

The Sentence-Ending Suffix *-Ketun* in Spoken Korean Discourse: Sequential Organization of Informing as Account-Giving*

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Abstract

Kim, Kyu-hyun. 2010. **The Sentence-Ending Suffix *-Ketun* in Spoken Korean Discourse: Sequential Organization of Informing as Account-Giving.** *The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea* 18(1). From a conversation-analytic perspective, this paper examines the ways in which the Korean sentence-ending suffix (SES) *-ketun* is used in naturally occurring spoken Korean discourse. Focusing on the question of how the practice of informing implemented by the *ketun*-utterance provides a basis for the sequentially implemented action of account-giving (Kim & Suh 2009), it analyzes (i) the nature of the information marked by *-ketun* in terms of how it is grounded, (ii) the sequential contexts where the informing sequence that *-ketun* generates is embedded, and (iii) features of the *ketun*-marked account with reference to the practices of formulating non-negotiable upshot, evoking positionally relevant identities, unpackaging information geared to enlightening the addressee, and stance-shifting. These practices are analyzed as being constitutive of the action-organizational features of the *ketun*-marked account, whose upshot is proposed to be that of evoking and managing the information gap or disparity in knowledge asserted by the speaker to exist between the participants.

Keywords: sentence-ending suffix, conversation analysis, practice, informing,

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account-giving, sequence, stance shift

I. Introduction

In this paper, I analyze the interactional uses of the sentence-ending suffix (hereafter SES) *-ketun*¹⁾ in naturally occurring, spontaneous conversations. Using conversation analysis as a methodology (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974), I present an analysis of *-ketun* that focuses on the explication of several aspects of its interactional meaning, focusing on how it generates an informing sequence, and how the informing sequence is sequentially embedded and provides a basis for implementing the action of account-giving. Various practices implicated in the process of account formulation are analyzed in terms of a set of related action-organizational features that is evoked as part of the discourse messages reflexively constituting the action of account-giving.

-Ketun, also used as a clausal connective (Correlative), is viewed by many scholars as having undergone a process of grammaticalization (cf. Traugott & Heine 1991) and has come to be used predominantly as an SES in modern Korean (Ku & Rhee 2001; Park & Sohn 2002). The previous studies in the field of Korean linguistics have illuminated a number of important semantic and pragmatic features of the SES *-ketun*. For instance, it has been noted that the meaning of *-ketun* is to mark “reason” (Lee 1996; Lee 2000; Suh 1996) or to mark a proposition that serves as a presupposition for the subsequent utterance (Han 1991). Often associated with the information of strong factuality (Ko 1995; Lee 2000), the pragmatic features of *-ketun* include the function of presenting the speaker’s own confirmed experience or marking the proposition

1) *-Ketun*, as a sentence-ending suffix, has the meaning of something like “you see?” or “you know, that’s what it is.” (Park 1998; Kim & Suh 2009). It is also used as a clausal connective (Correlative), with the meaning of “if” or “when,” from which its use as sentence-ending suffix is presumed to have been grammaticalized (Ku & Rhee 2001; Park & Sohn 2002). An example of *-ketun* used as a connective would be *mok-i tto aphu-ketun o-sey-yo*. “If you have sore throat again, please come.”

as factually believed and exclusively known by the speaker (Chae 1998; Ku & Rhee 2001; Lee 2000; Shin 2000). In terms of interaction management functions, Chae (1998) analyzes *-ketun* as a “discourse modality marker,” whereby the recipient’s uptake is anticipated, particularly when it is uttered with rising intonation (Shin 2000). In a similar vein, Ku & Rhee (2001) note that *-ketun*, uttered with rising pitch level at the ending, tends to constitute a transition-relevance place where speaker change is highly likely to take place. Taira (2006) observes that, produced as a response to a question, the *ketun*-marked utterance acutely prompts the hearer to make an inference about the speaker’s intention. From a conversation-analytic perspective, Park (1998) characterizes the functions of *-ketun* in terms of the actions of “footnoting,” justifying, and clarifying, which provides an account for some other action being presupposed or evoked. Drawing upon Park (1998), Kim & Suh (2009) observe that the upshot of the *ketun*-marked utterance lies in its ambivalent properties of providing an account and doing reporting/news delivery, with its sequence-initiating force being furnished by the “strongly speaker-relevant” information it frames as newsworthy, which makes relevant the production of a response appreciative of the proposed news value (e.g., news receipt) in the subsequent turn.

In the present study, which further elaborates the observations made in Park (1998) and Kim & Suh (2009), an attempt is made to shed light on some of the crucial aspects of the interactional meaning of *-ketun* by way of examining the nature of the information it frames as the object of the informing, and identifying a range of practices that are implicated in the constitution of the account-giving action. While drawing upon the previous studies for important insights on the use of *-ketun*, the analysis reported in this paper is distinct from the previous ones in the types of data analyzed and the analytic perspective taken to address the data. First, the analysis reported in this paper is grounded in naturally occurring spoken interactions. The previous studies, except Park (1998) and Kim & Suh (2009), are based mostly on the analysis of made-up examples, written texts (e.g., excerpts from novels), or dialogues from movies or dramas; as in the case of the majority of

research conducted in the field of linguistics, little attention has been paid to the issue of what kind of data is to be used for analysis. Second, in this paper, I attempt to identify the pattern of the use of *-ketun* from the perspective of the participants (i.e., rather than from the analyst's own perspective). The present analysis thus explicates the use of *-ketun* in terms of the specific practices and actions of the participants as manifested through the sequential trajectories of talk,²⁾ rather than engaging in the introspective analysis of semantic content or syntactic constraints geared to coming up with an across-the-board generalization. A systematic attention, in this regard, is paid to grasping the orderliness of the phenomena on the basis of the participants' displayed orientations observed through the unfolding sequential structure of conversational interactions.

