THE KOREAN DISCOURSE MARKER *KULENIKKA*: A PANCHRONIC STUDY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISON OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

EAST ASIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURES (KOREAN)

DECEMBER 2011

By
Jae-eun Im

Dissertation Committee:

Ho-min Sohn, Chairperson
David Ashworth
Mee-Jeong Park
Sang Yee Cheon
Thom Hudson

Dedicated to my ever-supporting parents and my loving husband.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would have been next to impossible without the love, support, and guidance of so many people.

First, I would like to express my greatest respect and gratitude towards my dissertation chair, Professor Ho-Min Sohn. I remember the first time I called University of Hawai'i from Korea to inquire about the Korean program. Professor Sohn answered all my questions with genuine kindness and concern despite, as I later discovered, being one of the busiest people on this planet. Over a year had passed yet Professor Sohn remembered me and since then has been and continues to be my advisor, my mentor, and my inspiration. I had originally planned to move into the work field after finishing my MA but in less than 15 minutes Professor Sohn convinced me to continue with my PhD. Never had I thought I would make it this far – Thank you *sensayngnim* for being inspiring not only me but also so many.

Next, I would like to express my gratitude to my committee members: Professors David Ashworth, Thom Hudson, Meejeong park, and Sangyee Cheon for their insightful comments, patience, and kindness. I would also like to acknowledge and thank Professor Dong-Jae Lee, for being a part of my "dissertation project."

I also wish to express my appreciation to Evie, who has helped me with the all-important details not only while in Hawai'i but also after moving to Los Angeles. Many thanks to all my colleagues at the University of Hawai'i who made academic life more fun and interesting. I would like to thank my good friend and *dongsayng,* Hyeseung

for always offering her help and being there to talk. I would also like to acknowledge Yeonhee *enni,* Mihyun *enni,* Sumi *enni,* Soojin, Yoonhwa, Bumyong, Heeyoung, Heejeong, Jason, and Sangseok. Also, life in Hawaiʻi wouldn't have been the same without Xiao Yang, my officemate and housemate. I am also grateful to Yoonjung *enni* for all the words of encouragement and offering me her valuable opinions and insights.

Special thanks goes to my UCLA family—Professor Sohn, Seonkyeong Jeon, Jae-eun Yoon, Mary Kim, and Jane Choi as they have constantly provided me the encouragement and reassurance to complete this dissertation. I feel so privileged to be working with such a wonderful group! My thanks must also go to Jihyeon for her support and help with analyzing the data using PRAAT.

Finally but yet importantly, I want to thank my family. Thank you *emma* and *appa* for always encouraging me, believing in me, and loving me. I would not have finished the dissertation without your encouraging words and your "expectations." Thank you *halmeni* for being there for me always. You are an inspiration to me. Thank you Ina, John, Yubin, Sonny, and Hyeseung. I would also like to thank Grandma Dorothy and my mom(-in-law). Last but not least, thank you Scott. Thank you for being so supportive—discussing my data with me, helping me to stay in the "inside world" (and write my dissertation), cooking me nice meals, packing my lunch—and most of all, thank you for being my husband.

ABSTRACT

The use of the Korean discourse marker *kulenikka* 'so, that's why' can be frequently evidenced throughout daily conversations of native speakers of Korean. The various functions of *kulenikka* are to give further explanation, express hesitation, hold the floor, approximate (time, quantity, etc.), modify one's words, express strong agreement with the interlocutor, to name a few.

In an attempt to present a unified explication for the different functions of the discourse marker *kulenikka* in interaction, this study employs a panchronic perspective. From the diachronic view, the study adopts the framework of grammaticalization which will give a clear account of how the clausal connective *–(u)nikka* developed into the expressive discourse marker *kulenikka*. The synchronic analysis is built on the study presented by Jucker and Smith (1998) on discourse markers as negotiating strategies, whereby a distinction between reception markers and presentation markers is made. As negotiating strategies, Jucker and Smith focus on the cognitive and interactional functions of discourse markers and define them as "a type of cue that conversationalists use to negotiate their common ground." On the one hand, reception markers are signals such as 'yeah,' 'oh,' and 'okay' used as a reaction to information provided by another speaker. Presentation markers, on the other hand, include examples such as 'like,' 'you know,' and 'I mean,' and accompany and modify the speaker's own information.

Despite the typological differences between English and Korean, many studies in the field of Korean discourse analysis applied the definition of discourse markers as was

presented for the English language. Thus, this study attempts to give a new definition to Korean DMs, i.e., those that are free bound (and not grammatically bound), while modifying the characteristics of discourse markers so that they best fit the typological features of Korean.

The study also investigates the sociopragmatic aspects of *kulenikka* in interaction both as an agreement marker and disagreement marker. *kulenikka* in marking agreement is intended for solidarity by interlocutors, however, depending on social factors such as power, expertise, knowledge, age, gender, etc., the use of *kulenikka* creates the opposite, that is, a feeling of antipathy or uneasiness by the hearer.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1   INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 2   GRAMMATICALIZATION THEORY

CHAPTER 7   FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*	ungrammatical (when placed before a phrase or sentence)
<	derived diachronically from
>	derived diachronically to
AC	Accusative particle
AD	Adverbial suffix; adverbializer
AH	Addressee honorific
APP	Apperceptive sentence-type suffix
CAS	Causative suffix
CL	Numeral classifier (counter)
DC	Declarative sentence-type suffix
DM	Discourse marker
DR	Directional particle
FR	Factual realization marker
GN	Genitive particle
Hearsay	Hearsay marker
hon.	honorific word
HT	Honorific title
IM	Imperative sentence-type suffix
IN	Indicative mood suffix
INF	Infinitive suffix
INT	Intimate speech level or suffix
INJ	Interjection
NM	Nominative case particle
NOM	Nominalizer suffix
PAS	Passive suffix
PL	Plural suffix or particle
POL	Polite speech level, suffix, or particle

PR	Propositive sentence-type suffix
PRM	Promissive sentence-type suffix
PRS	Prospective modal suffix
PST	Past tense and perfect aspect suffix
Q	Question marker, i.e., interrogative sentence-type suffix
QT	Quotative particle
RL	Relativizer (or adnominal modifier) suffix
RT	Retrospective mood suffix
SH	Subject honorific suffix
SUP	Suppositive mood suffix
TC	Topic-contrast particle
TR	Transferentive suffix
VOC	Vocative particle

(From H. Sohn 1999, except for INJ, Hearsay, DM, and FR)

Transcription notations:

(1) Romanization for the dissertation is based on the Yale Romanization system, except for some proper names of locations and people. For Middle Korean, /A / is used to transcribe the "alay a", and /a/ is used for "a."

(2) The Romanized Korean words have been used in the lower case in titles and at the beginning of a sentence (except for proper names of people and places), as there is no distinction between upper and lower case in Korean.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Purpose of the study

Grammatical elements in discourse do more than just convey propositional and truth-conditional information as displayed by the form within a sentence, that is, they are replete with various meanings dependent on different contexts, especially in naturally occurring interactions between/among interlocutors. While traditional linguists approached language as a series of isolated, artificially constructed sentences, confining their inquiries into what happens within them, discourse analysts since the 1980s have been looking beyond such sentence boundaries, centering their observations on meaningful language use (or communication) and the creation of coherence. Expressions such as *like, so, and, you know, I mean* are examples of linguistic forms that have drawn the attention of a myriad of researchers in the last two decades or so. These functionally related connectives, which are lacking in truth-conditional meanings, are most often referred to in terminology as discourse markers.

For the present study on the Korean discourse marker *kulenikka* 'so, that's why,' a panchronic analysis will be employed, to explore from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. In accounting for the diachronic aspects of *kulenikka*, I will use the theoretical framework of grammaticalization, whereby the truth-conditional meaning of *kulenikka* 'as/since it is so,' 'by doing in such a way,' is weakened (or even lost) over time and takes on various discourse marking functions. From the synchronic perspective, I

propose a framework for providing a unified account of the polyfunctional Korean stand-alone discourse marker *kulenikka*. Moreover, to address the salient usage of *kulenikka* in social interaction, I will also discuss the sociopragmatic aspects of *kulenikka* in terms of delivery of agreement and disagreement, solidarity and distance.

But, why *kulenikka*? Before proposing some research questions for the present study, I will lay out some of the aspects of the discourse marker *kulenikka* that attracted my attention and interest for the motivation behind this study. First of all, the high frequency of use in everyday conversation cannot be overlooked. As recent studies (Lee 2003; Hyun 2005; Choi 2007; Sohn to be published) have shown, out of all the *kule*-type discourse markers that occurred in natural conversations between/among native Koreans, *kulenikka* showed the second (followed by *kulentay* 'but,' as cited in Lee 2003) and third highest (followed by *kulentay* 'but' and *kulayse* 'so,' as cited in Hyun 2005; Choi, 2007) in frequency. Secondly, *kulenikka* is evident in discourse in the organization of both the textual and interactional levels in various forms (*kulenikka(n)(nun), kunikka(n)(nun), kunkka(n)(nun), kukka(n)(nun), unkka(n)(nun), kka(n)(nun)*). As will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming chapters, the functions of *kulenikka* are to give further elaboration/ explanation, express hesitation, seek for words (pause-filler), hold the floor, to approximate (time, quantity, etc.), modify one's words, express strong agreement with the interlocutor, to name a few. Lastly, I am interested in investigating the ways in which *'kulenikka'* creates a sense of solidarity or lack thereof.

The research questions for the present study are as follows:

1. The definition of discourse markers was initially generated from a basis in the English language. Korean is typologically different from English in that, first of all, it is an SOV language (head-final language), and secondly, it is agglutinative, in the sense that grammatical elements are attached to nominate and predicate stems. In light of this fact, is there a need to give a modified definition for Korean discourse markers? If so, how can we effectively classify the various markers that have pragmatic functions (other than their referential meaning) within a discourse?

2. Where did *kulenikka* come from? What processes have been involved in the grammaticalization process and what principles have been followed?

3. What are the functions of the widely used discourse marker *kulenikka,* and how can we best categorize the multifarious functions? In other words, which framework can best account for the polyfunctionality of the discourse marker *kulenikka*?

4. The discourse marker *kulenikka* is intricately woven into our daily conversations in various forms, i.e., *kulenikka(nu)(n)*, *kunikka(nu)(n)*, *kunkka(nu)(n)*, *kukka(nu)(n)*, *unkka(nu)(n)* and *kka(nu)(n)*. What is the driving force behind such a marked set of forms, and how do the different forms display their functions in our conversations?

5. *kulenikka* in interaction functions as an agreement marker and at the same time enforces the speaker's stance in disagreement. In what contexts does *kulenikka* function as either an explicit agreement marker or as a means of displaying disagreement?

6. As an agreement marker, *kulenikka* generates solidarity and closeness between interlocutors. However, this is not always the case, as it can also create the opposite.

Then, what triggers solidarity or distance with the use of one expression, i.e., *kulenikka*?

7. Finally, despite the frequent use of *kulenikka* in native speakers' conversations, a full description of the functional *kulenikka* is not introduced in the classroom to learners of Korean as a foreign language. What is the significance of incorporating the discourse-marking functions of *kulenikka* in the language classroom? Should the different functions and forms of *kulenikka* be introduced at different levels according to student proficiency?

1.2 Data and methodology

Data used for this study are based on natural conversations between/among native speakers of Korean. Because of the nature of *kulenikka* as a discourse marker in colloquial speech, recordings of conversations between/among friends, family, and colleagues were used extensively. In order to capture a more natural environment, the participants were not informed of the object of the study, in order not to hinder the use of *kulenikka* among speakers, and in case it was known, recordings were made without announcement. However, consent for using the data for the purpose of this study (using pseudonyms) was obtained in advance.

kulenikka as a reception marker is widely in evidence between and across turn-takings, whereas *kulenikka* as a presentation marker (although it also appears in interactive conversations) is overtly salient in longer monological stretches of talk. Therefore, in order to locate the wide range of functions of *kulenikka*, recordings of class presentations and talk shows have also been used. There are some segments in the study I

have used as examples that I have not indicated in the table below. These are drawn from internet bulletin boards, online chatting, drama clips (*Talcauy pom* 'Talca's Spring,' *Sinip Sawen* 'Super Rookie'), drama scripts (*1% uy etten kes* 'The Untangible 1%'), a movie script (*kunye-lul mitci maseyyo* 'Don't Trust Her'), an LG TV commercial, and part of a TV talk show ("Sayngsayng Talk" broadcasted on September 29, 2006), which I have transcribed.

