

Collaborative Unit Construction in Korean: Pivot Turns

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This study examines how Korean speakers make pivot turns using particles and predicates as increments while coordinating their action in relation to a recipient's response moment-to-moment. The study discusses the speaker's organization of syntax and prosody in the design of pivot turns and demonstrates how pivot turns emerge from stance negotiation between participants. The analysis shows how interlocutors take into account multimodal resources, including talk, prosody, and gestures, during their negotiation of stance. Finally, the study suggests that Korean interlocutors construct units collaboratively as speakers turn the trajectory of talk to modify their stance through pivot turns. *Keywords: pivot turns, grammar and interaction, multimodal resources, stance-taking*

INTRODUCTION

The word 'pivot turn' in dancing refers to a half or a full turn of the whole body on the ball of the foot. A dancer's pivot turn is achieved in collaboration with a partner, as s/he secures one foot and extends the other, resulting in a turn from the direction of a prior move. All the moves are coordinated in the entire course of a dance. Similarly, in conversation, a speaker may complete a turn constructional unit and extend it by attaching additional elements to the prior talk to make a turn in the trajectory of action, as on a hinge. As in a dance, a speaker's moves may be coordinated in conjunction with recipients' actions. This study explores some ways in which such pivot turns are achieved in Korean conversation. In particular, this study examines how Korean speakers accomplish pivot turns by attaching increments, i.e., a particle and/or a predicate, to a host turn construction unit in coordination with a co-participants' action. The syntactic outcome of such pivot turns—seen retrospectively—may appear to be a product of 'canonical' sentences in an agglutinative SOV language like Korean. On the contrary, and as this study aims to demonstrate, consideration of multimodal resources, including prosody and body movements, is critical to making a distinction between pivot turns and 'unmarked' sentential production (see Auer, 2007; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007). Furthermore, this study emphasizes the collaborative aspect of pivot turns by examining recipients' action in relation to a speaker's talk in progress (see Goodwin, 1979, 1980, among others). In the remainder of this first section, I will discuss previous findings of pivot turns and introduce the scope of my analysis.

In ordinary conversation, pivot turns are accomplished through a single unit. That is, a word, a phrase, or a clause may be used to make a transition of topics and/or actions. For example, single words such as *yeah* (Jefferson, 1993) and *okay* (Barske, 2006; Beach, 1993) are used to achieve shifts from prior talk to a next matter. Also, figurative expressions may be used to make a transition between two topics as a speaker provides summaries and assessments of prior talk and introduces a new topic (Holt & Drew, 2005). In both cases, a transition between topics and/or actions is accomplished within one turn without clear-cut boundaries.

Moreover, speakers may achieve pivot turns within the progress of a sentence, using a clause, a phrase, a morpheme, or just a sound (Betz, 2007, 2008; Schegloff, 1979; Scheutz, 2005). Example (1) illustrates how a pivot turn occurs within the progress of a sentence:

(1) [Reproduced from Schegloff (1979, p. 276)]

B: hhh Whad about uh:: (0.8) Oh yih go f:- you-

How many days? **you go five days a week. Ri//ght?**

(bold emphasis added)

In Example (1), a speaker makes a shift between two versions of a sentence: An initial question, ‘*how many days you go*,’ is turned into a confirmation request, ‘*you go five days a week, right?*’ In this case, the clause *you go* is used as a pivot to make a transition between the turn-so-far and a new sentence. The example demonstrates how a speaker achieves a pivot turn by producing a syntactically coherent next element through smooth self-repair.

Similarly, in German, symmetric or semi-symmetric structures around a pivot are commonly observed (Betz, 2007, 2008; Scheutz, 2005).

(2) [Example from Betz (2007, p. 84)]

ja [ich hab hie:r] <zwei frauen> [hab ich ja gut hier anner hand].

PRT I have he:re <two women> have I PRT here at+the hand

[pre-pivot] [pivot] [post-pivot]

‘PRT I have he:re <two women> I have here pretty much at my disposal’

In Example (2), the phrase ‘two women’ is used to make a pivot turn between two sentences, ‘I have he:re two women’ and ‘two women I have here pretty much at my disposal.’¹ This example illustrates how a speaker employs a phrase to make a pivot turn within the progress of syntax. The phrase constitutes a pivot between two sentences. This type of pivot turn will be mentioned as ‘syntactic pivots,’ Betz’s (2007) term, whereas ‘pivot turns’ refer to more general phenomena.

Equivalent types of syntactic pivots to those in English and German, i.e., [pre-pivot + pivot + post-pivot], may be also observed in Korean, an agglutinative SOV language. In Example (3), a speaker makes a pivot turn within the progress of a sentence using a noun phrase, i.e., *Soomi-ka* ‘Soomi (as a subject).’

(3) *Constructed sentence*

[hakkyo ka-ss-e?] <Soomi-ka> [hakkyo ka-ss-ci.]
 school go-PAST-INT name-NM school go-PAST-COMM
 ‘did (∅) go to school? <Soomi> went to school, right?’

In Example (3), a speaker makes a shift between two versions of a sentence, i.e., a question ‘did Soomi go to school?’ and a statement ‘Soomi went to school, right?’ In the first sentence, the subject is initially omitted and appears at a post-predicate position, i.e., *Soomi-ka*. On the other hand, the second sentence starts with an explicit subject, *Soomi-ka*. Thus, a noun phrase (*Soomi* plus a subject particle) constitutes a pivot between two sentences in this example.

This type of pivot turn is made possible through ‘right-dislocation’ of constituents (in a traditional sense), which could have occurred before a final verb. From a conversation analytic perspective, these post-predicate elements extend a prior turn construction unit (TCU), i.e., a predicate, and are treated as increments, i.e., ‘insertables’ and ‘non-add-ons,’ with and without a prosodic break between a host TCU and an increment, respectively (see Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007). Kim (2007) points out that ‘insertables’ may be used as a pivot to link a current speaker’s turn to a next (p. 585, Footnote 18). However, further investigation remains necessary.

Finally, pivot turns may occur without any dislocation in agglutinative SOV languages such as Korean and Japanese. This type of pivot turn involves increments termed ‘restructuring glue-ons’ (see Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007). The ‘Glue-on’ category corresponds to prototypical cases of increments in English, e.g., *you are going to the music workshop. + this morning* (ibid, p. 522), in which the increments are optional. By contrast, ‘restructuring glue-on’ increments are one of the core elements in the structure of prior talk. As a result, the original structure, which is possibly complete, may be restructured into a new one through a glued-on constituent, e.g., *anyway we shall see. + what we shall see.:*, (ibid, pp. 523-524).

Pivot turns through ‘restructuring glue-on’ increments are described in Tanaka (2001). The study demonstrates how Japanese speakers use a complementizer *to* and a following predicate (*to iu* ‘to say that,’ etc.) to make a pivot turn.