The data used for this study include audio-recorded natural conversations: *TA Meeting*, *North Campus Talk 3*, and *Kim M.-W. Data*. *TA Meeting* is a conversation among Korean TAs teaching Korean at a U.S. university, taking place at a loosely structured meeting. *North Campus Talk 3* is a conversation among Korean graduate students studying in the U.S., who are having lunch together during the lunch break at a conference. *Kim M.-W. Data*³⁾ is a collection of telephone conversations. I also used extensively fragments of overheard talk, which were jotted down on the spot.⁴⁾

This paper is organized as follows. In Section II, several aspects of the

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- 2) With emphasis placed on describing what the participants are doing in and through talk-in-interaction from their perspective, I will use the category terms relevant to the organization of "actions" (e.g., "account-giving"), rather than the terms denoting semantic relations (e.g., "reason").
- 3) This set of data was provided by Dr. Myong-Woon Kim in the Department of Korean Language and Literature at Seoul National University.
- 4) The limited and inadequate nature of this type of data should be noted; the practice of jotting down overheard talk, no matter how fast it could be done, unavoidably misses many of the features of the target talk, and may result in a situation where the transcriber wittingly or unwittingly reconstructs the talk on the basis of what s/he recalls on the spot. While I acknowledge this limitation, it does not seem to have affected the main points I propose in this paper, which are grounded on the analysis of recorded conversational data as well.

ketun-utterance are examined with reference to how the information it contains is grounded, i.e., by way of being based on the speaker's personal knowledge or experience, or vouched for by commonsense knowledge. Section III examines an array of sequential positions where the informing sequence generated by *-ketun* is embedded. Section IV is devoted to the discussion of several features associated with the account formulated by *-ketun*, i.e., in terms of the mutually related practices of formulating non-negotiable upshot, evoking positionally relevant identities, information "unpackaging" (Jefferson 1985), and stance-shifting. Section V is the conclusion, where the major findings are summarized and suggestions are made for further research.

II. Grounding of *Ketun*-Marked Information

1. Newsworthy Information Empirically Grounded

One of the key issues that needs to be examined about *-ketun* is the nature of the information it marks, which forms the core material out of which the upshot of the informing act is carved out as an account. In general, what is contained in the *ketun*-utterance tends to be the information belonging exclusively to the speaker's territory of knowledge (Kamio 1991) or as what Labov & Fanshel (1977) call "A-event" information, i.e., the information that the speaker knows but the hearer does not.

When *-ketun* is used in second position (e.g., as the second pair part), the utterance it marks often constitutes an informing that disputes the prior action or the presupposition thereof, which apparently draws upon the speaker's personal knowledge and experience. The account grounded on the speaker's territory of direct knowledge would be something that the recipient can never dispute successfully. In extract (1), for instance, the speaker of *-ketun* shows that the information that she is giving is supported by her own personal experience, which is not shared by the others:

(1) (North Campus Talk 3)

((A is complaining to her fellow Korean TAs that the directions in the listening exercises are not given in English. Among the participants, B is the only TA who is learning Japanese.)

303 A: *lisuning theyiphu-ey yenge dileykshen-i eps-*
listening tape -LOC English direction -NOM not:exist-

304 *e -kacko*
CONN-CONN

리스닝 테이프에 영어 디렉션이 없어가지고

“The directions in the (Korean language) listening tapes are not given in English, so,”

::

308 B: *ani kulayse dileykshen-ul mayn mence kaluchi-eya-*
no so direction -ACC very first teach -NECESS-

309 *cyo.*

COMM:POL

아니 그래서 디렉션을 맨 먼저 가르쳐야죠.

“Well, so you should teach the directions first.”

::

312 A: *kulayto hankwukmal-lo ttak nava -peli*
still Korean -INSTR right come:out:CONN-AUX

313 *-nikka [-yo ay-tul-i eti -ka]*
-REASON-POL kid-PL-NOM where-NOM

314 *eti -nci -lul*
where-COMP-ACC

그래도 한국말로 딱 나와 버리니까요 애들이 어디가 어딘지를

“Still, as Korean is used from the beginning, the students don’t know where to start listening.”

315 B: *[yey ku-ke -n kuleh-cyo.]*
yes that-thing-TOP like:that-COMM:POL

예 그건 그렇죠.

“Yes. That’s true. (=As for that, you have a point.)”

316 B: *ilpone-to kulay -[yo. hankwuke-man kulen-*
Japan-ADD like:that-POL Korean -only like:that-

317 A: *[ung*
yes

응

“I see.”

318 B: *key ani -la ilpone -to*
 NOML:NOM NEG-CONN Japanese-ADD

->319 *kuleh -ketun-yo?*

like:that-SES -POL

일본어도 그래요 한국어만 그런 게 아니라 일본어도 그렇거든요?

“Japanese is also like that, you see? That problem is not unique to the Korean class. The Japanese class also has the same problem.”

320 A: *kulay -yo? ((Turning to K)) kuntey ilpone yeki-se*

like:that-POL but Japanese here-LOC

321 *ssu-koiss-nun kyohwase-nun an kuleh -ci,*
 use-PROG-ATTR textbook -un NEG like:that-COMM

그래요? ((K를 향하여)) 근데 일본어 여기서 쓰고 있는 교과서는

안 그렇지

“Is that so? ((turning to K)) But the Japanese textbook being used here (in our department) is not like that, isn't it?”

In this context, A is complaining that the directions in the Korean language listening exercises are not given in English, which confuses the beginning level students. In response, B, in lines 316-319, makes a disaffiliative statement that such a problem is not unique to the Korean class, but is also found in the Japanese class. With B being the only person among the participants who is taking the Japanese class, she is entitled to bring up her own experience as a ground for counter-informing. Note that A responds to B in such a way that she does not directly refute B's claim but backs down (lines 320-321). She initially acknowledges B's point (*kulay-yo?* “Is that so?”) and, rather than problematizing it directly, turns to another participant (K) to recruit support for her argument, i.e., with a tag question proposing the possibility that the situation at her university may be different from that found at B's university. A's backing down in response to B's *ketun*-marked counter-informing demonstrably shows that she is oriented to the indisputable nature of B's account by virtue of its being grounded in the latter's personal experience.

This observations brings up one of the features of *-ketun* used as a

resource for organizing interactions; its use tends to make explicit the configuration of the speaker's position *vis-à-vis* the hearer's in terms of the epistemic rights they are entitled to (cf. Raymond & Heritage 2005). In extract (1), for instance, we find the sense that B's use of *-ketun* evokes her identity that warrants her counter-informing toward A. That is, in that B's counter-informing puts A in the one-down position in relation to B, possibly in a way that is face-threatening to A, the concurrently (and reflexively) evoked sense of B's identities (i.e., as a person who is taking the Japanese class) not only contributes to warranting B's claim of stronger epistemic rights as empirically valid, but also mitigates the face-threatening nature of counter-informing (see Section IV-2).