TV dramas or movie scripts are oftentimes criticized for being script-oriented, with artificial and contrived dialogs, but considering the fact that they are based on real-world dialogs perceived as natural by native speakers, they were also utilized in the study. However, one interesting thing to point out is that when I compared the drama script with my own transcription of the actual drama, I discovered more discourse markers and interjections in the latter, which can directly translate to the actor's addition of discourse markers in order to enhance the realistic character of the drama.

Table 1. Drama and script comparison

Subject	Episodes	Occurrences
Kangnam Mom	18	62
Queen of Housewives (Script)	20	76
Queen of Housewives (TV)	20	82

The table above shows the number of *kulenikka* occurrences between the script and the actual drama. Despite the difference of six occurrences (between the 76 occurrences in the script and 82 in the drama that was aired on TV), the script actually showed ten less

instances of *kulenikka* than the actual TV drama of "Queen of Housewives." In the TV drama, they were replaced with similar discourse markers or expressions such as *kulekey* 'so, therefore, I know,' *kuleni* 'therefore,' and *ilenikka* 'as this is the case.' Reduced forms of *kulenikka* such as *kunkka* or *kka* were identified in the actual TV drama but not in the script. This is a good example of how dramas and movies are made more natural and real with the addition of such pragmatic expressions. In the following I have summarized the data I have used for the study (Table 2), accompanied by a detailed description of each naturally occurring conversation including length and occurrences of *kulenikka* (Table 3). The total length of unplanned spontaneous data was recorded at approximately 11 hours and 30 minutes, and TV dramas and sitcoms, which are based on written scripts, totaled approximately 74 hours.

Table 2. Data summary

	Title	Numbers/ Episodes	Total length
Face-to-face conversations	n/a	9	5h 26m 17s
Telephone conversations	n/a	2	1h 17m 39s
Student class presentations	n/a	3	approx. 2 hours
TV dramas	Catching Up With Kangnam Moms (2007)	18 episodes	18 hours – approx. 1 hour per episode
	Queen of Housewives (2009)	20 episodes	20 hours – approx. 1 hour per episode
TV sitcoms	Unstoppable Highkick (2006-2007)	72 episodes	36 hours – approx. 30 mins. per episode
TV talk show	Achim Matang "Sayngsayng Talk"	3 episodes	2h 47m 53s

Table 3. Description of data from naturally occurring speech

	Name/Title	Length	Occurences	Remarks
Face-to face Conversation	FFC1 (J & U)	57:20	36	friend's
	FFC2 (J & H)	0:40	1	school
	FFC3 (J & S, Y, B, H)	10:48	8	school
	FFC4 (J & S, Y, H)	15:10	18	school
	FFC5 (J & H, S)	1:10:32	37	restaurant
	FFC6 (J & L)	20:17	40	cafe
	FFC7 (J & L)	17:45	24	cafe
	FFC8 (J & M)	1:07:22	55	restaurant
	FFC9 (J & C)	56:23	49	friend's
	Total	**5h 16m 17**	**268**	
Telephone Conversation	TCF1 (J & E)	51:31	60	N/A
	TCF2 (J & I)	26:08	30	N/A
	Total	**1h 17m 39**	**90**	
TV Talk Show (*Achimmatang*)	TVTS1 (*taykuy namphyen cipey issuseyyo?* 'Is your husband at home?')	1:03:49	69	Aired on 4/24/2009
	TVTS2 (*chesnwuney panhay kyelhonhayssnuntey* 'We got married after falling in love at first sight.')	40:23	33	Aired on 5/1/2009
	TVTS3 (*sallimey socil epsnun anay ttaymwuney* 'Because of my wife who is not good at housework')	1:03:41	74	Aired on 5/15/2009
	Total	**2h 47m 53**	**176**	

Table 4. Frequency comparison of *kulenikka* between

spontaneous vs. non-spontaneous interactions

	Total length		Total occurrences
TV drama*	appx. 2280 mins.		144 (1 per 15 mins.)
Face-to-face conversation	5h 16m 17s	appx. 561 mins.	534 (1 per 1 min.)
Telephone conversation	1h 17m 39s		
TV talk show	2h 47m 53s		

*Non-spontaneous, planned interaction as opposed to the other categories.

Table 4 above shows the difference in frequency of the *kulenikka* tokens in spontaneous, naturally-occurring interactions compared to those that are planned and script-based. The former demonstrated a frequency of about one occurrence per minute, and in the latter there was one occurrence in every segment of fifteen minutes. From this result, we can gather that spontaneous speech is by far greater in frequency than planned interactions. In terms of form, a greater variety was evidenced in naturally occurring conversations as opposed to the planned, scripted conversations. Moreover, the occurrence of the reduced forms *kunkka*, *unkka*, and *kka*[1] were used most prominently in spontaneous interactions.

---

[1] In the debate of whether native speakers of Korean actually use *kka* -- the shortest form of *kulenikka*, the general consensus is that they do not and that the hearers miss the '*ku*' or '*kun*' before the projected *kka* sound. In order to test this out, I recorded the sound files using Praat, "a software program for the analysis of speech in phonetics" (definition by Wikipedia) with assistance from my colleague. The findings clearly show that what is produced by the speaker is *kka*, not *unkka* or *kunkka*. I have included the sound files in the appendices section. It is interesting that speakers themselves do not realize what they produce with such great expertise.

1.3   Organization of the present study

Chapter 2 will examine the general claims of grammaticalization and the mechanisms that trigger changes in language. Moreover, as recent grammaticalization studies have started to focus on its role in the use of discourse markers, I will briefly go over the theoretical background within the theory of grammaticalization.

In Chapter 3, I will begin by taking a close look at the morphosyntactical characteristics of the demonstrative *ku* 'that,' which will be followed by a comparison between the two clausal connectives -*(u)nikka* and –*e/ase,* which both mark causality. Also addressed in this chapter are the ongoing changes undergone by *kulenikka* in terms of its syntactic construction, phonological change, and also semantic vs. pragmatic meaning.

Chapter 4 discusses the theoretical framework for the synchronic analysis of *kulenikka*, elaborating on the framework proposed by Jucker and Smith (1998). Based on the conceptual distinctions between "speaker-oriented" vs. "hearer-oriented" and "textual" vs. "interactional", this chapter looks at an array of functions displayed by the marker in our interactions.

Chapter 5 explores some socio-pragmatic aspects of *kulenikka.* A speaker can express both agreement and disagreement with the use of *kulenikka* by either aligning with the interlocutor or the self, respectively. Agreement is expressed by the speaker with the intention of displaying closeness and creating solidarity. However, this is not always the case. Thus, we will look at the factors that affect the establishment of solidarity or, contrarily, distance.

The use of discourse markers aids the speakers not only in sounding more natural

and native-like, but also in holding the floor, signaling to the recipient that an explanation or modification is to come, expressing hesitation, and so forth. However, these markers are rarely introduced in the language textbooks or classrooms. Chapter 6 discusses the importance of teaching discourse markers and incorporating them into the language classroom. Finally, in chapter 7, along with a summary of the findings of the study I will present some limitations and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

GRAMMATICALIZATION THEORY

2.1   Theory of grammaticalization

What is grammaticalization? One of the most common definitions is that of Kuryłowicz (1965, 1975): "Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g., from a derivative format to an inflectional one." As numerous theories and perspectives on grammaticalization (also called *grammaticization*) have continuously unfolded since the first coinage of the term set forth by Meillet at the start of the 20th century, Hopper and Traugott (2003) define grammaticalization as:

(i) a research framework for studying the relationships between lexical, constructional, and grammatical material in language, <u>diachronically and synchronically</u>, both in particular languages and cross-linguistically (emphasis added), and

(ii) a term referring to the change whereby lexical items and constructions in certain linguistic contexts come to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions.

As noted in the first description, grammaticalization is a comprehensive study of the dynamic language change involving perspectives, both of diachrony and synchrony. The synchronic perspective takes grammaticalization as "primarily a morphosyntactic, discourse pragmatic phenomenon, to be studied from the point of view of fluid, dynamic

patterns of language use at a moment in time (Brinton and Traugott 2005). Another recent

shift in focus has been on pragmatic attributes of the process. Until recently,

grammaticalization was typically concerned with the nature of morphosyntactic changes.

In the following section, I will discuss the principles and mechanisms underlying

grammaticalization and how pragmatic factors come into play in the theory of

grammaticalization. Finally, I will examine current literature on discourse markers and the

notion of subjectification/intersubjectification within the theory.

2.1.1   *Unidirectionality hypothesis*

Of several principles that are associated with grammaticalization, the principle of

unidirectionality is considered to be the most basic. In the diachronic perspective of

grammaticalization, the concept of language change and variation is critical. It is

understood that language change does not occur abruptly, nor do the structures themselves

change, but, rather, the change encompasses a variation of coexisting older forms and

newer forms (Hopper and Traugott 2003). As Haspelmath (2004) states,

grammaticalization is intriguing in that it is "*largely irreversible* and because we observe

strong correlations between phonological, syntactic and semantic-pragmatic changes. It is

a macro-level phenomenon which cannot be reduced to the properties of the corresponding

micro-level phenomena." Unidirectionality concerns the procedural change whereby such

phonological, syntactic (grammatical restructuring), and semantic-pragmatic (meaning

shift) changes take place on a one directional "pathway" (diachronic perspective) or

"continuum" (synchronic perspective). In other words, from the diachronic perspective,

12

kulenikka follows the pathway from the propositional 'so, therefore' to the non-propositional discourse-organizing marker and in addition, to an interactional marker exhibiting the speaker's subjective perspective and intersubjectivity. From the synchronic point of view, all these functions can be evidenced synchronously on a continual gradation.

Despite some recent studies challenging the principle of unidirectionality (Onodera 2000; Newmeyer 1998; Campbell 2001, as cited in Traugott), the general view is that the cline formation involves the three aforementioned areas of an optional phonological change, syntactic change, and semantic-pragmatic change (meaning shift) (Heine and Reh 1984; Lehmann 1985, cited from H. Sohn 2000). Some unidirectional cline formations for each respective area discussed in previous studies are presented in the following:

(i) Phonological changes (optional)
> more syllables/moras > less syllables/moras

(ii) Morphosyntactic changes (cf. Givon 1979; Wiegand 1987; Craig 1991; Greenberg 1991, from H. Sohn 2000)

  a. discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero
  b. parataxis > coordination (hypotaxis) > subordination > complementation > compounding > affixation
  c. major category > minor category > adposition > affixes

(iii) Semantic-pragmatic changes (cf. Traugott 1982, 1988, 1989; Traugott and König 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993)

  a. objective, referential meaning > subjective, speaker-based attitude and perspectives

b. propositional > textual > expressive (interpersonal meaning)

c. conversational > conventional implicatures

Morphosyntactic changes can be generally seen transitioning from less bound to more bound and semantic-pragmatic changes from less subjective to more subjective. However, taking on a view at variance with Heine and Reh's definition of grammaticalization as "an evolution whereby linguistic units lose in semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance (1984:15)", Traugott (1997) claims that, instead, pragmatic strengthening and greater syntactic freedom occur. As a parallel to Traugott's perspective, I argue that *kulenikka,* through frequent discourse practice, has gained a stronger pragmatic meaning and greater syntactic freedom. The following illustrates the semantic-pragmatic changes involved in grammaticalization:

Table 5. Operations of semantic/pragmatic tendencies in grammaticalization
(Traugott 1987, 1988, 1989, Traugott and König 1991, cited from Brinton 1996)

Tendency I	from meanings situated in the external described situation to meanings situated in the internal (evaluative/ perceptual/ cognitive) situation
Tendency II	from meanings situated in the described external or internal situation to meanings situated in the textual/metalinguistic situation
Tendency III	to meanings increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief-state/ attitude toward the situation.