(4) [Reproduced from Tanaka (2001, p. 82)]

- 1 W: ((complains about H))=
 2 H: =sore wa soo ne
 that TOP so FP
 ‘That’s right, isn’t it’
 3 (1.2)
 4 -> H: to iu kara
 QUOT say because
 ‘because ((I)) say that ((line 1))’
 5 ikenai no
 wrong FP
 ‘((is)) what is wrong ((with me))’
 6 (1.4)
 7 (): ‘N

In Example (4), the speaker produces a *to* quotative construction after making a statement (lines 2 & 4). As a result, a prior statement is transformed into a hypothetical quotation (lines 3-5). That is, complementizer *to* and its subsequent elements (lines 4-5) are produced as a ‘glue-on’ increment, restructuring the prior talk into a new unit (lines 2-5). In the case of such pivot turns as this, it is critical to understand that prior talk is produced as a complete unit due to the fact that there is no ‘marked’ component, i.e., dislocation, to distinguish the normal progress of sentence from a pivot turn.² The example contrasts with cases of syntactic pivots, e.g., [pre-pivot + pivot + post-pivot], in which the linear interpretation of elements in a forward-looking direction alone (i.e., from left to right) does not produce a syntactically/semantically coherent unit (Betz, 2007; Schegloff, 1979; Scheutz, 2005; Walker, 2007; among others).

So far, I have discussed different ways in which pivot turns are constructed: (1) through a word and a figurative expression; (2) through syntactic pivots, i.e., [pre-pivot + pivot + post-pivot], in which a (dislocated) phrase or clause constitutes a pivot between two versions of sentences; (3) through a ‘glue-on’ increment, which extends and restructures a prior TCU. Although each case of pivot turns may be motivated differently in ordinary conversation, what speakers commonly achieve is a turn in the current trajectory of action. For example, Betz’s (2007) study of the German language shows that speakers deal with interactional troubles with recipients by modifying their stance through syntactic pivots. Tanaka (2001) demonstrates that Japanese speakers also modify their stance through pivot turns with increments. For example, a speaker turns a complaint into a hypothetical statement and deflects any responsibility for the implication of the prior talk.

In this study, I aim to build on the previous studies by investigating some ways in which Korean speakers make pivot turns through ‘restructuring glue-on’ increments. In particular, the study analyzes multimodal resources, including syntax, prosody, and gestures, with which participants make their stance and/or a turn in their actions publicly visible to each other. The data for this study consist of videotaped conversation and TV talk shows (totaling 3 hours). The study adopts conversation analysis as the analytical framework.

This study focuses on the use of a postposition or a predicate, attached to a preceding unit subsequent to a recipient’s action, in Korean interaction. In Excerpt (5), Kim initially produces a lexical TCU, *chengcwu-mul* ‘rice wine (sake) water,’ (line 15) as a complete unit (see Ford & Thompson, 1996; Selt-ing, 2000). After a recipient’s response, Kim initiates her utterance with a subject particle *-i* (line 17), which links her current talk to a noun, *chengcwu-mul* ‘rice wine (sake) water,’ in a prior turn (line 15):

(5) [*Park_Sake water*]³

15	Kim:	<i>chengcwu-mwu:l.</i> sake-water	‘sake water .’
16	Park:	<i>iyey:: ((nod))</i> yes: H.	‘yey::s’
17	Kim:	(1.1) <i>-i</i> <i>coh-ta-kulay-kaciko.</i> NM good-DC-OT-so	‘is good (they say), so.’

Although Excerpt (5) does not provide us a full grasp of what is occurring between participants, it illustrates pivot turns in the following ways. First, prior talk in line 15 is produced as a complete unit in terms of prosody, syntax, and pragmatics (see Ford & Thompson, 1996). Second, the recipient produces a response, which displays his understanding of the completion of the talk (line 16). Third, a particle connects the current talk to the prior, which is incorporated as a constituent of a new unit, i.e., a sentence (see lines 15 & 17).

In the following, I will further describe the organization of pivot turns in terms of syntax and prosody (section 2). Section 3 demonstrates interactional contexts of pivot turns. Section 4 discusses the implications of the findings with respect to the interplay between syntax and interaction. Section 5 concludes the study.

TECHNIQUES FOR PIVOT TURNS

TCU Extension

Pivot turns examined in this study are accomplished through the grammatical extension of a turn construction unit (TCU), i.e., a word, a phrase, a clause, and a multi-clausal unit, which has come to a possible completion (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). The extension may be done through a particle and/or a verb attached to a host TCU as an increment (see Figure 1).

$$[\text{TCU} + \{\text{particle} + \text{verb}\}_{\text{increment}}]_{\text{TCU}}$$

Figure 1. Syntactic composition of pivot turns

In order to distinguish sentences with pivot turns from regular sentences, we need to understand how the prior talk is constructed as an independent unit while the subsequent elements are constructed as increments. Moreover, it is important to find what speakers do with the increments vis-à-vis recipients' actions. Excerpt (5)—reproduced below—and Excerpt (6) distinguish a sentence with a pivot turn from a regular sentence.

(5; reproduced) Sentence With Pivot Turn

15 Kim:	<i>chengcwu-mwu:l.</i> <small>sake-water</small>	'sake water .'
16 Park:	<i>iyey:: ((nod))</i> <small>yes: H.</small>	'yye::s'
17 Kim:	(1.1) <i>-j coh-ta-kulay-kaciko.</i> <small>NM good-DC-OT-so</small>	'is good (they say), so.'

↑

↑

(6) Sentence Without Pivot Turn

12 Park:	<i>ku- ((pointing at Kim)) ha-si-ess-eyo?</i> <small>that do-SH-PST-POL</small> 'that- did (you) do (it)?'
13->Kim:	<i>ce-n chengcwu::- (.)-ka coh-ta-kulay-kaciko</i> <small>l:H.-TC rice wine-(.)-NM good-DC-say-so</small> 'as to me, rice wi:ne(.) is good, (they) say, so'


The two sentences from Excerpt (5) and Excerpt (6) are almost identical when we only consider their final products, i.e., written versions, without considering how they are produced in real time.

According to Ford and Thompson (1996), the convergence of three types of completion, i.e., syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic completion, provides hearers with the resources to project the transition relevance place. The notion of syntactic completion may coincide with the notion of TCU (or unit types) as mentioned above. Prosodic completion was determined by identifying ‘intonation units’ through auditory judgment of clear final intonation (Chafe, 1980, 1987; Du Bois et al., 1993). That is, the period represents a marked fall in pitch at the end of the intonation unit while the question mark represents a marked high rise in pitch at the end of the intonation unit. Finally, pragmatic completion was determined by the completion of a conversational action. According to their criteria, the completion of the noun, i.e., *chengwu-mwul* ‘sake water,’ (line 15) in Excerpt (5), projects a transition relevance place, in which speakership change may occur.