A crucial aspect of the use of *-ketun*, then, is found not only in the way it frames new or newsworthy information, but also in the way the information it marks is framed as empirically supported. Extract (2) is another case in point, where the speaker brings up empirical evidence as a ground for refuting one of the interlocutors' claim, and terminates the extended confrontation among the participants. This conversation takes place at a TA meeting participated by TAs teaching Korean at a U.S. university:

(2) (TA Meeting)

->1 K: *yeki-nun* (.) *ponmwun-un ttek-i -ketun*,
 here-TOP main text-TOP 'ttek'-COP-SES

->2 *ttek-i -lako hwaksilhi nao -ketun-yo*,
 'ttek'-COP-QUOT clearly come:out-SES -POL

여기는 (.) 본문에는 '떡'이거든요, '떡'이라고 확실히 나오거든요,

"Here, in the main text, it is *ttek*. Clearly it is shown as *ttek*. ((The discussion ends.))"

In the preceding context, one of the TAs raised a question about a Korean word being possibly misspelled in the test, arguing that the spelling *kkuttek* (ㄱ푹) shown in the test is incorrect and should be replaced with *kkutek* (ㄱ푹). This leads to an extended discussion regarding which spelling is correct. At lines 1-2, K, the TA co-ordinator, mentions how the word is spelled in the

textbook. Note that here he uses *-ketun*, the use of which contributes to formulating his account as an effective rebuttal of the claim that the given spelling shown in the text is incorrect. The extended argument over which form is correct is finally resolved with the empirically supported evidence formulated with *-ketun*.

From the perspective of face and information management, the reason why the speaker often goes great lengths to ground the *ketun*-marked information on empirical evidence could be attributed to the nature of the action of “doing informing,” which positions the recipient as being relatively less knowledgeable than the speaker himself/herself. Naturally, such an act may be treated by the hearer as being presumptuous, especially when the hearer does not expect to be placed in the one-down position where s/he is informed about something the speaker evidently assumes him/her to be less knowledgeable or even ignorant of, so there is always the possibility that the speaker’s presumption of the hearer’s ignorance will be resisted by the hearer. The speaker’s demonstrable attempt to enlist solid empirical support, then, would be a crucial part of implementing the potentially face-threatening act of doing “informing,” particularly in the context where it is not solicited by the hearer. As noted above, evoking the speaker’s positionally relevant identities and highlighting the empirical basis of the informing seem to be the features associated with the use of *-ketun* reflexively implicated in managing the speaker’s epistemic rights and the participants’ face.

2. Information Grounded on Commonsense Knowledge

While the preceding extracts show the cases in which the information in the *ketun*-utterance is proposed to be “new” to the recipient, it may take the characteristic of commonsense knowledge, which is not necessarily unknown to the recipient. For instance, as is often observed in the context of arguments or discussions, the speaker may use *-ketun* to highlight the commonsensical validity of his/her claim. Consider extract (3). This conversation takes place in the context of service encounter where the customer is asking for extra

service which she claims she is entitled to, while the service person argues that she cannot make an exception and give special favor to a particular customer:

(3) (Overheard Conversation: Bathroom Facility)

- 1 Customer: ... *kiponceki-n -kes -to an ha-ko*
 basic -ATTR-thing-ADD NEG do-CONN
- >2 >*ku -ke -n ani -ketun-yo:?*<
 that-thing-TOP NEG-SES -POL
 ... 기본적인 것도 안 하고 그건 아니거든요?
 “It’s not that I’m making an unreasonable request of you by ignoring the basic guidelines (that customers should respect), you know.”
- 3 Service Person: *wuli-ka tayha-nun salam -tul-i*
 we -NOM meet-ATTR person-PL-NOM
- >4 *kokayk -nim -ppwun-i ani -ketun-yo?*
 customer-HONOR-only-NOM NEG-SES-POL
 우리가 대하는 사람들이 고객님의이 아니거든요?
 “You are not the only customer that we serve, you know.”
- 5 Customer: *wuli-ka hyepcin mic -ko ha-n*
 we -NOM hyupcin believe-CONN do-ATTR-
- 6 *-ke -ci kayin mic -ko*
 -NOM:COP-COMM individual believe-CONN
- >7 *ha-n -ke -n ani -ketun-yo:?*
 do-ATTR-NOML-TOP NEG-SES -POL
 우리가 협진(회사명) 믿고 한 거지 개인 믿고 한 건 아니거든요?
 “(We have agreed to have a bidet installed) because we believed that the service person (who promised to provide the monthly “cleaning” service for free) represented the Hyup Jin Company, you know.”

In this conversation, *ketun*-utterances are exchanged between the service person and the complaining customer; the service person asserts that she cannot fulfill the individual need of every single customer, and the customer

asks for an individualized service tailored to meet her needs, which she claims a different service person promised earlier to provide her with. Note that, when the speakers construct their counter-informing, they formulate it as an account whose upshot draws upon some general, commonsensically acceptable moral value, rather than upon their direct knowledge or personal experience.⁵⁾

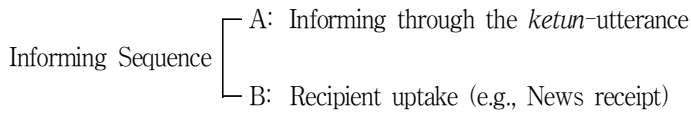
Preliminary observations suggest that, in the formal context (e.g., at a formal meeting) where the speakers attempt to prepare a ground for promoting their own viewpoint and building up an argument against the other's, they often formulate the *ketun*-utterance with the information whose validity is asserted to be something that is commonsensically shared and agreeable by the participants. As suggested by extract (3), "service encounter" may be one type of the formal context where the speaker of *-ketun* orients to drawing upon commonsense knowledge (and moral values it indexes) as a way of promoting his/her service-related claim (e.g., in the context of dealing with customer complaints or making a sales pitch).

