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The Organization of Institutional Interaction  
in a Radio Counseling Call-in Show

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Organization of Institutional Interaction  
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by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics

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This dissertation examines how the participants constitute their action to achieve the goal of the institution with the conversational mechanisms of sequence organization and overall structural organization in a radio counseling call-in show. Using the methodology of Conversation Analysis, this dissertation explicates how the conversational mechanisms found in mundane interaction are employed to construct the interaction when an institution of radio counseling gets involved with its specific goal of seeking and providing advice.

First, the dissertation analyzes the ways in which the callers design their opening question, the first pair part of a question and response sequence, employing various question types and an indirect question format. The callers use different types of question to present discrete agendas. In doing so, they incorporate the epistemic stance into the design of the

question and try to index their epistemic stance as a knowing one. They also display their orientation to the deontic relations with the experts in the question design.

Second, the dissertation examines the ways in which the experts design their response to the callers' yes-no question and how they either conform to or resist the constraints placed by the question. The callers bring in different agendas in their question according to its location and the extent of difference between the advice and their understanding of it, and the experts attend to them with a response ranging from a type-conforming response to a repetitional or a transformative response and try to keep their advice effective and intact.

Lastly, the dissertation analyzes what the host does as the professional party for the institution of broadcast through the overall structure of radio counseling. The host shows consistent orientation to the progress of the interaction. As a facilitator of the counseling calls, she leads the interaction by taking the initiative in transitioning between phases of counseling as well as addresses an absence of necessary components. During the problem presentation, however, the host assumes a recipient of the storytelling and displays affiliation with the callers. The host adjusts the set of responsibilities given to her according to the different stages of interaction to promote achieving the institutional goals.

In sum, the dissertation illustrates how the participants in a radio counseling call-in show construct their actions with orientation to the goal and the identities that are realized through a question and answer sequence and overall structural organization. The findings contribute to an understanding of the participants' orientation to and employment of the sequential and overall structure of the radio counseling interaction as a resource of constructing the action in a local context, and eventually the institution itself.

The dissertation of Jin Hee Lee is approved.

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Soli Deo Gloria

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Actions in everyday life, such as question, request, assessment, invitation, storytelling, etc., are all accomplished in talk-in-interaction. Although the ascribed label for each action sounds simple, actions involve a number of interactional practices and procedures. For example, the action of ‘telling a trouble’ to a friend or family member would involve approaching, arriving at, delivering, working up, and exiting from the trouble in specific ways (Jefferson 1988). The recipient of the telling may take various routes in his uptake. He may treat the telling as a story itself and stay as a listener by reacting to the progress of the story, or treat it as an implicit request for advice and offer it (Jefferson and Lee 1981). The participants’ identity of a story teller/advice seeker and a story recipient/advice provider is ambiguous and achieved as the interaction develops turn by turn.

If the action of telling one’s trouble is moved to an institutional setting, the setting would shape the interaction quite differently. The goal of the interaction would be set as telling a trouble to find a solution and listening to it to provide adequate advice. The participants would be engaged in the interaction with the identity of an advice-seeker and an advice-provider. Based on these differences, the details of interaction differ from those in ordinary conversation. One of the institutional settings that can bring about such differences is a radio counseling call-in show. This specific institutional setting with a goal of seeking and giving advice can provide a resource to study the ways in which individuals constitute their actions with a particular orientation to the identity, restraints, or expectation. This dissertation will examine how the participants constitute

their action to achieve the goal of the institution with the conversational resources of the question and response sequence and overall structural organization in a radio counseling call-in show.

Before moving to the analyses, I will briefly review the Conversation Analysis in the ordinary and institutional setting in the next section. Then Section 1.2 will introduce a radio counseling call-in show as a specific institutional interaction. Section 1.3 will introduce the conversational mechanisms of the overall structural organization and the sequence organization that are mainly pertinent to the radio counseling interaction. Data used for the dissertation will be provided in Section 1.4, followed by an overview of the dissertation in Section 1.5.

### **1.1 Ordinary conversation vs. institutional interaction<sup>1</sup>**

Conversation Analysis considers that talk-in-interaction represents an institutional order in itself as it has its own practices and procedures that impose moral obligations on the participants. The set of practices and procedures that the participants employ to produce and understand actions in social interaction are structural in nature. The structures of social actions, which are constructed through turns at talk, are mainly manifested in the form of sequential orderings of actions.

With the orientation to the sequential structure, CA explicates the issues of meaning and context in interaction in terms of sequences. Through the sequences of turns, a current action is produced in the context shaped by a previous action, embodying the speaker's understanding of the preceding turn, and projects and requires a next action. By doing so, the current action also provides a context for the next action to be constructed on. In the next action, the speaker can

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<sup>1</sup> This section is in part derived from Heritage (2004: 103-147).

display his/her understanding of the 'current' action so the participants can achieve mutual understanding. Such process of making sense is realized through sequentially organized actions. These reflexive procedures of social interaction are also normative since the participants can be held accountable for the departure from them. The absence of the next action made relevant by the current action may be sanctioned.

The attention of Conversation Analysis to the social actions based on the practices and procedures in interaction expanded from ordinary conversation to institutional talk. Since Atkinson and Drew's (1979) work on the courtroom, Conversation Analysis in institutional settings applies the finding of CA to the interaction in social institutions, such as medicine, law, social services, etc. Institutional interaction differentiates itself from ordinary conversation in three main aspects (Drew and Heritage 1992: 22).

1. The participants are engaged in the interaction with the orientation to the specific goal in their institution-relevant identities, e.g., a doctor, a professional, and a patient, a layperson, who would seek medical treatment for the sickness.
2. There are special constraints regarding what would form an allowable contribution to the current interaction, e.g. During an examination in a trial, the attorney is to ask a question and the witness is to answer to the question and departures from the assigned action engender sanctions.
3. The interaction involves inferential framework and procedures that are derived from specific institutional context, such as adversarial mood during a counter-examination in a trial.



Thus, CA for institutional interaction investigates how the conversational practices and procedures found in the mundane interaction are employed and continue to construct the interaction when an institution gets involved with its specific goal, identity of participants, constraints and inferential framework. However, the basic tenet of CA does not change even in an institutional setting. CA for institutional interaction still maintains the view that “‘context’ is treated as both the project and product of the participants’ actions and therefore as inherently locally produced and transformable at any moment” (Drew and Heritage 1992). It does not consider institutions as established and unchanging orders. In other words, through the ongoing interaction at the moment, the specific institutional features set in advance are realized and enforced for the participants. Thus, CA for institutional interaction aims to show the ways in which the participants construct their actions as institutional interaction by building up the context and the identity incrementally as they move forward in the given institutional setting.

On this background, the institutional character of a given institution can be mainly found in the specialized turn-taking system as well as overall structural organization of the interaction (cf. Atkinson and Drew 1979, Zimmerman 1992). Engaged in the interaction organized with these conversational mechanisms, the participants display their institutional identity and the awareness of the tasks and constraints. There are, however, a number of other domains of organization, such as sequence organization, turn design, or lexical choices, that affect the institutional practices, actions, or identities. This dissertation will look into the sequence organization along with the turn design and the overall structural organization as crucially influential mechanisms in constituting radio counseling interaction. In the next section, the characteristics of a radio counseling call-in show will be discussed, then the conversational

organization and practices that the participants employ to build their actions to achieve the goals of the radio counseling interaction will be introduced.

## **1.2 Radio counseling call-in show as a specific institutional interaction**

As its label indicates, a radio counseling call-in show involves the institution of broadcast and counseling, and conveys the distinctive characters inherited from each institution. On the one hand, it features the institution of broadcast that provides the framework for the interaction in which the activity of counseling is embedded. Since radio talk shows adopted a two-way communication by receiving calls from the listeners, radio call-in shows have been expanded, ranging from sharing one's political opinion to seeking financial consultation or psychotherapeutic advice, etc. (cf. Cappella, Turow, and Jamieson 1996, Hutchby 1996, Thell and Peräkylä 2018). Being a broadcast interaction, the radio counseling assumes the 'overhearing audience' (Heritage 1985). Either directly addressed or not, the audience are considered to be one of the participants of the interaction. It also implements some measures that are required to maintain the show, such as caller screening or arranging commercials or breaks during the show.

On the other hand, counseling in a radio show forms a professional field of psychological practice, 'media psychology,' in which professionals provide advice and guidance to laypersons who seek help or solutions for a problem through mass media (Bouhoutsos et al. 1986, Henricks and Stiles 1989). Counseling in this platform has been studied widely as well (cf. Thell and Peräkylä 2018, Yan 2008, Gaik 1994). Counseling in a radio show often adopts a solution-oriented therapy rather than psychoanalysis or a cognitive therapy (Peräkylä 2013). While some therapy talk show includes therapeutic activities, that is, urging introspection and self-reflection (Gaik

1994), many counseling talk shows mainly focus on the solution-oriented counseling with the activity of seeking and providing advice. Since the counseling is solution-oriented, the overall structure is very similar to medical interaction in a primary care visit. The callers seek for advice by presenting their problems to the counselor, and the counselor grants advice, often after asking questions and providing diagnosis about the situation. In addition to its procedural structure, rapport building is considered to be very important during counseling in general for successful outcomes (Horvath & Luborsky 1993, Martin, Garske, and Davis 2000) and counselors are expected to be affiliative during the session.

In addition, the radio counseling is initiated and achieved via phone calls so the counseling is primarily embedded in a telephone conversation, which further shapes the overall structure of interaction with the opening and closing phase (cf. Schegloff 1968, Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

Thus, the characteristics from each institution are reflected in the radio counseling interaction and form its own institutional characters as follows:

1. The participants' orientation to the specific goal and identities: It is a solution-oriented interaction in which the participants are engaged as a solution-seeker (the callers), a solution-provider (the counselors). In building their response, the counselors may construct it to be educational and informative to address the public audience's need. If present, the host may focus on facilitating the progress of the interaction and act as a professional for the institution of broadcast.
2. The constraints on the allowable contribution to the current interaction: The callers are to present the trouble and preferably formulate it into a question form to specify the help they need. The counselors are to provide advice or solutions as a response.

3. The inferential framework and procedures: For a successful counseling, affiliative and sympathetic attitudes are expected from the host and the counselor.

The participants realize these institutional characters of radio counseling as they construct their actions through turns-at-talk. Out of a variety of conversational practices, such as turn-taking, turn design, lexical choices, etc., the mainly related practices to the radio counseling talk-show are the overall structural organization and the sequence organization, especially the question and answer adjacency pair. The next section will look into these two mechanisms in depth and their relation to the institutional setting of radio counseling.

### **1.3 Conversational mechanisms in radio counseling interaction**

#### **1.3.1 Overall structure organization**

Most interactions have certain overall structural characters, and institutional talks have more specific and distinctive shape of interaction or overall structural organization. The overall structural organization is constructed with phases or activities that appear in specific order as its components. Such organization has been considered to reside in an entire, single occasion of interaction. However, the coherence that holds the interaction as structured orderly and normatively also can be found in its sub-part activities (Schegloff 2007, Robinson 2013). The activity in each phase has its own coherence and contributes to form a whole interaction with overall structural organization.

Institutional interaction is often monotopical with a single task to deal with and presents its own goal to pursue so the participants construct their interaction with the orientation to it, e.g. primary-care visits that deal with acute medical concerns involve presenting, collecting information about, diagnosing and treating the concern (Robinson 2003). Each phase has its own goal and at the same time contributes to achieve the ultimate goal of the interaction. The transitions between each phase also needs negotiations between the participants with respect to whether the task at the moment arrives at the completion. Thus, the overall structure organization endows the activities in the current interaction with coherence as well as informs and guides the participants to move the interaction forward. It should be noted that the relevance of overall structural organization needs to be manifest first to the participants (Schegloff 1992b). The overall structural organization needs to be seen as the organizations to which the parties are oriented to construct their talk and the action rather than being proposed as a solid structure to which the participants need to conform.

Radio counseling also shows repetitive overall structural organization as it forms a monotopical task-oriented encounter that involve request for and granting of help. The interaction is usually organized with opening, asking for advice with presenting the trouble, giving advice often after asking questions, and closing. Each phase unfolds with the focus on the main course of action—seeking and providing advice. The main activity of seeking and providing advice is embedded in the overall structure of a counseling call, for which the host gets engaged as a facilitator and takes the lead to move the interaction forward. By initiating the opening and the closing as well as leading the transition between phases, the host displays her orientation to the progress of the interaction. Chapter 4 examines the host's work that encompasses the overall structure of the interaction. Moreover, the caller's presenting the

problem before formulating a request for a solution as well as the counselors' gathering information before giving advice contribute to the main activity sequence. These are not considered to be a separate activity but oriented to as preliminaries of asking for advice and of providing adequate advice that present related background information in advance.

Thus, all the participants are engaged in the interaction, attending to its overall structure, and departures from the expected contribution in each phase would be sanctioned, e.g., the host requests missing information when the callers do not introduce their child properly. The overall structural organization, thus, shapes the interaction and be shaped as the interaction between the participants unfolds.

### **1.3.2 Sequence organization**

Talk-in-interaction in which its participants perform social actions is organized sequentially. A sequence is by definition "a course of action implemented through talk" (Schegloff 2007: 9). The positioning of an utterance in the conversation is fundamental for the participants to construct and to understand the courses of action (Schegloff 1984). Actions conveyed by utterances are positioned either as initiating a sequence of action or as responding to an initiated action as a part of a sequence. By being next to each other, each utterance has a reflexive relationship with the preceding and the following one (Sacks 1992).

Adjacency pair is a type of sequence organization that reflects such mechanism and a great number of social actions are constituted through adjacency pair (Schegloff 2007). Adjacency pair is a sequence of two utterances that are adjacent and produced by different speakers. Once a 'first pair part' is given, a type-fitted 'second pair part' is normatively expected

by the co-participants and its absence is held accountable (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Adjacency pair is organized around the action types in which first pair parts are paired with specific second pair part (e.g. summons-answer, request-granting/denial, invitation-acceptance/rejection). In adjacency pair, a second pair part is due in the next position at the first possible opportunity. The production of a second pair part displays its speaker has analyzed and understood the first action. The speaker of the first pair part now can see how his action was understood by the co-participant and either approve or correct the understanding. Through the sequence organization of adjacency pair, the participants analyze other's action to produce their own action and display their understanding of the prior in their current turn. Thus, adjacency pair is the basic sequential unit of producing and understanding social actions through which intersubjectivity between participants can be achieved (Heritage 1984a).

Another common form of sequence organization is an extended telling, usually in the form of storytelling (Schegloff 2007, Stivers 2013). The common norms of providing second pair part in response to first pair part is suspended when a participant employs an extended telling as an initiating action. Through the suspension of the normal turn-taking rule, the storyteller can secure the right to continue the telling till its completion. The telling sequence implements a set of norms different from sequences with adjacency pair. Storytelling is organized with projecting a stance toward an event. The stance the teller tries to deliver is usually displayed at the story preface in which the teller can indicate what kind of story it will be and thus suggest the recipient what stance is expected at the completion of the story (Jefferson 1978, Sacks 1974, Stivers 2008). Furthermore, rather than a type-fitted second pair part, some forms of uptake to the telling is expected not only at the end of the story but also in an incremental manner through the course of telling, that is, the recipients may provide

acknowledgment tokens while the story develops and more affiliative tokens as the story approaches the climax.

Sequence organization is significant in that the activities and tasks in interaction are managed through it. Moreover, interactional identities and roles are established and maintained through sequence organization. Radio counseling interaction includes both types of sequence organization mentioned above. The adjacency pair of question and answer sequence forms the core activity of counseling. By being engaged in counseling interaction, the participants build their identity of a solution seeker and a solution provider as well as the institutional identity of a caller, the layperson, and a counselor, the professional. As sequences are made up of turns, the actual turn design also plays a major role in how the participants constitute their actions turn by turn and achieve the institutional identity. Chapter 2 will investigate the callers' question design and Chapter 3 will examine the experts' response design. The relevant design features of question and response will be discussed in the respective chapter in detail. The callers employ a variety of question types to deliver a particular agenda and design them to display their knowledge about the problem and the related circumstances. The experts design the response so that they can either accept or resist the terms and agenda of the given question.

Radio counseling interaction also includes the sequence of storytelling as the callers present their problem in the format of an extended telling. Although the storytelling in the counseling is employed as a means of constituting the main action of requesting a solution, it gives the participants the local identity of a storyteller and a recipient. The institutional need of building an affiliative mood during the problem presentation stage guides the recipient, mainly the host, what stance she should take. The ways in which the host, the main recipient, actively aligns and affiliates with the caller, the trouble teller, will be discussed in Chapter 4.



This dissertation will contribute to conversation analytic research by examining how conversational mechanisms are employed for the activity of seeking and providing a solution or advice in the institutional context of radio counseling call-in show. My primary analytic attention will be given to the formal aspects of the design of question and response. The analysis will also point to the ways in which the overall structure of radio counseling exhibits participants' orientation to institutional goals and tasks.

## **1.4 Data and methodology**

### **1.4.1 Data**

The data in this research consist of 55 Korean radio counseling calls from a show titled 'Parents' Time.' It was broadcast by one of the Korean nationwide broadcast stations, EBS. The show, hosted by an anchor woman, was aired every weekday and provided useful tips regarding parenting, such as children's school life, health and development, or a talk from special guest speakers. It offered a counseling session once a week with a guest counselor who specializes in child development. Most of the callers are parents who ask for explanations or solutions for their children's problematic behaviors or situations. Once a caller is connected to the host during the counseling session, the host presides over the call, and lets the caller present their issue. Then she invites the expert to take charge of giving diagnoses, explanations or advice. The data cover 11 counseling sessions in which four experts appear from twice to four times. Each expert gives advice 13 to 14 callers on average. The show lasts around 50 to 55 minutes and the host takes five to seven calls per session. The calls occupy from three to eight minutes.

## 1.4.2 Transcription

The data were transcribed following the Jeffersonian transcription conventions (Jefferson, 2004; see Appendix A for the transcription symbols). The data were transcribed with three-line transcription; the first line shows original Korean words provided in Yale Romanization; the second line is morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (see Appendix B for the list of gloss); the third line is an idiomatic translation into English. The brackets ( ) in English translation indicate the words that were not overtly spoken in Korean but inserted for smooth translation (e.g., zero anaphora). Transcription in Korean was included at the end of each excerpt for the convenience of Korean readers.

## 1.4.3 Methodology

This dissertation employs the methodology of Conversation Analysis. Conversation analysis (CA), developed by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson, is a method for studying social interaction, rooted in the Garfinkel and Goffman's work. On the one hand, Goffman viewed social interaction as a form of social organization in its own right (Goffman 1983) and as having an underlying structural organization that participants use to analyze one another's conduct (Goffman 1971). On the other hand, Garfinkel (1967) argued 'shared methods of reasoning' with which interactants can make shared sense of their circumstances and actions so that they can achieve intersubjectivity.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The formation of CA is derived from the early CA publications, Harvey Sacks (1992) and Schegloff and Sacks (1973).

From such background, Conversation Analysis considers talk-in-interaction as a locus of social order in which social actions take place, and seeks to find the orderliness of social interaction by explicating the ways in which participants themselves organize their actions in everyday interaction. Thus, CA pays attention to structural and procedural characters of social interaction. Moreover, it focuses on the participants' own orientation to such structures and procedures manifest in interaction rather than one of the analysts.

Form these orientations, CA emphasized using naturally occurring interaction as its data. It considers ordinary conversation to be the fundamental domain of human interaction. Looking into how participants themselves conduct their own actions in actual, mundane interaction, CA focuses on 'sequentially organized activities' (Schegloff 2007) with which the interactants implement a course of action out of adjacency pairs.

Conversation Analysis has analyzed a number of general mechanisms with which participants systematically organize their actions in the interaction: the turn-taking organization through which participants build and exchange turns at talk (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974); the sequence organization through which conversation gets organized and social actions are performed (Schegloff 2007); the repair organization with which participants present and resolve problems of speaking, hearing, and/or understanding (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977, Schegloff 1992a); preference organization through which different kinds of constraints are involved in various domains (Sacks 1987, Pomerantz 1984); and the overall structural organization of conversation that manages the shaping of different types of interactional unit to achieve coherence (Schegloff 1968, 2011, Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

Among these organizations, it is the sequence organization, especially the question and answer sequence, and the overall structural organization that will mainly figure in this dissertation. Other organizational mechanisms will be addressed as well if needed.

## **1.5 Overview of the dissertation**

The dissertation is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I will examine how the callers design their question at the end of the problem presentation. I will begin with explaining what kind of grammatical resources are available for question formation in Korean and the dimensions of question design in general. I will show how the callers deliberately design their question to convey a specific agenda, index their epistemic stance, and display their entitlement for requesting information. In the callers' question formulation, each question type is employed to pursue a specific agenda, such as asking for a solution or seeking validation. The callers also try to adjust their epistemic stance with respect to the experts' professional knowledge and make it reflected in their question design. When it comes to the entitlement for requesting information, the callers display their adjusted entitlement through the question design.

In Chapter 3, I will analyze the ways in which the experts design their response to answer yes-no questions with respect to the constraints placed on them. The experts either accept or resist them by employing responses ranging from type-conforming responses to repetitional or transformative responses. I will discuss that various factors affect the response's conformity to the constraints. The location of the yes-no question is the first factor: whether the question is an opening question or a subsequent question has a critical bearing on the design of response. The opening yes-no questions that are employed to seek validation almost always receive a

dispreferred response accompanied with an elaborate preface as well as some unsought information, such as an interpretation or a solution. The callers' understanding of the given advice is another factor that occasions different response designs. The level of inference in the question derived from the advice influences the experts to accept it, claim more agency on the proposition, or resist it to vindicate the validity of the advice.

In Chapter 4, I will investigate the overall structural organization of radio counseling calls and the work of the host in them as a facilitator as well as a recipient of a narrative. I will show how a call is organized with activities in discrete phases and how the host is oriented to moving the interaction forward at the transition from one phase to the next one. At each transition, the host's job as a facilitator is quite clearly manifest. However, once the problem begins to be presented in the form of storytelling, the host assumes the role of story recipient and adjusts her actions accordingly. I will argue the host is dedicated to the institution of broadcast while other two participants are more focusing on the core sequence of question and response.

I will conclude in Chapter 5 by summarizing the analyses and present implications and suggestions of the study.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE CALLERS' QUESTION DESIGN

#### 2.1 Introduction

Counseling in a radio show is mostly oriented to problem solving or solution-seeking rather than psychoanalysis or cognitive therapy (cf. Peräkylä 2013). Since the counseling is solution-oriented, the callers generally seek advice by presenting their problems to the expert, and the expert offers advice, often after asking questions and providing a diagnosis of the situation. These seemingly simple tasks present a variety of challenges arising from the asymmetric roles and knowledge status of the parties. The callers are the ones who describe their life problem but have little knowledge on how to deal with it. On the other hand, the expert has the professional knowledge on some general topics (Peräkylä and Vehvilainen 2003; Drew and Heritage 1992; Heritage and Clayman 2010) but knows little about each caller's specific problem in detail. The callers need to convey what they know and how they conceptualize the problem, but also that they still need help to solve it. The expert also needs to figure out how to make her expertise address the specific problem at hand and make it as relevant to other listeners as possible. During the radio counseling process, both callers and experts are aware of these challenges and display the awareness in their talk-in-interaction.

The problem presentation is of great importance in counseling in that the callers' own description of the issue is the primary resource from which the expert figures out the problem and gives relevant advice. It is also the place where the callers bring in all the relevant information for their issue to aid the expert's understanding of the situation. In the problem presentation stage, the

callers are expected to tell their issue in detail, and the host and the expert usually do not intervene until the callers finish the presentation on their end. The presentation is usually structured as a full-fledged narrative, starting from the introduction of the main character, that is, the caller's child(ren), building up the story with his/her problematic behavior or situation (Goodwin 1984), and most of the time, the presentation ends with a caller's question.

Placing a question at the end of the problem presentation is noteworthy as we consider another well-known solution-seeking interaction. In doctor-patient interaction, the problem presentation is initiated by questions such as 'what brought you here today?' or 'how can I help you today?', patients often list symptoms, or they provide a narrative of how the problem began and led to the current symptom (Heritage and Clayman 2010:107-8). They rarely ask a question. In radio counseling, by contrast, callers normally end with a question.<sup>3</sup>

This may result from the fact that the presentation itself includes so many layers of issues that callers need to address which aspect of the situation concerns her the most. In fact, when the problem presentation ends without a question, the host sometimes inquires what question the callers want to ask. Even when the host and the expert get to know the overall situation through the presentation, they still want the callers to specify which part is worrying her most.

It is also significant that the callers employ three types of questions as well as a combination of two question types. At the end of the problem presentation, the callers form questions either in a wh-, yes-no, alternative question or a question cluster form. Moreover, the questions are very often composed as an indirect question and embedded in a main clause, such as "I wonder ..." or "I don't know ...," as an object.

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<sup>3</sup> 55 calls yield 70 cases of problem presentation as some callers ask an extra question in one call. Out of 70 cases, 55 (78%) were concluded with a question.

This chapter will investigate the callers' question designs with which they address a variety of different agendas and index different levels of epistemic stance. In the following preliminary section, the basic features of Korean question formation are introduced as a resource to understand the specifics of particular problem presentation questions. In section 2.3, I will examine how the dimensions of agenda setting and epistemic and deontic orientation affect the callers' constitution of the question in the order of wh-, yes-no, alternative questions and question clusters. Section 2.4 will investigate how the caller's orientation to their entitlement is displayed through the deployment of indirect and direct questions in different locations.

## **2.2 Question formulation at the end the problem presentation**

### **2.2.1 Korean question formation**

The Korean language is verb final and agglutinative. Its basic word order consists of subject-object-verb (Sohn 1999). By adding suffixes at the end of the predicate of a clause, a variety of grammatical information is marked, for example, a sentence type—declarative, interrogative, propositive, imperative, together with the speech level— informal, polite, formal, neutral, etc.— that is employed to index social distance and age difference. Korean does not change word order in order to make a question as English does but may add specific suffixes to form a question (Yoon 2010). There are three types of question in Korean—yes-no, wh- and alternative questions.

Yes-no questions in Korean are formed in three major ways. First, sentence final suffixes, such as include *-na*, *-(nu)nya*, *-ni*, *-nka*, and *-(l)kka*, work as morphological marking to turn a



proposition into an interrogative sentence (Sohn 1999; Yoon 2010; Lee 2015). Second, the final suffix *-e/a(yo)* for the informal and polite speech level, combined with a rising intonation, can form a question (Yoon 2010; Lee 2015). Third, another final suffix *-ci*, a committal suffix that conveys the speaker's commitment to the proposition, can be used to function as a tag question (Yoon 2010; Lee 2015).

Korean wh-questions are formed with a wh-word, that is, wh-pronouns, such as *mwe* 'what,' wh-adverbs, such as *ettehkey* 'how,' or wh-noun modifiers, such as *etten* 'what kind of,' in its original place in a sentence. They take all three kinds of final suffixes used for yes-no questions. Alternative questions are primarily formed with clausal units (Ahn 2005; Yoon 2010), with or without a conjunctive word. When an alternative question lists word and phrasal level choices, they need to be connected by *animyen* 'if not' to stand as an alternative question (Yoon 2010). The alternative questions employ only two types of final suffixes, that is, the interrogative final suffixes *-na*, *-(nu)nya*, *-ni*, *-nka*, and *-(l)kka*, and the informal/polite ending suffix *-e/a(yo)*. The committal suffix *-ci* is not used for alternative questions.

While these are the ways to form a direct question for various question types, a question can be formed in an indirect format with specific suffixes and be embedded in another clause to function as a subject or an object. The indirect question is marked with the suffixes *-((n)u)nci* or *-(u)lci* regardless of the question types (Yonsei Institute of Language and Information Studies, 2018). These two suffixes originally mark doubts or suppositions on a given clause and are used to conjoin the clause to another clause as in (1a) below. More often, these suffixes function as an indirect interrogative suffix, glossed as 'whether,' and have the clause to which it is attached embedded in a main clause that denotes doubt or question, such as 'I wonder...' as in (1b). These

indirect interrogative suffixes can also be employed as a final suffix and end a sentence without any main clause as in (1c).

(1) The usage of *-(n)u)nci / -(u)lci*

a. *-(n)u)nci / -(u)lci* as a conjunctive

*cihonun elmana pwucilenhanci mayil achim tases siey ilenanda.*  
 Ciho-TOP how diligent-CONN everyday morning five o'clock-at rise-DEC  
**How diligent Ciho is: he wakes up at 5a.m. everyday.**  
 지호는 얼마나 부지런한지 매일 아침 다섯 시에 일어난다.

b. *-(n)u)nci / -(u)lci* as an indirect interrogative suffix

*nayka myech tungilci kekcengi toynta.*  
 I-NOM how:may ranking-IND:INTERR worry-NOM become-DEC  
**(I) am worried about what ranking I would get.**  
 내가 몇 등일지 걱정이 된다.

c. *-(n)u)nci / -(u)lci* as a final suffix

*onulun nalssika ttattushanciyo?*  
 today-TOP weather-NOM warm-IND:INTERR-POL  
**Will it be warm today?**  
 오늘은 날씨가 따뜻한지요?

In addition, since the Korean language is verb-final, when an indirect question clause is embedded in a main clause, the main clause comes after the embedded one in contrast to English construction.

(2) Korean vs. English word order

a. English: [I don't know [how to solve this problem.]]  
 main clause embedded clause

b. Korean: *i mwunceylul ettehkey pwulci molukeysse.*  
 this problem-ACC how solve-IND:INTERR not:know-MOD-IE  
**[[how to solve this problem] (I) don't know.]**  
 이 문제를 어떻게 풀지 모르겠어.  
 embedded clause main clause

In my data, 90 percent of the question appear as an indirect question. Some questions are formed as an embedded clause in a main clause, which usually appear as ‘I am wondering ...’ or ‘I don’t know ...,’ while others come standing alone. The fourth form, a question cluster, is a combination of two question types. The counts are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Question types

Question forms	indirect form	direct form	total	main clause	stand alone	total
wh-question	26	4	30	10	20	30
yes-no question	9	1	10	5	5	10
alternative question	10	0	10	7	3	10
question cluster	5	0	5	3	2	5
total	50	5	55	25	30	55

Following are the examples of each question type. First is an example of a wh-question that is embedded in a main clause.

**(3) Wh-question with a main clause: 3-4-17-3-complimenting2ndson**

01 Clr:            *hyeng.un            ilehkey    yatan.ul        chiko*  
                   older:brother-TOP like:this scolding-ACC give-CONN  
 02                *honnay.ko    kulay.to*  
                   rebuke-CONN do:so-CONCES  
 03                *pyel        panung.i        eps.nuntey*  
                   special reaction-NOM not:exist-CIRCUM  
 04                *yay.nun        tto    kulen ke.ey    koyngcanghi*  
                   this:kid-TOP also such thing-at greatly  
 05                *minkamha (h).ketunyo;*  
                   sensitive-INFO-POL  
                   **The older brother is not so reactive**  
                   **even if I scold him or rebuke him,**  
                   **but this kid is very much sensitive to such things.**

06 Host:            =aha[:  
                   oh  
                   [ ]Oh:..

07 > Clr:            **[kuse ettehkey talwe.ya toy.nunci        com**  
                   so    how        deal-should-IND:INTERR little  
 08 >                **kwungkumh.ayse.yo.**  
                   wonder -CAUS-POL  
                   [ ] **So because I am wondering how (I) should deal with (him).**

09 Host: .hh ney. .hhh e::: ccokkum te  
DM little more  
10 (1.0) kkatalo.wun ke kath.untey.yo,  
tricky-ATTR thing like-CIRCUM-POL  
.hh Yes. .hhh uhm:::(1.0) (this) seems a little more tricky.

01 Clr: 형은 이렇게 야단을 치고  
02 혼내고 그래도  
03 별 반응이 없는데  
04 애는 또 그런 거에 굉장히  
05 민감하(h) 거든요;

06 Host: =아하:[:  
07 Clr: [그서 어떻게 다뤄야 되는지 좀  
08 궁금해서요.

09 Host: .hh 네. .hhh 어::: 쪼끔 더  
10 (1.0) 까다로운 거 같은데요,

In line 7, the wh-question is formulated as an indirect interrogative with the suffix *-nunci* and functions as an object of the main clause ‘I am wondering.’ At the end of line 8, with *-ayse* ‘because’ on the predicate *kwungkumha* ‘wonder,’ the caller marks this whole turn is a subordinate clause that denotes the reason for the call. The main clause for this whole turn, which would be ‘I called in,’ is omitted. The following excerpt has an indirect yes-no question as an independent clause.

**(4) Yes-no question standing alone: 10-4-24-5-27moStompingFeet**

01 Clr: =[cey.ka ppacyenaka.ko na.myen;  
I:HUM-NOM sneak:out-COMPL-COND  
02 yocumey.nun cey.ka naka.n ke.l al.ko  
these:days-TOP I:HUM-NOM exit-ATTR fact-ACC know-CONN  
03 ilehkey, mak pwunhayha.myense ekwulhayha.myense  
like:this DM get:angry-SIMUL feel:unfair-SIMUL  
04 wul.ko kule.n[tako ha.[nun[tey:,  
cry-CONN be:so-QT say-CIRCUM  
**(The caretaker) says that after I sneak out,  
(he) knows that I went out these days  
and gets angry and mortified, and cries or so. Given that,**

05 Host: [ha:  
huh  
[] Huh:

06 Exp: [yey[:  
yes  
[] Yes.

07 Host: [yey  
yes  
[] Yes.

08 Exp: [ku pang- [yey ku-  
that yes  
[] That meas- yes that-

09 > Clr: [kulen ke.nun- [mollay nao.nun ke.y  
such thing-TOP secretly exit-ATTR thing-NOM  
10 > kwayncanh. [unci  
okay-IND:INTERR  
[] Such thing- whether leaving secretly is okay

11 Exp: [>ani.yo ani.yo<  
no-POL no-POL  
12 ku pangpep.i cham nappun pangpep cwung.ey  
that measure-NOM very bad measure out:of  
13 \$hanapnita (h) \$  
one-FORM  
[] No no,  
that measure is one of the very bad measures.

01 Clr: =[제가 빠져나가고 나면;  
02 요즘에는 제가 나간 걸 알고  
03 이렇게, 막 분해하면서 억울해하면서  
04 울고 그런 [다고 하 [는 [데:,  
05 Host: [하:  
06 Exp: [예[:  
07 Host: [예  
08 Exp: [그 방- [예 그-  
09 Clr: [그런 거는- [몰래 나오는게  
10 괜찮 [은지  
11 Exp: [>아니요아니요<  
12 그 방법이 참 나쁜 방법중에  
13 \$하납니다 h\$.

In lines 9-10, the caller forms an indirect yes-no question with *-unci*. This indirect question stands alone without any main clause. Next excerpt shows the caller employs an indirect alternative question embedded in a main clause.

**(5) Alternative question with a carrier: 27-6-19-7 38moTooShy**

- 01 > Clr: [yey aycha- em- ce.hako aychakkwankyey.ka  
yes attac- mo- I:HUM-with attachment-relation-NOM
- 02 > [ely.ess.ul ttay.pwuthe:,  
young-PST-ATTR time-from  
>ayki.yess.ul ttaypwuthe:,  
baby-PST:PERCT-ATTR time-from  
[ ] **Yes whether because attach- mo- the attachment with me**  
[ ] **since (she was) young:, >since (she was) a baby,**
- 03 ??: [((background noise-child playing))
- 04 > Clr: com, .hh mwuncey.ka iss.ese  
little problem-NOM exist-CAUS
- 05 > [ay.ka ile.n ke.nci  
kid-NOM like:this-ATTR thing:IND:INTERR  
**has a problem, [ ] the kid is like this**
- 06 Exp: [hhm:.  
[ ] hhm:.
- 07 > Clr: =>ani.myen< kicilcek.in ke.n[ci:,  
if:not dispositional-ATTR thing-be:IND:INTERR  
[ ] **=>Or< whether (it is) from personality**
- 08 Host: [ney:,  
yes  
[ ] **Yes,**
- 09 Clr: [kwungkumha.yse ileh[key han-  
wonder -CONN like:this one  
[ ] **Because (I am) wondering, like this,**
- 10 Exp: [.thhh [emma.ka po.si.ki.eynun:  
mom-NOM see-SH-NOML-TOP
- 11 mwuncey.ka iss.ta- iss.ess.tako sayngkak.i tu.sey.yo,  
problem-NOM exist-DEC exist-PST-QT thought-NOM come-SH-POL  
[ ] **.thhh [ ] In your point of view,**  
**(do you) think there is- was a problem?**
- 01 Clr: [예 애[차- 엄- 저하고 애착관계가  
[어렸을 때부터:, >애기였을 때부터:,  
02  
03 ??: [((background noise-child playing))
- 04 Clr: 줌, .hh 문제가 있어서  
05 [애가 이런 건지  
06 Exp: [hhm:.  
07 Clr: =>아니면< 기질적인 건[지:,  
08 Host: [네:,  
09 Clr: [궁금해서 이렇[게 한-  
10 Exp: [.thhh [엄마가 보시기에는:  
11 문제가 있다- 있었다고 생각이 드세요,

The caller provides two hypothetical reasons of the child's shy character using an alternative question. The first choice is 'because the attachment has a problem' and the second choice is 'because of her personality.' These two clausal choices are both marked with *-nci* in line 5 and 7 and connected with *animyen* 'if not.'

In this section, it has been explained how questions are grammatically constructed into different types and carry a different degree of directness in Korean. In the counseling calls, the callers formulate the questions in four major ways: wh-questions, yes-no questions, alternative questions, and question clusters in which two types of questions appear together. Most of the questions are asked in an indirect question format and the questions are often embedded in a main clause of "I wonder ... " or "I don't know... ." To understand why the callers employ these specific question design, the various dimension of question design will be discussed in the next section.

## **2.2.2 Main facets of question design and callers' question formulation**

Questions are unavoidably designed involving four essential dimensions. Based on Heritage and Clayman (2010: 136-143), this section reviews the major dimensions of question with agenda setting, epistemic stance, preference and presupposition. I also discuss how these dimensions are reflected on the callers' question formulation.

### **2.2.2.1 Agenda setting**

A question sets agenda in two different ways: the topic agenda involves what the question topicalizes and the action agenda concerns what action is made relevant in the next turn. For

example, in the following excerpt, the caller has been talking about her daughter who behaves very well at the kindergarten when the caller is not around. The daughter all of a sudden turned childish and clang to the caller when she came to the school event. The caller brings up the reason of this behavior change as the topic of the question. In terms of action, she is asking for diagnosis on her child's current problem.

**(6) 30-6-26-4-ChildishDaughterAtKindergarten**

12 Clr: .hhhh kuse **kukey way kulenci (h)**  
           so that-NOM why be:so-IND:INTERR  
 13 **cal molukeysseseyo**  
       well not:know-MOD-CAUS-POL  
       **.hhhh so because I don't know well why (she) is so.**

12 Clr: .hhhh 그서 그게 왜 그런지 (h)  
 13 잘 모르겠어서요\_

The caller adds *-nci* at the end of the question proper, embedding it into the main clause 'I don't know well.' The question in the next excerpt topicalizes the caller's action of going to work without telling the child her departure. The caller is asking the validity of the measure she is taking currently.

**(7) 10-4-24-5-27moStompingFeet**

09 Clr: **[kulen kenun- [mollay naonun key kwayncanh[unci**  
       such thing-TOP secretly exit-ATTR thing-NOM okay-IND:INTERR  
       **[] Such thing- whether leaving secretly is okay**

09 Clr: [그런 거는- [몰래 나오는게 괜찮 [은지

In the next excerpt, the caller asks an alternative question about her daughter who keeps asking the caller to help her even if she can do it for herself. She provides possible future measures as



the topic of the question. The action made relevant in the next turn is for the answerer to choose one of the options, even though the expression, "at some point," opens up more possibilities for the conversation and may allow the answerer to go for another direction rather than choosing between given options.

**(8) 30-6-26-4-ChildishDaughterAtKindergarten**

- 14 > Clr:            *cakku kulehkey towacweya toynun kenci animyenun*  
 again like:that help-should-ATTR thing-IND:INTERR or-TOP
- 15 >            *enu seneysel ileh-key kkunheya toynun kenci:.,*  
 certain level-at like:this cut should-ATTR thing-IND:INTERR
- 16 >            *(0.2) .hhh honca hal swu isskey: \_*  
                  alone do-can-RESUL  
**Whether I should help her like that again and again**  
**Or I should stop it at some point**  
**(0.2) for her to do it for herself.**
- 14    Clr:            자꾸 그렇게 도와줘야 되는 건지 아니면은
- 15                어느 선에서 이렇-게 끊어야 되는 건지:.,
- 16                (0.2) .hhh 혼자 할 수 있게: \_

Thus, the common topic of the calls involves the caller's child(ren)—their undesirable character, behavior, or circumstances they are in, etc. However, the action agenda varies according to what kind of help the caller is seeking. The callers may want advice on future action to fix the problem or want a reason behind the problematic situation. Moreover, whether the callers currently have a certain solution in mind or they are totally uninformed also brings variation in action agenda. The callers may want their current measure to be validated or may be open to any kind of advice if they are not taking any measure currently.

Table 2. Question action agenda

Questions types	Seeking solution	Seeking diagnosis	Total
Wh-question	28	2	30
Yes-no question	9	1	10
Alternative question	4	6	10
Question cluster	5	0	5
Total	46	9	55

The four types of questions are employed to accommodate these agendas (See Table 2). On one hand, wh-questions come at the end of the description of the child’s undesirable behavior or situation and aim at acquiring advice on the treatment or diagnosis of the situation. On the other hand, yes-no questions come after the caller’s current measure on the child’s undesirable behavior and aim at getting validation of what the caller is doing to fix it. Alternative questions ask for the reason for the misbehavior or seek a future treatment while they incorporate the caller’s own interpretation and suggestion in the given options. Question clusters come after the child(ren)’s problematic behavior/situation and seek advice on the future action. Setting these discrete topic and action agenda in four different question formats constitutes one layer of the callers’ question design.

### 2.2.2.2 Epistemic gradient

When asking a question, the questioner communicates that s/he is uninformed about the state of affair in the question and the answerer is more accessible to the information and thus has more epistemic right. While this asymmetrical knowledge level is assumed in all question, the different question design can deliver different degrees of epistemic tilt between a questioner and an answerer. The following three questions delivers different epistemic gradient respectively.

Q1 Wh-question: Where do you live?

Q2 Yes-no question: Do you live in Westwood?

Q3 Declarative yes-no question: You live in Westwood?

In the first wh-question, the questioner displays no knowledge in the answerer's residence and indicates that s/he is in an unknowing [K-] state vis-à-vis the answerer's knowing [K+] state, resulting in a steep epistemic gradient. The yes-no question proposes a certain proposition in it and asks for (dis)affirmation, yielding a flatter epistemic gradient than a wh-question. The declarative yes-no question suggests the questioner's strong belief about the answerer's residence and seeks confirmation only, thus rendering the epistemic gradient even flatter. The different epistemic gradients between a questioner and an answerer are shown in Figure 1.

