책을 <u>읽어</u>.</i> <i>(Chelsu, ) read a book.</i>

When it comes to (indirect) reported speech constructions where syntactic transformation of reported speakers' original utterance is required, only the formal (or plain) speech level enders are used for the reported clause (or reported utterance) which is embedded into the reporting clause. (See Figure 3 for the syntactic structure of reported speech constructions.) In this case, any speech level of reported utterance changes into 'neutral' in reported speech constructions which is not 'deferential, polite, plain, or intimate.' Thus, the speech-level sentence ender in reported utterance is called "neutral-level ender" (H. Sohn, 1996:271).

As shown in Table 1 above, *-(nun)(n)ta* -(ㄴ)다 is used as a neutral-level sentence ender for declarative; *-(u)nya/nunya* -(으)냐/느냐 for interrogative<sup>7</sup>; *-ca* -자 for proposative; and *-(u)la* for imperative<sup>8</sup>.

Excerpt (1) shows some of the morpho-syntactic characteristics of reported speech constructions in Korean.

Excerpt (1) Hye from Korea 9

*Hye, who is visiting the U.S., recounts to Mee and Bok (the analyst) what she heard from the Korean mass media. Mee and Bok both live in the U.S.. The current speaker reports what a famous television actor, Won, said to his three children when they were young. The actor's son was running for Congress in Korea at the time of Hye's reporting.*

01 Hye: → >kulenikkan< **apeci-ka** ←  
 >by the way< father-NOM  
*By the way, his father* reported speaker

<sup>7</sup> *-ni* ㄴ is not used for a neutral-level ender.

<sup>8</sup> *-(e/a)la* 어/아라 is not used for a neutral-level ender.

02 Mee: Won-ssi-ka=  
 Won -Mr.-NOM  
*Mr. Won=*

03 Hye: → = {na-nun pyengsayng (.) elkwuley (.) pwun-ul  
 I-NOM for the whole life on face makeup-ACC  
 04 → pall-umyense nehuy-tul-ul kyoywuksikhy-ess-ta.} ike-ya.  
 puting on-by you-PL-ACC educate-PST-DC go like this-DC

*reporting verb*

=says "I educated all of you by being an actor for the whole life."

05 Mee: e.  
*Right.*

06 Hye: Won-ssi-ka,  
 Won -Mr.-NOM  
*Mr. Won,*

07 Mee: e. e.  
*Right. Right.*

08 Hye: kulayssunikkan,  
*Therefore,*

09 Mee: e.  
*Right.*

10 Hye: → (neney-nun (0.2) e sahoey-ey philyoha-n salam-i  
 all of you -NOM um community-for need-REL person-NOM

*reported speaker dropped*

→ toy-la}-ko kul-ayss-tay  
 become-IE-QT say like that-PST-HEARSAY

*reporting verb*

*I heard he had said "All of you (0.2) um behave as persons whom the community*

*needs.*”

- 01 Hye: → >그러니깐< 아버지가  
02 Mee: 원씨가=  
03 Hye: → ={나는 평생 (.) 얼굴에 (.) 분을 발르면서  
04 → 너희들을 교육시켰다} 이거야.  
05 Mee: 어.  
06 Hye: 원씨가,  
07 Mee: 어. 어.  
08 Hye: 그랬으니깐,  
09 Mee: 어.  
10 Hye: → { 너네는 (0.2) 어 사회에 필요한 사람이 되라}고 그랬대.

First, the speaker (line 1) of the reported utterance (lines 3–4) is kept because it is discourse-new. Without indicating the reported speaker, it is hard for the addressees (and analysts) to understand who produced the utterance being reported. However, in the subsequent turn, the reported speaker (line 10) is dropped because it is discourse-old and understood from the preceding turns.

It is significant that *Won-ssi-ka* (line 6) is not the speaker of the reported utterance (line 10). According to the video analysis, it is clear that *Won-ssi-ka* (line 6) is Hye’s repeated version that confirms Mee’s self-clarification (line 2). As shown on Picture 1 in Excerpt 2 below, Mee (line 2), who was originally a bystander, joins the on-going conversation. She tries to clarify her understanding about whom Hye is talking about. However, Hye fails to respond to Mee’s prior

move because she was talking to Bok, the ratified addressee. As shown on Picture 2 in Excerpt 2 below, Hye (line 6) turns her gaze to Mee and confirms Mee's self-clarification by repeating what Mee has just said at line 2.

Excerpt (2) [building on Excerpt (1)]

01 Hye: → >kulenikkan< apeci-ka  
>by the way< father-NOM  
*By the way, his father*

02 Mee: Won-ssi-ka=  
Name-Mr.-NOM  
*Mr. Won=*



Picture 1

03 Hye: → = {na-nun pyengsayng (.) elkwuley (.) pwun-ul  
I-NOM for the whole life on face makeup-ACC

04 → pall-umyense nehuy-tul-ul kyoywuksikhy-ess-ta.} ike-ya.  
puting on-by you-PL-ACC educate-PST-DC go like this-DC

*=says "I educated all of you by being an actor for the whole life."*

05 Mee: e.  
*Right.*

06 Hye: Won-ssi-ka,  
Name-Mr.-NOM  
*Mr. Won,*

07 Mee: e. e.  
*Right. Right.*



Picture 2

08 Hye: kulayssunikkan,  
*Therefore,*

09 Mee: e.  
*Right.*

10 Hye: → {nened-nun (0.2) e sahoey-ey philyoha-n salam-i  
all of you -NOM um community-for need-REL person-NOM

→ toy-la} {ko} kul-ayss-tay.  
become-IE-QT say like that-PST-HEARSAY

*quotative particle*

*I heard he had said “All of you (0.2) um behave as persons whom the community needs.”*

The reported content (lines 3–4) is a linguistic expression. That is, Hye, the reporting speaker (lines 3, 10), quotes another’s talk in the current interaction. The reported content (line 10) is also marked with the quotative particle *-ko*. The appearance of the quotative particle in direct reported speech (i.e., *-(i)lako*), indirect reported speech (i.e., *-ko*), or quasi-direct speech (i.e., *-ko*) serves as a way of syntactically demarcating the boundary between the reported discourse and the reporting discourse (S.O. Sohn, 2003).<sup>9</sup> Here, the reported speech (line 10) starts with direct speech but ends in indirect speech. (This will be called ‘quasi-direct speech’ in section 4.4.3). Thus, the reporting speaker marks the end of the reported utterance with *-ko*.

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<sup>9</sup> In English, only indirect reported speech is typically introduced with the syntactic subordinate *that* (Lucy, 1993:19).



Unlike reporting practices in written discourse, reporting speakers in casual conversations often drop reporting verbs.<sup>10</sup> In Excerpt 2, however, Hye, the reporting speaker (line 10), keeps the reporting verb *kule-* ‘say like that.’

The stem of the reporting verb *kule-* ‘say like that’ (line 10) is also followed by the past tense suffix *-ayss* (a phonological variant of *-ass*) and the “hearsay evidential suffix *-tay*” (M. Kim, 2006)

### 4.3 Types of reporting verbs

According to the corpus analysis of the video transcripts for the present study, reporting verbs can be grouped into two categories – deictic and non-deictic – as seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Types of reporting verbs

Types of reporting verbs		Number of reported speech constructions in the video data	
Deictic verbs	<i>ile-</i>	49 (11%)	247(56%)
	<i>kule-</i>	198 (45%)	
Non-deictic verbs	<i>malha-</i> , <i>ha-</i> , etc.		193(44%)
			Total 440(100%)

There are two forms of deictic reporting verbs<sup>11</sup>: *ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that,’ which contrast with one another in terms of referential function. The present study calls these verbs ‘deictic reporting verbs’ because they have deictic function as well as their use for reporting

<sup>10</sup> In section 4.5 in this chapter, I will call it ‘zero-framing’. Unlike in written discourse, reporting speakers in conversation also combine the sentence ender of the reported utterance and the reporting verb *ha-*, which some have called ‘reduction’ (P. Lee, 1993) or ‘grammaticalization’.

<sup>11</sup> Deictic reporting verbs appear only in spoken discourse.

speech. Regular or non-deictic verbs (e.g., *malha-* ‘say’) are only used to quote talk. Chapter 5 will analyze the deictic function of both *ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that’ in detail.

Previous studies have classified reporting verbs into three types according to the semantics of the verbs (P. Lee 1993): saying verbs (e.g., *say*), psycho-cognitive verbs (e.g., *think*, *believe*), and decoding verbs (e.g., *hear*). The present study classifies these three verb types as ‘non-deictic reporting verbs,’<sup>12</sup> highlighting the fact that they do not carry any deictic function.

#### 4.3.1 Overview of deictic usage in Korean and deictic reporting verbs

Table 3 below provides an overview of deictic forms in Korean that are relevant to the present study: demonstrative, verbal, and adverbial. The highlighted box shows the deictic reporting verbs which are used only in reported speech constructions.

Table 3. Overview of deictic distinctions in Korean

Forms	Proximal		Distal	
	Demonstrative	<i>i-</i> ‘this (+ Noun)’	<i>ku-</i> ‘that (+ Noun)’	<i>ce-</i> ‘that (+ Noun)’ (lit. ‘over there’)
Verbal	<i>ile-</i> ‘go’ (lit. ‘go like this’)	<i>kule-</i> ‘say’ (lit. ‘say like that’)	<i>cele-</i> ‘do like that’	
Adverbial	<i>ilehkhey</i> ‘like this’	<i>kulehkhey</i> ‘like that’	<i>celehkhey</i> ‘like that’	

As shown in Table 3 above, Korean has three ways of basic deictic distinctions: 1) the proximal demonstrative *i-* ‘this’ for referring to the referent close to the speaker, 2) the distal demonstrative *ku-* ‘that’ for referring to the referent close to the addressee, and 3) a second distal

<sup>12</sup> Non-deictic reporting verbs appear in both spoken and written discourse.

demonstrative *ce-* ‘that’ for referring to the referent distant from both the speaker and the addressee.<sup>13</sup> In reported speech constructions, only the *i*-based verbal form *ile-* ‘go’ and the *ku*-based verbal form *kule-* ‘say’ are used, as indicated by the bold boxed line in the table above.

The proximal verb *ile-* is used to quote both non-linguistic (e.g., gestures, facial displays) and linguistic expressions and is used for only direct mode of reported speech. Thus, it will be glossed as ‘go like this,’<sup>14</sup> which is equivalent to the special reporting verb *ki-* ‘go like this’ of Yucatec Maya (Lucy, 1993). It will be translated into ‘go’ on the transcript for this study, adopting the sense of English ‘go’ when used in reported speech constructions to quote both non-linguistic and linguistic expressions in direct reported speech (Romaine and Lange, 1991). Unlike *ile-*, *kule-*<sup>15</sup> is used to quote only linguistic expressions. Thus, it will be glossed as ‘say like that,’ translated into ‘say’ in English translations.

The adverbial forms which are derived from *i-* ‘this’ and *ku-* ‘that,’ such as *ilehkhey-* ‘like this’ and *kulehkhey-* ‘like that,’ can also be used for reported speech constructions. However,

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<sup>13</sup> Demonstratives in Korean have been classified into three ways in numerous studies (K. Chang, 1980; S. Chang, 1972; K. Lee, 1994; Y. Lee, 1993): ‘proximal’ (*i*), ‘medial’ (*ku*), and distal (*ce*). However, in the present study, both the ‘medial’ and ‘distal’ are classified as ‘distal’ in order to adjust to the two ways of contrasting terms (i.e., ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’) for the corresponding ‘deictic reporting verbs.’

<sup>14</sup> *ile-* is said to be a reduced form of *ileha-* ‘go like this’ or *ilehkhey ha-* ‘go like this’ (J. Shin, 1998; M. Yang, 1998). Thus, the gloss for *ile-* ‘go like this’ also reflects the meanings of its two non-reduced forms to some degree.

<sup>15</sup> *kule-* is said to be a reduced form of *kuleha-* ‘say like that’ or *kulehkhey ha-* ‘say like that’ (J. Shin, 1998; M. Yang, 1998). Thus, the gloss for *kule-* ‘say like that’ also reflects the meanings of its two non-reduced forms in some degrees.

unlike the verbal deictic forms, the adverbial deictic forms must be combined with a non-deictic reporting verb (e.g., *ha-* ‘say’) in order to quote the reported content.<sup>16</sup>

Excerpt 4 shows an example where the i-based adverbial form *ilehkhey* ‘like this’ is used together with the non-deictic reporting verb *ilk-* ‘read.’

Excerpt (4) Hye from Korea 9

*Hye tells Bok (the analyst) about the time her son complained about his teacher’s unfairness in a Korean dictation test. The teacher intentionally read too fast for him to be able to write anything down. In the preceding talk, Hye said that Minsung, who is in fourth grade, is very good with English (since he has lived in the U.S.), but this is not the case for Korean.*

01 Hye: *Anyway Korean- he has no problem with dictation in Korean at the learning center, but (0.7) he receives only zeroes at the public school.*

02 Bok: *That’s because the teacher has a problem with enunciation,*  
 03 [ *isn’t it?* ]

04 Hye: [*>There(h)fore(h)<*] *If I ask him, “Minsung! Wh:(hh)y did you get zeroes from school?”*,

05 → (0.5){ *>↑ Minsungi-nun san-ulo olla ka-ss-supnita.<* } (0.2)  
           Minsung-NOM mountain-to go up-PST-DC

06 → i(h)leh(h)key(h) *ilk-nun-[ta(h)nun(h) ke(h) yey(h)-yo. hh]*  
           **like this**           **read-IN-DC-REL** fact- be-DC

*I heard he said the teacher reads like this “>Minsung went up to a mountain.<*

---

<sup>16</sup> It will be argued in chapter 5 that reporting speakers draw on such combinations in order to individuate the denotatum or the referent (i.e., the referential meaning of the reported content or the form) more precisely (Hanks, 1992:60; Lucy, 1993:98).

07 Bok: [H H H H H HH ] HH h

08 Hye: →{ >↑pellapellapella<} (.) ile-ki ttaymwuney  
mimetic words go like this-NMN because

*Because the teacher goes “>pella pella pella<”,*

09 ca(h)ki(h)-ka pata(h) ssul(h) swu(h)ka eps-tay. Tocehi(h).  
self-NOM write down be unable-Hearsay at all

*I heard he said he can't write down anything at all.*

10 Bok: *The other kids have no problems with dictation,*

11 Hye: *They can all write down everything.*

12 Bok: *Why does she re-read so fast?*

01 STR: 근데 한글- 학원에 가서는 받아쓰기를 따박따박 써갖고 오는데,  
(0.7) 학교에서만 빵점을 받아 오는 거야.

02 Bok: 선생이 발음에 문제가 있는 거

03 [아냐. ]

04 STR: [>그러(h)니까<] 너 민성아, 너 왜:(hh) (0.2) 너 학교에서 빵점 받아 갖고 와?  
>그러면은,<

05 (0.5) >민성이는 산으로 올라 갔습니다.< (0.2)

06 이렇게읽는[다(h)는 거(h)예(h)요(h). hh]

07 Bok: [H H H H H HH] HH h

08 Hye: >벌라벌라벌라<.(.) 이러(h)기 때문에

09 자(h)기(h)가 받아(h) 쓸(h) 수(h)가 없대. 도져(h)히.

10 Bok: 다른 애들은 다 받아 적는데,

11 Hye: 다들(h) 받아: 적지.

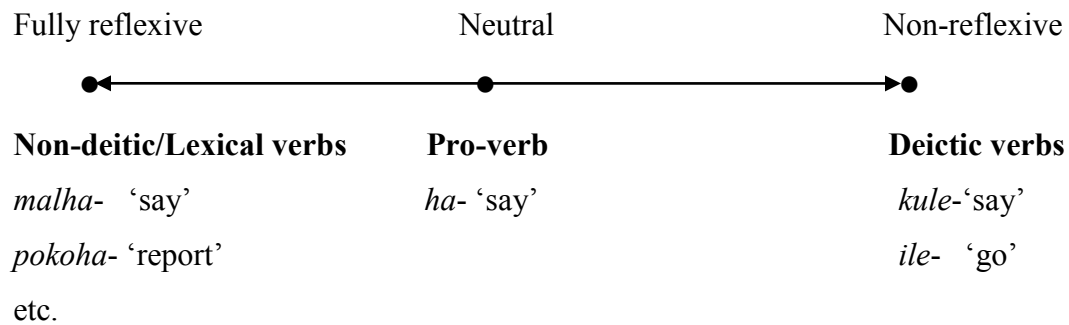
12 Bok: 넘 빨리 하- 왜 그리 빨리 하지?

As in line 6, the proximal adverbial form *ilehkhy* ‘like this’ is combined with the non-deictic reporting verb *ilk-* ‘read.’ At line 8, the proximal verbal form *ile-* ‘go’ is used.

### 4.3.2 Reflexivity of reporting verbs

According to the corpus analysis of the transcripts of the video data, the present study argues that between the extremes of non-deictic reporting verbs (i.e., lexical reporting verbs) and deictic reporting verbs lies a range of blended alternatives of reporting verbs, as seen in Figure 5.

Figure 5: A spectrum of reporting verbs in Korean



Lexical reporting verbs (e.g., *malha-* ‘say’), listed at the left side of Figure 5, can be characterized as fully reflexive in that they involve “reference-and-predication about reference-and-predication” (Lucy, 1993). If they combine with direct speech, then they predicate the least

about a communicative purpose of reported event, thus being the most reflexive (Lucy, 1993).<sup>17</sup> These verbs are pragmatically unmarked (Romaine and Lange, 1991: 235). The reporting speaker has no commitment to the form of reported talk (Givón, 1980), but he just discusses its referential meaning about ‘saying.’

Unlike non-deictic reporting verbs – which are fully reflexive – deictic reporting verbs are not fully reflexive due to their deictic property. They specify, single out, or individuate the referent (i.e., the referential meaning or the form of the reported content). It will be argued in chapter 5 that the selection of *ile-* ‘go like this’ in direct reported speech predicates the most about a communicative purpose. Thus, it is the most non-reflexive.

In contrast with the other reporting verbs, the pro-verb *ha-* ‘say’<sup>18</sup> is neutral as to its communicative function, and its value with respect to referential meaning and its specific form is unspecified (Lucy, 1993:97).

#### **4.4 Modes of reported speech and their formal and functional differences**

Chapter 2 noted that previous studies of reported speech in Korean proposed two modes of reported speech, direct reported speech and indirect reported speech. Based on the findings from the corpus analysis of the transcripts of the video data, the present study proposes that spoken Korean has three speech modes and provides distinctive features for each mode. Table 4 shows these three modes of reported speech. An instance of each mode will be shown in sections 4.4.1, 4.4.2, and 4.4.3.

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<sup>17</sup> The selection of both an appropriate reporting verb from a range of alternatives and a mode of reported speech may itself be indexically meaningful. Such choices may, for example, signal the reporting speaker’s stance or relative sociological position (Lucy, 1993: 95), or reveal the reporting speaker’s and the reported speaker’s attitude or stance towards the reported event (C. Goodwin and Duranti, 1992:12).

<sup>18</sup> *ha-* behaves like a pro-verb ‘do; say’ (S. Sohn, 2011; King, 1994).

Table 4. Three modes of reported speech

Modes of reported speech	Number of reported speech constructions in the video data
Direct	230 (52.27%)
Indirect	104 (23.64%)
Quasi-direct	106 (24.09%)
All Modes (total)	440 (100%)

The present study will use two criteria by which the modes of reported speech are distinguishable from one another. One is the way in which reported speech retains original deictic expressions (Holt, 1996; Lucy, 1993), such as personal, spatial, and temporal deixis, as well as the original sentence ender from the story event. For example, direct reported speech retains both the original deictic expressions and the original sentence ender from the story event, while these are indeixically anchored to the reporting event in indirect reported speech. The second criterion is the way in which reported speech conveys both the referential meaning of reported content and the form of speaking used by the reported character (Gunthner, 1997; Lucy, 1993; Voloshinov, 1973:120). The referential meaning of reported content refers to ‘what was said’ in the story event (its propositional meaning). The form refers to ‘how it was said’, or “the whole act of speaking done by the reported speaker,” which includes all of “the linguistic peculiarities” of the verbal implementation of the reported utterance (Voloshinov, 1973:121), including prosody, facial expressions, gestures, and bodily movements. For example, in direct reported speech, the reporting speaker may purport to convey both the referential meaning of the original utterance and the original form. However, in indirect reported speech, the speaker may



deliver the talk of another in a way in which both the referential meaning and the form are adjusted to the reporting context.

Different types of reporting verbs can also contribute to differentiating modes of reported speech. Just as the saying verbs *go* and *be like* in English (Lange & Romaine, 1991) and *ki-* ‘go like this’ in Yucatec Maya (Lucy, 1993) are all used only for direct reported speech, so is *ile-* ‘go like this’ used only for direct reported speech in Korean. However, only a few reporting verbs, including *ile-*, contribute to differentiating modes of reported speech. Thus, the present study will not use types of reporting verbs as a criterion for classifying modes of reported speech. In fact, different types of reporting verbs have more to do with “metapragmatic functions” (Silvestein, 1985) than with differentiating between modes of reported speech. This issue will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

After distinguishing one mode of reported speech from another, the study will argue (in section 4.4.4) that direct reported speech cannot be said to deliver exactly both what was said and how it was said (Voloshinov, 1973; Mayes 1990).

#### **4.4.1 Direct reported speech**

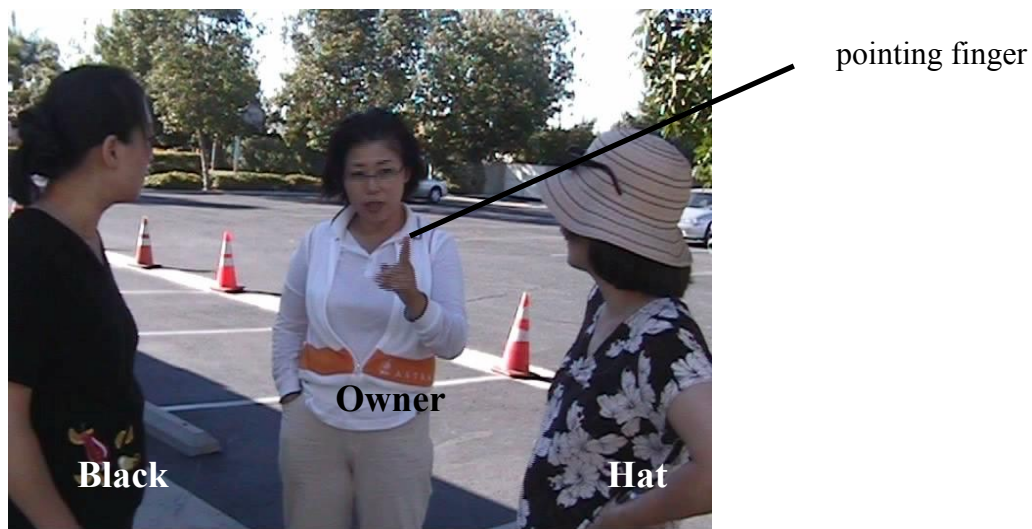
In direct reported speech in Korean, both the “original’s” deixis (Holt, 1996: 222) and the original sentence ender are indexically anchored to the reported event, and the reporting speaker purports to deliver both the referential meaning of the reported utterance and the original form, as if they were actually produced by the character in the reported event. For interactional purposes, a reporting speaker may commit to emphasizing any of these components. For example, a reporting speaker may want to focus on, and communicate to the addressees, the form of the reported utterance, while pushing the referential meaning to the background of the current

interaction (or vice versa). This study will argue that in Korean, this method of reporting is done with the use of deictic reporting verbs, a practice which may be called ‘marked reporting.’ Reporting speakers do not intend to focus on either of the components, and instead deliver both of them, letting the addressees interpret the reported utterance in their own way. This way of reporting may be called ‘unmarked reporting.’ Unmarked reporting is done through the use of non-deictic saying verbs. Marked reporting will be discussed in detail in chapter 5. In the remainder of the section section, the study focuses on providing formal descriptions of direct reported speech.

