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Ani-prefacing to WH-type interrogatives:
One linguistic and spatial resource for indexing defense

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Contributing to the recent development of turn-prefacing tokens in naturally occurring conversation, the present study shows that the beginning of a turn in Korean language is also a strategic place and an importance resource for participants in conversation (Schegloff, 1987). I demonstrate this by analyzing one linguistic resource occurring in turn-initial position, *ani*, using Conversation Analysis. *Ani* under examination is delimited to a specific analytical environment: in the turn-initial position of response turns to WH-questions (cf. Schegloff & Lerner, 2009).

Many previous Korean and Japanese discourse-analytic studies have focused on the sentence-final elements to describe various stances speakers display. This is possibly due to the nature of their sentence order, in which verbs and final particles, which usually convey one's stance, tend to appear at the end of a turn (or turn-constructional unit). There, however, is much to explore in the beginning of a turn about stance display and action projection, as has been noted by much research in English and some in Japanese (see Heritage, 1998, 2002; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009; Bolden, 2010; Hayashi, 2009, among others).

Ani is often translated into a negative response particle 'no'. Although 'no' is an adequate translation in most cases, a number of instances in the naturally occurring data collected for the study have shown otherwise. In these instances, *ani* works as a so-called discourse or pragmatic marker. A similar use has been observed in three previous studies (Kim, 1997; Koo, 2008; Yang, 2002); however, neither of the studies restricted their data to naturally occurring conversation and/or considered 'action' as their unit of analysis. Thus, the present study complements and extends the previous studies by identifying and focusing on what social actions speakers project with *ani* in naturally occurring conversation. Using a variety of examples of *ani*-prefaced responses to WH-type interrogatives, I show that *ani* indexes from the outset that the turn is being used to defend against the challenge implicated in the prior interrogative (for WH-questions used as challenges, see Koshik, 2003; Robinson & Bolden, 2010).

For example, consider the following segment from a telephone conversation between two women in their late 20's. Jil has been talking about her move yesterday and now comes to an end of her story by summarizing the telling in lines 1-2, complaining that she spent a lot of money on the moving company.

(1) [jenme060907_0:00:40]
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    1  JIL:   a:: ecekkey ton toy:key manhi sse-ss-e kulayse,
               VOC yesterday money very much spend-ANT-IE so
               Ah:: so (I) spent so much money yesterday

    2         mak isacim seyntha pwulu-ko mak ile-kwu.
               DM  moving center call-and DM like:that-and
               calling the moving company and things like that.

    3 HEE:    e:: com to-wa tal-la kule-ci kulay-ss-e,
               yes little help-CONN give-QT like:that-NOM QT-ANT-INTERR
               ye::ah (you) should have asked (someone) to help you,
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    4            (0.2)

->  5 JIL:    nwu-kwu-hanthey?
               who-NOM-to
               To whom?

->  6 HEE:    a↑ni:: mwe, namca-tul manh-cahn-a.
               DM men-PL many-you:know-IE
               a↑ni:: well, there are many guys, you know.

    7            (.)

    8 HEE:    ta pappu-n-ka?
               all busy-ATTR-INTERR
               Everyone's busy?

    9 JIL:    a kuntey mwe phyengil- ku achim-i-ess-ko::
               oh but   DM  weekday   that morning-BE-PST-and
               Oh but well it was weekday- morning and
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In response to Jil's complaint (lines 1-2), rather than being sympathetic, Hee provides a possible remedy that could have taken place instead of calling the moving company, thereby potentially challenging Jil's decision to have moved without the help of other people (line 3). In response to the possible remedy, Jil initiates repair ('to whom?') because an object of whom she could have asked for help was not overtly mentioned in Hee's question. This repair initiator could have alternative understandings. One is plainly asking for clarification, that is, initiation of repair due to trouble in understanding; the other is challenging Hee's remedy. Which of these two understandings the recipient takes is shown in the recipient's answer in the next turn. Hee, the recipient, takes Jil's question to be a challenging one (line 6). I argue that this stance is visible by the use of *ani*-preface from the very beginning of the turn. The stance display is further evident when Hee mitigates her stance (thereby minimizing her remedy) with the discourse particle *mwe*, and tries to invoke the knowledge they share (i.e. there are many guys around to help her with the move) using *canh-a* 'you know.' In addition, Hee further mitigates her stance by raising a possibility that "many guys" may not be available (line 8).

Overall, the study re-discovers *ani* as a turn-beginning linguistic resource that indexes the speaker's defense against the challenge put forth by the prior WH-type interrogative. The study also opens up new possibilities in Korean conversation of understanding the beginning of a turn as an interactionally dense place.

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