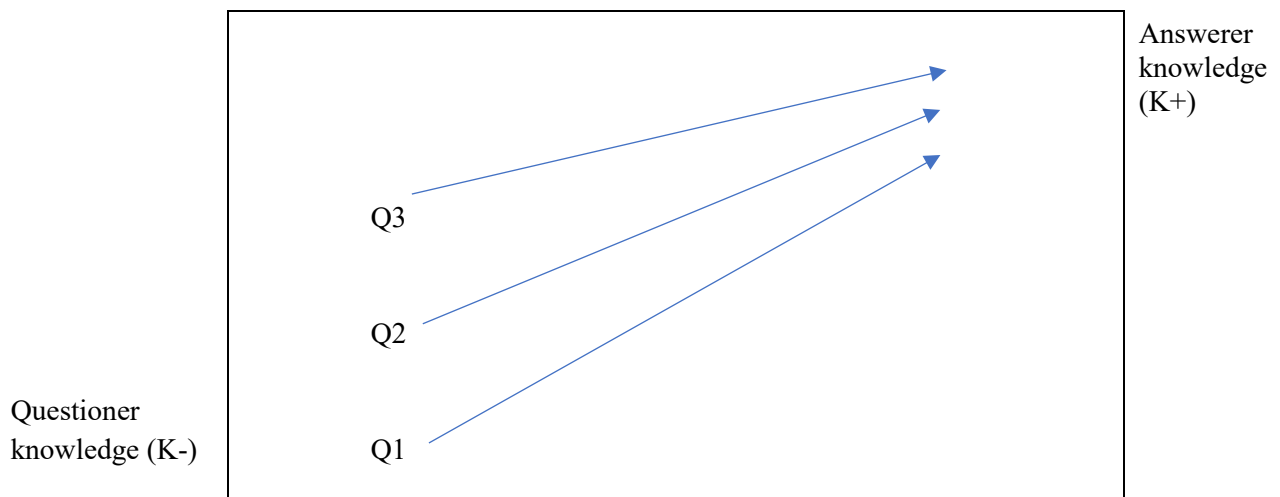


Figure 1. Question design and epistemic gradients (Heritage and Clayman 2010: 140)

For example, the following two questions ask the reason for the child's undesirable behavior. While the wh-question leaves the whole range of possibilities open, the yes-no

question provides a hypothetical reason and asks for confirmation. In the next excerpt, the caller has said her daughter behaves very well at the kindergarten, but when the caller made a visit for a school event, the daughter was attached to the caller and did not participate in the activities at all. The caller raises a question why the independent child behaves such when she is around.

**(9) 30-6-26-4-ChildishDaughterAtKindergarten**

- 01 Clr: =emma:man issumyen:,  
mom-only exist-COND  
**If mom is around,**
- 02 Host: ney:,  
yes  
**Yes:**,
- 03 Clr: >elincangilako kulecyo< =nemwu  
childish-'an'-QT be:so-COMM-POL too:much  
04 emmahantey ilehkey tallapwuthe(h)kaci[ko  
mom-to like:this cling-CONN  
**(You) call it childish person.**  
**[] (She) clings to the mom so much and**
- 05 Host: [a:::,  
oh  
**[] Oh:::,**
- 06 Clr: yey kulayse, .sss (.) koyngcanghi emmalul-  
yes so greatly mom-ACC  
07 koyngcanghi manhi cohahanun pyenikentunyo?  
greatly much like-ATTR side-INFO-POL  
**Yes So .sss (.) (She) likes mom very-**  
**likes (me) very much, you know?**
- 08 Host: ney:,  
yes  
**Yes:**,
- 09 Clr: yey=kulayse ceto aykilul koyngcanghi manhi cohahako  
yes so I:HUM-also baby-ACC greatly much like-CONN  
10 ilehkey ayceng phyohyento ca-manhi  
like:this affection expression-also much  
11 hay cwunun pyenintey:,  
do-give-ATTR side-CIRCUM  
12 > .hhhh kuse kukey way kulenci(h)  
so that-NOM why be:so-IND:INTERR  
13 > cal molukeysseseyo  
well not:know-MOD-CAUS-POL  
**Yes=So I like the baby(=her) very much,**  
**and I express affection quite a lot,**  
**.hhhh so because I don't know why it is the case.**

01 Clr: =엄마:만 있으면:,  
02 Host: 네:,  
03 Clr: >어린장이라고 그러죠<=너무  
04 엄마한테 이렇게 달라붙어 (h) 가지 [고  
05 Host: [아:::,  
06 Clr: 예 그래서, .sss (.) 굉장히 엄마를-  
07 굉장히 많이 좋아하는 편이거든요?  
08 Host: 네:,  
09 Clr: 예그래서 저도 애기를 굉장히 많이 좋아하고  
10 이렇게 애정표현도 자-많이  
11 해 주는 편인데:,  
12 .hhhh 그서 그게 왜 그런지 (h)  
13 잘 모르겠어서요\_

In lines 6-7 and 9-11, the caller tries to exclude ill-constructed attachment as a possible reason, saying they are on good terms and very often express affection to each other. However, when it comes to the actual question, the caller forms a wh-question and takes a [K-] stance. In the next excerpt, the caller has been talking about the daughter's upbringing, that is, the daughter has been obedient when rules of behavior were given. The main concern of the caller is that the daughter is unwilling to take any challenge and asks the caller to do it on her behalf.

**(10) 32-6-26-6-DaughterTooDependent-Daycare**

01 Clr: *mwe nwukwuya mwe ike hay pollay, ilaymyenun*  
DM PRONOUN-VOC DM this do-try-VOL like:this-COND  
02 *nan moshay. moshay.*  
I-TOP cannot-do-IE cannot-do-IE  
**If (I) say "Hey so-and-so, would you try to do this?",**  
**(she says,) "I can't. (I) can't."**  
03 Host: *um[::*  
*uhm*  
**Uhm[::**  
04 Clr: *[em- emamaka. emmaka.*  
mom-NOM mom-NOM  
05 *ilehkey manhi yaykil hatu[lakoyo.*  
like:this much talk-ACC do-RT-QT-POL

"Mom(=you) (do it). Mom(=you) (do it)."  
 [] She often says so.

- 06 Host: [a: yey:,  
oh yes  
[] Oh: yes:,
- 07 > Clr: 'se nemwu, iken antoynta ceken antoynta  
so too this-TOP not-may that-TOP not-may  
08 > te kumyen hayya toynta mwe kulay  
more grow-COND do-should DM like:that  
09 > yaykil hayse kulenci[:  
talk-ACC do-CAUS be:so-IND:INTERR  
So because (I) said too often  
"(You) may not do this, (you) may not do that,  
(You) should do (it) when (you) grow more"
- 10 Host: [.ss aha:: yey:.  
oh yes  
[] .ss Oh:: yes:.
- 11 Clr: yey ccom kukey ccom kwungkumhayseyo.  
yes little that-NOM little wonder -CAUS-POL  
Yes because (I) am wondering about it a little.
- 12 Host: kulehkwunyo:: ney.  
be:so-UNASSIM yes  
It is so:: yes.
- 01 Clr: 뭐 누구야 뭐 이거 해 볼래, 이래면은  
02 난 못해. 못해.  
03 Host: 음[::  
04 Clr: [엄-엄마가. 엄마가.  
05 이렇게 많이 애길 하드[라고요.  
06 Host: [아: 예:,  
07 Clr: '서 너무, 이걸 안된다 저걸 안된다  
08 더 크면 해야된다 뭐 그래  
09 애길해서 그런지[:  
10 Host: [.ss 아하:: 예:.  
11 Clr: 예 좀 그게 좀 궁금해서요.  
12 Host: 그렇군요[: 네.

The caller questions if the upbringing has caused such a dependent attitude in the daughter. This caller is also seeking the reason why the daughter behaves so. By providing one possibility, however, the caller asks for confirmation on her diagnosis rather than asks for the expert's

diagnosis. When the caller asks a yes-no question, s/he communicates the stance of a more knowing questioner. Thus, she claims a higher [K-] stance compared to the caller with a wh-question with the same action agenda.

Even though callers ask a question with a different issue, the epistemic gradient on different question types tends to remain valid. With different question types, callers often convey different degrees of knowledge that ranges from [K-] with their lack of expertise on the matter to [K+] with their own interpretation of the situation. For example, when the callers have minimal knowledge about what to do, they employ wh-questions. However, when they bring in what they do to solve the problem into the question, they ask a yes-no question, claiming a more knowing status. In addition, when they try to display they have certain interpretation of the situation, they use alternative questions. These different question designs serve to display different levels of epistemic stance of the callers.

### **2.2.2.3 Preference**

Questions involve various kinds of preference in the response with binary possibilities available. For example, questions prefer an answer to a non-answer (Stivers and Robinson 2006). More specifically, polar questions prefer affirmation to disaffirmation, either ‘yes’ or ‘no’ in terms of polarity (Heritage 2010), and a type-conforming response to a non-conforming response etc. (Raymond 2003). In the following example, the caller asks for the validity of her current action, that is, going to work without telling the child her departure. The question is a yes-no question in an indirect interrogative format that can invoke various preference organization.

09 > Clr: [kulen kenun- [mollay naonun key kwayncanh[unci  
such thing-TOP secretly exit-ATTR thing-NOM okay-IND:INTERR  
[] **Such thing- whether leaving secretly is okay**

10 Exp: [ >aniyoaniyo<  
no no

11 ku pangpepi cham nappun pangpepcwungey \$hanapnita(h)\$  
that measure-NOM very bad measure out:of one-FORM  
[] **No no,**  
**that measure is one of the very bad measures.**

09 Clr: [그런 거는- [몰래 나오는게 괜찮[은지

10 Exp: [ >아니요아니요<

11 그 방법이 참 나쁜 방법중에 \$하합니다 h\$.

On the one hand, since the question is a positively formulated yes-no question in an indirect form, an affirmation is preferred in terms of polarity. On the other hand, a yes-no question prefers an answer with a type-conforming token. In the next turn, the answer is constructed with the type-conforming token ‘no’ at the very beginning and it comes without delay, in fact, in overlap with the final suffix *-unci*. A disaffirmation that comes in this manner can be ascribed to the expert’s urgent need to reject the proposition.

Other types of questions, that is, wh-questions and alternative questions have their own preferred response. Wh-questions would prefer a response that matches their wh-word, e.g., a location for ‘where’ or a name for ‘who’ although there exists some difference between a phrasal answer and a clausal answer (Fox and Thompson 2010). Alternative questions prefer a response that chooses from given options rather than another option suggested by the recipient.

#### 2.2.2.4 Presupposition

All the questions carry presupposition to a varied degree. The presupposition can be on the surface or can be deeply embedded in the question. The response can accept or resist it: when



the answerer responds with a type conforming answer, s/he accepts the presupposition in the question. In the following excerpt, the expert's question includes one presupposition in the subordinate clause.

**(13) 43-7-27-1-10yoSonNotShareMom**

- 01 Exp: *yeyka yuchiwen taniko kulel ttayto (0.5)*  
 this:kid-NOM kindergarten go-CONN do:so-ATTR time-also
- 02 *yolehkey malul cal anhako kulayssesseyo?*  
 like:this talk-ACC well not:do-CONN do:so-PST-PST-POL  
**Has this kid refrained to talk like this**  
**when he was going to kindergarten or something?**
- 03 Clr: =°ani° *wenlay sengkyekun hwalpalhako:~*  
 no originally character-TOP lively-CONN  
**No (his) character is originally lively and**
- 04 Exp: =*yey.*  
 yes  
 =**Yes.**
- 05 (0.3)
- 06 Clr: *e: (0.4) myenglangghan pyenieyyo:,*  
 cheerful-ATTR side-POL  
**and on the cheerful side.**
- 07 Exp: *yey.*  
 yes  
**Yes.**
- 01 Exp: 애가 윤치원 다니고 그럴 때도 (0.5)  
 02 요렇게 말을 잘 안하고 그랬었어요?
- 03 Clr: =°아니° 원래 성격은 활발하고:~
- 04 Exp: =예.  
 05 (0.3)
- 06 Clr: 어: (0.4) 명랑한 편이에요:~
- 07 Exp: [예.

Before the excerpt, the caller says her thirteen-year-old son is diagnosed with depression and she wants to know how to help him. When the expert asks a history-taking question in lines 1-2, she presupposes the child attended a kindergarten, which is an optional and mostly a private

educational institution for Korean. The caller provides a type-conforming token ‘no’ and accepts the presupposition as it is while she disagrees with the proposition itself<sup>4</sup> (cf. Raymond 2003).

### **2.2.3 Deontics in callers’ question formulation**

The callers’ choice of four types of questions are closely related to the dimensions in question design as shown above. It also reflects the callers’ orientation to the participants’ deontic status with the employment of the indirect question format and the usage of the deontic predicates.

Deontics in talk-in-interaction has been an emerging topic that focuses on how the participants are oriented to their own and each other’s deontic rights and responsibilities (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012, Heritage 2013, Stevanovic and Svennig 2015). Stevanovic and Svennig (2015: 2) define deontics in terms of “who has the capacity to define what is necessary and desirable, what should, and what should not, be done, in certain domains of action in relation to one’s co-participants, and who has the obligation to do what others tell him or her to do.”

While deontics is not limited to the action of questioning, the callers’ question is a locus that displays the callers’ orientation to their deontic right and responsibility vis-à-vis those of the expert. In fact, the participants’ deontic status is closely intertwined with their epistemic status in counseling calls since the deontic rights are generated from the knowledge of the participants, that is, the expert’s expertise and the callers’ knowledge on their child and the circumstances around her/him. Who knows more gives the participants asymmetric deontic authority in the

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<sup>4</sup> Korean is an “agree–disagree” language with respect to responses to yes-no questions: a positive token is used to affirm the proposition while a negative one is used to deny it, no matter what the polarity of the question is (Lee 2015).

counseling calls and yield a similar gradient pattern with that of epistemic stance. For example, the callers who seek a future measure to fix their problem would take a low epistemic and deontic stance, or a [K-]/[D-] stance, as they display themselves as unknowledgeable about the desired action and, at the same time, as obliged to listen and practice the advice. However, the callers who seek validation of the current measure display they have already exercised their right to implement a certain measure and would place themselves at a little higher epistemic/deontic stance than the callers asking a future measure.

In addition, deontic rights and responsibilities can be oriented to on a different level. Who has a right to carry out a certain action is also reflected on the caller's question, yielding different deontic gradients again. As the callers' action is a type of request—request for professional information rather than actions, the callers need to take a certain deontic stance ranging from those who are entitled to request information to those who are less entitled and design their question accordingly. The callers make an effort to decrease their entitlement when they formulate a question probably because they are seeking free service through public radio broadcast.

The callers' deontic orientation in counseling calls is displayed with some linguistic resources. On one hand, when the deontic rights are derived from differential epistemic status, the callers show their orientation to them by employing modal predicates. The callers form the predicates in the question proper with a deontic expression whenever they seek a solution and display themselves as either those who need full directions or those who need help in judgment on a desirable action. The callers consistently use a deontic verb 'should' in the question clause when they ask for advice on a future action. When the callers want validation on their current measure, they use evaluative adjectives 'correct' or 'alright' and leave the judgment to the

expert. Therefore, the callers forming the questions with the modal verb ‘should’ would have a steep deontic gradient against the expert while those with the adjectives ‘correct’ or ‘right’ would have a less steep deontic gradient (Cf. Figure 1). With these lexical choices, they show that the expert has the knowledge to decide what they need to do and what is desirable.

On the other hand, the callers’ orientation to their low entitlement with respect to the request for information is reflected in the employment of the indirect question format. By adding the suffix *–((n)u)nci* or *–(u)lci*, the callers form an indirect question and reduce the extent to which they are entitled to ask the question (cf. Curl and Drew 2008). Moreover, by adding a main clause that can be often omitted, such as ‘I wonder...’ or ‘I don’t know...,’ the callers verbally state their low epistemic/deontic status and try reduce the potential infringement of the expert’s deontic authority. For example, when the callers seek a diagnosis with alternative questions, in which they provide their own diagnoses, they always add a main clause. The callers may be conscious that making a diagnosis would belong to the expert’s domain and display their low entitlement to make such diagnoses by adding the main clause on top of the indirect question formation.

One thing to note is that these dimensions found in the callers’ question design are not exclusive from each other. In other words, the employment of respective question type would involve different action agenda, and at the same time, different epistemic and deontic stance. For example, when the callers know little about what to do and seek a future measure, they use a wh-question. When they know what they are doing and need further confirmation, they use a yes-no question. Moreover, the use of different deontic verbs in the question occurs according to the epistemic status of the caller. When the caller has little knowledge of the future measure, they use a modal verb for obligation, such as ‘should,’ but when they have some sort of measure on

the matter, they use an adjective for judgment, such as ‘be right.’ By constituting the question involving various layers, the callers present their agenda as well as balance their deontic and epistemic stance vis-à-vis the expert.

This chapter will investigate the caller’s question design in terms of the dimensions mentioned above. It will discuss how the dimensions of agenda setting, preference, epistemic and deontic orientation affect the callers’ constitution of four question types in the order of wh-questions, yes-no questions, alternative questions and question clusters. It will also examine how the caller’s orientation to their entitlement is displayed through the deployment of the indirect and direct questions in a certain order.

### **2.3 Designing wh-questions: seeking solution for the problem**

The callers’ agenda in a wh-question is mainly seeking solution for the problem while a few cases are about asking for the reason of the problem. The callers first present their problem by highlighting and picking up some scenes from undesirable situations or behaviors of the child and connect them with the question by the suffix *-ese/-ase*, which means ‘because<sup>5</sup>.’ Through this suffix and other similar adverbs like *kulayse* ‘so’ or *kulemyen* ‘if so,’ the callers mark that the problematic situation is the cause or the basis of the question. The main agenda of the question is to seek what the callers need to do in the future to deal with the problem. The callers’ choice of a wh-question along with the deontic verb *-e/aya toy-* ‘should’ shows the callers take a [K-]/[D-] stance.

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<sup>5</sup> This suffix is sometimes glossed with “so” in the English translation to keep the word order.

Even though the callers' wh-questions are 'specifying questions' (Fox and Thompson 2010), mostly formed with the wh-word 'how,' and a few 'why,' it is unlikely the answer would be formed with a single clause, let alone a single phrase. Even though a grammatically fitted answer for a question, 'how I should deal with the problem,' would be a clausal answer, 'you should X,' it is hard to imagine one clause would form an answer for this question without being accountable. An interactionally fitted answer is likely to be expanded as the solution-giving would need some accountability work in a counseling setting, such as providing expertise-based grounds for the advice. Thus, wh-questions give more freedom to the expert to elaborate their response with an array of knowledge related to the matter.

In addition, most of the wh-questions are phrased like "what should I do" or "how should I deal with this problem". The callers give full authority regarding what s/he needs to do in the future by employing this deontic verb and mark themselves as ones who are obliged to follow the advice. The choice of the verb displays the low deontic stance of the callers.

In the following excerpt, the caller is concerned since her six-year-old son does not respond well when she asks about his daily life.

**(14) 13-4-27-4-6yoSonConversation**

- 01 Clr: *ccom: heh khunaiey, khunaika:,*  
*little big-kid-at big-kid-NOM*  
**A little: to the older kid, the older kid,**
- 02 Host: *ney.*  
*yes*  
**Yes.**
- 03 Clr: *yuchiweney incey kasstaka omyen:,*  
*kindergarten-at now go-PST-TRANS come-then*  
**When he comes home from the kindergarten**
- 04 Host: *ney.*  
*yes*  
**Yes.**

05 Clr: *ceyka incey manhi tayhwalul hallyeko:,*  
 I-NOM now much conversation-ACC do-INTENT  
**I intend to talk to him more, so**

06 Host: *yey.*  
*yes*  
**Yes.**

07 Clr: *yuchiwen saynghwalun ettayssni:: hako mwulepomyen,*  
 kindergarten life-TOP be:how-PST-IE do-QT ask-then  
 08 *kulen kenun taytapul cal haycwununteyyo,*  
 such thing-TOP response-ACC well do:give-CIRCUM-POL  
**If I ask him "how was the day at the kindergarten?"**  
**Then he answers such questions well but**

09 Host: *ney.*  
*yes*  
**Yes.**

10 Clr: *kakkumincey, molla [molla \$ku(h)len\$ yaykilul*  
 sometimes I:don't:know I:don't:know such talk-ACC  
 11 [(background baby screaming)  
 12 *cacwu hayyo:,*  
 often do-POL  
**Sometimes, he often says like "I dunno I dunno."**

13 Host: *a::,*  
*oh*  
**Oh::,**

14 Clr: *kuliko tto, kakkumun, molla kulen yaykito,*  
 and also sometimes I:don't:know such talk-too  
 15 (0.3) *^molla: kulemyense com*  
 I:don't:know do:so-SIMUL little  
 16 *hwalul nay[kito hako:*  
 anger-ACC express-NML-too do-CONN  
**And also, sometimes words like "I dunno" (0.3)**  
**He delivers it like "I don't know!" and gets upset**

17 Host: *[a ccacungcolo,*  
 oh irritation-tone-with  
**Oh in an irritated tone**

18 *(.)*

19 Host: *[yey.*  
*yes*  
**Yes.**

20 Clr: *[ung?*  
*huh*  
**[Huh?**

21 > Clr: *yey. \$kulemyen(h)un\$ .sss com kuttaymata ceyka:,*  
 yes if:so-TOP little then-each I-NOM  
 22 > *ailang ettehkey tayhwalul com*  
 kid-with how conversation-ACC little  
 23 > *(0.5) cal hayya(h) toynunci:,*

well do-should-IND:INTERR

**Yes. If so, in such occasions**

**how I should have a good conversation with the kid**

- 24 Host: a::.  
oh  
Oh::.
- 25 Clr: [yey.  
yes  
[] Yes.
- 26 Exp: [.h.h,ku pothong ttay: ceki ku: kulen mwe  
That usual time DM that such DM  
27 yuchiwen sanghwang malkwuyo::,  
kindergarten situation except-POL  
[] .h.h, on a usual occasion,  
like except for the kindergarten case,
- 01 Clr: 줌: heh 큰아이에, 큰아이가:,  
02 Host: 네.  
03 Clr: 유치원에 인제 갔다가 오면:,  
04 Host: 네.  
05 Clr: 제가 인제 많이 대화를 할려고:,  
06 Host: 예.  
07 Clr: 유치원 생활은 어땠니:: 하고 물어보면,  
08 그런 거는 대답을 잘 해주는데요,  
09 Host: 네.  
10 Clr: 가끔인제, 몰라 [몰라 \$그(h)런\$ 얘기를  
11 [(background baby screaming)  
12 자주 해요:,  
13 Host: 아::,  
14 Clr: 그리고 또, 가끔은, 몰라 그런 얘기도,  
15 (0.3) ^몰라: 그러면서 줌  
16 화를 내[기도 하고:  
17 Host: [아 짜증조로,  
18 (.)  
19 Host: [예.  
20 Clr: [응?  
21 예. \$그러면(h)은\$ .sss 줌 그때마다 제가:,  
22 아이랑 어떻게 대화를 줌  
23 (0.5) 잘 해야(h) 되는지:,  
24 Host: 아::.  
25 Clr: [예.



26 Exp: [.h.h, 그 보통 때: 저기 그: 그런 뭐  
 27 유치원 상황 말구요:.,

The caller presents a problematic situation by describing what her son would say in a reported speech in lines 10-12 and 14-16. The son's lack of effort to answer the question and the irritated tone forms the problem and the caller connects this situation to the question with *kulemyen* 'if so' and questions how to improve the quality of the conversation in line 21-23. The caller indexes her low epistemic stance and is widely open to advice from the expert. She also uses the verb *-ya toy-* 'should' in line 23 and yields the deontic authority to the expert and shows her future action is ready to be bound to the expert's advice. The question ends with the indirect interrogative suffix *-nunci* 'whether.'

In the next excerpt, the caller describes her eleven-year-old son's character, which forms the main problem, and asks how to help him.

**(15) 37-7-3-2-StubornTimidllyoSon**

01 Clr: *kocipi seyko: .hh kutaumey ilehkey*  
 obstinacy-NOM strong-CONN then like:this  
 02 *saylowun kel hallye kulelt tay,*  
 new thing-ACC do-INTENT do:so-ATTR time  
 03 *kukel elttus moshako koyngcanghi kukey*  
 that-ACC right cannot-do-CONN very that-NOM  
 04 *olay kellyeyo [mwe hanalul halttay.*  
 long take-POL DM one-ACC do-ATTR when  
**(He is) very stubborn and then  
 when he tries to do a new thing  
 it takes him very long, [] when he tries one.**

05 Host: [um:::  
 hm  
 [] Hm:::

06 Host: [ney.  
 yes  
 [] Yes.

07 Clr: [.hh mwe meknun kesto nul meknun kel:  
 DM eat-ATTR thing-too always eat-ATTR thing-ACC  
 08 *mekten kel mekko?*



[Yes khm, he seems like a timid kid,

- 26 Clr: °yeyyey.°  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 27 Exp: yey: so-e: kocipi seyta kulesyessnuntey  
yes obstinacy-NOM strong-DEC say:so-SH-PST-CIRCUM  
28 =icey caki caaka com kanghan ai- imyense  
now own self-NOM little strong-ATTR kid as:well  
29 kepi manhunikka, .hhh  
fear-NOM much-CAUS  
**Yes, (you) said he's stubborn,  
Now because he's a strong-willed kid and timid as well,**
- 01 Clr: 고집이 세고: .hh 그다음에 이렇게  
02 새로운 걸 할려 그럴때,  
03 그걸 얼뜻 못하고 굉장히 그계  
04 오래 걸려요 [뭐 하나를 할때.  
05 Host: [음:::  
06 [네.  
07 Clr: [.hh 뭐 먹는 것도 늘 먹는 걸:  
08 먹던 걸 먹고?  
09 입든 것도 늘  
10 [입던 걸 [입고?  
11 Host: [H:: [hehehe.hhh 네.  
12 Clr: =뭘 한가지 예를 들어서  
13 작품을 미술 같은 거:, .hh  
14 그런 거 그럴래도  
15 굉장히 망설임이 많[고,  
16 Host: [음::[::.  
17 Clr: [이개를  
18 잘했을까 못했을까 막 그:  
19 그런 게 굉장히 많아요=^처-  
20 이케 얼른 덤비지를 못해요.  
21 Host: =[아::: [예예.  
22 Clr: [(그러-) [서 그럴 때  
23 어떻게 많이 해줘야 되는지.  
24 Host: [예:.  
25 Exp: [예 좀 khm, 겁이 많은 아이 같고요,  
26 Clr: °예예.°  
27 Exp: 예: 소-어: 고집이 세다 그러셨는데  
28 =이제 자기 자아가 좀 강한 아이- 이면서  
29 겁이 많으니까, .hhh

Through the whole problem presentation, the caller lists her son's weaknesses with specific examples, that is, being stubborn on food and clothes in lines 1-10, being hesitant and worried for trying painting or new things in lines 12-20. These whole situations pose a problem and are connected with (*kulay*) 'se' 'so' to the question in which the caller seeks advice for the son. In the question turn in lines 22-23, the caller specifies that she needs the advice for herself. Even if the presentation unfolds involving the child, the question turns the attention to the caller herself. Thus, the agenda the caller brings in is how she can help her son. She has all the information regarding her own son, his traits and character, but in this question, she shows she is in a very low epistemic status. She also uses the modal verb *-ya toy-* 'should' in the question and shows her future action will be bound to the expert's advice. The indirect interrogative suffix *-nunci* 'whether' follows the verb 'should' and ends the turn.

In the next excerpt, the caller uses a wh-question with the modal verb 'should' to ask directions for her future action.

**(16) 1-4-17-1 kid pretending sorry**

01 Clr: =*kuntey ku pwunwikilul momyenhalyeko kulenunci:*  
but that atmosphere-ACC avoid-INTENT do:so-IND:INTERR  
02 *mak wulmyenseyo: .hh mal cal tululkeyyo*  
DM cry-SIMUL-POL word well listen-PROM  
03 *anhal keyeyyo ku malpwuthe sicakhanun keyeyyo:*  
not:do-will-POL that word-from begin-ATTR thing-be:POL  
**But (As if) he tries to avoid the atmosphere**  
**(he) cries hard and "I'll obey your word, I won' do it,"**  
**(he) just starts with those lines**

04 Clr: >*kulayse cenun< ku- kuttaymwuney*  
so I:HUM-TOP that that-because:of  
05 *nemekako nemekako hanuntey,*  
pass-CONN pass-CONN do-CIRCUM  
06 *kyelkwukeynun ku yaksokul an cikhinun keyeyyo*  
eventually-TOP that promise-ACC not keep-ATTR thing-be:POL  
07 *mal cal tululkelanun yaksokul:*  
word well listen-ATTR-thing-that:is promise-ACC  
**So du- due to that, I just let it pass and pass,**  
**But in the end, he doesn't keep the promise,**  
**The promise of obeying my words.**

08 Host: a[ha:  
ha  
Ha:

09 Clr: [.hhh kulayse cham himtulketunyo:  
.hhh so very be.hard-INFO-POL

10 > [ettehkey hayya toynunci[:  
how do-sholud-IND:INTERR  
.hhh So (it) is really hard, how I should deal with (it)

11 Host: [H::haha [.he.he  
[H::haha [.he.he

12 Exp?: [ghm,  
[ghm,

13 Clr: [wulkipwuthe sicakhanuntey:  
crying-from begin-CIRCUM  
[as he starts with crying

14 Host: ['kkan pelsse <ttak cocimul nwunchichayko>.  
so already suddenly sign-ACC notice-CONN  
[so he already notices the sign.

15 Clr: yeyyey. kulehcyo.  
yes be:so-COMM-POL  
Yes, that's right.

01 Clr: =근데 그 분위기를 모면하려 그러는지:  
02 막 울면서요: .hh 말 잘들을게요 안할 거예요  
03 그말부터 시작하는 거예요:  
04 >그래서 저는< 그- 그때문에  
05 넘어가고 넘어가고 하는데,  
06 결국에는 그 약속을 안 지키는 거예요  
07 말 잘 들을거라는 약속을:  
08 Host: =아[하:.  
09 [.hhh 그래서 참 힘들거든요:  
10 [어떻게 해야 되는지[:  
11 Host: [H::haha [.he.=he  
12 Exp?: [ghm,  
13 Clr: =[울기부터 시작하는 아이인데:  
14 Host: =[\'간 벌써 <딱 조짐을 눈치채고>.  
15 Clr: 예예. 그렇죠.

The caller has a five-year-old boy who starts to cry whenever the caller intends to scold his behavior and keeps avoiding getting disciplined. When the caller asks her wh-question in line 10,

she seeks advice regarding what constitutes a right way is to deal with this situation. She uses ‘should’ and indicates that the expert has the deontic authority to guide her future action. By adding *-nunci*, the caller asks an indirect question.

In sum, when employing wh-questions, the callers have the agenda of seeking advice regarding their child, the callers themselves, or the situation and how to fix the current situation. In doing so, the callers claim a low epistemic status as an unknowing party for such agenda. At the same time, by constituting the question with the modal verbs denoting obligation, the callers yield the right to suggest a future solution to the expert and display themselves as ones who would follow the given advice. They consistently take a [K-]/[D-] stance with wh-questions.

#### **2.4 Designing Yes/no questions: asking about the validity of the callers’ own solution**

When the callers ask a yes-no question, the problem presentation often includes how they are managing the issue. Yes-no questions are immediately preceded by the measure the caller is taking currently against the problematic situation. By using a clause-final suffix *-(n)untey*, or a similar adverb *kuntey*, usually glossed with ‘but’ or ‘given that’, the callers mark that the measure becomes the background or the circumstances of the question (Park 1999).

In terms of the agenda, what the callers want is confirmation or validation of what they are currently doing to deal with the problem. They problematize their own measure rather than the problematic situation itself, using ‘whether it is okay,’ or ‘whether it would affect the kid,’ and so on. Compared to the wh-question callers, however, these callers display they have some command of the situation and they are not totally ignorant of what to do. As the question makes only yes or no relevant, the extent to which the expert can respond is much more limited than a

wh-question. The callers with a yes-no question claim higher epistemic status than those who ask a wh-question. In addition, the predicate in the question is formed around what is right or wrong. The questions are often formed with ‘whether it is correct/ right/ good.’ This design shows that the callers yield the judgment on the given situation to the experts.

In the following excerpt, the caller has two children, a six-year-old girl and a twenty-three-month-old boy. Before the excerpt, the caller describes how the younger one interferes with his sister’s play or takes away toys and eventually two children have a big fight. Her solution is to persuade the first child to yield or give up the toys to her little brother. However, she notices that the first one gets stressed in line 1.

**(16) 5-4-17-5-Firstchildstressed**

- 01 Clr: 'cey (.) khunayka s-com ^sutuleysulul  
now big:kid-NOM little stress-ACC
- 02 patahanun ke [kathayyo [kulen keey tayhayse:  
get-ATTR thing seem-POL such thing-at about  
**Now the older kid seems to get stressed  
about such occasions.**
- 03 Exp: [kuleh [(cyo)  
be:so-COMM-POL  
**She would.**
- 04 Host: [kulehkeysscyo  
be:so-MOD-COMM-POL
- 05 Huhuhuhu [huh.hhhhh  
**She probably would.**  
Huhuhuhu [huh.hhhhh
- 06 Clr: [hangsang yangpohayya toyko hangsang mwe:  
always yield-should-CONN always DM
- 07 'khey wenhamyen  
like:this want-if  
**Since she always has to yield (toys)  
and whenever (the younger one) wants it like this,**
- 08 Host: yey.  
yes  
**Yes.**

09 Clr: cakika nolten kesto kumpangkumpang  
self-NOM play-RT-ATTR thing-also soon

10 tongsayngul cwulako emmaka [.hh yokwulul hanikka:  
younger:sibling-ACC give-QT mom-NOM request-ACC do-CAUS  
**I ask her to give to the brother  
the stuff she was playing with very soon, so**

11 Host: [yey:  
yes

12 kulehcyo:,  
be:so-COMM-POL  
**Yes she would.**

13 Clr: ney- ku(h)layyo?h.hh=>kuntey incey 'ke cwukonamyen  
yes be:so-POL:IE but now it give-done-COND

14 cen nalumtaylonun .hh, emmatwu: acik Cwuwenika  
I-TOP in:my:way-TOP mom-too yet NAME-NOM

15 nemwu elyese- tongsangi nemwu elyese  
too young-so Younger:sibling-NOM too young-so

16 emmato himtulketun? .hhh e kunkka  
mom-too difficult-INFO uhm so  
**Yes- she would? h.hh =>But once she gives way,  
I, in my own way, .hh (I say)  
"Even for mom, since Cwuwen is too young-  
Since your little brother is too young,  
it's difficult for mom too, you know, so"**

17 Clr: wuli khun ttal ttal- ne- kka-  
our big daughter dauguter you so

18 'kka Chaywenito himtulci:  
so NAME-too difficult-COMM

19 ilemyense .sss anacwukin hanuntey,  
say:so-SIMUL hold-NML-TOP do-CIRCUM  
**"my big girl- you- I mean,  
Chaywen must feel difficult too,"  
saying so I hold her, given that**

20 Host: ney.  
yes  
**Yes.**

21 Clr: 'kka: ayka sutuleysu pataha(h)nun ke kathayse,  
so kid-NOM stress get-ATTR thing seem-so  
**I mean, the kid seems get stressed so**

22 Host: =ney.  
Yes  
**Yes.**

23 > Clr: **i pangpepi macnun[ci:**  
this measure-NOM correct-IND:INTERR  
**Whether this measure is correct**

24 Host: a:aa: yey:: .sss he:::  
oh yes huh  
**Oh::: okay .sss huh:::**



25                    *ettekha[eh::hehe,=.hh*  
**Oh my gosh[eh::hehe,=.hh**

26    Clr:                    *[H::ehehehe*  
                              **[H::ehehehe**

27    Exp:                    *[.Hhhh*  
                              **[.Hhhh**

28    Host:                    *[ 'chey enu taykeysena, poki: swiwun kulen.*  
29                                *[ DM which house:HON-at-or see-NML easy-ATTR such*  
                              *cacwu pol swu issnun kwangkyengikin hantey.*  
                              *often see-can-ATTR scene-NML-TOP be-CIRCUM*  
                              **It is very common in any household,**  
                              **A scene that you can see very often,**

30    Exp:                    *kuleh-[cyo.*  
                              *Be:so-COMM-POL*  
                              **It is.**

01    Clr:                    '제 (.) 큰애가 ㅅ-좀 ^스트레스를  
02                                받아하는 거 [같애요 [그런 거에 대해서:  
03    Exp:                                [그렇 [ (쥬)  
04    Host:                                [그렇겠쥬  
05                                Huhuhuhu[huh.hhhhh  
06    Clr:                                [항상 양보해야 되고 항상 뭐:  
07                                '케 원하면  
08    Host:                                예.  
09    Clr:                                자기가 놀던 것도 금방금방  
10                                동생을 주라고 엄마가 [.hh 요구를 하니까:  
11    Host:                                [예:  
12                                그렇쥬:,  
13    Clr:                                네- 그(h) 래요?h.hh=>근데 인제 '거 주고나면  
14                                전 나름대로는 .hh, 엄마두: 아직 주원이가  
15                                너무 어려서- 동생이 너무 어려서  
16                                엄마도 힘들거든? .hhh 어 근까  
17                                우리 큰 딸 딸-너- 까-  
18                                '까 채원이도 힘들지:  
19                                이러면서 .sss 안아주긴 하는데,  
20    Host:                                네.  
21    Clr:                                '까: 애가 스트레스 받아하(h)는 거 같애서,  
22    Host:                                =네.  
23    Clr:                                이 방법이 맞는[지:  
24    Host:                                아:아아: 예:: .sss 허:::

25 어떡하 [eh::hehe,=.hh  
 26 Clr: [H::ehehehe  
 27 Exp: [.Hhhh  
 28 Host: [체 어느 댁에서나, 보기: 쉬운 그런.  
 29 자주 볼 수 있는 광경이긴 한데.  
 30 Exp: 그렇-[쥌.

After elaborating why the first child would get stressed in lines 6-10, the caller goes on how she responds to her stressed-out child in line 13-19. She tells her first child how she feels about the younger one and shows empathy to the first child. By adding *-nuntey* ‘given that’ at the end of line 19, she places her response to the children’s dispute as a background for the question in line 23. In line 21, the caller already admits that even if she shows empathy, the child is still getting stressed. In the question proper in line 23, the caller problematizes her measure. Thus, the caller’s agenda is to ask for the validity of the current measure. In addition, she provides more information on what she is doing to fix the problem and limits the scope of knowledge the expert can contribute. The predicate in the question is about ‘being correct’, which gives the expert the right to bring in her evaluation. With this predicate, the caller seeks judgment rather than full directions. Thus, she claims a little higher epistemic/deontic status than the callers with a wh-question.

In the next excerpt, the caller is asking about granting a repeated request to his seven-month-old child. Whenever the baby cries, the measure is giving a piggyback regardless of the reason. The caller is concerned whether it is a good measure.

**(17) 53-8-14-5-6yoNieceSpittingOut**

01 Clr: twupenccaynun, ku cehuy aintey  
 second-TOP DM our:HUM kid-CIRCUM  
 02 chilkyawel toyn namaketunyo?  
 seven-month become-ATTR boy-INFO-POL

**Secondly, it's about my kid,  
He is a seven-month-old boy, you know,**

- 03 Host: =ney:,  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 04 Clr: `cey kuntey mwucoken wulwulko=`cey  
DM but unconditionally cry-CONN DM  
05 cikum kulel: ttayciman:  
now do:so-ATTR time-but  
06 mwucoken wulmyen epecwuketun(h)yo?  
unconditionally cry-if give:piggyback-INFO-POL  
**But he cries all the time,  
although it's time to behave so, but if he cries,  
(someone) gives a piggyback no matter what,**
- 07 Host: ney.  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 08 Clr: yey `kka epecwumunun ta kwayncanhacyeyo.  
yes so give:piggyback-if-TOP all become:alright-POL  
09 > >kuntey `cey< mwucoken epecwunun key  
but DM unconditionally give:piggyback-ATTR thing-NOM  
10 > cohunci.  
good-IND:INTERR  
**Yes, once giving a piggyback, all becomes fine.  
But whether it is good to give a piggyback  
No matter what.**
- 11 Host: ney[:,  
yes  
**Yes[:,**
- 12 Clr: [twukaci yeccwepokeysssupnita.  
two-CL ask:HON try-will-FORM  
**[(I) would ask two (questions).**
- 13 Exp: [uhum,  
mhm  
**[mhm,**
- 14 Exp: =ney.  
yes  
**yes.**
- 15 Host: [ney:,  
yes  
**[Yes:,**
- 16 Exp: [.hh chespenccay incey, poninuy, atul:ǝ  
First DM self-of son  
17 yey incey, .h chilkeyweltoyn namcaaytul  
yes DM seven-month-become boy-PL  
18 ittaynun wulumi uysasothongieyyo,  
this:time-TOP crying-NOM communication-POL

**First, about your son,  
Yes, for seven-month-old boys,  
Crying is the way of communication around this age.**

01 Clr: 두번째는, 그 저희 아이인데  
02 칠개월된 남아거든요?  
03 Host: =네:,  
04 Clr: `제 근데 무조건 울을고=`제  
05 지금 그럴: 때지만:  
06 무조건 울면 업어주거든(h)요?  
07 Host: 네.  
08 Clr: 예 `까 업어주믄은 다 괜찮아져요.  
09 >근데 `제< 무조건 업어주는 게  
10 좋은지.  
11 Host: 네[:,  
12 Clr: [두가지 여쭙보겠습니다.  
13 Exp: [으흠,  
14 =네.  
15 Host: [네:,  
16 Exp: [.hh 첫번째 인제, 본인의, 아들:¿  
17 예 인제, .h 칠개월된 남자애들  
18 이때는 울음이 의사소통이예요,

In lines 4-6, the caller displays a negative view on the current measure by adding some maximum level expression, such as ‘no matter what’ twice. He displays his dislike on this measure and questions its validity. The scope of response is narrower than a wh-question since this question only makes (dis)confirmation relevant. Moreover, the predicate in the question is ‘to be good.’ The caller shows that the judgement is yielded to the expert and he is ready to take the verdict. By using this predicate, the caller shows his low deontic stance.

In the following excerpt, the caller is concerned about the validity of giving physical punishment to her child.

**(17) 10-4-24-5-27moStompingFeet**

01 Clr: [kulayse (ittay/ikhey) ceyka ccokkum: 'khey  
So then/like:this I:HUM-NOM little like:this

02 hoycholilul tulko wase ilemyen antoyntako:,  
rod-ACC bring-CONN come-and do:this-if not-okay-QT  
**So I'd bring a rod, saying "you shouldn't do this"**

03 Host: =yey.  
yes  
**=Yes.**

04 Clr: palul: com 'khey ttaylyecwununtey:  
foot-ACC little like:this hit-give-CIRCUM

05 > cheypelhanun key kwaynchanhunci.  
physical:punish-ATTR thing-NOM alright-IND:INTERR  
**And hit him on the feet.**  
**Now whether it is okay to give physical punishment**

06 Exp: e[he[he[he:.hhh  
**e[he[he[he:.hhh**

07 Host: [ah[::[haha  
**[ah[::[haha**

08 Clr: [( 'key kwungkumha (h) ke [tunyo?]  
it-NOM wonder-INFO-POL:IE  
**I'm wondering about it?**

01 Clr: [그래서 (이때/이케) 제가 조금: '케  
회초리를 들고 와서 이러면 안된다고:,

02

03 Host: =예.

04 Clr: 발을: 좀 '케 때려주는데:  
체벌하는게 괜찮은지.

05

06 Exp: e[he[he[he:.hhh

07 Host: [ah[::[haha

08 Clr: [( '게 궁금하 (h) 거 [튼요?)

After the caller introduces her current measure on disciplining her 27-month-old son, she asks if the measure is valid and uses an adjective predicate 'be okay.' By mentioning her current measure, she displays her epistemic/deontic right to exercise her parental judgment. With the predicate, she seeks a single judgment rather than full directions.