III. Informing Sequence and Sequential Embedding

Given the nature of the information framed by *-ketun*, it is not surprising that the *ketun*-utterance generates an "informing" sequence in which the information in the *ketun*-utterance is proposed as something to be taken up by the recipient as newsworthy. With the new information being offered with the *ketun*-utterance, the recipient would be sequentially prodded to appreciate or at least to acknowledge its newsworthiness. The informing sequence that *-ketun* generates, then, consists of an adjacency pair which comprises a

5) It is also to be noted in extract (3) that the speaker's positionally relevant identities are evoked through the exchange of the *ketun*-utterances (i.e., the consumer vs. the company employee). In this sense, we can say that what is going on in extract (3) is an argument between two parties demonstrably playing out their positionally relevant roles (i.e., as the consumer and as the company employee respectively), rather than between two individuals (see Section IV-2).

ketun-utterance, doing informing, as its first pair part, and the recipient uptake, usually produced in the form of news receipt, as its second pair part:



This observation is congruent with some of the findings in the previous research, where the interactively response-soliciting feature of *-ketun* is noted, in particular in the context where it is pronounced with rising pitch level at the ending (Chae 1998; Ku & Rhee 2001; Shin 2000).⁶⁾

In the following sections, I examine three sequential contexts where the informing sequence generated by *-ketun* is embedded: (i) the “second” position (e.g., as the second pair part), (ii) the “first” position (e.g., as the first pair part), and (iii) the “mid” position in the middle of a multi-unit turn.

1. Second Pair Part: Informing as Dispreferred Response

The informing sequence generated by a *ketun*-utterance is deployed in a variety of sequential positions. For instance, in extract (4), the *ketun*-utterance is produced as an answer (the second-pair part) to a question (the first-pair part), and it subsequently elicits a confirmation, prefaced by the change-of-state token *ah* in line 3 (Heritage 1984):

(4) ((Overheard Conversation: At a Fast-Food Restaurant))

1 Customer: *mwul swuken iss -eyo?*

6) It is not the case, however, that the *ketun*-utterance is always taken up by the recipient “explicitly” (Lee 2000). For example, the informing sequence may not be clearly materialized when *-ketun* is used to frame an account which is anticipated by the interlocutor to be forthcoming. In such a case, the *ketun*-marked account tends to be formulated with non-rising pitch level at the ending (cf. extract (8) in Section IV-3). However, even in such contexts, we find the sense that the use of *-ketun* makes relevant some sort of appreciative uptake.

water towel exist-POL

물수건 있어요?

“Do you have a wet tissue?”

->2 Employee: *cehi mwul swuken ep -ketun-yo?*

we water towel not:exist-SES -POL

저희 물수건 없거든요?

“We don’t have a wet tissue.”

->3 Customer: *ah mwul swuken eps -eyo?*

CST water towel not:exist-POL

아 물수건 없어요?

Oh, you don’t have a wet tissue?

The sequential structure of this dialogue shows that the employee’s *ketun*-utterance, formulated with rising pitch level at the ending, is the second pair part matched to the customer’s request produced as the first pair part in line 1, and also constitutes the first pair part of the informing sequence it locally generates, eliciting a news mark from the customer as its second pair part (line 3). Note that the information that *-ketun* marks, despite its newsworthiness, is not simply formulated as something to be appreciated by the hearer as news. The interactional import of the *ketun*-utterance goes beyond that of news; the proposed information, formulated in the form of news, serves as something that is to be taken up by the recipient as an “account,” which is part of the dispreferred response, i.e., an account for not being able to fulfill the customer’s request (Levinson 1984; Pomerantz 1984).

Thus, the adjacency pair of “informing” and “news receipt” that we find in (4) constitutes the sequence of “account-giving” (done by informing) and “acknowledgment” (done by news receipt). The employee’s *ketun*-marked information, though formulated in the form of a report of newsworthy information, is taken up by the customer as an account for not being able to respond favorably to the latter’s request. This sequence-organizational pattern can be roughly represented as follows:

A: Request <= First Pair Part

->B: *ketun*-utterance <= Second Pair Part: Dispreferred response
 A: News receipt <= Acknowledgment

Note that the pitch level acutely rising at the end of the *ketun*-utterance, usually at the point where the final syllable (*-tun*) is produced, serves as an element that contributes to characterizing the response as a dispreferred response, as we can see in extracts (1)–(4). Often, this prosodic contour may be interpreted as indexing the speaker’s “rude” attitude toward the speaker of the first pair part, with the *ketun*-marked response being constructed in the manner of producing a retort (cf. Kim & Suh 2009).⁷⁾ Formulated with the rising pitch level at the ending, and often laden with a sarcastic or belligerent tone, the *ketun*-utterance produced as the second pair part seems to be in the course of becoming a conventionalized form of retort in modern Korean, especially among teenagers (e.g., A: *i-ke mek-ul-lay?* “Would you like to eat this?” B: *toyss-ketun?* “I’m fine/No thanks, OK?”).

2. First Pair Part: Pre-Sequence

The informing sequence generated by *-ketun* may be embedded as pre-expansion, where the participants negotiate and mutually orient to the

7) For example, one may find that the employee’s *ketun*-marked response in extract (4) is somewhat rude. Basically, the rudeness conveyed by *-ketun* seems to be attributed to the speaker’s claim of stronger epistemic rights, on the basis of which she demonstrably treats the interlocutor’s conduct as reflecting lack of relevant knowledge or experience, or as being out of sync with what she believes to be an appropriate conduct. Such a sense of “doing being rude” conveyed by the *ketun*-marked response would be unleashed unconstrained if no remedial practice is mobilized to mitigate its face-impinging import (e.g., by evoking institutional identities warranting the speaker’s stronger epistemic rights). In extract (4), for instance, the extent to which the employee’s response may be viewed as being rude is somewhat mitigated by virtue of the fact that she is talking in a way that fits the context of service encounter, i.e., by way of evoking her positionally-relevant institutional identity (as the employee of the restaurant) *vis-à-vis* the customer (see Section IV-2).

forthcoming main action sequence (Schegloff 2007). Extract (5) below is a case in point:

(5) (Overheard Conversation: Informal Gathering)

- 1 A: *wuli nala -ey yelyeses-kay*
 our nation-LOC sixteen -CL
 ->2 *sito -ka iss -ketun-yo?*
 city & province-NOM exist-SES -POL
 우리나라에 열여섯 개 시도가 있거든요?
 “Our nation has sixteen city and province areas.”
- >3 B: *ney.*
 yes
 네.
 “Yes.”
- 4 A: *yelyeses-kay sito -ka*
 sixteen -CL city & province-NOM
- 5 *iss -nuntey, ...*
 exist-CIRCUM
 열여섯 개 시도가 있는데, ...
 “There are sixteen city/province areas and, ...”
 ((A talks about the administrative system in Korea.))