In Excerpt 4, a non-deictic verb is used, and some formal features of direct reported speech can be seen.

Excerpt (4) Afterschool inspectors, 2:50–54

*The owner of a private learning center (indicated as Owner in the transcript) reports to two parents (Black and Hat) what she said to the school district inspectors when she had to leave the center to transport some students from their school to the center. At the time, she was the only legal supervisor who had to take care of a child who had already arrived at the center.*



Picture 3. Pointing to the imaginary addressees in the story event

48 Owner: *because I failed to arrive at the end of my students' class,*

49 →{ ((pointing towards the imaginary inspectors in the story event))

na pickup ga-nikka,  
I-(NOM) pickup-(AC) go-because

50 → nehuy-tul iss-ul-lamyen iss-ela} ha-ss-teni,  
you-PL stay-FUT-if stay-IM **say**-PST-and

*I said “((pointing towards the imaginary inspectors in the story event))  
Because I have to go pick up my students from their school, you guys may stay  
here if you like.”*

51 *And they said “↑ Oh, Okay” or said something like that.*

48 Owner: 수업시간을 놓쳤기 때문에,

49 →{ ((pointing towards the imaginary inspectors in the story event)) 나 픽업가니까,

50 →너희들 있을라면 있어라} 했더니,

51 {↑아 Okay} 하고 그러더라.

In this excerpt, *na* ‘I’ (line 49) is used in the reported utterance to refer to the reporting speaker herself as the reported character. Thus, the current speaker is the “animator,” the “author,” as well as the “principal” of the reported utterance (Goffman, 1981). The second person pronoun *nehuy-tul* ‘you guys’ (line 50) refers to the reported speaker’s addressees (the school inspectors)

in the story world. *-ela* (line 50) is the imperative sentence ender that the reported speaker actually used in the story world. At line 49, it is clear that the current speaker's pointing gesture (or the form of speaking done by the reported speaker) is not her own in the current reporting event, instead representing the reported speaker's hand gesture being directed to the imaginary addressees (the school inspectors) in the story event. As shown in Picture 3 above, the current speaker's gaze and pointing finger are directed towards the imaginary addressees (the school inspectors) in the story event, which shows that the current speaker is talking directly to the inspectors in the reported event.

In sum, the reported utterance above as lines 49-50 clearly illustrates some formal features of direct reported speech. The deictic expressions and the sentence ender are indexically anchored to the reported event. In addition, the reporting speaker delivers not only the referential meaning of the reported utterance but also its form (i.e., how the utterance was produced).

It is not obvious, at lines 49-50, whether the reporting speaker in the current interaction intends to emphasize either what was said (the referential meaning) or how it was said (the form). There is no apparent clue showing such an intention at the following turns in the transcript.

Based on the above observation, the study argues that direct reported speech with non-deictic reporting verbs, such as *ha-* 'say' in Excerpt 4, may be used simply to deliver both the referential meaning of reported utterances and the form without committing to or focusing on either of the components in the reported content. Thus, in Korean, it can be claimed that the basic function of direct reported speech with a non-deictic reporting verb is to deliver both the referential meaning and the form, thus giving the recipient "direct access" (Holt, 1996) to the utterance being quoted. However, when direct reported speech is framed with a deictic reporting

verb, the referential meaning is foregrounded above the form or vice versa. This will be examined in detail in chapter 5.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4.4.2 Indirect reported speech

In indirect reported speech in Korean, the original deictic expressions, the original sentence ender, and the reported content are all anchored to the reporting event. Thus, all of the personal, temporal, and spatial deictic items, as well as the sentence ender, must be properly altered in order to fit into the current context of the reporting event. Because of this transformation of the deictic items, the referential meaning of the reported utterance is also properly altered to fit into the reporting context. This alteration results in a summary of the referential meaning of the reported utterance (i.e., what was said) in the reporting context and the summary may deliver only the gist of the talk of another.

Unlike in direct reported speech, the form of reported speech can be delivered only in abstract terms during indirect reported speech, due to the indexical anchoring of reported speech to the current event. Thus, certain forms, if they are to be delivered at all, are glossed or described instead of being animated or demonstrated (Clark and Gerrig, 1990; Lucy 1993: 19; Voloshinov, 1973:128).<sup>20</sup>

In indirect speech, reporting speakers may try to foreground the referential meaning of a reported utterance while the form is captured only at an abstract level, which the present study

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<sup>19</sup> Lucy (1993:18) claimed that direct reported speech typically foregrounds the form instead of the referential meaning. However, the present study argues that, in case of Korean, such a claim may apply only to direct reported speech with the proximal deictic reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this.’

<sup>20</sup> However, Günthner (1997:268) observed that in German spontaneous conversation, the form of reported utterance in indirect speech does not necessarily have to be translated into the reported content, nor is it shifted to the reporting clause as a commentary.

argues is done through the use of *kule*- ‘say like that.’ One manner of quoting another’s talk, in which the reporter intends to focus on the referential meaning through the use of *kule*- ‘say like that,’ will be referred to here as ‘marked reporting.’ Another manner of quoting another’s talk, not intending to focus on either the referential meaning or the form, but instead delivering both of them and letting the addressees interpret the reported utterance in their own way, will be called ‘unmarked reporting.’ Unmarked reporting is done through the use of non-deictic reporting verbs. Chapter 5 deals with this issue in detail.

In Excerpt 5, the utterances in lines (353–354) clearly show some features of indirect reported speech.

Excerpt (5) President Lee’s government, 2.33

*The clip comes from a television talk show where ‘Sohn’ is the show host, ‘Park’ is a Secretary of President M-B Lee’s cabinet, and ‘Aud’ is an audience member at the TV studio.*

01 Sohn: *Let us begin our discussion.*

02 *First, I will give Secretary Park a turn to speak.*

03 → Cinan 24 iley Cheng Wa Dae-ka icye  
 last 24<sup>th</sup> date name of President’s residence-NOM here

chwulpem 6 kaywel-ul mac-a kaciko potocalyol-ul  
 launch six months-AC greet-CONJ public report-AC

naysiko hay-ss-nuntey,  
 broadcast-PST-but

*On the 24th of last month, six months after Lee’s government was launched,*

*Cheong Wa Dae broadcast information about the achievements of its administration.*

04 *Its report was filled with positive evaluations. You have been working since the beginning of this government.*

05 → *I wonder whether the cabinet has ever self-evaluated its own achievement from a more objective perspective.*

06 Park: → *Nayngcenghan phyengka-to manhi iss-supnita.*  
objective evaluation-also a lot exist-HON.SE  
addressee honorific speech-level

06 *There was an objective self-evaluation.*

07 *First, our cabinet has worked hard and tried to do its best, but*

((several turns deleted))

352 Aud: *I am asking Secretary Park.*

353 → *Cikum motwuey malssumha-si-ki-lul*  
now to all of us talk-HON-NMN-AC

→ {Cheng Wa Dae-eyse 6 kaywel-kan Lee Myung Park  
name of President's residence-at six month-for President Lee's

→ cengpwu-uy      kongkwa-lul      phyengkaha-sy-ess-ta}-ko  
 government-GEN    achievement-AC    evaluate-HON-PST-DC-QT

→ hay-ss-supnita.  
 say-PST-HON.SE

subject honorific

neutralized speech-level

*You said to all of us that Cheong Wa Dae has evaluated its work for the last six months*

354 → {Nayngcenghan    phyengka-lul    ha-sy-ess-ta}-ko    hay-ss-nunteyyo.  
 objective      evaluation-AC    do-HON-PST-DC-QT    say-PST-but

subject honorific

neutralized speech-level

*You said that (Cheong Wa Dae) has evaluated its work from objective perspectives.*

355      *However, from my own perspective,*

Excerpt (5) 이명박 정부 6 개월 그 미래는, 2.38

01 손:    토론 시작하겠습니다.

02      먼저 박 OO 수석께 순서를 드리겠습니다.

03      →지난 24 일에 청와대가 이제 출범 6 개월을 맞아가지고 보도 자료를 내시고  
 했는데,

04      보도자료 내용이야 대부분 긍정적으로 채워져 있었습디만,



- 박 OO 수석께서 정권 출범과 함께 청와대에 계속계셨었고요,  
 05 →내부적으로 보다 좀 더 냉정한 평가 이런 것들은 없었는지요.  
 궁금합니다.
- 06 박: → 냉정한 평가도 많이 있습니다.
- 07 우선 그 동안 정부가 열심히 일을 하느라고 나름대로 최선을 다했습니다만,  
 ((several turns deleted))
- 352 시민: 박 OO 수석님께 여쭙겠습니다.
- 353 → 지금 모두에 말씀하시기를  
 → {청와대에서 6개월간 이명박 정부의 공과를 평가하셨다}고 했습니다.
- 354 → {냉정한 평가를 하셨다}고 했는데요.
- 355 제가 볼 때는

At lines 353-355, the audience member uses indirect speech in order to argue against what Secretary Park, the invited speaker, has said a few minutes ago. Here, the reporting speaker reproduces the same reported utterance at line 353 and 354. The only difference between them is that the second one (line 354), where some redundant information from the first one is not repeated, has the adjective *nayngcenghan* ‘objective’ that modifies the following noun *phyengka* ‘evaluation.’ In other words, the second utterance is repeated to provide the specific information *nayngcenghan* ‘objective’ for the following noun *phyengka* ‘evaluation.’

Three features of indirect reported speech can be described here. First, the subject honorific suffix *sy-* (a phonological variant of *si-*) is inserted after the verb stem *pyengkaha-* ‘evaluate’ (line 353) and *pyengkaha-lul ha-* ‘do evaluation’ (line 354), respectively, which indicates that the audience member (the reporting speaker) is manipulating Park’s (the current recipient) past utterance from his perspective in the reporting situation. By inserting the honorific form into Park’s original utterance, the reporting speaker shows respect to what Park has said while he is co-present in the current conversation. Second, the addressee honorific speech level *-supnita* (line 6) in the original utterance of the reported speaker is changed to its neutralized speech level form *-ta* (lines 353 and 354, respectively) in the reporting context to fit into the speaker’s indirect speech style. Third, the reporting speaker summarizes what the two reported speakers (Sohn and Park) have just said a few minutes prior. His summary comes both from Sohn’s (lines 3) and Park’s (line 6) utterances.

In sum, the use of reported speech in lines 353-354 offers a clear example of the characteristics of indirect reported speech. The subject honorific *si-* and the sentence ender of addressee honorific speech level (*-supnita*) in the reported event are indexically anchored to the reporting event. The reporting speaker is able to summarize what both reported speakers had said a moment before.

#### **4.4.3 Quasi-direct speech**

In the corpus analysis of the video transcripts for the present study shows that many of the reported speech constructions begin with design features of direct reported speech at turn-initial position, but end with those of indirect reported speech (as in Table 5 below). The present

study treats the switch from direct reported speech to indirect reported speech as quasi-direct speech. There are no instances in the data where a switch from indirect to direct speech occurs.

Table 5. Features of quasi-direct speech

Position	Feature of direct reported speech	Features of indirect reported speech
Turn initial	The original deictic; quoted gestures; shift in prosody; expressive turn initials (e.g., <i>A</i> , <i>Oh</i> )	--
Turn coda	--	Predicates end with neutral speech-level sentence enders. Reported content is framed either with both the quotative particle <i>-ko</i> and a reporting verb or only with <i>-ko</i> . <sup>21</sup>

Excerpts 6-9 provide examples and formal descriptions of quasi-direct speech.

Excerpt (6) Hye from Korea 9

*Hye, who is visiting the U.S., recounts to Mee and Bok (the analyst) what she heard from the Korean mass media. Mee and Bok both live in the U.S.. The current speaker reports what a famous television actor, Won, said to his three children when they were young. The actor's son was running for Congress in Korea at the time of Hye's reporting.*

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<sup>21</sup> H.M. Sohn (1999:322).

10 Hye: → {neney-nun (0.2) e sahoy-ey philyoha-n salam-i  
 you guys-NOM um community-for need-REL persons-NOM

*original deictic*

→ toy-la}+ko kul-ayss-tay.  
 become-IM-QT say like that-PST-HEARSAY

*neutral speech-level*  
*indirect quotative particle*

*I heard that he (i.e., Won) had said “You both (0.2) um behave as persons whom the community needs.”*

10 Hye: → {너네는 (0.2) 어 사회에 필요한 사람이 되라}고 그랬대.

In Excerpt 6, the reported speech of the imperative sentence begins in the story event with the original deictic expression. That is, *neney-* ‘you guys’ is used to refer to the individuals (Won’s three children) whom the reported speaker (Won) talked to in the reported situation. This indicates that the reported utterance is direct speech. The reported utterance ends in the predicate with the neutral speech-level sentence ender *-la*<sup>22</sup> and the indirect quotative particle *-ko*, both of which indicate that the reported speech is indirect. Thus, the reported utterance switches from direct speech to indirect speech, termed here ‘quasi-direct speech.’

Excerpt (7) Hye from Korea 9

<sup>22</sup> Neutral speech-level sentence enders are *-ta* for declarative, *-(u)la* for imperative, *-nya* for interrogative, and *-ca* for propositive.

*Oh-prefaced expressive turn initial*     *original deictic (Humble)*

01 Hye: → Kulayse (.) {↑A} sensayng-nim tekpwuney cey-ka nemwu  
 therefore oh teacher-HON thanks to I-NOM very

*neutral-level sentence ender*     *indirect quotative particle*

→ phyenhay-ss-ta } ko kule-nikka-n,  
 carefree-PST-DC-QT say that-since-TOP

02 tto te(h) ssa(h) cwu(h)-si-nun ke(h)-ya.. kyeysok.  
 again more pack give-HON-REL thing-be.DC continuously

01-02 *Therefore, I said {↑Oh. Thanks to you, I was very carefree}, and she packed up more leftovers and gave them to me.*

01 Hye: → 그래서 (.) {↑아 선생님 덕분에 제가 너무 편했다}고 그러니깐,

02 또 더(h) 싸(h)주(h)시는 거(h)야:. 계속.

As in Excerpt 7, the reported utterance of the declarative sentence at line 1 has an “oh-prefaced expressive turn initial” (Holt, 2006) with a sharper pitch rise (i.e, ↑A) and the original deictic pronoun *cey-* ‘I’, which marks it as direct reported speech. However, it ends with the predicate and the neutralized speech-level sentence ender of declarative *-ta*, as well as the indirect quotative particle *-ko*. Thus, the speech switches from an initial deployment of direct reported speech features to those of indirect reported speech.

Excerpt (8) Hye from Korea 9

73 Hye: Kulenikkanun, sensayng-nim-i tangyenhi haksayng-i  
 therefore teacher-HON-NOM as expected student-NOM

wa-ss-nuntey,  
 come-PST-but

74 → {Yaylul (0.5) ((hand gesture)) ilehkey teyliko o-myen ettehkey  
 this kid-ACC like this bring-if how

*original deictic*

ha-nya-ko yaykiha-nikka-n,  
 do-QS-QT tell- since-TOP

*neutralized speech-level*

73-74 *Therefore, a student came to school, but since his teacher said “How could you bring him here like this?”*

73 Hye: 그러니까는, 선생님이 당연히 학생이 왔는데,

74 → {애를(0.5) ((hand gesture)) 이렇게 데리고 오면 어떻게 하나}고 얘기하니깐,

At line 74 of Excerpt 8, Hye quotes a question that the teacher asked her in a past event. The original deictics in the story event (*yay*- ‘this kid’ and *ilehkey* ‘like this’) and the hand gesture touching her son’s (the kid) head in the story event mark the utterance as direct reported speech. The predicate with the neutralized speech-level sentence ender of interrogative *-nya*, derived

from the honorific interrogative sentence ender *-ayo* or *-pnikka*, shows that the on-going production of the reporting switches to indirect reported speech at the end.

In Excerpt 9 below, the original hand gesture being quoted from the story event in line 2 is crucial for determining that the quoted speech begins with direct speech. However, the utterance moves to an indirect speech mode, ending in the predicate with the neutralized speech-level sentence ender of declarative *-ta*. Thus, the process of moving reporting speech from direct speech to indirect speech indicates that the utterance is quasi-direct speech.

Excerpt (9) Hye from Korea 10, 8:37

*Mee is reporting what she saw at a homework meeting where her daughter and her friends talked to one another at her home.*

(line 2)



*original hand gesture*

Picture 4

01 Mee: Ta all-(NOM) *direct speech*  
 { ((raising both arms)) hey hey hey } ha-kwu,  
 ha ha ha say-and

02 → kunyang mwe { ((waving both arms)) palley han-ta } kule-kwu.  
 just you know do ballet-SE say like that-and  
 acwu ayki-ya.  
 very much kid-be.DC

01 *All of them laugh “((raising both arms)) Ha ha ha,” and*  
 02 *they just say, you know, “((waving both arms)) (We) are doing a ballet.”*  
*(They) behave a lot like kids.*

01 Mee: 다 { ((raising both arms)) 헤헤헤 } 하구,  
 02 → 그냥 뭐 { ((waving both arms)) 발레한다 } 그러구 .  
 아주 얘기야.

In sum, quasi-direct reported speech is characterized with starting with features of direct speech but ending with those of indirect speech. It was shown that the features of direct reported speech include the original deictic, animated gestures, shifted prosody, Oh-prefaced repressive turn initials. The features of indirect reported speech include neutralized sentence ender, the appearance of the indirect quotative particle *-ko*.

#### 4.4.4 The authenticity of reported content

Chapter 2 introduced previous studies that treat direct reported speech as a verbatim reenactment of actual previous utterances (in that it quotes not only the original referential meaning but also the original form, such as intonation and non-verbal messages), while indirect speech was seen as a simple restatement of previous utterances (Li, 1986).



This section aims to provide an example from Korean conversations that supports what Goffman (1986) and Voloshinov (1971, 1973) have claimed regarding the truth value of reported speech. Goffman (1986) and Voloshinov (1971, 1973) claim that a reporting speaker's voice always penetrates into the reported speaker's voice, regardless of the mode of reported speech, and the reporting speaker thus inevitably manipulates the authenticity of the reported content.

Excerpt 10 shows that speakers do not expect direct reported speech to deliver the truth value of the reported utterance. Rather, it can be used to emphasize the form of the utterance (e.g. how simply it was said) in the reporting context.

Excerpt (10) Hye from Korea 9

*Hye tells Bok (the analyst) about the time her son complained about his teacher's unfairness in a Korean dictation test. The teacher intentionally read too fast for him to be able to write anything down. In the preceding talk, Hye said that Minsung, who is in fourth grade, is very good with English (since he has lived in the U.S.), but this is not the case for Korean.*

01 Hye: *Anyway Korean- he has no problem with dictation in Korean at the learning center, but (0.7) he receives only zeroes at the public school.*

02 Bok: *That's because the teacher has a problem with enunciation,*

03 [ isn't it ? ]

04 Hye: *[>There(h)fore(h)<] If I ask him, "Minsung! Wh:(hh)y did you get zeroes from school?"*,

05 → (0.5){ >↑ Minsungi-nun san-ulo olla ka-ss-supnita.< } (0.2)  
Minsung seong -NOM mountain-to go up-PST-DC

06 → i(h)leh(h)key(h) ilk-nun-[ta(h)nun(h) ke(h) yey(h)-yo. hh]  
like this read-IN-DC-REL fact- be-DC

05-06 *I heard he said the teacher reads like this “>Minsung went up to a mountain.<”*

07 Bok: [H H H H H HH ] HH h

08 Hye: → { >↑pellapellapella<} (.) ile-ki ttaymwuney  
mimetic words say this-NMN because

09 ca(h)ki(h)-ka pata(h) ssul(h) swu(h)ka eps-tay. Tocehi(h).  
self-NOM be unable to write down-Hearsay at all

08-09 *Because the teacher goes “>pella pella pella<”, I heard he said he can’t write down anything at all.*

10 Bok: *The other kids have no problems with dictation,*

11 Hye: *They can all write down everything.*

12 Bok: *Why does she re-read so fast?*

01 Hye: 근데 한글- 학원에 가서는 받아쓰기를 따박따박 써갖고 오는데,

(0.7) 학교에서만 빵점을 받아 오는 거야.

02 Bok: 선생이 발음에 문제가 있는 거 [아냐.

03 Hye: [ >그러(h)니까(h)<=

04 =너 민성아, 너 왜:(hh) (0.2) 너 학교에서 빵점 받아 갖고 와? >그러면은,<

05 (0.5) >민성이는 산으로 올라 갔습니다.< (0.2)

06 → 이렇게읽는[다(h)는 거(h)예(h)요(h). hh]

07 Bok: [H H H H H HH] HH h

08 Hye: → >벌라벌라벌라<(. 이러(h)기 때문에

09        자(h)기(h)가 받아(h) 쓸(h) 수(h)가 없대. 도저(h)히.

10 Bok: 다른 애들은 다 받아 적는데,

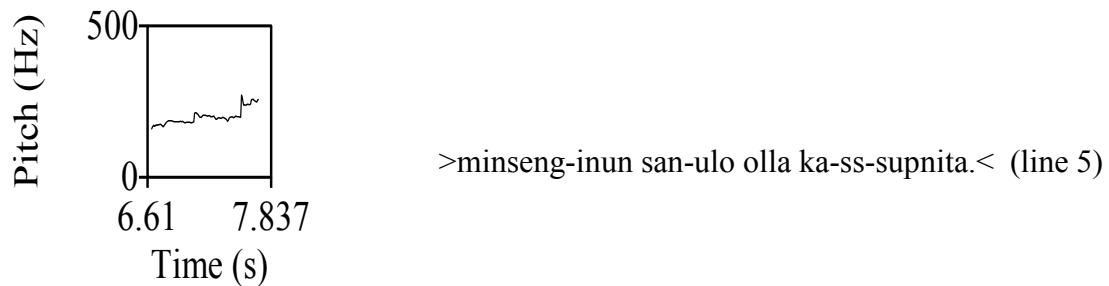
11 Hye: 다들(h) 받아: 적지.