Thus, yes-no questions are employed to question the validity of the current measure the caller is taking. They crank up the caller's epistemic stance a little higher as the caller has some

knowledge on what to do but is not certain about its validity. The deontic expression of ‘being right/ good/ correct’ allows the expert to be one who delivers judgment of the current measure but limits its scope only to what is desirable. The callers who ask a yes-no question take a higher epistemic/deontic stance compared to the callers who want advice on their future measure.

## **2.5 Designing alternative questions**

While wh-questions and yes-no questions have been studied widely due to their frequent occurrences, alternative questions do not seem to have received as much attention as these two question types. However, the callers in counseling calls do use this question type quite often. Based on the quantitative research on the question–response system in American English and in Korean (Stivers 2010, Yoon 2010), the alternative question in everyday conversation takes very low percentage of the all question types, 3% and 1% respectively. In my data set, its occurrence is as frequent as that of yes-no questions. It is significant to investigate why the callers in the counseling calls frequently employ them.

It is believed that alternative questions are used to give the recipient choices (Svennevig 2013). More specifically, the motivation of an alternative question is considered to be “a preemptive technique to avoid inappropriate answer” or “dominating the question” (Svennevig 2013:199). However, there seems to be other motives for alternative questions aside from confining the answers from the recipient. In my data, these questions are constructed not only to narrow down the options for the answer but also to put the callers’ knowing status on record (cf. Pomerantz 1988). At the same time, the alternative questions reflect the callers’ effort not to invade the expert’s epistemic/deontic domain, that is, making a diagnosis. Moreover, the

alternative question promotes the possibility for a preferred response by providing options out of which the expert is expected to choose.

Alternative questions bring up two options at the end of the problem presentation. In the counseling calls, they are usually formed ‘whether A or B (I don’t know/ I wonder).’ There are two kinds of alternative questions in terms of the agenda: First type seeks a diagnosis of the problem while the second type seeks advice for the future measure on the problem.

### 2.5.1 Alternative questions for diagnosis

First type of alternative questions has two yes-no questions combined and it is primarily used for diagnostic issues (See Table 2)<sup>6</sup>. With these alternative questions, the callers ask for the reason for the problem, mainly focusing on the child’s normalcy. Most of the time, the callers ask whether the problematic situation involving the child is a normal or natural phenomenon, or it is caused by the reason that they have in their mind.

In the following excerpt, the caller has a ten-year-old son who tends not to share with his mother about everyday life. Before the excerpt, the caller tells that when she asks questions about his school life or relationship between friends, the son is reluctant to answer them in detail. She also reports that she gets to know news about his son secondhand by other mothers. The caller continues to give more concrete examples starting in line 1.

#### (18) 43-7-27-1-10yoSonNotShareMom

01   Clr:           mwe sensayngnimhanthey pelul           patasstaten[ci?  
                  DM teacher:HON-from   punishment-ACC get-PST-DEC-LIST

---

<sup>6</sup> There are two wh-questions that seek diagnosis directly, using ‘why,’ and a single yes-no question that proposes the caller’s diagnosis.

Like, that he got a punishment from the teacher

- 02 Host: [ney[:,  
yes  
[Yes[:,
- 03 Clr: [°anim°  
or
- 04 chinkwu: saieyse mwusun ili issesstatun[ci?  
friend between-at some incident-NOM exist-PST-DEC-LIST  
**Or that he had a certain incident between friends,**
- 05 Host: [aha.  
Ha  
Ha.
- 06 (1.0)
- 07 Clr: kulen malul cenhye, emmahanthey an hatelakwuyo:,  
such talk-ACC never mom-to not do-RETRO-QT-POL  
**He never tells such stories to me.**
- 08 Host: ney:,  
yes  
Yes:,
- 09 > Clr: ='ayse, .s=kukey ^sengkyek (0.5) inci:,  
so that-NOM character-IND:INTERR
- 10 > =animyenun (0.3) 'key emmahanthey  
or-TOP that-NOM mom-to
- 11 > ^swumkilyenun kenci:,  
hide-INTENT-ATTR thing-IND:INTERR  
**So whether it is (0.5) from his character  
Or (0.3) he tries to hide (things) from me,**
- 12 Host: um[:.  
hm  
Hm[:.
- 13 > Clr: [ceyka hwaksilhi mo(h)lukeysseyo:,  
I-NOM clearly not:know-MOD-POL  
**I don't know exactly.**
- 14 Host: [yey:,  
yes  
[Yes:,
- 15 Exp: [.hhhh [mwe hoksi ceki ku: (.)  
DM maybe DM DM  
**Perhaps uhm**
- 16 Clr: [kulayse-  
so  
**So-**
- 17 Exp: yayka yuchiwen taniko kulel ttayto  
this:kid-NOM kindergarten attent-CONN do:so-ATTR time-too



18 (0.5) yolehkey malul cal anhako kulayssesseyo?  
like:this talk-ACC well not-do-CONN do:so-PST-POL  
**When he was going to kindergarten,  
did he used to not talk much like this?**

19 Clr: =°ani° wenlay sengkyekun hwalpalhako:\_  
no originally character-TOP lively-CONN  
**No (his) character is originally lively and**

20 Exp: =yey.  
yes  
=Yes.

21 (0.3)

22 Clr: e: (0.4) myenglangghan pyeniyyo:,  
cheerful-ATTR side-POL  
**uhm: (0.4) on the cheerful side.**

23 Exp: yey.  
yes  
**Yes.**

01 Clr: 뭐 선생님한테 벌을 받았던[지?  
02 Host: [네[:,  
03 Clr: [°아님°  
04 친구: 사이에서 무슨 일이 있었다든[지?  
05 Host: [아하.  
06 (1.0)  
07 Clr: 그런 말을 전혀, 엄마한테 안 하더라구요:,  
08 Host: 네:,  
09 Clr: ='애서, .s=그게 ^성격 (0.5) 인지:,  
10 =아니면은 (0.3) `게 엄마한테  
11 ^숨기려는 건지:,  
12 Host: 음[:.  
13 Clr: [제가 확실히 모(h)르겠어요:,  
14 Host: [예:,  
15 Exp: [.hhhh [뭐 혹시 저기 그: (.)  
16 Clr: [그래서-  
17 Exp: 애가 윤치원 다니고 그럴 때도 (0.5)  
18 요렇게 말을 잘 안하고 그랬었어요?  
19 Clr: =°아니° 원래 성격은 활발하고:\_  
20 Exp: =예.  
21 (0.3)  
22 Clr: 어: (0.4) 명랑한 편이에요:,  
23 Exp: [예.

In lines 1-7, the caller provides examples about how the son does not tell his mother about notable incidents. In line 9, she prefaces the question with *(kul)ayse* ‘so’ and shows that the son’s such tendency is the reason why she asks the following question. Then she names two possible reasons behind his actions of not sharing everyday life with her in lines 9-11—either he naturally does so because of his reticent character or he intentionally makes effort to hide stuff from the caller. In other words, the caller puts two alternatives on the table—whether the tendency is generic feature consistently found or it is locally motivated in order to hide his undesirable deeds.

The alternative question design for a diagnosis seems to result from the caller’s effort to claim her epistemic status. By employing an alternative question for diagnosis, the callers can put two possibilities on record and present their efforts at bringing an interpretation of the problem. As a result, a less helpless and more knowledgeable stance about their children is claimed. By naming reasons for the problematic situation, the callers intimate that they are a knowledgeable parent who can detect possible reasons of the issue. When they make their own diagnoses, the callers display that they have tried to understand and label the issue with the given resources and information, that is, as much as they know about their child and surrounding circumstances.

Going back to the excerpt above, the two diagnoses are given with equal weight in lines 10-11 and 13, with a neutral description in the problem presentation and with a qualifying expression in the main clause *hwaksilhi* ‘exactly.’ Up to this point, the caller displays that she is open to both possibilities. However, the caller later reveals that she is in fact more inclined to suspect the son’s action is intentional rather than natural. When the expert asks her first history-

taking question in line 17-18 about the child's character in the past, the caller provides quite an opposite description of his character contrary to the present situation.

It is interesting then that the caller does not employ a yes-no question, asking 'whether he is trying to hide things from me,' when she seems to believe he is not so much reticent as cheerful and lively. This is a general tendency in this type of alternative questions: callers show they are inclined to one of the diagnoses as they often revealed their suspicion in the problem presentation or later in the history-taking process. It may be caused by the callers' orientation to the expert's epistemic/deontic rights.

When the callers make diagnoses and claim some knowledge about their child and circumstances, the callers are oriented to the fact it would be an infringement of the expert's professional knowledge. By adding a possibility that the problem is in fact a normal phenomenon, they leave some room to retreat to a layperson's position. Moreover, the callers who seek diagnoses with an alternative question always add the main clause and clearly state that they do not know the reason, as a result, mark their low epistemic/deontic stance. By adding a possibility of normalcy and the main clause to the diagnosis they are inclined to, the callers try to mitigate the possible invasion and show the diagnosis still belongs to the expert.

The next excerpt is about a caller whose three-year-old daughter is okay when playing one-to-one but gets too shy and becomes quiet and withdrawn in a group environment.

**(19) 27-6-19-7-38moTooShyAfraidofOtherKids**

01 Clr: [knyang: .h kamanhi anca issko mak 'khey  
 02 just still sit-PROGRS-CONN DM like:this  
 03 sswuksulewumi manhko,  
 bashfulness-NOM much-CONN  
 04 nwuka ilehkey takawayaciman nolci,  
 someone-NOM like:this approach-only-NECESS play-COMM  
 [an kulemyen kamanhi issko palaman poko issketunyo?  
 [not do:so-COND still stay-CONN stare-only-PROGRS-INFO

(She) is just: .h sitting still, very shy,  
and plays only when someone approaches her,  
[otherwise she just stays still and  
stares at others, you know.

- 05 Exp: [um.  
hm  
[Hm.
- 06 Host: =ek[hh![\$hheh [ney(h):\$  
yes  
=ek[hh![\$hheh [Ye(h):s\$
- 07 Exp: [°kh[m.°  
[°kh[m.°
- 08 Clr: [kulayse(h), [.hhh  
so  
So(h), [.hhh
- 09 Host: =.hh[h [um,  
=.hh[h [um,
- 10 > Clr: [yey aycha- em- cehako aychakkwankyeyka  
yes attac- mo- I:HUM-with attachment-relation-NOM
- 11 > [alyessul ttaypwuthe:, >aykiyessul ttaypwuthe:,  
young-ATTR time-from baby-be-PST:PERCT-ATTR time-from  
[Yes whether because attac- mo- the attachment with me  
[since (she was) young:, >since (she was) a baby,
- 12 ??: [((background noise-child playing))
- 13 > Clr: com, .hh mwunceyka issese  
little problem-NOM exist-CAUS
- 14 > [ayka ilen kenci  
kid-NOM like:this-ATTR thing:IND:INTERR:PRES  
has a problem, [the kid is like this
- 15 Exp: [hhm:.  
[hhm:.
- 16 > Clr: =>animyen< kicilcekin ken[ci:,  
or dispositional-ATTR thing:IND:INTERR:PRES  
=>Or< whether (it is) from personality
- 17 Host: [ney:,  
yes  
[] Yes,
- 18 > Clr: [kwungkumhayse ileh[key han-  
wonder-CONN like:this one  
[] (I am) wondering, so like this,
- 19 Exp: [.thhh [emmaka posikieynun:  
mother-NOM see-SH-NML-TOP
- 20 mwunceyka issta- issesstako  
problem-NOM exist-DEC exist-PAST-DEC-QT





Thus, through the problem presentation and the history-taking question, the caller displays she is inclined to the blame-implicative diagnosis of her own rather than ‘no blame’ diagnosis.

However, the caller does not put the diagnosis with her own interpretation alone in a yes-no question but provides a possibility of normalcy as well. This design may result from the orientation to the expert’s epistemic/deontic right of making a diagnosis. By using an alternative question, the caller manages to prepare a resort to which she can retreat and stay [K-]/[D-] status. She also adds a main clause and clearly marks her low epistemic/deontic status.

In the following excerpt, the caller has a four-year-old daughter who started to go to a preschool and suffers from stress because of one friend. The caller takes time to elaborate the relationship between her daughter and her friend. While the caller’s daughter likes the friend, she is very envious of her as the friend is advanced in knowing the alphabet or stating her thoughts logically, etc. The daughter at least tries to defeat her by getting off the school bus first or arriving home faster than the friend. But when it does not happen, she gets even more stressed. In the excerpt, the caller moves to formulate her question.

**(20) 9-4-24-4-50moDaughterMasturbation**

- 01 Clr: *ku aimanuy thukpyelhan mwuncey:lakipota*  
that kid-only-of special problem-rather
- 02 *cehuy aiuy cwukwancekin kaltung:*  
my:HUM kid-of subjective conflict
- 03 *ku cengsecekin mwunceyn ke kathuntey,*  
DM emotional problem-ATTR thing seem-CIRCUM
- 04 *kulemyense yocum nathananun key*  
be:so-SIMUL recently appear-ATTR thing-NOM
- 05 *masuthepeyisyeniketunyo?*  
masturbation-INFO-POL  
**(It) seems like my kid’s subjective conflict,  
an emotional problem rather than a specific problem  
with the other kid (=the friend), given that,  
while being so, it is masturbation  
that appears recently, you know.**
- 06 Host: *ney:[:.  
yes*

**Yes: [ : .**

- 07 Exp: [um:.  
hm  
**[Hm: .**
- 08 Clr: [kulayse: enunla cenyekpwuthe  
so certain:day evening-from  
09 kukesi sicaki toyssnuntey, com  
that-NOM beginning-NOM become-PST-CIRCUM little  
10 cipchakhanun: sikani kileciko cacacyesseyo:  
obsessed-ATTR time-NOM lengthen-CONN frequent-PST-POL  
**So from a certain evening it started  
but the time (she) is obsessed got longer and frequent.**
- 11 Host: [yey.  
yes  
**[Yes.**
- 12 > Clr: [kuse, yocum; ayu- ku ttolay aituli nathanal swu issnun:  
so these days DM peer kid-PL-NOM appear-can-ATTR  
13 > kulen cayensulewun hyensanginci, =animyen tto:  
such natural phenomenon-IND:INTERR or also  
14 > ku aiwauy kwankyeyna yuchiwen nayeyseyuy  
that kid-with relation-or kindergarten inside-at-of  
15 > etten mwuncey ttaymwuney ku suthuleysu:uy han:,  
certain problem because:of that stress-of one  
16 > ku mosupulo nathananun kenci  
DM shape-as appear-ATTR thing-IND:INTERR  
17 > ku masuthepeyisyeni:  
that masturbation-NOM  
**So, whether (it) is a natural phenomenon  
that can appear among the children of the age  
or whether (it) appears as one shape of the stress  
because of the relation with the kid (=the friend)  
or a certain problem in the kindergarten,  
the masturbation,**
- 18 Host: =ney:.  
yes  
**=Yes: .**
- 19 > Clr: =kukey com, kwungkumhakwuyo,  
that-NOM little wonder-CONN-POL  
**(I) am wondering about it and**
- 20 Host: [ney  
yes  
**[Yes.**
- 21 Clr: [ettehkey taychelul hamyen cohulkka: EHeh! kukey  
how handling-ACC do-COND good-INTERR that-NOM  
22 [kwungkumhayse cenhwa[tulyesske[tunyo: ,  
wonder-CAUS call give:HUM-PST-INFO-POL  
**How should I handle (it)? EHeh!  
I called because I'm wondering about it.**



23 Host: [yeyyey  
yes yes  
**[Yes**

01 Clr: 그 아이만의 특별한 문제:라기보다  
02 저희 아이의 주관적인 갈등:  
03 그 정서적인 문제 거 같은데,  
04 그러면서 요즘 나타나는 게  
05 마스터베이션이거든요?

06 Host: 네: [:.  
07 Exp: [음:.  
08 Clr: [그래서: 어느날 저녁부터  
09 그것이 시작이 됐는데,  
10 좀 집착하는: 시간이 길어지고 잦아졌어요:  
11 Host: [예.  
12 Clr: [그서, 요즘: 아유- 그 또래 아이들이 나타날 수 있는:  
13 그런 자연스러운 현상인지, =아니면 또:  
14 그 아이와의 관계나 유치원 내에서의  
15 어떤 문제 때문에 그 스트레스:의 한:,  
16 그 모습으로 나타나는 건지  
17 그 마스터베이션이:  
18 Host: =네:.  
19 Clr: =그게 좀, 궁금하구요,  
20 Host: [네  
21 Clr: [어떻게 대처를 하면 좋을까: EHeh! 그게  
22 [궁금해서 전화 [드렸거 [든요:,  
23 Host: [예예

The caller names two diagnoses in lines 12-17, i.e., the masturbation is either a natural phenomenon or a symptom of stress. Considering the caller has provided a lengthy description of how her daughter is stressed because of the friend, she is very much inclined to the second diagnosis in which the friend is the major cause of stress. However, by placing this diagnosis in an alternative question with a benign scenario, the caller steps back from the epistemic domain of the expert. In fact, the caller widens the range of cause by adding another possibility, ‘a certain

problem in the kindergarten' in lines 14-15 so that she can be not too decisive in pointing out the friend as the cause.

In this section, the alternative question that seeks a diagnosis was examined. Even though the callers who employ this question type display their tendency to believe one possibility over the other, they make efforts to put two possibilities on the record. With one possibility that they suspect to be the case, the callers can display they have knowledge and ability to interpret the situation and name the cause of the issue. However, by providing the other neutral possibility, the callers display their orientation to the expert's epistemic/deontic right to make a diagnosis and mitigate potential invasion. The attachment of the main clause, in which the callers verbally state their lack of knowledge, also shows that the callers are sensitive to the possible infringement of the expert's domain and their lack of entitlement.

### **2.5.2 Alternative questions for future measures**

The second set of alternative questions is a combination of two yes-no questions and each part asks about validity of the measure the callers are about to take. While the single yes-no question in the counseling call mainly asks for the validity of the current measure, these alternative questions ask which to choose out of two possible future measures.

As the caller provides possible future options, it limits the scope of the discussion the expert can participate in. Compared to the wh-questions where the expert has a full command of the range of the answer, this type of alternative question narrows down the possible relevant answers to two even though it wants advice on the future measure. The callers claim higher

epistemic stance as they display themselves a parent knowing what to do by naming two future measure from their end.

In the following excerpt, the caller is concerned that her four-year-old daughter behaves childish at home. The daughter wants the caller to help her out even if she can take care of herself very well at the kindergarten or in other settings.

**(21) 30-6-26-4-ChildishDaughterAtKindergarten**

- 01 Clr: *ceki yuchiwenina pakkey nakasenun*  
DM kindergarten-or outside-at go:out-CONN-TOP
- 02 *honca issul ttaynun:*  
alone exist-ATTR time-TOP
- 03 *mwetunci honcase chekchek calhantako*  
whatever alone readily do:well-QT
- 04 *sensayngnimi malssumul hasinuntey:,*  
teacher-HT-NOM talk:HON-ACC do-SH-CIRCUM  
**(When the kid is) at the kindergarten or at outside**  
**When she is alone,**  
**she takes care of whatever for herself well,**  
**The teacher says so, but**
- 05 Host: *ney;*  
yes  
**Okay,**
- 06 Clr: *cipeyman issумыen ne:mwu ungsepatika tway kaciko:, .hh*  
home-at-only stay-COND so pampered:child-NOM become-CONN
- 07 *mwe swihale kalttaylatunci: papul mekul ttaylatunci=*  
like pee-PUR go-ATTR time-LIST meal-ACC eat-ATTR time-LIST
- 08 *emmaka com towacwумыen cohkeysse*  
mother-NOM little help:out-COND good-MOD-INTIM
- 09 *hangsang kulehkey (0.2) malul haketunyo? .hhh*  
always like:so talk-ACC do-INFO-POL  
**When (she is) at home, (she) becomes such a pampered child**  
**like when she goes peeing or has a meal,**  
**"I would like mommy to help (me)"**  
**She says so all the time, you know?**
- 10 Clr: *kayse tto ceyka an towacwумыen:*  
so again I:HUM-NOM not help:out-COND
- 11 *kekise tto mak ilehkey pulhwaka sayngkyekaciko*  
there-from again DM like:this discord-NOM occur-CONN
- 12 *cakku tto >khun soli nako ilayse<*  
repeatedly again loud noise sound-CONN be:so-CAUS
- 13 *cenun tto towacwunun phyeniko ilentey: .sss*  
I:HUM-TOP again help:out-ATTR side-be:CONN be:so-CIRCUM  
**So If I don't help her, there comes some discord and**

it turns into a big fuss so I rather help her, given that,

- 14 > Clr: *cakku kulehkey towacweya toynun kenci animyenun*  
again like:that help-should-ATTR thing-IND:INTERR or-TOP  
15 > *enu seneyse ileh-key kkunheya toynun kenci::,*  
certain level-at like:this cut should-ATTR thing-IND:INTERR  
16 > *(0.2) .hhh honca hal swu isskey: \_*  
alone do-can-RESUL  
**Whether I should help her like that again and again**  
**Or I should stop it at some point**  
**(0.2) for her to do it for herself.**
- 17 Exp: *yey. enu seneyse kkunhusyeya twayyo.*  
yes certain level-at cut-SH-should-POL  
**Yes. (You) should stop it at some point.**

- 01 Clr: 저기 유치원이나 밖에 나가서는  
02 혼자 있을 때는:  
03 뭐든지 혼자서 척척 잘한다고  
04 선생님이 말씀을 하시는데:,  
05 Host: 네;  
06 Clr: 집에만 있으면 너:무 음식받이가 돼 가지고:, .hh  
07 뭐 쉬하러 갈때라든지: 밥을 먹을 때라든지=  
08 얼마가 좀 도와주면 좋겠어 항상 그렇게  
09 (0.2) 말을 하거든요? .hhh  
10 개서 또 제가 안 도와주면:  
11 거기서 또 막 이렇게 불화가 생겨가지고  
12 자꾸 또 >큰 소리 나고 이래서<  
13 저는 또 도와주는 편이고 이런데: .sss  
14 자꾸 그렇게 도와줘야 되는 건지 아니면은  
15 어느 선에서 이렇-게 끝어야 되는 건지:.,  
16 (0.2) .hhh 혼자 할 수 있게: \_  
17 EXP: 예. 어느 선에서 끝으셔야 돼요.

The caller first tells how well the daughter can take care of herself in lines 1-4 quoting the kindergarten teachers. Then she lists the occasions when her daughter asks for help unnecessarily with a reported speech in lines 6-9, then says refraining from helping the daughter causes troubles between them in line 10-12. Due to such circumstances, the caller says she is currently taking the measure of helping the daughter in line 13. This current measure comes as background

information as evidenced by the suffix *-nuntey* 'given that.' Now in lines 14-16, the question proper brings up the measures the caller has in her mind: whether she should keep helping the child or she should stop it at some point.

When considering the weight of both measures, it seems one option is favored by the caller than the other. This caller, asking her second question during the call, already presented her daughter as capable and competent in the first problem presentation and second time again in lines 1-4 in the excerpt. It seems like she is more inclined to stop helping the daughter. Moreover, if the caller thought the current measure was worthy of a question, she could have asked a yes-no question to ask for the validity of continuing to help her daughter. The fact that the caller does not even ask a yes-no question is a counter-evidence that she does not consider the current measure as a valid future measure.

By employing an alternative question, the callers display they have another solution in mind in addition to the current measure that is not fully working. The alternative question for the future measure may help elevate the caller's epistemic/deontic stance as the callers display that they are aware of the current measure's weakness but are knowledgeable enough to suggest another future measure. Thus, the callers tend to form an alternative question with a future measure they favor in addition to the current measure that may not effective or feasible due to certain circumstances and index their epistemic stance to a more knowing position.

The next excerpt shows such a strategy of the callers. The caller in the excerpt has a two-year-old daughter who is excessively attached to the dad. Before the excerpt, the caller admits she has not responded well when the daughter wanted the caller to hold her. The dad, however, has been always responsive and granted her request consistently. Now the daughter tends to stick to her dad and refuses to come to the caller,

to the extent the dad gets exhausted.

**(22) 24-6-19-4-25moAttachedtoDad**

- 01 Clr: [achimeyto icey [chwulkunhal:  
morning-at-too DM go:to:work-ATTR
- 02 [chwulkunul: hanta=hantako naka:myenun:  
go:to:work-ACC do-DEC do-DEC-QT exit-COND-TOP  
**Even in the morning, going to work,  
if (the dad) goes out for work,**
- 03 Host: [um:  
hm  
**[ ] Hm:**
- 04 =ney.  
yes  
**=Yes.**
- 05 Clr: =kyewu ceyka icey tallayse:,  
barely I:HUM-NOM DM caml-CONN  
**I barely calm (her) and**
- 06 Host: [yey.  
yes  
**[ ] Yes.**
- 07 Clr: [tteyekaciko icey appaka chwulkunul hasiko:,  
detach-CONN DM dad-NOM go:to:work-ACC do-SH-CONN  
**take her off (from dad) so the dad goes to work and**
- 08 Host: aha.  
aha  
**Aha.**
- 09 Clr: yey:. (.) ku:leh- ku(h) cengtolo icey ccokkum  
yes like:that that degree-by DM little  
**Yes:. like that- by that degree, a little**
- 10 Host: =[^um:[:~::~  
hm  
**=[^Hm:[:~::~**
- 11 Clr: = [.hh[simhan phyeniketunyo?  
serious-ATTR side-INFO-POL  
**It's a little serious, you know?**
- 12 Host: kulehkwunyo[:.  
be:so-UNASSIM-POL  
**[ ] It is so.**
- 13 Clr: [yey:.  
yes  
**[ ] Yes:.**

14 Host: .ha::: [>aikwu<  
aww  
.ha::: [>aww<

15 > Clr: [kulayse.h [appauy thaytolul(h)  
so dad-of attitude-ACC

16 Host: [yey.  
yes  
[] Yes.

17 > Clr: ccokkum: pakkweya toynunci:, .h  
little change-should-IND:INTERR  
[] So whether (the dad) should change his attitude a little

18 Host: [°um::°.°.  
hm  
[]°Hm::°.°.

19 > Clr: [animyen kunyang nwatweto toynunci:  
or just leave-may-IND:INTERR

20 > [com kwungkumhakoyo:.  
little wonder -CAUS-POL  
Or (it) is alright to leave it as it is,  
I'm wondering, and

21 Host: [ney:.  
yes  
[]Yes:.

22 Clr: .hh kutamey mwe ^nachka:limul hantatunci  
then DM stranger:anxiety-ACC do-DEC-or

23 tto kulen ken ani-epsketunyo,  
also be:so-ATTR thing-TOP not not:exist-INFO-POL

24 =nach- nachkalimun tto epskwuyo.  
stranger:anxiety-TOP also not:exist-CONN-POL  
And then, like, she doesn't fear strangers or  
She doesn't have stranger anxiety.

25 Host: ney:,  
yes  
Yes: ,

01 Clr: [아침에도 이제 [출근할:  
02 [출근을: 한다한다고 나가면은:  
03 Host: [음:  
04 =네.  
05 Clr: =[겨우 제가 이제 달래서: ,  
06 Host: [예.  
07 Clr: [떼어가지고 이제 아빠가 출근을 하시고: ,  
08 Host: 아하.  
09 Clr: 예: . (.) 그: 령- 그(h) 정도로 이제 쯤

10 Host: =[^음:[:::.  
 11 Clr: =[:.hh[심한 편이거든요?  
 12 Host: 그렇군요[:.  
 13 Clr: [예:.  
 14 Host: .ha::: [>아이구<  
 15 Clr: [그래서.h [아빠의 태도를 (h)  
 16 Host: [예.  
 17 Clr: 쪄끔: 바뀌야 되는지:, .h  
 18 Host: [°음::°.  
 19 Clr: [아니면 그냥 놔둬도 되는지:  
 20 [쪄 궁금하고요:.  
 21 Host: [네:.  
 22 Clr: .hh 그담에 뭐 ^낫가:림을 한다든지  
 23 또 그런 건 아니-없거든요,  
 24 =낫- 낫가림은 또 없구요.  
 25 Host: 네:,

The caller names one solution in lines 15 and 17, topicalizing the attitude of the dad rather than that of hers or the daughter's, and the other solution of keeping the status quo in lines 19-20. Throughout the problem presentation, the caller has indicated the daughter's attachment to the dad is almost to an undesirable level, so keeping the current measure is not really a viable option. Thus, instead of asking 'whether keeping the daughter's attitude is okay' in a yes-no question, the caller suggests a future measure that may help improve the situation. Thus, she provides a potential future action and displays she has her own solution in her mind. By doing so, the caller claims a knowing stance in terms of what to do in the future.

The caller in the next excerpt also employs an alternative question to display her knowing stance. She has 14-month-old son and has succeeded in disciplining him when he throws a tantrum. However, her parents-in-law are not pleased to see their grandson have hard time with



the caller's discipline, especially when the caller's family comes over to their place during the weekends.

**(23) 49-8-14-1-14moDiffAtGrandma**

- 01 Clr: *cwumaleyn 'cey ithulul kulehkey: ka issnuntey:,*  
weekend-at DM two:days-ACC like:that go-CONN exist-CIRCUM  
**At weekends, (we) go and stay (there)**  
**for two days like that, given that,**
- 02 Host: *[ney.*  
*yes*  
**[Yes.**
- 03 > Clr: *[.hh ku ka issnun tonganey:*  
DM go-CONN exist-ATTR while-at
- 04 > *ce sipwumonim malssumul tutkose: kukelul,*  
my:HUM parents-in-law:HON word:HON-ACC listen-CONN that-ACC
- 05 > *.hh ceyka yangpolul hayyatoynun ken[ci*  
I:HUM-NOM concession-ACC do-should-ATTR thing-IND:INTERR  
**[While (we) are there,**  
**whether I should obey the parents-in-laws' word**  
**and concede (to them),**
- 06 Host: *[um[::\_*  
*hm*  
**[Hm[::\_**
- 07 Clr: *[>ikhey< ilkwansengi*  
like:this consistency-NOM
- 08 *issey hantanun kulen malul manhi tu[ese:,*  
exist-should-ATTR such talk-ACC much hear-CAUS  
**Like, because I often heard (there) should be consistency**
- 09 Host: *[kulayyo:*  
*be:so-POL*  
**That's right**
- 10 *yey[:\_*  
*yes*  
**Yes[:\_**
- 11 Clr: *[kukelul, .hh 'kka sipwuponim kath-*  
that-ACC I:mean parents:in:law-HON
- 12 *siemeni kathun kyengwunun maumi yakhasyekacikwuyo,*  
mother:in:law like case-TOP heart-NOM weak-SH-CAUS  
**That, I mean, the parents-in-law,**  
**For the mother-in-law, (she) has a weak heart so**
- 13 Host: *[yey.*  
*yes*  
**[Yes.**

14 Clr: [mak i'wulkito hasiketunyo ettelttaynun;  
DM cry-NOML-also do-SH-INFO certain time-TOP

15 [akika 'khey wulmyenun;  
baby-NOM like:this cry-COND  
**She even cries sometimes, if the baby cries you know,**

16 Host: [soksanghasyeseyo:,  
upset-SH-CAUS-POL  
**Because she's upset.**

17 =eme[na(h) heh[eheh [.hhh  
wow  
**=Wow(h) heh[eheh [.hhh**

18 > Clr: [yey. [kulayse .ss ike[lul ceyka  
yes so this-ACC I:HUM-NOM

19 > kuttay yangpohanun [key cohun kenci ani[myen:  
that-time concede-ATTR thing-NOM good thing-IND:INTERR or  
**Yes. So whether it is good for me to concede it then**

20 Host: [a::: [.hh  
oh  
[Oh::: [.hh

21 al[keysssupnita.  
know-MOD-FORM  
**I understand.**

22 > Clr: [ku- sipwumonimhanthey  
that parents:in:law-from

23 > yanghaylul kwuhayya [toynun kenci:  
concession-ACC ask-should-ATTR thing-IND:INTERR  
**whether (I) should ask parents-in-law's concession**

24 Host: [yeyyey,  
yes  
**[Yes,**

01 Clr: 주말엔, 제 이틀을 그렇게: 가 있는데:,  
02 Host: [네.  
03 Clr: [.hh 그 가있는 동안에:  
04 저 시부모님 말씀을 듣고서: 그거를,  
05 .hh 제가 양보를 해야되는 건[지  
06 Host: [음[::\_  
07 [>일케< 일관성이  
08 있어야 한다는 그런 말을 많이 들[어서:,  
09 Host: [그래요:  
10 예[::\_  
11 Clr: [그거를, .hh '까 시부모님 같-

12                                    시어머니 같은 경우는 마음이 약하셔가지구요,  
13    Host:                            [예.  
14    Clr:                              [막 이'울기도 하시거든요 어떨때는¿  
15                                    [아기가 `케 울면은¿  
16    Host:                            [속상하셔서요:,  
17                                    =어머[나(h) heh[eheh                            [.hhh  
18    Clr:                              [예.                            [그래서 .ss 이거[를 제가  
19                                    그때 양보하는 [게 좋은건지 아니[면:  
20    Host:                              [아:..                            [.hh  
21                                    알[겠습니다.  
22    Clr:                              [그- 시부모님한테  
23                                    양해를 구해야 [되는 건지:  
24    Host:                              [예예,

The caller first formulates a yes-no question with a possible future measure in lines 3-5, asking if she should yield to her parents-in-law and become lenient on discipline. Then she initiates a self repair with parenthesizing some insert sequences (cf. Schegloff 1977) starting at line 7. In the parenthetical sequences, she introduces reasoning behind her strict style and then the strong reactions of the mother-in-law against her consistent discipline. Then, she returns to the original question in lines 18-19 then changes its type into an alternative question by adding ‘if not’ and continues to mentions the other measure in lines 22-23, which is to keep disciplining the child after asking the in-laws’ understanding. These two alternatives are both potential measures that have yet to be tried. Compared to the other callers asking an alternative question in which one measure is favored, this caller treats two options quite equally. She has her own discipline style but the reaction from the in-laws are quite negative as well. However, ordering the illustration of the mother-in-law’s reaction right before the question, employing a self-repair, signals the caller is aware that keeping her own discipline style may cause discord in the future. Thus, by

providing two future measures and suggesting that she is aware of the different weight of each measure, the caller cranks up her epistemic stance.

In sum, the alternative questions that ask for advice on a future action is a product of promoting the callers' epistemic stance. The callers provide future measures she has in mind and display they are a knowledgeable parent who can devise solutions since they are aware that keeping the current measure or the state is not effective or feasible.

## **2.6 Question cluster**

The next set comprises a cluster of questions in which one type of question is followed by another type of question while both questions keep the same topic agenda. Clayman and Heritage (2002) label this practice as a "question cascade" in which a questioner asks a question and then goes on to produce a second version of that question upon the completion of the first. In other words, two versions of one question with the same topic are provided in a row. For example, the question cascade employed by journalists in a presidential press conference often consists of a wh-question and a yes-no question. Thus, the latter version narrows down the range of response, making only (dis)affirmation relevant, and helps the journalists exercise more initiative (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 756-757).

The next excerpt provides an example of a question cascade in a counseling call. The caller presents her concern then asks a wh-question for advice on the future measure, which is immediately followed by an alternative question that provides possible future measures in her mind.

01 Clr: *kulaysem, kuntey- ce eceyto*  
so but DM yesterday-also

02 *kulen ili issesseyo:*  
such incident-NOM exist-PST-POL

03 *=kulaykaciko, .h awumak nemwu nollaykaciko:,*  
so wow too:much shocked-CAUS  
**So, but- Even yesterday, there was such an incident**  
**So I was so shocked and**

04 Host: *ney.*  
yes  
**Yes.**

05 (0.2)

06 > Clr: *ettehkey hayyatoylcilul molukeysseyo=kunyang: (.)*  
how do-should-IND:INTERR-ACC not:know-MOD-POL just

07 > *mwusimhi nemekaya toynunci ilehkey com, .h*  
indifferently pass-should-IND:INTERR like:this DM

08 > *[ettehkey kwakye- ceto: nalumtaylo*  
how drast- I:HUM-also in:my:own:way  
**I don't know what (I) should do=whether I should**  
**just indifferently pass it by,**  
**or like aggressiv- in my own way**

09 Host: *[um::.*  
hm  
**Hm::.**

10 > Clr: *panungul poyeya toynun[ci:,*  
response-ACC show-should-IND:INTERR:PRES  
**I should respond (to it).**

11 Host: *[^um::=ney::.*  
hm yes  
**^hm::=Ye:s.**

01 Clr: 그래섬, 근데- 저 어제도  
02 그런 일이 있었어요:  
03 =그래가지고, .h 아우막 너무 놀래가지고:,  
04 Host: 네.  
05 (0.2)  
06 Clr: 어떻게 해야될지를 모르겠어요=그냥: (.)  
07 무심히 넘어가야 되는지 이렇게 좀, .h  
08 [어떻게 과겨- 저도: 나름대로  
09 Host: [음::.  
10 Clr: 반응을 보여야 되는[지:,  
11 Host: [ ^음::=네:.

Before the excerpt, the caller described how her adolescent son has started using rough talk recently with reported speech, e.g., when the caller accidentally touched his computer, he said ‘what the heck did you do’ or when she tried to scold his behavior, he said ‘you got on my nerves.’ After telling such incidents are becoming frequent in lines 1-2, the caller continues to ask two questions in a row: first, an indirect wh-question with a main clause, followed by an indirect alternative question in lines 6-10. Both questions share the same topic of how to respond to the son’s attitude. While the first wh-question is open-ended and allows the answerer to form the answer freely, the second alternative question limits the scope of answer by suggesting two measures: either to condone it indifferently or to respond it in a way. Thus, the range of answer is narrowed down in the second version of the question. By this cascade structure, the caller can crank up her epistemic stance from a low [K-] to a higher [K-]. Through the first wh-question, the caller shows she is in need of advice. However, by articulating two measures in the next alternative question, the caller displays she has considered some candidate solutions.

In this question cascade, the alternative part itself is very similar to the alternative questions that seek advice on future measures. However, while the callers of a single alternative question intimate one option is favored by the other, the caller of this question cascade proposes the options with the same weight—there is no indication that she favors one option or either option is not feasible or effective. Such difference seems to be the motivation of this specific question design. With the wh-question first, the caller really starts from the [K-] position, not knowing which option is better, then proposes her candidate solutions to display her epistemic effort and to crank up the [K-] stance a little higher.

While the question cascade that narrows downward appears once in the data, the reversed version of question cascade is more often employed by the callers. This type of question cascade

first starts with a yes-no question about the callers' current or imminent measure that they may take upon the expert's approval, and then it widens the scope of the possible answer by having a wh-question that seeks advice on a future action follow. In addition, like the wh-questions that ask for a future measure, the question cascade is mostly preceded by the clause-final suffix *-e/ase* 'because' or the adverb *kulayse* 'so,' and show the problem presented so far is the cause of the question.

The callers with this 'widening' question cascade try to show that they have at least one option in their mind and they are not completely ignorant of what to do in the yes-no question part, but at the same time, display that they are not sure about this option's effectiveness. In their problem presentation, the callers disclose they are aware that the measure in their mind might be invalid, e.g. the callers say that the current or imminent measure in their mind is not their own idea or it is causing a new problem. Once they display they have at least one measure in mind, the callers continue to ask a wh-question and give more freedom to the expert to provide advice from her end.

In the following excerpt, the caller's fifteen-month-old son often throws tantrums and the caller has sometimes responded with spanking on the butt. Now the child reacts to the measure in an unexpected way.

**(25) 52-8-14-4-15moSpittingSpanking**

01 Clr: *tto, .h akika: com,*  
 also baby-NOM DM  
 02 *mamey antulko ilen ili issul ttaynun*  
 heart-at not:come such case-NOM exist-ATTR time-TOP  
 03 *ttangey mak tulenwuwese mak*  
 ground-at DM lie:down-CONN DM  
 04 *[tteylul [ssuko wulketunyo pa[kkatheyseto;*  
 tantrum-ACC throw-CONN cry-INFO-POL outside-at-also  
**When the baby has something that he doesn't like**  
**or something like that,**  
**he lies down on the ground and [] cries, throwing tantrum,**

[ ] even at outside

05 Host: [hh! [yeksi: [.hh  
as:expected  
[hh! as expected. [.hh

06 Host: ney[:,  
yes  
Yes: ,

07 Clr: [kulel ttay, .h=e engtengi:(hh)lato  
such-ATTR time um butt-even

08 hantay ttaylyecwuko sipko: kulentey,=.hh  
one-CL hit:give-want-CONN be:so-CIRCUM  
**On such occasions, I want to spank (him)  
on the butt or something like that. Given that,**

09 Clr: kuceney com: yatanchil ttay  
that:before-TEMP DM scold-ATTR time

10 engtengi myechtay ttaylyessteni: , .Hhh  
butt several-CL hit-PST-then  
**A while ago, when (I) scolded (him),  
(I) spanked his butt several times, and then**

11 Clr: emmalul hehh.hh, tto ttayliko:  
mom-ACC also hit-CONN

12 tto a- ttolaytulkkili : , nol ttay:  
also peer-PL-with play-ATTR time

13 ttalun aitulhantey, .hh 'khey: ttaylikito hako  
other kid-PL-to like:this hit-NOML-too do-CONN

14 ilen mosupi poye- [poyecyeyo:=ku[se  
this-ATTR scene-NOM be:seen be:seen-POL so  
**(He) hit me, and when he plays with peers,  
He hits other kids, such scenes are made. So**

15 Host: [a::: [yey: ,  
oh yes  
**Oh::: Yes:**

16 > Clr: kulayse com may=>ilehkey< engtengi:  
so DM rod like:this butt

17 > >ilehkey< ttayliko ilenkey: , .hhh  
like:this hit-CONN this-ATTR thing-NOM

18 > 'key=hayto toynun kenci:  
like do-may-ATTR thing:IND:INTERR

19 > [ettehkey: ai(h)lul ta ^ .hh 'khey talweya toylci  
ho kid-ACC like:this deal-should-IND:INTERR:FUT  
**So spanking=>like< >like<  
Whether spanking the butt: or so: .hhh is okay to do  
How (I) should de- ^ .hh deal with the kid**

20 Host: [a: .  
oh  
**Oh: .**

21 > Clr: cal molukeysse[se cenhwatulyesssup[nita.  
well not:know-MOD-CAUS call-give:HON-PST-FORM



I don't know well so I made the call

22 Host: [ney. [yelekaci:  
yes several

23 He: [kheh, .hh >yaykil hay<cwusyess[nuntey,  
story-ACC do-give-SH-PST-CIRCUM  
Okay. (you) told several stories,

01 Clr: 또, .h 아기가: 줌,  
02 말에 안들고 이런 일이 있을 때는  
03 땅에 막 드러누워서 막  
04 [때를 [쓰고 울거든요 바[깎에서도:]

05 Host: [hh! [역시: [.hh  
06 네[:,  
07 Clr: [그럴 때, .h=어 엉덩이: (hh) 라도  
08 한대 때려주고 싶고: 그런데,=.hh  
09 그전에 줌: 야단칠 때  
10 엉덩이 몇대 때렸더니:, .Hhh  
11 엄마를 hehh.hh, 또 때리고:  
12 또 아- 또래들끼리 놀 때:  
13 따른 아이들한테, .hh `케: 때리기도 하고  
14 이런 모습이 보여- [보여져요:]=그[서,  
15 Host: [아::: [예:,  
16 Clr: 그래서 줌 매=>이렇게< 엉덩이:  
17 >이렇게< 때리고 이런게:, .hhh  
18 `게=해도 되는건지:  
19 [어떻게: 아이 (h) 를 다 ^.hh `케 다뤄야될지  
20 Host: [아:.  
21 Clr: 잘 모르겠어[서 전화드렸습[니다.  
22 Host: [네. [여러가지:  
23 He: [kheh, .hh >애길 해<주셨[는데,

The caller first reports bad behaviors of her son in lines 1-4 and continues to tell her reaction to them, that is, spanking the butt, in lines 7-10. Now, the real problem is that the child turns to hit the mother and other friends as in lines 11-14. The caller uses *kuse* ‘so’ at the end of the problem presentation and marks the child’s reaction to her measure is the problem proper. The caller first asks if spanking is acceptable in lines 16-18 and then moves on to the wh-question in line 19,

ending the question with a full main clause in line 21. The caller simply admits her measure caused another issue on the child but still asks about the measure's validity first, then broadens the range of advice she would take with a wh-question. Although she already knows the measure may not be valid, by putting it in a yes-no question, the caller displays she has at least one tentative measure at her disposal. However, she ends up admitting a [K-] stance by asking a wh-question as well as by verbally saying she does not know the right future action with the main clause.