Addressing the difficulty of identifying the order of changes that took place, the cline formation from propositional > textual > expressive (interpersonal) (iii. b) proposed by Traugott (1989) has been recently questioned by the author herself. Some researchers

(Heine et. al, Powell, Halliday, and Leech, cited from Brinton) suggest that it is the interpersonal function that precedes the textual function, where the interpersonal is seen as hearer-oriented as opposed to speaker-oriented (Heine et al). Traugott, however, retains her view that propositional meaning comes before either the textual or interpersonal and never in the reverse order.

2.1.2   Principles of grammaticalization

In addition to the basic principle of unidirectionality mentioned above, this section will review some principles underlying grammaticalization, especially those pertaining to the grammaticalization process of *kulenikka*.

a. **Paradigmaticization** - As one of the parameters presented by Lehmann (1985) in his work "Thoughts on Grammaticalization", paradigmaticization refers to the tendency for grammaticalized forms to be arranged into paradigms, or a class of elements with similarities. The integration of the paradigm consists of "the formal and functional 'homogeneity' of the paradigm, i.e., a certain amount of similarity among its members and of regularity in their differences." One of the examples given is that of the English interrogative pronouns "who, what, when, where, why" (with the exception of "how"), which have been classified as "*wh-* pronouns."

The following five principles have been proposed by Hopper (1991:22) as attributes of grammaticalization as it occurs:

15

b. **Layering** – "Within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded but remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers."

c. **Specialization** – "Within a functional domain, at one stage a variety of forms with different semantic nuances may be possible; as grammaticalization takes place, this variety of formal choices narrows."

d. **Divergence** – "When a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization to a clitic or affix, the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element and undergo the same changes as ordinary lexical items."

e. **Persistence** – "When a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution."

f. **Decategorialization** – "Forms undergoing grammaticalization tend to lose or neutralize the morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristic of the full categories Noun and Verb."

2.1.3   *Mechanisms of change*

1. Reanalysis and analogy

Reanalysis, the dominant mechanism, is defined by Langacker as a "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation" (1977:58, cf. Brinton and Traugott 2005).

Following this perspective, reanalysis involves a change in constituency (e.g., a change in morphological bracketing of [a] napron > [an] apron), a change in category labels (e.g., main verb > auxiliary), and boundary loss (e.g., be going to > be gonna) (Brinton and Traugott 2005). Reanalysis refers to the replacement of old structures by new ones, and this process is covert (Hopper and Traugott 2003).

Analogy, on the other hand, is overt, and reanalysis can only be identified through the process of analogy. It refers to the "generalization of a structure" (Kiparsky 1992) and "the attraction of extant forms to already existing constructions" (Hopper and Traugott 2003). Hopper and Traugott (2003) present a good example of the difference between reanalysis and analogy:

[Old English]

cild 'child' + had 'person, condition, rank' → *childhad* 'childhood'
biscop 'bishop' + had 'person, condition, rank' → *biscophad* ' bishophood'

<div align="right">

reanalysis: compounding, semantic and
morphological change

</div>

[Middle English]

false + hood → falsehood (extension of 'hood' to new environments)

<div align="right">

analogy : no longer used with words referring to a person, word
boundary of the root is reanalyzed as a morpheme boundary

</div>

2. Metaphorization and metonymization

According to Nerlich and Clarke (1992), metaphor is "using words for the look-alikes (resemblars) of what you mean" and metonymy is "using words for the near neighbors of

the things you mean" (cf. Traugott and Dasher 2005). Metaphorization and

metonymization as indicated by Traugott and Dasher are references for the diachronic and

dynamic perspective of the two terms, respectively.

Metaphorical processes are "processes of inference across conceptual boundaries,

and are typically referred to in terms of "mappings,"or "associative leaps," from one

domain to another" (Hopper and Traugott 2003). Heine et al. (1991) observe that the

metaphors involved are general "experiential metaphors" that are arranged in the following

order: PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY. Each category

is said to be "unidirectional" and "concepts that are more immediately accessible to human

experience are employed for the expression of less accessible, more abstract concepts"

(1991:51).

Metonymic process is "highly context-bound and arises out of implicatures in the

speaker-hearer communicative situation" (Brinton and Traugott 2005). Brinton and

Traugott describe it as a cognitive process whereby "one conceptual entity (…) provides

access to another conceptual entity" (Kövekses and Raden 1998:39, cf. Brinton and

Traugott 2005) and "indexes" relations (2005, emphasis in original).

3. Generalization and frequency

Generalization is "the process by which specific features of meaning are lost, with an

associated increase in the contexts in which the gram[2] may be appropriately used" (Meillet

1912; Lehmann 1982; cf. Bybee 2003). Bybee observes that in the process of

---

[2] Grammatical morphemes (Bybee and Dahl 1989; cf. Bybee 2003)

grammaticalization, these grams "always become more general and more abstract in their meaning, more widely applicable and more frequently used." It has also been widely noted in the theory of grammaticalization that lexical meanings that have a more general meaning tend to be grammaticalized (e.g., say, move, go vs. whisper, chortle, assert, etc.; from Hopper and Traugott). Moreover, placing importance on the role of repetition, Bybee redefines grammaticalization as "the process by which a frequently used sequence of words or morphemes becomes automated as a single processing unit."

Frequency also results in phonological reduction or fusion. Recent studies have revealed that high frequency words are reduced at a faster rate than low frequency words.

2.1.4   *Grammaticalization and discourse markers*

Numerous studies frequently employ and discuss the theory of grammaticalization, which includes the assumption that discourse factors play a role in the process of grammaticalization. Although the theory of grammaticalization traditionally has not been presented as a major theoretical framework for discourse marker analysis, recent interest in grammaticalization theory has unequivocally changed perspectives on how a discourse marker should be defined and how to relate the function(s) to its meaning.

On recognizing grammaticalization as a criterion of discourse particlehood Aijmer (2002:16) notes that, "grammaticalisation and discourse markers (discourse particles) *seem to be made for each other* since grammaticalisation offers an account of the relation between form and function which is motivated by observable diachronic and synchronic processes" (emphasis in original). Referring to discourse markers as pragmatic markers,

Brinton (1996) suggests that pragmatic markers within the notion of grammaticalization should be given a more comprehensive concept of "category" (original emphasis) that would embrace the "pragmatic categories" (original emphasis) like "foregrounding or politeness," or enhance the framework *per se*.

In an extensive study on pragmatic markers and sociolinguistic variation, Andersen (2000) emphasizes the effectiveness of grammaticalization theory in explaining the diachronic development of pragmatic markers. The two main factors that operate as the primary motivations for grammaticalization as identified by Traugott and mentioned in Andersen are "the speaker's tendency to economise the speech signal (principle of economy; cf. Hopper and Traugott 1993:65) and their tendency to enhance expressivity." Subjectification, "the development of a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker belief or speaker attitude to what is said" (Traugott 1995; cf. Andersen) is another aspect of grammaticalization Andersen deems important.

Traugott estimates that discourse markers have been generally overlooked due to their empty meanings. But because they "fill a syntatctic slot, and have highly constrained syntactic as well as intonational properties" (1995:5) they are "part of the grammar of a language" (Fraser 1988:32) despite the pragmatic functions. In her paper "The Role of the Development of Discourse Markers in Theory of Grammticalization", she presents the significance of including the development of discourse markers in the theory of grammaticalization while maintaining the unidirectionality hypothesis (Traugott 1995).

2.2   Previous studies on discourse markers

2.2.1   English discourse markers

In historical discourse analysis, discourse markers have been termed "mystery particles" (Longacre 1976; cf. Brinton) with no meaning, and were disregarded as a determinate word class. Longacre however stood by his point that they "have a function which relates to a unit larger than the sentence, i.e., to the paragraph and the discourse."

Discourse markers have been studied under various terms such as discourse particles (Schourup 1985; Kroon 1995; Aijmer 2002), discourse connectives (Blakemore 1987, 1992), pragmatic markers (Fraser 1996; Brinton 1996), pragmatic particles (Östman 1995), pragmatic expressions (Erman 1992) or connectives (van Dijk 1979; Stubbs 1983), discourse operators (Redeker 1990), sentence connectives (Halliday and Hasan 1976), etc. As various as the labels have become, different approaches and definitions to the markers have followed, at times overlapping in definition or usages, yet each pursuing a distinctive perspective of its own.

While there is a general agreement that the term discourse marker can be seen as a class of syntactically optional, non-truth-conditional connective expressions (Schourup 1999), there is little agreement on how it should be termed and defined, which linguistic elements, grammatical classes, and functions should be included, and whether the definition or functions can/should be applied universally across different languages. In the following, three major theoretical frameworks on discourse markers are presented.

(1) Discourse-coherence perspective: Deborah Schiffrin

Under the label "discourse markers," Schiffrin (1987) defines them as "sequentially-

dependent elements that bracket units of talk" (1987:31), in other words, they are "nonobligatory utterance-initial items that function in relation to ongoing talk and text (2001)." Schiffrin examines the specific linguistic expressions *and, but, or, so, because* (conjunctions)*, then, now* (time deictics*), oh, well* (particles*), I mean,* and *y'know* (lexicalized clauses), suggesting that each has a "core meaning," and goes as far as to propose that non-verbal and paralinguistic features may also be possible discourse markers.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Schiffrin views discourse not only as a unit of language, but also as a process of social interaction. She is interested primarily in the function of discourse markers as a means of adding "discourse coherence" which is constructed through relations between adjacent units in discourse (1987:24). She proposes a model of discourse or "a model of coherence in talk" based on five distinct planes: exchange structure, action structure, ideational structure, participation framework, and information state.[3,4] She adds that markers provide "contextual coordinates" for utterances

---

[3] **Exchange structure**: outcome of the decision procedures by which speakers alternate sequential roles and define those alternations in relation to each other
Action structure: indicates the sequence of speech acts that occur within discourse
Ideational structure: relationships between the semantic propositions (ideas) within discourse (cohesive relations, topic relations, and functional relations)
Participation framework: different ways in which speaker and hearer relate to one another and ways in which speaker/hearer relate to their utterances.
Information state: involves the organization and management of knowledge and meta-knowledge evolving over the course of a conversation.

[4] Using the term discourse operators, Redeker (1991) later suggests a revised model of discourse-coherence based on the three components of Ideational Structure, Rhetorical Structure, and a Sequential Structure, adding that the definition of discourse markers should be clearer as to what composes discourse coherence and that a broader framework that can explain all connective expressions (not just the selected few Schiffrin has mentioned) is called for (1991:1167).

by locating them on one or more planes of talk, indexing the utterances to the speaker, hearer (or both) and to prior/following discourse. This integrative function of discourse markers among different components of talk is what results in discourse coherence.

(2) Pragmatic perspective: Bruce Fraser

Fraser characterizes discourse markers (or, pragmatic markers) from a different perspective, and views discourse markers as a subclass of the grammatical category of pragmatic markers. Pragmatic markers are "linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker's potential communicative intentions (1996:168)," and consist of all linguistic elements that contribute to non-truth-conditional sentence meaning. In his framework a distinction is made between semantics (content meaning) and pragmatics (pragmatic meaning).[5] Whereas Schiffrin's starting point of discourse marker analysis was to explain the use and distribution of discourse markers in everyday discourse, Fraser initially begins by classifying different types of pragmatic meaning within which discourse markers (commentary pragmatic markers) are a sub-set.

Pragmatic markers are classified into three categories[6]: basic pragmatic markers, commentary pragmatic markers, and parallel pragmatic markers. "Basic pragmatic markers" are those that signal illocutionary force (*please, I promise*), commentary

---

[5] According to Fraser, content meaning is "a more or less explicit representation of some state of the world that the speaker intends to bring to the hearer's attention by means of literal interpretation of the sentence" (1990:385), and pragmatic meaning, the direct "message the speaker intends to convey in uttering the sentence" (1990:386).

[6] In his earlier works (1987) he proposed four types: basic pragmatic markers, commentary pragmatic markers, parallel pragmatic markers, and discourse markers (which he later includes as a type of commentary pragmatic marker).

pragmatic markers encode another message that comments on the basic message (*frankly, fortunately, reportedly*), and "parallel pragmatic markers" encode another message separate from the basic and/or commentary message (*sir, your honor, now, well, ok*). Lastly, "discourse markers" are one type of commentary pragmatic marker which are a class of expressions each of which signals how the speaker intends the basic message that follows to relate to the prior discourse (*and, so, but, anyway, although, however*).