12 Bok: 넘 빨리 하- 왜 그리 빨리 하지?

In lines 5 and 8, the reporting speaker, Hye, retells to the addressees what she heard from her son regarding his teacher's speech in the past event. Here there are two interesting points that should be made regarding the authenticity of the content of direct reported speech. First, the hearsay report (line 5) is done through a direct speech mode, though the current reporter did not directly witness the speech event. According to Goffman's (1986) and Voloshinov's (1973) claim that reported speech gets altered in the reporting context, the truth value of the quote (line 5) can be said to be doubly altered. First, it was delivered by Minsung in the past reporting context where Hye was an addressee. Second, the same speech is now being reported again by Hye in the current reporting context. Thus, the truth value of the direct reported speech is doubtful. The authenticity of the quote may be further weakened because Hye, the second-time reporter, is using her son's real name in the reported utterance in the dictation question. The teacher may not have used 'Minsung' in the original dictation sentence in class, but Hye includes it in the 'dictation sentence' in the current reporting context. It may also be possible to say that the whole sentence created strictly for its use within the current reporting context. That is, Hye is using the creative sentence simply as an example in order to describe how fast the dictation sentence was produced by the teacher, which was reported according to her son. Additionally, the reformulation in line 8 of the reported speech from line 5 does not contain any propositional

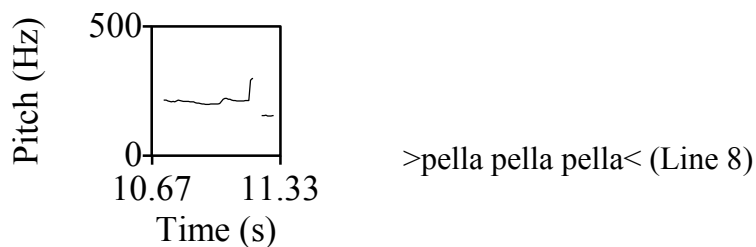
value. What is being reported is how it was said (the form of speaking). However, Hye is not reporting what was said (the referential meaning) at all. The reported utterance >↑*pella pella* pella< in line 8 functions as a “lexical filler” (Günthner, 1997) that substitutes for the preceding ‘reported utterance’ (line 5), but calls attention to the specific form of the utterance (its faster reading). The quote at line 5 is produced rapidly, taking only 1.22 seconds for the 13-syllable utterance, as shown in the transcript through the use of ‘> <’ and in Figure 6a.

Figure 6a. Fast production



When reformulated in the next turn during line 8, the same quoted utterance is being produced even faster, taking 0.66 second to produce the 6-syllable-word utterance. This is also indicated with ‘> <’ in the transcript and illustrated in Figure 6b below.

Figure 6b. Extremely fast production



Thus, the direct speech at line 8 cannot be said at all to represent anything that was originally produced by the teacher (in Goffman's (1981) terms, the 'principal character').

In conclusion, it cannot be claimed that direct reported speech always reserves the truth value of the original or is somehow more accurate than indirect speech. Put another way, the authenticity of reported speech is not related to its mode; the truth value can always be altered in the reporting context, regardless of speech mode. The present study will argue in chapter 5 that different modes of reported speech involve different ways in which the referential meaning and/or the form are delivered.

#### **4.5. Post-framing, pre-framing, dual-framing, and zero-framing**

Korean is a SOV language. Thus, it is assumed that reported utterances (syntactically, the object of a reporting verb) generally precede the reporting verb. This common understanding is based on numerous previous studies that investigated only written discourse rather than naturally occurring conversation. Within the naturally occurring face-to-face conversations analyzed in the present study, however, speakers usually place a reporting verb *after* the reported utterance, which is the default word order in SOV-languages (such as Japanese). However, it was also often found that speakers place a reporting verb *before* the reported utterance in Korean, as in SVO-languages (such as English). More interestingly, speakers may also place a reporting verb both *before* and *after* the reported utterance. These various ways of framing reported utterances in spontaneous conversation should have interactional consequences. However, the present study is limited to only introducing instances of these framing types.

Table 6 shows the distributional patterns for four ways of framing reported speech that were coded from the video data.

Table 6. Four ways of framing reported speech

Method of framing	Number of reported speech constructions in the video data
Post-framing	271 (61.6%)
Pre-framing	33 (7.5%)
Dual-framing	33 (7.5%)
Zero-framing	103 (23.4%)
All methods (total)	440 (100%)

#### 4.5.1 Post-framing

As Korean is an SOV language, it might be expected that reported content (the complement of a reporting verb) is produced before the reporting verb, as in Excerpt 11.

Excerpt (11) Korean grade, 16:07

*Hye is telling Bok (the analyst) about a past complaint that she has made to her son, Minsung, about receiving zero points on a Korean dictation test at school.*

05 Hye: = { ne Minsung-a, ne way:(hh) (0.2) hakkyo-eyse ppangcem  
you Minsung-VOC, you why school-from zero point(-ACC)

*reporting verb appeared **after** the quoted talk*

→ pat-a kac-ko wa?} kule-myen-un,  
receive-CONJ take-and come-QS **say like that-if-TOP**

05 *If I say “Minsung! wh:(hh)y did you get zeroes from school?,” ...*

05 Hye: → ={너 민성아, 너 왜:(hh) (0.2) 너 학교에서 빵점 받아 갖고 와?} >그러면은,<

At line 5, the reported content indicated with curly brackets – { } – is produced before the transitive verb (the reporting verb *kule-* ‘say like that’) as its syntactic object. Examples of a reporting verb coming after the reported content and framing it are referred to in this study as ‘post-framing’. For explanatory purposes, such a reporting verb will be called a ‘post-framing verb.’

According to Table 6 above, ‘post-framing’ is the most frequently used framing device within the data, used in 61.6% (271 instances out of 440). In addition, both deictic reporting verbs (i.e., *ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that’) and non-deictic reporting verbs (see section 4.3) are used for post-framing.

#### 4.5.2 Pre-framing

There are also instances in the data in which reporting verbs come before the reported content to frame it, as in Excerpt 12 below. The present study terms this kind of framing ‘pre-framing,’ and such a reporting verb will be called a ‘pre-framing verb’.

Excerpt (12) Eat it up: Hasoo, Bok, Lucy 1, 28:00

*Bok (the analyst), in line 12, is quoting what he said to his wife in the story event, a complaint to her about her “bad habit” of not finishing every meal.*

12 Bok: *When I feel full when I am eating,*

13 *I can't finish, either.*

14 → >kulay nay-ka kul-ayss-ci.< *reporting verb appeared before the quoted talk*  
thus I-Nom **say like that**-PST-DC  
>So I told her.<

15 → {cey:pal meknun mankhum tul-ela.}=  
for my sake the amount that you can eat take-Imp

14-15 *So I told her "Please bring only what you can finish."*

12 Bok: 나도 남은 거 내가 먹 먹다가,

13 내 배부르면 못 먹잖아.

14 → >그래 내가 그랬지.<

15 → {제:발 먹는 만큼 들어라.}=

At lines 14–15, the reporting verb *kule-* ‘say like that’ comes before the reported content, indicated with curly brackets – { } – and frames it.

According to Table 6 above, speakers use ‘pre-framing’ less frequently (7.5% : 33 instances out of 440) than other framing processes. However, this is not necessarily dependent on the fact that Korean is a SOV-language in which speakers may prefer the syntactical organization of ‘post-framing.’ Rather, such a framing may have an interactional purpose. According to preliminary observation from several instances in the corpus data, it seems that ‘pre-framing,’ as a "prospective indexical" (C. Goodwin, 1996), requires the addressee to fill in the syntactically null object (i.e., the reported utterance) by attending to what is coming next. Such a "pre-framing" makes it possible for the current reporter to maintain his or her speakership



and produce more than one 'turn construction unit' (TCU). In English, it is known that when a reported utterance is longer than one TCU, the speaker regularly reintroduces the reporting verb (e.g., I said, “.....” I said, “...”) (Couper-Kuhlen, 2007). In a similar way, it seems that Korean speakers rely on a ‘pre-framing’ device when there is more than one TCU to report.

In addition, it was found that either the deictic reporting verbs (*ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that’) or non-deictic verbs appeared before reported utterance. However, among the non-deictic verbs, the pro-verb *ha-* ‘say’<sup>23</sup> was not used in pre-framing.

### 4.5.3 Dual-framing

There are also a few instances in the conversational data in which reporting verbs first come before the reported content and frames it (i.e., ‘pre-framing’), while the same reporting verbs or different types of verbs also come after the reported content to frame it (i.e., ‘post-framing’), as in Excerpt 13 below. This type of framing will be called ‘dual-framing.’

Excerpt (13) Homework, 24.18

*Hye delivers a hearsay report to Mee and Bok (the analyst) about what her fourth grade son, Woosung, said about his classmates’ funny pronunciation at an English learning center.*

01 Hye: *And when our Woosung, your know(h), go(h)es to his Engl(h)ish lear(h)ning center,*

---

<sup>23</sup> See Figure 5 in section 4.3.2.

02 → chinkwu-tul-i ile-n-tay. (0.1)  
 friend-PL-NOM **say like this**-IN-Hearsay

03 → { ((facial display)) ↑AI: EYM: PHWU: LA: GWU: } < ile-ko,  
 I am plague **say like this**-and

*reporting verbs appeared before  
and after the quoted talk*

02-03 I heard he said some of his classmates go “((facial display)) ↑AI: EYM: PWU: LA: GWU:” < and,

04 He said he couldn't understand their English pronunciation at all. hhh.

01 Hye: 그리고 우리 우성은 저(h) 영어(h) 학(h)원(h)에 가(h)면(h)은,

02 → 친구들이 이런대.

03 → (0.1) >아:엠펜: 프:라:그:.< 이려고,

04 도대체 발음을 안- 못 알아 들겠다(h)는(h) 거(h)야. hhh.

At line 2, the deictic verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ appears before the reported content (indicated with curly brackets) and frames it (a ‘pre-framing’ practice). At line 3, the same reported content is framed again with *ile-*, a ‘post-framing’ practice. Thus, the speaker uses ‘dual-framing’ in quoting another’s talk.

As seen in Table 6 above, speakers use ‘dual-framing’ less frequently (7.5%: 33 instances out of 440) than the other methods of framing. Like ‘pre-framing’ practice, the use of ‘dual-framing’ in talk-in-interaction should be interactionally important. From preliminary observation from several instances in the corpus data, it seems in ‘dual-framing’ that ‘pre-framing’ as "prospective indexical" (C. Goodwin, 1996) signals to the hearers for there being more than one TCU to report. And ‘post-framing’ might be used to mark the end of reported speech with such

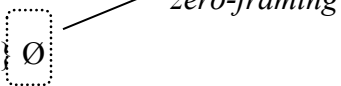


22 (0.9) a:mwu sori an hay. (0.7)  
any sound not do

(0.2) (His teacher says) "What's your name?"

(0.9) Minsung gives no response. (0.7)

23 Therefo(h)re, thereof(h)re,

24 →(.) {eti-se o-ss-ni?} Ø  zero-framing  
where-from come-PST-QS

25 (0.1) taytap-ul an ha-y. (.)  
reply-AC not do-Int.DC.

24-25 (.) (His teacher says) "Where did you come from?"  
(0.1) He doesn't reply. (.)

21 Hye: → (0.2) {너 이름이 뭐니?} (0.9) Ø

22 아:무 소리 안 해. (0.7)

23 그(h)(h)ㄴ(h)까, 그(h)ㄴ(h)까, (.)

24 → (.) {어디서 왔니?} (0.1) Ø

25 대답을 안 해. (.)

At lines 21 and 24, the reporting speaker does not frame the teacher's utterance with any reporting verb.

In indirect speech, a reporting verb does not appear, but the quotative particle *-ko* should be kept. If the latter does not appear, it is hard to analyze the speech as reported speech, being possibly treated as a description instead (cf. P. Lee, 1993:174).

Excerpt (15) Soo, Bok and Lucy 1 #25, 3:10

*Soo is invited to Bok (the analyst) and Lucy's house to drink beer. Lucy is talking about what her older sister-in-law told her about her husband's drinking habit.*

01 Luc: *I heard from your sister-in law that your brother does not drink much nowadays.*

02 Bok: *Right, he is getting old.*

03 → {Swul aphey cangsa eps-ta-}ko  $\emptyset$  *zero-framing*  
 drinks in front of strong man not exist-DC-QT

03 *No man can make a victory against drinks.*

04 Bok: *When he was [younger], he was a wine killer. No matter how much he drank, he wasn't drunk at all.*

05 Soo: *[Aham]*

01 Luc: *그래. 요즘에 형님이 그러시는데, 많이 안 드신대.*

02 Bok: *어, 요즘은 인제 (.) 체력이 딸리지.*

03 → {술 앞에 장사 없다}고  $\emptyset$

04 Bok: *옛날[에는] 진짜 고래야. 술 마시면 꼬떡도 안 해.*

05 Soo: *[아함]*

At Line 3 in Excerpt 15, Bok does not specify any reporting verb. However, the quotative particle *-ko* is kept.

In quasi-direct speech, speakers often do not frame reported utterances with a reporting verb. There are also many instances where only reporting verbs are missing, but the quotative particle *-ko* is kept. However, unlike cases of indirect speech, the quotative particle *-ko* may or may not appear in quasi-direct speech. This may be because quasi-direct speech contains elements of direct speech at the turn initial of reported utterance, which help the hearers distinguish between the speech as a quotation or a simple description.

Excerpt (16) 2-3 women, 2.10

*Lee tells Kim a story about how Lee's husband sold one of his golf clubs to his friend at a golf course. At line 2, Lee quotes what her husband's friend said about the club to her husband.*

01 Lee: Kulaykacikonun, ttak chy-e po-nikka ani-ketun.  
therefore just hit-CONJ try-CONJ not-you see

*Therefore (my husband's friend) had hit balls and then (he) realized that the club is not good.*

02 →{↑Ya! an macnun-ta} hhhhh Ø  
shit not be hit-DC

“↑ *Shit! It doesn't hit well.*” hhhhh

03 Kim: → ↑A: {kong-i cal an macnun-ta}-ko? Ø  
oh ball-NOM well not be hit-DC-QT

↑Oh: *it was said that balls are not hit well?*

03 Lee: Kunikka an toy-nun ke-ya.  
in other words not become-REL thing-be.DC

*In other words, the club doesn't help him.*

01 Lee: → 그래가지고는, 딱 쳐보니까 아니거든.

02 {↑야! 안 맞는다.} Ø hhhhh

03 Kim: ↑아: {공이 잘 안 맞는다}고? Ø

04 Lee: 그니까 안 되는거야.

In line 2 Lee uses quasi-direct speech in quoting her husband's past utterance without using the quotative particle *-ko* or a reporting verb. That is, the quote starts with ↑*Ya!* ‘↑Shit!’ with the original sharp pitch rise and expressive turn initial, indicating that the quoted utterance is direct speech. However, it ends with the neutralized speech level sentence ender *-nunta*, indicating that it is indirect speech. In line 3, Kim confirms her understanding of the preceding quote by using indirect speech only with the indirect quotative particle *-ko*.

## 4.6 Summary and implication

This chapter has illustrated how reported speech is delivered by native speakers of Korean in naturally occurring conversations. In particular, the present study demonstrated that reported speech constructions in spoken discourse are very different from those used in written discourse. First, the reported speaker can be dropped if known in the reporting context. Second, the deictic reporting verbs *ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that,’ which are not used in written discourse, were more frequently used in talk-in-interaction (in 56%: 247 out of 440 reported speech constructions). Third, the switch from direct speech to indirect speech within a single reporting action, termed ‘quasi-direct speech,’ occurred frequently in the middle of animation (24.09%: 106 out of 440 reported speech constructions). Lastly, although post-framing was predominantly used in the data (in 61.6%: 271 out of 440 constructions), presumably due to the SOV-word order of Korean, pre-, dual- and zero- framings were also frequently used (i.e., 7.5%, 7.5% and 23.4%, respectively: 33, 33 and 103 out of 440 constructions) due to the characteristics of spontaneous speech.

All of the grammatical descriptions, based here on analyses of the video transcripts, show the characteristics of reported speech constructions in spoken discourse.



## Chapter 5: Interactional functions of deictic reporting verbs in talk

### 5.1 Introduction

In chapter 4, I have showed that the deictic reporting verbs (*ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that’) are used in somewhat different ways from non-deictic reporting verbs in terms of their formal behavior. The present chapter aims to explain why the deictic verbs are chosen above the non-deictic verbs in quoting or delivering another’s talk in conversational interaction. I will first argue, that when the deictic verbs are used as reporting verbs, they not only share the general meaning of ‘saying’ with the non-deictic reporting verbs, but also contrast with them in what they foreground. It will be discussed in section 5.4. Second, this chapter will claim that, due to their deictic properties, the deictic reporting verbs are used to individuate or single out a specific referent from the utterance being quoted. The proximal deictic verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ is used to individuate the form and communicate it to the addressees, thus displaying the current speaker’s stance, while the distal verb *kule-* ‘say like that’ is used to individuate and communicate the referential meaning of the quoted speech. Such discussion will be presented in sections 5.5 and 5.6.

Section 5.2 reviews claims made in the literature of reported speech regarding ways of delivering the referential meaning of a reported utterance (i.e., what was said) and its form (i.e., how it was said). Section 5.3 explores what it means to be a speaker when quoting another’s talk. Section 5.4 shows how the deictic verbs can be used as reporting verbs and in what ways they are different from other reporting verbs. Section 5.5 analyzes the way that a reporting speaker can highlight the form of reported content (how it was said) while quoting another’s talk. Section 5.6 analyzes the ways in which a reporting speaker can highlight the referential meaning of

reported content (what was said) while quoting another's talk. Section 5.7 summarizes the chapter.

## **5.2 The problem of analyzing the referential meaning and the form**

Voloshinov (1973) and Goffman (1981, 1986) both stress how the practices for quoting another's talk not only involve reproducing the linguistic structure of the quoted talk, but also constructing the form of speaking, and the action done through that form, to display the current speaker's stance. This theoretical claim has heavily influenced various studies on reported speech (Coulmas, 1985; Günthner, 1997; Holt, 1996, 2000; Li, 1985; Lucy, 1993). One of the major arguments among them dealt with the different functions between direct reported speech and indirect reported speech. Some argued that only direct speech can convey both the referential meaning (what was said) and the form (how it was said) through which the reporting speaker's stance is displayed. Others argued that a reporting speaker also delivers both of these components during indirect speech reporting. Put another way, the argument between these two stances centers around whether the referential meaning of the reported utterance, or the form of the utterance, is communicated among the participants in talk. For example, Günthner (1997) and Lucy (1993) argue that both direct reported speech and indirect reported speech can convey both the referential meaning of the quoted utterance and its form. Lucy (1993) differentiates the two in how direct reported speech focuses more on the form than on the referential meaning. However, it is well known that speakers use more than just *either* direct or indirect speech reporting (e.g. quasi-direct speech, which combines both features of direct reported speech and indirect reported speech). It is also well known that a speaker who begins with direct reported speech may also switch to indirect reported speech within that same telling (Holt, 1996). Thus, it

is difficult to deal with the issue of whether the focus of reported speech is more on referential meaning or form when relying on the often fuzzy labels of speech modes. Rather, as pointed out by Günthner (1997) and Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999), the question of whether referential meaning or form takes precedence within reporting practices seems to involve a complex web of factors in the dynamic relationship between the reported and reporting discourse.

Unlike German (Günthner, 1997), Yucatec Maya (Lucy, 1993) and possibly other languages, Korean has two special deictic ‘verbs of saying’ that exist in opposition to one another: *ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that.’ The present study argues that, due to their deictic properties, they function as individuating the referent fused into the reported utterance (the referential meaning or the form) as well as to generally quote the talk of another. Therefore, the deictic function of the verbs can provide us analysts with a possible analysis of how speakers focus on either the referential meaning of the reported utterance or the form when adopting a stance towards the reported character’s talk.

### **5.3 Being a speaker in quoting another’s talk**

While reporting, a speaker “entextualizes” the character’s talk from the interactional setting of the story world and “recontextualizes” or transforms it into the current reporting context or in the current contextual frame (Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Buttny, 1998; Voloshinov, 1973). Thus, the process entails embedding the reporting speaker’s stance into the character’s talk, which is understood by the listener vis a vis the reporting context. The following excerpt shows a case in which the reporting speaker’s stance is visibly embedded into the reported utterance.

In Excerpt 1, Hye, who went to an elementary school with her fourth grade son Woosung on his first day of school, quotes the past utterance of the female teacher to the addressees. The utterance is from a meeting between the mother, son, and teacher. The son replied to his teacher's question ("Do I look ugly?") with two big nods. Consequentially, the teacher's face turned red and, in order to save her positive face in front of the parent (Hye), the teacher produced the funny utterance inside the curly brackets during lines 5-6 that is reproduced here by Hye.

Excerpt (1) Hye from Korea 9

01 Bok: =*Why did she say of herself that she is ugly*=

02 Hye: =*What I am saying is- I also don't understand why she asked  
such a question to him.*=

03 Bok: =*She also knows she is ugly, right?*

04 Hye: >*And then*,<

05 → (0.2){Woosung eme-nim, ce-nun solcikhan ai-lul  
Woosung mother-HON I-TOP honest child-ACC

06 → cha(h)m c(h)oha(h)-ha-p(h)nita(h).} i[le(h)-nun ke-ye-yo].  
really like-do-DC go like this-REL fact-be-DC

05-06 (0.2) *His teacher goes, "Woosung's mother, I rea(h)lly li(h)ke(h)  
a child who is honest."*

07 Bok: [hhhhhh oh:(h) the teacher  
*Doesn't make any sense.*=

- 01 Bok: =선생이 또 왜 자기도 못 생겼다고=  
 02 Hye: =내말이- 왜 그런 질문을 하는지 몰라.=  
 03 Bok: =자기도 못생긴 줄 알면서, 그죠?  
 04 Hye: >그래갖꼬는,<  
 05 → (0.2) {민성어머님,저는 솔직한 아이를 참(h)  
 06 → 좋(h)아(h)합(h)니다(h).} 이[러(h)는 거예요. 또(h):.  
 07 Bok: [hhhhhh 오(h) 오(h) 선생님 실없네.=

The quoted part inside the curly brackets – { } – in lines 5-6,<sup>25</sup> clearly contains two voices. The utterance involves both the teacher’s talk and the current speaker’s separate laugh tokens which are separable from it. The laugh tokens, which are not to be heard as part of what the teacher said,<sup>26</sup> display the current speaker’s voice or stance (Goodwin, 2007a:20) towards what the teacher did through that talk. That is, through her laugh tokens in the reporting context (i.e., her prior statements and Bok’s mutual assessment at lines 1-3), the current speaker Hye formulates the reported individual’s talk as a laughable and presents the reported individual as the type of person who could say such a thing (i.e., the funny remark).

To distinguish between the reporting and non-reporting contexts of an utterance, I use the letters X, Y, and Z throughout this section of the analysis. To indicate that the referential

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<sup>25</sup>. Because the reported part contains the current speaker’s (explicit, implicit or opaque) voice/stance as well as the character’s voice, it would be impossible to mark it by putting quotation marks “ ” (Goodwin, 2007). The present study marks it with curly brackets simply to indicate the boundary between the reporting and reported parts, which are difficult to tease apart in the Romanized English translations.

<sup>26</sup> Not only are laugh tokens embedded in the reported utterance, but also continue to appear in the following reporting clause, indicating that such laugh tokens belong to the current speaker.

meaning of reported utterance X and its form Y in the story world are recontextualized/reconstructed in the reporting situation, I use the prime symbol – ‘ – on the target components. Thus, we get the recontextualized referential meaning X’ and the recontextualized form Y’. Z here refers to the reporting context. The reporting speaker’s stance, which is realized through the embodied form (Buttny, 1997, 1998; Couper-Kuhlen, 1998; Gunthner, 1997, 1999; Shoaps, 1999) is indicated with Z’, as its specific meaning can be fully captured from the reporting context Z (Buttny, 1998; Shoaps, 1999; Voloshinov, 1973).<sup>27</sup> In this recontextualizing process, the degree of saliency of the form Y’ constantly changes as the degrees of animation changes. For example, Y’ may be perceived as invisible in indirect speech, whereas it may be visible in direct speech. To illustrate these concepts, I have reproduced Excerpt 1 of this section, above, with these symbols as Excerpt 2, below.