The caller in the next excerpt has a junior high daughter who has been stubborn since young. However, the daughter grows not to listen to what the caller wants to tell her.

**(26) 18-5-8-4-JuniorHighDaughterStrongSelf**

01 Clr: *kulayse: kunyang nalumtaylo weynmanhamyen kocipseymyen:*  
 so just in:one's:say if:tolerable stubborn-COND  
 02 *kunyang ci uykyen tulecwuko? (0.5)*  
 just one's opinion listen-CONN  
 03 *ung kulayssketunyo?=[>kunteyicey<*  
 um like:that-INFO-POL but now  
**So in my own way, when acceptable,**  
**when (she's) being stubborn,**  
**I used to accept her opinion, you know? [] But now**

04 Host: =*yey.*  
 yes  
 [] **Yes.**

05 Clr: *ccokkum malkwi alatulemyense? (0.4) ke-*  
 little words understand-SIMUL  
 06 *ikhey yaykilul com hallyeko::,*  
 like:this talk-ACC DM do-INTENT  
**As (she) is able to understand what I mean,**  
**I try to give her some talk**

07 Host: =*yey.*  
 yes  
**Yes.**

08 Clr: *'khey ikehkey, ceto han innay haki >ttaymwney<*  
 like like:this I:HUM-also quite patience have-because  
 09 =*chameka (h) \$myense (h) ilehkey\$ >yaykilul com*  
 endure-SIMUL like:this talk-ACC DM  
 10 *hallye kulemyen<,*  
 do-INTENT be:so-COND

Like, since I am good at being patient,  
when I try to give her some talk with much patience,

- 11 Host: *ney.*  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 12 Clr: *tutcilul anhkayo:.*  
listen-COMP-ACC not-POL  
**She doesn't listen at all.**
- 13 Host: [*yey.*  
yes  
**[] Yes.**
- 14 Clr: [*caki cwucangman ttak hako, .hh an tutko*  
own opinion-only DM do-CONN not listen-CONN  
15 =>*cikumincey cwungilinikka kunikka,*  
now 7<sup>th</sup>-grade-CAUS tall-CAUS  
16 *caki yaykiman ttak hako bangulo*  
own story-only DM do-CONN room-to  
17 *ttak tuleka pelyeyo.*  
DM enter-done-POL  
**[] She just tells her opinion but doesn't listen,  
and as she's a 7<sup>th</sup> grader now, quite grown,  
She just delivers her talk and goes to her room.**
- 18 Host: *yey[:.*  
yes  
**[] Yes:.**
- 19 Clr: [*^kulayse: cengmal emmalose*  
so really mom-as  
20 *toykey taptaphako soksanghako kuleketunyo?*  
very frustrate-CONN upset-CONN be:so-INFO-POL  
**[] So, really, as a mother,  
I feel very frustrated and upset, you know?**
- 21 Host: *ney[:,*  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 22 Clr: [*yek- kuyamallo ciki- ilehkey ^ilpangthonghayngman*  
literally like:this one:way-only  
23 *hanun kecyo[: =kuletaponikka, [.ssh*  
do-ATTR thing-COMM-POL so-then  
**[] (She) literally does one-way communication. Then**
- 24 Host: [*a:,* [*yey:.,*  
oh yes  
**[] Oh:, Yes**
- 25 Clr: *awu ilehkey kaman nwatweya toyna:.*  
aw like:this still leave-should-NONCOMM  
**aw 'should (I) leave (her) like this?'**
- 26 Host: *yey[:.*

yes  
**Yes.**

27 Clr: [ung:ɔ̣ ilen key tto ilehkey khese tto  
huh this-ATTR thing-NOM also like:this grow-CONN also  
28 mwnceyka toyçi anhulkka sipese[:,  
problem-NOM become-COMP not-INTERR wonder-CAUS  
**Um, because (I) wonder if this may become a problem  
when it when she grows like this.**

29 Exp: [um[:  
hm  
[] **Hm.**

30 Host: [ney:.  
yes  
[] **Yes.**

31 > Clr: =ettehkey tay- (0.2) ikhey nwatweya toyłci?  
how respo- like:this leave-should-IND:INTERR:FUT  
**How to respon- whether (I) should leave her like this?**

32 Exp: ney:.  
yes  
**Yes.**

33 > Clr: animyen ettehkey tayhayya toyłci  
or how treat-should-IND:INTERR  
34 > kwungkumhayseyo:.  
wonder -CAUS-POL  
**Or how (I) should treat (her), I'm wondering, so.**

35 Exp: =cekayo, e: emenim yaykilul tuleponikka,  
I:HUM-NOM-POL um: mother:HON story-ACC listen-CONN  
**For me, as I listen to your story,**

01 Clr: 그래서: 그냥 나름대로 웬만하면 고집세면:  
02 그냥 지 의견 들어주고? (0.5)  
03 응 그랬거든요?=>근데이제<  
04 Host: =[예.  
05 Clr: 조금 말귀 알아들으면서? (0.4) 거-  
06 이케 얘기를 좀 할려고:.,  
07 Host: =예.  
08 Clr: '게 이렇게, 저도 한 인내 하기 >때문에<  
09 =참어가(h) \$면서(h) 이렇게\$ >얘기를 좀  
10 할러 그러면<,  
11 Host: 네.  
12 Clr: 듣지를 않아요:.  
13 Host: [예.

14 Clr: [자기 주장만 딱 하고, .hh 안 듣고.  
15 =>지금인제 중일이니까 크니까,  
16 자기 얘기만 딱 하고 방으로  
17 딱 들어가 버려요.  
18 Host: 예:[:.  
19 Clr: [^그래서: 정말 엄마로서  
20 되게 답답하고 속상하고 그러거든요?  
21 Host: 네:[:,  
22 Clr: [역- 그야말로 직이- 이렇게 ^일방통행만  
23 하는 거죠:[:=그러다보니까, [.ssh  
24 Host: [아:, [예:[:,  
25 Clr: 아우 이렇게 가만 놔둬야 되나::  
26 Host: 예[:.  
27 Clr: [응:~ 이런 게 또 이렇게 커서 또  
28 문제가 되지 않을까 싶어서[:,  
29 EXP: [음[:  
30 Host: [네:..  
31 Clr: =어떻게 대- (0.2) 이케 놔둬야될지?  
32 EXP: 네:..  
33 Clr: 아니면 어떻게 대해야 될지  
34 궁금해서요:..  
35 EXP: =저가요, 어: 어머님 얘기를 들어보니까,

The caller first tells that she has been an understanding mother in lines 1-10 but the daughter does not try to listen at all in lines 12-17. Now the problem is that the caller is concerned with the future effect of such incompilance as in line 27-28. This concern is displayed as the reason for the call as it is connected to the question with *-ese* ‘because’ at the end of line 28. In line 31 and 33, the caller first asks whether to leave her daughter as she is. Since the caller already admitted that such option brings doubt to herself in line 25, ending the self-asking question with ‘-na’, a noncommittal suffix, to show she is not committed to the proposition, and that this could form a problem in the future in line 27-28, the caller herself is inclined to disagree to this idea. Nonetheless, she puts this yes-no question before she asks the wh-question. In fact, in line 31,

she starts a wh-question but abandons the TCU and inserts a yes-no question first then returned the previously cut-off wh-question. This composition clearly shows the caller does make an effort to display herself as a knowledgeable parent who has a certain idea of what to do.

The next excerpt is by a caller who has a seventh-grader son who started to take a disrespectful attitude since a few years ago. Before the excerpt, the caller tells that when she asks him to do some ordinary tasks, such as ‘take a shower’, ‘don’t eat junk food’ or ‘study’, the son gets upset and says, ‘none of your business’ or ‘don’t bother me’. She continues to provide another example of his bad behavior at the beginning of the excerpt.

**(27) 12-4-27-3-SonBecomingRude**

01 Clr: [.hh[etten ttaynun: (0.5) mwe: khemphyuthe keyimul  
           certain time-TOP DM computer game-ACC  
 02 moshakey hako kulem mak solito ciluko,.hh  
       forbit-CONN then roughly noise-also shout-CONN  
 03 com kulayse: 'key cenpancekulo .hh  
       a:little do:such-so like:this overall  
 04 kulen kesey tayhayse=>incey< sepsephaycyeyo:=kulayse,  
       such thing-at about now get:hurt-POL so  
       **Sometimes if I keep him from playing computer games,  
       he just yells and so. And overall, I become hurt  
       by such things. So,**

05 Host: =ney:.  
           yes  
           **Yes.**

06 Clr: =apecinun ccokum kwenwicekintey:,  
           father-TOP a:little authoritative-CIRCUM  
 07 apечihantey kulen yaykil hamyen apecinun kulayyo,  
       father-to such story-ACC tell-COND father-TOP say:so-POL  
 08 mwe .h aihako chinkwuchelem nemwu manhi ikey, (1.0)  
       DM kid-with friend-like too a:lot like:this  
 09 manhimanhi:, kulehkey cacalhakey yaykihako kulemyen,  
       a:lot like:that trivial talk-CONN do:so-COND  
 10 aika .h emmalul: elyewehaci anhnuntako:,  
       kid-NOM mom-ACC fear-COMM not-DECL-QT  
       **=The father is a little authoritative,  
       and when I tell such stories, he says,  
       "like, if (you) talk with the kid too much  
       in good detail, like with a friend,  
       then the kid would not respect the mom."**

11 Host: a[:.

oh  
**Oh.**

12 Clr: [ccokkumun com (0.5) kulehkey elyewe  
a:little-TOP DM like:that fear  
**just a little (0.5) like, respect**

13 Host: hakey[kkum.  
make-RESUL  
**Have (him respect).**

14 Clr: ['lyewehhakey[kkum:,  
make fear-RESUL  
**Have (him) respect.**

15 Host: [umum[::.  
hm  
**Hm::**

16 Clr: [ccokumun com .hh  
a:little-TOP DM

17 emhakey halako tto kuleketunyo?  
strict-RESUL do-QT also say:so-INFO-POL  
**He tells me to behave just a little strictly, you know?**

18 Host: ney[:,  
yes  
**Yes.**

19 Exp: [um::,  
hm  
**Hm:**

20 > Clr: [kuse emhakey hayyatoylci:,  
so strict-RESUL do-should-IND:INTERR  
**So whether (I) should treat (him) strictly**

21 Host: a:[:,  
oh  
**Oh.**

22 > Clr: [e[t<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>key [hayya°toylci°  
how do-should-IND:INTERR  
**How (I) should respond.**

23 Exp: [.s [anieyyo cikum icey  
NEG-POL now DM

24 emhakey hanun kenun incey  
strict-RESUL do-ATTR thing-TOP DM

25 pelus kiltulillyeko hal ttay  
manner train-INTENT do-ATTR time

26 emhakey hanun kecanhayo:,  
strict-RESUL do-ATTR thing-you:know-POL

27 etten senul kalukhye cwullyeko hal ttay.  
certain boundary-ACC teach give-INTENT do-ATTR time  
**No. Now treating (a child) strictly is,  
you treat (a child) strictly when you discipline,**

when you try to teach certain boundaries.

01 Clr: [.hh[어떤 때는: (0.5) 뭐: 컴퓨터 게임을  
02 못하게 하고 그럼 막 소리도 지르고, .hh  
03 좀 그래서: \케 전반적으로 .hh  
04 그런 것에 대해서=>인제< 설섭해져요:=그래서,  
05 Host: =네:.  
06 Clr: =아버지는 조금 권위적인데:,  
07 아버지한테 그런 얘길 하면 아버지는 그래요,  
08 뭐 .h 아이하고 친구처럼 너무 많이 이케, (1.0)  
09 많이많이:, 그렇게 자잘하게 얘기하고 그러면,  
10 아이가 .h 엄마를: 어려워하지 않는다고:,  
11 Host: 아[:.  
12 Clr: [썩음은 좀 (0.5) 그렇게 어려워  
13 Host: 하게[썩.  
14 Clr: [\'려워하게[썩:,  
15 Host: [음음[::.  
16 Clr: [썩음은 좀 .hh  
17 엄하게 하라고 또 그러거든요?  
18 Host: 네:[:,  
19 Exp: [음::,  
20 Clr: [그서 엄하게 해야될지:,  
21 Host: 아[::  
22 Clr: [어[똥게 [해야°될지°  
23 Exp: [.s [아니에요 지금 이제  
24 엄하게 하는 거는 인제  
25 버릇 길들일려고 할 때  
26 엄하게 하는 거잖아요:,  
27 어떤 선을 가르켜줄려고 할 때.

With another example of the son's behavior, that is, yelling at the caller when his fun is interrupted in lines 1-2, the caller shares that she feels hurt in lines 3-4. Suddenly, she turns to introduce her husband, his character, and his response to her regarding the son's rude attitude in lines 6-17. The husband asks the caller to act stern so that the son can feel uncomfortable to behave rude. Now the caller connects the husband's advice with the alternative question using



*kuse* ‘so’ at the beginning of line 20. The caller presents the imminent measure suggested by her husband as a reason for the question. Thus, she succeeds in displaying she has a certain option available in her hand and is not a helpless parent with no solution at all. By putting the husband’s advice in a yes-no question, however, she makes it clear the measure is not her own idea and its validity needs the expert’s judgment. Then, she continues to ask a wh-question and shows she is open to the expert’s knowledge on this matter, eventually claiming a [K-] stance.

With the question cascade, the callers combine two questions back to back with the same topic, that is, a future measure against the problem. They often form the cascade to widen the scope of the answers by moving from a yes-no question to a wh-question. With the first yes-no question, they display they are a knowledgeable parent with a tentative measure in mind and try to claim a somewhat knowing epistemic stance. However, the callers have often displayed their doubt or reluctance against the measure during the problem presentation. As a result, the next wh-question displays the callers give up the attempted epistemic right and retreat to [K-] stance. What the callers seek in this question is rather advice than validating the current/imminent measure. The first yes-no question may be employed to display the callers’ effort to be seen as a responsible parent, who would seek for every possible solution before turning to ask for help from outside.

## **2.7 Callers’ deontic orientation in designing an indirect question**

In the counseling calls, two kinds of deontic orientation can be found in the interaction between the callers and the expert: first, callers’ orientation to their low deontic right in forming an action, i.e., request for information, second, callers’ orientation to the expert’s high

epistemic/deontic authority derived from her expertise. The latter is consistently displayed by the employment of modal predicates, such as ‘should’ or ‘be good/right/okay.’

When it comes to the action of making a request, the participants’ deontic orientation can be displayed in terms of entitlement, that is, the requester shows in his turn whether he has the right to make such a request. While this chapter focuses on the callers’ requests for information, Curl and Drew’s study (2008) on the grammatical construction of requests shed light on the callers’ specific grammatical design—the indirect question format. The study discusses two different forms of request: one form is prefaced by ‘I wonder if...’ while the other form begins with a modal verb inverted with a subject, such as ‘would you...?’ or ‘could you...?’ According to Curl and Drew (2008), “I wonder if...” preface indicates that the speaker displays lack of entitlement to make a request and is concerned with the high level of contingency that can be involved when the recipient grants the request. Thus, they argue that the difference in question forms matches the level of entitlement.

Their distinction of these two constructions can be alternatively analyzed as the use of an indirect question embedded in a main clause with ‘I wonder...’ versus the use of a direct question with the same proposition. Based on the grammatical construction, it can be said that indirect questions are employed when the speaker deems herself to have low entitlement. In my data, the callers consistently employ indirect question format when they ask their first question. The four different question types are often embedded in a main clause, such as ‘I wonder...’ or ‘I don’t know....’ Even when the main clause is omitted, the indirectness in the question remains. It has a parallel construction with the “I wonder...” preface design. Direct questions rarely appear in the callers’ first question.

Such construction is of interest as the callers are quite entitled to ask for information. Once the callers are accepted to present their problem on air, their deontic status for making a request is somewhat guaranteed: they can ask a question with a detailed presentation. However, by using the indirect question format, the callers mark their position as less entitled and display they have low deontic right to request advice. They employ the indirect question design and make effort to adjust their entitlement and lower their deontic stance.

However, once the requester-granter relation is set through the first question-response pair and when the caller asks a subsequent question on the same topic, they do employ a direct question format, showing that now they are more entitled to ask further and the contingency involved granting the request for advice gets lower.

In the following excerpts, the caller employs an indirect question format in her first question but in a subsequent question, she uses a direct question.

**(28) 33-6-26-7-SelfAttentiveSon**

- 01 Clr: *cehuynun kukey ccom ayka kulehkey hayngdonghanikka:*  
we-TOP that-NOM little kid-NOM so behave-CAUS
- 02 *com(h) mianhako,*  
little sorry-CONN  
**But because my kid behaves so,**  
**we feel a little sorry, and**
- 03 Host: *[yey.*  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 04 > Clr: *[ettehkey ilehkey.sss kyay- e ce:ki*  
how like:this that:kid uh DM
- 05 > *a-yayhanthey, yaykilul haycweya hanunci,*  
this:kid-to talk-ACC give-should-IND:INTERR  
**How .sss uhm: we should tell him (about it)**
- ((lines omitted))
- 06 Exp: *>kunyang< aika*  
just kid-NOM
- 07 *sengcangkacengeyse natanal swu issnun:,*  
growing-process-at appear-can-ATTR



The caller is concerned about her four-year-old son who is very shy and conscious of other's attention and would duck away from compliments. As she asks how to advise him to act more natural and freer, she employs a *wh*-question in an indirect question format in lines 4-5. The suffix *-nunci* in line 5 is used to make the clause an indirect question. Even though their status of seeking information is guaranteed, the callers employ the indirect question and take a lower deontic stance when they begin their interaction with the expert. However, after the expert advises the caller to consider it as a natural sign of development in lines 6-11, the caller asks a subsequent question in the format of a direct question, using the final suffix *-yeyyo* at the end in line 12-13. She connects her question with the advice and asks whether she should leave her son without taking any measure. In other words, the caller first uses an indirect question to seek advice, and once the advice is granted, she asks a subsequent question in a direct question format. Thus, even though their status of seeking information is guaranteed, the callers employ the indirect question and take a lower deontic stance when they begin their interaction with the expert.

However, when the callers ask an extra question with a different topic in one call, they go back to the indirect question format. It is quite expectable since the callers are entitled to ask one question. With the orientation to the much less entitlement related to the second question, the callers do some work to guarantee their requester position—announcing the second question, making an apology, and going back to the indirect question format.

In sum, the callers are consistently oriented to the expert's deontic authority in two ways: the expert as one who grant the request for information as well as the expert as one who has epistemic rights with her expertise. They use the indirect question format to show that they

consider themselves as less entitled to make a request. They also use modal verbs/predicates to show they are ready to follow the expert's solution or judgement.

## **2.8 Summary**

This chapter has investigated the ways in which callers design their question in four types as an indirect question and incorporate the dimensions of agenda setting and epistemic/deontic orientation in them. It showed that the callers present their agenda with the grammatical resources of four different question type. It has also examined the question types and the indirect format help the callers balance their epistemic and deontic stance.

When the callers seek a future measure, they ask a wh-question, claiming an unknowing participant who is open to accept advice, and take a low epistemic/deontic stance. When the callers are wondering about their current measure's effect, they ask a yes-no question, and try to check out the validity of the measure. As the callers already have a certain measure in hand, they only need (dis)confirmation, which helps them claim higher epistemic/deontic status.

When asking alternative questions, the callers try to incorporate their interpretation of the situation in it. With the alternative questions, the callers topicalize either the reason for the problem or the best future measure against the problem. By mentioning two options, out of which only one is favored, they display they are a knowledgeable party to some extent but are aware of the expert's right at the same time. Question clusters, or question cascades, are often formed with a yes-no question followed by a wh-question. While seeking a future measure, the callers ask a yes-no question first and show they have at least one measure in mind to fix the situation but widen the scope of the question with a wh-question eventually.

Deontic orientation is also found in the format of indirect question as well as the deontic predicates in the question proper. Using the deontic predicates in the question clause, the callers show their low deontic stance on the matter and yield the deontic authority to the expert. Asking the questions in an indirect question format shows the callers are oriented to the low level of entitlement.

The completion of problem presentation could be "a site of negotiation and manipulation" (Heritage and Clayman 2010:108). The callers very often finish their problem presentation by asking a question in which they present their agenda and adjust their epistemic and deontic stance against the expert. While they try to promote their stance whenever possible, they are aware of the expert's epistemic and deontic authority and try to balance their own stance. Thus, the final item of the problem presentation, the question, carries out the function of negotiation and manipulation.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE EXPERTS' RESPONSE DESIGN FOR YES-NO QUESTIONS

#### 3.1 Introduction

The counseling calls are solution-oriented interactions and they are achieved with a basic yet complicated set of adjacency pair - question and answer - sequences. The callers present their problem, and seek advice for a solution by formulating a question at the conclusion of a problem presentation phase. Their questions are addressed to the experts, who may respond according to the given terms and agenda of the question or resist them in various ways. Question-answer sequences have been studied how the questions set constraints for the response and how the response may accept or resist them (cf. Heritage 2010, Heritage and Raymond 2012, Fox and Thompson 2010, Stivers and Hayashi 2010), and yes-no questions have received much attention among other question types for the more specific constraints on the action, polarity and type-conformity in the response (Heritage 2010, Raymond 2003, Enfield, N., Stivers, T., Brown, P., Englert, C., Harjunpää, K., Hayashi, M., et al. 2019).

The callers in the counseling calls often employ yes-no questions in two locations: as an opening question at the end of the problem presentation, and as a subsequent question at a later point during the call once the experts start to deliver the advice/solution to the opening question (See Table 1 for the distribution of the question types). The agenda the yes-no questions convey in each location is different. In the opening yes-no questions, the callers ask if their current measure to fix the problem is valid or their child's behavior/state is normal. Through the opening yes-no questions, the callers come to display they have been dealing with the issue with a certain



measure at hand, or they are aware of the possible abnormality of the child’s behavior/state, and seek the experts’ judgment on their measure or understanding. On the other hand, in the subsequent questions, the callers either ask about the anticipated outcome of observing the advice or ask about the contents of the advice, displaying their understanding of it. While the questions about the effect of the advice always come after the experts finish giving the advice, those about the components of the advice may occur during or after the delivery of the advice as the callers inquire about how they practice the advice or whether they have understood it correctly. By employing a yes-no question for these purposes, the callers now place the constraints to the experts’ response, who now face the choice of whether or not to conform to them.

Table 3. Question types by location

opening question	count	subsequent questions	count
<b>yes-no question</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>yes-no question</b>	<b>15</b>
wh-question	30	wh-question	7
alternative question	10	alternative question	1
question cluster	5		
total	55	total	23

This chapter will examine the ways in which the experts respond to the callers’ opening and subsequent yes-no questions, often resisting the constraints placed on them. The callers’ yes-no questions have very different agendas and designs according to their location. Consequently, the ways in which the experts construct the responses differ for the opening and the subsequent questions according to their terms and agenda. For the opening questions, the experts very often answer with a deferred disconfirmation response and add some preceding elements, such as the general background information or the diagnosis of the problem. They often provide a solution for the problem as well even if the questions do not ask for it. For the subsequent questions, on

the other hand, the experts respond with a variety of types of responses, ranging from a type-conforming response to a repetitional and transformative response.

The next section first will introduce the dimensions of a question and the range of available response forms. Then each following section will look into how the questions are designed to constrain the response and how the responses conform to or resist their terms and agenda. In section 3.3, the responses to the opening question will be examined. Section 3.4 will investigate subsequent question asking about the prospective effect of the advice and Section 3.5 will look into the subsequent questions related to the callers' understanding of the given advice.

## **3.2 Question and Response design**

The constraints that questions place on the response is based on the main dimension of question design, such as the agenda setting, presupposition, preference and epistemic gradient (Heritage 2010). For yes-no questions, type-conformity is another major aspect to constrain the response. As the general aspects of question design were introduced in Chapter 2, this section will briefly summarize them focusing on the yes-no question and mention the bearing of type-conformity on yes-no questions. Then it will present the responses available to yes-no questions with different conformity to the constraints.

### **3.2.1 The dimensions of question<sup>7</sup>**

#### **3.2.1.1 Agenda setting**

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<sup>7</sup> This section is in part derived from Heritage (2010: 42-68).

A question sets agendas in two different ways: the topic agenda (what the respondent talks about) and the action agenda (how the respondent packages the response as an action) constrain what kind of topic and action can be relevant in the response. For example, the action agenda of the yes-no question in the next excerpt is getting the expert's judgment on the caller's action of going to work without telling the child her departure. With a 'no' token, the expert provides a negative judgment on her measure. The response aligns with the question's topic and action agenda.

**(1) 10-4-24-5-27moStompingFeet**

09	Clr:	<i>[kulen kenun- [mollay naonun key kwayncanh[unci</i> such thing-TOP secretly exit-ATTR thing-NOM okay-IND:INTERR <b>[] Such thing- whether leaving secretly is okay</b>
10	Exp:	<i>[&gt;aniyo aniyo&lt;</i> no-POL no-POL
11		<i>ku pangpep.i cham nappun pangpep cwung.ey</i> that measure-NOM very bad measure out:of
12		<i>ᄒhanapnita (h) ᄒ</i> one-FORM <b>[] No no,</b> <b>that measure is one of the very bad measures.</b>
09	Clr:	[그런 거는- [몰래 나오는게 괜찮 [은지
10	Exp:	[>아니요아니요<
11		그 방법이 참 나쁜 방법중에
12		ᄒ하합니다 hᄒ.

However, the response may depart from the agenda of the question often. As will be shown in the next section, the experts often defer the agenda of (dis)affirming the callers' measure and provide unsought information first. Thus, questions set agendas that the responses are, in principle, constrained to address and the departure from which is held accountable.

**3.2.1.2 Presupposition**

All the question carries presupposition in a varied degree. The presupposition can be on the surface or can be deeply embedded in the question. The response can accept or resist it: when the answerer responds with a type conforming answer, s/he accepts the presupposition in the question. In the following excerpt, the expert's question includes one presupposition in the subordinate clause.

**(2) 43-7-27-1-10yoSonNotShareMom**

- 01 Exp: *yeyka yuchiwen taniko kulel ttayto (0.5)*  
 this:kid-NOM kindergarten go-CONN do:so-ATTR time-also
- 02 *yolehkey malul cal anhako kulayssesseyo?*  
 like:this talk-ACC well not:do-CONN do:so-PST-PST-POL  
**Has this kid refrained to talk like this  
 when he was going to kindergarten or something?**
- 03 Clr: =°ani° *wenlay sengkyekun hwalpalhako:\_*  
 no originally character-TOP lively-CONN  
**No (his) character is originally lively and**
- 04 Exp: =yey.  
 yes  
 =Yes.
- 05 (0.3)
- 06 Clr: *e: (0.4) myenglangghan pyenieyyo:,*  
 cheerful-ATTR side-POL  
**and on the cheerful side.**
- 07 Exp: *yey.*  
 yes  
**Yes.**
- 01 Exp: 애가 유치원 다니고 그럴 때도 (0.5)  
 02 요렇게 말을 잘 안하고 그랬었어요?
- 03 Clr: =°아니° 원래 성격은 활발하고:\_
- 04 Exp: =예.  
 05 (0.3)
- 06 Clr: 어: (0.4) 명랑한 편이에요:,
- 07 Exp: [예.

Before the excerpt, the caller says her thirteen-year-old son is diagnosed with depression and she wants to know how to help him. When the expert asks a history-taking question in line 1-2, she

presupposes the child attended a kindergarten, which is an optional and mostly a private educational institution for Korean. The caller provides a 'no' token and accept the presupposition as it is while she disagrees with the proposition itself. To reject the presupposition, the answerer needs to depart from the question's constraints and may have to address the terms and agenda of the question first.

### **3.2.1.3 Preference**

The traditional concept of preference organization concerns alternative responses that are both conditionally relevant but not equally valued (Pomerantz 1984, Sacks 1987). Questions are designed to favor a specific type of answer, and yes-no questions prefer affirmation/confirmation over disaffirmation/disconfirmation. Yes-no questions also have the preference of the interjection, either 'yes' or 'no,' according to the polarity of the question (Heritage 2010). For example, the expert's 'no' response in Excerpt 1 above then forms a dispreferred response in terms of the action and the polarity since the question is designed to prefer affirmation with 'yes' polarity. It is not common that a dispreferred response come in without delay, hedge or mitigation. It may be the case that the caller's idea is so obviously flawed that the expert wants to underscore it. Thus, when callers employ yes-no questions in Korean, they look for affirmation with 'yes.' It functions as one of the main constraints on the yes-no question. Disconfirmation forms a dispreferred response and may have its characteristic items, such as delay, hedge, account, mitigation, elaboration, etc. (Schegloff 2007).

### **3.2.1.4 Epistemic gradient**

When asking a question, the questioner communicates that s/he is unknowing about the state of affairs in the question and the answerer has primary epistemic right to know the target information. While this asymmetrical knowledge level is assumed in all questions, the different question design can deliver different degree of epistemic tilt between a questioner and an answerer and allows the questioner to index a different epistemic stance to the target information. The following three questions deliver different epistemic gradients.

Q1 Interrogative yes-no question: Do you live in Westwood?

Q2 Statement + interrogative tag: You live in Westwood, don't you?

Q3 Declarative yes-no question: You live in Westwood.

While all three questions claim the questioner's unknowing [K-] status vis-à-vis the answerer's knowing [K+] status, the first interrogative yes-no question displays the questioner has no knowledge about the answerer's residence. The second question rather displays that the questioner has more access to the target information from a certain basis and indexes more knowing stance of the questioner and yields a flatter epistemic gradient than an interrogative yes-no question. The declarative yes-no question suggests the questioner's strong belief about the answerer's residence and seeks confirmation only, thus rendering the epistemic gradient even flatter. With a declarative yes-no question, the questioner communicates the stance of a more knowing questioner. The different epistemic gradients between a questioner and an answerer is shown in Figure 1.



[**]**And (we) stay together as much as possible?

12 Exp: [acik-  
yes  
[**]** Yet-

13 >> **yey.** waynyamyen [acik aki.ka eli.ketun.yo.  
yes because yet kid-NOM young-INFO-POL  
**Yes. Because the kid is still young, you know.**

However, she provides an account for her confirmation and uses her response as a chance to re-emphasize why it is important to practice her advice. Thus, the choice of question type communicates the questioner's epistemic stance and constrains the response to take either an elaborate response or a simple confirmation.

### 3.2.1.5 Type conformity in yes-no questions

Raymond (2003) discusses another layer of constraint English yes/no questions place on the response. The answers that conform to the yes-no question type by including 'yes' or 'no' in the answers are type-conforming answers and those that missing the token are nonconforming answers. He demonstrates that type-conforming answers are systematically preferred and nonconforming answers are produced 'for cause,' that is, nonconforming answers treat the question's terms or its action as problematic. For example, nonconforming answers, as repetitional answers, are involved in showing the respondents' agency or authority over the proposition in the question (Heritage and Raymond 2012, Enfield et al. 2019). Or, as transformative answers, they can take issue with the presuppositions of the question and help the respondents change the terms and agenda of the question then answer the transformed question.



Thus, each dimension of a question can constrain the respondents to a certain extent to construct their response within the terms and agenda of the question. The respondents may accept or resist them with its design.

### **3.2.2 Forms of responses**

Arraying the responses in a continuum in terms of their conformity to the constraints placed by a question, Stivers and Hayashi (2010) explain how the respondents may accept or resist the terms and agenda of the question with different types of responses. The types of responses can range from type-conforming responses with a yes-no token to repetitional answers and transformative responses. Type-conforming responses show the respondents accept the terms and agenda of the question. Even if the responses are a disaffirmation, they still acquiesce in them (Raymond 2003).

However, nonconforming responses are employed to do more than (dis)affirmation. The repetitional responses convey that the respondents claim agency and ownership over the proposition questioned (Heritage and Raymond 2018). When the repetition is used as an answer, it only becomes an answer because of its sequential position. By employing a repetition, the answerers respond to the question and independently assert the proposition at the same time. By doing so, they claim sequential and thematic agency (Enfield et al. 2019). Nonetheless, the repetitional answers still address the agenda of the question.

Transformative responses, on the other hand, embody more resistance to the question's terms and agenda as the respondents imply the question has a certain problem with the terms and/or the agenda and change them in their response (Stivers and Hayashi 2010, see also Stivers

2019). The answerer may problematize the terms of the question and change them in their response with more specified terms or replacement of them. If both the terms and agenda are not acceptable, the answerers would address the focus, the bias, or the presupposition of the question and transform them in their response. With transformative responses, the answerer can reject and escape the question's constraint.

As mentioned earlier, this chapter investigate four kinds of yes-no question, that is, opening questions as well as subsequent questions about the future outcome and subsequent questions about the callers' inference and those about callers' understanding. Most of them are formed as a nonconforming response, while the detailed designs are all different according to the question's location and the agenda.

### **3.3 The opening yes-no question and its response design**

When a yes-no question is asked as the opening question of the call, it usually asks for a judgment on the appropriateness of the caller's current measure, or the normality of the child's behavior. In most of these cases, the callers' strategies are not working or the child's behavior is not in a normal range, and the experts have to tell them that. Since the questions are designed to seek an agreement, the experts are now facing the challenge to provide a disaffirmation, a dispreferred response, to the opening question. It has been well reported that a dispreferred response involves delays, hedges, mitigations, and accounts (Pomerantz 1984, Schegloff 2007, Stivers, et al. 2009). In the radio counseling setting, the experts take the strategy of deferring the disconfirmation after some preface on which the response can be grounded. This practice is not uncommon as it is used in other institutional settings. Clayman (2001) shows the interviewees in

a news interview often answer a question with taking a roundabout trajectory. The beginning of the interviewees' answers may not be interpreted to be addressing the question, but the entire turn for which this seemingly irrelevant preface provides some background for the actual answer does accomplish responding to the question as a whole.

Likewise, even though the callers' question constrains the action in the response to be a (dis)confirmation, the experts rarely provide that right away in their response. Instead, they usually begin the response with a variety of preface to which the disconfirmation can be tied. The preface usually consists of the general information related to the problem and/or the interpretation/diagnosis of the current issue. Thus, the experts very often defer a dispreferred response and first provide some preface with background information related to the question to have the response grounded on the preface, which end up formulating a transformative answer.

In the following excerpt, the caller asks whether her measure of asking her first child to yield the toys to the younger sibling is valid when the children fight over the same toy. The expert first lists possible reasons of the trouble between the caller's children, then answers the question with a disconfirmation.

**(4) 5-2006-4-17-5-Firstchildstressed**

- 01 Clr: 'kka: ay.ka suthuleysu pataha(h)nun ke kathayse,  
so kid-NOM stress get-ATTR thing seem-so  
**I mean, the kid seems to get stressed, so**
- 02 Host: =ney.  
Yes  
**Yes.**
- 03 > Clr: **i pangpep.i mac.nun[ci:**  
this measure-NOM correct-IND:INTERR  
**Whether this measure is correct**
- ((10 lines omitted: the host says it is a common scene  
in many households and the expert agrees))
- 14 Exp: ku ai.ka ilehkey tathwu.ko ilel ttay.nun:,

DM kid-NOM like:this fight-CONN such time-TOP  
15 way *ile.nka*.  
why be:so-SELF:INTERR  
16 *ai.uy mwuncey::i.l swu.man.un eps.ketun.yo, =kulayse*  
kid-of problem can-only-TOP not:exist-INFO-POL so  
17 *cwupyen.hwankyeng.i ette.nka.lul*  
surrounding-environment-NOM how-INTERR-ACC  
18 *po.sy.eya tway.yo.=[hayse .sss*  
see-SH-NECESS-POL so  
**When the kid fights like this, why is it so?**  
**It cannot be the problem of the kid only, you know.**  
**So (you) have to see what the surroundings are like.**

19 Host: *[ney*  
*yes*  
**[]Yes**

20 Exp: *ai.tul.uy kongkyekcekin hayngtong.i incey*  
kid-PL-of aggressive behavior-NOM now  
21 *ceyil mence copun kongkan.eyse nao.nta*  
first early narrow space-from come-DEC  
22 *ilehkey yaykiha.ketun.yo?*  
like:this talk-INFO-POL  
**It is said that the kids' aggressive behaviors**  
**first come from the cramped space.**

23 Clr: *=[a.*  
*oh*  
**=[]Oh.**

24 Exp: *=[kun' cikum.kathun kyengwu.ey.nun .h*  
so now-like case-at-TOP  
25 *noliskam.i::,*  
toy-NOM  
**=[]That is, in the case like this, that the toys**

26 Clr: *yey.*  
*yes*  
**Yes.**

27 Exp: *chwungpwun.chi anh.ta:nun ke.eyse.to incey iyu.lul*  
enough-not-DEC-ATTR thing-from-too now reason-ACC  
28 *po.l swuka iss.eyo: ku cangnankam.i swucwun.i,*  
see-can-POL that toy-NOM level-NOM  
29 *yeses.sal.ccali.hako mwullon sa-*  
six-year-old-with of:course  
30 *isip sam.kaywel.ccalihako 'khey mac.ci.nun*  
twenty three-month-old-with like:this match-NML-TOP  
31 *anh.ul ke.yeyyo ku noliskam.i=kuntey iltan.un,*  
not-ATTR thing-POL that toy-NOM but first-TOP  
**are not enough can be considered as a reason.**  
**The level of the toys, of course, would not match**  
**between the six-year-old and the 23-month-old.**  
**But, first of all,**

32 Exp: *=kakkak.ey mackey no.l noliskam.i*  
each-to match-RESUL play-ATTR toy-NOM

33                   cek.ul swuto iss.ko.yo,  
few-can-CONN-POL

34                   caki.hantey mac.nun      noliskam swu.ka:.,  
self-to      match-ATTR toy      number-NOM

35                   cek.esē kule.l swu.to iss.ko,  
few-CAUS do:so-can-too-CONN  
**It is possible that there are few toys that  
each can play with and,  
It may be because the number of toys that are fitting  
to each is few and,**

36    Clr:           ney.  
                  yes  
                  **Yes.**

                  ((7 lines omitted: the expert says the kids may just  
                  want to possess toys for their own))

44    Exp:           ['cey kulen myen.i      iss.ul      thentey  
                  now such aspect-NOM exist-ATTR PRESUM-CIRCUM

45                   kulel ttay.ey eme[ni.ka,  
                  such time-at mother-NOM  
**So there may exist such aspects. At that time,**

46    Clr:                                   [ney.  
  yes  
  [**Yes.**

47 > Exp:           . hhhh mwucoken           yangpohay.la ha.nun ke.nun,  
                  unconditionally concede-IMPER say-ATTR thing-TOP  
**That you(=mother) say "Yield (it)" no matter what**

48    Clr:           yey:.  
                  yes  
                  **Yes:.**

49 > Exp:           =a:. ai.hanthey cham himtun yokwu.yeyyo>  
                  oh kid-to      very hard      request-POL  
**=Oh (it is) a very hard request to a kid.**

50 > Exp:           =[kulko emma.to himtul.ta.  
                  and mom-too hard-DEC  
**=[]And "It is difficult to me (mom), too."**

51    Clr:           =[ney:  
                  yes  
                  **=[]Yes:**

52 > Exp:           kuntēy ni.ka      kamtangha.yla \$ike(h)nun,\$  
                  but you-NOM handle-IMPER this-TOP

53 >               .h, ai.hanthey te      mwukew.un cim.il swu iss.ketun.yo?  
                  kid-to      more heavy      burden-can-INFO-POL  
**"But you handle (it)." \$This,\$ it can be a much  
heavier burden to a kid, you know.**

54    Clr:           =yey[:  
                  yes

=[]Yes:

- 55 Host: [ney[:,  
yes  
[]Yes: ,
- 56 Exp: [iltan ai.ka tathwu.l ttay.nun,  
first kid-NOM fight-ATTR time-TOP  
57 ku sanghwang.ul iltan patacwu.sey.yo.  
that situation-ACC first accept-SH-IMPER:POL  
**First of all, when the kids fight, accept the state first.**
- 58 Exp: awu:i:- selo ilehkey,  
Aww each:other like:this  
59 cikum tathwu.ko iss.nun sanghwang.eyse  
now fight-PROGRS-ATTR situation-at  
60 selo.uy maum sangthay.ka ettenci.lul  
each:other-of heart state-NOM how-IND:INTERR-ACC  
61 iltan.un, patacwu.si.nun ke.y: ,  
first-TOP accept-SH-ATTR thing-NOM  
62 kulen ke.y philyo:(.)ha.l ke kath.kwu.yo,  
such thing-NOM needed-ATTR thing seem-CONN-POL  
**"Aww-" in the situation where both are fighting,  
it seems that it is necessary (you) accept  
what each other's emotional state is like**
- 63 Clr: yey.  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 01 Clr: '까: 애가 스트레스 받아하(h)는 거 같아서,  
02 Host: =네.  
03 Clr: 이 방법이 맞는[지:  
(10 lines omitted: the host says it is a common scene  
in many households and the expert agrees))  
14 Exp: 그 아이가 이렇게 다투고 이럴 때는:,  
15 왜 이런가.  
16 아이의 문제.: 일 수만은 없거든요,=그래서  
17 주변환경이 어떤가를  
18 보셔야돼요.=[해서.sss  
19 Host: [네  
20 Exp: 아이들의 공격적인 행동이 인제  
21 제일먼저 좁은 공간에서 나온다  
22 이렇게 얘기하거든요?  
23 Clr: =[아.  
24 Exp: =[근' 지금같은 경우에는.h  
25 놀릿감이:.,  
26 Clr: 예.

27 Exp: 충분치 않다:는 거에서도 인제 이유를  
28 볼 수가 있어요: 그 장난감이 수준이,  
29 여섯살 짜리하고 물론 사-  
30 이십삼개월 짜리하고 `케 맞지는  
31 않을 거예요 그 놀잇감이=근데 일단은,  
32 Exp: =각각에 맞게 놀 놀잇감이  
33 적을 수도 있고요,  
34 자기한테 맞는 놀잇감 수가:.,  
35 적어서 그럴 수도 있고,  
36 Clr: 네.  
((7 lines omitted: the expert says the kids may just  
want to possess toys for their own))  
44 Exp: [‘제 그런 면이 있을 텐데  
45 그럴 때에 어머[니가,  
46 Clr: [네.  
47 Exp: .hhhh 무조건 양보해라 하는 거는,  
48 Clr: 예:.  
49 Exp: =아:.. 아이한테 참 힘든 요구예요>  
50 Exp: =[글고 엄마도 힘들다.  
51 Clr: =[네:  
52 Exp: 근데 니가 감당해라 \$이거(h)는,\$  
53 .h, 아이한테 더 무거운 짐일 수 있거든요?  
54 Clr: =예[:  
55 Host: [네[:,  
56 Exp: [일단 아이가 다룰 때는,  
57 그 상황을 일단 받아주세요.  
58 Exp: 아우:e:- 서로 이렇게,  
59 지금 다투고 있는 상황에서  
60 서로의 마음 상태가 어떤지를  
61 일단은, 받아주시는 게:,  
62 그런 게 필요:(.)할 거 같구요,  
63 Clr: 예.