In lines 1-2, A, a public administrator, brings up the number of cities/provinces topic-initially with the *ketun*-utterance (cf. Ku & Rhee 2001). While the information he brings up with *-ketun* may be of some news value, it is not proposed to be taken up simply as self-sufficient news on its own. Rather, it is produced as pre-telling, which, contingent upon the interlocutor's go-ahead (*ney* line 3), will be followed by the projected telling (i.e., the main action). Note in extract (5) that, after securing the recipient's go-ahead in line 3, A repeats his utterance, this time marked by *-nuntey*,⁸⁾ and moves on to talk about the administrative system in Korea, which turns out to be the main

8) Note in passing that this pattern, where *-nuntey*, following the *ketun*-utterance, serves as the linkage forward to the projected main talk, is a recurrently observed phenomenon (cf. Kim & Suh 2009).

topic that he elaborates on. This sequence-organizational pattern can be represented as follows:

- > A: *ketun*-utterance <= First Pair Part: Pre-telling
- B: News receipt <= Second Pair Part: Go-ahead
- A: Main action/Moving toward the main action

The pre-sequence is organized in such a way that the implementation of the main action is contingent upon the recipient's response. With the recipient's "go-ahead" response, the speaker is allowed to move on to the main action. In the case of the pre-sequence generated by the *ketun*-utterance, the speaker's chance of securing the recipient's go-ahead would be particularly high, if not guaranteed, because the *ketun*-utterance, by virtue of its news value or strong factuality, is highly likely to be appreciated or acknowledged by the recipient with news receipt. This shows one aspect of the way in which the *ketun*-utterance serves as a useful resource for organizing interactions; the news receipt that it prompts to be responsively produced as the second pair part also functions as a go-ahead that contributes to moving the talk ahead in the sequence as a whole. In a nutshell, this is a case in which the informing sequence -*ketun* initiates is imbedded as pre-expansion (Schegloff 1997), where the "locally produced" second pair part (i.e., news receipt) concurrently serves as a go-ahead at a more "global" level of sequence organization (Kim & Suh 2009).

3. In the Middle of the Multi-Unit Turn: Parenthetical Insert

While the *ketun*-utterance may constitute a single turn-constructional unit (TCU) that composes a single turn, as shown in the preceding extracts, it may be embedded in a multi-unit turn. In some contexts, this use of -*ketun* corresponds to what Park (1989) calls a "footnote" use, by which the speaker provides auxiliary information that further enhances the recipient's understanding of the talk in progress.

Consider extract (6) below, which shows a segment from a sermon delivered at a church located in Seoul, Korea. In the preceding context, the preacher (P) mentioned that his son, who is a senior college student studying at a university in the U.S., is planning to apply to the medical school:

(6) (Overheard Talk: Sermon)

- 1 P: ... *mikwuk-eyse-nun tayhak colepha -ko*
 US -LOC-TOP college graduate-CONN
 ->2 *uytay -lul ka-ketun-yo? kulayse*
 medical school-ACC go-ketun-POL so
 3 *sihem-to po -ass -nuntey (.) yey -ka*
 exam -ADD see-PST-CIRCUM this:kid-NOM
 4 *senkyo-ha-le yeymeyn-ul*
 mission-do-PURP Yemen -ACC
 5 *ka-keyss-ta -nun -keyeyo.*
 go-MOD-DECL-ATTR-NOML:COP:POL
 ... 미국에서는 대학 졸업하고 의대를 가거든요? 그래서 시험도 봤는데 (.) 애
 가 선교하러 예멘으로 가겠다는 거예요
 “... In the U.S., they go to the medical school after graduating from
 college. So he (=my son) took the exam and everything and, (.) He is
 saying that he wants to go to Yemen as a missionary.”

In this part of the sermon, P is saying that his son, who is preparing to go to the medical school in the U.S., is planning on making a mission trip to Yemen. In this context of talking about his son, P adds the background information that, in the U.S., one goes to the medical school AFTER graduating from the college, and it is this information that is marked by *-ketun*. The newsworthiness of this *ketun*-marked information is found in the fact that in Korea, unlike in the U.S., the medical career starts when one enters the (medical) college. In this respect, this *ketun*-marked information is a crucial piece of background information that the members of the Korean congregation should know (i.e., regarding different career trajectories for prospective doctors in the U.S. and in Korea) in order to grasp fully the upshot of P's message.

The *ketun*-utterance uttered in the middle of a multi-unit turn, whereby the speaker inserts a background account for some prior point, tends to take the form of a parenthetical sequence in which the recipient uptake is elicited in passing (Schegloff 2007). In such mid-turn positions, the practice of informing is conducted as revealing a particular detail that retroactively illuminates the import of the speaker's prior action. As I will discuss more in detail in Section IV-3, it effectuates a sense of "enlightenment" on the part of the recipient, who is prompted to reevaluate the import of the speaker's prior talk and to recalibrate his/her uptake (Kim & Suh 2009).

IV. Action-Organizational Features of *Ketun*-Marked Account

1. Formulating Non-Negotiable Upshot

The *ketun*-marked information, which tends to be presented as being empirically based and speaker-relevant, leads the recipient to accept it as grounds for inferring its upshot as an account by way of orienting to the non-negotiability of the inferred upshot (Kim & Suh 2009; Taira 2006). That the recipient takes up the upshot of the *ketun*-utterance as non-negotiable can be observed in the way s/he designs the subsequent moves. Consider extract (7), where a parent of a child (C) is calling to ask about when the children who had gone to a field trip would be coming back to the hotel:

(7) (Kim, M.-W. Data)

- 1 R: *kamsaha -pnita. Dong sewul milata -i -pnita.*
 thank:you-FPOL East Seoul Mirada (Hotel)-COP-FPOL
 감사합니다. 동서울 미라다(호텔)입니다.
 "Thank you. East Seoul Mirada Hotel."
- 2 C: *ney malssum com yeccwu -e -po-keyss*
 yes talk:HONOR a:little ask:HONOR-CONN-see-MOD
- 3 *-supnita.*
 -FPOL

네 말씀 좀 여쭙보겠습니다.