Excerpt (2) [Built from Excerpt (1)]

05 Hye: → (0.2){	Woosung eme-nim,	}	<b>Character’s voice [X’, Y’]</b>
	Woosung mother-HON		
	ce-nun <u>solcikhān</u> ai-lul		
	I-NOM honest child-ACC		

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<sup>27</sup> An identical reported utterance can be heard by the listener in a different way, depending on different reporting contexts (Buttny, 1998:55).

06 → cha(h)m c(h)oha(h)-ha-p(h)nita(h). } **Character's voice [X', Y']**  
 really like-do-DC  
 i[le(h)-nun ke-ye-yo:] **Hye's stance [ Z']**  
 go like this-REL fact-be-DC

05-06 (0.2) *His teacher goes, "Woosung's mother, I rea(h)lly li(h)ke(h) a child who is honest."*

In Excerpt 2, the proposition of the reported speech belongs to X' (the referential meaning). The way in which the words are being emphasized, indicated here in underlined speech, belongs to the category of how they were said, Y' (the form). Hye's laughter tokens, which are inserted into the parentheses in the excerpt above, belong to the reporting speaker's visible stance (or comment Z') that treats the reported talk (X', Y') and the character to be laughed at.

In sections 5.5 and 5.6 to follow, I will show how reporting speakers present another's talk in order to negotiate between 'the referential meaning of the reported utterance' and 'the form and thus the reporting speakers' current stance' by selecting between the distal reporting verb *kule-* 'say like that' and the proximal verb *ile-* 'go like this.'

#### 5.4 Different functions of reporting verbs

Silverstein (1985), drawing on Jakobson's (1960) insights on the meta-linguistic function of language, emphasizes reported speech as "metapragmatic activity," what C. Goodwin and Duranti (1992) refer to as "ideal framing devices for expressing local linguistic ideologies" (C.

Goodwin and Duranti, 1992). Different reporting verbs can be used to indicate a specific speech activity in the local situation.

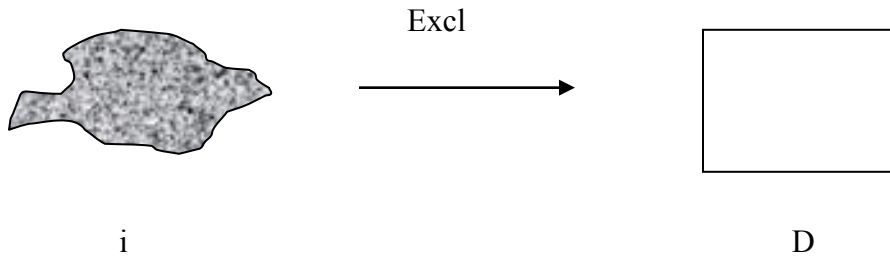
Reporting verbs, like other linguistic forms, acquire meaning in part by the virtue of their value in a paradigmatic relation to other signs in a language (Lucy, 1993). Therefore, when the deictic verbs *kule-* ‘say like that’ and *ile-* ‘go like this’ are used for speech reporting, they both share the general meaning of ‘saying’ with non-deictic verbs of saying like *mal(ha)-* ‘say,’ but also contrast with them in what they foreground. Unlike the non-deictic verbs of ‘saying,’ which are fully reflexive from a functional point of view due to involving “reference-and-predication about reference-and-predication”(Lucy, 1993), deictic reporting verbs are not fully reflexive, due to their deictic property.

Paradigmatically, the proximal deictic reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this,’ shares the general function of deictics and contrasts with the distal verb *kule-* ‘say like that’ in some way.

Hanks’ (1990, 1992, 2005, 2009) work on deixis will be used to explain why speakers choose between *kule-* ‘say like that’ and choose *ile-* ‘go like this.’ In particular, I make use of Hanks’ (1992) understanding of the physical and perceptual relationship between indexical origo and denotatum as “outside”/inside “the boundaries of the current interactive field” or context in which utterance occurs (p. 59). For example, when the place (denotatum) referred to is exclusive relative to the location (indexical origo) of the utterance, the speaker uses the distal form *tol o?* ‘there’, as in Figure 7.



Figure 7. Hanks (1992:55): *tol o?* “there (excluding me now)”



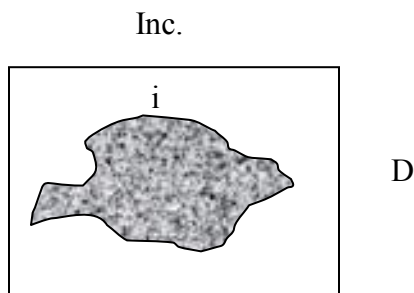
Keys:

Excl	Exclusive
i	Indexical origo, always entails the speaker
D	Denotatum

In this case, the denotatum is “outside the boundaries of the current interactive field, however broadly or narrowly this is converged” (Hanks 1992:59).

When the place (denotatum) referred to is inclusive relative to the location (indexical origo) of the utterance, the speaker uses the proximal form *way e?* ‘here’, as in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Hanks (1992:55): *way e?* “here (including me now)”



Keys:

Incl	Inclusive
i	Indexical origo, always entails the speaker
D	Denotatum

In this case, it can be said that the denotatum is inside “the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks 1992:59).

Hanks (2009:16) emphasizes that “the selection and understanding of deictics relies on the simultaneous articulation of space, perception, discourse, commonsense and mutual knowledge, anticipation and the framework of participation in which speakers and addressees orient one another.”<sup>28</sup> When the present study explains the selection between the distal form *kule*- ‘say like that’ and the proximal form *ile*- ‘go like this’ in reported speech, it follows the above claims by Hanks. For example, the proximal form *ile*- ‘go like this’ will be said to encode that the denotatum (e.g., the form of the reported utterance being animated) is perceptually inside “the boundaries of the current interactive field.” The distal form *kule*- ‘say like that’ will be said to encode that the denotatum (e.g., the reported utterance being animated) is perceptually “outside the boundaries of the current interactive field.”

### **5.5 Communicating the embodied form of speaking and the reporter’s stance**

The following excerpts (3 and 4) show the ways in which the speaker communicates the “embodied” form of speaking (i.e., her stance) with the recipients within the local social context (M. Goodwin and C. Goodwin, 2000). To communicate her stance rather than the referential meaning, the reporting speaker first “selectively depicts” (Clark and Gerrig, 1990) or “entextualizes” the form of another’s talk from the story world and “recontextualizes” (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) it through her shifted prosody and facial expressions in the current context.

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<sup>28</sup> In his study of Chinese conversational discourse, Tao (1999) also suggests that non-concrete dimensions of indexical ground, such as discourse properties of the focused referent, must be considered to understand the interpretation and selection of deictic expressions.

She thus makes the embodied form perceptually visible or immediate and temporally or spatially proximal and making it occur inside “the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks, 1992) at that moment of talk. Second, the reporting speaker codes the referent (i.e., the embodied form and thus her stance) with the proximal verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ so that the addressees understand it as what she wants to communicate with them in that point in the interaction.

In Excerpt 3 below, Hye delivers a hearsay report to Mee and Bok (the analyst) about what her fourth grade son Minsung had previously said about his classmates’ funny pronunciation at an English learning center.

Excerpt (3)

01 Hye:	Kuleko wuli Minsungi-nun ce(h) and our Minsungi-NOM you know	} <b>Z</b>
02	yenge(h)hak(h)wen(h)ey ka(h)-myen(h)-un, to English learning afterschool go-when-TOP	

01-02 *And when our Minsung, your know(h), go(h)es to his Engl(h)ish lear(h)ning aftershool,*

03 Hye: →	chinkwu-tul-i friend-PL-NOM	<div style="border: 1px dashed black; display: inline-block; padding: 2px;">ile-n-tay.</div> <b>go like this-IN-Hearsay</b>	proximal deictic verb
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**X'(meaning)Y'(form) + Z' (Hye's stance)**

04 → {(0.1) ((facial display)) ↑AI: EYM: PHWU: LA: GWU:} < ile-ko,  
 I am plague ile-ko **go like this-and proximal deictic verb**

03-04 *I heard that he said that some of his classmates go “((facial display))↑AI: EYM: PWU: LA: GWU:” < and,*

05	Totaychey palum-ul an- mos	} <b>Z</b>
	at all pronunciation-ACC not unable	
	al-a tut(h)-keyss-ta(h)-nun ke(h)-ya. hhh.	
	understand-CONJ hear-FUT-DC-REL thing-be-DC	

05 *He said that he couldn't understand their English pronunciation at all. hhh.*

06 Mee: HHHH

07 Bok: ((smiling))

01 Hye: 그리고 우리 민성이는

02 저(h) 영어(h) 학(h)원(h)에 가(h)면(h)은,

03 → 친구들이 이런대.

04 → (0.1) {아:엠플: 프:라:그:} < 이려고,

05 도대체 발음을 안- 못 알아 들겠다(h)는(h) 거(h)야. hhh.

06 Mee: HHHH

07 Bok: ((smiling))

At line 3, the reporter, Hye, presupposes that what she wants to focus on or communicate with the addressees will be the embodied form of another's talk and thus her stance, which will be presented inside "the boundary of the current interactive field" (Hanks, 1992). Such presupposition is made through the proximal reporting verb *ile-* 'go like this' (line 3) that appears before the utterance to be quoted.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, at line 4, the form of the characters' pronunciation *Y'* is presented with the current speaker's embodied prosody and facial expressions *Z'* in the reporting context *Z*.

Such presentation is selectively made with the specific voice qualities used by the speaker, as shown in the transcript in line 4. Each word and syllable is equally produced with a high pitch accent. The production of consonants and vowels in each word is not standard Korean pronunciation. Each of these features show that the original speakers' (i.e., the classmates') pronunciation is being formulated as a bizarre and laughable "Konglish" (i.e., Korean-like English), which display the current speaker's stance towards the classmates' talk. In addition, in the video (not included here), Hye's selectively reconstructed ugly facial display and ill-formed shape of mouth reveal that the original speakers' pronunciation is being strangely performed, which also displays the current speaker's negative evaluation of what the reported speakers were doing through that talk.

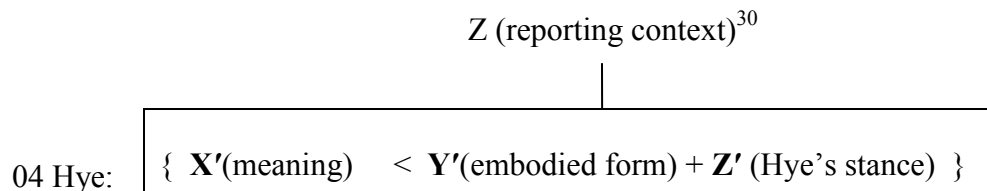
Because of such presentation, the embodied form, and thus the reporting speaker's stance (i.e., *Y'+Z'*), which are organically fused and can be isolated only in abstract terms, is being perceived as 'visible or 'immediate' and temporally or spatially 'proximal' and as occurring inside "the boundaries of the current interactive field" (Hanks, 1992). In other words, at this very moment of animation, the referential meaning *X'* is being pushed to the background, indicated

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<sup>29</sup> The way in which a reporting verb appears before the reported utterance is called 'pre-framing.' (See section 4.5.2.)

with the less-than symbol – < – and instead the embodied form of speaking done by the current speaker (and thus the current speaker’s stance, i.e., Y'+Z') are maximally foregrounded. This process can be seen in Figure 9.

Figure 9

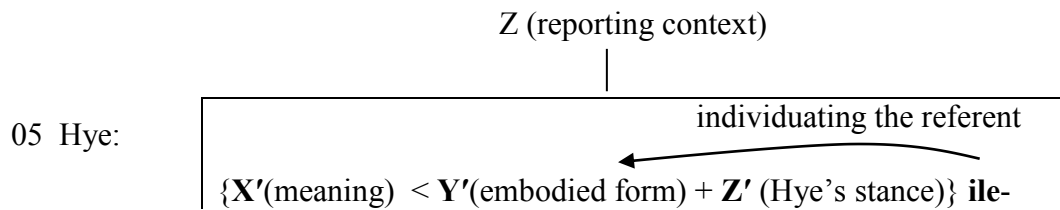


In order for the addressees to easily locate the ‘proximal’ referent (i.e., Y'+Z') as what the reporting speaker wants to communicate with them in the current situation, she individuates or codes it with the ‘proximal’ verb *ile-* ‘go like this.’ This process can be seen in Figure 10.

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<sup>30</sup>. This diagram is modified from that of C. Goodwin and Duranti (1992:3) in order to show the relationship between reporting context and reported utterance. It shows that the reported utterance (equivalent to a “focal event” in C. Goodwin and Duranti) is surrounded by the reporting context (equivalent to a “context” in C. Goodwin and Duranti) that provides resources for the hearers (and analysts) to interpret the former appropriately.

Figure 10



It is clear that Hye wants to communicate with her addressees ‘Bok’ and ‘Mee’ (in line 4) the embodied form of speaking attached to, and thus her own stance towards, the reported talk. In other words, Hye formulates her son’s classmates as the kinds of English learners whose pronunciation is laughable and who are not good at English, particularly compared to her son who had lived in the U.S. Her production in line 4 marks her desire to share this information with the addressees. The speaker’s communicative aim is also distributed across the larger structure of the narrative. It appears from the story preface (lines 1-2) through the end of the story (lines 6-7). For example, in prefacing the telling with the laugh tokens (lines 1-2), she projects that the following story will be funny or how it will be funny (i.e., the form of pronunciation). The negative lexical gloss *Totaychey...mos* ‘couldn’t understand ... at all’ in line 5 and the laugh tokens in line 5 also support the foregrounding of her assessment (i.e., as laughable) of the students’ pronunciation. The recipients’ alignment with the reporting speaker (through laughing) at lines 6-7 displays their orientation towards the assessment put forth in the reporting event.

In Excerpt 4 below, Hye tells Bok (the analyst) about the time her son complained about his teacher’s unfairness in a Korean dictation test. The teacher intentionally read too fast for him to be able to write down any of the words. In the preceding talk, Hye said that Minsung, who is

in the fourth grade, is very good at with English (since he has lived in the U.S.), but this is not the case for Korean.

Excerpt (4)

01 Hye: *Anyway Korean- he has no problem with dictation in Korean at the afterschool, but (0.7) he receives zero points only at the public school.*

02 Bok: *That's because the teacher has a problem with producing sound,*

03 [ isn't it ? ]

04 Hye: [*>There(h)fore(h)<*] *If I ask him, "Minsung! wh:(hh)y did you get zero points from school?"*,

**X'(meaning)Y'(form) + Z' (Hye's stance)**

05 → (0.5) { >↑ Minsungi-nun san-ulo olla ka-ss-supnita.< } (0.2)  
 Minsung -NOM mountain-to go up-PST-DC

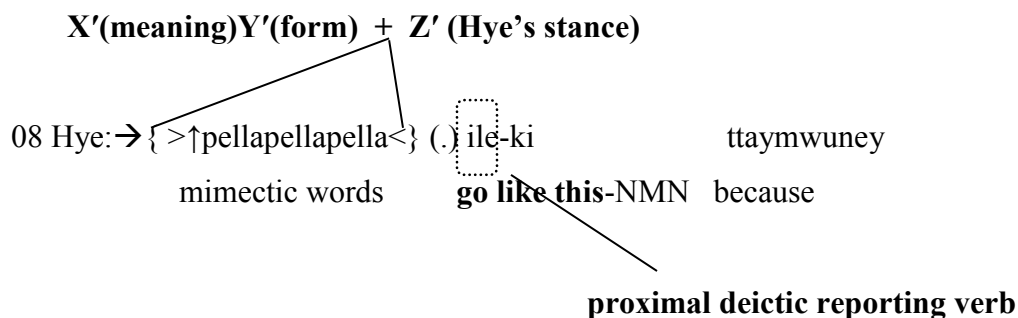
**proximal deictic adverb + reporting verb**

06 → i(h)leh(h)key(h) ilk-nun-[ta(h)nun(h) ke(h) yey(h)-yo. hh]  
**like this** **read**-IN-DC-REL fact- be-DC



05-06 *I heard he said the teacher reads like this “>Minsung went up to a mountain.<”*

07 Bok: [H H H H H HH ] HH h



09 ca(h)ki(h)-ka pata(h) ssul(h) swu(h)ka eps-tay. Tocehi(h).  
 self-NOM write down be unable-Hearsay at all

08-09 *Because the teacher goes “>pella pella pella<”, I heard he said he can't write down any word at all.*

10 Bok: *The other kids have no problem with writing down,*

11 Hye: *They can all write down.*

12 Bok: *Why does she re-read so fast?*

01 Hye: 근데 한글- 학원에 가서는 받아쓰기를 따박따박 써갖고 오는데, (0.7)  
 학교에서만 빵점을 받아 오는 거야.

02 Bok: 선생이 발음에 문제가 있는 거 [아냐.

03 Hye:   [>그러(h)니까(h)<=

04                 =너 민성아, 너 왜:(hh) (0.2) 너 학교에서 빵점 받아 갖고 와? >그러면은,<

05                 {(0.5) >민성이는 산으로 올라 갔습니다.<} (0.2)

06                 이렇게읽는[다(h)는 거(h)예(h)요(h). hh]

07 Bok:   [H H H H H    HH] HH h

08 Hye:                 >벌라벌라벌라<(.) 이러(h)기 때문에

09                 자(h)기(h)가 받아(h) 쓸(h) 수(h)가 없대. 도저(h)히.

10 Bok:                 다른 애들은 다 받아 적는데,

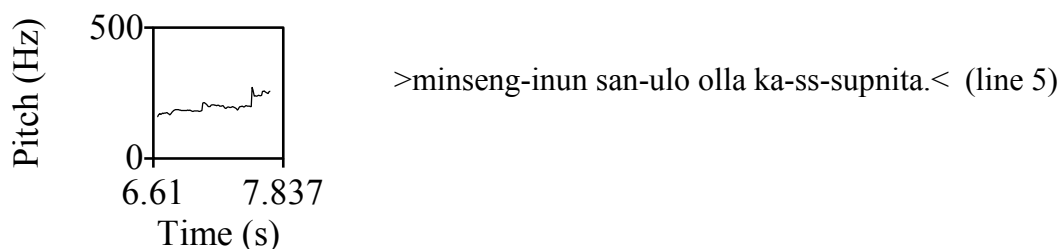
11 Hye:                 다들(h) 받아: 적지.

12 Bok:                 넘 빨리 하- 왜 그리 빨리 하지?

Although Minsung, who received zero points on the exam, expressed a complaint in the story event (line 9), his mother (i.e., the current speaker, Hye) reconstructs the hearsay as humorous in the unfolding current situation. It may be true that Hye is complaining about the teacher's fast reading because her son received zero points. However, given the laugh tokens (lines 4, 6, and 9) in the reporting context, it is clear that the Hye (the reporter) is making fun of the teacher's reading. Again, Hye the reporting speaker wants to share with the addressee the embodied form of the reported utterance, and thus her own stance towards the talk being quoted. To achieve this communicative goal, Hye draws on systematic ways of animation. She highlights the form of the reported utterance through her shifted prosody (i.e., fast production) so that the embodied form and thus her stance (i.e., Y'+Z') can be perceived by the addressee as immediate or proximal inside "the boundaries of the current interactive field" (Hanks, 1992). She then individuates the 'proximal' referent (i.e., Y'+Z') with the 'proximal' verb *ile-* 'go like this' so

that the addressee can easily locate it without being confused with the referential meaning of the talk (i.e., X') simultaneously being quoted. For example, Hye first produces the quoted utterance extremely fast (1.22 second for a 13-syllable utterance, as shown with the transcript symbol ‘ > < ’) after a 0.5 second pause. Figure 11a illustrates this.

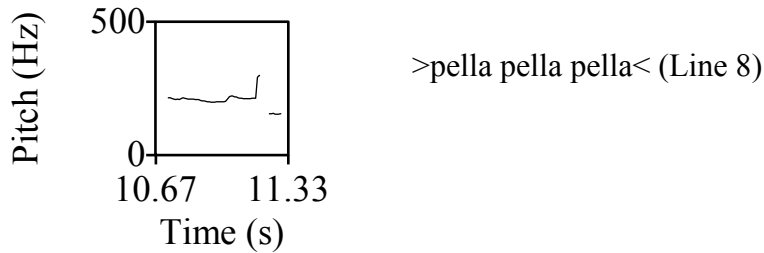
Figure 11a. Fast production



Such fast reading is signaled by the way in which Hye (line 6) combines the reporting verb *ilk-* ‘read’ with the manner adverb *ilehkey* ‘like this,’ which demonstrates the teacher’s ‘manner of reading.’<sup>31</sup> While being recycled in the next turn (line 8), the same quoted utterance is selectively designed to include components from the prior utterance as well as those that have not yet appeared in the prior talk. That is, it is produced even faster (i.e., 0.66 seconds for 6-syllable-word utterance), which is indicated with the transcript symbol ‘ > < ’ and also illustrated in Figure 11b below.

<sup>31</sup> I argue that reporting speakers draw on such combinations in order to individuate the denotatum (i.e., the form of reading) more precisely (Hanks, 1992:60; Lucy, 1993:98).

Figure 11b. Extremely fast production



It is also substituted with unintelligible meaning of “lexical fillers” (Günthner, 1997) which indicate that the teacher’s voice is to be taken as having the same referential content as the preceding but call attention to the specific form (i.e., even faster reading).

As a result of such animation, the embodied form, and thus the current speaker’s stance (i.e.,  $Y'+Z'$ ), emerge perceptually ‘visible’ or ‘immediate’ and ‘proximal’ inside “the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks, 1992), as seen in Figure 12.

Figure 12.

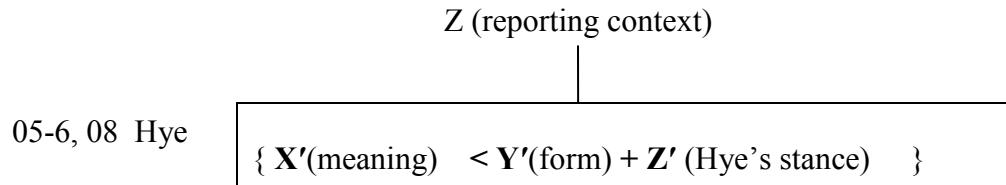
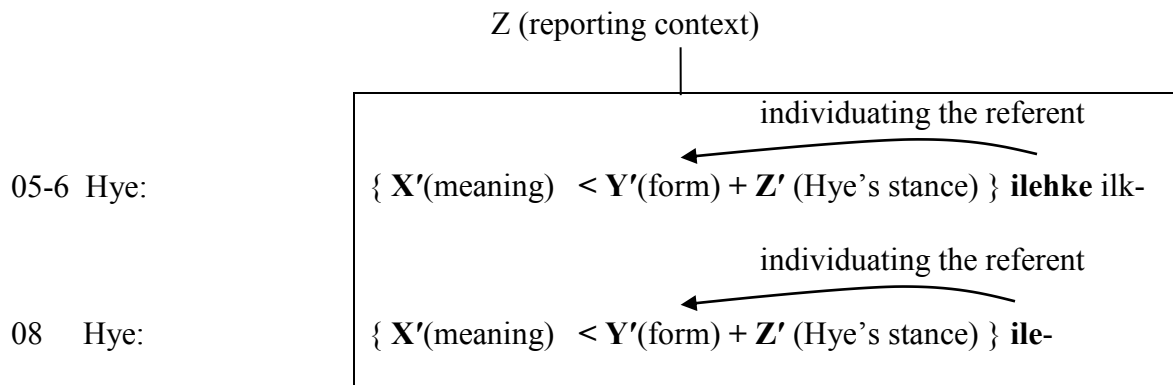


Figure 12 shows that the embodied form and thus the current speaker’s stance (lines 5 and 8) are foregrounded (i.e.,  $Y'+Z'$ ), with the referential meaning (i.e.,  $X'$ ) backgrounded.