As soon as the question is delivered in line 1 and 3, the expert first discusses the issue of the circumstances in lines 14-43 before addressing the caller’s measure of asking the first child to yield toys to her younger sibling. She first points out that the small space, the number and the

level of toys could cause the aggressiveness of the children. In line 44, the expert concludes the background evaluation and moves to responding the question asked—if it is okay to tell the first child to yield. Using the quote from the caller, in lines 47 and lines 50-53, the expert re-invokes the caller's current measure. She does not directly address the caller's question 'if this measure is okay' but defines the caller's measure to the first child as 'a hard request' and 'a much heavier burden.'

This response is accepted by the caller with a receipt token in line 51 and 54. Upon the receipt token, the expert moves on to the solution on how to handle the conflict step by step, starting with the first thing to do in lines 56-62. The caller again acknowledges the solution with a receipt token in line 63. Thus, the expert starts answering the question with some background work, such as providing relevant interpretation of the caller's problem. When it comes to responding to the question itself, the expert does not simply conform to the constraints, such as providing affirmation with a 'yes' token. She rather labels the caller's measure in her own terms. Moreover, she provides solutions that the question did not ask for. However, the caller does not find it problematic but simply acknowledges it. Although the callers employ such 'unmarked acknowledgments' that simply register the prior talk as a locutionary act in comparison to the 'marked acknowledgments' (e.g., Oh, Okay, etc.) that acknowledge the content of the advice as advice (Heritage and Sefi 1992), they still receipt the advice and does not raise an issue regarding the design of the response.

Sometimes the response to an opening question may not come even in an indirect and deferred manner. The expert may provide interpretation of the problem and jump to present a solution. However, no participant shows orientation to the missing (dis)confirmation but they consider such background information and a solution as a proper response. In the following



excerpt, the caller asks whether it is good to comfort his son by giving him a piggyback at all times. The question places the constraints on the response to provide a confirmation with the ‘yes’ token. However, the expert does not conform to any of them.

**(5) 53-8-14-5-6yoNieceSpittingOut**

01 Clr: *twupenccay.nun*, *ku cehuy ai.intey*  
 second-TOP DM our:HUM kid-CIRCUM  
 02 *chil.kaywel toy.n nama.ketun.yo?*  
 seven-month become-ATTR boy-INFO-POL  
**Secondly, it’s (about) my kid,**  
**(He) is a seven-month-old boy, you know.**

03 Host: *=ney:*,  
 yes  
**Yes.**

04 Clr: *'cey kuntey mwucoken wulwul.ko='cey*  
 DM but unconditionally cry-CONN DM  
 05 *cikum kule.l: ttay.ciman:*  
 now do:so-ATTR time-but  
 06 *mwucoken wul.myen epecwu.ketun(h)yo?*  
 unconditionally cry-if give:piggyback-INFO-POL  
**Given that, he cries no matter what and,**  
**although it is a period to behave so,**  
**but if he cries no matter what,**  
**(someone) gives a piggyback, you know.**

07 Host: *ney.*  
 yes  
**Yes.**

08 Clr: *yey 'kka epecwu.mun.un ta kwayncanhacy.eyo.*  
 yes so piggyback-COND-TOP all become:alright-POL  
 09 > *>kuntey 'cey< mwucoken epecwu.nun ke.y*  
 but DM unconditionally piggyback-ATTR thing-NOM  
 10 > *coh.unci.*  
 good-IND:INTERR  
**Yes, once giving a piggyback, all becomes alright.**  
**But whether it is good to give a piggyback**  
**No matter what.**

11 Host: *ney[:,*  
 yes  
**Yes[:,**

12 Clr: *[twukaci yecwepokeysssupnita.*  
 two-CL ask:HON try-will-FORM  
**[(I) would ask two (questions).**

((3 lines omitted: receipt tokens from the expert

and the host))

- 16 Exp: [hh chespenccay incey, poni.nuy, atul:]  
first DM onesself-of son
- 17 yey incey, .h chil.kaywel toy.n namcaay.tul  
yes DM seven-month become-ATTR boy-PL
- 18 i.ttay.nun wulum.i uysasothong.ieyyo,  
this-time-TOP crying-NOM communication-POL  
[] .hh First, about your son,  
Yes, for seven-month-old boys,  
Crying is a way of communication around this age.
- 19 Host: ney.  
yes  
Yes.
- 20 Exp: wul.[myense na chwukchwukha.ketun, paykophu.ketun,  
cry-SIMUL I wet-INFO hungry-INFO  
[] While crying, "I am wet," "I am hungry,"
- 21 Clr: [ney.  
yes  
[]Yes.
- 22 Exp: na.l com anacw.e ilen ttus.ieyyo,  
I-ACC little hold-INTIM such meaning-POL  
"Hold me please," it means such.
- 23 Clr: =[yey:]  
yes  
=[]Yes:]
- 24 Exp: =[kuse wul.ul ttay.nun, ilehkey ap-  
so cry-ATTR time-TOP like:this
- 25 anacwu.ko epecw.ese ku wulum.ul kkuchi.nun ke.n  
hold-CONN piggyback-CONN that cry-ACC stop-ATTR thing-TOP
- 26 uysasothong.ul cal ha.nta.ko po.sy.eya toy.yo.  
communication-ACC well do-DEC-CONN consider-SH-NECESS-POL  
=[] So, when he cries, like-  
that he stops crying by being held and getting  
a piggyback should be considered that  
he communicates (his will) effectively.
- 27 Clr: yey.  
yes  
Yes.
- 28 Exp: kuntey nul epecwu.ki>eyman'nika<  
but always piggyback-NML-only-because
- 29 emenim.i heli.ka aphuta.kutenci mwe, .h  
mother-HON-NOM back-NOM hurt-LIST DM
- 30 halmenim.i mwe, ikhey himi tu.l kyengwul.nun  
grandma-HON-NOM DM like:this hard-ATTR case-TOP
- 31 >iki< epecwu.nun hayngtong.ul mos ha.canha.yo,  
this piggyback-ATTR behavior-ACC cannot do-you:know-POL  
But because (she) gives a piggyback all the time,  
in case the mother has back pain or

the grandmother feels tired, then (she) cannot  
do the action of giving a piggyback, you know,

32 Clr: yeyyey.  
yes yes  
Yes yes.

33 Exp: =kulel-kulel kyengwu.nun talun hayngtong.ulo  
such case-TOP other behavior-by  
34 i 'sanghocakyong hayse:, ttus.ul patacwu.mun tway.yo.  
DM interaction do-CONN will-ACC accept-COND alright-POL  
35 =nul epecwu.l swu eps.umyen, anacwu.nta.tunci, .h  
always piggyback-cannot-COND hold-DEC-LIST  
36 anim [mwe son.ul mancyecwu.nta.tunci,  
if:not DM hand-ACC touch-DEC-LIST  
**In such a case, it will do if (you) accept (his) will by  
interacting with other actions. If (you) cannot piggyback  
all the time, then either hold (him), or rub (his) hands,**

37 Clr: [°ney,°  
yes  
[ ]°Yes,°

38 Exp: ilehkey kyay.ka, chwungcokhay ha.nun  
like:this that:kid-NOM satisfied-ATTR  
39 etten talun kel.lo hayse:,  
some different thing-by do-CONN  
40 iltan, wul.umyense pwulphyenhan ke.ey tayhan  
first:of:all cry-SIMUL uncomfortable thing-about  
41 sanghocakyong.un pantusi ha.sy.eya tway.yo.  
interaction-TOP necessarily do-SH-NECESS-POL  
**Like this, with something that the kid gets satisfied with,  
first of all, you must interact (with him) regarding the  
discomfort accompanied with crying.**

42 Clr: yey[yey.  
yes yes  
[ ]Yes yes.

43 Exp: ['se nul epecwu.l swu eps.tamyen,  
so always piggyback-cannot-COND  
44 icey yoke.nun talun kel.lo taychi.lul haycwu.si.ko:ç  
now this-TOP other thing-by replace-ACC do-give-SH-CONN  
**So, if (you) cannot give a piggyback all the time,  
Now replace it with something else please and**

45 Exp: ay.lato ilkop- chil.kaywel.imun, .h  
kid-even:if seven seven-month-COND  
46 emma.ka heli apha.se mos ep.ketengç =>kulem wuli,<  
mom-NOM waist hurt-CASU cannot piggyback-INFO then we  
47 .h e=kathi ilihkey a=an.ko mwe.l ha.ca ha.nun  
together like:this hold-CONN something-ACC do-PROP do-ATTR  
48 =ku talun taychi.lo hay.se kyay wulum.ey cikum  
DM other replacement-by do-CONN that:kid crying-to now  
49 sanghocakyongha.yस्ता.nun ke.man sinho.lul  
interact-PST-DEC-ATTR thing-only signal-ACC

50                    *ka.key ha.si.mun toy.l ke kathayyo,*  
go-RESUL do-SH-COND alright-ATTR thing seem-POL  
**Even if he is a baby, if he is seven months old, then (say)**  
**"Mommy cannot piggyback you because of back pain, you know.**  
**So let us hug like this and do something." In such ways,**  
**I think it will be enough that (you) send a signal that the**  
**response was made to the crying with a replaced action.**

51    Clr:            [*yeyyey,*  
                      *yes yes*  
                      **Yes yes.**

01    Clr:            두번째는, 그 저희 아이인데  
02                    칠개월된 남아거든요?  
03    Host:           =네:,  
04    Clr:            '제 근데 무조건 울을고='제  
05                    지금 그럴: 때지만:  
06                    무조건 울면 업어주거든(h)요?  
07    Host:           네.  
08    Clr:            예 '까 업어주면은 다 괜찮아져요.  
09                    >근데 '제< 무조건 업어주는 게  
10                    좋은지.  
11    Host:           네[:,  
12    Clr:            [두가지 여쭙보겠습니다.  
                      ((3 lines omitted: receipt tokens from the expert  
                      and the host))  
16    Exp:            [.hh 첫번째 인제, 본인의, 아들:¿  
17                    예 인제, .h 칠개월된 남자애들  
18                    이때는 울음이 의사소통이에요,  
19    Host:           네.  
20    Exp:            울[면서 나 축축하거든, 배고프거든,  
21    Clr:            [네.  
22                    날 좀 안아줘 이런 뜻이에요,  
23    Clr:            =[예¿  
24    Exp:            =[그서 울을 때는, 이렇게 업-  
25                    안아주고 업어줘서 그 울음을 끄치는 건  
26                    의사소통을 잘한다고 보셔야 돼요.  
27    Clr:            예.  
28    Exp:            근데 늘 업어주기>에만' 니가<  
29                    어머니가 허리가 아프다그던지 뭐, .h  
30                    할머니가 뭐, 이케 힘이 들 경우는  
31                    >이기< 업어주는 행동을 못하잖아요,

32 Clr: 예예.  
33 Exp: =그럴-그럴 경우는 다른 행동으로  
34 이 상호작용 해서:, 뜻을 받아주면 돼요  
35 =늘 업어줄수 없으면, 안아준다든지, .h  
36 아님 [뭘 손을 만져준다든지,  
37 Clr: [°네,°  
38 Exp: 이렇게 개가, 충족해 하는  
39 어떤 다른 걸로 해서:,  
40 일단, 울으면서 불편한 거에 대한  
41 상호작용은 반드시 하셔야 돼요.  
42 Clr: 예[예.  
43 Exp: [서 늘 업어줄 수 없다면,  
44 이제 요거는 다른 걸로 대처를 해주시고:¿  
45 Exp: 애라도 일곱-칠개월이든, .h  
46 엄마가 허리 아파서 못 업거덩¿=>그럼 우리,<  
47 .h e=같이 이렇게 아=안고 뭘 하자 하는으  
48 =그 다른 대처로 해서 개 울음에 지금  
49 상호작용했다는 거만 신호를가 가게 하시든  
50 될 거 같애요,  
51 Clr: [예예,

The caller asks the question in lines 9-10, whether the current measure of giving his son a piggyback to comfort him is good or not. His question seeks confirmation of the validity of the current measure. Even though the caller displays his negative stance toward the son's crying pattern, using *mwucoken* 'no matter what' twice during presenting the problem, he does not directly problematize crying itself but raises the current solution as the main issue. The expert, however, does not address this topic first. She rather goes back to the source of problem, crying, and provides an interpretation of the state of affairs in lines 16-22. Then she assures the caller it is good that the baby can communicate through crying in lines 24-26. It is on this basis that she resumes the main discussion and jumps to the solution rather than provides a (dis)confirmation. In line 28, the expert re-invokes the callers measure of 'giving a piggyback all the time' and

orients to its difficulty. Since the caller already displayed a negative stance to the current measure for its excessiveness with *mwucoken* ‘no matter what,’ the expert addresses it in the solution and advises to replace the piggyback with something else in lines 28-50. By doing so, the expert transforms the question to how to accommodate the child’s need and the comfort of the caregiver and respond to it. Even though the caller designs the question as a confirmation-seeking one, the expert treats it as a solution-seeking question. Nonetheless, the caller accepts the response as proper one as he provides a receipt token in line 51. By acknowledging the response, the caller implicitly admits the original question is rather about finding a better solution than about getting the confirmation of the validity of the measure.

S. Lee (2011) shows a very similar pattern in a different institutional setting. She examines various ways in which customers of an airline service provide unrequested information to the agents’ yes-no question for identifying the customers. It shows that by the nonconforming yet cooperative responses, the customers display their orientation to the higher-level purpose for which the question was asked and expedite accomplishment of the ongoing activity. Likewise, the experts in the counseling calls respond to the yes-no question with relevant background information as well as solutions as if they were asked to respond to a ‘how-to-fix-the-problem’ question. In that way, the experts address to a higher-level purpose of the interaction, that is, to solve the problem presented.

Thus, as S. Lee (2015) argues that the specific construction of a response shows how a question and its constraints has been understood and treated by the respondent, the experts’ response design reveals that they have understood the actual agenda of the callers’ opening yes-no questions as involving more than seeking a confirmation. Moreover, as they are about to give a dispreferred response, the disconfirmation is almost always deferred with the background

information to which it can be tied. The background work in the response—providing general information to support the diagnosis or the interpretation of the situation—as well as telling the solution even when it was not asked for are all found in the experts' response for the callers' opening question. Through these particular constructions, the experts achieve to address two issues in the response turn. Firstly, they can defer the dispreferred response by taking a roundabout route to provide the preface with background information related to the question and eventually have it support the departure from the terms of the question. Secondly, the experts show that they are aware the callers are in need of how to understand the problematic situation as well as how to solve it.

In fact, when the callers accept the experts' turn accompanied with more than a confirmation, they acknowledge that their yes-no question was asking more than it was designed for. Their acknowledgement proves that the opening questions not only ask for judgments on their current measures or the normality of the situation but also the diagnosis/interpretation and the solution, if available.

Such response construction shows this call-in counseling is an institutional interaction in which participants seek and provide a solution to a problem. The participants are not only oriented to the constraints placed by the question's design but also to the overall activity and the purpose of this interaction. The goal-oriented character is pervasive in this institutional interaction (Drew and Heritage 1992). Moreover, the fact that the experts' construction of the response for a yes-no question is not necessarily different from one for a wh-question and an alternative question shows that the callers and the experts are all aware that they are engaged in a solution-seeking interaction and the main activity involves how to solve the problem presented in spite of the grammatical constraints and epistemic relations embodied in the question. As shown

in Chapter 2, the callers try to enhance their epistemic status with a yes-no question, mentioning they have a certain measure at hand rather than have no idea about what to do, and yet they still seek a solution.

In sum, the experts mostly do not respond the opening yes-no question within its constraints. They rather focus on the ongoing activity of the question, that is, seeking a solution, and respond to it with providing a diagnosis/interpretation and a solution accompanied with elaborate prefaces of giving general information related to the problem. By acknowledging the experts' turn, the callers display their main concern in the yes-no question is seeking a solution rather than receiving a confirmation on their current measure.

### **3.4 The subsequent yes-no question about the future outcome and its response design**

Yes-no questions can appear not only at the beginning of the call but also after the experts' advice turn. The callers may ask another question subsequent to the advice addressed to the opening question in the problem presentation. In the first type of these subsequent questions, the callers ask if a certain outcome can be expected in the future once they follow the advice. These questions do not address the specifics of advice but focus on the effect of the advice as a whole. In such cases, the experts design the response to vindicate the effect of following the advice and in so doing may depart from the constraints of the question. They tend to confirm with a non-conforming response, ranging from a repetitional response to a transformative response. In fact, they tend to upgrade the level of commitment to the proposition of the question.



For example, when the callers ask about the possibility of a positive outcome in a yes-no question, the experts may confirm it with a repetitional response marked with a committal particle. The caller of the following excerpt has a 27-month-old daughter, who had experienced hospitalization from a car accident for several months when she was an infant. The daughter also had a caregiver transition a few times already. After having gone to a daycare, she developed a habit of being able to sleep only after hugging all her possession—toys, bags, shoes, books, etc. Before the excerpt begins, the expert diagnosed that the daughter has an issue of attachment and explained that such a habit is a solution the child had found to comfort herself. She advised the caller should spend more time with the daughter. At the beginning of the excerpt, the host also volunteers some advice and asks confirmation from the expert in lines 1-4. The expert confirms it and re-emphasizes the importance of the quality time in lines 5, 7, and 9. On the other hand, the caller takes the host's suggestion as a chance to introduce her effort to be more intimate with the daughter and says that she has already taken a measure of sleeping with the daughter in lines 8 and 10. Then the caller continues to ask if the daughter would grow out of the attachment issue in line 12.

**(6) 25-2006-6-19-5-27moAttachedtoHerStuff**

01 Host: *ku emma.ka kkok kkyeanacwu.kena ikhey*  
DM mom-NOM tightly give:hug-or like:this

02 *[pwupyecwu.kena ilen ke.n ette.lkka.yo*  
[ ]give:rubbing-or such thing-TOP how:about-POL  
**Uhm how about things like mom hugging (her) tight or**  
[ ]**rubbing (her) like this,**

03 Clr: *[yeyyey.*  
yes yes  
[ ]**Yes yes.**

04 Host: *sensayng[nim.*  
counselor-HON  
**Ms. counselor?**

05 Exp: *[a kuket.to [acwu cohun pangpep icyo.*

oh that-too very good way-COMM:POL  
[**]Oh that is also a very good way.**

- 06 Clr: [yey:.  
yes  
[**]Yes:.**
- 07 Exp: yey[: *kuntey incey cilcekin sanghocakyong.ul*  
yes but now qualitative-ATTR interaction-ACC  
**Yes:[] But now I wish you have**
- 08 Clr: [yey: *kulayse hangsang teyli.kwu ca.kwu.yo,*  
yes so always accompany-CONN sleep-CONN-POL  
[**]Yes: so (I) always sleep with her and**
- 09 Exp: *ccom te mahni ha.sy.ess.umyen hay.yo.*  
little more much do-SH-PERCT-COND do(wish)-POL  
**more of the quality interaction.**
- 10 Clr: yey=[*hangsang teyliko cako, ku:*  
yes always accompany-CONN sleep-CONN that  
**Yes [] (I) always sleep with her, and uhm:**
- 11 Exp: [yey.  
yes  
[**]Yes.**
- 12 > Clr: *ccom khu.myen.un cohaci.l swu iss.ulkka.yo?*  
little grow-COND-TOP improve-can-INTERR-POL  
**Can it improve if (she) grows little older?**
- 13  
(0.7)
- 14 >> Exp: *^ilehkey emma.ka towacwu.si.myen:,*  
like:this mom-NOM help-SH-COND
- 15 >> *coh[aci.cyo:,*  
improve-COMM:POL  
[**]It surely improves if you(=mom) help (her) like this.**
- 16 Clr: [yeyyey.  
yes yes  
[**]Yes.**
- 17 [yey:,  
yes  
[**]Yes: ,**
- 18 Exp: [yey.  
yes
- 19 =*ay.tul.i manhi pyenhwa.ka toy.ki ttaymwuney,.h*  
kid-PL-NOM much change-NOM become-because  
[**]Yes. Because kids change a lot,**
- 20 Clr: [[yeyyey.  
yes yes  
[[**] Yes.**

21 Exp: [[etten hwankyeng.ey cwueci.nya- ttalase  
which circumstances-at given-INTERR according:to  
22 ai.tul.un,.hh  
kid-PL-TOP  
[[[] According to what kind of environment is given  
(to them), for the kids,

23 Clr: [yey.  
yes  
[]Yes.

24 Exp: [emchengnakey pyenhwa.ka ppalu.pnita.  
enormously change-NOM fast-FORM  
[] (Their) change is enormously fast.

25 Clr: yey: kamsaha.pnita:,  
yes thank:you:FORM  
Yes: thank you,

01 Host: 그 엄마가 꼭 껴안아주거나 이케  
02 [부벼주거나 이런 건 어떨까요  
03 Clr: [예예.  
04 Host: 선생[님.  
05 Exp: [아 그것도 [아주 좋은 방법이죠.  
06 Clr: [예:.  
07 Exp: 예[: 근데 인제 질적인 상호작용을  
08 Clr: [예: 그래서 항상 데리구 자구요,  
09 Exp: 쯤 더 많이 하셨으면 해요.  
10 Clr: 예=[항상 데리고 자고, 그:  
11 Exp: [예.  
12 Clr: 쯤 크면은 좋아질 수 있을까요?  
13 (0.7)  
14 Exp: ^이렇게 엄마가 도와주시면:,  
15 좋[아지죠: ,  
16 Clr: [예예.  
17 [예: ,  
18 Exp: [예.  
19 =애들이 많이 변화가 되기 때문에, .h  
20 Clr: [예예.  
21 Exp: [어떤 환경에 주어지냐-따라서  
22 아이들은, .hh  
23 Clr: [예.  
24 Exp: [엄청나게 변화가 빠릅니다.  
25 Clr: 예[: 감사합니다: ,

In lines 14-15, the expert confirms the question with a repetitional response and adds a qualifying clause of ‘if you help her like this.’ While this conditional clause helps emphasize the caller’s role for the positive outcome, the repetitional response is employed to exert agency over the proposition that the daughter will get better and claim the expert’s epistemic right on the matter (Heritage and Raymond 2012). Moreover, the committal particle *-ci* at the end of the repetitional response denotes that the expert is committed to the positive outcome. Then the expert elaborates the basis of upgraded confirmation in lines 19-24. Thus, by responding with a repetition and a committal particle, the expert cranks up her epistemic right over the proposition from the question that the daughter’s attachment issue will improve and vindicate the effect of following the advice.

The experts may provide transformative responses to questions that ask about the anticipated result. These responses change the terms of the question in order to justify the effect of the advice given. The caller of the following example said her junior high son was quite depressed and had started taking a counseling session. The caller wanted to know how to help the son, but neither his counselor or the caller had specified the cause of the depression. With the expert’s questions about the potential cause of the depression, the focus of the problem had moved from how to help him to what the cause was, which ended up with no clear idea. At the beginning of the excerpt, the expert concludes her advice in lines 1-4, saying that finding the reason is the first thing to do. In line 14-21, the caller agrees with the expert, quoting the counselor who already sensed the son has some issues that he had not told yet. She continues to ask whether the son would confide things that he has not so far to the counselor in lines 23-27.

**(7) 47-7-27-5-JuniorHigh2SonDepressed**

01      Exp:            [*.hh ko.tam.ey            sangtam.sensayngnim.hako:*,

that-after-at counselor-HON-with  
[**Then with the counselor,**

02 Clr: *yey[:.*  
yes  
**Yes[:.**

03 Exp: *[cenghwakhi emma.ka yay sangthay.lul*  
accurately mom-NOM this:kid state-ACC  
04 *phaakha.si.nun cakep.ul ha.sy.eya tway.yo:,*  
identify-SH-ATTR work-ACC do-SH-should-POL  
**Mom needs to do the work of identifying the state of  
this kid accurately.**

05 Clr: *[yey.*  
yes  
**[]Yes.**

((8 lines omitted: The expert says the son's issue can be understood with the psychological test results but more counseling sessions are needed to increase the level of understanding of the caller.))

14 Clr: *kulem yay.ka cikum [ku sensayngnim.kkeyse.to,*  
then this:kid-NOM now that counselor-NOM:HON-too  
**Then, now this kid, even the counselor said that**

15 Exp: *[yey.*  
yes  
**[]Yes.**

16 Exp: *=yey.*  
yes  
**=Yes.**

17 Clr: *yay.ka mwenka.nun iss.nun ke kath.untey:,*  
this:kid-NOM something-TOP have-seem-CIRCUM  
**This kid seems to have something but**

18 Exp: *=yey.*  
yes  
**=Yes.**

19 Clr: *cal molla.yo epse.yo.lako.man yayki.lul hanta.ko:,*  
well not:know-POL not:have-POL-QT-only talk-ACC say-QT  
**He only says "I don't know well,"  
"I don't have any (issue/concern),"**

20 Exp: *=yey.*  
yes  
**=Yes.**

21 Clr: *=>kulehkey< malssum.ul ha.sy.ess.eyo[:,*  
like:that talk:HON-ACC say-SH-PST-POL  
**(The counselor) said so.**

22 Exp: *[yey.*

yes  
[ ]Yes.

23 > Clr: kulemyen incey sikan.i cina.myen  
then now time-NOM pass-COND

24 > sensayngnim.kkey.nun kulen: ilehkey, emma.hanthey-  
doctor:HON-to-TOP such like:this mom-to

25 > cip.ey [mosha.yss.te.n yayki.lul]  
home-to cannot-PST-RT-ATTR talk-ACC  
**Then, if time passes by, is it the case that  
(he) comes to tell stories  
that he didn't do to mom, (didn't do) at home,**

26 Exp: [yey.  
yes  
[ ]Yes.

27 > Clr: hakey toy.nun [ke.yeyyo,  
do-RESUL become-ATTR thing-POL  
**to the counselor?**

28 Exp: [.hhh  
[.hhh

29 >> ha.ya.cyo.  
do-NECESS-COMM:POL  
**(He) should.**

30 (.)

31 Clr: yey[:\_  
yes  
**Yes[:\_**

32 Exp: [kuke an toy.myen.un:,  
that not become-COND-TOP  
**[ ]If it doesn't get done,**

33 Host: [aha.  
aha  
**[aha.**

34 Exp: kuke an toy.myen an toy.canh.ayo  
that not become-COND not alright-you:know-POL

35 keke.y tway.ya toy.nun ke =kuke.l ha.llyekwu  
that-NOM become-NECESS-ATTR thing that-ACC do-INTENT

36 sangtampat.nun ke.ntey.  
counseling:receive-ATTR thing-CIRCUM  
**If it doesn't get done, it's not good, you know.  
It should be done=given that (he) gets counseling  
to get it done.**

37 Clr: ney[: kulem cip.eyse.nun  
yes then home-at-TOP  
**Yes. Then, at home**

01 Exp: [.hh 고담에 상담선생님하고:,

02 Clr: 예[:.

03 Exp: [정확히 엄마가 애 상태를  
04 파악하시는 작업을 하셔야 돼요:,  
05 Clr: [예.  
((8 lines omitted: The expert says the son's issue can be  
understood with the psychological test results but  
more counseling sessions are needed to increase the level  
of understanding of the caller.))  
14 Clr: 그럼 애가 지금 [그 선생님께서도,  
15 Exp: [예.  
16 Exp: =예.  
17 Clr: 애가 뭔가는 있는 거 같은데:,  
18 Exp: =예.  
19 Clr: 잘몰라요 없어요라고만 얘기를 한다고:,  
20 Exp: =[예.  
21 Clr: =[>그렇게< 말씀을 하셨어요 [:,  
22 Exp: [예.  
23 Clr: 그러면 이제 시간이 지나면  
24 선생님께는 그런: 이렇게, 엄마한테-  
25 집에 [못했던 얘기를  
26 Exp: [예.  
27 Clr: 하게 되는 [거예요,  
28 Exp: [.hhh  
29 해야죠.  
30 (.)  
31 Clr: 예[:\_  
32 Exp: [그거 안되면은:,  
33 Host: [아하.  
34 Exp: 그거 안되면 안되지않아요  
35 그게 돼야되는 거=그걸 할러구  
36 상담받는 건데.  
37 Clr: 네[: 그럼 집에서는

The caller's question at lines 23-5 is designed with 'is it the case he comes to tell...' that addresses the future possibility. Such design projects the counseling as something on the spectrum of its effectiveness, and there is a possibility it may not be effective. However, the expert's response in line 29 is composed of the deontic verb 'should' and replaces the question's

predicate of possibility with one of necessity. By replacing the predicate, the expert treats the effectiveness of the counseling seen as a matter of necessity rather than possibility. The following remarks in lines 32-36 emphasize that failing to help the counselee open up is not acceptable and the purpose of counseling is to have the counselee talk about their problem. The expert replaces the predicate and confirms the proposition with changed terms. In so doing, she vindicates the effect of her own advice as well as the counseling the caller's son is taking at the same time.

In sum, subsequent questions that inquire about the expected result in the future treat the effect of the advice as a matter of possibility. By employing a repetitional or a transformative response, the experts try to upgrade the epistemic right over the potential outcome and vindicate the effect of the advice.

### **3.5 The subsequent yes-no question regarding the understanding and its response design**

Other types of subsequent yes-no questions involve the callers' understanding of the specifics of the advice. As the subsequent questions come at a third position in terms of the sequential order—the caller's first question as the first position and the expert's advice response as the second position—these questions may display the caller's understanding of the advice just given. When the subsequent questions topicalize the callers' understanding of the advice, the gap between the advice and the understanding displayed in the question may prompt the experts' response to have a different degree of conformity to the constraints placed by the question. In other words, when the callers display that their understanding is congruent with the original advice, the experts may accept the terms and agenda of the question and design their response to



conform to the question's constraints. However, when the callers' understanding is not fully compatible with the advice, the experts' response gets more oblique.

In answering a subsequent question, the experts' responses range over type-conforming to repetitional and transformative types. Even though there is variation, the experts tend to provide a less oblique response to the questions that pose a shallow understanding gap whereas they are prone to respond in a transformative way toward questions displaying incompatible understandings. This section will examine and how the experts design their response so that they can accept or resist the terms and agenda of the question. First, it will investigate how the callers' inference derived from understanding of the advice in a certain way meets the experts' rejection in various response forms. Then it will show how the callers design the question to show their understanding is corresponding to the advice and the experts accept its terms and agenda.

### **3.5.1 Responses to subsequent questions with an understanding gap**

In the subsequent position to the advice, the callers may pick up part of the advice just given and raise issues about implementing it. In so doing, they display they have interpreted the advice in a certain way. In other words, the callers imply a certain aspect of the advice may not be effective or fitted to the caller's situation. This kind of questions presents a gap between the advice and the understanding of it, and the callers' understanding is often included in the questions as an inference. Very often the callers' inference derived from the advice can be different from what the experts originally meant. For the wrong inferences, the experts cannot provide a type-conforming response as it will have them accept the terms and agenda as presented. When the experts find an inference in the question incompatible with the advice, they

may need to resist it and vindicate their original idea presented in the advice turn. Thus, when the experts notice that the question displays a gap between their advice and the caller's understanding of the advice, they tend to transform the terms or the agenda of the question and respond to the changed question (Stivers and Hayashi 2010).

Even if the callers' understanding involves some difference from the experts' advice regarding how to implement it, the inference could be acceptable. Then the response can be type-conforming. The caller in the following excerpt has an 18-month-old son, who hits other kids and does not pay attention to the lessons in classes in a community center. Before the excerpt, the expert pointed out that he is too young to join in a group activity and the caller needs to take action to block him when he goes around hitting other kids. At the beginning of the excerpt, the caller tries to apply the advice to another situation: since 18-month-olds are not ready for a group activity, is it the case that he should not go to a small gathering of friends, either?

**(8) 7-4-24-2-18moSonbotheringotherkids**

- 01 Host: *cal* [*>tul.usy.ess.eyo* =*meni?<*  
well listen-SH-PST-POL:INTERR mother  
**Did you listen well, mother?**
- 02 Clr: [*ai kulikwu* [*yo:*  
oh and  
**[]Oh and**
- 03 Host: = [*neyney.*  
yes yes  
**= []Yes.**
- 04 Clr: *ku incey tongney.eyse chinkwu.tul kakkum moi.l ttay,*  
DM now village-at friend-PL sometimes gather time  
05 =*yo ttolay.ay.tul tases.myeng.i cip.eyse manna.se*  
this peer-kid-PL five-CL-NOM home-at meet-CONN  
06 '*lehkey no.l ttay.ka iss* [*eyo:*  
like:this play-ATTR time-NOM exist-POL  
**When the friends from the neighborhood sometimes come  
together, [] there are occasions when five of his peers  
meet at home and play.**
- 07 Exp: [*yeyyey.yey.*

yes yes yes  
[**]Yes.**

- 08 (0.4)
- 09 Clr: *yey ko ttay.to i-kolen >hayngtong.ul poi.nuntey<*  
yes that time-too such behavior-ACC show-CIRCUM  
10 *kulemyen.un*  
then-TOP  
**Yes. He shows such behaviors in the occasion too, then**
- 11 Exp: =<sup>^</sup>yeyyey,  
yes yes  
=<sup>^</sup>Yes,
- 12 > Clr: =*ku: ku ttay.to manna.ci mal.aya toy.nun [ke.yeyyo?*  
DM that time-too meet-NEG:IMPER-NECESS-ATTR thing-POL  
**Uhm is it the case that**  
**(we) should not meet (them) then either?**
- 13 >> Exp: [*>ani.yo ani.yo<*  
no:POL no:POL  
[**] >No no<**
- 14 Exp: *kulen: 'key sociptan.un manna.si.nun ke.nun*  
such like:that small:group-TOP meet-SH-TOP thing-TOP  
15 *kwaynchanh.untey.yo:,.hh*  
alright-CIRCUM-POL  
**Such, it is alright to meet in such a small group, but**
- 16 Clr: =*[ney*  
yes  
=**[]Yes.**
- 17 Exp: =*[ku.ttay ai.tul.i ilen hayngtong.ul ha.nun ke.y*  
that-time kid-PL-NOM this behavior-ACC do-ATTR thing-NOM  
18 *thukhi picengsangcekin hayngtong.un*  
particularly abnormal-ATTR behavior-TOP  
19 *ani.ta.la.nun ke.wa:,.hh*  
not-DEC-QT-ATTR thing-and  
**At that time, that the kids do such action is**  
**not a particularly abnormal action, and**
- 20 Clr: =*[a[: yey.*  
oh yes  
=**[]Oh: yes.**
- 21 Exp: =*[.hh [kuliko i hayngtong.ul ha.l ttay emenim.i,*  
and this behavior-ACC do-ATTR time mother:HON-NOM  
22 =*i yay.nun acik.kkaci cocel.nunglyek.i:*  
this kid-TOP so:far-till control:ability-NOM  
23 *cikim mak 'khey calaka.nun siki.iki ttaymwuney.yo,*  
now DM like:this grow-ATTR time-because-POL  
24 =*kulel ttay.nun iltan hayngtong.ulo ppalli*  
such time-TOP first action-by fast  
25 *ceyhan.ul ha.si.ko:,.hh*  
restraint-ACC do-SH-CONN

=[] .hh And when (he) does such actions, you,  
because this kid so far, (because) it is now the season  
that his controlling ability is growing a lot,  
in such an occasion, first of all, (you) restrict (it)  
quickly by (your) action, and

26 Clr: [yeyyey  
yes yes  
[]Yes.  
  
(10 lines omitted: The expert suggests the caller should  
hold his hand to stop him when he tries to hit others))

37 Exp: ='se com sinho.cheykyey.lul com malyenha.sey=camkkan:,  
so DM signal-system-ACC DM prepare-SH just:a:sec  
38 mwe ilen ke.  
DM such thing  
=So prepare some signal system. "Just a second," or such.

39 (.)

40 Clr: a:: [yey\_  
oh yes  
Oh:: []yes.

01 Host: [잘 [>들으셨어요=머니?<  
02 Clr: [아이 그리구[요:  
03 Host: =[네네.  
04 Clr: 그 인제 동네에서 친구들 가끔 모일때,  
05 =요 또래애들 다섯명이 집에서 만나서  
06 \렇게 놀때가 있[어요:  
07 Exp: [예예.예.  
08 (0.4)  
09 Clr: 예 고때도 이-고런 >행동을 보이는데<  
10 그러면은  
11 Exp: =^예예,  
12 Clr: =그: 그때도 만나지 말아야 되는 [거예요?  
13 Exp: [>아니요아니요<  
14 그런: \게 소집단은 만나시는 거는  
15 괜찮은데요:, .hh  
16 Clr: =[네  
17 Exp: =[그때 아이들이 이런 행동을 하는 게  
18 특히 비정상적인 행동은  
19 아니다라는 거와:, .hh  
20 Clr: =[아[: 예.  
21 Exp: =[.hh [그리고 이 행동을 할 때 어머니,

22 =이애는 아직까지 조절능력이:  
 23 지금 막 `케 자라가는 시기이기 때문예요,  
 24 =그럴 때는 일단 행동으로 빨리  
 25 제한을 하시고:,.hh  
 26 Clr: [예예  
 ((10 lines omitted: The expert suggests the caller should  
 hold his hand to stop him when he tries to hit others))  
 37 Exp: =`서좀 신호체계를 좀 마련하세=잠깐:,  
 38 뭐 이런 거.  
 39 (.)  
 40 Clr: 아:: [예\_

The caller displays her understanding of advice in lines 4-12 that 18-month-old son may not be suitable to ‘any’ type of group activity, which forms the inferential basis of her question. Since the caller’s understanding does not reflect the main aspect of the original advice, that is, the child is not ready to participate in the group activity in an institutional setting like a community center class, the expert rejects the inference made by the caller. She provides a type-conforming disconfirmation right away in line 13 and says a ‘small’ group activity may be alright in line 14. She rather emphasizes more on how to interpret the son’s behavior and how to control his misbehavior in lines 17-38. Since the caller’s question implies incomplete understanding of the advice, the expert takes her response turn as a chance of reimplementing her advice. The expert’s two-part advice recap is acknowledged in line 20 and 49 with *a ney* and *a yey* ‘oh yes’ by the caller. This change-of-state token evidences the caller’s renewed understanding of the gist of the advice.

While the experts would provide a type-conforming response if the terms and agenda are acceptable, they may try to resist them when the caller’s understanding presents a bigger gap from the advice given. The callers may ask how to apply the advice with a certain inference about the advice and the expert may have to provide a transformative response to address the

invalidity of the inference. The caller of the following excerpt is concerned that the 11-year-old son is very stubborn yet afraid of trying a new thing—he eats and wears the same stuff and hesitate too much when a new task is given. At the beginning of the excerpt, the expert advises the caller to encourage him try out new things, including sending him to a camp, in lines 1-5. While the advice is still ongoing, the caller asks whether she needs to force the son to try something he does not like to do in lines 13-14.

**(9) 37-7-3-2-StubbornAfraid11yoSon**

01 Exp: *sahaknyen.imyen inicey kulemyen*  
fourth:grade-COND now do:so-COND

02 *ccokkum konlanhanikkan:, .hh*  
a:little awkward-because

03 *emna.ka: com (0.5) ey: mwe ile*  
mom-NOM DM uhm DM like

04 > *khaymphu.na ilen tey.to com ponay.kwu.yo*  
camp-or such place-too DM send-CONN-POL

05 *cip.ul com ttena.se:, .hh*  
home-ACC DM leave-CONN

**Since it would get little awkward if he behaves so,  
being a fourth grader, you ('mom') send him uhm: like uhm,  
to a camp or something like that, letting him leave home,**

06 Exp: *ey ilehkey ha.myense kole- yokes.to*  
uhm like:this do-SIMUL that this-too

07 *'nyamun sahoyseng.uy mwuncey.ntey,*  
because sociality-of problem-CIRCUM

08 *ey kulemyen manhi com tto cohaci.l ke kathko*  
uhm then much DM too better-ATTR thing seem-CONN

**Uhm in doing so, tha- this too,  
given that it is an issue of sociality,  
uhm if doing so, I think it will improve a lot and**

((4 lines omitted: The expert continues, saying "Boys change a lot at the 4th grade and at the junior high."))

13 > Clr: *[kulemyen caki.ka silheha.nun ke.lul com*  
then self-NOM dislike-ATTR thing-ACC DM

14 > *ekcilo hay=sikhy.eya toy.lkka.yo animyen*  
against:will do let-NECESS-INTERR-POL if:not

**Then should (I) force him to do things he doesn't like, or**

15 >> Exp: *=a kule.l swu kule.l swu.nun eps.eyo,*  
oh do:that-can do:that-can-TOP not:exist-POL

16 >> *[silheha.nun ke.nun ekcilo.nun an.ha.ciman, .hhhh*  
dislike-ATTR thing-TOP against:will-TOP not do-but

**=Oh you cannot, cannot do that.**

(You) don't force him to do things (he) doesn't like, but

17 Clr: [(\*\* \*\*\*\*)-

18 Exp: *incey ilenilen ke.nun khukey ikhey*  
now this thing-TOP very like:this  
19 *nwun.ey twutulecikey mwe isang.hayngtong.ul*  
eye-to noticeably DM abnormal-behavior-ACC  
*ha.nun ke.n ani.canh.ayo =kuntey*  
do-ATTR thing-TOP not-you:know-POL but

**Now such things are not greatly, like it's not that (he is) doing glaringly abnormal behaviors, you know, but**

((9 lines omitted: The expert says "you may feel frustrated when he behaves hesitantly and not try things out, but such attitudes may disappear as his peer relationship grows and he gets mature"))

29 Exp: *ccokkum: .h nay.ka ha.yss.te.n pangpep.taylo.ka anila*  
little I-NOM do-PST-RT-ATTR way-as-NOM not-but  
30 *incey com talukey ha.yya toy.keyss.ta kulayse mwe,*  
now little differently do-NECESS-MOD-DEC be:so-CAUS DM  
31 *khaympfu.lul ponay.nta.tunci ha-*  
camp-ACC send-DEC-LIST

32 > *caki.ka ha.nta kulemyen:ç*  
self-NOM do-DEC be:so-COND

**Like, (you) may think "Now I should do it differently, not as the way I have done it," so if (you) send (him) to a camp or-if (he) says he would do it, then**

33 Host: *ney[:ç*  
yes  
[**Yes:**ç

34 Exp: *[kulemyen ilehkey, yele salam.hako kathi(.)*  
then like:this various people-with together  
35 *cinay.myense, ilen kes.tul.i manhi tto*  
get:along-SIMUL such thing-PL-NOM much too  
36 *alkey.molukey*  
knowingly unknowingly

37 *sesehi epseci.ki.to ha.pnita:=kulayse,.h*  
gradually disappear-NML-too do-FORM so  
38 *khukey kominha.l ke.n ani:ci anh.na*  
greatly worry-ATTR thing-TOP not-COMM not-NONCOMM  
39 *ilen sayngkak.i tu.nuntey.yo?*  
such thought-NOM come-CIRCUM-POL

**Then, as (he) spends time together with many people, such things may gradually disappear quite a lot, unknowingly.**

**So I think it is not something that you need to worry a lot, you know.**

40 Clr: *=ney:: kamsaha.pnita[:,*  
yes thank:you-FORM  
**=Yes:: thank you:,**

01 Exp: 사학년이면 인이제 그러면  
02 쪼끔 곤란하니깐:, .hh  
03 엄마가: 줌 (0.5) 에: 뭐 이러  
04 캠프나 이런 데도 줌 보내구요  
05 집을 줌 떠나서:, .hh  
06 Exp: 에 이렇게 하면서 고려-요것도  
07 '냐은 사회성의 문젠데,  
08 에 그러면 많이 줌 또 좋아질 거 같고  
((4 lines omitted: The expert continues, saying "Boys  
change a lot at the 4th grade and at the junior high."))  
13 Clr: [그러면 자기가 싫어하는 거를 줌  
14 억지로 해시켜야 될까요 아니면  
15 Exp: =아 그럴 수 그럴 수는 없어요,  
16 [싫어하는 거는 억지로는 안하지만, .hhhh  
17 Clr: [(\*\* \*\*\*\*)-  
18 Exp: 인제 이런이런 거는 크게 이케 눈에 두드러지게  
19 뭐 이상행동을 하는 건 아니잖아요=근데  
((9 lines omitted: The expert says "you may feel frustrated  
when he behaves hesitantly and not try thigs out, but  
such attitudes may disappear as his peer relationship  
grows and he gets mature"))  
29 Exp: 쪼끔: .h 내가 했던 방법대로가 아니라  
30 인제 줌 다르게 해야되겠다 그래서 뭐,  
31 캠프를 보낸다든지 하-  
32 자기가 한다 그러면:¿  
33 Host: 네[:¿  
34 Exp: [그러면 이렇게, 여러 사람하고 같이 (.)  
35 지내면서, 이런 것들이 많이 또  
36 알게모르게,  
37 서서히 없어지기도 합니다:=그래서, .h  
38 크게 고민할 건 아니:지 않나  
39 이런 생각이 드는데요?  
40 Clr: =네::: 감사합니다[:,

The presupposition in this question is 'the son would not volunteer to go to a camp' so the caller questions how to execute the advice in such a situation. The inference is rather derived from the caller's understanding of the circumstances, that is, the son's timid character, than from the



advice. From the anticipation that the son would not try out new things voluntarily, the caller makes the inference that it may take forcing him in order to let him try new things and asks if this inference is valid. The question displays that the caller has interpreted the advice as she may have to ‘force him to go to a camp.’