In ordinary conversation, however, speakers commonly produce ‘fragments’ or ‘trail offs,’ in which the syntactic and intonational completion may not be definite. In these cases, “what is needed to arrive at a possible completion point” is projected although unarticulated (Schegloff, 1996, p. 87). Thus, it may be possible for recipients to understand a speaker’s action, i.e., pragmatic completion, of an incomplete unit. Excerpt (7) is drawn from a classroom interaction between a teacher and students in a Korean-speaking class. The teacher has drawn a plate on the board and comments on its inadequacy while waving her hand laterally.

The teacher’s talk (line 7) in Excerpt (7) is syntactically incomplete in that an assessment predicate is missing. Moreover, its intonation is not final. However, the teacher’s assessment of her drawing is clearly understood through her gesture, as shown by a student’s response (line 8). Therefore, this study will include fragments as independent units when there is evidence of pragmatic completion, i.e., through recipients’ responses.⁴

(7) [classroom: a plate]



7-> T: *sensayngnim-i com-*
teacher-NM a little bit

kulim-i;
drawing-NM

((hand gesture))

‘Teacher(s) drawing: (is) a little bit,’

8-> J: I thought it looks like a hamburger in the first pla:ce.

While not all increments are syntactically coherent to a host TCU, i.e., ‘free constituents’ (see Auer, 2007; Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002), most increments, i.e., ‘extensions,’ are presumably fitted to the prior talk syntactically and semantically. For example, in the examples that this study focuses on, a particle and/or a predicate is attached to the prior talk (i.e., a noun or a clause) as a ‘glue-on’ increment, reanalyzing the prior talk as a part of a new unit (see Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007). Moreover, previous studies of the syntactic pivots indicate that increments (i.e., pivots and post-pivots) are produced in the pitch trajectory of the prior talk, with no pitch disjunction marking boundaries between two elements, i.e., [pre-pivot + pivot] and [pivot + post-pivot] (see Walker, 2007). This study examines the Praat analysis of pitch variance (i.e., semitones) between the end of a host TCU and the beginning of an increment in order to examine how increments are produced in a way that allows their syntactic/semantic coherence to a host TCU, as a result, reorganizing the structure of the prior talk into a new unit.⁵

Finally, increments are known to accomplish a subsidiary action to that of a host TCU (see Auer, 2007). In some cases, increments are used to solicit a recipient’s uptake (Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002; Schegloff, 1996). In others, speakers use increments to elaborate on a host TCU and modulate their own stance (Kim, 2007). When increments constitute a pivot turn, however, actions accomplished through them are not simple continuation of a prior action so much as transformation of the prior action (see Tanaka, 2001). In my study, speakers employ increments to return to a main activity from an incipient side activity by a recipient, e.g., correction, and/or to withdraw a prior action, e.g., a request, which is granted by a recipient.

In all the segments that are analyzed in this study, there is a temporal lapse between a prior unit and a subsequent particle, created by a pause and/or recipients’ responses. The temporal lapse and intervening responses are not essential elements in distinguishing pivot turns from the regular production of a sentence. However, this study emphasizes the collaborative aspect of pivot turns in that the shift in the trajectory of actions is clearer when we consider recipients’ responses, which demonstrate their understanding of speakers’ (prior) actions. In the following, I will discuss how the organization of prosodic and syntactic features plays a role in projecting pivot turns.

Syntactic and Prosodic Organization

As mentioned earlier, the syntactic/prosodic organization enables speakers to make pivot turns in intricate ways. They initially project prior talk as complete, e.g., a noun phrase or a clause. Subsequently, they incorporate it into a new unit through attachment of a particle or a predicate (when a particle

is omitted). The pitch variance between a prior unit and a subsequent utterance resembles that of ‘turn expansion’ in that it signals continuation of prior talk (see Auer, 1996; Walker, 2007). More specifically, the beginning of an increment (e.g., a particle and/or a predicate) is primarily produced at a lower pitch than the end of a host TCU, falling in the similar pitch trajectory of the prior talk. The syntactic/prosodic organization of pivot turns is summarized in Figure 2.

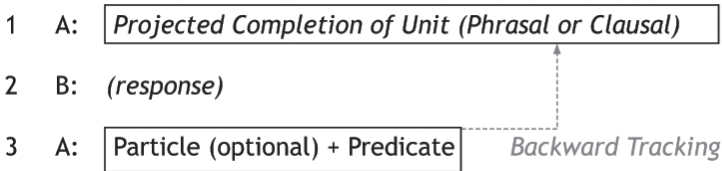


Figure 2. Syntactic organization of pivot turns

In Excerpt (5) from the previous section, a noun phrase produced as a complete unit is linked by a case particle in the speaker’s next turn. As a result, a new sentence is constructed retrospectively. When we look at the pitch contour of the speaker’s utterance, the syllable *mwul* in the noun phrase is produced with a sharp falling pitch contour, which clearly marks the completion of the unit (see Figure 3). The speaker’s subsequent talk, e.g., a particle *-i* (Figure 3), is produced with a slight pitch shift from the prior unit, which may allow a recipient’s interpretation of two utterances as a coherent sentence.

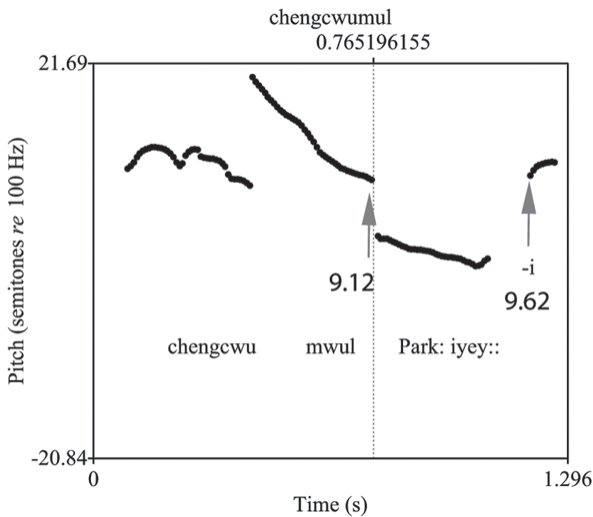


Figure 3. Prosody of prior noun and a subject particle

Excerpt (8) in the following also illustrates how a prior unit is backwardly linked by a postposition-initiated utterance. In this case, the prior unit is a clause (line 5) whereas the subsequent element is a quotative particle (line 7):

(8) [Park_Proposal]

5-> Nam: eh: eccem propose-lul kulen sik-ulo hay-ss-nya::,
INTJ how propose-AC such style-in do-PST-Q
 'eh: how come (you) proposed like tha::t,'

6 Park: yey:
yes
 'ye:s'

7->Nam: ey: -lako icye mal(h) tul-ulkkapwa(h),
yes QT now word hear-for fear that
 'ye:s QT (I) was afraid to hear(h) now(h),'

8 Park: hah hah hah hah

If we look at the prosodic contour in the following, the quotative particle *lako* is produced with a slight pitch step-up in comparison with the prior unit (see Figure 4). Grammatically, the particle indicates a continuation of the prior talk despite the speaker's intervening acknowledgement token *ey:*.