In order to single out the ‘proximal’ referent (i.e., Y'+Z') from the whole reported utterance and help the recipient to locate it easily, the reporting speaker selects the ‘proximal’ deictic adverb *ilehke* ‘like this’ plus the saying verb *ilk-* ‘read’ (lines 5-6) and the proximal deictic verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ (line 8), as seen in Figure 13.

Figure 13



Indeed, the recipient, Bok, displays his orientation to the referent (i.e, the embodied form of reported utterance and thus Hye’s stance) with laughter tokens (line 7). He also displays it by saying ‘Why does she re-read so fast?’ (line 12).

### 5.5.1 Non-linguistic expression with *ile-*

By showing a phenomenon where nonverbal expressions are framed only with the proximal deictic verb *ile-* ‘go like this,’ this section supports the argument thus far that *ile-* ‘go like this’ is used to individuate and communicate the form of speaking being reported, which is reconstructed as perceptually visible or immediate and proximal inside “the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks, 1992).

In Excerpt 5, as a coparticipant in the story event, Hye reenacts her fourth grade son's (Woosung's) innocent reply of 'two big nods' to his female teacher's question "Do I look ugly?" on his first day of school.

Excerpt (5)

01 Hye: A:(h), >ani kuntey< ay-ka ches:nal, sensayng-nim-hantey,  
 Oh(h) you know son-NOM first day teacher-HON-DAT  
*Oh(h), anyway, you know, on the first day of school,*

02 mos sanyki-ess-ni? kule-nikkan,  
 look ugly-PST-QS say like that-because  
*when his teacher said "Do I look ugly?"*

03 → {{{(two big nods with silence)}}} ilay-pe(h)ri(h)-n ke(h)-ye-yo.  
 go like this-AUX-REL-fact-be-DC

*Woosung we(h)nt ((two big nodding with silence)).*

04 >Because of that,< I noticed that I was sweating a lot:.

05 Bok: [hhhh hh=

06 Mee: [hhhh hh=

01 Hye: 아:h, >아니 근데,< 애가 첫:날, 선생님한테,

- 02            못 생겼니? 그러니깐,  
 03            { (( two big nods with silence)) } 이래 버(h)린(h) 거(h)예요.  
 04            그러(h)니(h)까는, 내가 얼::마:나 땀이 실실 나(h)더(h)라구.  
 05 Bok:    [hhhh hh =  
 06 Mee:    [hhhh hh =

In line 3, Hye demonstrates her son's two big nods through full reenactment. The nodding inside the curly brackets – { } – is “depicted selectively” (Clark and Gerrig, 1990) with the current speaker's gaze towards the teacher in the story event, two big up-and-down movements and then silence, as if the character in the story event is performing the action ‘here and now.’ Thus, the ‘form’ of replying is directly quoted through the current speaker's (i.e., the Origo's <sup>32</sup>) whole body. Put another way, the form is reconstructed to be perceptually visible or immediate and proximal to the current speaker's (i.e., the Origo's) body or inside “the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks, 1992). As a result, the selection of *ilay-* (a phonological variant of *ile-* ‘go like this’) is required to refer to the quoted gesture. It is impossible to select the distal *kule-* ‘say like that; do like that’ in this context. Thus, *ile-* can be said to be designed for individuating a specific form of speaking from the quoted utterance which is visibly/proximally reconstructed onto the reporting speaker's body or inside “the boundaries of the current interactive field.”

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<sup>32</sup> Hanks (1992).

## 5.6 Communicating referential meaning

This section will demonstrate the ways in which a speaker can optionally communicate the referential meaning instead of the embodied form (i.e., her own stance). I will show that such a communicative goal is achieved, first, through the current speaker's animation with various degrees of unshifted prosody/gesture, which relegates the embodied form of the quoted utterance to the background and foregrounds the referential meaning. Second, and more importantly, the selection of the distal verb *kule-* 'say like that' enables the interlocutors to achieve this as a clear communicative goal.

In Excerpt 6, Hye, who is visiting the U.S., recounts to Mee and Bok (the analyst) what she heard from the Korean mass media. Mee and Bok alike live in the U.S.. The current speaker reports what a famous television actor, Won, said to his children when they were young. The actor's son was running for Congress in Korea at the time of Hye's reporting.

Excerpt (6)

01 Mee: *(Mr. Won=)*

02 Hye: *=I heard that he said to his son "I educated you by being an actor."*

03 Mee: *Right.*

04 Hye: *Mr. Won,*

05 Mee: *Right. Right.*

06 Hye: *Therefore,*

07 Mee: *Right.*



**X'(meaning)Y'(form) + Z' (Hye's stance)**

08 Hye: → {neney-nun (0.2) e sahoey-ey philyoha-n salam-i toy-la}  
 you guys-NOM um community-for need-REL persons-NOM become-IE

**deictic reporting verb**

-ko kul-ayss-tay.  
 -QT **say like that**-PST-Hearsay

08 *I heard that he had said "You guys (0.2) um behave as persons whom the community needs."*

09 Bok: (0.5)

01 Mee: (원씨가=)

02 Hye: ={나는 평생 (.) 얼굴에 (.) 분을 발르면서 너희들을 교육시켰다} 이거야.

03 Mee: 어.

04 Hye: 원씨가,

05 Mee: 어. 어.

06 Hye: 그랬으니깐,

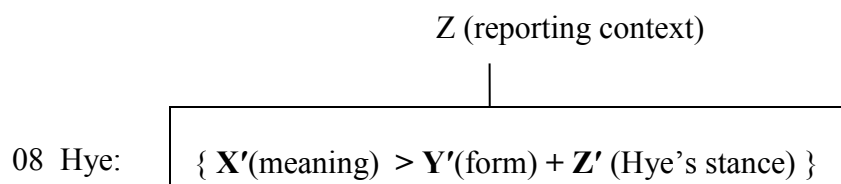
07 Mee: 어.

08 Hye: → {너네는 (0.2) 어 사회에 필요한 사람이 되라}고 그랬대.

09 Bok: (0.5)

In line 8, the voice quality with which Hye quotes Won’s talk is the same as her normal voice (lines 2, 4, and 6) with which she talks with the addressees in the current situation. While animating, she makes efforts to remember the referential content of the hearsay. For example, there is a 0.2 second pause and the use of the information tracking discourse marker *e* ‘um’<sup>33</sup> in line 8, which are both being used to track the referential content heard from the mass media. As a result, the embodied form of speaking and thus the current speaker’s stance (i.e., Y'+Z') are maximally backgrounded and invisible or distal to “the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks, 1992). Contrastingly, the referential meaning (i.e., X') is foregrounded. These can be seen in Figure 14.

Figure 14



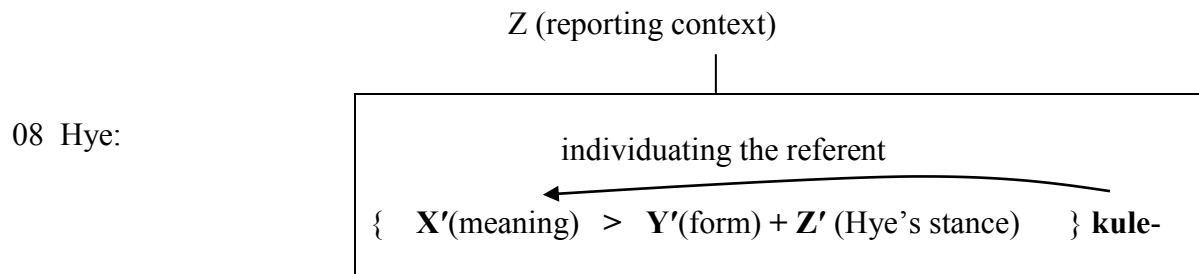
However, while the referential meaning is foregrounded it is not necessarily visible and proximal to “the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks, 1992). Since there is less or no visible participation in the animation of the current speaker, and thus the animation itself is perceived as occurring in the story world, the referential meaning is also perceived as occurring in the story world.

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<sup>33</sup> Y. Kim (2006: 258) also discusses that in a specific context (i.e., combined with *kesiki* ‘whatchama-call-it’) *e* is used by speakers to recollect memory while holding the on-going turn. Thus, the present study will call *e* (line 8) ‘information tracking discourse marker.’

In order to individuate the referent X' that is distal to “the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks, 1992), the reporting speaker codes it with the distal verb *kule-* ‘say like that’ so that the addressees can easily locate it, as in Figure 15.

Figure 15



In Excerpt 7 below, the reporting speaker, Hye, recounts why she had to send her son Woosung to school the first day they arrived in Korea from the U.S. She animates her son’s past utterances.

Excerpt (7)

01 Hye: *Our son Woosung, (0.2) I took him to his school on the first day we both got off from an airplane from Los Angles. I did so,*

02 Mee: *From the first day?*

03 Hye: *On the first day we got off from an airplane, to his elementary school;*

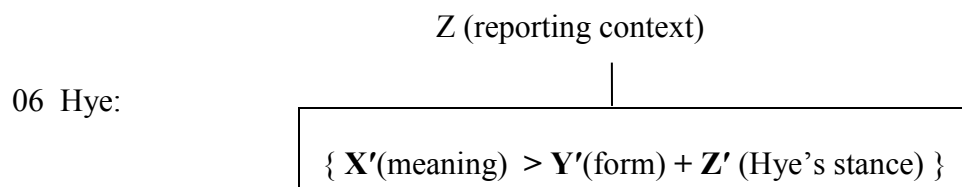
04 Mee: *Did you take him to his school right away?=<sup>1</sup>*



09 Bok: ((nodding))

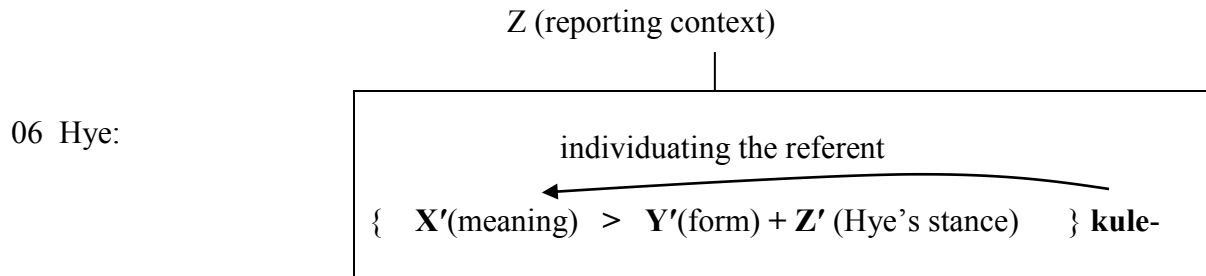
Again, there is no prosodically shifted voice quality between the reporting and reported speakers, as shown in the transcript in lines 5-8. At line 6, the embodied form of speaking (i.e., the current speaker's stance) is maximally backgrounded. Consequentially, the referential meaning is foregrounded and provides an account of the preceding talk (lines 1-5), that is, why she had to take her son to school despite the recent arrival after a 20-hour long flight, as shown in Figure 16.

Figure 16



To help the recipients easily locate the referent X' that is distal to “the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks, 1992), the reporting speaker codes it with the distal verb *kule-* ‘say like that,’ as in Figure 17.

Figure 17



Additionally, the current speaker rapidly provides subsequent accounts without allowing the recipients to reply, indicated by the symbol '> <' in lines 5-8. Thus, it is clear that the distal verb *kule-* is selected to individuate or focus on the character's voice instead of the current speaker's stance that solicits "stance-follow" (DuBois, 2007) from the recipients.

### 5.7 Conclusion

This chapter showed how the quoted talk of another is communicated between the speaker and the other participants. During acts of quotation, the components fused inside the quoted utterance (i.e., the referential meaning and the embodied form, or the reporting speaker's stance) are not simply spoken to nor simply heard by the recipients. Instead one is negotiated over the other according to the unfolding interaction. This communicative aim is achieved by the choice of the contrasting deictic framing verbs (i.e., *ile-* 'go like this' vs. *kule-* 'say like that').

This chapter also demonstrated that in order to communicate her stance instead of the referential meaning, a reporting speaker must first decontextualize the form of another's talk from the story world and recontextualize it through shifted prosody and/or facial expressions in the reporting context. She thus makes the embodied form perceptually 'visible/immediate' and temporally/spatially 'proximal', and makes it occur inside "the boundaries of the current

interactive field” (Hanks, 1992) at the very moment of talk. Second, the reporting speaker codes the referent (the embodied form of the reported utterance and thus her implicit stance) with the ‘proximal’ verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ so that the addressees can easily locate it.

This chapter also demonstrated that the ‘distal’ deictic framing verb *kule-* ‘say like that’ is used to individuate the referential meaning that is being reconstructed perceptually ‘invisible/non-immediate’ and ‘distal’ and occur “outside the boundaries of the current interactive field” (Hanks, 1992). Unlike the quotation done with the proximal framing verb *ile-* ‘go like this,’ in the quotation with the distal verb, the speaker does not solicit the addressees’ response to the reporting, but instead works to provide background information for the subsequent talk.

Unlike in written discourse, the predominant occurrence of the deictic framing verbs in naturally occurring face-to-face conversation (i.e., 247 instances out of 440 in the corpus data, presented in section 4.3 in chapter 4) can be interpreted in a few ways. First, the components fused into the talk being quoted (the referential meaning and the reporting speaker’s stance) are not equally communicated among the interlocutors; instead, one is negotiated over the other according to the unfolding interaction. Second, the use of the different deictic framing verbs is an interactional resource for both speakers and addressees to achieve this communicative goal.

From this analysis, the present study argues that an individual’s emotive/affective aspects are captured in the form of the reported utterance, not in its referential content (Romaine and Lange, 1991:240). More specifically, the reporting speaker’s affective aspects (their implicit stance) can be captured in the embodied form of the reported utterance, which is formulated with shifted “prosody, voice quality” (Günthner, 1999), “contextualization cues” (Gumperz, 1982), and/or paralinguistics (e.g., facial expressions, head movements, gestures).

## Chapter 6: Reported dialogue

### 6.1 Introduction

For the present study, the term ‘reported dialogue’ or reported speech exchange refers to a speech exchange between characters in a story event that is quoted by a reporting speaker. Excerpt 1, below, illustrates a reported dialogue from Couper-Kulen (2007:83). At lines 22-23, the speaker Edna quotes a speech exchange (i.e., reported dialogue) that she had with her husband Bud in a past event, “I say you’d better take it down Friday to the Fridees’ and he says Oh I will Saturday.”

Except (1) [NBVII:Power Tolls: 1]

- 20 Edn: → = .hh Yah b’ djihknow we took about nine books up there et  
21 → the(p) (.) uh:the: the↑: e-stamp place’n he got a little pa:r  
22 → tool Fri:dee’n I sz yih better take it do:wn t-Fridee the  
23 → the-t-Fridee’z’n’e [sz Oh]: I will Saghturdee=  
24 Mar: [°whhew]  
25 Edn: = :hhunh[↑unh-↑u|nh-uh]  
26 Mar: [.hhhhh[w:We:] ll,=

In the literature on reported speech, there have been no studies on reported dialogues themselves, and only a few sources have discussed them in any detail. Although their focus of these latter sources was not on, for example, how a reporting speaker takes a stance between reported characters in talk-in-interaction, they provide useful insights into the analysis of the



present study of reported talk in Korean. In her analysis of German conversation, Günthner (1997) found that reported dialogue is presented with alternation between direct reported speech and indirect reported speech. She concludes that the alternation may function to differentiate between the different characters on stage, to contrast the figures and their states of mind, to contextualize background information versus narrative climax, and to contextualize concordant versus discordant utterances. In English conversation, Romaine and Lange (1991) observed that reporting speakers alternate between *be like* and other verbs of saying (e.g., *say*) in delivering past conversations between the reporting speakers and their interlocutors. They claimed that such alternation is used to demarcate the roles of speakers and others in the story event. For example, one speaker made use of *be like* to report her own thoughts, *go* to introduce her own speech, and *say* to introduce her the speech of her interlocutor.

According to the analysis of the video corpus data for the present study, reported dialogues in Korean conversations can be characterized as follows. First, turns of reported dialogue can be presented using only direct reported speech, with alternation between direct reported speech and indirect reported speech, or with alternation between either indirect or direct speech and quasi-direct speech. The sole use of direct reported speech modes is a practice used predominantly to represent the turns of the characters in reported dialogues. Thus it seems, at least in Korean, that the alternation between different speech modes does not play a role in differentiating between the different characters on stage (cf. Günthner, 1997). Rather, as discussed in chapter 4, the present study argues that the choice of different speech modes in reported dialogue has to do with ways, for example, in which reporting speakers, while quoting some prior spate of talk, offer recipients direct access to the quoted content. In this chapter's analysis of reported dialogue, the study will also argue that the choice of one speech mode over

another involves ways in which a reporter wants to (or does not want to) show a visible interaction among the reported characters in the story event. Such a practice then allows the addressees to evaluate the point of the reported dialogue directly. For example, if a reporting speaker wants to quote both the referential meaning and the form of a character's utterance, he or she will deliver the reported utterance with a direct speech mode. If there is no need to quote the form of the other character's utterance – only the referential meaning – then the reporting speaker will use an indirect speech mode.

Many instances of reported dialogues are framed with either different reporting verbs or the same reporting verbs. This indicates that the alternation between different reporting verbs may not contribute to demarcating different reported characters in a reported dialogue (cf. Romaine and Lange, 1991). Instead, as previously discussed in chapter 5, the study argues that if one reporting verb is selected over another, it assigns a different metapragmatic description to the reported utterance (Silverstein, 1985).

Thus, what is worth examining on speech exchanges, at least in Korean conversation, seems not to be about the alternation between direct and indirect reported speech. It does not seem to be the case that the use of different reporting verbs will differentiate between characters's voices on stage. But it may be worth asking, for example, *why* speakers quote the utterances of both characters (i.e., a speech exchange) rather than quoting the utterance of a single character toward whom they adopt a stance.

The present chapter aims to analyze systematic practices in which reporting speakers quote a speech exchange of characters in the reported event, adopt a stance towards the talk of a character (or characters) and their actions done through that talk, and invite the addressees to co-assess the character(s) and their talk. From this perspective, this chapter may be seen as an

expansion of chapter 5. However, chapter 5 focused on the function of the deictic reporting verbs themselves, that is, individuating the specific referent in a reported utterance (i.e., its referential meaning or the form). Again, based on the function of the deictic reporting verbs, the present chapter analyzes ways in which reporting speakers take a stance towards the talk of a character (or characters) in reported dialogues. In doing so, the present study will introduce the function of different interactional components and practices: contextualizing frames, turn allocation between or among the reported characters, the use of direct speech mode for both characters, and the use of the deictic reporting verbs. Each of these enable reporting speakers to display their stance and guide the recipients to how the reported speech exchange should be understood within the on-going interaction.

In section 6.2, the study will introduce the concept of ‘contextualizing frames’ and discuss their placement in relation to reported dialogue. It will be shown that a contextualizing frame guides the recipients towards understanding the point of the reported dialogue (i.e., the stancetaking actions enacted through it). Section 6.3 deals with turn allocation between or among the characters in reported dialogue and its interactional function. In section 6.4, the study will analyze the ways in which a reporting speaker takes a stance towards the talk of a character and his action. In particular, it will show that the use of deictic reporting verbs *ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that’ – along with a contextualizing frame, direct reported speech, and turn allocation – play a crucial role in helping the recipients figure out what is being foregrounded between the form and the referential meaning of reported utterances in the dialogue. The chapter will conclude in section 6.5.

## 6.2 The contextualizing frame

From an analysis of the video data it was found that when speakers make use of a reported dialogue,<sup>34</sup> they do not simply deliver it to the recipients, but also provide contextual information so that the point of the dialogue (i.e., their assessment and position towards the character and his action) can be appropriately understood by the recipients (Sacks, 1972:274; Buttny, 1997, 1998:49). This kind of evaluative information will be referred to as a ‘contextualizing frame’<sup>35</sup> in the sense that it contextualizes the reported dialogue so that other participants can read the point of the dialogue within the scope of the unfolding interaction.

Because of their close connection with reported dialogue, contextualizing frames are placed immediately prior to, after, and/or between the reported dialogue sequence. It should be noted that a contextualizing frame is not a single frame or a chunk of information that appears only once in one of the aforementioned positions. Rather it is a progressive development of prior talk that leads up to where the target reported dialogue is produced, and following talk that is closely attached to the preceding reported dialogue.

The following reported dialogue, in Excerpt 2, demonstrates the function and placement of a contextualizing frame.

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<sup>34</sup> Reported speech or reported dialogue can be used for such purposes as providing “evidence” for an assessment of the reporting speaker of the reported character and his action (Hill and Irvine, 1993).

<sup>35</sup> In this chapter, the present study uses the term ‘contextualizing frame’ to represent a narrower understanding of ‘reporting context.’ This is because the present study purports that a ‘reporting context’ includes a range of interactional features (from both the speaker and the hearer) which may be either crucial or peripheral to interpreting the reported utterance. A ‘contextualizing frame,’ on the other hand, is a transformative environment that the reporting speaker constantly builds in order to help the other participants understand the point of the reported dialogue.