Even though the advice was designed as a command/recommendation with - *ponay.kwu.yo*, ‘send (him) and,’ in line 4, it does not necessarily suggest ‘forcing him.’ The expert needs to vindicate her position that this piece of advice did not involve ‘by force.’ With the change-of-state token *a* ‘oh’ at the beginning of the response in line 15, the expert displays such understanding is inapposite (Heritage 1998). Moreover, she replaces the predicate ‘should force him’ from the caller’s question with ‘cannot force him’ in her response. Replacing the terms is one of the ways to form a transformative response by targeting the design of the question (Stivers and Hayashi 2010). As the presupposition is not derived from the expert’s advice, the expert may accept it but still needs to adjust the terms. The question presented ‘sending him to a camp’ as an obligatory measure but the response treats it as not a permissible measure. In other words, the predicate is transformed from necessity to possibility and the expert answers the changed question in terms of possibility.

Then in line 16, the expert disconfirms the idea of ‘by force’ but this disconfirmation does not help vindicate the expert’s position since the presupposition that the son would not like a camp still stands. The expert continues to recapitulate the son’s current state and the prospective improvement in his sociality in lines 18-28. Upon this basis, the expert revisits her own advice and the expected outcome presented earlier in lines 29-37. In so doing, the expert clearly points out in line 32 the application of the advice, that is, sending him to a camp, should be done with his agreement. The caller’s question is now completely answered—to proceed with

the advice, the son's agreement is needed. Thus, the question may display certain understanding of the advice that the experts may not be able to confirm as it is termed. The experts may transform the question by replacing the terms in the question and respond to it.

Another example shows that the inference derived from the callers' understanding of the advice prompts the experts to respond with a transformative answer. When the inference the callers bring in is not acceptable to the expert, the experts provide a transformative response to avoid confirming a wrong inference and try to vindicate their original position given in the advice. The next excerpt shows such effort in the expert's response. The caller's four-year-old son is very sensitive to others' attention so, when in public, he keeps ducking and behaves shy and diffident. Before the excerpt, the caller first asked what she can tell her child so that he can improve his reaction. At the beginning of the excerpt, the expert answers that it is his character and there is not much to worry about. The caller does not fully acknowledge it but adds more detail of the problem and asks a subsequent question, asking for a confirmation about her understanding of the advice.

**(10) 33-6-26-7-SelfAttentiveSon**

- 01 Exp: [ku *salam.mata kac.ko iss.nun kulen thukcing.tul.i*  
DM person-per possess-PROGRS-ATTR such character-PL-NOM
- 02 *iss.canha.[yo,*  
exist-you:know-POL  
**Um there are those characters that every person has,  
you know.**
- 03 Clr: [a[ha,  
aha  
[]Aha,
- 04 Exp: [>kuse< *kuleh- kuke ttaymwuney*  
so that because:of
- 05 *ay.ka talun ke.lul wancenhi mos.ha.l*  
kid-NOM other thing-ACC completely cannot-do-ATTR
- 06 *sanghwang.i ani.la[myen, .hh*  
situation-NOM not-COND  
**So, if it is not the situation that**

he cannot do anything at all because of if,

- 07 Clr: [um:  
hm  
[]Hm:
- 08 Exp: >kunyang< ku ai.ka  
just that kid-NOM  
09 sengcang.kwaceng.eyse nathana.l swu iss.nun:,  
growth-process-at appear-can-ATTR  
10 kulen han phyohyen.ulo po:si.ko =kunyang  
such one expression-as consider-CONN just  
11 nemwu minkamhakey [ku=pangungha.si.l philyo.nun  
too sensitively DM respond-SH-ATTR need-TOP  
**Just consider it as one expression that can appear in the  
child's development, and you don't need to react to it**
- 12 Clr: [yey.  
yes  
[]Yes.
- 13 Exp: eps.nun ke kathay[yo,  
not:exist-ATTR seem-POL  
**too sensitively, I think.**
- 14 Clr: [a: kulayyo? =[kulemyen, .hh  
oh be:so-POL:INTERR then  
[]Oh is that so? then, .hh
- ((23 lines omitted: the caller says that the son asks if  
others look at him or not when going outside and then  
says she feels sorry that he doesn't appreciate it well))
- 38 Clr: [nemwu manhi ilehkey  
too:much much like:this  
39 nwunchilul po.lo swum.ko ile.nikka:,  
study:one's:face-CONN hide-CONN be:this-because  
**Because (he) studies other's face too much and  
hides himself, and so on,**
- 40 Host: huhu[huhuhuh:: [.hhhhh  
huhu[huhuhuh:: [.hhhhh
- 41 Clr: [yey cey.ka emma.lo[se ikhey hay cwu.l key  
yes I:HUM-NOM mom-as like:this help-ATTR thing-NOM  
42 eps.na [siphe.cacko,  
not:exist-NONCOMM wonder-CAUS  
**[] Yes, so I wondered whether there isn't anything  
that I can help as a mom,**
- 43 Host: [ku-a::: [°kulay°  
oh be:that  
**[] Oh that's right**
- 44 > Clr: [kulemyen.un ku ttay.nun kunyang .hh  
then-TOP that time-TOP just  
45 > u- mwe cikhyepo.ko kunyang

DM watch-CONN just

46 > **naypelye twe.ya toy.nun key.yeyyo;**  
 leave-NECESS-ATTR thing-POL:INTERR  
**Then in such an occasion, is it the case that I should just .hh watch and just leave him?**

47 >> Exp: **e:: k- ai.hanthey han pen mwulepo.>seyyo<**  
 uhm kid-to one CL ask-SH-IMPER:POL

48 >> **=[salam.tul.i ne.l chyetapo.l ttay**  
 person-PL-NOM you-ACC look:at-ATTR time  
**Uhm:: Ask the kid. "When people look at you,"**

49 Clr: =*[yey-*  
*yes*  
**[yey-**

50 >> Exp: **ney kipwun.i ette[ni?**  
 your feeling-NOM how-INTIM:INTERR  
**"How do you feel?"**

51 Clr: *[a: [yey:\_*  
*oh yes*  
**[]Oh: yes:**

((17 lines omitted: The expert elaborates how to ask the question and give advice to the son with hypothetical speech turns))

69 Exp: *kuse,*  
*so*  
**So,**

70 Clr: *[yey.*  
*yes*  
**[]Yes.**

71 Exp: *[ettehkey ha.myen ni.ka te kwansim.ul*  
 how do-COND you-NOM more attention-ACC

72 *kku.l swu iss.nunci.[ey tayhan*  
 draw-can-IND:INTERR-about  
**[] About "how you (=he) can draw more attention,"**

73 Clr: *[yey:.*  
*yes*  
**[]Yes:.**

74 Exp: *cohun pangpep.ul allye cwu.sy.e[yo:*  
 good way-ACC inform-SH-POL  
**Inform him of the good way of doing it.**

75 Clr: *[a yey:\_*  
*oh yes*  
**[]Oh yes:**

01 Exp: [그 사람마다 갖고 있는 그런 특징들이

02                   있잖아[요,  
03    Clr:                [아[하,  
04    Exp:                [>그서< 그렇-그거 때문에  
05                   애가 다른 거를 완전히 못할 상황이  
06                   아니라[면, .hh  
07    Clr:                [음:  
08    Exp:                >그냥< 그 아이가  
09                   성장과정에서 나타날 수 있는:,  
10                   그런 한 표현으로 보:시고=그냥  
11                   너무 민감하게 [그=반응하실 필요는  
12    Clr:                [예.  
13                   없는 거 같애[요,  
14                   [아: 그래요?=[그러면, .hh  
                  ((23 lines omitted: the caller says that the son asks if  
                  others look at him or not when going outside and then  
                  says she feels sorry that he doesn't appreciate it well))  
38    Clr:                [너무 많이 이렇게  
39                   눈치를 보고 숨고 이러니까:,  
40    Host:                huhu[huhuhuh:: [.hhhhh  
41    Clr:                [예 제가 엄마로[서 이케 해줄 게  
42                   없나 [싫어갖고,  
43    Host:                [그-아::: [°그래°  
44    Clr:                [그러면은 그 때는 그냥 .hh  
45                   으-뭐 지켜보고 그냥  
46                   내버려 뒤편 되든 거예요;  
47    Exp:                어:: 그- 아이한테 한 번 물어보>세요<  
48                   =[사람들이 널 쳐다볼 때  
49    Clr:                =[예-  
50    Exp:                네 기분이 어떠[니?  
51    Clr:                [아: [예:\_  
                  ((17 lines omitted: The expert elaborates  
                  how to ask the question and give advice to the son  
                  with hypothetical speech turns))  
69    Exp:                그서,  
70    Clr:                [예.  
71                   [어떻게 하면 니가 더 관심을  
72                   끌 수 있는지[에 대한  
73    Clr:                [예:.  
74    Exp:                좋은 방법을 알려 주셔[요;

The expert first defines the issue as resulting from the differences in personality in lines 1-2 and recommends the caller should consider the son's reaction as a natural behavior in lines 4-13. The caller displays the advice turn brought about a 'change-of-state' in her knowledge as she acknowledges it with *a kulayyo* 'oh, is that so?' in line 14 since the caller's assumption that the son's shyness is a problem was rejected now. The caller continues to elaborate the son's reaction in the following lines, in which she reports that the son even asks a question whether people would look at him whenever they go out. She also tries to justify the reason for the call, that is, how she considers the son's reaction as a problem that needs a solution, which is concluded with the decision of making a call in lines 41-42. Then she asks the subsequent question if it is the case that she has to leave him as he is when he behaves shy.

While the response to her first question was practically 'there is nothing to worry' as shown in lines 8-13, which would translate into 'no further action is needed,' the caller reveals her understanding in the question, that is, there is nothing that she can do to help the son. The caller's inference that there is no solution is available is now raised as a yes-no question that seeks a confirmation. She also chooses to use an embedded question format, "is it the case that ....?," and puts the inference as a confirmable object. If the expert answers with a type-conforming answer, it will accept the inference that she did not provide the solution asked. Instead of providing a (dis)confirmation, the expert goes ahead to giving advice that was sought by the caller. This response is very much transformative since it escapes both the terms and the agenda of the question and answers a new question, 'how can I help him?' Even though it is true that the expert did not give the advice the caller was looking for at first, she avoids such a charge

by providing the advice through a transformative response. Thus, the expert employs a transformative response and keeps her position as an advice-giver intact.

In return, when the first part of the advice on what to say to the son is given in lines 47-48 and 50 with a hypothetical speech, the caller acknowledges the advice with *a yey* ‘oh yes’ in line 51. Compared to the response *a kulayyo* ‘oh is that so?’ in line 14, the caller displays her acknowledgement that the advice she has sought is now given. When the expert wraps up the advice in line 74, the caller again acknowledges it with ‘oh yes.’

Furthermore, the experts may shape their response with various turn-initial items along with a transformative response so that they can resist the terms and agenda of the question. In the next excerpt, the caller is concerned about her daughter who just became a junior high student because she does not heed the caller’s talk but asserts what she wants to say. The caller complains that she is upset about it and also worried about the daughter’s attitude getting worse in the future. Before the excerpt, the expert advised the caller to treat the daughter as an adult even if she is just a teenager and cautioned that the daughter will not be willing to communicate with the caller if the caller is mistrustful of her. Then at the beginning of the excerpt, she tells the caller to stay fooled even if the daughter is not completely truthful and elaborates how to put it into action. Now the caller raises a question: when the caller knows for sure that the daughter is lying, whether she still needs to leave the daughter as she wants to behave.

**(11) 18-5-8-4-JuniorHighDaughterStrongSelf**

01    EXP:            *kayse kunyang:*, *sokaneme-* 'kka    *yey.lul*    *tul.e*  
                          so    just                    be:deceived that:is example-ACC raise-CONN  
 02                    *celek.ha.myen*            *nay.ka cyay.hanthey*  
                          like:that-do-CONN I-NOM    that:person-to  
 03                    *sok.ci:lako*                    [*ha.yto*  
                          be:deceived-COMM-QT    do-CONCESS  
                          **So just get deceiv- I mean, for example,**  
                          **even if it is like "I would end up being deceived by her**

[ ] if it goes this way,"

04 Clr: [ney:  
yes  
[ ] Yes:

05 EXP: =ssok.usey.yo kunyang.  
be:deceived-SH-POL:IMPER just  
=**Just get deceived.**

06 Clr: =[yey::[Hh!  
yes  
=**[Yes::[Hh!**

07 Host: =[He:h [h!h[ahahaha.Hh[h=Hh-  
=**[He:h [h!h[ahahaha.Hh[h=Hh-**

(4 lines omitted: the expert says "because the one who lies will have a hard time")

12 EXP: [.hh >kulayse'nyang< emma.nun swunswuhakey  
so just mom-TOP innocently  
13 na.n ni mal.ul mite.la.nun phyoceng.ulo  
I-TOP your talk-ACC believe-QT-ATTR facial:expression-by  
14 ha.si.nun ke.y na.ayo=.HHhh  
do-SH-ATTR thing-NOM better-POL  
**So it is better that you just behave innocently  
with the facial expression of "I believe your words."**

15 EXP: kunyang mal.lo.nun mit.e kulehciman sok-  
just talk-with-TOP believe-INTIM however inside  
16 nwunpich.ulo.nun  
look:in:one's:eye-with-TOP  
17 aikwu mal.ina wuaha.ci ne.ka (.) kulay.ss.keyss.ta,  
well talk-only gracious-COMM you-NOM do:so-PFT-MOD-DEC  
18 =o[ta.ka phissipang tul- ilehkey,  
come-TRANS internet:cafe enter- like:this  
**(If you) just (say) in words "I believe you" but inside,  
with the look in your eyes, (say/think)  
"Well, nice words as if you would do so.  
On the way you might have stopped by at a internet café-"  
like this,**

19 Clr: [Hh,  
[Hh,

20 EXP: kulen eco.lo ha.mun ay.ka te isang  
such tone-with say-COND kid-NOM more over  
21 yaykiha.ki [silhcyo[:,  
talk-NML dislike-COMM:POL  
**If you talk in such a tone,  
The kid wouldn't like to talk any more, you know.**

22 > Clr: [.hh, [kulem icey ikhey poi.canh.ayo,  
then now like:this appear-you:know-POL  
23 > 'kkey calmosha.n ke poi.ko;  
like do:wrong-ATTR thing appear-CONN



24 > =kecismalha.n ke poi.nun[tey,  
 lie-ATTR thing appear-CIRCUM  
**Then, you can see it, you know,  
 Like, it comes into sight that (she) has done wrong and  
 it comes into sight that (she) has lied, given that**

25 EXP: [yey.  
 yes  
 []Yes.

26 > Clr: kuke.l kunyang mit.ko naytwe-  
 that-ACC just believe-CONN leave

27 > nwatwe.peli.lkka.[yo:=animyen;  
 leave-done-INTERR-POL if:not  
**Shall I just believe and leave it, [] or**

28 >> EXP: [ani >kulenikka< kuke.l emm- e-  
 no that:is that-ACC mom

29 >> yayki kawuntey emma.n ta al.ko iss.ta.lako  
 talk middle mom-TOP all know-PROGRS-DEC-QT

30 >> yaykiha.si.nun ke.y naa.yo.  
 tell-SH-ATTR thing-NOM better-POL  
**[]No I mean, that mom-  
 It's better to say that mom knows everything  
 while talking (to her),**

31 Clr: [ney:[::[:,  
 yes  
 []Yes:::,

32 Host: [a: [: [malssu- [ayey ohilye;  
 oh talk:HON from:the:start rather  
**[]Oh:: talk- from the start, (you) rather,**

33 EXP: [yey:[ta al[ko ta.  
 yes all know:CONN all  
**[]Yes: "(I) know everything and, all."**

34 Host: =yey[:.  
 yes  
**=Yes[:.**

35 EXP: [yey ta al.ko iss.ta,  
 yes all know-PROGRS-DEC  
**[]Yes "(I) know everything,"**

36 [a=kulekwu emma.twu-  
 oh and mom-too  
**[] "Oh and I too-"**

37 Clr: [kwulentey 'cey hon.un nay.ci ma.la[kwu  
 but DM rebuke-TOP do-NEG:IMPER-QT  
**[]But (you say) "don't rebuke (her),"**

38 EXP: [ung=emma.to  
 yeah mom-too





the repair format in her response, the expert suggests the caller's question involves misunderstanding.

Third position repair usually consists of the repair initiator, usually a 'no' token, followed by the optional component of rejection and the repair proper, e.g., 'No, (I didn't mean X,) I mean Y.' The expert also begins her response with a 'no' token. While *ani* 'no' maintains its negating function, it is used to resist the state of affairs depicted in the question as inapposite (Kim 2015). As a preface of the repair proper, *kulenikka* 'I mean' is used to resist the inadequate inference and reshape the response space so that its speaker can provide more accurate information (Kim 2013). After signaling the departure from the constraints with these two turn-initial items, the expert provides a transformative response. Instead of addressing what to do in the case of realizing the daughter's lie, the expert brings up a totally new measure that can be exercised in parallel with 'staying fooled'—to tell the daughter in advance that the caller is aware of everything. Thus, the expert keeps her original advice intact and steers away from the caller's interpretation and updates the advice with a preemptive measure. In fact, this new direction of advice is barely related to the previous advice of 'be fooled.' By employing a transformative response along with the turn-initial prefaces, the expert resists the terms and agenda of the question and escapes the charge of providing defective advice.

In sum, when there is an understanding gap between the advice and the callers' understanding, it is often included in the callers' subsequent question as an inference. The experts may resist the question's terms and agenda and provide a transformative response. In so doing, they vindicate their original idea presented in the advice and may update it so that the new line of advice can address the caller's concern more adequately.

### 3.5.2 Responses to subsequent questions for understanding check

In the subsequent questions that is related to the understanding of the advice, the callers often ask if their understanding of the advice is correct after the expert finishes wrapping it up. These understanding check questions carry either a formulation of the given advice or the supposition derived from interpreting the advice so the difference between the advice itself and the callers' understanding of the advice is relatively slight. Thus, the callers try to design the question to index a knowing epistemic stance toward the gist of the advice while still keeping the K- status and claim a flatter epistemic gradient between them and the experts by employing a pseudo-tag question form or a declarative question form (Heritage and Clayman 2010) along with other particles that carry a specific stance toward the proposition in hand. Through these grammatical resources, the callers show that they are certain of having understood the advice correctly. Thus, the two kinds of understanding check questions pressure the experts to confirm the callers' interpretation as presented. The experts usually provide a less oblique response, ranging from a type-conforming response to a repetitional response.

The first kind of understanding-check questions involve the callers' formulation of the expert's advice. Termed by Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) and Heritage and Watson (1979), formulating refers to the practice in which speakers offer their interpretation of what the other meant and makes explicit their understanding of what the gist of the talk so far is (Heritage 1985). Drew (2003) reports that while the practice itself is context-free, the practice of formulating can carry out different interactional work, and accordingly different linguistic forms, in various institutional settings. In the setting of psychotherapy, for example, by formulating the therapists' talk, the patients may achieve to display they have interpreted their implied message.



06 Clr: e kulenikka achim.ey ka.ss.ta  
 uhm therefore morning-at go-PST-TRANS

07 cenyek.ey o.ki.n ha.ciman: ,  
 evening-at come-NML-TOP do-but  
**Uhm, so, even though I leave in the morning  
 and come back in the evening,**

08 Exp: ney:  
 yes  
**Yes:**

09 > Clr: yehathun kulen kes cachey.ka ai.hanthey.nun  
 anyways such thing itself-NOM kid-to-TOP

10 > nemwu kil:swu[lok an coh.ta.nun malssum[i.si.cyo,  
 too long-the:more not good-DEC-ATTR word:HON-SH-COMM:POL  
**You are saying that such a thing itself is not good  
 to the kid anyways as it gets even longer, right?**

11 >> Exp: [.ts, [yey.  
 yes  
 [.ts, [Yes.

12 > Clr: [kanunghamyen com kathi olay iss.ko?  
 if:possible DM together long stay-CONN  
**[] And (we) stay together as much as possible?**

13 Exp: [acik-  
 yes  
**[] Yet-**

14 >> yey. waynyamyen [acik aki.ka eli.ketun.yo.  
 yes because yet kid-NOM young-INFO-POL  
**Yes. Because the kid is still young, you know.**

15 Clr: (( )-

16 =[yeyyeyyey.  
 yes yes yes  
**=[] Yes yes yes.**

17 Exp: =[kuliko kunyang salao.n ke.y anila  
 and just have:live-ATTR thing-NOM not-but  
 18 yele kaci himtu.n kyenghem.tul.i manh.ass.te.n  
 various CL hard experience-PL-NOM a:lot-PST-RT-ATTR  
 19 [ai.ki ttaymwuney, .hh  
 kid-because  
**=[] And because (she) hasn't lived a simple life  
 but has had a variety of hard experiences,**

20 Clr: [yeyyey.  
 yes yes  
**[] Yes yes.**

21 [[yey.  
 yes  
**[[[] Yes.**

22 Exp: [emma.ka ccokkum te:,  
mom-NOM little more

23 manhun sikan.ul cikhyecwu.si.n taum.ey;  
much time-ACC spend-SH-ATTR next-at  
[[ ]] **After you spend a little more time,**

24 Clr: [yey.  
yes  
[] **Yes.**

25 Exp: [ku taum.ey ^phyenanha.yci.myen.  
that next-at comfortable:become-COND

26 >phyenanha.ycy.ess.ta.la.nun ke.nun:  
comfortable:become-PFT-DEC-QT-ATTR thing-TOP

27 icey ttolay.kwankyey.ka, cohaci.myense  
now peer-relation-NOM better-SIMUL

28 ku: aychak.taysang.i ttelecy.e naka.nun ke.ketun.yo?.h  
DM attachment-object-NOM detach-off-ATTR thing-INFOR-POL  
[] **Then when (she) becomes feeling comfortable.**  
**Becoming feeling comfortable means that,**  
**now as the peer relations gets better,**  
**the object to which she's attached falls off, you know?**

01 Exp: [그서, 정서발달을 좀 더  
02 ^편안하게 해줄려고 한다면:,  
03 엄마가 그 마음을 많이 이해해 주시고,  
04 함께 하는 시간을 좀 더 많이 가졌으면:  
05 하는 바램이네요.

06 Clr: 어 그러니까 아침에 갔다  
07 저녁에 오긴 하지만:,  
08 Exp: 네.  
09 Clr: 여하튼 그런 것 자체가 아이한테는  
10 너무 길:수[록 안 좋다는 말씀[이시죠,  
11 Exp: [.ts, [예.  
12 Clr: [가능하면 좀 같이 오래 있고?  
13 Exp: [아직-  
14 예. 왜냐면 [아직 아기가 어리거든요.  
15 Clr: [( )-  
16 =[예예예.  
17 Exp: =[그리고 그냥 살아온 게 아니라  
18 여러 가지 힘든 경험들이 많았던  
19 [아이기 때문에, .hh  
20 Clr: [예예.  
21 [예.  
22 Exp: [엄마가 조금 더:,



23                    많은 시간을 지켜주신 다음에;

24    Clr:            [예 .

25    Exp:            [그 다음에 ^편안해지면 .

26                    >편안해졌더라는 거는 :

27                    이제 또래관계가, 좋아지면서

28                    그: 애착대상이 떨어져 나가는 거거든요? .h

Right before the excerpt, the expert said that the daughter still has some unmet desire that is revealed as an obsession with her belongings so the caller needs to stay by her side. In lines 1-4, the expert advises the caller to understand the daughter's emotion and spend more quality time with her. Upon the expert's advice, the caller first tries to minimize the potential harm that she causes to her child in lines 6-7, saying she is only away during the day. Then she asks a question if she understood the advice well in lines 9-10.

The question makes a confirmation, rather than an affirmation, relevant in various ways. The caller has formulated the advice and embedded it in the main clause of 'you are saying that ..., right?' The main clause is also marked with the committal suffix *-ci*, forming a pseudo-tag question, so the caller displays her belief that her understanding of the advice is correct.

In line 11, the expert initiates her response in overlap with the caller's question as soon as the formulation of the advice is delivered. She confirms the question with a type-conforming 'yes' token. Without registering the expert's response that came in in overlap, the caller provides another formulation, 'stay together as much as possible,' in line 12. The expert confirms the second part of formulation with a 'yes' token again and continues to provide the reasoning behind the advice in line 14.

The expert accepts the terms as interpreted by the caller even though the wording does not exactly match with the advice. While the advice from the expert is about having more quality time, the caller first formulates it as 'long daytime schedule is not good for the kid' and adds

‘stay together as much as possible.’ Since the formulation is presented as if it keeps the gist of the expert’s intention and the question is constructed to strongly seek confirmation, the expert conforms to the constraint of the question.

In the second kind of understanding check questions, the callers ask for a confirmation about their inference derived from the advice. Compared to the questions addressing an understanding gap, the questions with inference in this set pose little gap of understanding because the callers first fully acknowledge the contents of the advice and the inference is a product of virtual application of the advice. The questions implicitly show how the callers have understood the advice as they speculate the possible outcome when applying the given advice. The understanding is conveyed in a declarative question format along with a combination of sentence ending particles *-keyss* and *-ney* that denotes the speaker’s realization is based on the supposition of a possible outcome. The particle *-keyss* refers to a future or a suppositional aspect of the proposition. The particle *-ney* is used when the speaker marks the proposition is a newly realized fact. Neither particle is an interrogative one so when they are used at the end of a sentence, it forms a declarative question. As a declarative question is employed to index a knowing epistemic stance and places a constraint of confirmation (Heritage and Clayman 2010), the *-keyss.ney* ending question seeks confirmation regarding the supposition that the callers make out of new realization upon listening to the advice.

For the question about the callers’ supposition, the experts may conform to the constraints of the question. In the following call, the caller told that while her 8-year-old daughter is good at sharing her daily life but the 10-year-old son does not talk about it at all. She asked how much ‘conversation’ with a child would fall into a normal range and how she can encourage him to talk. With some history taking questions, the expert found that he is good at



10 Clr: =a:  
oh  
=Oh:

11 Host: =ney.  
yes  
=Yes.

12 > Clr: *kumun cem ccokkum esaykha.l swu.to iss.keyss.ney.yo=*  
then little little awkward-can-too MOD-FR-POL

13 > *=ci sayngkak.ey.nun.=[caki sayngkak(eynun/-).*  
own thought-at-TOP own thought-at-TOP  
**Then, I guess (it) could be a little awkward,**  
**In his mind. =[]In his mind.**

14 >> Exp: *=[ani.yo:.*  
no-POL  
**=[]No:.**

15 Exp: *>ani.yo=ay.tul.un no.nun ke cachey.ka*  
no-POL kid-PL-TOP play-ATTR thing itself-NOM

16 *cayensulep.ki ttaymwuney ^emma.ka esaykha.lci molu.cyo?*  
natural-because mom-NOM awkward-might-COMM:POL

17 *kulehkey(h) an \$nol[a(h) cwe[pe(h)lusha.myen\$heh![.hhh*  
like:that not play-give-be:used:to-COND  
**>No=Because it is natural for kids to be engaged in**  
**playing itself. Mom(=you) might feel awkward?**  
**[] If (you are) not used to playing like that?**

18 > Clr: *[a: [cey sayngkak:i [kunikka*  
oh my:HUM thought-NOM that:is

19 > *mwun[cey.ka iss.nun ke.kwun.yo [kulenikka=ha[.ha,*  
problem-NOM exist-ATTR thing-UNASSIM-POL that:is  
**[] Oh, so my thoughts, I mean, (they) are problematic**  
**then =ha.ha,**

20 >> Exp: *[yey. [.hhhh, [yey:.*  
yes yes yes  
**[]Yes. [.hhhh, []Yes:.**

21 Clr: *=yey[yey.*  
yes yes  
**=Yes[Yes.**

01 Exp: [.hhh 그리고 나면 '제 나이가 조금 들면

02 애기 한두가지씩 하죠:,

03 Clr: 아:~ 그럴까[요?

04 Exp: [예[: 지금 갑자기 너무 높은 수준[의

05 Host: [Hehehehehe!.hhhh, [\$예,\$

06 Exp: = \$대화라는 단얼 쓰시니까,\$

07 Host: =음[:

08 Clr:                   [아[:  
09 Exp:                   [오히려 실천이 더 안되고 있거든요,  
10 Clr:                   =아:  
11 Host:                  =네.  
12 Clr:                   그문 점 쫘끔 어색할 수도 있겠네요  
13                         =지 생각에는 .=[자기 생각(에는/-) .  
14 Exp:                   =[아니요: .  
15                         >아니요=애들은 노는 거 자체가  
16                         자연스럽기 때문에 ^엄마가 어색할지 모르죠?  
17                         그렇게 (h) 안 \$놀[아(h) 줘[버(h) 릿하면\$heh! [.hhh  
18 Clr:                   [아:     [제 생각:이           [그니까  
19                         문[제가 있는 거군요 [그러니까=ha[.ha,  
20 Exp:                   [예.                         [.hhhh,     [예: .  
21 Clr:                   =예[예.

In lines 1-9, the expert says the son will confide in the caller bit by bit as he grows and it is not feasible to expect a lengthy verbal conversation with him at this point. In lines 12-13, the caller asks if her inference generated from interpreting the advice would be valid—that the son would feel awkward since the caller, who has been rarely affectionate, suddenly tries to play with him.

The expert provides a type-conforming disaffirmation at the end of the question in line 14. She also provides an account why the son would find it normal to play with the caller and points out the caller’s assumption is incorrect in lines 15-17. While the expert disagrees with the caller’s supposition, she still accepts the terms and agenda of the question as valid. The caller in line 18 displays her understanding of this new point and again uses another particle for new realization, *-kwun*, and seeks confirmation about her new understanding in lines 18-19. The expert affirms the new supposition with a ‘yes’ token in line 20. Thus, as the caller displays a knowing epistemic stance to the gist of the advice by using a declarative question format and various particles, the experts may provide a type-conforming response and accept the given terms and agenda.

While the understanding check questions designed as a declarative question with - *keyss.ney* particles may increase the level of the caller's commitment to their own understanding and constrain the experts to confirm it, the experts may depart from the constraints and respond to it with a repetitional answer. The experts take the callers' interpretation and use it as their answer and display they already have an epistemic right to assert the callers' understanding as their own. They can even mark the response with a committal particle and display they are already committed to the caller's interpretation.

In the following example, the caller presented her problem with an anecdote in which the caller complimented her second son by mentioning the strengths and weaknesses of his presentation at the school. As the son was not appreciative, she wonders if it was a right way to give a compliment. The caller also asks how to deal with the second son who gets jealous of his brother whom the caller describes with genuinely good evaluations. For the first question, the expert advised that, instead of pointing out what the son is lacking, the caller should rather encourage him to expand his thoughts by asking him 'how about think this way,' etc. At the beginning of the excerpt, the caller now asks about her hypothetical compliment. By using - *keyss.ney*, the caller shows that she just realized that it would not be proper to give her hypothetical version of compliment.

**(14) 3-4-17-3-complimenting2ndson**

- 01 Exp: *ai.ka, com hwaksancek.in sako:lul ha.l swu iss.tolok,*  
 kid-NOM DM expansive-ATTR thinking-ACC do-can-in:order:to
- 02 *kwucheycek.in cilmwun:, yolen kes.tul.i te towum.i*  
 concrete-ATTR question such thing-PL-NOM more help-NOM
- 03 *toy.l kes kath.supnita.*  
 become-seem-FORM
- For the kid to think in an expansive way,  
 concrete questions, such things seem to be more of help.**
- 04 Host: [ney.  
 yes

05 Clr: [a kulemyen cey.ka.yo:,  
 oh then I:HUM-NOM-POL  
**[]Yes.**  
**[]Oh, then (if) I (say)**

06 Host: =[ney,  
 yes  
**=[]Yes,**

07 Exp: =[ney,  
 yes  
**=[]Yes,**

08 Clr: hyeng.hako tongsayng.hako  
 old:brother-with younger:sibling-with  
 09 kathi iss.nun cali.eyse  
 together exist-ATTR place-at  
 10 appa.hako takathi iss.nun cali.eyse,  
 dad-with altogether exist-ATTR place-at  
**At an occasion where the older brother and the younger one  
 are together, at an occasion where the dad and everyone  
 are together,**

11 Host: ney:,  
 yes  
**Yes:,**

12 Exp: ney:.  
 yes  
**Yes:.**

13 Clr: e hyeng.un chayk.ul, chayk.un mahni ilk.ciman:,  
 uhm old:brother-TOP book-ACC book-TOP a:lot read-but  
**"Uhm the older brother reads books a lot, but"**

14 Host: [yey.  
 yes  
**[]Yes.**

15 Clr: [kuke.l mal.lo phyohyen.ul cal mosha.nuntey,  
 that-ACC word-by expression-ACC well cannot-CIRCUM  
**"(he) cannot express it (=the gist) into words well,  
 but,"**

16 Host: y[ey.  
 yes  
**[]Yes.**

17 Exp: [ney.  
 yes  
**[]Yes.**

18 Clr: tongsayng.un: (.) chayk.un(H!) pyello an ilk.ciman:  
 younger:sibling-TOP book-TOP especially not read-but  
**"the younger brother doesn't read books much, but"**

19 Host: =mal.ul calha.yyo,  
talk-ACC do:well-POL  
**=(He) talks (about it) well.**

20 Clr: =mal.lo phyohyen.un [cham calha.nta.ko kule.m  
word-by expression-TOP very do:well-DEC-QT say:so-COND  
**"(He) is very good at expressing it into words"  
if (I) say so,**

21 Exp: [ehh,  
[ehh,

22 > Clr: **kulen kes.to pyello cohun ke.y**  
such thing-too especially good thing-NOM

23 > **ani.keyss(h).ney.yo,**  
not-MOD-FR-POL  
**I guess such a thing is not really a good thing, either.**

24 >> Exp: **=^kule.si.cyo.** nwukwu.nun ^hana.nun: ttuywu.ki wihayse  
be:so-SH-COMM:POL someone-TOP one-TOP cheer-in:order:to

25 hana.lul [cwuky.e no.myen  
one-ACC kill-done-COND  
**=^It surely is not. Someone,  
if you kill one to cheer the other up,**

26 Clr: [kh=hehe!  
[kh=hehe!

27 Exp: an [toy.nta.nun ke.cyo.  
not alright-DEC-ATTR thing-COMM:POL  
**I mean it is not alright.**

28 Host: [kulehcyo.  
be:so-COMM:POL  
**That's right.**

29 Host: =a:::  
oh  
**=Oh::..**

30 Clr: =yey:  
yes  
**=Yes:**

01 Exp: **아이가, 좀 확산적인 사고:를 할 수 있도록,**  
02 **구체적인 질문:, 요런 것들이 더 도움이**  
03 **될 것 같습니다.**

04 Host: [네.

05 Clr: [아 그러면 제가요:,

06 Host: =[네,

07 Exp: =[네,

08 Clr: **형하고 동생하고**





Rather than simply giving a ‘no’ token, the expert says *kule.si.cyo* ‘it surely is not.’<sup>8</sup> The expert’s response consists of a repetition of the caller’s proposition, ‘it is not good,’ formed with a pro-form predicate, *-kuleh-* ‘be so.’ With a repetitional response, the expert confirms the caller’s interpretation delivered in the question and exerts agency over it (Heritage and Raymond 2012). Moreover, the committal particle-*ci* at the end of the repetitional response again denotes that the expert is committed to her response. By employing the particle, the expert claims agency over the caller’s inference that such a compliment is not good.

Thus, when the questions pose a little gap between the advice and the callers’ understanding of it, they are designed to index the callers’ knowing epistemic stance even though the callers are still in the K- status. This kind of questions simply seeks confirmation with the design that claims correct understanding or supposition of the advice. In such cases, the experts often provide a type-conforming response. Even when they respond with a repetitional answer to display their agency as in Ex 6, they still accept the question’s terms and agenda (Stivers and Hayashi 2010). The experts provide a less oblique answer with a yes-no token or a repetition to the understanding check questions.

### 3.6 Summary

The yes-no questions place constraints on response in many aspects. They constrain the answers to be type-conforming, to align with the polarity of the question, and to align with the ongoing action. The respondents may conform to them or resist them. As the questions display

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<sup>8</sup> Korean is an “agree–disagree” language: a positive particle and/or confirmation affirms the proposition and a negative one denies it, regardless of the polarity of the question (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985). The positive confirmation in the response affirms the caller’s supposition, which is formed as a negation of her hypothetical compliment.

different terms and agenda, the experts employ responses ranging from type-conforming responses to repetitional or transformative responses. The different groups of yes-no questions tend to occasion a different level of conformity to the constraints. The first factor that differentiates the questions is its location. The callers may ask a yes-no question at the opening position during the problem presentation, or they may ask a yes-no question at a subsequent position after the experts respond to the opening question.

Yes-no questions in the opening position are usually designed to ask for confirmation on the validity of the caller's measure or situation. However, the experts mostly answer with a disconfirmation and it is deferred by an elaborate preface of some background work, such as interpretation of the situation or the diagnosis of the issue, to support the disconfirmation itself. Such construction retroactively displays the callers' concern was not really about seeking validation itself but receiving a solution and advice from the expert. Both participants are oriented to this hidden agenda and seamlessly deal with it by providing and accepting the non-conforming responses.

Yes-no question in the subsequent position can be divided into three subgroups with respect to the relevance of the callers' understanding of the advice to the question. When the question does not involve understanding the contents of the advice but addresses the future outcome expected from following the advice, the callers treat the effect of advice as a matter of possibility. The experts tend to upgrade the commitment to the proposition that the outcome of following the advice will be positive and vindicate the effect of the advice.

If the questions involve the understanding of the callers, the understanding level is manifest in the question and it engenders different response design. When the callers ask how to practice the given advice, they imply the advice is not fitted or appropriate and display the

inference that may not match the advice itself. In such cases, the experts tend to provide a transformative response so that they can avoid the inference incompatible with the advice and keep the advice intact.

However, the callers may try to have their understanding of the advice checked. So they design the question with grammatical resources to index their knowing epistemic stance and display they are confident of interpreting the advice in a right way. The experts tend to provide a type-conforming response. Even when a nonconforming response comes as a repetition, it embodies a low level of resistance as it only claims the experts' agency over the understanding or the supposition.,

In summary, while the yes-no questions in a counseling calls place the constraints on the responses, the activity the calls try to achieve, that is, asking and giving a solution, sometimes overrides the constraints of the grammatical construction in the first position yes-no questions. For the subsequent questions, the experts try to vindicate their advice intact and often provide non-conforming responses to resist the terms and agenda of the question.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE WORKD OF THE HOST: A FACILITATOR AND A STORY RECIPIENT

#### 4.1 Introduction

In counseling calls, the overall structure of interaction consists of opening, problem presentation, (history-taking/questioning<sup>9</sup>), providing diagnosis/advice and closing stage. While the callers and the expert mainly take the initiative in the problem presentation and the diagnosis/advice-giving stage respectively, the host is engaged in all the stages to some extent. The host works as a facilitator who is attentive to the progressivity of the activity. She initiates the transition to the problem presentation after the opening and makes sure the presentation proceeds with necessary components, i.e., introduction of the main character of the narrative. During the problem presentation, in which all the callers employ a narrative format, she behaves as an active participant of the narrative by taking an affiliative stance. In general, rapport building is considered to be very important during counseling for the successful outcome (Horvath & Luborsky, 1993; Martin, Garske, & Davis, 2000). When it comes to the parents who share concerns about their own child(ren), the affiliative stance toward their concern would be even more desirable. At the transition between the presentation and the diagnosis/advice, she pursues the callers' question formulation, which most of the callers voluntarily provide, when it is

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<sup>9</sup> The employment of the history-taking stage varies according to the experts. Some experts tend to ask background information first while others directly proceed to giving advice.

missing. At the closing, she initiates a closing cue unless the caller produces acknowledgement token at the end of the advice-giving stage.

By being a facilitator and a narrative recipient, the host displays that she is oriented to the institution of broadcasting, e.g., streamlining the interaction, time limit, overhearing audience and the institution of counseling, e.g., taking an affiliative stance to the callers. The host achieves balancing two different interactional goals as she assumes her institutional identity according to each stage's agenda.

#### **4.2 Giving a transition cue after the opening**

In counseling calls, the host cues the transition between the opening and the problem presentation by simply saying 'yes.' The opening usually consists of a summons-response sequence, a greeting sequence, and a transition cue. In an ordinary telephone conversation, the first turn is considered to be a response as the caller initiated the first pair part, summoning, by making a phone call (Schegloff 1986). In the radio call-in shows, however, the first turn by the host forms a summons. It is because the callers very often go through a screening before they go on air. The callers in the data also seem to be connected to the station's representative members first and on stand-by until the host is ready to summon them. The host announces the onset of counseling with a short introduction, such as 'next call,' and then summons the caller with 'hello' as shown in the following excerpt.