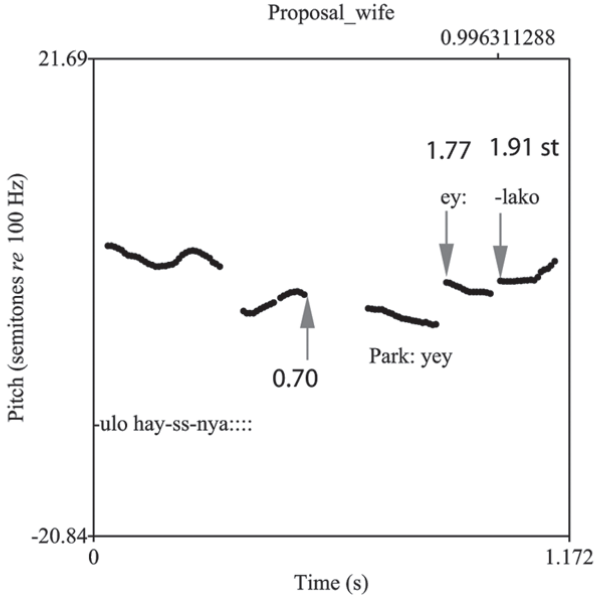


Figure 4. Prosody of quotation and subsequent particle -lako

Excerpts (5) and (8) illustrate how speakers use a particle to make a

pivot turn by organizing grammar and prosody within the progress of talk. In Korean conversation, postpositions are frequently omitted when they are understood through context. In such cases, recipients may construe the syntactic coherence between a prior noun without a particle and the following predicate through context. In Excerpt (9), speaker Kim requests confirmation of Park's correction (line 19) and produces a predicate immediately after Park's acknowledgement (lines 20-21).

(9) [Park_Sleeveless]

19 -> Kim: **yey:** minsomay?
yes sleeveless
'ye:s. sleeveless?'

20 Park: **ney.**
Yes: Hon
'yes'

21->Kim: ip-ul ttay:.
wear-RL-time
'when (I) wear (it):.'

In Excerpt (9), the noun *minsomay* 'sleeveless (shirt)' is retroactively linked to a transitive verb *ip-ul ttay* 'when (I) wear (it)' (lines 19 & 20). Although there is no object particle, the transitive verb *ip-* 'to wear' (line 21) is connected to the prior noun *minsomay* 'sleeveless (shirt)' (line 19) to construct a sentence.

In Figure 5, the prior unit is produced with a rising intonation, which suggests that the speaker produced the prior unit distinctively as a question.

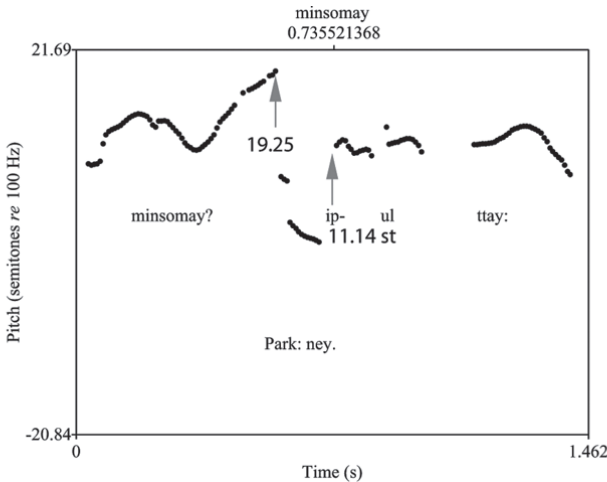


Figure 5. Prosody of initial noun and subsequent predicate

Excerpt (10) in the following illustrates how a speaker makes a pivot turn with a predicate as a postposition is omitted. In this case, a speaker produces a noun, *ride*. Immediately after a recipient’s response, the speaker initiates his utterance with an intransitive verb, *epsu-myen* ‘if (it) is not available,’ without a subject particle (lines 9 & 11). Despite the omission of a particle, which is commonly observed in Korean conversation, the recipient is able to connect the predicate to the prior noun and understand the prior speaker’s action (line 12).

(10) [Park_Ride]

9-> Peter: *kkuthna-ko ride:: (1.3)*
 end-and ride
 ‘when (it)’s over, ride::’

10 Liz: *uh: kulem-yo*
 INTJ of course-POL
 ‘uh: of course.’

11->Peter: *epsu-epsu-myen na-hanthey cenhwahay-yo*
 not exist not exist-if me-to call-POL
 ‘if (it’s) not available, give me a call.’

12 Liz: *ay kwanchanh-ayo.*
 INTJ. fine-POL
 ‘ay (that’s) fine.’

In line 9, the noun *ride* is produced with vowel elongation in a fall-rise intonation, indicating the speaker’s invitation of a recipient’s response (see Figure 6). The recipient’s response, *kulem-yo* ‘of course’ (line 10), displays her understanding of the speaker’s request (line 9). In overlap with the recipient’s response, the speaker re-produces a predicate *ep-* with a step-up in pitch (line 11) as shown in Figure 6. With a case particle omitted, the predicate *epsu-myen* ‘if (it’s) not available’ (line 11) is syntactically understood as a next element to the prior unit *ride* (line 9) in order to construct a new clause, ‘if ride is not available.’ How co-participants show their understanding of the other’s talk and action will be discussed in the next section.