Excerpt (2) Minsung, 16:07-16:15

*In the talk preceding this excerpt, Hye quoted a phone conversation between a parent of her son's classmate and herself in which the other parent quoted her daughter's school journal. In the journal, Hye's son Minsung was described as a victim of their teacher's teasing. The teacher teased Minsung in several ways. For example, she intentionally read Korean dictation sentences extremely fast so that he couldn't write them down, and when he received zeros on the dictation exam, the teacher also announced his poor grade in front of the other classmates. At line 51 below, Hye (Character 1 as well as reporting speaker) assesses her son (Character 2) and his action under that kind of situation.*

51 Hye:            *However, my son doesn't get distressed at all. ← contextualizing frame*

52 Bok:           *HH. he really has a good personality.=*

53 Hye:           = >kulaykacko,<  
                      thus

54            Chr 1    {ppangcem}-ila kulay-to,  
                      zero point-QT say like that-although

55            Chr 2    (.) {tto ppangcem mac-ko siph-e?} Ø  
                      again zero point(-ACC) get-want to-DC

← reported dialogue

56            Chr 1    (0.2) {↑way?} kulay-ss-teni,  
                      why s ay like that-PST-CONJ

57            Chr 2    (0.2) {↑caymi-ss-canha.} ile(h)-te(h)lakwu(h). hh[hh  
                      fun-exist-DC go like this-Dec

←reported dialogue

54            *Chr 1 → (I) said that he got zeroes.*

55 Chr 2 → (He said) “I want to get zeroes again.”

56 Chr 1 → (I) said (0.2) “↑Why?”

57 Chr 2 → (He) went (0.2) “↑It’s fun.” hh[hh

58 Bok: [HH [H

59 Mee: [hhh=

51 Hye: 근데, 우리 민성이는 그게 전혀 괴롭지가 않은거야.

52 Bok: HH. 좋은 인성이다 진짜.=

53 Hye: =>그래갖고<,

54 Chr 1→ {빵점}이라 그래도.

55 Chr 2→ (.) {또 빵점 맞고 싶어?}

56 Chr 1→ (0.2) {↑왜?} 그랬더니,

57 Chr 2→ (0.2) {↑재밌잖아.} 이러(h)더(h)라구(h). hh[hh

58 Bok: [HH[H

59 Mee: [hhh=

60 Hye: =근(h)데 인자 >그래갖고<

61 선생님이 (.) 인제 영- 그니까 영어가 되니깐,

Line 51 functions as a contextualizing frame for the exchange that follows, placed immediately *before* the sequence of reported dialogue (lines 54-57). The contextualizing frame pretells the recipients (i.e., Bok [the analyst] and Mee) how to read the point of the prior dialogue in its current position in the unfolding interaction. That is, through the reporting interaction, the

recipients are guided to what will be said about Minsung (i.e., the character) in the dialogue that follows, which is about his good personality. Indeed, Bok (line 52) registers and aligns with such an assessment, saying “HH. he really has a good personality.” The reported dialogue that follows is also all about Minsung’s personality (i.e., not getting distressed) within the situation under discussion. Without this kind of contextual information, the recipients might not read the dialogue in just that desired way. For example, they might misunderstand that the point of the dialogue is to show how Character 1 (Minsung) challenged Character 2’s (his mother) disapproval.

Again, a contextualizing frame provides context for how to interpret the reported dialogue, and the reported dialogue, in turn, provides an instance that supports the contextualizing frame. For example, in Excerpt 2, the contextualizing frame (line 51) pretells the recipients that the communicative goal is to talk about Character 2’s good personality, a claim that the reported dialogue supports. To appropriately read a reported dialogue within the reporting context, it is crucial for interlocutors to constantly orient towards the contextualizing frame.

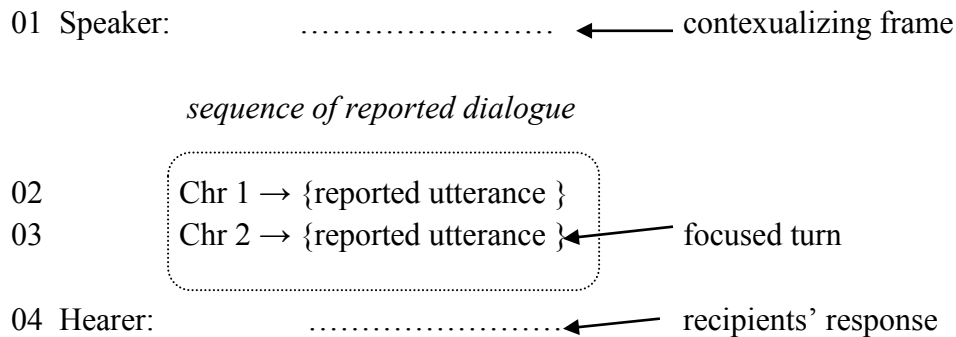
In section 6.4, I will discuss the use of a ‘contextualizing frame’ to analyze what type of stance a reporting speaker takes towards a character’s reported utterance and the actions done through that talk.

### **6.3 Turn allocation and the focused turn, and their interactional function**

In reported dialogues, the turns between or among the reported characters are allocated in a systematic way according to the contextualizing frame, which pretells the recipients how to read a speech exchange within the reporting interaction. That is, when a reporting speaker

delivers a sequence of reported dialogue between two characters, this practice consists of at least two turns. Within these turns, the speaker allocates the utterance of a character to be evaluated in the reporting situation to the subsequent turn which operates on the prior. (The subsequent turn's operation on the prior will be called 'the focused turn,' in that it is the target utterance towards which the reporting speaker wants the recipients to take a stance.) For example, if there are two turns between two characters, the talk of the character that the reporting speaker wants the recipients to focus on (according the contextualizing frame) is assigned to the second turn, as in Figure 18.

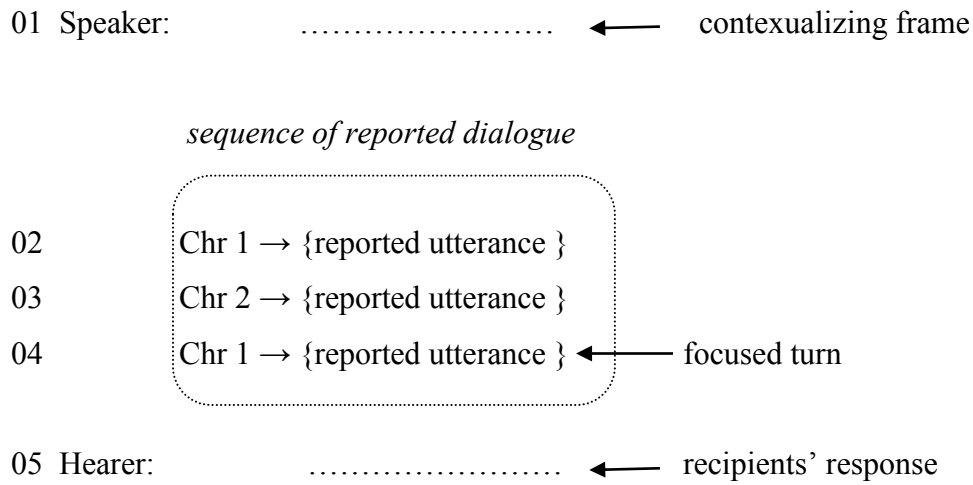
Figure 18. Allocating two turns



If there are three turns between two characters, then the focused talk of a character is allocated to the third turn, as in Figure 19, and so on.



Figure 19. Allocating three turns



As shown above, turn allocation plays an important role in signaling to the recipients when the reported dialogue may or might end, where the focused turn of the dialogue is located, and where the recipients' responses (i.e., their co-assessment) are preferred. The focused turn<sup>36</sup> is constructed as the one that should be evaluated and seen by the recipients as, for example, containing something cool or laughable within the reported speaker's prior talk. To understand the focused turn or the reported speech at target in an appropriate way, the recipients rely on the contextualizing frame that appears immediately *before* and/or *after* the reported speech exchange.

This practice will be analyzed in the following excerpts. In Excerpt 3 below, four mutual male friends (Soo, Bok [the analyst], Won, and Sik) are talking about general qualifications of acupuncturists in the U.S.. Here Won's current talk (lines 15-16, 18, 20-21), and the dialogue

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<sup>36</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the focused turn should be the last turn in a reported dialogue, as there may be another subsequent turn that follows it. For example, if the recipients do not show co-alignment, the reporting speaker may add another subsequent turn that again invites the recipients to co-assess it.

between a middle-aged woman and an acupuncturist that he quotes (lines 25-27, 30, 32-35), are the target of analysis.

Excerpt (3) Acupuncturists, 1.53

*In several turns prior the transcript, Soo expressed his strong hatred of an acupuncturist because of malpractice issues that destroyed the life of his close friend. He then (line 11) generalizes that anybody can become an acupuncturist regardless of their lack of medical knowledge. The other two addressees, Bok (line 12) and Sik (line 13), align with this assessment. After the other three participants (Soo, Bok, and Sik) have produced a negative assessment of acupuncturists in the U.S., Won (line 15), as the last person who has not yet made any comment, interrupts Sik's turn (line 14), and begins a second story (Sacks, 1974) by recounting what he previously heard from a radio program about the topic..*



- 11 Soo: *Anybody can become an acupuncturist here.*  
12 Bok: *I think that's a problem.*  
13 Sik: *I agree with you.*  
14 *Unlike those acupuncturists in Korea, [they are not smart,]*



28 Bok: (( [nodding ]))

29 Soo: [uh. uh. ]

30 Won: → ikhey, hwacangsil kamyen, yocok-i cakkwu aphu-ko},  
this thing bathroom go-if this side-NOM often give pain-CONN

31 hh mwe ilay mwul-unikka,  
somewhat like this asked-CONN,

30-31 “ this thing, whenever I go to bathroom, I continue to have pain on this side,”  
h h she asked a question,

32 Chr 2 h h i nomi hanun soli-ka, ← **focused turn**  
this quack-Nom say-Rel word-Nom

33 → (1.0){↑kukey- >kulem mali< cyo:..  
that- then ask-Hon.Int

34 → >sopyen posi-ko nase, aphulo takk-sup-nikka?  
urinating-after from front wipe off-Non-Def.Int

35 → twuilo takk-sup-nikka?<} ile-nun ke-ya. hhhhh  
from back wipe-off-Hon-Def.Int go like this-Rel fact-be.Pln.Dec

32-35 hh this quack goes, (1.0) “ ↑That- >then I’m asking<  
>after urinating, do you wipe from front to back  
or from back to front?<” hhhhh

36 Sik: hhhhhhhh ← **responses from the recipients**

37 Bok: hhhhhh

38 Soo: *He is insane.*

11 Soo: 개나 소나 다 한의사니까.

12 Bok: 그러니까 문제가 있는 거 같아요.

13 Sik: 여기 한의사는 그런 거 같아요

14 진짜 한국처럼 그런 [수재들이 하는 게 아니고,]

15 Won: ((smiling alone)) [아::: 지난번에 (1.0) 저, ]

16 나 차를 타고 가다가 라디오 듣다가 어떻게 웃었는지.

17 Sik: Uh.

18 Won: 한의사들 가끔씩 나와서 상담하는 거 있잖아.

19 Sik: Ah:::=

20 Won: 있잖아? 라디오에서 “뭐든지 물어보세요. ↑잉.”

21 뭐, 이런 사람 나와서 하는 ㅎㅎㅎㅎ

22 Sik: HHHHHHHH

23 Bok: hhhh

24 Soo: ([ )·어쩌고] 저쩌고 하는 거.

25 Won: Chr1 → [아 줌 마 가- ]

26 → 아주머니가 나와가지고,

27 → “아 저는요, (.) 줌 이케 (.) 뭐 (.) 이케 (.) 요도 쪽에 뭐가 있어 가지고,

28 Bok: (( [nodding ]))

29 Soo: [uh. uh. ]

30 Won: → 이케, 화장실 가면, 요쪽이 자꾸 아프고,”

31 ㅎㅎ 뭐 이래 물으니까,

- 32 Chr 2 → ㅎㅎ 이 놈이 하는 소리가,  
 33 → (1.0) “↑그게- >그럼 말이< 죠..  
 34 → >소변을 보시고 나서, 앞으로 닦습니까?  
 35 → 뒤로 닦습니까? <” 이러는 거야. ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ  
 36 Sik: hhhhhhhhh  
 37 Bok: hhhhhhh  
 38 Soo: 미친새끼

In lines 16 and 20-21 Won assesses a past event (the radio talk show) and the main character (the acupuncturist) in the event. He describes the event as laughable (line 16, “I laughed a lot”) and puts the main character at the center of the topic of his talk (lines 18, 20-21). Quoting a sample utterance (line 20) that the character used on the talk show, Won treats him as someone to be laughed at. This is done by attaching ↑ *ING* (line 20)<sup>37</sup> to the end of his utterance. Not only is the reported utterance delivered with a laughable Korean accent (a *Jeolla* accent), but also the discourse particle ‘↑ *ING*’ attached to it makes the whole utterance itself laughable. In addition, because the other interlocutors (lines 11-14) have already made a negative assessment of acupuncturists in general and Won is the last person to join a sequence of such assessments, the acupuncturist from the talk show is treated by both Won and the recipients as an example of an unqualified acupuncturist and his consulting question treated as similarly unqualified. Thus, the

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<sup>37</sup> The Jeolla dialects are spoken in the Jeolla (Honam) region of South Korea, including the city of Gwangju. The speakers have a tendency to end sentences with *-ing* [ɪŋ]. The way in which the quoted utterance (line 20) is being pronounced with a Jeolla accent and *-ing* [ɪŋ] is treated by Won (line 21), Sik (line 22) and Bok (line 23) as laughable.

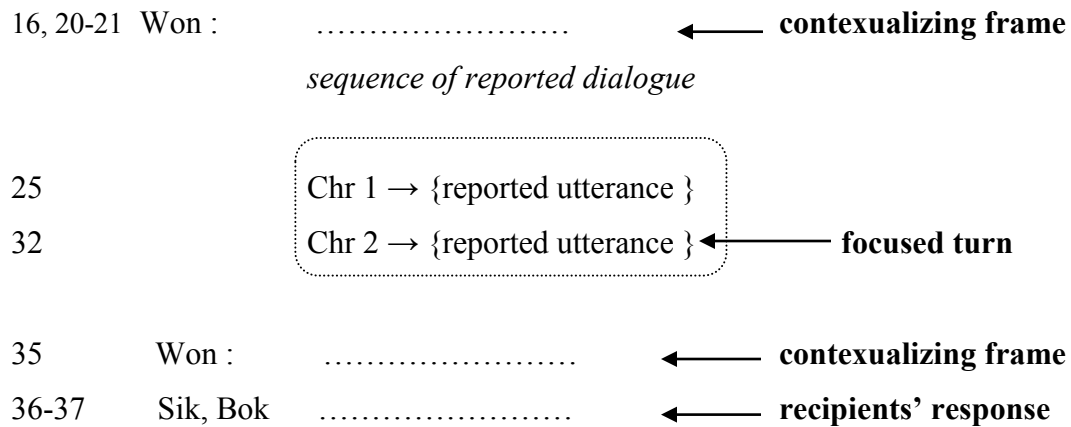
reported acupuncturist and his utterance is being treated as not only laughable, but also unqualified. This framing is clearly displayed by all of the recipients (Sik, Bok and Soo, during lines 22-24): Sik and Bok (lines 22-23) burst into laughter, and Soo (line 24) treats the doctor's consulting question as pointless by paraphrasing it into *ecceko cecceko*, which is used in Korean to refer to saying something pointless.

In addition to the assessments made by the other interlocutors (Soo, Bok and Sik, at lines 11-14), Won's assessment (lines 16, 20-21) functions as a contextualizing frame for the following reported dialogue. Through the contextualizing frame, Won pretells the recipients that he tuned into a radio talk show where an acupuncturist consulted with the middle-aged woman from the radio audience. He foreshadows the focus of the reported dialogue to follow, namely the acupuncturist's consulting comments and the actions done through those comments.

The reported dialogue sequence consists of two turns, the subsequent turn in lines 32-35 and the prior in lines 25-27 and 30-31. Within these turns, the reporting speaker allocates the section of the acupuncturist's talk that he wants to take a stance towards and invite recipient co-alignment with. The acupuncturist's talk becomes constructed as the focused turn that should be evaluated and seen as a 'laughable' answer to the middle-aged woman's serious question. The woman asks the question in a hesitating way because she is describing a delicate topic, her genitals. Contrastingly, the acupuncturist answers the question in a rushed (i.e., non-delictate) way (indicated with the rush-through symbol ' > < ' at lines 33-35), with a ridiculously exaggerated southern accent and explicit (rather than euphemistic) words to describe her habit of urinating. In addition, the reporting speaker himself laughs at the end of delivering the focused turn (line 35), which invites the recipients' co-alignment (Jefferson, 1979). After the focused

turn, at lines 36-38, all of the recipients (Sik, Bok, and Soo) are laughing as well. The turn allocation of the speech exchange is summarized as follows in Figure 20.

Figure 20. Turn allocation



In Excerpt 4, below, a reported dialogue sequence contains four turns taken by two characters. It will be shown that, according to the contextualizing frame, the reporting speaker Hye places a character's utterance that should be evaluated by the recipients at the focused turn.

Excerpt (4) Minsung, 16:07-16 [Previously examined in (2)]

*In the talk preceding this excerpt, Hye quoted a phone conversation between a parent of her son's classmate and herself in which the other parent quoted her daughter's school journal. In the journal, Hye's son Minsung was described as a victim of their teacher's teasing. The teacher teased Minsung in several ways. For example, she intentionally read Korean dictation sentences extremely fast so that he couldn't write them down, and when he received zeros on the dictation*





- 53 Hye: =>그래갖고<,
- 54 Chr 1→ {빵점}이라 그래도.
- 55 Chr 2→ (.) {또 빵점 맞고 싶어?}
- 56 Chr 1→ (0.2) {↑왜?}그랬더니,
- 57 Chr 2→ (0.2) {↑재밌잖아.} 이러(h)더(h)라구(h). hh[hh
- 58 Bok: [HH[H
- 59 Mee: [hhh=
- 60 Hye: =근(h)데 인자 >그래갖고<
- 61 선생님이 (.) 인제 영- 그니까 영어가 되니깐,

As examined precisely in Excerpt 2, Hye (line 51) assesses her son's action in a story world (line 51), which functions as a contextualizing frame for the dialogue that follows. Bok (line 52) immediately registers her assessment with its paraphrased comment ("he really has a good personality"). Thus, the contextualizing frame (line 51) tells the recipients that the past dialogue that follows focuses on the fact that Minsung is not distressed. According to the contextualizing frame, the reporting speaker allocates Minsung's second reply (line 57) to the fourth turn, which she wants the recipients to attend to for evaluation.

Minsung's first reply (quoted by Hye in line 55) might also have been treated as the focused turn, and thus the target turn for evaluation (since it also evidences Minsung's good personality). However, it is treated by both the reporting speaker and the recipients as reaching the focused turn (line 57) within the sequence. This is done three ways. First, the reporting

speaker does not frame Minsung's first reply (line 55) with a reporting verb,<sup>38</sup> which implicitly tells the recipients that the reported dialogue has not been finished yet and thus subsequent turns are forthcoming. Second, there is no response to Minsung's first reply (line 55) by the recipients, despite the two second pause (line 56) that follows, implying that the recipients are waiting for the dialogue reaches the focused turn. Third, the reporting speaker herself embeds laugh tokens inside and after the reporting verb (“ile(h)-te(h)lakwu(h). hh[hh]”) in Minsung's second reply (line 57) – the focused turn – rather than his first reply (line 55).

Part of the contextualizing frame is the inclusion of laughter tokens which invite the recipients' co-assessment (Jefferson, 1979). Thus the recipients (Bok and Mee) understand that Minsung's second reply (line 57) should be the target utterance that requires their alignment with the reporting speaker. Indeed, Bok and Mee (lines 58, 59) burst into laughter.

When a conversation with four characters is introduced, the focused turn is allocated to the fourth character in the sequence of the speech exchange. The turns of the other three characters that precede it are treated as ones that provide background information for the focused turn.

Excerpt (5) Soccer positions, 7:32

*Hasoo and Bok (the analyst) are talking about playing different positions in their soccer club. Hasoo expresses his desire to play right wing where the other two older players usually play, but he knows that it is highly unlikely to happen (lines 13-14, 18-19) in the future. Bok does not directly agree with his assumption. Instead he draws on a reported dialogue between him and*

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<sup>38</sup> Unlike English, in Korean reported speech, the end of quotation is marked with a reporting verb. Refer to chapter 4.

*some other older players (lines 22-23, 25-26, 28, 30, 32), a dialogue that helps him implicitly express his agreement.*

- 01 Soo: ((nodding))
- 02 Bok: Since Brother Seokwon became our head soccer coach,  
03 we have become more comfortable.
- 04 Soo: I might be assuming too much, but, you know,  
05 I think there is a sort of political matter involved regarding this.  
06 If I played Seokin's position,  
07 I would say that I could play better than these two  
08 brothers (i.e., Seokin and Sooyoung).
- 09 Bok: Yes, you are better.
- 10 Soo: Yeah. Um I think I have better dribbling skills than they have,  
11 Although they are more experienced,  
12 because I thought I could catch up with them right away,  
13 I have imagined that if this situation happened, what would be a  
14 consequential situation.
- 15 Bok: There's no problem. There's no problem, but
- 16 Soo: Although there might be no problem with the other players,  
17 regardless of their so-far contributions to the club,  
18 it follows that Seokin and Sooyoung can't play that position.  
19 Then, what I thought would be disrespectful to the two brothers.
- 20 Bok: I think that's not disrespectful. ← **contextualizing frame**
- 21 Anyway, I have said this (in front of some brother players in a match).
- 22 **Chr 1** → (I said) "Ah↑ I should play the right-wing position because I am a right-foot  
player."
- 23 **Chr 2** → ↑Whe:never I do centering,
- 24 Soo: Brother Kyopil
- 25 Bok: Brother Kyopil says that I am not good.  
26 I am not a left-foot player=  
27 Soo: =You are not,

- 28 Bok: **Chr 3** → however, (Coach Seokwon said)<sup>39</sup> that I should play the left wing.
- 29 Soo: Then, it isn't right to you, either.
- 30 Bok: **Chr 1**→(I said) “If you allow me to play the right wing, I can do centering without mistakes!”
- 31 Soo: Right.
- 32 Bok: **Chr 4** → Brother Seokin said ← **focused turn**  
 “Ya:! That guy is stealing my position.” =  
 33 = I am sure he was joking with me.
- 34 Soo: In fact, I think he expressed his true feeling through that joke.

- 01 Soo: ((nodding))
- 02 Bok: 석원이 형 같은 경우-
- 03 하면서 우리 축구부에 있잖아 상당히 편해졌어.
- 04 Soo: 제가 좀 오바 해서 생각 할지 모르지만
- 05 그런 정치적인 문제 있잖아요.
- 06 제가 만약에 만약에 석원이 선배 자리에 들어간다.
- 07 저 솔직히 그 두 분보다 훨씬 더 자신 있어요.
- 08 제가 주력도 좋고
- 09 Bok: 네가 낫지.
- 10 Soo: 에. 뭐 제가 뭐 개인기도 더 좋다고 생각하고

---

<sup>39</sup> The reported speaker ‘Coach Seokwon’ that is dropped here can be understood from the duties of the coaching staff. (The context may not give a clear clue to who is the reported speaker.) Because Seokwon is the head coach who places players at their positions, he must have been the reported speaker in the story event. In addition, because the analyst (also the reporting speaker) knows who is the reported speaker, Coach Seokwon is indicated as the reported speaker.

11           경험은 많지만 그 분들이

12           저는 금방 따라 잡을 수 있다고 생각했기 때문에.

13           그럼 만약 그렇게 됐을 때

14           어떤 상황이 벌어질까 라는 걸 혼자 생각 해봤어요.

15 Bok:       관계 없어. 관계 없는데,

16 Soo:       그니까 관계 없는 거는 다른 사람들은 관계 없지만

17           그분들이 지금까지 해왔던 것들이 있는데

18           그럼 그분들이 밀려나야 된다는 얘기에요.

19           그럼 그거에 대해서 그니까 건방진 얘기에요 제가.

20 Bok:       건방진 건 아닌 것 같고

21           내가 저번에 이런 얘기 한 적 있었어.