##### **(1) 44-7-27-2-6yoDaughterMomMonster**

01 Host: *taum cenhwapnita:, yeposeyyo:¿*  
next call-FORM hello  
'Next call:, Hello:¿'

02 CLR: *yey yeposeyyo:ǿ*  
yes hello  
**Yes,=hello.**

03 Host: *yey annyenghasey[yo,*  
yes hi:POL  
**Yes hi.**

04 CLR: *[yey annyenghaseyyo.*  
yes hi:POL  
**Yes hi.**

05 > Host: **=yey.**  
yes  
**=Yes.**

06 CLR: *yesessal: yecaainteyyo,*  
six-year girl-CIRCUM-POL  
**(My child is) a six-years-old girl,**

01 Host: 다음 전환니다:, 여보세요:ǿ

02 Clr: 예 여보세요:ǿ

03 Host: 예 안녕하세 [요,

04 Clr: [예 안녕하세요.

05 Host: =예.

06 Clr: 여섯살: 여자앤데요,

In line 2, the caller responds with a receipt token *yey* ‘yes,’ followed by a Korean-specific second summoning *yeposeyyo* ‘hello’ (see Lee (2006) for more explanation). After acknowledging the caller’s second summons with a receipt token, the host initiates a greeting sequence. Then in line 5, the host produces *yey* ‘yes.’ While this receipt token could be considered to be answering the greeting<sup>10</sup>, its primary function is to give a cue for transition to the caller. As soon as *yey* (or *ney* elsewhere) ‘yes’ is said, the caller moves forward to presenting her problem. The caller’s move shows that she treats this as a transition cue. It is noteworthy that the host’s cue does not place any constraint on the caller’s next action in terms of topic or format. In medical encounters, the

<sup>10</sup> *annyenghaseyyo* ‘hi’ in Korean can be literally translated into ‘Are you well?’ While the original meaning has much faded and the greeting is often exchanged without an acknowledgement token, the ‘yes’ token in line 4 and 5 can be understood as affirmation as well as a cue for transition.

doctor's question design brings about different length of problem presentation (Heritage and Robinson 2006). An open-ended question receives a longer presentation than request for confirmation does. However, the host's cue is even wider in that it just informs that the floor is yielded to the callers. The callers have freedom to organize their presentation.

Considering an ordinary telephone conversation, the next turn after greeting is a place for the "reason for the call" (Schegloff 1986). The callers may well go ahead and tell the reason for the call right after the greeting sequence without a cue. In fact, the callers are also oriented to the overall activity and aware that they are supposed to present the problem here. In the following excerpt, the caller starts the presentation in overlap with the host's cue.

**(2) 30-6-26-4-ChildishDaughterAtKindergarten**

- 01 Host: *taum cenhwa yenkyelhaysssupnita:ɔ yeposeyyo:ɔ*  
 next call connect-PST-FORM hello  
**(We've) got connected to the next call, hello?**
- 02 Clr: *ney: yeposeyyo[:ɔ*  
 yes hello  
**Yes hello**
- 03 Host: *[ney annyenghaseyyo.*  
 yes hi:POL  
**Yes hi.**
- 04 > Clr: *ney annyenghasey[yo=cenun: e: (.)*  
 yes hi:POL. I:HUM-TOP uhm  
**Yes hi. I am(=My case is), uhm:**
- 05 > Host: *[ (ih-)*
- 06 > Clr: *man, sa seytwayn yecaaiketunyo?*  
 full four-year-become-ATTR girl-INFO-POL  
**a four-year-old girl?**
- 07 Host: *=ney: ,*  
 yes  
**=Yes: ,**
- 08 Clr: *yey, >kuluntey incey< olhay cheumulo*  
 yes given that now this:year first:time
- 09 *yuchiwene kakey twayssnuntey: ,*



kindergarten-to go-CONN become-PST-CIRCUM  
**Yes, now, she got to go to the kindergarten  
 for the first time this year**

01 Host: 다음 전화 연결했습니다:¿ 여보세요:¿  
 02 Clr: 네: 여보세요[:¿  
 03 Host: [네 안녕하세요.  
 04 Clr: 예 안녕하세요 [요=저는: 어: (.)  
 05 Host: [이ㅎ-  
 06 Clr: 만, 사 세된 여자아이거든요?  
 07 Host: =네:,  
 08 Clr: 예 >그런데 인제< 올해 처음으로  
 09 유치원에 가게 됐는데:,

The opening begins with summons-response and greetings. In line 4, the caller moves to the introduction of the child. The host also initiates her transition cue in line 5 that ends up with a cut-off to avoid the overlap. When the callers show their orientation to the progress of the activity, the host yields and abandons the transition cue.

However, when a caller misses the cue for transition. In such cases, the host gives a clear cue by formulating an open-ended question.

**(3) 48-7-27-6-DivorceeMom**

01 Host: *macimak cenhwaipnita¿ yeposeyyo:¿*  
 last call-FORM hello  
**(This) is the last call. Hello?**  
 02 (0.5)  
 03 Clr: *yeposeyyo:¿*  
 hello  
**Hello?**  
 04 Host: *yey annyenghaseyyo,*  
 yes hi:POL  
**Yes hi.**  
 05 Clr: *yey annyenghaseyyo\_*  
 yes hi:POL

**Yes hi.**  
 06 > Host: **yey yey\_**  
 yes yes  
**Yes.**  
 07 Clr: **yey. .hh**  
 yes  
**Yes. .hh**  
 08 > Host: **ney, etten um[:key \$kwungkumhaseyyo.\$**  
 yes what:kind DM thing-NOM wonder-SH-POL  
**Yes, [] what uhm: are you concerned about?**  
 09 Clr: **[yey.**  
 yes  
**[]Yes.**  
 10 **.h cenun: icey: inyen: ceney**  
 I:HUM-TOP now two:year ago-at  
 11 **ihonul haysskwuyo:,**  
 divorce-ACC do-PST-CONN-POL  
**I got divorced two years ago, and**  
 01 Host: **마지막 전화입니다. 여보세요.**  
 02 (0.5)  
 03 Clr: **여보세요.**  
 04 Host: **예 안녕하세요,**  
 05 Clr: **예 안녕하세요\_**  
 06 Host: **예예\_**  
 07 Clr: **예. .hh**  
 08 Host: **네, 어떤: 음[:게 \$궁금하세요.\$**  
 09 Clr: **[예.**  
 10 **.h 저는: 이제: 이년: 전에**  
 11 **이혼을 했구요.,**

In line 6, the host gives a transition cue. The caller, however, does not move forward but gives another acknowledgment token in line 7. The host explicitly formulates a wh-question in line 8. The host still asks an open-ended question so that the caller can quite freely organize her presentation. The caller begins her narrative with background information regarding the family situation in line 10.

Thus, the transition from the opening to the problem presentation is achieved in a minimal manner. The minimal transition results from the fact that both the host and the callers are oriented to the institutional procedures of counseling calls, especially regarding how it progresses from the opening stage to the problem presentation. They are also aware of the sequential organization of ordinary telephone interaction as they concurrently locate a place for ‘reason for the call.’ In terms of the turn design, the cue is so open-ended that it does not place any constraint on the format and contents of the callers’ next turn.

#### **4.3 Pursuing missing info in a narrative**

Upon the opening cue, the callers start the problem presentation in a narrative form with background information of the main character, their child(ren). The ordering of the information is quite systematic: the callers first talk about the child’s gender and age. When there are siblings, the callers introduce them at the same time. This information is important to the expert as their diagnosis and solution may have to be grounded on such information along with the expertise in child development. While it is very likely that the callers might have been told to introduce the child first during a screening stage, putting the information at this point helps maximize the effectiveness of the counseling.

In the next excerpt, upon the host’s opening cue, the caller first provides a general description of the children’s age in line 7. By adding a plural suffix on the word ‘child,’ she signals she has more than one child and then goes on to introduce one by one.

#### **(4) 11-4-27-2-10yoSonNoConversation**

01 Host: =taum cenhwalul, yenkyelhay pokeyssupnita.



= [Hh! °hehe°

01 Host: =다음 전화를, 연결해 보겠습니다.  
02 여보세요: ?  
03 Clr: 네: 안녕하세 [요?  
04 Host: [안녕하세요?  
05 Clr: 네:,  
06 Host: =네.  
07 Clr: 음: 저는 아직 아이들이 어린데 [요,  
08 Host: [네.  
09 Clr: 어 여자아이는: 지금 일학년 여덟살이구요,  
10 Host: =예.  
11 Clr: 어 남자아이가: 지금, 인자 삼학년 열살이에요,  
12 Host: 네:.  
13 Clr: 예: >근데인제, 어: 성별이 다르다보니까  
14 너무나 달라서요:  
15 Host: = [Hh! °hehe°

After indicating she has more than one child, the caller begins the introduction with the daughter's school year and the age in line 9, then in the next turn in line 11, she gives the son's school year and age. The host receives each turn with an acknowledgement token. This is a successful case the caller clearly delivers the needed information.

When either part of information is missing, the host begins the search for it. In the next excerpt, the caller raises her child as a topic first then goes to his description rather than the needed information. The host initiates the pursuit right away.

**(5) 31-6-26-5-SonTooGoodStudent**

01 Host: = [ney  
yes  
Yes.  
02 Clr: = [ 'ki-  
uhm  
= [Uhm-



07 (0.4)  
 08 Clr: 아홉살이거 (h) 든요?  
 09 (0.2)  
 10 Host: 여 아드[님?  
 11 Clr: [ '제 이학년 네 아들이에[요.  
 12 Host: [네:,  
 13 (0.2)  
 14 Clr: 근데, (0.5) 선생님:이 보기에  
 15 너무나: 이제 모범생이고:

Upon the host's opening cue in line 1, the caller initiates her narrative in line 3 by topicalizing her child. But in line 5, the caller provides the son's description rather than his age and gender. As soon as the turn is completed, the host initiates the pursuit of the information by first asking the age. Even though the question addresses the age only, the caller is given a chance to fill in the missing information both the age and the gender at this point. When the caller only provides the age in line 8, after a short pause, the host again pursues a second missing item, the child's gender. Now the host forms the question into a declarative question so that the caller only needs to confirm it in line 10. The host first starts the turn with a syllable for 'girl' but abandons it, then suggests the gender in terms of family relation, 'son.' The caller first reformulates the child's age with the school grade then confirms the gender in line 11. Then she goes back to the description she departed from in line 3. Thus, as soon as it is detected that the caller misses out necessary information, the host pursues it. The host shows that she vigilantly looks for the progress of the interaction. Moreover, the host often uses a declarative question form so that the caller is only required to confirm the host's suggestion. By doing so, the host may minimize this pursuit without further elaboration (cf. Raymond 2010).

In the next excerpt, the caller first successfully introduces the child in question. However, as the presentation goes on, another figure, the sibling of the child, comes up and the host pursues the information.

**(6) 34-6-29-2 Brother To Sister Violent**

- 01 Clr: [swuko manhusipnita:.  
effort much-FORM  
**I appreciate your work. (Lit. You're doing hard work.)**
- 02 Host: =komapsupnita:.,  
thank:you-FORM  
**Thank you.**
- 03 Clr: =ney=cehuy: aikathun kyengwunun  
yes my:HUM child-like case-TOP
- 04 chotunghakkyo sahaknyenintey,  
elementary:school fourth:grade-CIRCUM  
**yes=my child's case is,  
(he) is a fourth grader in an elementary school,  
given that,**
- 05 Host: ney.  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 06 (0.3)
- 07 Clr: .h, e:: nwunahantey: (0.5)  
older:sister-to
- 08 com ilehkey ^ccacungpwuliko phoklyekcekiko,  
little like:this act:irritated-CONN violent-CONN  
**.h, uhm:: to the big sister (0.5)  
(he) is acting irritated and violent, and**
- 09 > Host: =sakaknyen[i namcaaiko: nwunanun?  
fourth:grade-NOM boy-CONN older:sister-TOP  
**[] Fourth grader is a boy, and the older sister is?**
- 10 Clr: [( )-
- 11 (0.5)
- 12 Clr: yecaayyeyyo, [°yukhaknyeniko.°  
girl-POL six:grade-CONN  
**She's a girl, [] °and she's a sixth grader.°**
- 13 Host: [sahaknyeni,  
fourth:grade-NOM
- 14 namcaailako hasyesscyo.  
boy-QT say-PST-COMM-POL



[ ] You said the fourth grader is a boy.

15 Clr: neyney:.  
yes yes  
**yes yes**:.

16 > Host: =yukha- kulemyen. yu=mwe wieynunyo.  
then what above-TOP-POL  
**=sixt- then. si=what- the older one is?**

17 (0.2)

18 Clr: wieynun yecaay- yecaayko,  
above-TOP girl girl-CONN  
19 yukhaknyeniy[yo,  
six:grade-POL  
**The older one is a girl- a girl and  
[ ] a sixth grader.**

20 Host: [a yukhaknyen.=yeyyey.  
six:grade yes yes  
**[ ] oh sixth grader.=yes yes.**

21 Clr: yey: kuntey ceyka: incey ilul taninikka,  
yes but I:HUM-NOM now work-ACC go-CAUS  
22 ceyka epsumyenun: nwunaka ^ta:  
I:HUM-NOM not:exist-COND-TOP older:sister-NOM all  
23 posalpye cwuketunyo [ta chayngkyecwuko[:,  
take:care-give-INFO-POL all look:after-give-CONN  
**Yes.. But, now as I go to work,  
when I'm not around, the big sister takes care of him  
[ ] (she) looks after everything**

01 Clr: [수고 많으십니다:.

02 Host: =고맙습니다:,

03 Clr: =네=저희: 아이같은 경우는

04 초등학교 사학년인데,

05 Host: 네.

06 (0.3)

07 Clr: .h, 어:: 누나한테: (0.5)

08 좀 이렇게 ^짜증부리고 폭력적이고,

09 Host: =사학년 [이 남자아이고: 누나는?

10 Clr: [ ( )-

11 (0.5)

12 Clr: 여자애예요, [°육학년이고.°

13 Host: [사학년이,

14 남자아이라고 하셨죠.

15 Clr: 네네:.

16 Host: =육하- 그러면. 유=뭐 위에는요.

17 (0.2)

18 Clr: 위에는 여자애- 여자애고,  
 19 육학년이에 [요,  
 20 Host: [아 육학년 . =예예.  
 21 Clr: 예: 근데 제가: 인제 일을 다니니까,  
 22 제가 없으면은: 누나가 ^다:  
 23 보살펴 주거든요 [다 챙겨주고 [:,

In lines 3-4, the caller first introduces the child only with the age in terms of school grade. In line 5, the host provides an acknowledgment as at least one piece of needed information is given. Without providing the gender, in line 7, the caller refers to the other character, the child's sibling, with the term *nwuna* 'older sister (to a boy).' By this term, the child's and the sibling's gender is revealed and the only missing information is the sister's age. In line 9, the host constructs her turn in a declarative question: she provides all the information gathered so far with "Fourth grader is a boy, and the older sister is?" To fill in the information in a parallel mode in line 12, the caller first provides the older sister's gender, even if it was already included in the reference term *nwuna*. Then in the second TCU, the caller adds the needed information, the age, in the school grade terms. Due to the overlap with the host's repair initiation in line 13, the information is not received. Although the host later shows the partial receipt of the information in line 16, she does not assert the information from her end by abandoning the beginning of the word 'sixth' twice and asks again with the similar question, 'the older one is?'. Only in line 19, the caller properly fills in the missing information and the pursuit ends finally.

Thus, the host is oriented to the overall activity of counseling and try to make sure all the necessary components go in the right position. Most of the time the callers voluntarily provide the introduction of the child in question with the age and gender at the beginning of their narrative. However, as soon as the absence of the information is detected, the host pursues it right away.

#### **4.4 Being a recipient of a narrative**

When the callers begin to present their problems, they employ a narrative style without exception. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the presentation is an important source from which the host/expert can learn about the problem and prepare the diagnosis and advice accordingly. Thus, the callers try to present their issues with relevant information as much as possible in the narrative until they reach the question formulation. During this stage, the host turns into an active recipient of the narrative and displays affiliation with two types of continuers to build the narrative together.

The continuers are used by a recipient of the extended turn so that s/he can display the current turn is understood as ongoing and they give up the speakership or repair initiation at this point (Schegloff 1982). Goodwin (1986) reports that the continuers can be divided into two groups by their function and the sequential treatment they receive. The recipients of a narrative produce continuers when they believe the current talk is a preliminary of the following talk. On the other hand, they employ assessments to deal with the specifics of the current talk. The speakers of the narrative are also oriented to such deployment and adjust their next TCU launch. For a simple continuer, they are prepared to move to the next TCU while the continuer is in progress, but for the assessment they wait and adjust their current turn to accommodate it so that it ends within their current TCU. The recipient's analysis of the current talk and the sequential treatment of the continuers/assessment show a narrative is a collaboration of the participants.

One of the institutional settings where a narrative is used is the medical interaction. When the patients present their problem, the doctors, as a recipient of the narrative, employ two types of receipt tokens in order to display their understanding of the current talk and signal the

preparedness to the transition to the next stage (Heritage and Clayman 2010). While the continuers like 'mm hm' or 'uh huh' invite patients to continue, receipt tokens like 'okay' or 'right' are shift-implicative. As the doctors are concerned when to make a transition to the next stage, they vigilantly search for the upcoming completion of the narrative. Thus, the recipients of a narrative employ continuers according to the current telling's contents, whether they are a preliminary of something else or particulars themselves, and the goal of the interaction, whether the narrative appears in itself or it is a resource for another activity.

In a counseling call, the responses from the host during the callers' narrative are divided into two types: a continuative continuer and an empathic continuer<sup>11</sup>. While neither continuer is shift-implicative, both registers given information with different degree of affectiveness. In fact, the two types of continuers show very similar distribution of the continuers and the assessments that Goodwin (1986) discusses. The continuatives are mainly employed to register the informative parts of the narrative, which often come as preliminaries of the actual problem itself. On the other hand, the empathic continuers often come after the description of the child(ren)'s abnormal behavior or a problematic situation. The host reacts to such particulars in the narrative with strong affectiveness.

The fact that neither is shift-implicative is noteworthy. During the problem presentation stage, the host seems rather interested in acknowledging the caller's narrative in a varied manner than concerned with the progressivity of the presentation. As shown in the earlier section, the transition to the advice-giving stage is expected to be led by the callers. Most callers advance

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<sup>11</sup> The term receipt token means the information from the preceding turn is received or acknowledged. The continuer also means the information is understood and, on top of it, it lets the teller to continue. When an extended turn at talk is in progress, the receipt token functions as a continuer. In this section, the term 'continuers' and 'receipt tokens' will be used interchangeably. Moreover, the most common receipt token in Korean *yey* or *ney* 'yes' is very versatile and it carries many functions, such as an affirmative token, a continuer, an understanding token, etc. (Pyun 2009). In the data, the receipt token *yey/ney* 'yes' appear as both a continuative and an empathic continuer with intonational differences.

their telling in a timely manner and the host initiates the transition explicitly only if the question formulation is not done by the callers. This smooth progress toward the completion of the presentation is possible because the callers are oriented to the basic narrative principle in building toward the problem, e.g., placing the introduction information at the beginning, and the host expects such orientation. Thus, the host commands the continuers, fitting them into the right places, so that she can promote the affiliation with the callers.

In the following excerpt, the caller asks how to guide her six-year-old daughter as she responds to the caller in an offensive way and often hits her younger sibling. The host consistently acknowledges the caller's description of her daughter's misbehaviors with an empathic response. The other basic information used to build up the narrative is mostly received with continuative continuers by the host.

**(7) 44-7-27-2-6yoDaughterMomMonster**

- 01 CLR: *yesessal: yecaaynteyyo,*  
 six.year girl-CIRCUM-POL  
**(The child) is a six-year-old girl.**
- 02 > Host: **-ney.**  
 yes  
**Yes,**
- 03 CLR: *yey. .ss ceyka icey:*  
 yes I:HUM-NOM now
- 04 *calmostoyn hayngtong: kathun kelul hamyen:,*  
 be.wrong-ATTR behavior like thing-ACC do-COND
- 05 *mal:o ilehkey honnayketunyo?*  
 word-with like:this scold-INFO-POL  
**Yes, if she does a wrong behavior or something,**  
**I scold her in words, you know.**
- 06 > Host: **ney.**  
 yes  
**Yes.**
- 07 CLR: *kulemyenun emmanun koymwuliya papoya*  
 then-TOP mom-TOP monster-IE fool-IE
- 08 *mak ilemyen[se,*  
 DM say:so-SIMUL  
**Then saying like, "mom is a monster, (mom) is a fool,"**

09 >> Host: [hh[hehehehe [yey.  
yes  
[hh[hehehehe yes

10 CLR: [mwunul [thak!  
door-ACC ONOM

11 (0.4) tatko tuleka peli[kwuyo,  
shut-CONN enter-CONN COMPL-CONN-POL  
[] (she) goes into (a room),  
slamming the door behind her, and

12 >> Host: [ayu:=yey[:  
yes  
[]Aww, yes

13 CLR: [hwacangsil  
bathroom

14 kathun teyto mak tuleka[kwuyo.  
like-ATTR place-also DM enter-CONN-POL  
She goes into a place like a bathroom and

15 >> Host: [.huh,  
huh  
[] .huh,

16 >> eme:. [°um,°  
wow hm  
Wow hm:

17 CLR: [kuliku  
and

18 tongsayngi issnunteyyo =seysalccali.  
younger.sibling-NOM exist-CIRCUM-POL three.years.old-SUFFIX  
And she has a younger sibling, a three-year-old.

19 > Host: ney.  
yes  
Yes.

20 CLR: ku tongsayng seysalccalilul  
that younger:sibling three:year:old-ACC

21 ca:kkwu cwumekulwu melilul mak ttayli[kwu,  
repeatedly fist-with head-ACC DM hit-CONN  
(She) keeps hitting the younger sibling,  
[]the three-year-old, on the head with a fist,

22 Host: [^yetongsayng namtongsayng.  
younger:sister younger:brother  
[] A younger sister or a younger brother.

23 CLR: =namtong[sayngiyo.  
younger:brother-POL  
[] (It) is a younger brother.

24 Host: [namtongsayng=yey.  
younger brother yes  
[] A younger brother=Yes.

25 Clr: =yey. .he, kulikwu tto em- emmaka ilecele-  
 yes and also mom-NOM this:or:that  
 26 incey: (.) cohun mallo:, ilehkey haca kulemyenun:  
 now good-ATTR word-with like:this do-PROP say:so-COND  
 27 tutcilul anhkwuꞤ chaykathun kena caki cangnankamul  
 listen-ATT not-CONN book-like thing-or own toy-ACC  
 28 ^mak tencyeyo,  
 DM throw-POL  
**=Yes. .he, And if I say this or that-  
 Like in nice words (I say) "let's do it this way"  
 She doesn't listen, and throws things like books  
 or her toys.**

29 > Host: **ney.**  
 yes  
**Yes.**

30 Clr: =>kulayse< han penun:, yeki peylanta yulito  
 so one occasion-TOP here balcony glass-also  
 31 hanpen ttak kkaycin ceki issessketunyo?  
 once ONOM break-ATTR occasion-NOM exist-INFO-POL  
**So, there once was an occasion the glass window  
 in the balcony got broken, you know,**

32 >> Host: **a:[:,**  
 oh  
**Oh::,**

33 Clr: [yey:. .h kulikwu  
 yes and  
**Yes:. .h And**

01 Clr: 여섯살: 여자앤데요,

02 Host: =네.

03 Clr: 예. .ss 제가 이제:

04 잘못된 행동: 같은 거를 하면:,

05 말:로 이렇게 혼내거든요?

06 Host: 네.

07 Clr: 그러면은 엄마는 괴물이야 바보야

08 막 이러면[서,

09 Host: [hh[hehehehe [예.

10 Clr: [문을 [탁!

11 (0.4) 닫고 들어가 버리[구요,

12 Host: [아유:=예[:

13 Clr: [화장실

14 같은 데도 막 들어가[구요.

15 Host: [.huh,

16 어머:. [°음,°

17 Clr: [그리구: (.)  
18 동생:이 있는데요=세살짜리.  
19 Host: 네.  
20 Clr: 그 동생 세살짜리를  
21 자:꾸 주먹으루 머리를 막 때리[군,  
22 Host: [^여동생 남동생.  
23 Clr: =남동[생이요.  
24 Host: [남동생=예.  
25 Clr: =예..He, 그리구 또 엄-엄마가 이러저러-  
26 인제: (.) 좋은 말로:, 이렇게 하자 그러면은:  
27 듣지를 앓구; 책같은 거나 자기 장난감을  
28 ^막 던져요,  
29 Host: 네.  
30 Clr: =>그래서< 한 번은:, 여기 베란다 유리도  
31 한번 딱 깨진 적이 있었거든요?  
32 Host: 아:[:,  
33 Clr: [예:.. .h 그리구

The host produces a receipt token ‘yes’ upon the completion of the caller's TCU in which factual information is delivered. In line 1, the caller tells the age and the gender of the child. In line 3-5, the caller describes her own action as background information of the problematic situation. In line 18, the caller introduces another child with the age. All these TCUs work as a preliminary of the description of the problematic behavior and the host acknowledges each information with a continuative continuer.

On the other hand, the host displays her affiliative stance with empathic continuers after the caller mentions some problematic behaviors/events related to the child<sup>12</sup>. The caller reports that the daughter calls her names, slams the door behind her, and finds a place for solitude like a

<sup>12</sup> Note that not all the description of abnormal or undesirable behaviors are acknowledged with an empathic response. In lines 15-6, the caller says the daughter hits her younger sibling with the fist, but the host’s response rather pursues the gender of the sibling than forms an empathic continuer. In line 20-23, the caller reports that the daughter reacts in an undesirable way to the caller’s suggestion, but the host produces a continuative continuer in line 24. Thus, the host may use the empathic responses not in one-on-one manner but with her own discretion.



bathroom in lines 7-8, 10-11 and 13-14. In line 9, the host produces a trouble-resistive laughter token when the part of the problem is delivered as dramatizing the incident with a reported speech (Jefferson 1984). In line 12 and 16, the host combines an empathic continuer with a continuative in one turn so that she stays affiliative and acknowledges the factual part of the narrative. Moreover, when the caller reports another misbehavior of the child with an extreme case in lines 30-31, the host uses a ‘change-of-state’ token *a* ‘oh’ alone and clearly acknowledges the incident as remarkable without derailing the narrative (Heritage 1984b) in line 32.

While the continuative continuers are commonly found during narratives both in an ordinary and an institutional setting, the empathic continuers in the counseling interaction may be unexpected but make sense. As the counseling is based on affiliative framework, it is not surprising that the host displays an affective stance in spite of the institutional setting. Given the importance of the problem presentation stage, it is important for the host to create an environment in which the callers feel free to tell their story. Moreover, the narrative itself and the reported speech employed in it provide a good environment in which empathic continuers can be used (Heritage 2011). As the callers share their life experiences, the ‘response cry’ type of continuers help promote empathic union between the host and the callers.

While the emphatic continuers can take a lexical form, they may only be a stretch of sound carrying some intonation contour that carries an empathic stance (Goodwin 1986, Heritage 2011). The ‘yes’ token intonationally loaded in length and strength can function as an empathic continuer. The host in the following excerpt employs such continuers and stays affiliative throughout the narrative. The caller is telling about her 12-year-old son, who still compares himself with his 9-year-old brother since he believes the caller favors the younger brother.

**(8) 26-6-19-6-12yoInsecureComparingSon**

01 Clr: >kulenikka< yayka: hangsang, ku tongsayng:kwa  
that:is this:kid-NOM always that younger:sibling-with  
02 cakiey tayhayse pikyolul hamyense, .h  
self-at about comparison-ACC do-SIMUL  
**So this kid always compares the younger brother  
with himself and**

03 > Host: [um:  
hm  
[] **hmm:**

04 Clr: [ku: emmanun: (0.5) nanun icey com khessunikka tto;  
DM mother-TOP I-TOP now little grown-CAUS also  
05 ^sachwunki cepetulmyense tto; tehatulakwyyo,  
puberty enter-SIMUL also worsen-RET:DEC-QT-POL  
06 =nanun miweha:nun ke kathko:,  
I-TOP hate-ATTR thing seem-CONN  
[] **"you(mom) seem, as I am now a little grown up,"  
it gets more frequent as he turns adolescent,  
"you(mom) seem to hate me and"**

07 > Host: um[:,  
hm  
[] **hmm:,**

08 Clr: [tongsayngmanul salanghanun ke kathta:,  
younger:sibling-only-ACC love-ATTR thing seem-DEC  
[] **"love the younger brother only."**

09 > Host: [aho: [yey:  
aww yes  
[] **Aww: yes:.**

10 Clr: [.hhh ku[liko hangsang tto saylowun  
and always too new  
11 ^hakwenina nachsen kosey ilukey,  
private:academy-or unfamiliar place-at like:this  
12 =che:um tulekanun key tayhayse koyngcanghi; .hhh  
first enter-ATTR thing-at about greatly  
13 khun: (.) ikhey kepwukam [kathun ke. cwungkan-  
big like:this aversion like thing middle  
[] **And always, like a new private academy or a new place,  
about entering such places for the first time  
[] (he has) huge aversion-like stuff, in the middle-**

14 Host: [kepwukam:,  
aversion  
[] **aversion**

15 =[a:.  
oh  
[] **oh**

16 Clr: =[^ung, kulen key com isstulakwuyo?  
yeah such thing little exist-RET:DEC-QT-POL  
**yeah, (he) has such tendency, you know,**

17 > Host: **ney: ,**  
yes  
**Yes: ,**

18 Clr: *kulayse cum: ke ettehkey haymun cohulci=*  
so DM that how do-COND good-IND:INTERR  
19 *hangsang emmauy aycengul hwakinhalyeko hayyo: ,*  
always mom-of love-ACC check-INTEND do-POL  
**so uhm: how I can handle it=**  
**(He) always tries to check out my affection for him.**

20 > Host: **ye[y: ,**  
yes  
**[]Yes: ,**

21 Clr: *[emmanun (.) nayka silhun keya?*  
mom-TOP I-NOM dislike-ATTR thing-INTERR  
**[]"Mom, you dislike me?"**

22 *[mwe, [hayse: ? [hako*  
DM do-CONN do-CONN  
**[like, [saying so, [and**

23 > Host: **[h:eh [ehehehe [he .hhh**  
**[h:eh [ehehehe [he .hhh**

24 Clr: *anapollye [hako[: ,*  
hug-try-INTEND do-CONN  
**[] (he) tries to hug me and**

25 > Host: **[.h, [e: :**  
oh  
**[.h, [oh: :**

26 Clr: *kulentey ceyka ettehkey hamyen cohulci: , ,*  
but I:HUM-NOM how do-COND good-IND:INTERR  
**But what kind of action of mine would be good**

27 > Host: **ney: [:: .**  
yes  
**[] Yes: : . .**

28 Clr: *[amwulayto ku*  
somehow that  
29 *aychak hyengsengi com*  
attachment building-NOM little  
30 *kuleci anhassna sipuneyyo[: ,*  
poor-COMP not-PST-NOMCOMM seem-FR-POL  
**[] After all, it seems that the attachment development**  
**might have been not good enough.**

31 > Host: **[neyney.**  
yes yes  
**[] Yes.**

32 Clr: *yey[: .*

yes  
**Yes.**

01 Clr: >그러니까< 애가: 항상, 그 동생:과  
02 자기에 대해서 비교를 하면서,.h  
03 Host: [음:  
04 Clr: [그: 엄마는: (0.5) 나는 이제 좀 컸으니까 또;  
05 ^사춘기 접어들면서 또; 더하드라구요,  
06 =나는 미워하:는 거 같고:,  
07 Host: 음[:,  
08 Clr: [동생만을 사랑하는 거 같다:,  
09 Host: [아호: [예:  
10 Clr: [.hhh 그[리고 항상 또 새로운  
11 ^학원이나 낯선 곳에 이르게  
12 =처:음 들어가는 거에 대해서 굉장히; .hhh  
13 큰: 이케 거부감 [같은 거. 중간-  
14 Host: [거부감:,  
15 =[아:..  
16 Clr: =[^응, 그런 게 좀 있드라구요?  
17 Host: 네:.,  
18 Clr: 그래서 좀: 거 어떻게 해든 좋을지=  
19 항상 엄마의 애정을 확인하려고 해요:,  
20 Host: 예[::.,  
21 Clr: [엄마는 (.) 내가 싫은 거야?  
22 [뭐, [해서:~? [하고  
23 Host: [h:eh[ehehehe[he .hhh  
24 Clr: 안아볼려 [하고[:.,  
25 Host: [.h, [어:..  
26 Clr: 그런데 제가 어떻게 하면 좋을지:.,  
27 Host: 네:[::..  
28 Clr: [아무래도 그  
29 애착형성이 좀  
30 그러지 않았나 싶으네요[:.,  
31 Host: [네네.  
32 Clr: 예[:..

Before the excerpt, the caller has shared that the older son was taken care of by several caretakers when he was an infant, he had a hard time adjusting to a daycare environment, and she quit her job when the younger son was five years old to take care of him herself. At the beginning of the excerpt, the caller continues to report current state of the older son, i.e., continuous comparison between him and the brother in lines 1-2 and quotes his words in lines 4-6. The host produces an elongated continuer ‘hm’ with fall-rise intonation in line 3 and 7 and displays affiliation. In line 6 and 8, the caller quotes her son’s perception about favoritism in the reported speech. The host’s response cry token in line 9 is addressed to how the caller would have felt. Lines 17 and 20 also contain intonationally loaded continuers. When the caller uses more reported speech to deliver another unfair accusation in line 21, the host provides a laughter token to respond to the reported speech in line 23. Through the laughter token, the host associates her feelings toward such talk with the caller’s emotional state that she would have had upon listening to the son’s complaint, that is, she would have been struck dumb and could not help but laugh. The host’s laughter is an “into-the-moment” empathic response and helps her strongly engage to the caller’s experience (Heritage 2011). The caller’s question formulation in line 26 and the self-diagnosis in lines 28-30 are also acknowledged by the intonationally loaded continuer. When the caller finished the presentation with the question formulation but still receives a continuer, she provides another ‘yes’ token to indicate the topic talk form her end is exhausted, forming an example of ‘topic attrition’ in line 32 (Jefferson 1993). In this excerpt, the host consistently uses an empathic response in simple tokens with a certain intonation contour and keeps an affiliative stance throughout.

#### **4.5 Pursuing the caller’s missing question formulation**

While the transition between the opening and the problem presentation was initiated by the host, the transition between the presentation to the advice-giving is achieved by the callers. Most callers formulate a question using their narrative as the background of the question per se. If the question is not coming, the host asks for the caller to form it.

In the following excerpt, the presentation includes a question that is not addressed to the host/expert and the progress gets stalled with a long pause. The caller was divorced two years ago and has a four-year-old son who lives with his father and comes to the caller a couple of times per month. The child behaves alright when he is with either the caller or the father. However, the teacher in the preschool reports he is very shy, timid and not cheerful. After reporting such tendency, the caller goes back to describing how the caller and the child spend time together.

**(9) 48-7-27-6-DivorceeMom**

01 Clr: *yey:. kulehkwu, .hh tto: ceyka ama,*  
 yes be:so-CONN also I:HUM-NOM maybe  
 02 *han taley twusey penintey:, (0.7)*  
 one month-at two:or:three time-CIRCUM  
 03 *cenun: sinkyengul ssese: mak,*  
 I:HUM-TOP attention-ACC use-CONN DM  
 04 *caymisskey nolacwuntako hayto*  
 interestingly play-give-QT do-CONCES  
 05 *hangsang kako namyen aswipko:,*  
 always leave-COMPL-COND sorry-CONN  
**Yes.. That is so, and .hh also: maybe I,**  
**It's couple of times a month (0.7)**  
**Even if I pay attention and try to play with him well,**  
**I always feel sorry after he leaves,**

06 Host: *ney.*  
 yes  
**Yes.**

07 Clr: *mwelul haycweya hana:*  
 what-ACC do-give-should-NONCOMM  
 08 *kulen maumi nul tulko [ku-*  
 such thought-NOM always come-CONN  
**'What should I do for him:'**

[ ] I always have such thoughts and that-

09 Host: [yey.  
yes  
[ ] Yes.

10 (1.5)

11 > Host: 'em emenika kwungkumhasin kenun  
then mother-NOM wonder-SH-ATTR thing-TOP  
12 > kulem etten pwupwuniseyyo:ǰ  
then which part-SH-POL  
**Then which part is the one you are wondering about?**

13 Clr: yey >kunikka< aika, .h icey:  
yes so child-NOM now  
14 han hantaley twuseyphen cengto  
about one-month-at two:three-time about  
15 cehantey onuntey[:,  
I:HUM-to come-CIRCUM  
**Yes so given that the child comes to me**  
**[ ] about two or three times a month,**

16 Host: [ney,  
yes  
[ ] Yes.

17 Clr: 'key etten: ettekkey: mwe haycweya hal[ci:,  
like which how what do-give-should do-IND:INTERR  
**[ ] Like, which, how, what I should do for him**

18 Host: [a::::,  
oh  
[ ] oh::::,

01 Clr: 예:. 그렇구, .hh 또: 제가아마,  
02 한 달에 두세 번인데:, (0.7)  
03 저는: 신경을 써서: 막,  
04 재밋게 놀아준다고 해도  
05 항상 가고 나면 아쉽고:,

06 Host: 네.

07 Clr: 뭐를 해줘야 하나:  
08 그런 마음이 늘 들고 [그-

09 Host: [예.

10 (1.5)

11 Host: '엄 어머니가 궁금하신 거는  
12 그럼 어떤 부분이세요:ǰ

13 Clr: 예 >그니까< 아이가, .h 이제:





with good granularity by talking about the son's overall character in detail in lines 1-29, the new challenges the son has been facing after going to an elementary school and the ways in which he has dealt with the issue in line 30-49.

**(10a) 31-6-26-5-SonTooGoodStudent**

- 01 Clr: *kuntey, (0.5) sensayngnim:i pokieynun*  
 but teacher:SH-NOM see:NOML-TOP  
*nemwuna: icey mopemsayngiko:*
- 02 too now good.student-CONN  
**But, in the teacher's view, (he) is a very good student,**
- 03 Host: *=ney,*  
 yes  
**Yes,**
- 04 Clr: *'cey chakhan aiko,.h >elyesepwuthe nemwunemwu<*  
 DM good-ATTR kid-CONN young-since much much
- 05 *chakhakwuyo =ssawuko kulenun kel*  
 good-CONN-POL fight-CONN do:so-ATTR thing-ACC
- 06 *silhehaysseyo:,*  
 dislike-PST-POL  
**(he) is a good kid, (he) has been so good  
 since he was young, he's disliked fighting and stuff.**
- 07 Host: *ney.*  
 yes  
**Yes.**
- ((23 lines omitted))  
 ((Caller describes the son's quiet and yielding character))
- 30 Clr: *['cey khuko hakkyolul kanikkayo,*  
 now big-CONN school-ACC go-CAUS  
**Now because he's grown and goes to school,**
- 31 Host: *yey.*  
 yes  
**Yes.**
- 32 (0.4)
- 33 Clr: *icey: aituli incey, (.)*  
 now kid-PL-NOM now
- 34 *yele conglyuuy aituli moicanhayo.*  
 various kind-of kid-PL-NOM gather-COMM:not-POL  
**Now the kids are, now there surely are a variety of kids.**
- 35 Host: *[ney.*  
 yes  
**[]Yes.**

36 Clr: *[namcaaytul kathun kyeungwuey koyngcanghi icey*  
 boy-CL like-ATTR case=at greatly now  
 37 *wailtuhako kwakyekhan aituli manhunt<sup>ey</sup>,*  
 wild-CONN violent-ATTR kid-CL-NOM many-CIRCUM  
**[]For the boys,**  
**there are a lot of very wild and violent kids, given that,**

38 Host: *yey:*,  
 yes  
**Yes.**

39 Clr: *yaynun amwuli chakhako yangpolul hayto*  
 this:kid-TOP however good-CONN concession-ACC do-CONCESS  
 40 *ttaylinun keyeyyo aytuli:*  
 hit-ATTR thing-POL kid-PL-NOM  
**The kids hit (him) no matter how**  
**good and conceding this kid(=the son) is.**

41 Host: *oh::[:.*  
 oh  
**Oh::..**

((8 lines omitted))  
 ((The son's strategy is to avoid wild kids))

50 Clr: *[>kunkka mwe< mamey macnun ay nonunt<sup>ey</sup>,*  
 I:mean DM heart-at concord-ATTR kid play-CIRCUM  
 51 *hakki chomata koyngcanghi suthuleysu patakackwu,*  
 school:term onset-every greatly stress receive-CONN  
**I mean, (he) plays with the kids he likes,**  
**but he gets really stressed out every beginning of a term,**

52 Host: *um::\_*  
 hm  
**Hm::\_**

53 Clr: *^hansang cipey wasen\_*  
 always home-at come-CONN-TOP  
 54 *pakkeysenun wulkena kuleci anhnunt<sup>ey</sup>,*  
 outside-at-TOP cry-or do:so-COMP not-CIRCUM  
 55 *cipey wase cehant<sup>ey</sup> koyngcanghi suthuleysulul mak:*  
 home-at come-CONN I:HUM-to greatly stress-ACC DM  
 56 *[ssotayo=[mak [wulmyense:],*  
 pour-POL DM cry-SIMUL  
**And always he comes home and,**  
**he doesn't cry or something outside,**  
**but he comes home and to me he pours out the stress,**  
**along with crying hard.**

57 Host: *[°um° [.ts=e[::yu*  
 uhm aww  
**[°um° .ts=aw::**

58 Host: *yey:*,  
 yes  
**Yes:,**

59 Clr: *nemwu himtulese hakkyo mos kakeyssta[kwu:]*,  
much hard-CAUS school cannot go-MOD-QT  
**[]saying 'It's too hard to go to school.'**

60 Host: [*>ewu celen<*.  
aww there there  
**[]>aww there there<**.

61 Host: [*yey:*.  
yes  
**[Yes:**.  
  
((37 lines omitted))  
((teacher's response - "it is normal."))  
((father's response - "you can hit back."))

01 Clr: 근데, (0.5) 선생님:이 보기에는  
02 너무나: 이제 모범생이고:  
03 Host: =네,  
04 Clr: '제 착한 아이고, .h >어려서부터 너무너무<  
05 착하구요=싸우고 그러는 걸  
06 싫어했어요:,  
07 Host: 네.  
((23 lines omitted))  
((Caller describes the son's quiet and yielding character))

30 Clr: [ '제 크고 학교를 가니까요,  
31 Host: 예.  
32 (0.4)  
33 Clr: 이제: 아이들이 인제, (.)  
34 여러 종류의 아이들이 모이잖아요.  
35 Host: [네.  
36 Clr: [남자애들 같은 경우에 굉장히 이제  
37 와일드하고 과격한 아이들이 많은데,  
38 Host: 예:,  
39 Clr: 애는 아무리 착하고 양보를 해도  
40 때리는 거예요 애들이:  
41 Host: 오::[:.  
((8 lines omitted))  
((The son's strategy is to avoid wild kids))

50 Clr: [*>근까 뭐<* 맘에 맞는 애 노는데,  
51 학기 초마다 굉장히 스트레스 받아갖군,  
52 Host: 음::\_  
53 Clr: ^항상 집에 와선\_  
54 밖에서는 울거나 그러지 않는데,





**Yes.**

122 Clr: =ettekhamyen:,  
how  
**How:**

123 (1.0)

124 Host: cal cinayl[kka:  
well get:along-INTERR  
**does (he) get along.**

125 Clr: [yey. cal ci[naylkka. =yayka,  
yes well get:along-INTERR this:kid-NOM  
**Yes. does (he) get along. This kid(=son).**

126 Host: [a:\_  
oh  
**Oh.**

127 Clr: ttaylikena kathi ssawuci anhko[to:  
hit-or together fight-COMP not-CONN-even  
**Without hitting or fighting together.**

128 Host: [°kulehcyo.°  
be:so-COMM-POL  
**That's right.**

99 Clr: 이제: 그 아이가 맞구: 그거를 계속,  
100 (0.2) 쌓이다 보니까,  
101 밖에서는 못 풀고  
102 Host: [>예<  
103 Clr: 집에 와서 저한테  
104 굉장히 막 스트레스를: 막 짜증으로  
105 막 내거[튼요?  
106 Host: [아:이 저런:.  
107 [예.  
108 Clr: [왜그냐면] (0.2)  
109 학원을 안 간다거나[:,  
110 Host: [예: [예.  
111 Clr: [ '까 그-  
112 반발을 하는 거예요- 저[한테 이제,  
113 Host: [그렇군요.  
114 =.Hh[hh  
115 Clr: [반발하거나 그[런 적이 없었[는데,  
116 Host: [예, [.hsp!  
117 =금 어머님께[서 가장 의논하고 싶으신:]



the host suggesting the predicate, the caller finally succeeds in formulating a question in lines 125-127.