“Yes. May I ask you a question?”

- 4 R: *yey*,
yes
예,
“Yes.”
- 5 C: *nemwu nuckey coysongha-ntey onul kwunam*
too late sorry -CIRCUM today Kunam
- 6 *chotunghakkyo elini-tul imwen swulyenhoy*
elementary school child-PL membership training
- 7 *ka-ss -cyo?*
go-PST-COMM:POL
너무 늦게 죄송한데 오늘 구남 초등학교 어린이들 임원 수련회 갔죠?
“I’m sorry to call you so late, but today the Kunam Elementary School children went on a membership training trip, right?”
- 8 R: *yey yey*.
yes yes
예 예.
“Yes. Yes.”
- 9 C: *kukey (.) encey-ccum tochakha-nun -ci*
that:NOM when-around arrive -ATTR-COMP
- 10 *a -lswuiss-ulkka-yo?*
know-can -MOD-POL
그게 (.) 언제쯤 도착하는지 알 수 있을까요?
“About that, (.) could you tell me around what time they will be back?”
- 11 R: *e:: pothong cemsim mek-kwu chwulpal-ul*
DM normally lunch eat-CONN departure-ACC
- >12 *ha-ketun-yo*,
do-SES -POL
아: 보통 점심 먹구 출발을 하거든요,
“Well, normally they depart after eating lunch.”
- 13 C: *yey keki-so sewul-i elamana kelli-na -yo*
yes there-from Seoul-NOM how:much take-NONCOMM-POL
- 14 *sikan-i?*
time -NOM
예 거기서 서울이 얼마나 걸리나요 시간이?

“I see. From there how long does it take to Seoul?”

15 R: *e:: kangnam -kkaci han sikan pan cengto*
DM South of River-until one hour half around

16 *soyotoy-pnita*
take -FPOL

어:: 강남까지 한 시간 반 정도 소요됩니다.

“Well, it takes about an hour and a half to Kangnam.”

17 C: *ah kulem ohwu -ey ilccik o -na -yo?*
CST then afternoon-LOC early come-NONCOMM-POL
그럼 오후에 일찍 오나요?

“Oh, then, will they come early in the afternoon?”

18 R: *kule -llke -pnita yey.*
like:that-MOD-FPOL-yes

그렇습니다 예.

“I believe so. Yes.”

((C’s inquiry about the expected arrival time continues.))

In response to C’s inquiry about the children’s “arrival” time, the hotel employee, R, responds by simply giving an approximate “departure” time in his *ketun*-utterance (lines 11 and 12). The limitedness of R’s response is further highlighted by the fact that the *ketun*-marked information is formulated as a generic statement (“Normally they depart after eating lunch.”), not pertaining to the actual departure time of the specific group of children they are talking about.⁹⁾ It is thus up to C, the inquirer, who has to compute and figure out

9) In this respect, we can see that R’s *ketun*-marked response is not recipient-designed in the sense that it does not fully answer C’s question. It can be noted in passing that producing such a fact-based, generic statement of limited import as a response, not formulated in a recipient-designed way, could be a feature that is characteristic of, or constitutive of, the practice of formulating a “dispreferred” response in the institutional context. That is, such a practice suggests that the hotel employee in extract (7), by leading the customer to make an inferential effort on the basis of the limited factual information that he knows for certain, orients himself to holding the customer accountable for (rather than taking the responsibility himself for) any possible errors that could be made in the course of inferring the arrival time (cf. extracts (3) and (4)).

the arrival time on the basis of the “limited” information provided by R’s *ketun*-utterance.

One thing notable about this sequence is that C does not problematize the limitedness or insufficiency of R’s *ketun*-marked response as an answer to her question. Rather than problematizing R’s response with reference to its “limitedness” as an answer to her question, C pursues a series of follow-up inquiries into other relevant “facts” that could help herself infer the time of the expected arrival (lines 13-14 and 17 and also in her subsequent turns not shown in the extract). Actually, the fact that the recipient of *-ketun* does not problematize the limitedness of the provided answer is the evidence that the recipient of *-ketun* orients to the final, non-revisable upshot of the *ketun*-utterance (Kim & Suh 2009).

As Drew (1984) aptly notes, providing a detail of limited scope and having the recipient figure out its upshot as an account is a generic feature of reporting. However, in the case of *-ketun*, the information gap that the speaker of *-ketun* evokes often requires a tremendous amount of inferential effort on the part of the recipient. As I will suggest later, noticing the existence of such a gap (or constructing one) seems to be the process that is at the heart of the whole array of actions implemented by *-ketun* (see Section V).

2. Evoking Positionally Relevant Identities

One of the sequential implications associated with the use of *-ketun* is that the speaker’s identities relevant to his/her position *vis-à-vis* the hearer are evoked as part of the account-giving action. As I noted above, this constitutes an aspect of the context of its use that works toward mitigating the extent to which the speaker’s epistemic rights are asserted. Consider extract (4) again:

(4) ((Overheard Conversation: At a Fast-Food Restaurant))

- 1 Customer: *mwul swuken iss -eyo?*
 water towel exist-POL
 물수건 있어요?
 “Do you have a wet tissue?”

- > 2 Employee: *cehi mwul swuken ep -ketun-yo?*
 we water towel not:exist-SES -POL
 저희 물수건 없거든요?
 “We don’t have a wet tissue.”
- 3 Customer: *ah mwul swuken eps -eyo?*
 CST water towel not:exist-POL
 아 물수건 없어요?
 Oh, you don’t have a wet tissue?

A noteworthy sequential feature of the account-giving implemented by the *ketun*-utterance in this extract is that it is “overbuilt” as a response to the customer’s question asking whether there is a wet tissue available on the counter. That is, the way the account is formulated suggests that the fast-food restaurant employee does not respond simply by using the Informal Ending *-e*, e.g., *mwul swuken eps-e-yo*. “There’s no a wet tissue.” While the English translation may not show any difference, the use of *-ketun*, unlike the use of *-e*, does not simply mention the non-availability of the searched-for object. That is, the speaker of *-ketun* does not formulate the non-availability of a wet tissue as a state of affairs that happens to hold at that specific moment. Rather, she, as the employee of the restaurant, formulates the state of affairs as the institutionally motivated; the particular fast-food restaurant she is working for “generically” does not have wet tissues,¹⁰⁾ and that is why they are not available.