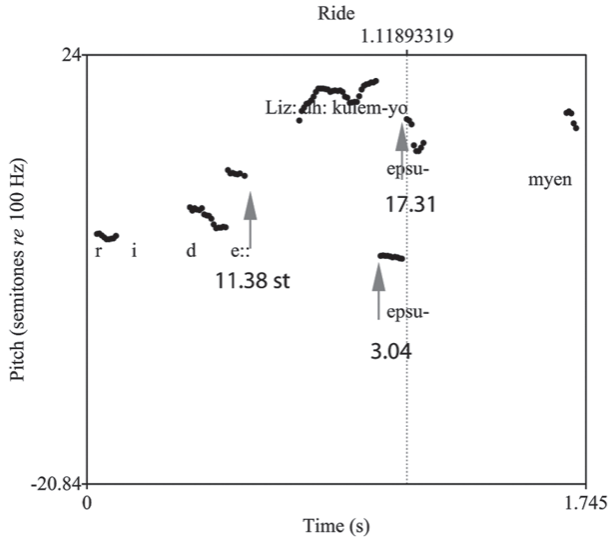


Figure 6. Prosody of initial noun and subsequent predicate

So far in this section, I have examined how speakers organize grammar and prosody to achieve pivot turns during interaction with others. Grammatically, a prior unit is reincorporated into a new sentential unit through a postposition and/or a predicate produced in a next turn. The analysis of prosodic features indicates that a prior unit was produced as a complete unit ending in the clear falling or rising intonation (Excerpts (5) and (9)). In cases when the final intonation was ambiguous, I considered a recipient's response to measure the completeness of the prior talk (Excerpts (8) and (10)). Most examples show that the beginning of an increment was produced at a lower or slightly higher pitch than the end of a prior unit. In Excerpt (10), the beginning of an increment, *epsu-*, was initially produced at a lower pitch than the end of a prior talk (with a difference of 8 semitones) and then repeated at a higher pitch (with a difference of 6 semitones) as an overlap resolution (see Figure 6). According to Han's (2004) phonetic analysis of increments, the beginning of increments may be produced at a higher pitch (with a difference of 15 semitones) as well as at a lower pitch (with a difference of about 18 semitones) than the end of a prior unit. The results indicate that increments in this study are produced as a continuation of the prior unit. However, further investigation of prosody remains necessary.

Through such grammatical and prosodic organization of talk, speakers achieve pivot turns in their actions. In other words, speakers accomplish bi-directional actions in that they progressively respond to a co-participant's action while retrospectively changing the trajectory of their own prior talk. The

instances of pivot turns in my data show that pivot turns are constructed to perform repair, consequently modifying a speaker's stance. In the following section, I will describe such cases by analyzing interactional contexts of pivot turns. The analysis will demonstrate how interlocutors take into account multimodal resources, including talk, prosody, and gestures, during their negotiation of stance.

NEGOTIATION OF STANCE AND MULTIMODAL RESOURCES

Dealing with Recipient's Problematic Stance

Some instances of my data indicate that speakers make pivot turns to deal with the recipients' disalignment with their talk. That is, the speakers' initial unit responds to the recipients' disaligning action and pre-empts its further development. After securing the recipients' attention, the speakers construct pivot turns with a postposition-initiated utterance to shift back to their main activity. Consequently, pivot turns enable speakers to modify their previous talk and modulate stance differentials between themselves and their recipients.

Excerpt (11) (see next page) is drawn from a conversation between Park, the host, and Kim, an actress and guest speaker in a TV talk show. Both are popular movie stars in Korea. Kim has told Park about her experiences of shooting an action movie where she often gets injured. Within the same context, Park says that he usually "throws painkillers" in the bath water as therapy for body aches. In Excerpt (11), Park asks if Kim has used this therapy. Kim indirectly denies using such therapy, which is displayed through her gaze movement and design of answer. In the following transcript, solid lines indicate the speaker is gazing toward the recipient; commas indicate the speaker's gaze is turning away from the recipient; dots indicate the speaker's gaze is turning back toward the recipient; and blank space indicates the speaker's disengagement from the recipient.

Park's question (line 12) indexes his assumption that Kim should be using painkillers in the bath water as therapy. Kim provides an indirect response, which rejects Park's assumption. First, instead of giving a 'no' answer, Kim provides an account with indirect reported speech, i.e., *-ta-kulay-kaciko* 'they say..., so' (line 13). Second, prosodic features, including vowel lengthening in *chengcwu*: 'sake::' and a micro-pause, indicate her reluctance to say the word. Third, Kim looks away from the recipient while producing *chengcwu* 'sake.' Kim's verbal and nonverbal responses signal that she rejects Park's assumption that painkillers in the bath water may be a viable therapy.

(11) Kim's stance display during her answer

12 Park: *ku-* ((pointing at Kim)) *ha-si-ess-eyo?*
 that do-SH-PST-POL
 'that- did (you) do (it)?'

((Park is gazing at Kim))

P _____ ,,,,, .. P _____
 13 Kim: ((n ∩ ∩)) *ce-n chengcwu::- (.)-ka coh-ta-kulay-kaciko*
 I:H.-TC rice wine-(.)-NM good-DC-say-so
 'as to me, (they) say rice wi:ne(.) is good, so'

Subsequently, Park provides a response through talk and gestures, which indicate a misinterpretation of Kim's prior talk, as shown in Excerpt (12).

(12) Interactive stance-taking between Kim and Park

14 Park: *chengcwu:- lul*
 sake-AC
 'sake:'

15 Kim: .hhh ↑ *che- ngcwu- mwu -:!*
 sake - water
 'hhh ↑ sake wa:ter.

16 Park: *chengcwu-*
 sake-
 'sake-'

In line 14, Park partially repeats Kim's utterance, i.e., *chengcwu-lul* 'sake,' with a smiling facial expression. Moreover, Park's hand gesture displays his understanding that Kim uses pure sake as bathwater. Park's previous story that he throws painkillers in the bath water provides a sequential framework to understand Kim's prior talk as a second story (Sacks 1995). Kim intended to mean simply that she uses sake (mixed) in the bath water. However, Park's talk, in conjunction with his facial expression and hand gesture, implies his misinterpretation that Kim fills the bathtub with sake. Park's deliberate misinterpretation has the effect of humorously teasing Kim about the exorbitant use of sake (Charles Goodwin, personal communication).

Kim understands Park's humorous rendering of her prior talk and instantly corrects him both verbally and nonverbally (line 15). Immediately after Park's production of 'sake' (line 14), Kim responds with inbreath. Right before Park produces a further comment, Kim repairs Park's talk by adding

mwul ‘water’ with emphasis. In conjunction with her talk, her hand gesture portrays a bottle, which suggests that Kim mixes a limited amount of sake in water. Consequently, Kim’s talk and gesture simultaneously reject Park’s implication of Kim’s exorbitant use of sake.

In the midst of the tension between Park’s playful teasing and Kim’s defense, Kim makes a pivot turn in the following interaction. In Excerpt (13), Park produces an acknowledgment token in response to Kim’s prior repair (line 17). Subsequently, Kim produces a postposition-initiated utterance, which links back to a noun, *chengcwu-mwul* ‘sake water,’ in a previous turn (line 15), and constructs a new sentence (lines 15 & 18). As a result, Kim self-repairs her earlier answer, ‘(they) say that sake’s good, so,’ by replacing ‘sake’ with ‘sake water.’