While some scholars draw a link between content meaning and pragmatic meaning explaining this through such processes as "semantic bleaching," or linguistic theories like grammaticalization or pragmaticization, Fraser claims that discourse markers have nothing to do with the content meaning of the words[7] and "should be analyzed as having a distinct pragmatic meaning which captures some aspect of a speaker's communicative intention" (1990:393).

(3) Relevance Theory perspective: Sperber and Wilson and Blakemore

Working within the framework of Relevance Theory (as cited in Sperber and Wilson 1986) and elaborating on Grice's notion of conventional implicature (i.e., an implicit proposition which is encoded in a particular linguistic expression rather than inferred), Blakemore is concerned with how a discourse marker contributes to the cognitive interpretation of a discourse segment. Blakemore defines what she calls "discourse connectives" as "expressions that constrain the interpretation of the utterances that contain them by virtue

---

[7] "When an expression functions as a discourse marker, that is its exclusive function in the sentence." (1990:189).

of the inferential connections they express" (Blakemore 1987: 105)[8]. In other words, utterance interpretation is constrained by the presumption that the utterance is consistent with the Principle of Relevance, whereby the hearer of an utterance is assumed to generate relevance with minimal effort. According to Blakemore, discourse connectives are conceptually empty, possessing only a 'procedural meaning' that consists of instructions about how to manipulate the conceptual representation of the utterance (Blakemore 1987, 1992, 1995).

Building on these major frameworks, extensive studies on discourse markers have followed, at times in agreement (with modifications or supplementations), and at times with discord. As such, the exploration of the possibility of a consensus on discourse markers is still in progress, although the likelihood of a universal definition that is applicable cross-linguistically may be in question. Schourup (1999) asks: "Are there functions which have been overlooked in discourse marker research because of over-dependence on English? Are there languages for which the discourse marker category is either more or less highly restricted than in English? Do some languages lack discourse markers altogether, and if so, what, if anything, do speakers of such languages do to carry out the same functions discourse markers perform elsewhere?" Without extensive analysis,

---

[8] Blakemore suggests the following four ways in which information conveyed by an utterance can be relevant (1992: 138-141).
i. It may allow the derivation of a contextual implication (e.g., *so, therefore, too, also*).
ii. It may strengthen an existing assumption, by providing better evidence for it (e.g., *after all, moreover*).
iii. It may contradict an existing assumption (e.g., *however, still, nevertheless, but*).
iv. It may specify the role of the utterance in the discourse (e.g., *anyway, incidentally, by the way, finally)*

answers to these questions will never come to light. In the following, I will look at previous studies that have focused on the Korean discourse marker *kulenikka*, followed by some problematic aspects in defining discourse markers as applied to the Korean language.

2.2.2   *Previous studies on Korean discourse markers*

Research in the area of discourse analysis and discourse markers in particular is a relatively new one in the study of Korean linguistics. Expressions that fall under the category of the so-called discourse markers were termed "interjections" or "exclamation markers," and were limited to a brief description and definition or a list of a few functions. They were regarded as a mere verbal habit, replacing a pause, or marking hesitation and lacking in any meaning. Only recently (early 1990s)[9] have Korean linguists drawn their attention to these markers as discourse markers and started to analyze them at the discourse level. Research in this area started in the 1980s, influenced by American functionalists and discourse analysts, and generally followed the definition and analytical framework in line with those set forth by Schiffrin (1987).

When expressions that function as discourse markers in Korean were referred to as "interjections" or "exclamation markers," these were morphological terms rather than discourse-related terms. Supporting the claim that such expressions classified as

---

[9] Shin (1989, 1991) – *kule*-type DMs, Lee (1994) – *ney* 'yes,' *ani* 'no,' 'what,' 'umm,' Lee (1992, 1993, 1995) – *icey* 'now,' *mweya* 'what,' 'what d'you call it,' *yey* 'yes,' *kulssey* 'well,' *ani* 'no,' 'what,' 'umm,' *waynyamyen* 'because,' Lee (1995) – *kulenikka* 'so,' 'therefore' as a filler, *icey* 'now' based on the framework of grammaticalization, Kim (1994, 1995) – *mwe, way* 'why,' *eti* 'where,,' *ike* 'this,' *ke* 'thing,' *ce(ki)* 'there,' 'uhm,' *kulssey* 'well,' *mwelalkka* 'how should I say it/what should I say,' *kaman* 'wait,' Lee (1996, 1997, 1999) – *kulay* 'yeah,' 'really,' 'it's so,' *way* 'why,' *mwe* based on Grice's Cooperation Principle (1975), Im (1995) – *mwenya* 'uhm,' 'what d'you call it,' *issci* 'uhm,' 'you know,' etc., and on *kule*-type DMs – Shin (1993, 1998), Lee (1998), to name a few. (cited from Lee 2002)

26

interjections be included in the category of discourse markers, Ahn (1992) stated that because interjections are independent and not affected by predicates, they should be termed discourse markers. Also, previous studies subdivided interjections into emotional interjections, volitional interjections, and verbal habits/hesitation markers, whereby a lexical expression pertained to one of the three categories. However, Ahn argued that one lexical expression could belong to all three categories depending on the situational context. The third issue he pointed out was that in addition to interjections, conjunctive adverbs should also be included in the category of discourse markers. Specific lexical expressions have been considered either an adverb or an interjection by different researchers, and have been treated by some dictionaries as homonyms that occupy both parts of speech. Ahn claimed that this is evidence that conjunctive (sentential) adverbs and interjections share analogous functions. He suggested that a scope that would encompass sentential adverbs, conjunctive adverbs and interjections should be provided, and proposed that discourse markers could give a clear account. In his classification of discourse markers, Ahn further divided discourse markers into "summons marker" (*i* 'this' -type demonstratives), "opening marker" (*ce* 'that'-type demonstratives), "turn-taking marker" (*ku* 'that'-type demonstratives), and "closing marker" (*ku* 'that'-type demonstratives), along with an additional subcategory of "response marker." For further study, he suggested that research should focus in the area of turn-taking and response markers due to their high frequency. Also suggested were a systematic distinction in regard to the functions and meaning among the various *kule*-type discourse markers (e.g., *kulayse* 'so, therefore,' *kulenikka* 'so, since, I know, etc.,' *kulemulo* 'therefore,' *kuleni* 'so,' *kulena* 'but,' *kulehciman* 'but, however,'

27

kulay 'yes, so,' *kulentey* 'but'), and an account for the lexicalization of phrases such as

kulssey malita. 'I know, I agree with you,' *nwuka anilayyo* 'I know.'

In another study on the characteristics of Korean discourse markers, Jeon (2002)

identified them as semantically unnecessary expressions. She identifies them as

expressions that have acquired new functions to add to the existing meaning/functions,

which have been studied under various terms such as expletives, verbal habits, hesitation

markers, tag words, discourse particles, exclamation markers, discourse substitute

markers, discourse markers, etc. In her definition of discourse markers, Jeon includes

various linguistic forms as can be seen below. However, she states that focus should be

directed to their functions as discourse markers on the discourse level rather than their

original grammatical class. Also, she argued that discourse markers do not conjugate and

cannot take particles, except for a few limited instances, whereby a partial conjugation

does not affect the meaning/function of the discourse marker (e.g. *mweci, mweya,*

mwelalkka[10] 'umm, what is it, how should I put it'). Furthermore, she suggested that if the

omission of the expression within an utterance or turn does not interfere with the meaning,

it is truly a discourse marker, whereas if the omission renders the utterance awkward, it is

in the process of becoming a discourse marker.[11] She summarized the characteristics as

follows:

---

[10] *mwe* 'what'+ question ender: the speaker uses these expressions when seeking for the best word or expression, or recalling, therefore they are questions directed to the speaker, not the hearer, and does not affect the meaning of the discourse marker.

[11] She includes *kulenikka* in this category.

- occur in oral rather than in written discourse
- encompass various linguistic forms (such as exclamation marker, adverb, phrase, etc.)
- are intonation and pause related
- morphologically fixed
- syntactically independent, and optional
- semantically, a variant of the propositional meaning
- display various discourse functions

In the aforementioned two studies, discourse connectives were not included as discourse markers. However, in several other studies, a distinction between connectives and the free-bound discourse marker is not made. Because of the overlap in meaning and function with that of English, grammatically bound connectives appeared to be used interchangeably with the free-bound discourse markers in other existing studies. For example, Kim and Suh (1994) examine the functions of the two expressions in spontaneous interaction within the framework of Conversation Analysis (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974), while terming the connective –*(u)nikka* as a discourse connective and *kulenikka* as a discourse marker. In another study, Kim and Suh (1996) term *kulenikka* (*kulayse* and *kulentey*) as discourse connectives. This inconsistency in application of terms can be attributed to the difference in typological features between English and Korean, yet researchers put greater focus on meaning and function, neglecting distinction in terms of form.

2.2.3   Previous accounts of kulenikka and problem statements

In a number of studies on *kulenikka* (more often than not, in relation with other *kule*-type

discourse markers), grammatically bound connectives were included in analyzing the

functions, rather than centralizing the focus on *kulenikka* as a stand-alone discourse

marker. Moreover, a persuasive framework describing the multifunctions of *kulenikka* on

different discourse levels has been overlooked. In this section, I will go over some past

studies on *kulenikka* and point out what I perceive to be lacking in the study of *kulenikka* as

a discourse marker.

Using the term "discourse substitute markers," Shin (1989) examines *kulenikka*

along with *kulayse* 'so,' *kulena* 'but,' and *kulehciman* 'but,' presenting the similarities and

differences among the four discourse markers in the discourse level, in terms of "discourse

substitution," "sequence," and "distance." She observes that all four discourse markers

share a similarity, in that they all substitute discourse, yet, have their distinct features,

which are: a) *kulayse/kulenikka* are both [+sequence], whereas *kulena/kulehciman* are

[-sequence], whereby sequence (sequence of events, sequence of a state, and sequence of

the mental process) is associated with the speaker's perception, b) *kulayse/kulena* are

[-distance] while *kulenikka/kulehciman* possess a [+distance] meaning, in which distance

indicates spatial, temporal and psychological distance, and likewise, distance is also related

to the perception of the speaker.

Rather than giving a clear description on the various functions, the study was

limited to comparing the four discourse markers in discourse (taken from novels or TV

commercials, instead of naturally occurring conversations), in relation to sequence and

30

distance. Applying the two notions, she extensively investigated why one marker takes precedence over the other within one's utterance and between/among interlocutors. The study overall failed to present the multifarious functions of the four discourse markers in question.

In a similar vein, Kim and Choe (2000) examined the functions and distribution of *kule*-type discourse markers using transcription data from a public hearing (1999 Clothing Lobbying Incident). Main functions of the discourse markers were identified as topic change, topic maintenance, confirmation, and modification, and, in the case of *kulenikka*, a fragmentary explanation was given: a marker to express cause/reason for the prior utterance. Listing all the characteristics of Korean discourse markers, Jeon (2002) described the function of *kulenikka* as elaborating on one's thoughts in order to convey or emphasize his/her (opposing) opinion to the interlocutor.