The use of *-ketun* thus conveys the subtle meta-pragmatic sense that the speaker is evoking her identity as a restaurant employee in the context of, or as a way of, refusing the customer’s request. It seems that her practice of evoking her positionally relevant identity (*vis-à-vis* the hearer who is positioned as the customer) helps her formulate her refusal (i.e., made in the form of an account) as an act of “revealing” an institutionally relevant factual detail (see Section IV-3), not that of making her personal observation.¹¹⁾ This

10) Recall that, in extract (7) we examined above, the hotel employee’s *ketun*-utterance is also formulated as a generic statement.

11) Note, in this respect, that the employee’s use of the “exclusive” first person plural

observation further suggests that evoking one's institutional, rather than personal, identity is a practice designedly geared to persuading the other party in such a way that the speaker shows herself not to be personally accountable for failing to fulfill whatever is being required of him/her (cf. footnote (9)). As I noted above, it serves to modulate the potentially face-threatening nature of the persuasive act by way of mitigating the extent to which the speaker's epistemic rights are asserted (see Section II-1).

3. Unpackaging Information and Stance Shifting

As I noted with respect to extract (6) examined above, one salient feature of the *ketun*-utterance which is widely observed in the context of a multi-unit turn is that it tends to take the form of a parenthetical insert or what Park (1998) calls the "footnote" usage, with the speaker weaving a piece of auxiliary information into the on-going talk. By doing so, the speaker offers the recipient a new, revised way of understanding and interpreting the prior talk. The prior talk is thus put in a different light than in the preceding context, often with the remedial sense of retroactively enlightening the recipient on the import of the prior talk.

Revealing a hither-to-unmentioned piece of information through the *ketun*-utterance could be understood in terms of what Jefferson (1985) calls "unpackaging of gloss," which is the practice that can be deployed at particular sequential places for revising, pre-empting or blocking a particular trajectory of sequential understanding that is being visibly or presuppositionally entertained by the hearer. Extract (6) examined above is a case in point, where the *ketun*-utterance is designedly inserted to ensure the correct understanding of the talk in progress on the part of the members of the congregation. Extract (8) below is another case in point, probably a more striking example where we find a strong sense of "revelation." This extract shows a context in which K, an invited speaker, is talking about how she has

pronoun *cehi* "we" furthers the sense of the institutional identity being evoked, as it evidently refers to the restaurant she is working for.

prepared for and passed a series of the government-sponsored tests implemented to recruit secondary school English teachers:

(8) (Overheard Talk: Invited Speaker)

- 1 K: *kitay -lul an ha-koiss -ess -eyo. kuntay ilcha*
 expectation-ACC NEG do-PROG-PST-POL DM frist round
 2 *palphyo -ka na -ss -nuntey,*
 announcement-NOM come:out-PST-CONN
 3 *toy -n -keey -yo.*
 become-ATTR-NOM:COP-POL
 4 *nemwu nemwu hwangtanghay-ss -eyo.*
 too too flabbergasted -PST-POL
 ->5 *myencep awunpi -lul an -hayss -ketun-yo.*
 interview preparation-ACC NEG-do-PST-SES-POL

6 ((Audience laughs))

기대를 안 하고 있었어요. 근데 일차 발표가 났는데, 된 거예요. 너무 너무
 황당했어요. 면접 준비를 한 했거든요. ((청중 웃음))
 “I hadn’t expected to pass the test, but as it turned out, I passed the first
 round of the examination. I was so flabbergasted. Because I hadn’t been
 doing any preparation for the interview, the second-round test. ((Audience
 laughs.))”

K’s *ketun*-marked account, embedded in a multi-unit turn, explains the reason why she was flabbergasted to hear that she had passed the first round of the test.¹²⁾ Note that K’s affectively loaded description of her state of mind in line 4 (*nemwu nemwu hwangtanghay-ss-e-yo* “I was so flabbergasted.”), which follows the report that she has passed the first round of the test, makes

12) Extract (8) is the case in which the *ketun*-utterance is formulated with non-rising pitch level at the ending. As noted in footnote (6), such a prosodic contour seems to be associated with what may be called a “transparent” account, which is given in due course, as expected by the hearer. Indeed, we find in extract (8) that the production of the *ketun*-marked account is totally consonant with the expectation of the audience; it is offered right at the point where they are expecting the speaker to clarify the import of the preceding utterance (*nemwu nemwu hwangtanghay-ss -eyo* “I was so flabbergasted.”).

the audience wonder why the good news that she had passed the first round of the test left her flabbergasted. With her *ketun*-marked account being produced subsequently, her report is pointedly transformed into a witty remark, whose humor draws for its effect on counter-expectation; hearing the news that she had passed the first round of the test, she was flabbergasted because she was totally unprepared for the forthcoming second round of the test (which happens to be an interview test), the implication being that she did not prepare for the second round of the test because she did not even expect to pass the first round of the test. The upshot of the *ketun*-utterance, then, lies in its interactional import of having the audience enlightened right at the point of heightened expectation.

Following Jefferson (1985), what the speaker of *-ketun* does in this context could be characterized as “unpackaging of gloss,” revealing a detail that has the crucial interactional import of “enlightening” the recipient, i.e., by way of shedding new light on the talk in progress, thus leading the hearer to revise his/her understanding of the on-going talk and to co-share the speaker’s perspective on the matter at hand.

An interesting feature often associated with the *ketun*-utterance embedded as a parenthetical insert in a multi-unit turn is that the speaker concurrently shifts the stance in such a way that, the recipient is positioned as a “collusive” member to whom a piece of information is revealed in collusion. In extract (8), for instance, the speaker of *-ketun* displays a stance shift in such a way that the description of her internal state, which initially makes the audience puzzled, is immediately followed by the punch line of the story constituted by the *ketun*-marked account, whose upshot as counter-expectation enables the speaker to collude with the audience and laugh together. We find a similar tendency in extract (3), where the preacher’s stance shift can be observed in terms of a shift briefly made from the formal style (of the sermon) to the informal style with which the relevant background information is offered in the manner of colluding with the congregation.

Such a shift, which can be understood in terms of a shift in footing (Goffman 1974), i.e., a shift made in the way the recipient is expected to align

with the given message and with other participants, seems to be one of the features crucially associated with the interactional meaning of *-ketun*. The stance-shifting practice associated with *-ketun* furnishes the speaker with an interactional resource for providing the information crucial to the talk in progress without foregrounding or topicalizing it.