(13) Use of case particle as a resource

14	Park:	<i>chengcwu:</i> - lul sake-AC ‘sake:’							
15->	Kim:	.hhh	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">↑ che-</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"><i>ngcwu- mwu</i> - :l.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">sake</td> <td style="padding: 2px;">- water</td> </tr> </table>	↑ che-	<i>ngcwu- mwu</i> - :l.	sake	- water		
↑ che-	<i>ngcwu- mwu</i> - :l.								
sake	- water								
16	Park:	‘.hhh	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">↑ sake</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"><i>wa:ter.</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">sake-</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"><i>chengcwu-</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">‘sake-’</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"></td> </tr> </table>	↑ sake	<i>wa:ter.</i>	sake-	<i>chengcwu-</i>	‘sake-’	
↑ sake	<i>wa:ter.</i>								
sake-	<i>chengcwu-</i>								
‘sake-’									
17	Park:	<i>iyey::</i> ((nod ⇩)) yes: Hon. ‘ <i>yye::s</i> ’							
18->	Kim:	(1.1) -i <i>coh-ta(h)-ku(h)lay(h)-kaci(h)- hhh</i>	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">NM</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"><i>good-DC-say-so</i></td> </tr> </table>	NM	<i>good-DC-say-so</i>				
NM	<i>good-DC-say-so</i>								
19	Park:	‘is good (they) sa(h)y(h), so(h)- hhh’	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><i>cheng(h)cwu(h)-nun(h)</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">sake-TC</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">‘as to(h) sa(h)ke(h)’</td> </tr> </table>	<i>cheng(h)cwu(h)-nun(h)</i>	sake-TC	‘as to(h) sa(h)ke(h)’			
<i>cheng(h)cwu(h)-nun(h)</i>									
sake-TC									
‘as to(h) sa(h)ke(h)’									

Kim’s construction of a pivot turn consists of the following stages. First, by producing an initial unit of talk in response to Park’s incipient teasing, Kim pre-empted the further development of negative assessment. Second, by placing a particle-initiated utterance, which connects to the prior unit backwardly, she performs a self-repair of her prior talk without interrupting the progression of talk. However, Kim acknowledges the peculiarity of her therapy and aligns herself with Park’s stance through her laughter, e.g., symbols (h) and hhh (line 18). Even before Kim completes her utterance, Park resumes his prior talk (line 16), which implies teasing, as further shown through his laughter in the talk (line 19).

Excerpt (14) illustrates how Park and Kim collaboratively construct an

assessment. Subsequent to Park's production of a verb stem, *masi-* 'to drink' (line 20), Kim audibly laughs (line 21). Her laughter becomes louder when Park completes his talk with a gesture of drinking (lines 20-21). Simultaneously, her gesture of looking down and putting her hands over her head displays her embarrassment. Park joins Kim's laughter and finally provides his acknowledgement, which closes the current sequence (line 24). Kim also provides a sequence-closing assessment, which displays her concession to Park's stance by admitting that sake may be too expensive to use for bathing (line 25).

(14) *Mutual alignment between Kim and Park*

20->Park: *masi(h)-nun(h)tey:;*
 drink-but
 '(we) dri(h)nk: bu(h)t,'


21 Kim: *hhh huh HUH HAH HAH HAH [huh huh]*

22 PARK: *[heh heh]*

23 KIM: *huh hh [u:m]*

24 Park: *[yey] kulay-ss-kwun-yo*
 yes do so-PST-APP-POL
 'yes (you) did that (or 'I see)'

25 Kim: *yey. com akkap-ki-n hay-ss-nuntey.*
 yes a little bit wasteful-NOM-TC do-PST-but
 'yes. (it) was a little bit wasteful, but.'



In the interaction between Park and Kim, the pivot turn in Kim's utterance occurred in the midst of stance negotiation with her recipient. The speaker first dealt with the co-participant's disaligning action through an initial unit, i.e., *chengcwu-mwul* 'sake water.' Upon the recipient's response, the speaker linked a postposition-initiated utterance to the prior unit and modified her prior talk. The speaker's pivot turn through the use of a particle-initiated utterance brought an effect of pre-empting further development of the recipient's teasing and minimizing the risk of misinterpretation by her recipient.

The following segment also exemplifies how a speaker makes a pivot turn in handling a recipient's dispreferred action. Excerpt (15) is also drawn from a conversation between Kim and Park. Here, Kim seeks Park's alignment to her statement (lines 16-17). Park, however, does not provide an uptake but instead initiates correction (line 18). A pivot turn occurs in Kim's subsequent response (lines 19-21).

(15) [Park: Bodybuilding]

- 16->Kim: *nasi-kathun ke ip-ko nao-lttay ccom*
 sleeveless-like thing wear-and come out-when a little bit
 ‘when (I) wear things like sleeveless, a little bit-’
- 17 *com kanghakey com poy-eyatoy-canh-a -yo:;*
 a little strongly a little look-must-COMM-POL
 ‘a little- (I) should look a little bit strong, you know,’
- 18 Park: *minsomay;*
 sleeveless
 ‘slee:veless,’
- 19 -> Kim: *yey: minsomay?*
 yes sleeveless
 ‘ye:s. sleeveless?’
- 20 Park: *ney.*
 Yes: Hon
 ‘yes’
- 21->Kim: *ip-ul ttay:.*
 wear-RL-time
 ‘when (I) wear (it):.’
-

In Excerpt (15) above, Kim seeks Park’s alignment to her statement by using a sending ending, *-canh-ayo* (Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993), in lines 16-17. Park, however, corrects Kim’s use of a Japanese loan word, *nasi* ‘sleeveless,’ by replacing it with a Korean word, *minsomay* (lines 16 & 18). Subsequently, Kim repeats the repair segment, i.e., *minsomay*, ‘sleeveless (shirts),’ in rising intonation, which indicates that she is seeking confirmation from Park (line 19). After Park provides confirmation (line 20), Kim produces a predicate (line 21), with which Kim makes a pivot turn. Kim’s pivot turn consists of the following actions: (1) She progressively deals with the recipient’s initiation of correction through the initial unit, i.e., *minsomay?*; (2) She achieves self-repair without interrupting its ongoing progress, i.e., replacing *nasi-kathun-kes* ‘something like sleeveless’ (line 16) with *minsomay* ‘sleeveless’ (line 19).

This example illustrates how pivot turns emerge in dealing with a recipient’s lack of alignment. The speaker’s initial unit in the pivotal construction deals with the recipient’s side activity, while the second element, e.g., a predicate ‘when wearing (it),’ retrospectively incorporates the initial unit into a clause. As a result, the speaker is able to bring the trajectory of her talk back to the main activity, i.e., telling her story.

So far, I have shown examples of pivot turns that result from a recipient’s lack of alignment and initiation of a side sequence. The speaker first dealt with the recipient’s dispreferred action through an initial unit. Immediately after the recipient produced an acknowledgement token, the speaker produced a postposition or a predicate, which links a current utterance back to the initial

unit. As a result, the speaker achieved a self-repair of her previously produced problematic talk without opening up a new sequence or breaking the progression of ongoing talk. Next, I will discuss how speakers make pivot turns to modify their own talk and stance with no apparent digression by recipients.