While the majority of callers successfully forms a question with their major concern as discussed in Chapter 1, a few callers fail to do so. Such case is an impediment to the progress of the overall activity and the host intervenes to move forward the activity by asking the callers to formulate a question.

#### **4.6 Giving a closing cue**

Once the expert finishes up giving the advice requested by the caller, the main sequence in the counseling call, that is, requesting and granting of solution/information, is completed. When the activity arrives at an analyzable end, the closing section is made relevant at this point (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Thus, the host and the callers can make their move for closing section respectively. For the callers, they may take the identity of a recipient of advice and acknowledge the advice with a simple receipt token. The simple receipt token would work as a ‘sequence closing third’ (Schegloff 2007) and displays the advice is accepted and the current sequence is finished rather than forms a closing initiation. With the receipt token only, the callers let go of the chance to initiate closing from their end at this point. Or they may take the identity of a beneficiary of a granted request and provide an appreciation token along with a receipt token (Clayman and Heritage 2015). The appreciation token shows the callers are fully aligned with their given institutional identity (cf. Raymond and Zimmerman 2016) and forms an effective closing initiation because such initiation would make the host’s acceptance relevant and, once matched with the host’s acceptance, leave no other institutional business behind.



It is also possible that the host initiates the closing section with a closing cue. The host, as a facilitator of the whole project of the counseling call-in show, needs to make sure each call moves forward to the closing. Even though the callers may be expected to initiate the closing when the ‘reason for the call’ is exhausted (Sacks 1992), the host’s orientation to the progressivity of the whole project also gives her warrant to open up the closing section. The closing cue, formed as “did you listen well?” or “you listened well, right?,” simply asks if the callers received the advice and make (dis)affirmation relevant. By not asking the callers to summarize their take-away (cf. Thell and Perikyla 2018), the question can help expedite the closing. However, the location of the closing cue varies to some extent. Sometimes the host preemptively initiates the closing right after the advice. Other times she gives room to the callers to move forward, either with a receipt token or an appreciation token, and adjust her next turn accordingly. When the callers only acknowledge the advice, the host produces the closing cue and initiates the closing. If an appreciation token comes from the callers, the host produces acceptance and moves to the terminal exchange. Thus, each party’s choice makes three types of closing. The host and the callers may end up with competing for the closing initiation right after the advice. If the host waives the initiation at the completion of the advice, the callers may acknowledge the advice only, then the host gives the closing cue and leads the closing section. Otherwise, the callers may produce an appreciation token after the advice, then the host does not ask the closing question.

In the first type of closing, the host and the callers end up with overlap for closing initiation after the advice. The expert usually projects the conclusion as she recapitulates the advice and mentions the prospective effect of it. As soon as the expert finishes her turn, the host comes in with a closing cue and the caller with a receipt and an appreciation token. In the

following excerpt, the caller asked how to promote more meaningful conversation with her six-year-old son, who is not eager to tell his daily life at school to his mother. The expert asks more history-taking questions than usual and finds the caller had had some trouble with this child but recently changed her attitude and started to see differences in the child's reaction. After recognizing the caller's effort to make change, the expert advises her to play with him more physically so that he can feel the caller's affection effectively.

**(11) 13-4-27-4-6yoSonConversation**

- 01 Exp: *.h 'se kukel hana onul-pwuthe*  
so it-ACC one today-from
- 02 *te silchenul hayposeyyo:*  
more practice-ACC do-try-SH-PROP:POL  
**So, try to practice it more from today.**
- 03 Clr: *[yey:.*  
yes  
**[] Yes:.**
- 04 Exp: *[.hh kulemun ama yo taytohako hapchisimyenun,*  
then mayby this attitude-with combine-SH-COND-TOP
- 05 *kukpoki manhi toyl ke kathayyo.*  
overcoming-NOM much become-ATTR thing seem-POL  
**[] Then, if you combine (it) with this attitude,**  
**it seems (=I think) that (you) may overcome it a lot.**
- 06 > Host: **[ney, cal tulusyesscyo?**  
yes well listen-SH-PST-COMM-POL  
**[] Yes, (you) listened well, right?**
- 07 > Clr: **[ney, cal alkeysssunnita.**  
yes well know-MOD-FORM  
**[] Yes, I understand.**
- 08 Host: *[yeyyey.*  
yes yes  
**[] Yes.**
- 09 Clr: *[yeyyey.*  
yes yes  
**[] Yes.**
- 10 Host: *=ney[:,*  
yes  
**[] Yes: ,**

11 Clr: [ney=komapsupni[ta:,  
yes thank:you:FORM  
[] Yes=thank you:,

12 Host: [yey komapsupnita.  
yes thank:you:FORM  
[]Yes thank you.

13 =imi nolyekul hako kyeysin wacwungey,  
already effort-ACC do-CONN exist:HON-ATTR while-at

14 e(h) i cenhwa patusimyense  
uhm this call receive-SH-SIMUL

15 thanlyek \$patusyess(h)keyss\$[eyo. .hhh  
momentum get-SH-PST-MOD-POL  
**While (she) has been already making her effort,  
she must be encouraged as she received this advice.**

01 Exp: [.h'서 그걸하나 오늘-부터:  
02 더 실천을 해보세요:

03 Clr: [예:.

04 Exp: [.hh 그러믄 아마 요 태도하고 합치시면은,  
05 극복이 많이 될 거 같아요.

06 Host: [네, 잘 들으셨죠?

07 Clr: [네, 잘 알겠습니다.

08 Host: [예예.

09 Clr: [예예.

10 Host =네[:,

11 Clr: [네=고맙습니[다:.,

12 Host: [예 고맙습니다.  
13 =이미 노력을 하고 계신 와중에,  
14 어(h) 이 전화 받으시면서  
15 탄력 \$받으셨(h) 겠\$[어요. .hhh

In line 1, the expert recommends the caller exercise the advice right away and then shares the prospective result upon the implementation of the advice in lines 4-5. As soon as the expert finishes her turn, the host initiates a closing cue and the caller also moves to closing with a receipt token in line 6 and 7 respectively. In the next turns, the host and the caller respond to each other's turn with a receipt token in line 8 and 9 respectively. In line 10, the host moves to

the first part of possible terminal exchange token ‘yes<sup>13</sup>,’ which is reciprocally met by the caller’s terminal exchange token, ‘yes,’ in line 11. However, the caller adds the overdue appreciation token right after the terminal token. The host acknowledges the appreciation first then provides another appreciation token to mark the completion of the current call<sup>14</sup> (cf. Antaki et al. 2000). Then the host makes another closing comment addressed to the expert and the audience to wrap up the whole call. Thus, the closing initiation can happen in overlap by two parties, in which the caller comes in as a recipient of the requested action, and the host with her identity of the facilitator.

Such overlap occurs quite often. In the following excerpt, the caller was concerned about her daughter’s violent actions when she is not with her friends. The daughter behaves nice at home and at the daycare, but in fact, has been quite stressed out with the peers and releases the stress to those she is not familiar with. The expert recommends the caller should encourage the daughter to express her feelings freely and help fix some extreme expressions, such as, ‘I want to kill her.’ In the excerpt, the expert adds one more piece to the advice given so far starting in lines 1.

**(12) 6-4-24-1-7yoG-expressEmotion**

- |    |      |   |
|----|------|---|
| 01 | Exp: | <i>[kuntey phyohyen pakkwecwuki iceney,</i><br>but expression change-give-NOML before-at<br><b>But before ‘changing the expression’ practice,</b> |
| 02 | Clr: | <i>[yey:</i><br>yes<br><b>[ ] Yes:</b>  |
| 03 |      | <i>=yey.</i><br>yes   |

---

<sup>13</sup> The terminal exchange formed with ‘bye’-‘bye’ usually occurs in face-to-face interaction in Korean. In a telephone conversation, the terminal exchange is very often achieved with an elongated ‘yes’ token with a rising intonation.

<sup>14</sup> The host’s appreciation token seems to function similar to the ‘high-graded assessment token,’ reported by Antaki et al. (2000). The host’s appreciation token is not so much addressed to the caller but used to mark the completion of a task. The host’s appreciation token at the end of the closing section appears 10 times out of 55 calls.

Yes.

- 04 Exp: =aiuy maumul chwungpwunhi kongkamhay cwusiko  
kid-of heart-ACC fully empathize-give-CONN  
05 =ayu cin:cca hwanasskwuna:  
aww really upset-UNASSIM  
**Please fully empathize the kid's feelings and  
"aww (you) are really upset"**
- 06 Clr: [°yey°  
yes  
[] °Yes°
- 07 Exp: [yey ilen kestuli com philyohatako  
yes this-ATTR thing-PL-NOM little need-CONN  
08 pol swu isskeysstupni[ta.  
see-can-MOD-FORM  
[] **Yes, it can be considered that such things are needed.**
- 09 > Host: [ney cal [tulusyesscyo [emeni?  
yes well listen-SH-PST-COMM-POL mother  
[] **Yes you listened well, right? mother?**
- 10 Clr: [yey:,  
yes  
[] **Yes:,**
- 11 Exp: [yey.  
yes  
[] **Yes.**
- 12 Clr: kamsa[hapnita:,  
thank:you:FORM  
**Thank you:,**
- 13 Exp: [ney::,  
yes  
[] **Yes::,**
- 14 Host: [ney::,  
yes  
[] **Yes::,**
- 15 ney cenhwa cal cwusysssupsnita.  
yes call well give-SH-PST-FORM  
16 kong pal kong kwu kong kong il kong sa o,  
zero eight zero nine zero zero one zero four five  
**Yes. Thank you for calling.**  
**(Lit. It is good that you called.) 080-900-1045,**
- 01 Exp: [근데 표현 바꿔주기 이전에,  
02 Clr: [예:  
03 =예.  
04 Exp: =아이의 마음을 충분히 공감해 주시고=아유

05                    진: 짜 화났구나:  
06    Clr:            [°예°  
07    Exp:            [예 이런 것들이 좀 필요하다고 볼 수  
08                    있겠습니[다.  
09    Host:            [네 잘 [들으셨죠 [어머니?  
10    Clr:            [예:,  
11    Exp:            [예.  
12    Clr:            감사[합니다:,  
13    Exp:            [네::,  
14    Host:            [네::,  
15                    네 전화 잘 주셨습니다.  
16                    공팔공 구공공 일공사오...

The expert asks the caller to be sympathetic with the child and demonstrates how to do so using reported speech in lines 1 and 4-5. Then in lines 7-8, she wraps up her advice, referring to the advice given so far as ‘such things’ and mentioning the need of its implementation. As the advice approaches the transition relevant place, the host comes in with the closing cue. The caller’s receipt token to the advice also comes after a micropause in overlap with the host’s closing cue. The caller responds the host’s closing cue with an appreciation token in line 12, to which both the expert and the host provides a receipt token. In line 15, the host again employs an appreciation token to mark the completion of the call and moves to the next call with re-introducing the station’s call-in number.

In the next call, the caller’s concern was that her first child gets stressed out when she asks her to yield toys to her younger brother. The expert first tells the caller to understand how hard it is for the daughter to yield all the time, to compliment the daughter when she does yield the toys, and not to intervene too often but leave the children to solve the conflict themselves. At the beginning of the excerpt, she adds one more piece of advice, that is, how to advise the younger child when he wants his sister’s toys.

**(13) 5-4-17-5-Firstchildstressed**

- 01 Exp: *ku tongsaynghantheyto,*  
DM younger:sibling-to-also
- 02 *tteyssunun key anila nwunahantheylato,*  
tantrum-throw-ATTR thing-NOM not-but older:sister-to-even  
**To the younger sibling, instead of throwing a tantrum,  
even to the older sister,**
- 03 Clr: *yey\_*  
yes  
**Yes\_**
- 04 Exp: *nika k- nwunahanthey kacko nolko sipul ttaynun*  
you-NOM older:sister-to have-CONN play-want-ATTR time-TOP
- 05 *nwuna: pillyecwe. >kuliko patassul ttaynun<*  
sister lend-give-IE and receive-PST-ATTR time-TOP
- 06 *nwuna komawe;*  
sister thank:you:IE  
**"When you (younger child), want to take (something)  
from the older sister and play (with it), (say)  
"sister, please lend (it)" and when (you) get (it),  
"sister, thank you"" ((the expert assumes the mom)**
- 07 Clr: *[a::*  
oh  
**[] Oh::**
- 08 Exp: *[kulehkey hal swu issnun pangpepto allyecwusimyen*  
like:that do-can-ATTR measure-also let:know-SH-COND
- 09 *hwelssin kwankyeka cohacil keyeyyo.*  
much relation-NOM good:become-will-POL  
**[] If you let him know the ways to do so,  
the relationship will become much better.**
- 10 > Host: **[[ney. cal tulusyesscyo?**  
yes well listen-SH-PST-COMM-POL  
**[] Yes. You listened well, right?**
- 11 > Clr: **[[a yey:,**  
oh yes  
**[] Oh yes,**
- 12 *yeyyey.*  
yes yes  
**Yes yes.**
- 13 Host: *=ney:;*  
yes  
**=Yes:;**
- 14 *[ney cenhwa cwusyese komapsupni[ta:\_*  
yes call give-SH-CAUS thank:you:FORM  
**[] Yes thanks for calling.**
- 15 Clr: *[ney komapsupnita,* *[yey:,*  
yes thank:you:FORM yes

[ ] Yes thank you, yes:

16 Host: .hh ney,=.h intheneys cilmwun  
yes internet question  
17 sachen payk chilsip ipen kakeysssuptita:  
four:thousand one:hundred seventy two go-MOD-FORM  
**Yes, (We) will go to the internet question #4172.**

01 Exp: 그 동생한테도,  
02 떼쓰는 게 아니라 누나한테라도,  
03 Clr: 예\_  
04 Exp: 니가 ㄱ- 누나한테 갖고 놀고 싶을 때는  
05 누나: 빌려줘. >그리고 받았을 때는<  
06 누나 고마워?  
07 Clr: [아: :  
08 Exp: [그렇게 할 수 있는 방법도 알려주시면  
09 훨씬 관계가 좋아질 거예요.  
10 Host: [네. 잘 들으셨죠?  
11 Clr: [아 예,  
12 예예.  
13 Host: =네: ?  
14 [네 전화 주셔서 고맙습니[다: \_  
15 Clr: [네 고맙습니다, [예: ,  
16 Host: .hh 네,=.h 인터넷 질문  
17 사천백칠십이번 가겠습니다.

The expert delivers her advice with some demonstration in lines 1-6. She asks the caller to advise the younger child to verbally make a request to his sister. In lines 8-9, the expert wraps up the advice with a prospective result. As soon as the advice is finished, the host and the caller move to a closing cue and to a receipt token respectively in line 10 and 11. In line 12, the caller only confirms the host's closing question and does not project any further talk. So in line 13, the host provides a possible terminal exchange token 'yes' with elongation and a rising intonation. In the next turn in line 14, without waiting for the reciprocal terminal token, the host places an appreciation token to mark the completion of the call, which is usually employed after the terminal exchange pair is completed, but here after her own unilateral terminal exchange token.



In overlap with the host's completion mark, however, the caller says thanks then acknowledges the host's completion-marking pro-forma appreciation in line 15. After a receipt token, the host moves to the next question asked via the internet.

Thus, the host initiates her closing cue right after the advice regardless of the caller's attempt to produce a receipt or appreciation token. Considering the caller's status as a recipient of the advice and a beneficiary of the service, it could be normative for the caller to initiate the closing. The host's closing initiation at this point in spite of such expectation may be a result of an orientation to the other project—the progress of the whole show. The host is the one who accommodates and distributes the calls in the show, so she needs to be watchful how many calls are to be taken, how many calls are waiting while the current call is on air, how long the current call has been going on, etc. In one show, approximately five to six calls are taken and they last around five minutes. The call in the Excerpt 11 is the fourth call of the day and the second longest call that lasted 8 minutes 14 second. The longest call, which took 8 minutes 25 second, just comes right before this call. The call in the Excerpt 13 is the last call of the day and the call in the Excerpt 12 lasts six and a half minutes although it is the first call of the day. Thus, the host seems to take these factors in consideration and adjust her timing where to place the closing cue.

For the second and third type of closing, the host leaves the closing relevant space to the callers and adjusts her move according to the caller's action in this spot. If the callers provide a receipt token only to acknowledge the advice, the host comes in with a closing cue and leads the closing section. If the callers provide an appreciation token along with a receipt token, which forms a valid closing initiation, the host accepts it and moves to the terminal exchange. In the next excerpt, the caller's daughter is too attached to her father. The expert has been telling the caller to spend more time with the child so that they can build attachment.

**(14) 24-6-19-4-25moAttachedtoDad**

- 01 Exp: *kulayse, emmaka sikanul cenghaseyyo. .h*  
so mom-NOM time-ACC decide-SH-PROP:POL  
**So, you decide on the time. .h**
- 02 Clr: *[ney,*  
*yes*  
**[] Yes.**
- 03 Exp: *[nayka nelacwu- nolacwul swu issnun sikanwun*  
I-NOM play-give-can-ATTR time-TOP  
04 *imankhuminikka;*  
this-insomuch-CAUS  
05 *yottaynun ne nakaho kathi hamkkey nolaya tway;*  
this:time-TOP you I-with along together play-should-INTI  
06 *lako: ku: ceyanul haseyyo.*  
QT DM proposal-ACC do-SH-PROP:POL  
**[] "Because the amount of time that I can play with you  
is this much, you should play with me during that."  
As such, you make a proposal.**
- 07 Clr: *[ney::,*  
*yes*  
**[] Yes::,**
- 08 Exp: *[.hh>kulayse kulehkey< pyengsangsiey nolacwusimyen,*  
so like:that ordinary:time-at play-give-SH-COND  
09 *((0.4/swallow)) appahanthey maytalinun ke ccom*  
dad-to hang-ATTR thing little  
10 *telhaycicyo,*  
diminish-COMM-POL  
**[] So if you play (with her) in ordinary times,  
being attached to dad will diminish.**
- 11 > Clr: **yey::,**  
*yes*  
**Yes::,**
- 12 > Host: **ney. cal tulesyesseyo,**  
*yes well listen-SH-PST-POL*  
**Yes. Did you listen well?**
- 13 Clr: *ney[:,*  
*yes*  
**[] Yes:,**
- 14 Host: *[Heh:he[hehe[.hhh*  
**[Heh:he[hehe[.hhh**
- 15 Clr: *[kamsa[hapnita:\_*  
*thank:you*  
**[] Thank you:\_**
- 16 Host: *=ney:, a komapsupnita: towuni toysikil palapnita,*  
yes DM thank:you-FORM help-NOM become-NOML-ACC hope-FORM  
**Yes:, aw thank you: I hope (it) helps.**

01 Exp: [그래서, 엄마가 시간을 정하세요..h  
02 Clr: [네  
03 Exp: [내가 너라- 놀아줄 수 있는 시간은  
04 이만큼이니까;  
05 요때는 너 나하고 같이 함께 놀아야 돼;  
06 라고: 그: 제안을 하세요.  
07 [네:  
08 [.hh>그래서 그렇게< 평상시에 놀아주시면,  
09 ((0.4/swallow)) 아빠한테 매달리는 거 좀  
10 덜해지죠,  
11 Clr: °예.:°,  
12 Host: 네. 잘 들으셨어요,  
13 Clr: 네[:,  
14 Host: [Heh:he [hehe [.hhh  
15 Clr: [감사[합니다:\_  
16 Host: =네.:, 아 고맙습니다: 도움이 되시길 바랍니다,

In lines 1-6, the expert gives practical advice how to execute the attachment-building. In line 8-10, she tells the prospective result when the advice gets practiced. The caller, in line 11, acknowledges the advice with a receipt token but does not project any further talk. When the caller's receipt turn is completed, the host initiates closing by asking whether the caller listened well. The caller confirms then she also provides an appreciation token. The host produces a receipt token, followed by a completion-marking appreciation token. The host adds another comment to display the call's completion, a wish for helpfulness. Thus, when the caller only provides the receipt token toward the advice, then the host initiates the closing.

In the next excerpt, the host also initiates closing with the cue when the caller only gives a receipt token. The caller's concern is that her son acts passively and does not take the initiative to tell the caller what he wants when it comes to clothes, food, etc. The expert advises the caller to give her child more time and wait until he tells what he wants rather than she proposes what is good for him.

**(15) 16-5-8-2-SonNotSayWhatHeWants**

- 01 Exp: [kayse ayka hacal ttaykkaci kitalisiko,  
so kid-NOM do-PROP-ATTR time-until wait-SH-CONN  
**So wait until the kid proposes (something) and**
- 02 Host: yey..  
yes  
**Yes.**
- 03 Exp: e: kulehkey ^hamyenun ilen ke  
like:that do-COND-TOP this-ATTR thing  
04 sesehi pakkyecil swu issupnita.  
gradually be:changed-can-FORM  
**Uhm: if you do so, such a thing can gradually change.**
- 05 > Clr: ney.,  
yes  
**Yes.**,
- 06 Host: ney..  
yes  
**Yes..**
- 07 Clr: =°ney:°,  
yes  
=°Yes:°,
- 08 > Host: =[cal tulusyesseyo emeni?  
well listen-SH-PST-POL mother  
**Did you listen well, mother?**
- 09 Clr: =[kamsa (tulipnita),  
thank:you:FORM  
**Thank you,**
- 10 Clr: yey [kamsahapnita,  
yes thank:you:FORM  
**Yes []thank you,**
- 11 Host: [>ney,<  
yes  
**[]Yes,**
- 12 Host: ney:, komapsupnita..  
yes thank:you:FORM  
**Yes thank you..**
- 13 Host: .h kunkka caki-aika, casinuy uysalul phyosihayse,  
so self kid-NOM self-of intention-ACC display-CONN  
14 ikey cohuntey:lanun kel malhal swu issul ttaypwuthenun:.,  
this-NOM good-CIRCUM-QT thing-ACC talk-can-ATTR time-from  
**.h So from the point when the kid can display  
his own intention and say "I like this," ...**
- 01 Exp: [개서 애가 하잘 때까지 기다리시고,

02 Host: 예: .  
03 Exp: 어: 그렇게 ^하면은 이런 거  
04 서서히 바껴질 수 있습니다.  
05 Clr: 네: ,  
06 Host: 네: .  
07 Clr: =°네: ° ,  
08 [감사-  
09 Host: [잘 들으셨어요 어머니?  
10 Clr: 예 [감사합니다,  
11 Host: [네,  
12 네: , 고맙습니다: .  
13 .h 근까 자기-아이가, 자신의 의사를 표시해서,  
14 이게 좋은데:라는 걸 말할 수 있을 때부터는:.,

The expert describes the likely effect of following the advice in lines 3-4 and wraps up the advice. The caller simply acknowledges the advice with a receipt token in line 5 and the host also provides a receipt token only. In lines 6-7 is a case of ‘topic attrition’ (Jefferson 1993), in which neither speaker moves forward nor provides a new topic. After a round of ‘yes,’ the host gives the closing cue and the caller provides an appreciation token in overlap in line 8 and 9. The caller responds to the host’s closing question and continues to say gratitude in line 10, which ends up with another overlap with the host’s receipt token. The host accepts the appreciation first and places another appreciation to mark the completion of the call. Then she provides a recap of the advice that supposedly addresses to the expert and the overhearing audience. Thus, once the host decides not to initiate the closing right after the end of advice, the caller can have a chance to manage the closing section. If the caller simply provides the acknowledgement token but does not move forward, the host comes in and initiates the closing at the point.

However, the callers may initiate possible pre-closing with an appreciation token in this slot as shown below. As the counseling call forms a service encounter, the callers’ appreciation

would display the requested service is granted and their ‘reason for the call’ is resolved. Thus, the appreciation token would form a ‘signature’ pre-closing item to which other participants are expected to respond. The host accordingly follows the initiation and does not employ any closing cue from her end. In the following excerpt, the caller’s concern is that when she is out of house to take a work-related examination, the child gets very upset and unstable even if either her grandfather or father takes care of her.

**(16) 22-6-19-2-8moHopsitalStayAnxious**

- 01 Exp: *ko sikielynun cwu yangyukcaka*  
that time-at-TOP main caretaker-NOM
- 02 *hangsan kathun salami ilkwancekulo,*  
always same person-NOM consistently
- 03 *i ailul yangyukhasinun key cohsupnita.*  
this kid-ACC raise-SH-ATTR thing-NOM good-FORM  
**During the time, it is good that the main caretaker,  
who is the same person consistently, raises the kid.**
- 04 Clr: *yey.*  
*yes*  
**Yes.**
- 05 Host: *[a::.*  
*oh*  
**[ ] Oh::.**
- 06 Exp: *[kulayse toytolokimyen, sihemi kuphaci anhusimyen,*  
*so if:possible-COND exam-NOM urgent-NOML not-SH-COND*
- 07 *((o.5/swallow)) tol cinan taumey,*  
*one.year pass-ATTR next-at*
- 08 *ku taumey sihem cwunpilul hasinun kesi,*  
that next-at exam preparation-ACC do-SH-ATTR thing-NOM
- 09 *hwelssin te cohci anhulkka: sayngkaktoyneyyo.*  
much more good-NOML not-INTERR think-become-FR-POL  
**So if possible, if the exam is not urgent,  
I think it is much better that,  
after (the child) becoming one year,  
you prepare for the exam after that.**
- 10 > Clr: **yey [komapsupnita[:**  
*yes thank:you:FORM*  
**Yes [ ] thank you:**
- 11 Exp: *[ney.*  
*yes*  
**[ ] Yes.**

12 Host: [ney::[,  
yes  
[] Yes::,

13 Clr: [ney:.,  
yes  
[] Yes:.,

14 Host: .hhh ney:. kulehkwun=akunkka em-phichi moshal sanghwangulo,  
yes be:so-UNASSIM that:is avoid-cannot-ATTR situation-by  
15 cwuyangyukcain emmaka: ttelecye isseyaya toyntamyen,  
main caretaker-ATTR mom-NOM separate-CONT-should-COND  
**Yes. It is so, that is, if mom, who is the main caretaker,  
should be separated unavoidably, ...**

01 Exp: 고 시기에는 주 양육자가  
02 항상 같은 사람이 일관적으로,  
03 이 아이를 양육하시는 게 좋습니다.  
04 Clr: 예.  
05 Host: [아:..  
06 Exp: [그래서 되도록이면, 시험이 급하지 않으시면,  
07 ((0.5/swallow)) 돌 지난 다음에,  
08 그 다음에 시험 준비를 하시는 것이,  
09 훨씬 더 좋지 않을까: 생각되네요.  
10 Clr: 예 [고맙습니다[:  
11 Exp: [네.  
12 Host: [네::[,  
13 Clr: [네:.,  
14 Host: .hhh 네:. 그렇군=아근까 엄-피치 못할 상황으로,  
15 주양육자인 엄마가: 떨어져 있어야 된다면,

At the end of the advice-giving stage, the expert provides the ground of the advice that the main caretaker should be the same person in lines 1-3. Then she uses the warrant to recommend the caller put off taking the exam in lines 6-9. By positively evaluating the effect of future action with “I think it is much better that ...,” the expert projects the conclusion of advice in line 9. As the closing gets relevant at this point, the caller first produces a receipt token, then in a through-produced manner provides an appreciation token in line 10. The host’s receipt token in line 12 functions in an ambivalent way: it acknowledges the caller’s appreciation as well as works as a

terminal exchange token with lengthening and the rising intonation. The caller reciprocally provides the second part of terminal exchange in line 13 then the host marks the completion of the call with wrap-up comments in line 14-5. Thus, when the appreciation token is given by the callers, it is considered to be an effective closing initiation and overrides the host's closing cue.

In the next excerpt, the caller is concerned that her child does not get accustomed to daycare. The expert advises the caller to stop sending the child to there since he shows signs that it is too early for him to go to one.

**(17) 23-6-19-3-28moQuitDaycare**

- 01 Exp: *nolithelul teyliko nakasyeto toyko,*  
playground-ACC take-CONN go:out-SH-CONCES work-CONN  
**(You) may take (him) out to a playground,**
- 02 Clr: *[ney*  
*yes*  
**[ ] Yes.**
- 03 Exp: *[mwunhwaseynthe kathun tey kwukyeng kasikito hako,*  
community:center like place sightsee go-SH-NOML-ADD do-CONN  
**[ ] or (you) may go sightseeing to a community center, and**
- 04 Clr: *[[ney.*  
*yes*  
**[ ] Yes.**
- 05 Exp: *[[ilen icey: ku kyenghemul cwusipsio,*  
like:this DM DM experience-ACC give-SH-PROP-FORM  
**[ ] Give (him) some experiences like this.**
- 06 > Clr: ***[ney alkeysssupni[ta:***  
*yes know-MOD-FORM*  
**[ ] Yes I understand.**
- 07 Exp: *[ney,* *[ney:[:,*  
*yes* *yes*  
**[ ] Yes,** **Yes::,**
- 08 Host: *[ney:[:ç*  
*yes*  
**[ ] Yes::**
- 09 Clr: *[komapsupnita::,*  
*thank:you:FORM*  
**[ ] Thank you::,**



10 Host: =ney::, .hhh  
yes  
=Yes::,

11 ney, kong pal kong kwu kong kong il kong sa o  
yes zero eight zero nine zero zero one zero four five  
**Yes 080-900-1045**

01 Exp: 놀이터를 데리고 나가셔도 되고,  
02 [문화센터 같은 데 구경 가시기도 하고,  
03 Clr: [네  
04 Exp: [이런 이제: 그 경험을 주십시오,  
05 Clr: [네.  
06 [네 알겠습니[다:  
07 Exp: [네, [네:[:,  
08 Host: [네:[:¿  
09 Clr: [고맙습니다::,  
10 Host: =네::, .hhh  
11 네, 공팔공 구공공 일공사오

In lines 1 and 3, the expert suggests the caller should take him to some locations that does not require enrollment or commitment, like a playground or a community center so that he can have chances to have fun and interaction. In line 4, the expert wraps up the advice by referring to the tips in lines 1 and 3 as ‘some experiences like this.’ Upon the completion of the advice, the caller provides the receipt token followed by a token of understanding in line 6. The host again uses a receipt token ‘yes’ with an ambivalent use in line 8, that is, acknowledging the gratitude and initiating a terminal exchange pair. This possible-closing token is not matched by another ‘yes’ but an appreciation token by the caller in line 9, which is again acknowledged with a possible terminal token ‘yes’ by the host in line 10. Then the host exits the call and moves to re-introducing the station’s call-in number. Compared to the calls in which the host initiates the closing with a cue, the calls where the callers make a first closing relevant move usually last around the average length and are received in an earlier part of the show.

In sum, at the end of advice-giving, the host allows the callers to initiate the closing since it is more natural for the callers, who brought in the reason for the call and requested the service of advice-giving, to do so. In such cases, the callers either acknowledge the advice only or proactively provides an appreciation token. For the former, the host asks a closing question so that the call moves to the closing section and the progressivity of the interaction can be achieved. For the latter, the host follows the caller's closing initiation and moves to the terminal exchange pair. However, when there is an extra need to move the show forward, e.g., the call deviates from the average length or the call traffic is high, the host comes in right after the advice and leads the closing section regardless of the callers' response to the advice.

#### **4.7 Summary**

In counseling calls, the host is engaged in all the stages of the interaction. While the callers and the expert may be concerned with their role as a solution seeker and a provider, the host has to take a view of the whole interaction and be in charge of its progress. Thus, the host mainly takes the identity of a facilitator. Leading the opening, giving a transition cue to the problem presentation, and initiating a closing cue based on the whole show's flow are the assigned job for the host. Moreover, when the progressivity of the interaction is at stake with a glaring absence of necessary components, the host steps forward and makes her role more visible as she pursues missing information and the question formulation during the problem presentation.

When the problem is presented in the narrative style, however, the host's identity as a recipient of a telling stands out. She consistently displays affiliation with empathic continuers to the problematic part of the issue and empathizes with the callers. During the presentation, all the

continuers from the host do not signal the shift is imminent, so the callers can have freedom to control their presentation as long as they are aware of the goal of the presentation—seeking solution. Thus, the host adjusts the set of responsibilities given to her to accomplish the institutional goals.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

This dissertation has investigated how the participants constitute their action to achieve the goal of the institution with the conversational mechanisms of the question and response sequence and the overall structural organization in a radio counseling call-in show. The principal findings of each chapter will be briefly revisited below, followed by their implications and the suggestions for future research.

#### **5.1 Summary of Findings**

In Chapter 2, I have investigated the ways in which callers design their opening question, employing various question types and an indirect question format. I have showed that the callers use different types of question to present discrete agendas. Wh-, yes-no, alternative questions as well as question clusters are employed by the callers so that they can ask for a solution, ask for judgment on their current measure, or seek diagnosis of the problem. In doing so, the epistemic stance comes into play consistently. The asymmetric knowledge level is bilateral in the radio counseling setting as the callers know the details of the problem and the related situations best yet they do not have professional knowledge regarding how to deal with the problem. Whenever possible, the callers try to index their epistemic stance as a knowing one. Especially, alternative questions and question clusters function as a vehicle to convey the callers' own measure or diagnosis, through which they display they are knowledgeable parents to some extent.

The callers also display their orientation to the deontic relations with the experts through their question design. They often use deontic predicates, such as ‘should,’ and index the low deontic stance in terms of the future course of action. By doing so, they acknowledge the experts have the deontic authority to tell what to do to solve the problem. In addition, the callers design their opening questions in an indirect question format, which is often used to index low entitlement of the requester of an action. However, by using a direct question format in subsequent questions, the callers show they become more entitled to request advice through the interaction.

In Chapter 3, I have analyzed the ways in which the experts design their response, the advice, to the yes-no questions in radio counseling calls, and how they either conform to or resist the constraints placed by the question. The yes-no questions are designed differently and have different agendas by its location. On the one hand, the opening yes-no questions are usually designed to prefer affirmation with the agenda of the validating of the callers’ current measure. However, the experts’ responses mostly disapprove the callers’ measure after an elaborate preface with related background information on which the dispreferred disaffirmation is placed. Moreover, information that the yes-no question did not address is very often provided in the responses, such as the diagnosis or the solution for the problem and is accepted by the callers. It supports that the participants are oriented to the higher purpose of the interaction, that is, the goal of opening yes-no questions is not to have the current measure judged but to find out a solution for the problem. On the other hand, the subsequent yes-no questions present three different agendas—asking for future effect of the advice, raising an issue in implementing the advice, and having their understanding of the advice checked. For the first group, the experts tend to upgrade the commitment to the proposition and assure the callers that the outcome of following the

advice will be positive and thus vindicate the effect of the advice. For the second group, the experts tend to provide a transformative response so that they can avoid the inference incompatible with the advice and keep the advice intact. For the third group, the experts tend to provide a type-conforming response to accept the callers' understanding or a repetitional answer to display their agency in the callers' understanding. Thus, the experts design their response to accept or resist the constraints of the yes-no questions that are different according to the location and the agendas.

In Chapter 4, I have looked into what the host does as the professional party for the institution of broadcast. In counseling calls, the host shows consistent orientation to the progress of the interaction. As a facilitator of the interaction, she leads the opening, gives a transition cue to the problem presentation, and initiates a closing cue. In addition, she intervenes when an absence of necessary component is missing, such as the introduction in storytelling or the problem formulation. During the problem presentation, however, the host assumes a recipient of the storytelling and consistently displays affiliation with the callers, employing empathic continuers. Thus, the host adjusts the set of responsibilities given to her according to the different stages of interaction to promote achieving the institutional goals.

## **5.2 Implications of the study**

This dissertation aimed at analyzing how the conversational mechanisms are employed and realized in a particular institutional setting of a radio counseling call-in show. The mechanisms of sequence organization, the turn design in the sequence, and the overall structure organizations were examined with respect to the participants' institutional identity. As for the

sequence organization, the callers' first pair part includes two actions in it, that is, a storytelling and a question. The telling of trouble in radio counseling differ from one in ordinary conversation in that it is goal-oriented. The telling is a means of providing enough information in order to receive adequate advice. Thus, working into telling by providing a preface is not needed and the stance that the recipient is expected to take while listening is set to some extent. As a result, the callers launch the story with a uniform introduction and the host keeps her affiliative stance throughout the problem presentation.

In addition, the callers' question formulation displays differences from one in ordinary conversation. On the one hand, the higher frequency of alternative questions as well as question clusters evidences the callers employ these question types to index their epistemic stance to a higher position. Through these conversational resources, the callers display they are a knowledgeable parent who have a certain idea in terms of understanding or solving the problem. On the other hand, the question design also conveys the callers' orientation to their low deontic authority. The indirect question format is employed to index the callers' low entitlement in requesting a solution. Thus, the callers' question turns include many aspects different from ordinary questions due to their institutional character.

The work of host is also significant in constituting radio counseling interaction as it is usually not found in an ordinary conversation. As a professional party of the broadcast, she is consistently oriented to the progressivity of the interaction. However, as seen in opening and closing transition, where the host usually takes the lead to move forward, the callers may initiate the transition from their end. The host's identity of facilitator can be compromised as the interaction is also embedded in a telephone conversation in which the calling party focuses on the progress of interaction with the 'reason for the call.' Thus, the combination of institutions

may result in conflicting interactional identities and affect the participants' roles and contribution.

In sum, while the radio counseling forms a distinctive institutional interaction, the extent to which the layperson's contribution is allowed is more lenient than one in other formal institutional interactions, such as a courtroom examination or an emergency call. Although the conversational mechanisms used in the radio counseling interaction are very common, the differences derived from some aspects, for example, that the interaction involves a story about a personal trouble, that the asymmetry in knowledge is bilateral and the callers also have some epistemic superiority, and that the interaction takes place in the format of a telephone conversation, constitute the particular characters of radio counseling interaction.

### **5.3 Suggestions for future research**

The dissertation examined the question and response sequence in which the callers and the experts design their turn to accomplish seeking and providing advice for a problem. Most of the time the callers formulate their problem into a question format as analyzed in Chapter 2. However, there are a good number of cases where the experts initiate providing advice even before the callers ask a question. Given that the host pursues question formulation and requests it when it is missing, it is significant that the problem presentation without a question is not sanctioned but considered to be complete. The future research may focus on what justifies the absence of the question formulation. I assumed earlier that the callers are asked to formulate the question because the problem presentation may include various aspects that can concern the



callers. Thus, what makes the problem so salient that the callers do not have to point it out can form another research question.

The experts' response design discussed in Chapter 3 mainly focuses on the responses to yes-no questions only. As shown in Chapter 2, the callers employ a yes-no question so that they can display they have taken at least one measure against the problem and index a more knowing stance than those who ask a wh-question. However, the experts sometimes respond to the opening yes-no question in the same manner they respond to a wh-question. In other words, they provide general background information and provide solution rather than the confirmation the question was designed for. The callers' effort to index their epistemic stance using a yes-no question is not effectively reflected on the response. Given that, it is worth paying attention to the experts' response design to the alternative questions in which the callers try to index their knowing stance more distinctively. Whether the experts design their response to conform to the constraint of an alternative question and choose one option form the question, or how they address the callers' effort to display their epistemic stance has yet to be analyzed.

In Chapter 3, I analyzed how the question design imposes constraints on the response, especially in understanding check questions. With the specific grammatical resources, such as *-ci*, a committal particle, or *-keyss.ney* in a declarative question, the callers display a confirmation is preferred in the response and the experts tend to conform to it. The other subsequent questions, the questions about future outcome and the question addressing an inference gap, have not shown a strong tendency in employing such grammatical resources. These subsequent questions are both formed as an interrogative or a declarative question. With a bigger data set, it is expected that certain tendency in callers' question design may be more visible as well as the experts' response design corresponding to it.

Lastly, as Sidnell (2009) noted in comparing the interaction from different socio-cultural and linguistic communities, commonalities and diversity are also found in radio counseling interaction in Korean. The participants rely on the basic yet common conversational mechanisms of sequence organization, turn design, overall structural organization, etc. However, diversity is also observed because of Korean-specific resources and socio-cultural norms. While the organizational structure in radio counseling is expected to be similar in the interactions in other languages, the specific design of the actions may differ. For example, the caller's index of their low entitlement in the opening question displayed by the indirect question format may be a Korean-specific design derived from its socio-cultural norms. As radio counseling interaction is quite common in many languages, such commonalities and diversity can be studied across languages in the future.

## APPENDIX A

### TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[	The point where overlapping talk starts
]	The point where overlapping talk ends
=	Contiguous utterances (no break or gap)
(0.5)	Length of silence in tenths of a second
(.)	Micro-pause; hearably a silence but not readily measurable
.	Falling, or final intonation; not necessarily the end of a sentence
?	Rising intonation; not necessarily a question
,	Continuing intonation
ˊ	A rise stronger than a comma but weaker than a question mark
:	Sound stretch
-	Cut-off or self-interruption
<u>word</u>	Underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis
WOrd	Upper case indicates especially loud talk
◦ ◦	Portions quieter than the surrounding talk
_:	Inflected falling intonation contour
⋮	Inflected rising intonation contour
↑ ↓	Sharper rise or down in pitch than would be indicated by combination of colons and underlining
< >	A stretch of talk is markedly slowed or drawn out
> <	Compressed or rushed talk
<	Jump-started talk
hhh	Laughter, or hearable exhalation or aspiration (outbreaths); the more "h"s, the more aspiration
.hhh	Hearable inhalation or inbreath
(( ))	Transcriber's remarks
(word)	uncertainty on the transcriber's part
( )	Something is being said, but no hearing could be achieved

## APPENDIX B

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR THE KOREAN GLOSS

ACC	Accusative	INTROS	Introspective
ADD	Additive	LIST	Listing
ASSUM	Assumption	MOD	Modality
ATTR	Attributive	NECESS	Necessity
CAUS	Causal	NEG	Negation
CIRCUM	Circumstances	NML	Nominalizer
CL	Classifier	NOM	Nominative
COMM	Committal	NONCOMM	Noncommittal
COMP	Complementizer	ONOM	Onomatopoeia
COMPL	Completion	PERCT	Perfect
CONCES	Concessive	PL	Plural
COND	Conditional	POL	Polite Ending
CONN	Connective	PRES	Present
CONT	Continuative	PRESUM	Presumptive
DEC	Declarative	PROGRS	Progressive
DET	Determinative	PROM	Promise
FORM	Formal Ending	PROP	Propositive
FR	Factual Realization	PST	Past
FUT	Future	PUR	Purpose
HEARSAY	Hearsay	QT	Quotative
HON	Honorific Style	RESUL	Resultative
HT	Honorific Title	RT	Retrospective
HUM	Humble Style	SH	Subject Honorific
IE	Informal Ending	SIMUL	Simultaneity
IMPER	Imperative	TEMP	Temporal
IMPFV	Imperfective	TOP	Topic Marker
IND	Indirect	TRANS	Transferentive
INFO	Informative	UNASSIM	Unassimilated
INTENT	Intention	VOC	Vocative
INTERR	Interrogative	VOL	Volitional

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