22       Chr 1 → 아 ↑나 오른발 잡인데 right wing 을 뛰어야지

23       Chr 2 → 내 샌터링하 ↑날:마다 {샌터링 못한다}고

24 Soo:       교필이 형이...

25 Bok:       교필이 형이 그러잖아.

26           왜 내 왼발잡이 아닌데 =

27 Soo:       아닌데

28 Bok: Chr 3 → {left wing 을 하라}고

29 Soo:       그러니까 그것도 웃긴 거네.

30 Bok: Chr 1 → {오른 오른쪽으로 내 바꿔주면 당연히 올려줄께!} 하니까

- 31 Soo:           응.
- 32 Bok: Chr 4 →석인이 형이 {야:! 재가 내 자리 (차지)하네.}=
- 33               = 농담으로 한 거야.
- 34 Soo:           그니까 농담에 빠가 있는 거예요. ( )

In Excerpt 5, both Bok's turn (line 20) and Soo's two preceding assessments (lines 18-19) function as a contextualizing frame for how Soo should interpret the reported dialogue that follows. Bok (line 20) disagrees with Soo's second assessment (line 19) as a face-saving maneuver. However, he does agree implicitly with Soo's first assessment (line 18), which is implied by cutting off his possible comment on Soo's first assessment. Although Bok (line 20) does not directly assess or comment on Soo's first assessment (line 18), Bok's line still provides a piece of context information for the following dialogue. Because such a missing response is both "sequentially" and "conditionally relevant" (Schegloff, 2001) to Soo's first assessment (line 18), Bok (line 20) pretells Soo that the point of the dialogue will not be about his second assessment (line 19) but rather his first (line 18), which has not yet been addressed. In addition, Bok's line (line 20) foreshadows that the forthcoming character's talk will address Soo's first assessment (line 18), will be the focused turn, and will appear somewhere in the sequence of a reported dialogue. Indeed, Seokin's (i.e., Character 4) turn, which indirectly replies to Soo's utterance (line 18) on behalf of Bok, is allocated at the fourth turn (line 32). The other current interlocutors' turns precede it and provide the background context for the fourth turn.

In sum, this section examined an interactional practice in which reporting speakers assign the focused turn to the end of a sequence of reported dialogue. It also explained that the focused

turn is the one that should be evaluated by the recipients according to the contextualizing frame that appears immediately prior to, after, and/or between the reported dialogue sequence.

In section 6.4, I will examine the use of turn allocation along with the contextualizing frame to analyze a stancetaking action done by the interlocutors.

#### **6.4 Stancetaking between the characters in a reported dialogue**

In this section, the study will analyze systematic ways in which a reporting speaker invites other participants to take a stance towards the character of a reported dialogue sequence. It will be shown that a reporting speaker draws on numerous resources to guide the recipients how to read the dialogue in the reporting context: a contextualizing frame, a direct mode of reported speech, the deictic reporting verbs *ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that’, and turn allocation.

Within these practices, reported dialogue is delivered as follows.

First, before quoting a speech exchange, the speaker evaluates a character and their (past) action in the current interaction. The current speaker positions the character in a way that tells the recipients how to read the reported dialogue that follows, which contextualizes the speech exchange to come. Second, the speaker delivers each utterance of the characters using a direct reported speech mode. Previously, chapter 5 showed that the use of direct reported speech allows reporting speakers to visibly embed their stance into the reported utterance through its form (i.e., how it was said) (Günthner, 1997; Li, 1986; Shaops, 1999). In addition, it was argued that the use of direct speech modes for each of a reported character’s utterances can provide the recipients with direct access to the interaction between the reported characters (including both linguistic and non-linguistic particularities) (Holt, 1996).



According to the findings of the video data analysis, reported dialogues are delivered as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: The combination of speech modes in reported dialogues

	Format 1	Format 2	Format 3	Format 4
Character 1	Direct speech or Quasi-direct speech	Direct speech or Quasi-direct speech	Indirect speech	Indirect speech
Character 2	Direct speech or Quasi-direct speech	Indirect speech	Indirect speech	Direct speech or Quasi-direct speech

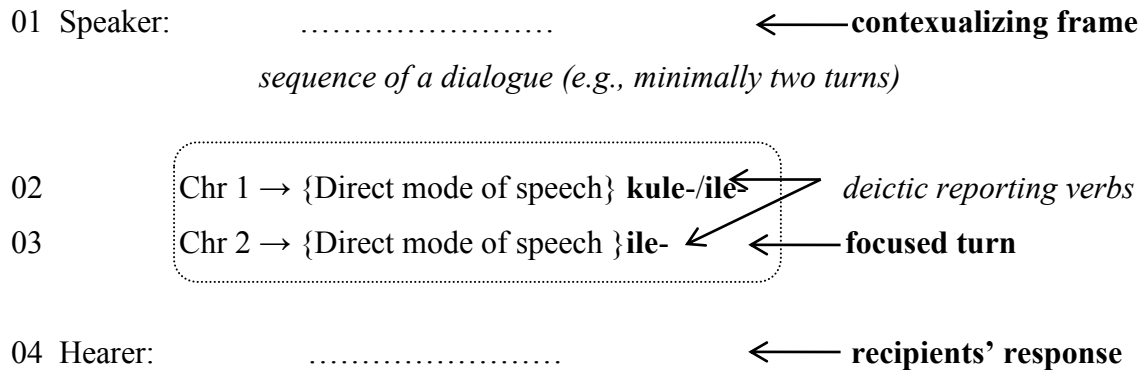
Because the present chapter aims to analyze visible stancetaking phenomena between the characters in a reported dialogue, only ‘Format 1’ from Table 7 will be introduced.

Third, the speaker frames both characters’ utterances with the deictic verbs *ile-* ‘go like this’ and *kule-* ‘say like that’ in various ways. For example, in order to foreground the form of speaking (i.e., how it was said), the reporting speaker frames the reported utterance with *ile-* ‘go like this.’ A character’s utterance is framed with *kule-* ‘say like that’ when the reporter wants to foreground its referential meaning instead of its form.

Lastly, the reporting speaker allocates a character’s utterance, the target of co-assessment that has been foreshadowed by the contextualizing frame, to the focused turn.

This systematic way of delivering a speech exchange is schematized as follows.

Figure 21. Delivering a speech exchange



In the following subsections, I will analyze reported dialogues according to this method of delivery, focusing on the use of the deictic reporting verbs which alert the recipients to which referent in the reported utterance (i.e., the form or the referential meaning) is being referred to. In subsection 6.4.1, the study will examine cases where reported dialogues are framed with alternation between *kule-* ‘say like that’ and *ile-* ‘go like this.’ In subsection 6.4.2, instances where the talk of both characters are framed only with *ile-* ‘go like this’ will be analyzed.

#### 6.4.1 Framing a dialogue with the alternation between *kule-* and *ile-*

Excerpt 6 shows how a reporting speaker alerts the recipients to her stance towards the talk of a character in the reported dialogue. It will be shown that a contextualizing frame, the use of direct reported speech, the use of contrasting deictic reporting verbs, and turn allocation all play important roles in helping the recipients to fully understand the dialogue in the desired way. In contrast with subsection 6.4.2, the present section will emphasize the use of the alternating

deictic reporting verbs.<sup>40</sup> This section of the analysis will also argue that this alternation tells the addressees what is being foregrounded by the speaker: *kule-* ‘say like that’ foregrounds the referential meaning of the reported utterance, whereas *ile-* ‘go like this’ foregrounds its embodied form (i.e., the reporter’s stance).

Excerpt (6) KoreanGrade, 16:07

*Hye tells Bok (the analyst) about the time her son complained about his teacher’s unfairness in a Korean dictation test. The teacher intentionally read too fast for him to be able to write anything down. In the preceding talk, Hye said that Minsung, who is in the fourth grade, is very good at with English (since he has lived in the U.S.), but it this is not the case for Korean.*

- 01 Hye: My second son, and, (0.2) Korean language (.)  
02 Again he received zero points with Korean from school. Korean language dictation.  
03 Bok: Okay: =  
04 Hye: =Why?=  
05 =By the way, I had him attend a Korean learning center as soon as we arrived in Korea. Korean learning center.  
06 As soon as we arrived in Korea, I had him attend a Korean learning center,  
07 he studies Korean- Korean writing twice a week,

((several lines deleted))

---

<sup>40</sup> In the collection of reported dialogues analyzed here, there are consistent patterns regarding a contextualizing frame, the use of direct reported speech, and turn allocation, though this is not necessarily the case for the use of the deictic reporting verbs. Thus, the present study places emphasis on the use of the deictic reporting verbs to determine the different interactional functions served by the use of these different deictic verbs.

13 Hye: Anyway Korean- he has no problem with dictation  
 in Korean at the learning center, but **contextualizing frame**  
 14 (0.7) he receives only zeroes at the public school.  
 15 Bok: That's because the teacher has a problem with enunciation,  
 [ isn't it ? ]  
 16 Hye: [>There(h)fore(h)<] If I ask him, "Minseong! Wh:(hh)y did you  
 get zeroes from school?"

17 Chr 1 → = { Ne Minseong -a, ne way:(hh) (0.2) hakkyo-eyse ppangcem  
 you Name-VOC, you why school-from zero point(-ACC)

*deictic reporting verb*

18 → pata kac-ko wa?} **kule**-myen-un,  
 receive take-and come **say like that-if-TOP**

17-18 "Minseong! Wh:(hh)y did you get zeroes from school?." If I say like that,

**focused turn**

19 Chr 2 → (0.5) { >↑ Minseongi-nun san-ulo olla ka-ss-supnita.< } (0.2)  
 Minseong -NOM mountain-to go up-PST-DC

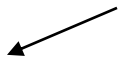
*proximal adverb + non-deictic reporting verb*

20 → i(h)leh(h)key(h) ilk-nun-[ta(h)nun(h) ke(h) yey(h)-yo. hh]  
**like this** **read-IN-DC-REL** fact- be-DC

19-20 I heard he said the teacher go(h)es ">Minseong went up to a mountain.<"

21 Bok: [H H H H H HH ]HH h

**focused turn (reformuated)**



**deictic reporting verb**

22 Hye: →{ >↑pellapellapella<} (.) ile-ki ttaymwuney  
mimetic words **go like this**-NMN because  
*Because the teacher reads like this “>pella pella pella<”,*

23 ca(h)ki(h)-ka pata(h) ssul(h) swu(h)ka eps-tay. Tocehi(h).  
self-NOM write down be unable-Hearsay at all  
*I heard he said he can't write down anything at all.*

24 Bok: The other kids have no problems with dictation,

25 Hye: They can all write down everything.

26 Bok: Why does she re- read so fast?

27 (0.1)

28 Bok: Intentionally [Minseong -

01 Hye: 둘째. 그러고는, (0.2) 국어를 (.)

02 국어를 또 빵점을 받아 갖고 왔더라고. 받아쓰기를.

03 Bok: 어: =

04 Hye: =왜?=  
=근데, 인자 학원을 가자마자 바로 보냈거든요. 한글 학교를.

05 한글 학교를 가자마자 오후에 바로 보내고,

06 일 주일에 두번을 한글 학교- 한글 쓰는 거 배우고,

07

((several lines deleted))

- 13 Hye: 근데 한글-학원에 가서는 받아쓰기를 따박따박 써갖고 오는데, (0.7)
- 14 학교에서만 빵점을 받아 오는 거야.
- 15 Bok: 선생이 발음에 문제가 있는 거 [아냐.
- 16 Hye: [ >그러(h)니까(h)<=
- 17 Chr 1 → = {너 민성아, 너 왜:(hh) (0.2) 너 학교에서
- 18 → 빵점 받아 갖고 와?} >그러면은,<
- 19 Chr 2 → (0.5) { >민성이는 산으로 올라 갔습니다.> } < (0.2)
- 20 → 이렇게읽는[다(h)는 거(h)예(h)요(h). hh]
- 21 Bok: [H H H H H H H] HH h
- 22 Hye: → >벌라벌라벌라< (.) 이러기 때문에
- 23 자(h)기(h)가 받아(h) 쓸(h) 수(h)가 없대. 도저(h)히.
- 24 Bok: 다른 애들은 다 받아 적는데,
- 25 Hye: 다들 받아; 적지.
- 26 Bok: 넘 빨리 하- 왜 그리 빨리 하지?
- 27 (0.1)
- 28 Bok: 일부러 [민성아-

At lines 1-2, Hye simply reports a past event without assessing it. At line 3, Bok responds minimally with “go-ahead” (Schegloff, 2001) (instead of, for example, asking what brought such

a bad result to her son.). Thus, Hye herself (line 4) raises the question of “why?” immediately after, latching onto Bok’s prior turn. However, she does not answer her own question; instead she discusses her son’s weekly extra-curricular schedule, which informs the recipients about how many hours her son studies at the Korean learning center.

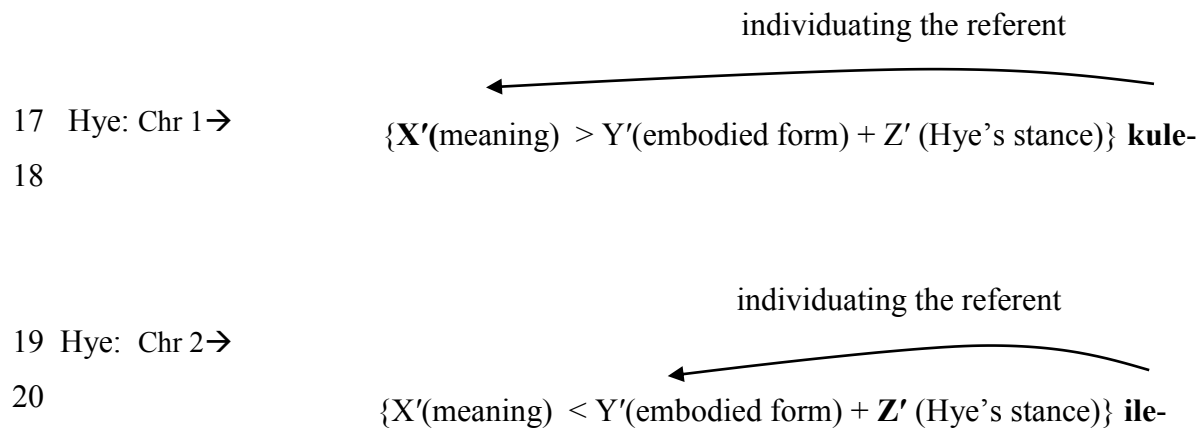
Based on the information from her preceding talk in lines 5-7, Hye (lines 13-14) tells the other participants that her son is good at Korean dictation at the Korean learning center. However, this is not the case in at his public school. Bok (line 15) projects that a problematic pronunciation of her son’s public school teacher may have caused the son’s poor grade. Hye (line 16) confirms Bok’s candidate suggestion, which is marked with the causal connective *kulenikka* ‘because of that’ (J. Choi, 2007). In agreeing with Bok, she too blames the teacher’s pronunciation for the test result. However, Hye does not assess the teacher’s problematic pronunciation the same way that Bok does. While Hye complains about the teacher’s problematic pronunciation in the story event, she treats it as laughable in the current reporting context. The laugh tokens embedded into Hye’s talk (line 16) tells Bok (the addressee) that the reporting speaker wants it to be understood in that way.

The talk in lines 13-16 serve as a contextualizing frame that provides a context to the dialogue that follows, which alerts the recipients to the ways in which the forthcoming speech exchange should be understood. The contextualizing frame tells the recipient that there will be a speech exchange among at least three characters: Minsung, who took the dictation test and received zero points, his mother, who asked him why he got zeros, and her son’s teacher, whose pronunciation was problematic. The contextualizing frame also shows, that because the past exchange occurred at home, the teacher’s utterances will be delivered by Minsung as hearsay.





Figure 23. Individuating the referent



Through the use of different reporting verbs at the moment of animation, with the help of the contextualizing frame, Bok the recipient understands that the talk of Character 2 rather than Character 1 is the “stance object” (Du Bois, 2007), the stance target about which Hye wants to communicate with him. Bok’s laughter in line 21, as shown in Excerpt 6, registers his “stance follow” (Du Bois, 2007) of the reporter’s stance towards the talk of Character 2 rather than Character 1. This interpretation is supported by the corresponding laughter tokens between Hye and Bok. At line 20, through the use of laugh tokens embedded in the reporting clause, Hye invites Bok to join in the laughter (Jefferson, 1979). That is, Hye (line 20) solicits Bok to take the same stance as her, and Bok (line 21) laughs.

According to the contextualizing frame, Hye the reporter allocates the non-target utterance for stancetaking (i.e., her own utterance at lines 17-18) before the target utterance (i.e., the teacher’s hearsay at lines 19 and 22). That is, the talk of a character (i.e., the teacher’s

utterance) is allocated to the the second turn as the focused turn that operates on the prior talk for stancetaking purposes.

Figure 24. Turn allocation

17 Hye: Chr 1 → {                    }                      
18  
19       Chr 2 → {                    } ← **focused turn**  
20  
22       Chr 2 → {                    } ← **focused turn (reformulated)**

The following excerpt comes from Excerpt 2 in section 6.2. Again the study will show that a reporter draws on a contextualizing frame, a turn allocation, and the contrasting deictic reporting verbs in order to help the recipients to fully capture the reported dialogue in the desired way.

Excerpt (10) pella.pella.pella\_16:07

*In the talk preceding this excerpt, Hye quoted a phone conversation between a parent of her son's classmate and herself in which the other parent quoted her daughter's school journal. In the journal, Hye's son Minsung was described as a victim of their teacher's teasing. The teacher teased Minsung in several ways. For example, she intentionally read Korean dictation sentences extremely fast so that he couldn't write them down, and when he received zeros on the dictation exam, the teacher also announced his poor grade in front of the other classmates. At line 51 below, Hye assesses her son and his action under that kind of situation.*

51 Hye:            However, my son doesn't get distressed at all. ← **contextualizing frame**

52 Bok:            HH. he really has a good character.=

53 Hye:            =>kulaykacko,<  
                      thus

*reported speakers dropped*

54 Chr 1 → ○ *deictic reporting verb*  
                  {ppangcem}-ila kulay-to,  
                  zero point-QT **say like that-although**

55 Chr 2 → ○ (.) {tto ppangcem mac-ko siph-e?} Ø,  
                  again zero point(-ACC) get-want to-DC

54-55            *(I) said you got zeros. (He said) "I want to get zeroes again."*

*reported speakers dropped*

56 Chr 1 → ○ *deictic reporting verb*  
                  (0.2) {↑way?} kulay-ss-teni,  
                  why **say like that-PST-CONJ**

57 Chr 2 → ○ *deictic reporting verb*  
                  (0.2) {↑caymi-ss-canha.} ile(h)-te(h)lakwu(h). hh[hh] ← **focused turn**  
                  fun-exist-DC **go like this-Dec**

56-57            *(I) said (0.2) "↑Why?"*  
                  *(He) went (0.2) "↑It's fun." hh[hh]*

58 Bok:            [HH [H

59 Mee:            [hhh=

- 51 Hye: 근데, 우리 민성이는 그게 전혀 괴롭지가 않은거야.
- 52 Bok: HH. 좋은 인성이다 진짜.=
- 53 Hye: =>그래갖고<,<
- 54 Chr 1→ {빵점}이라 그래도.
- 55 Chr 2→ (.) {또 빵점 맞고 싶어?}
- 56 Chr 1→ (0.2) {↑왜?}그랬더니,<
- 57 Chr 2→ (0.2) {↑재밌잖아.} 이러(h)더(h)라구(h). hh[hh
- 58 Bok: [HH[H
- 59 Mee: [hhh=
- 60 Hye: =근(h)데 인자 >그래갖고<
- 61 선생님이 (.) 인제 영- 그니까 영어가 되니깐,<

The data from Excerpt 2, above, was previously analyzed in section 6.2 to show how line 51 serves as a contextual frame that pretells the recipients what will be said about Minsung (i.e., the main character) in the reported dialogue that follows. The data was also analyzed in section 6.3, where it was also shown that the talk of Character 2 (line 57) is the focused turn in the reported dialogue that contains the point of the dialogue, and thus provides evidence to support the contextualizing frame. In the present section, I will focus on two other aspects of the talk used in delivering the dialogue: speech modes and the use of deictic reporting verbs.

Hye delivers her own past utterance (line 54) with an indirect speech mode, while the rest of the dialogue (lines 55-57) is delivered with direct speech modes. Her initial use of indirect

speech (line 54) may be explained through the placement of the focused turn. Within the data analyzed here, turns which immediately precede the focused turn are predominantly delivered in the mode of direct reported speech. This may be because the reporter wants to provide the recipient with direct access to the form (as well as the referential meaning) of the non-focused turn, allowing them to highlight how the ‘focused utterance’ is said in response to how the preceding utterance was said. This analysis may be supported by examining the talk that follows the initial talk in line 54. Line 57 is the focused turn for stancetaking, and is thus delivered using direct speech. By showing how line 56 was said (i.e., in a worried tone) through the direct mode of speech, the reporter is also able to reveal how line 57 was said. Going back to line 54, it may be unnecessary to show how the utterance was said by using a direct mode of speech, simply because line 55 is not the focused turn. However, it is preferred to use a direct speech mode for the immediate interaction between the non-focused (line 56) and the immediately following ‘focused turn’ (line 57), which enables the recipients to have direct access to the kinds of “linguistic and non-linguistic particulars” (Voloshinov, 1973) that occur between the characters and to observe the desired embodied form (i.e., stance) of the focused turn.

According to the contextualizing frame (line 51), Hye frames the talk of the two characters with different deictic verbs. In the first set of the reported dialogue (lines 54-55) above, Character 1’s talk is framed with *kule-* ‘say like that’ to indicate that what is foregrounded in the reported utterance is the referential meaning. Generally, stancetaking is done with the proximal deictic reportin verb *ile-* ‘go like this.’ The notable lack of *ile-* (line 55), indicated with zero-framing ‘Ø’, seems to serve some interactional functions. First, by not framing the reported utterance with any reporting verb, the speaker does not foreground either the form or the referential meaning of the utterance. In addition, this practice seems to help the current speaker

to maintain speakership until she finishes presenting the remaining reported dialogue (i.e., set 2). Indeed, there is no uptake or assessment from the addressees after line 55, and the current speaker keeps moving forward to the next set of the reported dialogue (lines 56-57) without registering any problem from the addressees. It should be noted that the short pause at line 56 belongs to part of the speaker's animation, which is usually present before reenactment (Sidnell, 2006). In other words, it does not indicate a gap.<sup>41</sup>

Unlike the first set of dialogues, in the second set, the deictic reporting verbs play a significant role in allowing the recipients to read the dialogue in the desired way. Because of the way in which the reporting speaker animates each character's talk in direct reported modes, where both the referential meaning and the embodied form of the reported utterance (i.e., the current speaker's implicit stance) are delivered, Bok and Mee (the addressees) might be confused about whether the referential meaning or the form is highlighted at the moment of animation. The turns of each character have a short pause, indicating that Hye enters into a visible demonstration (Clark and Gerrig, 2006; Sidnell, 1996) in a direct speech mode. There are also sharp pitch rises (↑) that occur turn initially in both characters' utterances. The speaker's gaze orients to the past event while animating both characters. There are different degrees of the animation between the two characters' talk, though such differences are too subtle to capture. As a result of these features of the talk, Bok and Mee (the addressees) may be equally given 'direct access' to both the embodied forms of both characters' utterances and their referential meanings.