Retracting Prior Stance

Speakers may construct pivot turns within the progress of talk in order to modify their stance even after a recipient's agreement. The phenomenon is similar to the use of the Japanese complementizer *to*, with which Japanese speakers change a prior assertion into a hypothetical statement (Tanaka, 2001). My study highlights the collaborative aspect of recipients' action in the occurrence of speakers' pivot turns.

Excerpt (16) is a conversation between Park, the host, and Nam, a guest, from a TV talk show. Park prompted Nam to talk about his marriage proposal. Before his elaboration on the proposal, Nam said that his first proposal to his wife was very simple. In Excerpt (16), Nam states that he planned the second proposal lest his wife complain about the first one. The pivot turn occurs as he initiates his utterance with quotation (lines 3-5), which turns into a description of his concern (line 7).

In Excerpt (16) the speaker starts his utterance with a noun phrase, 'wife,' which is projected as a subject (line 1). Accordingly, a subsequent clause, 'how come (you) proposed like tha::t.' (line 5), quotes his wife. The sentential ending in the clause, i.e., *-nya:::*, is produced with vowel elongation in low-high-low intonation, which implies the speaker's emotive involvement and invitation of the recipient's alignment (see J.-E. Park, 2009; M. Park, 2003). In response, Park produces an acknowledgement token, *yey:* 'ye:s' (line 6), the production of which delivers his weak agreement, although it is not clear in the transcript. In line 7, Nam produces an acknowledgement token and quotative particle-initiated utterance. The quotative particle *lako* is usually followed by a reporting verb. Instead of using a reporting verb 'to say,' as projected by the speakers' earlier talk, however, the speaker uses a different verb, 'to hear,' which projects the speaker's own action rather than his wife's. Additionally, the modality of the verb *mal-tul-ulkkapwa* '(I) was afraid to hear the word' (line 7) indicates that he did not actually hear the talk. Moreover, the speaker's laughter tokens indicate that his prior talk is meant to be a joke. At the speaker's abrupt turn in the trajectory of talk and laughter, the recipient, Park, bursts into laughter in alignment with Kim (line 8).

(16) [Proposal: Quotation + Particle-initiated utterance]

- 3-> Nam: *com* *wife-ka:,*
a little *wife-NM*
'a little bit- (my) wife:,'
- 4 *nacwungey:,*
later
'later:,'
- 5-> *eh:* *eccem propose-lul kulen sik-ulo hay-ss-nya::,*
INTJ *how propose-AC such style-in do-PST-Q*
'eh: how come (you) proposed like tha::t,'
- 6 Park: *yey:*
yes
'ye:s'
- 7->Nam: *ey:* *-lako icye mal(h) tul-ulkkapwa(h),*
yes *QT now word hear-for fear that*
'ye:s QT (that) (I) was afraid to hear(h) now(h),'
- 8 Park: *hah hah hah hah*

In summary, the example illustrated how the speaker, Nam, made a turn from a projected trajectory of talk by attaching a quotative particle to a prior unit of talk and using a verb providing a different perspective from what was initially projected (line 7). The speaker initially started his utterance with a third-person subject, (*my*) *wife*, but shifts to a first-person perspective by using a verb, 'to hear,' in the irrealis mood, which shapes the earlier talk into his own hypothetical thought. In doing so, the speaker expresses his own thought rather than repeating an actual complaint. On the other hand, the recipient collaborates with the speaker by displaying his understanding in each step of the speaker's talk with the effects of the pivot turn, i.e., co-constructing humor through an abrupt turn and laughter.

Excerpt (17) in the following also illustrates how a speaker retracts his prior action after a recipient's display of alignment. The excerpt is drawn from a conversation between Liz and Peter, occurring during a meeting at Liz's house of a small group from her church. Peter has brought Jung to the meeting so that Jung can join other singles in Liz's group. In Excerpt (17), Peter asks Liz if she could give Jung a ride (line 9). A pivot turn occurs after Liz willingly grants the request:

(17) [*Ride: Noun + Intransitive verb*]

- 9-> Peter: *kkuthna-ko* *ride:: (1.3)*
 end-and ride
 ‘when (it)’s over, ride::’
- 10 Liz: *uh: kulem--yo*
 INTJ of course-POL
 ‘uh: of course.’
- 11->Peter: *epsu-epsu-myen na-hanthey cenhwahay-yo*
 not exist not exist-if me-to call-POL
 ‘if (it’s) not available, give me a call.’
- 12 Liz: *ay kwanchanh-ayo.*
 INTJ. fine-POL
 ‘ay (that’s) fine.’

In line 9, Peter produces a noun, *ride::*, and suspends his talk while looking at Liz and pointing at Jung with his thumb. Peter’s action is understood as a request, as shown in Liz’s acceptance in line 10. Right before the completion of Liz’s response, however, Peter initiates his utterance with a predicate (line 11) and thus constructs a pivot turn, retrospectively linking his prior talk, *ride::*, into a conditional clause, *ride + epsu-myen* ‘if a ride is not available.’ By doing so, Peter retracts his earlier request to give Jung a ride, and he himself makes an offer to give him a ride.

In this case, the speaker’s use of a predicate, *epsu-myen* ‘if (it) is not available,’ plays a role of a pivot between the speaker’s two actions, i.e., an initial request and a subsequent offer. The request is made through a noun, *ride*, which is produced as a trail-off (line 9), while the offer is made through a sentential unit including utterances in a prior turn, i.e., ‘when (it)’s over, if a ride is not available, give me a call’ (lines 9 & 11). By using the pivotal element ‘if (it)’s not available,’ the speaker modifies the trajectory of his stance during the progress of ongoing utterance. Moreover, each of the speaker’s actions is built within a collaborative framework between the speaker and his co-participant as the latter figures out the speaker’s intention, displayed through his talk and body, and responds accordingly. This example shows that pivot turns are accomplished in collaboration with the recipient as the speaker builds a current unit bit by bit.

The examples in this section illustrated how a speaker uses pivot turns to modify his or her own stance while a recipient collaboratively aligns with the speaker’s projected actions during the progress of the unit. Recipients monitor speakers’ actions by taking into account prosody and body movements, as well as talk, and produce proper responses within subunits of speakers’ utterances. Concurrently, the speaker monitors the recipient’s responses moment-to-moment as s/he builds on a current unit bit by bit to modify the trajectory

of initially projected actions through the use of a predicate or a postposition. In the end, the pivot turns are a collaborative achievement between a speaker and a recipient.