Applying the framework of grammaticalization to discourse markers such as *kulssey* 'well,' *kulekiey* 'so, yeah,' *kulenikka 'so, since, I know, uhm, etc.,'* and *kulemyen* 'then,' Park (2001) observes that they are grammaticalized forms that have changed in the direction of "erb-substitution > discourse marker" or "verb-substitution > auxiliary verb." As the deictic substitute *kulenikka* undergoes contextual reanalysis obtaining the status of discourse marker, he classifies the functions into reception and time-getter and further analyzes the functions as emphasis, conclusion-inducing and modification, and elaboration, respectively. However, the basis for this analysis is not clearly stated in the study, that is, it is difficult to locate the grounds on which the classification/sub-classification of the functions was built on. He outlines the functions of *kulenikka*

according to the three stages of subjectification (grammaticalization), as follows:
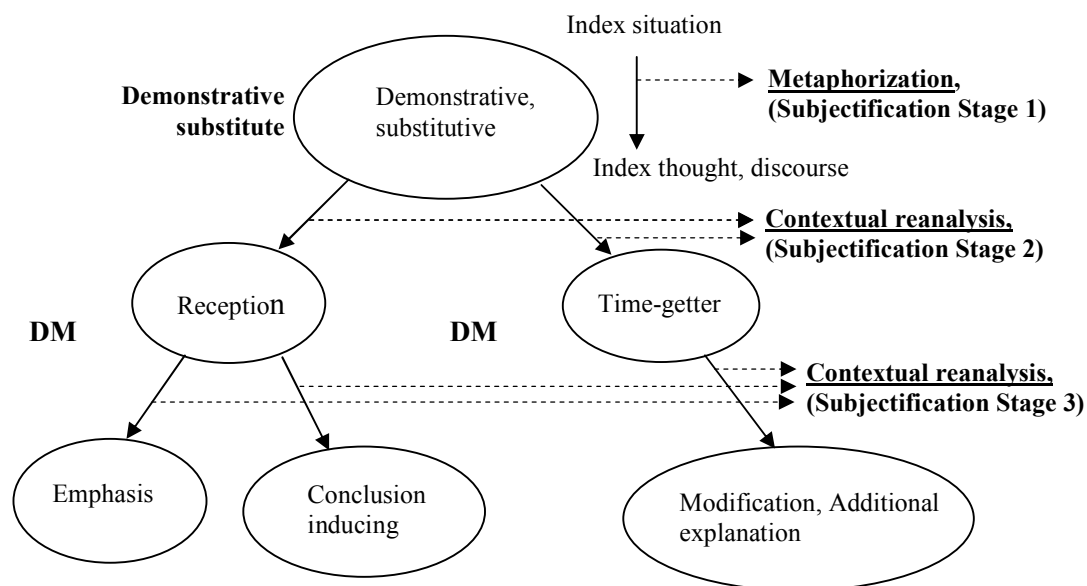
Figure 1. The Grammaticalization of *kulenikka* (Park 2001)

In another work on *kule*-type discourse markers (*kulentey* 'but,' *kulenikka* 'so, therefore, I know, uhm, etc.,' *kulaykaciko* 'so, and then,' and *kulemyen* 'then') Lee (2003) examines the use of the discourse markers in native and non-native (advanced learners of Korean as a foreign language) speakers of Korean in daily conversation. She examines the frequency and usages in both native and non-native speakers and finds that native speakers more frequently use the discourse markers, and when non-natives do use them they occur predominantly in written language (as conjunctive adverbs with their semantic meaning) and they cannot apply them in various ways during conversation as strategic talk. She gives an outline of the overall functions as follows (own translation):

Table 6. Lee's analytical framework of *kulenikka* (2002)

Function	Object of Coherence	Pattern	
Textual coherence	Topic ⇔ Topic	Topic change	- Introduction of new topic - Gradual change of topic - Re-introduction of prior topic
	Topic ⇔ Unit of talk	Topic development	- Topic development - Supplementation - Disagreement/refutation
	Unit of talk ⇔ Unit of talk	Meaning relations (cause)	
Speaker's intention	Speaker ⇔ Topic	- Explanation/elaboration - Modification	
Interactional function	Speaker ⇔ Hearer	Strong agreement	

This study analyzes the functions of *kulenikka* grounding on Schiffrin's

Participation Framework (1987) and Jeon (1998)'s Topic Coherence Model. Replacing

Schiffrin's Action Structure with Jeon's "speaker's intention," Lee examined the cohesive

relations within a text, between speaker and topic, and hearer and speaker. Although the

different levels (planes) of discourse were well presented, I claim that the functions are not

clearly distributed across the relevant planes. For example, functions of

explanation/elaboration and modification under the speaker's intention function can be

better illustrated within the textual coherence category. Moreover, other functions such as

expressing hesitation, pause filler, summarization, etc., which are commonly used

functions are non-existent in any level, as well as delivery of disagreement in the

interactional level.

Several other functions of *kulenikka*, as stated in previous studies, include assertion

of the speaker's stance (speaker claiming is right) (Jeon 2002), "reformulation of prior talk" by way of elaboration, specification, or expansion (Kim and Suh 1996). Various forms of *kulenikka* were also identified (*kulenikka, kunikka, kulenikkan, kunikkan, kukka, kunkka*, cf. Hyun 2005; *kunkka, kulenikka, kulunikka, kunikka, kukka, kukkan, kuinkka, kulenkka*, in order of frequency, as cited in Lee 2003). Jeon added that the form *kunkka* specifically is used to convey the speaker's strongly maintained viewpoint toward the interlocutor via supplementary explanation, but with no basis.

In sum, the overall functions of *kulenikka* were said to be assertion of speaker's viewpoint/subjectivity (especially when encountered with a disagreement), strong agreement, elaboration, explanation, modification, seeking for time, etc. In this section, problematic statements from previous studies were presented. In the following section, I will propose the definition and scope of discourse markers for this study.

2.3   Definition and scope of discourse markers for the present study

In this section, two issues will be pointed out regarding the definition and functions of discourse markers (*kulenikka* in particular) as discussed in previous literature. First of all, discourse markers in recent studies have not brought into consideration the typological characteristics of Korean, in many cases simply applying Schiffrin's definition (or terminology) of discourse markers which is based on the English language. Secondly, the functions of *kulenikka* were not analyzed based on a grounded framework, lacking an account of the usages in the different levels of discourse, e.g., textual and interactional, and speaker-orientedness and hearer-orientedness.

2.3.1   *Typological characteristics of Korean (with reference to Japanese)*

Korean and Japanese share the following typological features (from H. Sohn 2000):

a. Both languages are syntactically SOV languages with head-final and left-
    branching properties rendering all predicates to be located in the sentence-final or
    clause-final position.

b. Free scrambling, multiple nominative constructions, and omission of contextually
    understood elements are permitted.

c. Morphologically, agglutinative languages where various particles and suffixes are
    agglutinated to roots or stems or to one another, maintaining their forms and
    meanings.

In the forthcoming sections, I will discuss some issues regarding the typological characteristics of the Korean language in relation to the definition and classification of discourse markers (with reference to Japanese discourse marker research), a question that does not seem to have surfaced in the linguistic field of Korean to date. The typological characteristics of both Korean and Japanese create confusion when deciding what to include in the category of discourse markers.

Because of the linguistic features such as (a) SOV construction, or (b) free scrambling, the characteristic of discourse markers as "commonly used in the initial position of an utterance" (initiality) cannot be applied to Korean (or Japanese) discourse markers per se. That is, because of the two features, discourse markers or other linguistic elements are apt to occur in initial, medial, or even final positions. The third feature (c) also

clashes with the category of discourse markers as syntactically detachable from a sentence (Schiffrin) (weak clause association). For example, this would be implausible if we were to follow Mori's proposal of including connective particles as discourse markers since the agglutinative morphemes are always grammatically bound.

Mori (1999) examines both "clause-intitial connectives (e.g., *dakara* 'because,' *datte* 'and,' and *demo* 'but')" and "clause-final particles (*-kara*, *-kedo*)" in naturally occurring conversations. With a skeptical view toward Matsumoto's characterization of connective particles as "bound grammatical markers" and connectives as "free discourse markers" (Matsumoto 1998[12]), she argues that discourse particles have received less attention because of the structural properties that correspond to those of English connectives despite the contribution of discourse particles toward constructing turns and accomplishing interactional activities[13]. Although Mori emphasizes the significance of including connective particles within the study of discourse markers, she ceases to present any characterization of the observed connective particles in her study.

I find Matsumoto's claim rather convincing in that he views connective particles as "bound morphemes" (Bloomfield 1933; cf. Matsumoto) that cannot stand alone. They adhere to the immediate verb, adjective or auxiliary, and form one "accentual unit," while connectives can be used alone as "free morphemes" with one accentual unit per se. In terms

---

[12] In this paper Matsumoto challenges the unidirectionality hypothesis by providing an example of the Japanese bound connective particle *–ga* which develops into a free discourse marking connective *ga*. In theory, the content word develops into a functional grammatical word.

[13] She seems to implicitly state that grammatically bound particles should be included in the category of discourse markers.

of scope, he observes that connective particles connect two clauses in a sentence whereas connectives can connect two "matrix sentences." With this expansion in scope, he observes a functional change from 'syntax to discourse.' Finally, Matsumoto hypothesizes that the connectives developed from their respective connective particles by way of grammaticalization[14] (or more specifically, subjectivization), gaining discourse functions in addition to the marking of a "logical relationship."

In another study of Japanese discourse markers (a corpus-based study on spontaneous dialogue with a comparison to English discourse markers), Kawamori et al. (1998) point out several disparities between English and Japanese discourse markers. Whereas English discourse markers are lexical, the counterparts in Japanese generally do not fit into such a category. They suggest that this may be one reason for the lack of agreement among researchers as to which "words" should be designated as Japanese discourse markers and also why such utterances have traditionally been merely regarded as a group of interjections. As such, I propose that a distinction/classification be made between conjugating inflectional suffixes with a discourse marker function and non-conjugating lexical expressions (with a discourse marker function). In this study, I define discourse markers as the latter.

---

[14] In the same vein, Ahn (2000:136) claims that the necessary condition for the development or formation of a *kule* type connective (e.g., *kulenikka* 'so, therefore,' *kulentey* 'but,' *kulena* 'but,' *kulayse* 'so,' *kulehciman* 'however, but,' etc.) is the existence of the respective connective particle (e.g., *-nikka, -ntey, -hana, -e/ase, -ciman).*

2.3.2   *Definition and scope of kulenikka*

According to Schouroup (1999), characteristics of discourse markers are:

   a. connectivity
   b. optionality
   c. non-truth-conditionality
   d. weak-clause association (syntactically detachable from a sentence, Schiffrin)
   e. initiality (occur in the utterance onset)
   f. orality
   g. multi-categoriality

However, as mentioned above, typological differences between Korean and English create difficulties in a parallel definition and categorization of discourse markers. Because Korean is an SOV language (or head-final) and enables free-scrambling, initiality (e) cannot be a clear criterion, while the agglutinative feature conflicts with the weak-clause association (d). It seems unreasonable to try to base our definitions of discourse markers in one language on characteristics developed for another language, or conversely, to alter the definition/characteristics of discourse markers in order to conform to the typological characteristics of the other language. Thus, I propose that a definition that is mutually complementary to both languages should be considered, while maintaining the distinctive characteristics of discourse markers (such as being syntactically detachable from a sentence, optionality, and non-truth conditionality).

In connection to weak-clause association (or being "syntactically detachable from a sentence," as Schiffrin stated), I propose that a classification be made between conjugating inflectional suffixes with a discourse marking function, which have been generally viewed

as discourse markers in previous literature (Mori 1999; Onodera 2002; Philips 1998) and non-conjugating lexical discourse-marking expressions. I further claim that the latter stand-alone, syntactically free discourse markers (that developed out of inflectional suffixes/clausal connectives, already regarded as having discourse marker functions) are further grammaticalized forms.

[Grammaticalization of –(u)nikka]

clausal connective *–(u)nikka* ➔ utterance final *–(u)nikka*, discourse marking *–(u)nikka*
> *grammaticalization*

[Grammaticalization of *kulenikka*]

clausal connective *–(u)nikka* ➔ (connective *kulehanikka, kulihanikka*) ➔ connective
> *substitution*

kulenikka ➔ discourse marker *kulenikka*
  grammaticalization

In the made up examples below, the first use of *–(u)nikka* and the discourse marker *kulenikka* are not identical:

1. *kuleha* 'to be such' + the clausal connective *–(u)nikka* + [Main sentence]

Child spills milk, when the mother kept telling him to stop playing with the cup.

> ex) *kule-**nikka**   emma mal-ul   tul-eya-ci*.
>   to be such-because mom is saying-AC listen-have to-SUP
>   'That's why you should listen to me (mom).'

39

➔ 2. discourse marker *kulenikka*

    a. textual function

        ex)   *kuke-y mwe-nya-myen* **kkan.. kunikka..** *yey-lul tul-ese ~*
                 that-(NM) what-Q-if kkan   kunikka   example-AC give-and
                 'So what it is is so.. umm.. for example ~'

    b. interactional function

        ex)   A: *nemwu kongpwuhaki silh-ta!*
                     too (much) study-NOM dislike-DC
                     'I really don't feel like studying!'

              B: **kulenikka***!*
                     'I know!' 'Tell me about it!'