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<sup>41</sup> 'Silences' are subcategorized into 'pauses', 'gaps' and 'lapses' (Sacks et al., 1978). There is usually a 'pause' between turns because the speaker shifts his or her "footing" (Goffman, 1981) to animate both characters' utterances and more talk besides (Holt, 1996; Sidnell, 1996). There is often a 'gap' in speech exchanges during real conversation, but in reported dialogue, it does not seem possible for the reporter to manage this gap or lapse. Based on the collection of the present data, 'silences' can be ambiguous as to whether they belong to the quoted part or to the reporting part of an utterance.



According to the use of the contrasting deictic reporting verbs, as well as the contextual frame and turn allocation, Bok and Mee understand that the talk of Character 2 is targeted for stancetaking. They register Hye's stancetaking toward Character 2 by laughing (lines 58-59).

#### **6.4.2 Stancetaking towards a character and their talk by framing both characters's utterances with *-ile***

This subsection will analyze the four recipient designs practices mentioned in subsection 6.4.1 (the contextualizing frame, the use of direct reported speech, the use of contrasting deictic reporting verbs, and turn allocation), with particular attention to the way in which reporting speakers frame both characters' utterances with *ile-* 'go like this,' which foregrounds the form of the reported utterance. This framing activity is a means for reporting speakers to highlight both the way of speaking done by a character targeted for stancetaking, as well as the way of speaking done by the other character not targeted for stancetaking.

In the following excerpt, previously examined as Excerpt 3 in section 6.3, four mutual friends (Soo, Bok [the analyst], Won, and Sik) are talking about general qualifications of acupuncturists in the U.S..

Excerpt (9) Acupuncturists, 1:53

*In several turns prior the transcript, Soo expressed his strong hatred of an acupuncturist because of malpractice issues that destroyed the life of his close friend. He then (line 11) generalizes that anybody can become an acupuncturist regardless of their lack of medical knowledge. The other two addressees, Bok (line 12) and Sik (line 13), align with this assessment. After the other three participants (Soo, Bok, and Sik) have produced a negative assessment of*



acupuncturists in the U.S., Won (line 15), as the last person who has not yet made any comment, interrupts Sik's turn (line 14), and begins a second story (Sacks, 1974) by recounting what he previously heard from a radio program about the topic.



- 11 Soo: *Anybody can become an acupuncturist here.*
- 12 Bok: *I think that's a problem.*
- 13 Sik: *I agree with you.*
- 14 *Unlike those acupuncturists in Korea, [they are not smart,]*
- 15 Won: *((smiling alone)) [AH::: one day ] (1.0) you know,*
- 16 *while driving and tuning in to the radio, [I laughed a lot.]*
- 17 Sik: *Uh.* contextualizing frame
- 18 Won: *You know, there is a program where an acupuncturist talks with patients on the phone.*
- 19 Sik: *Ah:::=*
- 20 Won: *=You know what? ">Ask whatever,< [↑ING.]* contextualizing frame
- 21 *you know, this kind of person appears at the show [hhhh]*
- 22 Sik: *HHHHHHH*
- 23 Bok: *hhhh*

24 Soo: ([    ] ° ecceko] cecceko ha-nun ke.  
mimetic words say-REL thing

24 ([    ] ° *Saying] something senseless.*

25 Won: Chr 1 [acwum ma ka- ]  
middle-aged woman-

26 acwumeni-ka naw-a kaciko,  
middle -aged woman-NOM appear-CONN,

27 → {Ah cenunyo, (.) com ikhey (.) mwe (.) ikhey (.)  
Ah um to me somewhat this thing somewhat this thing (.)  
→ yoto ccokey mwe-ka iss-e kaciko,  
on the urethra something-NOM exist-CONN

25-27 *A middle-aged woman - a middle-aged woman called the talk show,  
“Ah for me, (.) this- (.) that- (.) this- (.) on the urethra there is something and,”*

28 Bok: (( [nodding ]))

29 Soo: [uh. uh. ]

30 Won: → ikhey, hwacangsil kamyen, yocok-i cakkwu apu-ko},  
this thing bathroom go-if this side-NOM often give pain-CONN

***proximal adverb + deictic reportingverb***

31 hh mwe ilay mwul-unikka,  
somewhat **like this** asked-CONN,

30-31 *“ this thing, whenever I go to bathroom, I continue to have pain on this side,”  
h h she asked a question,*

32 Chr 2 h h i nomi hanun soli-ka, ← **focused turn**  
 this quack-Nom say-Rel word-Nom

33 → (1.0){↑kukey- >kulem mali< cyo:.  
 that- then ask-Hon.Int

34 → >sopyen posi-ko nase, aphulo takk-sup-nikka?  
 urinating-after from front wipe off-Non-Def.Int

35 → twuilo takk-sup-nikka?<} *deictic reporting verb*  
 from back wipe-off-Hon-Def.Int ile-nun ke-ya. hhhhh  
 go like this-Rel fact-be.Pln.Dec

32-35 *hh this quack goes, (1.0) “↑That- >then I’m asking<  
 >after urinating, do you wipe from front to back  
 or from back to front?<” hhhhh*

36 Sik: *hhhhhhhhh* ← **responses from the recipients**

37 Bok: *hhhhhhh*

38 Soo: *He is insane.*

11 Soo: 개나 소나 다 한의사니까.

12 Bok: 그러니까 문제가 있는 거 같아요.

13 Sik: 여기 한의사는 그런 거 같아요

14 진짜 한국처럼 그런 [수재들이 하는 게 아니고,]

15 Won: ((smiling alone)) [아::: 지난번에 (1.0) 저, ]  
16 나 차를 타고 가다가 라디오 듣다가 어떻게 웃었는지.  
17 Sik: Uh.  
18 Won: 한 의사들 가끔씩 나와서 상담하는 거 있잖아.  
19 Sik: Ah:::=  
20 Won: 있잖아? 라디오에서 “뭐든지 물어보세요. ↑잉.”  
21 뭐, 이런 사람 나와서 하는 ㅎㅎㅎㅎ  
22 Sik: HHHHHHHH  
23 Bok: hhhh  
24 Soo: ([     ]ㅇ어쩌고] 저쩌고 하는 거.  
25 Won: Chr1 → [아 줌 마 가-   ]  
26 → 아주머니가 나와가지고,  
27 → “아 저는요, (.) 줌 이케 (.) 뭐 (.) 이케 (.) 요도 쪽에 뭐가 있어 가지고,  
28 Bok: (( [nodding ]))  
29 Soo: [uh. uh. ]  
30 Won: → 이케, 화장실 가면, 요쪽이 자꾸 아프고,”  
31 ㅎㅎ 뭐 이래 물으니까,  
32 Chr 2 → ㅎㅎ 이 놈이 하는 소리가,  
33 → (1.0) “↑그게- >그럼 말이< 죠::.  
34 → >소변을 보시고 나서, 앞으로 닦습니까?  
35 → 뒤로 닦습니까? <” 이러는 거야. ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ  
36 Sik: hhhhhhhh  
37 Bok: hhhhhhh

Analyzing Excerpt 3 in section 6.3, the study showed that lines 16, 20, and 21 serve as a contextual frame that pretells what kind of stance the current speaker will take in the forthcoming reported dialogue. It was also shown that the talk of Character 2 (lines 32-35) is the target for stancetaking (i.e., the focused turn) in the reported dialogue.

What is interesting here, compared to Excerpt 6 in section 6.4.1, is that the non-targeted utterance (Character 1) for stancetaking is framed with *ile-* ‘go like this’, which foregrounds the embodied form of reported utterance. In chapter 5, the study claimed that a reporting speaker’s stance is realized through the embodied form of the reported utterance. Thus, it might be understood that the reporter also wants to take a stance toward Character 1’s utterance and invites co-assessment from the recipients. However, as already explained in section 6.3, both the contextualizing frame and the recipients’ response clearly tell us that a stance is taken only towards the talk of Character 2.<sup>42</sup> Why, then, does the reporting speaker frame the non-targeted character’s utterance with *ile-* ‘go like this’? Framing character 1’s utterance with *ile-* is used to show how inappropriate Character 2’s response was about how Character 1 had talked. As shown in Excerpt 10, the middle-aged woman (lines 27 and 30) hesitates a lot in talking about her private matter on a public radio talk show.

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<sup>42</sup> The present study argues that a *reporting* speaker’s stance towards reported talk can be understood only when there is a contextual frame for it (Buttny, 1998). Put another way, if there is no contextual frame, the utterance being framed with *ile-* ‘go like this’ is foregrounded only for the *reported* speaker’s stance in the story world (i.e., the way of speaking done by the reported speaker), leaving out the *reporting* speaker’s stance in the reporting context.

Excerpt (10)

25 Won: Chr 1 → [acwum ma ka- ]  
mid-aged woman-

26 → acwumeni-ka naw-a kaciko,  
mid-aged woman-NOM appear-CONN,

27 → {Ah cenunyo, (.) com ikhey (.) mwe (.) ikhey (.)  
Ah to me somewhat this thing somewhat this thing (.)  
*indicating 'hesitation'*

→ yoto ccokey mwe-ka iss-e kaciko  
on the urethra something-NOM exist-CONN

25-27 *A middle-aged woman - a middle-aged woman called the talk show,  
"Ah for me, (.) this- (.) that- (.) this- (.) on the urethra there is something and,"*

28 Bok: (( [nodding ]))

29 Soo: [uh. uh. ]

30 Won: ikhey, hwacangsil kamyen, yocok-i cakkwu aphu-ko, }  
this thing bathroom go-if this side-NOM often give pain-CONN  
*indicating 'hesitation'*

31 hh mwe ilay mwul-unikka,  
somewhat like this asked-CONN,

- 30-31            “ *this thing, whenever I go to bathroom, I continue to have pain on this side,*”  
*h h she asked a question,*
- 25 Won: Chr1 → [아 줌 마 가- ]
- 26            → 아주머니가 나와가지고,
- 27            → “아 저는요, (.) 줌 이케 (.) 뭐 (.) 이케 (.) 요도 쪽에 뭐가 있어 가지고,
- 28 Bok:            (( [nodding ]))
- 29 Soo:            [uh. uh. ]
- 30 Won:            → 이케, 화장실 가면, 요쪽이 자꾸 아프고,”
- 31            ㅎㅎ 뭐 이래 물으니까,

Again, at lines 27–30, Won animates the specific way of speaking done by the middle-aged woman, which is “perceptually immediate” (Hanks, 1992). In order to foreground or highlight the perceptually immediate form (i.e., hesitation) rather than what is said (i.e., the referential meaning), the reporter frames the reported utterance with *ile-* ‘go like this.’

Contrary to Character 1’s hesitating utterance, the talk of Character 2, in excerpt (11) below, is delivered in a rushed way throughout the turn (lines 33–35 below), indicated with the rush-through symbol ‘> <.’ By contrasting the talk of Character 1 to that of Character 2, the reporter emphasizes the way in which the acupuncturist (Character 2) took his patient’s private question in a hurrying way rather than with care. The ridiculously exaggerated southern accent and the too explicit (i.e., not euphemistic) words selectively animated by the reporter also show

how the acupuncturist answered the woman's private question (that is, in an unprofessional or unqualified way).

Excerpt (11)

32 Chr 2 → h h i nomi hanun soli-ka, ← **focused turn**  
 this quack-Nom say-Rel word-Nom

*'rush-through talk' indicated with '> <'*

33 → (1.0) { ↑kukey- >kulem mali< cyo::.  
 that- then ask-Hon.Int

34 → >sopyen posi-ko nase, aphulo takk-sup-nikka?  
 urinating-after from front wipe off-Non-Def.Int } *senseless question*

35 → twuilo takk-sup-nikka?< } ile:nun ke-ya. hhhhh  
 from back wipe-off-Hon-Def.Int **go like this**-Rel fact-be.PlN.Dec

32-35 *hh this quack goes, (1.0) "↑That- >then I'm asking< >after urinating, do you wipe from front to back or from back to front?<" hhhhh*

32 Chr 2 → ㅎㅎ 이 놈이 하는 소리가,

33 → (1.0) “↑그게- >그럼 말이< 죠::.

34 → >소변을 보시고 나서, 앞으로 닦습니까?

35 → 뒤로 닦습니까? <” 이러는 거야. ㅎㅎㅎㅎㅎ

36 Sik: hhhhhhhh

37 Bok: hhhhhh



In order to highlight the visible and immediate form of speaking done by the acupuncturist and his own stance embedded in it, the reporter frames the character's utterance with *ile-* 'go like this'.

### 6.5 Summary and discussion

This chapter described the specific ways in which reporting speakers deliver a dialogue between characters in a past event (i.e., reported dialogue) in order to take a stance towards a character and his or her utterance. It was shown that reporters drew on a range of recipient design factors in establishing a contextual frame for the reporting sequence: the use of a direct speech mode for both character's utterances, the use of the deictic reporting verbs *ile-* 'go like this' and *kule-* 'say like that', and turn allocation (through the use of a focused turn).

Contextual frames were treated as means for reporting speakers to "pretell" the recipient how to read the reported dialogue in the reporting context, which is placed immediately *prior to* and *after* the dialogue sequence. The study argued that without having a contextualizing frame, it may be difficult to understand what kind of stance the reporting speaker takes toward a reported character and his or her utterance. The use of direct speech for both character's utterances functioned as a means of recipient design in that a direct speech mode allows the recipients to observe a visible interaction between the reported characters. The use of the deictic reporting verbs *ile-* 'go like this' and *kule-* 'say like that' was treated as the most crucial of the recipient designs as it disambiguates between the form of a reported utterance and its referential meaning.

Without these resources, it is likely that recipients may have a hard time determining whether the form and/or the referential meaning are referred to in the reported utterance.

Lastly, the design of the focused turn was important when a speech exchange of several characters is delivered. The focused turn – the target for stancetaking – is organized as a subsequent turn on top of the prior turn(s) which provide the background information for it.

In the collected video data for the present study, many instances of reported speech (in which a speaker quotes a single character's utterance) were part of a speech exchange (the quoting of a conversation among characters), if not a monologue. For example, a reporter may quote only a character's utterance or turn in a dialogue between two characters as the focused turn, as it is the only one relevant to the reporting context. Thus, not only can a reporting speaker selectively quote some aspects of a character's utterance (Clark and Gerrig, 1990), he or she may also selectively quote a character's turn in a speech exchange of two or more characters across multiple turns. The present study argued that the selection of turns, along with their allocation within the interaction, is linked to which aspects of the talk interaction the reporting speaker chooses to make visible.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

### 7.1 Summary of the study

The present study has tried to answer three groups of research questions that were raised in Chapter 1, regarding reported speech constructions which occur in spontaneous Korean conversation in daily life. One of the questions was how speakers formulate reported speech constructions differently in spoken discourse and written discourse. Another was how deictic reporting verbs function differently from non-deictic verbs. Relateing to this question, it was also asked when and for what purposes Korean speakers choose to use the proximal reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ above the distal one *kule-* ‘say like that.’ The other two-related questions were why reporting speakers deliver a speech exchange in which two or more characters talk in a story event (i.e., a reported dialogue), instead of quoting a single character’s speech. And while quoting such an exchange, why do speakers alternate between the proximal reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ and the distal one *kule-* ‘say like that’ in a seemingly regular pattern?

To provide comprehensive formal descriptions of reported speech constructions for the first question, the study analyzed a large size of transcribed video corpus data using the UAM Corpus Tool program. The analysis demonstrated that the syntax and morphology of reported speech constructions in spontaneous face-to-face conversations are sharply different from those in written discourse. The study showed that reporting speakers drop the speaker of a reported utterance when the referent is understood in the context. Reporting speakers in spontaneous talk frequently frame reported talk with a deictic verb (or its combination of a regular verb of saying *malha-* ‘say’) instead of using a non-deictic verb, a strikingly different practice from those in written discourse. It was claimed that the frequent use of the deictic reporting verbs indicates that

speakers are aware of making metapragmatic comment on the reported utterance in front of the addressees according to the social situation. In the same vein, due to the constantly changing context of an interaction, reporting speakers sometimes begin with a reporting verb and then position the reported utterance after it. This is a very unique phenomenon in Korean, given that it is an SOV language, and a practice that happens only in spontaneous face-to-face conversation. Speakers may also produce reported speech constructions in the reverse order, that is, placing a reporting verb after the reported utterance. They may even put (same or different) reporting verbs both before *and* after the reported utterance.

In addition, the corpus analysis revealed that speakers can employ a mixture of direct and indirect speech modes, referred to here as a quasi-direct speech mode. It was claimed that such a mode reflects the characteristics of spontaneous conversation where interlocutors are constantly checking the addressees' understanding in unfolding social interaction, and altering their ways of speaking or entextualizing the talk of another. All of these findings show that, unlike in written discourse, reporting speakers do not simply quote another's talk without taking into consideration the presence of the hearers and the on-going interaction within the local social situation.

Chapter 5 answered the question of how deictic reporting verbs function differently from non-deictic verbs. Considering the results of the corpus analysis, the study first suggested that there is a spectrum of types of reporting verbs ranging from non-deictic/lexical verbs through the pro-verb *ha-* 'do' to deictic verbs. And then it explained that non-deictic/lexical verbs are fully reflexive in that they reference-and-predicate about reference-and-predication (Lucy, 1993); deictic verbs are non-reflexive in that they do not simply say about 'saying' but, due to their

deictic properties, specify a referent that is embedded in reported utterance; and the pro-verb is neutral in terms of such reflexivity.

In chapter 5, the study also answered the question of when and for what purposes Korean speakers choose to use the proximal reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ above the distal one *kule-* ‘say like that.’ It showed that reporting speakers may choose to use different metapragmatic descriptors, for example, the proximal deictic reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ versus the distal one *kule-* ‘say like that’, in order to negotiate between the embodied form of speaking (i.e., stance) and the meaning of reported utterance in the moment-to-moment unfolding of interaction. The choice of the proximal deictic reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ indicated that the speaker wants the hearers to pay more attention to the form of speaking (how it is said) and take a stance towards the talk and the character. When a reporting speaker focuses more on the referential meaning of reported utterance than how it was said, he or she instead frames the talk of another with the distal verb *kule-* ‘say like that’.

Chapter 5 demonstrated that being a speaker and quoting the talk of another in social interaction involves not only producing the structural (linguistic) components of a reporting action, but also displaying a stance towards it. In particular, by analyzing ways in which stance is realized at the levels of both linguistic and non-linguistic systems in the environment of constantly changing interaction between interlocutors, the study has advanced our understanding of the relationship between the form of reported utterance and its meaning.

This chapter also showed that reporting speakers may choose to use different metapragmatic descriptors, for example, the proximal deictic reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ versus the distal one *kule-* ‘say like that’, in order to negotiate between the embodied form of speaking (i.e., stance) and the meaning of reported utterance in the moment-to-moment unfolding of interaction. The choice of

the proximal deictic reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ indicated that the speaker wants the hearers to pay more attention to the form of speaking (how it is said) and take a stance towards the talk and the character. When a reporting speaker focuses more on the referential meaning of reported utterance than how it was said, he or she instead frames the talk of another with the distal verb *kule-* ‘say like that’.

Chapter 6 has broadened our view of reported speech by analyzing a sequence of talk among characters in a story event, called a speech exchange or ‘reported dialogue’ in the present study, beyond a stream of speech produced by a single character. It answered why speakers quote a speech exchange between/among characters instead of a single character’s speech and why they alternate between the proximal reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ and the distal one *kule-* ‘say like that’ in a seemingly regular pattern. The chapter concluded that reporting speakers construct reported dialogue among the reported speakers, instead of a single reported speaker’s speech, in order to guide the hearers to how the quoted dialogue should be understood within the reporting context (with regard to stancetaking). In other words, it argued that reporting speakers may quote a series of reported utterance produced by two or more characters turn by turn in order to provide the hearers with ‘direct access’ to the way in which they evaluate reported speakers and their talk in the reporting context.

As for why speakers alternate between the proximal reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ and the distal one *kule-* ‘say like that,’ the study showed that the alternation is to distinguish between what is foregrounded or backgrounded in a sequence of reported talk between/among characters. Thus, a reporting speaker is claimed to frame reported utterance with *ile-* ‘go like this’ when he or she wants to foreground the form of speaking (i.e., how it was said). It was shown that *kule-*

‘say like that’ is used when the reporter wants to foreground its referential meaning instead of its form.

In analyzing reporting speakers’ own stancetaking, the study in chapter 6 also suggested that the notions of contextualizing frame, turn allocation, focused turn, and the alternation of reporting verbs are systematically designed turn by turn on behalf of the addressees.

## **7.2 Suggestions for future studies**

The present study could reveal many interesting phenomena about reported speech constructions in Korean that have not been discussed in previous studies. This was possible because the present study examined constructions appearing in naturally occurring face-to-face conversation, including the corpus analysis of a large size of transcripts from the video data. Despite such contributions to the literature on reported speech, the present study still leaves some issues to be answered in the future.

In chapter 4 (section 4.5), the study discussed four ways of framing reported speech, post-, pre-, dual-, and zero-framing. Unlike written discourse, speakers in spontaneous talk may begin quoting another’s talk and then place a reporting verb after it (i.e., post-framing). Like speakers of English (an SVO language), speakers of Korean (an SOV language) may put an introductory component (e.g., a pronoun and *verbum dicendi*, such as *I said*) before a reported utterance, termed ‘pre-framing.’ It was also shown that speakers may start with ‘pre-framing’ and end in ‘post-framing’. And reporters often quote another’s talk without any verb at all, termed ‘zero-framing.’

Based on preliminary observations of 33 reported speech constructions, the study advanced an assumption that the ‘pre-framing’ option might be selected by the reporting speaker in order to have the hearers wait for a forthcoming reported utterance consisting of multi-turn construction units. Such a framing method makes it possible for the reporter to keep holding his or her speakership until finishing such multi-turn construction units. Further studies are required to answer what makes a speaker choose ‘pre-framing’ above another mode of framing (or vice versa), and what kind of interactional function such a selected method may have in the reporting context.

Romaine and Lange (1991:243) argue that the selection of one particular reporting verb as opposed to another is not uniquely tied to one particular discourse function; rather, “it is the variation or shifting itself that creates meaningful stylistic oppositions.” In this perspective, it might be assumed that the proximal reporting verb *ile-* ‘go like this’ in the present study performs a similar function to other dramatic features of discourse like the conversational historical present (Wolfson, 1982; Schiffrin, 1981). For *ile-* ‘go like this,’ unlike the distal verb *kule-* ‘say like this,’ is used for the reporting speaker to demonstrate the immediate and visible utterance and action that seem like being performed by the reported speaker ‘here and now’. In a similar vein, Blyth et al. (1990) found that tense of a reporting verb is the most significant factor affecting the use of it. For example, *go* or *be like* in English spoken discourse is said to tend to occur where a switch to the present tense occurs.

Unlike the above claims, in his study on Japanese conversation, Iwasaki (1993) makes an important point that a tense form is not used as a temporal deictic marker. He claimed that the major cause for tense form variation in spoken narrative in Japanese is the perspective principle and information accessibility.



The corpus analysis of the transcripts of the video data in the present study showed that *ile-* ‘go like this’ is marked with either past or non-past and the same tense variation applies to *kule-* ‘say like that.’ Therefore, different usages of the deictic reporting verbs in opposition in Korean may be further studied according to the perspective principle and information accessibility.

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