DISCUSSION

In this study, I have investigated a phenomenon where speakers construct pivot turns by organizing grammar and prosody in a way that projects two distinct actions within the progress of a sentential unit. The turns are made possible through the use of a postposition or a final predicate—with a postposition omitted—attached to a prior unit. By employing grammar and prosody, speakers not only transform a unit in progress but also organize social actions in relation with their recipients. Pivot turns occur in the midst of stance negotiation (1) dealing with recipients' problematic stance and/or (2) modifying one's own stance. I have shown that the attachment of postpositions and final predicates to a prior unit results in accomplishing two actions, i.e., progressively moving toward a next unit and retrospectively modifying one's prior talk or stance for various interactional purposes.

Some cases of pivot turns involve a recipient's problematic action. In Excerpt (12), a pivot turn emerges in order to pre-empt further development of a co-participant's side activity involving his misinterpretation of a speaker's prior talk, i.e., the speaker's excessive use of *sake*. Using a pivot turn, the speaker performs self-repair in a way that brings the trajectory of talk back to a main activity. Excerpt (15) also illustrates how a speaker deals with a recipient's disalignment to the speaker's talk and a side activity of correction. The recipient's action is problematic because it hinders the progressivity of the speaker's talk and possibly raises a question of the speaker's linguistic competence. The speaker constructs a pivot turn to deal with the recipient's problematic action and to preempt the development of the side activity.

Other examples illustrate how speakers construct a pivot turn to retract their own stance with no apparent signal of disalignment from recipients. In Excerpt (16), a speaker employs a quotative particle to make a pivot turn, i.e., from reporting an actual complaint of his wife to expressing his concern that she might make such a complaint. In Excerpt (17), a speaker employs a predicate, attached to a prior noun in order to shift from a request to an offer. As a recipient grants his request, the speaker retracts his prior action—without constructing a new unit or sequence—to make an offer (to do a favor for a third party on behalf of the recipient), which the recipient declines. The recipient's responses demonstrate her understanding of the speaker's turn of actions. In other words, the speaker's pivot turn is a collaborative achievement between the speaker and the recipient.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study suggest that turn-constructive units in Korean interaction are adaptable to contingencies drawn from interactive stance-taking between speaker and hearer. The prior talk, which is constructed as a complete unit through syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic resources, may undergo restructuring into a new unit through increments such as particles and/or predicates. Moreover, this study suggests that Korean interlocutors are able to construct units collaboratively: Recipients produce responses displaying their understanding with respect to speakers' prior talk. After securing such alignment from their recipients, speakers modify their stance by using postpositions and predicates. How speakers make a turn in the trajectory of their actions can be better understood when we consider the recipients' actions as well.

Furthermore, I have shown how interlocutors take into account multi-modal resources within a larger sequence. The construction of a pivot turn as a collaborative action is better understood when we consider how gestures and facial expressions contextualize an ongoing utterance. The emergence of sentential units during interactive stance-taking between speaker and hearer in Korean interaction corroborates linguistic views that discourse is embedded at all linguistic levels, including sentential—or smaller—units with a totality of meaning in its semantic, pragmatic, and interactional dimensions (Du Bois 2003, p. 13).

The analysis showed how a sentence emerges in the midst of interaction between speaker and hearer in Korean, a phenomenon which has been documented in studies on other languages (C. Goodwin, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1984; M. Goodwin, 1980; Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, 1992; Lerner, 1991, 1996; among others). Examples showed ways in which a speaker expands a current unit of talk by employing various resources, including grammar, gesture, and prosody. Methods of turn expansion may vary according to different structures of languages. Previous studies have argued that in SOV languages like Japanese, the projectability of talk-in-turn is delayed due to predicate-final orientations in comparison to English (Fox, Hayashi & Jaspersen, 1996; Hayashi, 2001, 2004; Hayashi & Mori, 1998; Iwasaki, 2008, 2009; Tanaka, 1999, 2000, 2001). On the other hand, Iwasaki (2008, 2009) demonstrates how Japanese speakers open up an interactive space between sub-units of talk for recipients to intervene even before the occurrence of postpositions or final predicates. The results of previous studies imply that interlocutors may adapt to conversational contingencies moment-to-moment despite any structural constraints of their language.

Korean is said to have a more rigid structure than Japanese (see Hayashi,

2004; Sohn, 1999). However, the results of this study not only demonstrate that Korean speakers do initiate utterances with a postposition but also illustrate how both speakers and recipients collaboratively construct each unit through mutual monitoring and modification of an ongoing unit. This study of pivot turns aims to demonstrate that interactive stance-taking between speaker and hearer occurs within a subunit of a sentence and that sentences are constructed as products of such collaborative actions.

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NOTES

¹ Betz (2007) notes that this particular case of pivot turn has occurred for overlap resolution.

² Although Example (4) from Tanaka's (2001) study clearly demonstrates that a pivot turn occurs after a temporal lapse (line 2), the temporal lapse may not be necessary to make a pivot turn. As Couper-Kuhlen & Ono's (2007, p. 542) example shows, a clear marking of syntactic completion of a prior talk may suffice (see Example (32)). Further investigation may be necessary on the relevance of temporal lapse to pivot turns.

³ In this excerpt, line 16 (Park's overlapping talk) is omitted for simplicity.

⁴ J.-E. Park (2009) shows turn segmentation and vowel prolongation are commonly adapted as resources for turn-taking in Korean conversation.

⁵ The prosodic analysis in Walker's (2007) study, for example, also includes other prosodic features, such as loudness and articulation rate. The prosodic analysis of my study is only preliminary. See Han (2004) for a phonetic analysis of post-predicate increments.

Appendices

Appendix A: Transcript Symbols (Goodwin, 1981; Jefferson, 2004)

[]	Overlap boundaries	=	Contiguous utterances
(0.2)	Length of silence in tenths of seconds		
(.)	Micro-pause	.	Falling Intonation
?	Rising Intonation	,	Continuing Intonation
?,	Mid-High Intonation	::	Sound stretch
-	Cut-off or Self-interruption	< >	Markedly slow speech
> <	Rushed speech	hh	Hearable aspiration
.hh	Hearable inbreath	(word)	Uncertain word
((word))	Transcriber's commentary	^	Primary accent
°word°	Produced more quietly than surrounding talk		
—	Gazing toward the other party	Gaze movement
...,	Gaze movement of withdrawal		Not gazing

Appendix B: Abbreviations

AC	Accusative particle	AD	Adverbial
COMM	Committal	HEARSAY	'Hearsay' Evidential
HON	Honorific word	INT	Intimate speech level
INTJ	Interjection	NM	Nominative case
POL	Polite speech level	Q	Question marker,
QT	Quotative particle	SH	Subject honorific suffix
TC	Topic-contrast particle	VOC	Vocative particle

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