The first instance of *kulenikka*, meaning 'that is why' (causal) is a combination of *kulehata* 'to be such' (state) and the clausal connective *–(u)nikka* (or in some cases *kulihata,* denoting action). It is grammatically bound, connecting a prior utterance, or in this case, a state (*kulehata* substitutes the state of child spilling milk), and cannot be detached from the sentence, whereas the second case of *kulenikka* (in the form of *kkan, kunikka*, and *kulenikka*) is a free-bound, stand-alone discourse marker, lacking in propositional meaning. It can be seen as a grammaticalized form of *kulenikka* 'since it is so,' functioning as a floor-holder, time-getter, hesitation marker and marker of agreement to the interlocutor's utterance. Because of the discrepancy in form and function between the two *kulenikka*s, I propose that a distinction should be made.

This study proposes that the categories of Korean discourse markers consist of:

1. Lexical expressions
   ex) *ani* 'no, well,' *mwe* 'like, well,' *com* 'a little, please,' *ceki* 'over there, here,

uhm' *kesiki* 'uhm, like, that,' *ku* 'that,' *ce* 'that,' *mak* 'like, fast,' *ilehkey* 'like' etc.

2. Stand-alone lexical expressions developed from clausal connectives (usually combined with *kule*-type substitues)
   ex) *kulenikka* 'I know,' 'tell me about it,' 'you know,' 'in other words,' etc., *kulem* 'of course,' *kulekey* 'Yeah.. (I know)' *kulentey* 'but,' etc.

Note that grammatically bound, conjugating clausal connectives with discourse-marking functions which are considered as having the same functions as discourse markers, such as *-(u)nikka* 'so, therefore,' *-ketun* 'you see~,' *-myense* 'while ~,' *~nuntey* 'but,' etc., are not included in the category of discourse markers in this study.

CHAPTER 3

THE GENESIS OF *KULENIKKA*

3.1　From clausal connective to free discourse marker

It is essential to trace back a linguistic form in order to excavate the origin and construct a

theory or at least a working assumption about the ways the modern form has come about.

Unfortunately, unlike other clausal connectives such as *-e/ase* or *–(u)ntey/nuntey,* whose

records can be traced back to the mid-fifteenth century, *-(u)nikka* doesn't appear until the

late nineteenth century. It is quite interesting to see how a word which has been

documented for only over a century spread through our interactions with such a multitude

of functions and forms.

Traditionally, the clausal connective *–(u)nikka* 'so, since, therefore' in Korean has

been analyzed as a logical connector marking causality (cause and result) and temporality

(discovery) in the sentence-level, as shown in (1) and (2), respectively. (examples from S.

Sohn)

(1)　　*pi-ka　o-**nikka**　chwup-ta.*
　　　rain-NM come-nikka　cold-DC

　　　'Since it is raining, the weather is cold.'

(2)　　*pakk-ul　　po-**nikka** pi-ka　o-ko　　iss-ess-eyo.*
　　　outside-AC　see-nikka　rain-NM come-and exist-PST-DC

　　　When I looked outside, (I found) it was raining.'

　　　However *–(u)nikka* does not always denote causality or temporality as can be

42

frequently evidenced in daily conversation. In example (3), not only is –*(u)nikka* manifest as a sentence-final particle, it also marks a speaker's increased subjectivity toward the hearer.

(3)   *cikum ka-n-ta-__nikka__.*
        now   go-IN-DC-nikka

        'I'm telling you I'm going now.'

kulenikka, the marker under investigation, is a combination of the predicate *kulehata* 'to be so, to be such' or *kulihata* 'to do so' (or *kulehkey hata* 'to do in such a way') and the connective particle –*(u)nikka*. (4a) and (4b) show examples of the truth-conditional meaning of *kulenikka*, respectively.

(4)   a. *ku salam-un   wenlay sengkyek-i   __kulenikka__ nemwu sinkyengssu-ci ma.*
           that person-NM originally personality-NM kulenikka take it too hard-NOM stop

           'You shouldn't take it too hard, as that person's personality is like that.'

        b. *maynnal chinkwu-tul ttayli-ko __kulenikka__ sensayngnim-hanthey honna-ci.*
           always   friend-PL hit-and kulenikka teacher-from get scolded- SUP

           'You get scolded by your teacher because you are always hitting your friends and doing things like that.'

In the following example (5), all four instances of the discourse marker *kulenikka* display an absence of the propositional properties of causality or temporality. Instead, by the use of *'kulenikka,'* the speaker organizes his/her own discourse by signaling to the hearer a forthcoming explanation, elaboration, or exemplification (the first three usages of *kulenikka* in the reduced form of *kka*, in no particular order), or contributes to the former speaker's utterance by giving his/her own subjective opinion, which in the following

43

example is a strong agreement or co-alignment to speaker A's evaluation of the students.

(5) Students

1   A: *nwu-ka ceyil kolchi-ya?*
           who-NM most headache-(be)-INT
           'Who causes the biggest headache for you?'

2 → B: *ani.. **kka**[15] ta kwaynchanh-a.yo.*
           no kka all okay-POL

3 →   ***kka** swuep sikan-ey-n ta-tul melccengha-ko ile-nuntey kyelkwa-lul pomyen*
           kka class time-at-TC all-PL normal-and like this-but result-AC see-when

4 →   *nemwu **kka** suphelling nemwu.. ilum-cocha-to moll-a.yo.*
           too kka spelling too name-even-also not know-POL

5   *caki ilum-twu mos ssukwu.   ilum-ilang annyenghaseyyo-to mos ssu kwu.*
           self name-also cannot write-and name-and hello-also cannot write-and

           'No, <u>so/I mean (like)</u> they are all good. <u>(So) I mean</u> during class they all
           seem okay, but when I look at their (test) results' it's so.. <u>like</u> the spelling is
           so.. they don't even know their name.. names.. They can't even write their
           names. Can't even write their names or even 'hi'…'

6   A: *Ung...*
           Yes
           'Yeah…'

7   B: *eika eps-e cincca.*
           amazed-INT really
           'I really don't understand.'

8   A: *kuke-n cakiney-tul-i an ha-<u>nikka</u> kule-n ke-ci mwe.*
           that-TC self-PL-NM not do-because like that-RL thing-SUP DM
           'Well, that's because they don't study.'

---

[15] As mentioned in Chapter 1, many researchers do not agree that *kka* is the shortest form that is employed by the speakers for the textual discourse organizational functions. However, the present study strongly maintains otherwise.

9 → B: ***kulenikka****… eccem kulehkey kongpwu-lul an hay-yo?*
kulenikka   how like that-AD study-AC not do-POL
'<u>I know</u>… How can they not study like that?'

As such, it can be evidenced that as the connective *–(u)nikka* takes on the demonstrative *kulehata* 'to be so, to be such,' *kulenikka* entails an increased referential ambiguity compared to *–(u)nikka* affixed to a meaning-indicative predicate. In other words, instead of *-(u)nikka* being affixed to clear-cut content words such as *kata* 'to go' (*kanikka* 'because/when *sb* went'), pota 'to see' (*ponikka* 'because/when *sb* saw), *yeypputa* 'to be pretty' (*yeppunikka* 'since ~*sb/st* is pretty'), *kulehata* 'to be so/to do so' increases the range of possibilities that the discourse marker *kulenikka* can index. For example, it can mark a prior discourse, a speaker's prior thought/experience, knowledge, etc. This, I believe, has engendered a wider use and function of *kulenikka*. I have taken the following paragraph from Brinton and Traugott (2005) which accurately accounts for my claim.

> (…) grammatical items are highly abstract, schematic markers, the prime function of which is to represent the speaker's perspective on the situation or to get others to do things. Therefore, a lexical item must be (or have become) <u>relatively non-specific in content</u> before it can be recruited to serve such an abstract and schematic grammatical function. An ambiguous bridging context, in which both the old and the new meaning can occur, is a prerequisite for grammaticalization. Typically an item that has the potential to grammaticalize in such a context is <u>relatively unspecific in meaning, and thus can be enriched by the pragmatics of the context</u>.

(Brinton and Traugott 2005:109-110, emphasis added)

In addition to the wide range of meanings *ku* 'that' can take, it can be viewed that the contraction of the forms *kulehanikka* 'to be so,' *kulihanikka* 'to do so'(and *kulehkey*

hanikka 'to do in such a way') all of which possess one meaning, led to a semantic change, as the speaker/hearer cannot recognize the morphemes.

So far, we have seen that *–(u)nikka* has undergone various stages from a clausal connective indicating the propositional properties of causality/temporality to the sentence-final position where the two referential meanings can't be clearly evidenced. When the connective *–(u)nikka* is affixed to the predicate *kulehata* 'to be so' or *kulihata* 'to do so,' *kulenikka* further develops into an interactional discourse marker displaying the speaker's subjective/intersubjective attitudinal stance toward the hearer (interactional), alongside the function of organizing discourse (textual). As such, I have concluded that after the implementation of the predicate *kulehata, kulenikka* took on an entirely new engagement with the now extensively used discourse marker.

3.2 The Korean demonstrative *ku*

3.2.1 *The grammaticalization of demonstratives*

The connective *kulenikka* can be broken down into the predicate *kulehata* and *kulihata* 'to be so'/to do so,' followed by the cause/time-indicating connective *ni,* and lastly, *kka*[16], a marker that is added for speaker emphasis[17]. Evidently, 'most conjunctive suffixes in Korean' (*kulentay* 'but,' *kuliko* 'and,' *kulenikka* 'since, so, that's why,' *kulayse* 'so') all include the demonstrative *ku* 'that' (cf. H. Sohn 2008), which indicates a referent that is

---

[16] Based on my data, I also propose that they can be analyzed as *kulehkey hanikka* 'by doing in such a way' and *kuleko ponikka* 'looking at it now,' although I have not discussed them in this study.

[17] An optional *–nun* is employed by the speaker for added emphasis. For example, *kulenikkanun* or the shorter form *kulenikkan* can be used.

close to the hearer. It can be questioned why the other demonstratives *i* 'this' or *ce* 'that' (indicative of an object or location that is far from both speaker and hearer) cannot be affixed to these conjunctives.

As Schiffrin (1987) identifies, all discourse markers have indexical functions. The demonstrative pronouns *i* 'this,' *ku* 'that,' and *ce* 'that'[18] are the three commonly used deictic markers in Korean.[19] *i* 'this' indexes something that exists in real time conversation, close to the speaker and known to the speaker, while *ku* 'that' indexes what is close to the hearer, and at the same time known to the speaker. According to Park (2002), the distribution of *i*-types and *ku*-type adverbial conjunctives (e.g. *kulelssAi, kulemyen, kulena vs. ilelssAi, ilemyen, ilena*) were comparable in Middle Korean. However, in modern Korean only *ku*-types are evident. He hypothesized that as utterances became visible in written text via the advent of print technology, both speaker and hearer were able to share and identify what has been clearly presented in the prior text/discourse, resulting in the salient use of *ku*-types as opposed to *i*-types, which index entities physically close to the interactants.

In a comprehensive study of demonstratives Diessel (1999) examines demonstratives across 85 languages, including the Korean demonstrative particles *i* 'this,' *ku* 'that, and *ce* 'that.' Analyzing demonstratives from both synchronic and diachronic

---

[18] *ku* 'that' is when the object of discussion is closer to the hearer, and *ce* 'that' is used to refer to an object far from both speaker and hearer. Because *ce* 'that' indexes an object far from both the speaker and hearer, it is rarely used as a conjunctive or a discourse marker (except as an attention getter, as in, *cekiyo* 'over there, here,' or hesitation marker *ce* 'uhm').