V. Conclusions

Overall, the examination of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction suggests that various uses of *-ketun* can be examined in terms of how the informing sequence it generates is embedded in various sequential places. When *-ketun* is used in the “first” position, the informing sequence it generates by way of soliciting the recipient uptake ties nicely into the structure of pre-sequence. When embedded in the “second” position, the *ketun*-utterance tends to constitute a dispreferred response (Park 1998), often formulated as a counter-informing. Embedded in a multi-unit turn, the informing sequence generated by the *ketun*-utterance takes the form of a parenthetical sequence, the enlightening import of which derives from the practice of unpackaging information *post hoc*, with noticeable stance shifting being observed to be a concurrently indexed action-organizational feature.

Stance shifting may be a generic feature associated with the use of *-ketun* in general. Actually, evoking the speaker’s positionally relevant identity (e.g., institutionally relevant identities in service encounter) can be taken as the case in which stance-shifting is made in the direction of distancing from the hearer (or keeping a distance from the hearer), i.e., toward positioning him/her as the outsider, while being collusive would be the case in which stance-shifting is made in the opposite direction, i.e., toward involving the hearer as the inside member whose co-alignment is collusively negotiated. In both cases, the speaker of *-ketun* has the recipient subjected to his/her social control by asserting his/her stronger epistemic rights, which are reflexively mitigated (i.e., through evoking positionally relevant identities) or masked (i.e., by stance-shifting) (cf.

Raymond & Heritage 2005).

In terms of the nature of the information, the *ketun*-marked information is formulated as being empirically grounded on the speaker's personal knowledge/experience or on commonsense knowledge. The findings suggest that the crux of the interactional meaning of *-ketun* may reside in noticing, evoking, or managing a certain "gap" in knowledge and perspective asserted to exist between the speaker and the hearer, as stipulated by the speaker who is positioned as the authority whose message is non-negotiable. This observation may offer some useful analytic insights into the process through which the SES *-ketun* has been grammaticalized from the connective *ketun* (Correlative), given that, in its usage as the connective as well, the *ketun*-clause houses the condition which is committed to, and stipulated by, the speaker (cf. Kim 1996; Kim & Suh 2009; Yeom 2005; Ywun 2005). The *ketun*-clause, in this respect, furnishes the speaker with the right to impose a certain obligation (or a standard) on the recipient and has him/her act as directed (e.g., by the speaker's instruction, advice, request, etc.).

The interactional meaning of *-ketun*, which serves as the basis for its various sequential uses, can be characterized in terms of its use as a resource for addressing the interactional need to fill in the "gap" in knowledge, experience, or perspective which the speaker asserts to exist between him/her and the hearer, who is positioned as the party to notice, appreciate, or remedy the gap. This asymmetrical positioning of the speaker and the hearer evoked by the use of *-ketun* seems to be particularly consonant with its usage in the early modern Korean illustrated by Choi (1937). One example would be *ne-nun way os-ul sa-ci anh-nunya? na-nun os-i iss-ketun*. "How come you don't buy the clothes? While I have my own clothes." (Choi 1965: 329, re-quoted from Chae 1998). This old "contrastive" usage of *-ketun* suggests that the information in the *ketun*-marked clause constitutes what the speaker proposes as the "standard" against which some other target phenomenon is to be compared, often with the implication that the hearer or the third party is rebuked for falling short of the standard proposed by the speaker.

In this picture, the hearer is positioned as the "impacted" party on the

receiving end, i.e., being pressured by the speaker of *-ketun* into filling in the gap by way of inferring, learning, and sharing the speaker's perspective, aided solely by the speaker's authoritative and often "limited" and cryptic message that is heavily laden with finality and non-negotiability. In this respect, we could examine how the differential positioning of the speakers and the shift and re-alignment of perspectives and stances it occasions are implicated in the process of grammaticalization (cf. Ku & Rhee 2001; Park & Sohn 2002). In particular, it would be interesting to examine how speakers notice a gap in information or disparity in knowledge *vis-à-vis* their recipient, and how they lead the recipient to fill in the gap or address the disparity on the basis of the empirical ground they are in control of. Or, more importantly, we could examine how the interactional need to have the hearer do something is used as a ground for searching for a relevant domain to evoke such a gap purposefully or strategically as a way of subjecting the hearer to social control exercised by the speaker (cf. Drew 1987).

The findings further suggest that the interactionally attuned analytic account delineated in this paper can be used as a framework for analyzing diverse types of *ketun*-utterances, e.g., in terms of different prosodic formulations. They also furnish us with the means of analyzing other SESs and connectives, such as *-nikka*, *-cyana*, or *nuntey*, which are also used for building an account, though in ways subtly distinct from each other. They could be compared and differentiated in terms of how they are sequentially placed, and what practices, procedures, or actions are implicated by their use (Kim & Suh 1994; Park 1999).

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Appendix

I have used transcription conventions developed by conversation analysts with some modifications (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974; Atkinson & Heritage 1984):

[] Simultaneous utterances	.	Falling intonation
= Contiguous utterances	,	Slightly rising intonation
? Rising intonation	//	Interruption
(0.0) Intervals between utterances	--	Cut-offs
(.) Micro-pause	:	Sound stretch
() Words unclear	(())	Transcriber's remarks
hhh Audible aspirations	.hh	Audible inhalations
Underlining Emphasis		

For morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, the following abbreviations are used (Lee 1991):

ACC: Accusative	ADD: Additive	ATTR: Attributive
CIRCUM: Circumstantial	CL: Classifier	COMM: Committal
COMP: Complementizer	CONN: Connective	COP: Copula
CST: Change-of-State Token	DECL: Declarative	DM: Discourse Marker
FPOL: Formal Polite	HONOR: Honorific	IE: Informal Ending
INSTR: Instrumental	LOC: Locative	MOD: Modal Marker
NECESS: Necessity	NEG: Negative Particle	NOM: Nominative
NOML: Nominalization	NONCOMM: Non-Committal	PL: Plural
POL: Politeness Marker	PROG: Progressive	PST: Past
PURP: Purpose	QUOT: Quotative	REASON: Reason
TOP: Topic Marker		

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