[19] Korean, like Japanese, has a person-oriented system (Anderson and Keenan 1985) with three deictic terms, in which the deictic center and the location of the hearer both serve as a reference point.

perspectives, he analyzed morphological structures, semantic features, syntactic functions, pragmatic uses and diachronic aspects, expressly within the theory of grammaticalization. Emphasizing the importance of pragmatic functions, he asserts that demonstratives are:

> primarily used to focus the hearer's attention on objects or locations in the speech situation (often in combination with a pointing gesture), but they may also function *to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse*. More specifically, demonstratives are often used to *keep track of prior discourse participants* and *to activate specific shared knowledge*. The most basic function of demonstratives is, however, to orient the hearer outside of discourse in the surrounding situation. (Diessel 1999, emphasis added)

Coincidentally, the latter emphasized function of demonstratives is parallel to the pragmatic functions of the clausal connective and utterance final *–(u)nikka* by providing the speaker's affective or empirical grounds for leading the interlocutor to collaborate with the speaker (Kim and Suh 1996). It also ties in with their (Kim and Suh) description of the function of *kulenikka*, by which the "speaker maintains the hearer's attention to prior talk and keeps the hearer oriented to the on-topicness of the prior talk." This might lead one to question how two such unrelated morphemes (the demonstrative *ku* and the connective *–(u)nikka*) can have identical functions. A convincing hypothesis would be that it is the deictic *ku* that mainly functions in order to organize both prior and ongoing discourse (textual function) and to affectively collaborate with interlocutors (interactional function). Meanwhile, the connective *–ni* provides the cause or grounds for the speaker's utterance and *–kka* provides a means for the speaker to express his/her strong stance or subjective views. As such, the demonstrative *ku* is an essential part of the marker *kulenikka* alongside the connective *–(u)nikka* in its contribution to the change in meaning and function.

Utilizing Halliday and Hasan's (1976) concept of "exophoric"[20], Diessel describes this type of demonstrative as one associated with "entities in the speech situation." For all other uses, he uses the term "endophoric" which he further breaks down to "anaphoric," "discourse deictic" and "recognitional" uses, of which only recognitional demonstratives do not refer to elements of the ongoing discourse. Instead, recognitional demonstratives "are used to indicate that the hearer is able to identify the referent based on specific shared knowledge." In English, when a new topic or entity is newly introduced to the discourse, an indefinite article is used. However, in the following example from Himmelmann (1996), the distal demonstrative "those" is used in place of an indefinite article. Diessel explains that despite the absence of any possible prior indexing in the discourse, the speaker employs the use of "those" because of the seemingly shared information or experience with the hearer.

(6) English (Himmelmann 1996, from Diessel 1999)

… it was filmed in California, *those* dusty kind of hills that they have out here in Stockton and all, … so …'

Recognitional demonstratives also express solidarity, sympathy, and shared beliefs, which Lakoff terms "emotional deixis" (cf. Diessel). According to Diessel's description of the four categories of demonstratives, the connective *kulenikka* most likely falls under the category of discourse deictic demonstratives which index propositions or speech acts and connect two discourse units. Although his category of recognitional

---

[20] Diessel claims that the three subcategories of endophoric demonstratives are all derived from the basic use of exophoric demonstratives.

demonstratives is restricted to adnominal use in the syntactic context, I would like to propose that the demonstrative *ku* in the discourse marker *kulenikka* shares the identical meaning and pragmatic function of recognitional demonstratives in that it expresses emotional closeness, sympathy, and activates shared knowledge between interactants. The reason for the claim is that not only does *kulenikka* index prior proposition/speech acts and connect two discourse units (functions of discourse deictic demonstratives), but it also marks shared knowledge/beliefs between a speaker and hearer. As such, the demonstrative *ku* is of great significance in the semantic/pragmatic transformation (grammaticalization) of *kulenikka* into a discourse marker.

Exophoric　　　　　　　**Endophoric**　　　　　　　**Grammatical**

Exophoric ⟨ → Anaphoric ⟶ e.g. 3rd person pronoun

→ Discourse Deictic ⟶ e.g. sentence connective

→ Recognitional ⟶ e.g. determinative
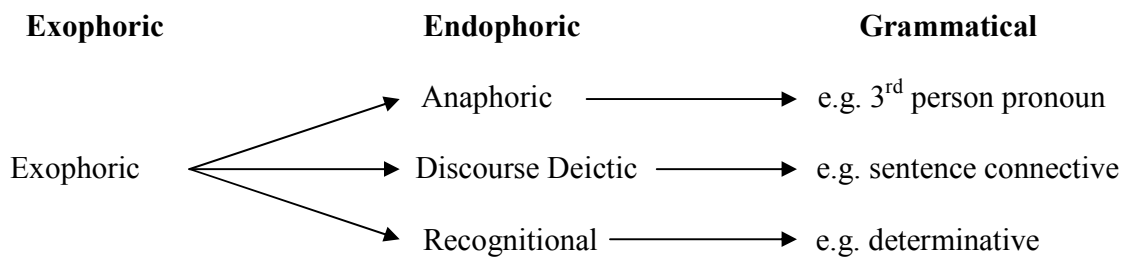
Figure 2. Diessel's grammaticalization cline of demonstratives

In regard to the criteria for the functional changes of all grammaticalized demonstratives, Diessel outlines these characteristics: 1) grammatical items that developed from demonstratives are no longer used to focus the hearer's attention on entities in the outside world (location, object, person), and 2) that they are deictically non-contrastive. In other words, the grammaticalized endophoric demonstratives function outside the speech community or situation to index shared knowledge, experience, and emotions without the sense of distal/proximal distinctions. Additionally, he argues that the grammaticalization

of demonstratives is separate from that of lexical morphemes whereby mechanisms of metaphorical extension, metonymic transfer and conversational implicature do not apply. Rather, it is based on "the extension of the exophoric use to the three endophoric uses." Lastly, to support his hypothesis that demonstratives "belong to the basic vocabulary of every language," Diessel pointed out that there were similarities that demonstratives shared across languages in phonetic shape and meaning.

3.2.2   Previous studies on ku

In explaining the grammaticalization of the so-called deictic substitute markers *i/ku/ce*, Park (2001) subdivides them into demonstrative pronoun and demonstrative adjective. He claims that as they gradually lose their function/meaning of "deixis" and "definiteness" (or limitation of the referent that it substitutes), they develop into discourse markers with the primary function of maintaining discourse cohesion. The three stages of grammaticalization of *ku* are presented as follows:

Table 7. The three stages of the grammaticalization of *ku* (Park 2001; translated)

Stage 1	Speaker holds the floor by employing *ku*, which connotes the speaker's internal thoughts, followed by an explicit noun reference.
Stage 2	When a noun or noun phrase succeeds the deictic with the *ku* lacking in any indexing function, *ku* is used to search for time until the speaker can finally come upon the desired nominal expression was searching for. [Reanalysis]
Stage 3	The function of "searching for time" is reinforced. Nouns, adverbs and verbs all can now follow the deictic *ku*. [Analogy]

In addition, Park elaborates that the three main functions stemming from the primary function of "search for time" (or as "filling a gap") are: to search for time (which is redundant because he already set the base function as "searching for time"), to express hesitation, and lastly, to provide modification/elaboration. He summarizes the grammaticalization of *i/ku/tye(ce)* and the accompanying changes in the following table:

Table 8. The grammaticalization of '*i, ku, tye (ce)*' and
the syntactic/semantic/phonological changes

'*i, ku, tye(ce)*'	Syntactic properties	Semantic properties	Phonological properties
Stage 1 **Demonstrative pronoun**	Can take prepositions	[+deictic] [+definiteness] [+substitutive]	Stressed
Stage 2 **Demonstrative adjective**	Cannot take prepositions. Limits and modifies the succeeding noun	[+deictic] [+definiteness] [-substitutive]	Stressed
Stage 3 **Discourse marker**	Cannot take prepositions. Does not limit or modify the succeeding noun	[-deictic] [-definiteness] [-substitutive]	Non-stressed

While attempting to present a unified account for *ku* in terms of grammaticalization, Park's analysis falls short in that not only is it based on a one-dimensional speaker-oriented perspective, but its functions are also very limited. Convincingly, in a study on the Korean demonstrative *ku*, Suh (2002) gives a thorough interactional account of *ku* in spontaneous oral conversations. Beyond *ku* as an indicator of spatial deixis, she identifies the extended functions in contemporary use, as indexing an

entity in the prior turn of a discourse, expressing hesitation or searching for a word (filler),

as an "intensifier," and a "set-marking tag"[21], all of which serve textual and interpersonal

functions, i.e., pragmatic functions. In line with previous studies concerning

demonstratives (Kirsner 1979, 1993; Matras 1998; Hanks 1992; Suh & Hong 1999; Suh

2000; and others, as cited in Suh), Suh claims that *ku* "marks the speaker's desire to anchor

interpersonal involvement between him/herself and the addressee by evoking a prior

interactional and discourse history shared between the speaker and the addressee." In her

concluding remarks, she proposes that an analysis of discourse connectives containing the

anaphoric form *ku*[22] such as *kulenikka* 'because,' *kulayse* 'so,' *kulena* 'but,' and *kulemyen*

'if so' will bring to light a systematic and unified analysis of *ku*.

3.3   The clausal connective *–(u)nikka*

In this subchapter I will look at the semantic and syntactic properties of the connective

particle *–(u)nikka* and the grammaticalization process it undergoes. Closely translating to

'because, since' or 'when,' the clausal connective *–(u)nikka* not only manifests itself as a

connective denoting causality and temporality but also functions in the utterance final

position, especially in naturally occurring conversations, when the speaker communicates

a sense of strong subjectivity/intersubjectivity[23], inviting the interlocutor's inferences,

---

[21] The discourse function of "set-marking tag" is "to cue the listener to interpret the preceding element as an illustrative example of a more general case" (Dines 1975, from Suh 2006)

[22] Also known as *kule-* type connectives, there are approximately 30 *kule-* type connectives that exist in modern Korean (Ahn 2000).

[23] Subjectivity "refers to the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner

such as collaboration and co-alignment (Kim and Suh 1994; Sohn to be published) while expressing his/her own attitudes and beliefs.

As will be presented in the following sections, –(u)nikka in itself connotes a speaker's weighted subjective stance. In order to manifest this marked feature of –(u)nikka, I will discuss the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the clausal connective –e/ase 'so,' also a marker denoting causality and temporality.

3.3.1   The advent of –(u)nikka

The clausal connective –(u)nikka does not appear in written documents until the late 19th century in *Toklipsinmwun* 'Independence Newspaper'(1896) in the form of –niskA (Lee 1990; as cited in Sohn to be published). Although Korean linguists have not reached a conclusion as to the origin of –niskA, S. Sohn (2003) states that it is generally agreed that –(u)nikka can be analyzed as a bi-morpheme, a combination of the connective –ni whose main function is to provide temporal and background information, and the morpheme –kka which is added to reinforce the speaker's subjective stance . In a comprehensive study on grammaticalization in Korean, Sohn shows that –ni and –nikka were used interchangeably as providing reason/cause, whereby –ni originally functioned to juxtapose clauses in middle Korean. With the introduction of western writing styles and as colloquial speech styles spread into Korean literature beginning in the late 19th century, it was –(u)nikka that

---

of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of *himself and his own attitudes and beliefs*." (Lyons 1982, as cited in Traugott) The term intersubjectivity "refers to the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of *his or her awareness of the addressee's attitudes and beliefs, most especially their "face" or "self-image*" (Traugott 2003, emphasis added)

has saliently permeated the spoken discourse.[24]

At this point, with economy evident as one of the motivations for grammaticalization, one would question why –*ni* would develop into the longer form –*(u)nikka*. Hopper and Traugott (2003:73) account for this phenomenon as a "deroutinizing" in which speakers seeking to "enhance expressivity" adopt "new and innovative ways of saying things" to improve informativeness while conveying speaker attitudes toward the speech situation. Taking the intentional future 'be going to' as an example, they suggest that while the form is longer than the locational counterpart ''ll or even will,' the phonologically longer 'be going to' is more accessible to hearers and presents an enhanced speaker's subjective attitude and perspective.[25]

With reference to the collocation of –*niskA* in *Toklipsinmwun* 'Independence Newspaper,' Sohn (to be published) observed that –*niskA* was most frequently used with reported speech. In the case of non-reported speech, Sohn identified it as a means of expressing "direct experience, perception, motion, communicate verbs, and shared knowledge that is accessible and inferable from the context." In both cases, the use of –*niskA* "allows the writer to express the source for his claim, thereby establishing his strong stance of assertion toward the situation being described." Finally, Sohn points out that the clause used with -*niskA* expresses the writer's "subjective evaluation or judgment regarding the relation between the two clauses."

---

[24] Refer to S. Sohn for an extensive description/discussion on the characteristics of –*ni* and –*nikka*.

[25] Hopper and Traugott (2003) suggest that this is also motivated by the *principle of economy* in that speakers reuse existing forms for new purposes (Werner and Kaplan 1963; Slobin 1977), in this case the longer, stronger subjectivity marking 'be going to' over ''ll or will.'

3.3.2 Syntactic and semantic properties of –(u)nikka and –e/ase

Although it is a topic of continued debate, the clausal connective –(u)nikka has been commonly noted to indicate causality or temporality on the basis of sentence-level analyses. When discussing –(u)nikka, recurrent comparisons have been made with the clausal connective –e/ase[26](Nahm 1978; Nahm and Lukoff 1983; Ree 1975; Lee 1979; Seong 1978; S. Sohn 1992; Kim and Suh 1994, 1996, among others) which also denotes cause/reason, but with differences at both the syntactic and semantic level.

Nahm and Lukoff (1983) propose that the connectives –(u)nikka and –e/ase account for the confusion in their usages in that "reason" and "cause" have not been clearly identified. They explain the differences of the two connectives in logical terms where "A nikka B" can be translated as 'on the basis of A, one can discover the fact B.' Thus, A is an explanation or a ground for rationalizing fact B, holding a potential "cause" and resulting in displaying "argumentation" in a logical term. Meanwhile, they argued that constructions such as "A e/ase B" mark a "related sequence" where 'B follows A with a related sequence.' The two clauses therefore not only mark a related sequence between A and B but also an "assertion of cause," especially when the subordinate clause A is negated (examples from Nahm and Lukoff 1983).

---

[26] When the predicate stem ends with
   a. a bright vowel (o/a) + ase, as in coh (to be good)-ase 'because (something/someone) is good/liked
   b. elsewhere + ese, as in mek (to eat)-ese 'because one ate'

(7)   a.   [sequential]

*ilena-**se***   *yatan-ul*   *mac-ass-ta.*
get up-(e)se scolding-AC get-PST-DC

'Upon waking up, I got scolded.' (I woke up and then got scolded.)

      b.   [assertion of cause]

ilena-ci   *anh-**ase*** *yatan-ul*   *mac-ass-ta.*
get up-NOM not-ase   scolding-AC get-PST-DC

'I got scolded for not waking up.' (I got scolded because I didn't wake up.)

As much as the debate was about whether one or the other denotes cause and/or reason, another argument dealt with the features of subjectivity/objectivity and inevitability/probability[27]. According to Nahm (1978), *–e/ase* marks objectivity indicating "a cause for which the result is believed to be universally recognized" whereas *–(u)nikka* marks subjectivity. In the same vein, Kim (1980), viewing both connectives as "reason" and "cause," distinguished the two according to the markedness of subjectivity (with *–(u)nikka* indicating subjectivity). Seong (1978), on the other hand, proposed that *–(u)nikka* is used for "causal relationships that denote the obvious or inevitable," whereas *–e/ase* marks "probability." In accordance with Seong, Lee (1979) classified the use of *–(u)nikka* as mainly displaying "a reason that the speaker believes to be objectively indisputable (or obvious)," while the use of *–e/ase* indicates a direct reason for a specific

---

[27] In connection with the obvious/inevitable that *–nikka* expresses (Seong 1978, and Lee 1979), it should be made clear that "the obvious/inevitable" does not coincide with the above "inevitable fact that is known to be obvious." While the "obvious" expressed by the use of *–ese/ase* denotes a fact that is agreed upon universally in the real world, the *–nikka* marks the subjective view/judgment/expectation the speaker holds to be an obvious fact expressed toward the hearer.

event in the main clause.

Lee (1988) characterized –e/ase as connecting two sequential events with the event expressed in the main clause following the event manifested in the previous –ese/ase clause. He argued that the sequentiality of two related events results in marking cause, since not only does –e/ase mark cause (as stated by Nahm and Lukoff, 1983), but it also holds a sequential meaning, as in:

(8) a. *tosekwan-ey ka-**se** kongpwuhay-ss-eyo.* (sequential)
         library-DR   go-(a)se study-PST-POL

    'I went to the library and studied.'

   b. *pi-ka   wa-**se**   chwuwe-yo.* (cause/reason)
       rain-NM come-(a)se cold-POL

    'It's cold because it rained.'

Lee proceeds that whereas cause indicates the event/phenomenon itself (with the two related events/phenomena closely tied to the physical and chemical laws of the world), reason is defined as "cause + speaker's cognitive modality." In regard to such distinction between cause and reason, the dominative view is that –e/ase marks cause and –(u)nikka marks reason. However, I am of the more cautious view that cause and reason cannot act as a clear discriminating factor for the usages of the connectives -e/ase and –(u)nikka, as Park (2003) has argued giving the following examples:

(9) a. *nwun-i   wa-**se** kil-i   mikkulep-ta.*
         snow-NM come-se road-NM slippery-DC

    'The road is slippery because it snowed.'

b.   *nwun-i   o-__nikka__   kil-i   mikkulep-ta.*
snow-NM come-nikka road-NM slippery-DC

'Since it snowed the road is slippery.'

Both sentences indicate the natural laws that exist in the physical world, i.e., the fact that it snowed and the road is slippery, regardless of the connectives used. Thus, it is difficult to argue that a clear characterization of the two connectives can be made using a mere cause/reason criterion.

Despite the difficulties in distinguishing the causal connectives *–(u)nikka* and *–e/ase,* especially at the sentence-level, recent studies have contributed greatly in characterizing the two connectives using data from naturally occurring spoken discourse in interaction (S. Sohn 1993; Kim and Suh 1994, 1996; Lee 2003, among others). For example, basing the distinction on epistemology, S. Sohn (1992) claims that the nature of *–(u)nikka* is speaker-oriented whereas *–e/ase* is event-oriented. In other words, while the causal relation *–(u)nikka* are based upon the speaker's subjective judgment/perspective, the causal relation *–ese/ase* presents an objective description of inherent events, lacking a speaker's subjectivity.

In the following, I will summarize the semantic and syntactic characteristics of *–(u)nikka* and *–e/ase* based on the categorization of "sequential relation" and "causal relation" (Kim 1993). While the sequential relation functions (1) of *–(u)nikka* will be sub-divided into *discovery/realization* and *temporal sequence*, I will distinguish the causal functions (2) of *–(u)nikka* according to real-world causality, epistemic causality, and

speech-act causality (as cited in Sohn)[28] using made-up examples unless otherwise indicated.

1. Sequential relation

(10) *chinkwu-lul manna-__se__ yenghwa-lul po-ass-ta.* (related sequence)
      friend-AC   meet-(a)se movie-AC   watch-PST-DC

      'I met my friend and (then) watched a movie (with the friend).'

(11)   a. [discovery]

      Chelswu-ka cip-ey   ka-__nikka__/ka po-__nikka__ mwun-i   yeolli-e iss-ess-ta.
      Chelswu-NM home-DR go-nikka/go see-nikka door-NM opened-INF-PST-DC.

      'When Chelswu went home (he found that) the door was open.'

      (discovery from one's own experience)

      kuke   sse po-__nikka__ cham coh-ayo.
      that thing use see-nikka very   good-POL

      'Upon trying (that), (I find) it's really good.'

      b. [(sudden) realization]

      sayngkakhay po-__nikka__ mwun-ul yel-e   noh-ko   o-ass-ta.
      think-(and)   see-nikka door-AC open-INF leave-and come-PST-DC

      'Upon thinking, I realized that I left the door open.'

---

[28] Fraser's three domains, i.e., *the content(semantic) domain* (marking real world causality of an event), *the epistemic domain* (marking cause of a belief of a conclusion), and *the speech-act domain* (indicating a causal explanation of the speech act being preformed). Similarly, Schiffrin (1987) has viewed causal conjunctions as having a fact-based causal relation, a knowledge-based causal relation, and an action-based causal relation, respectively.

c. [temporal/causal]

*pi-ka   o-**nikka***   *salamtul-i hasanha-ki   sicakhay-ss-ta.*
rain-NM come-nikka people-NM climb down-NOM start-PST-DC

'(Right/just) when it started raining, people started descending from the mountain.'

As can be evidenced in examples (11a) – (11b), *–(u)nikka* does not express a clear temporal relation between the subordinate and main clause, closely translating to 'when' or 'upon,' while *–e/ase* (10) marks a distinct temporal sequence where the event in the main clause is directly linked in time to the event expressed in the subordinate clause, translating to 'and then.' Thus, on the one hand, for the *–(u)nikka* clause, I propose that (i) if the insertion of the exploratory auxiliary verb *–pota* 'to see'[29] is possible where *pota* is latent, (ii) when it implies an action of seeing (trying) or hearing/knowledge (realization) (iii) when the auxiliary verb *pota* is clearly manifested in the sentence/utterance (examples (11a)), the sentence/utterance expresses discovery or sudden realization of something or a state that is visible (or not visible due to its absence/disappearance) upon the action expressed with *–(u)nikka*. On the other hand, as in example (11c), where the sense of seeing or trying is absent, the use of *–(u)nikka* exhibits a temporal sequence (where it overlaps with strong to diluted causality). That is, in this case not only can it mean 'People started descending the mountain precisely because it started raining.'(causal), but it can also mean 'Right at the point when it started raining, people started descending the

---

[29] When in the form of V.S.+*e/a pota* it translates as 'to try V'

61

mountain.' (temporal)[30].

As for the syntactic properties of –(u)nikka and –e/ase, the following rules apply:

(i) For the –e/ase clause to indicate a related clause, an identical subject relation is

obligatory where the predicates are action verbs.

(12)   a. (identical subject relation, action verb)

(na-nun) cip-ey   ka-se (na-nun) cemsim-ul mek-ess-ta.
(I-TC) home-DR go-(a)se (I-TC) lunch-AC eat-PST-DC

'I went home and (I) ate lunch.'

   b. (action verb)

*(na-nun) cip-ey   ka-se   *Chelswu-nun cemsim-ul mek-ess-ta.*
(I-TC) home-DR go-(a)se Chelswu-TC lunch-AC eat-PST-DC

*'I went home and *Chwelswu* ate lunch.'

   c. (identical subject relation)

*cip-ey   ka-se   *phikonhay-yo.*
home-DR go-(a)se tired-POL

*'I go/went home and tired.'

(ii) For the –(u)nikka clause to indicate a related clause, the subject must be different from

the main clause[31]:

---

[30] As Hopper and Traugott point out, "examples of temporal and causal meanings of **since** which can be usually figured out (non-past event/state, causal; events in past, temporal) can sometimes be ambiguous." (as cited in http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~haroldfs/dravling/)

[31] Note that subjects need to be different for the –(u)nikka clause to denote discovery while they can be identical and express realization.

*(na-nun) cip-ey   ka-nikka ku-nun/*na-nun chayk-ul ilk-ko   iss-ess-ta.*
(I-TC) home-DR   go-nikka he-TC/*I-TC   book-AC read-and exist-PST-DC

'When I went home he/*I was reading a book.'

(iii) Both *–(u)nikka* and *–ese/ase* clauses cannot take any tense/aspect/modality markers.

    a. *cip-ey   ka-*(a)ss -*(keyss)-(u)nikka mwun-i   yelli-e   iss-ess-eyo.*
       home-DR go-(PST)-(MOD)-nikka   door-NM opened-INF exist-PST-POL

       'When I *went/*will go home the door was open.'

    b. *cip-ey   ka-*(a)ss-(e)se cemsim-ul mek-ess-eyo.*
       home-DR go-PST-ese   lunch-AC eat-PST-POL

       'Because I *went home the door was open.'

2. Causal relation

(13)   a. [real-world causality]

       pi-ka   o-ase   kil-i   mikkulep-ta.
       rain-NM come-ase road-NM slippery-DC

       'The road is slippery because it rained.'

    b. [epistemic causality]

       ku yeca-nun   pwucilenhay-se sengkongha-n ke-ya.
       that woman-TC diligent-because succeed-RL   thing-(be)-INT

       'The lady succeeded because she was diligent.'

    c. [speech-act causality]

     nuc-ese   ppalli ka-ca.
     late-because fast   go-PR

     'Because we are late, let's hurry.'

63

nuc-ese   ppalli kala.
late-because fast   go-IM

'Because you are late, hurry up.'

(14)   a.   [real-world causality]

*pi-ka o-**nikka**   kil-i   mikkulep-ta.*
rain-NM come-nikka road-NM slippery-DC

'The road is slippery because it rained (*or* is raining)'.

        b.   [epistemic causality]

*ku yeca-nun   pwucilenha-**nikka**/pwucilenhay-ss-**unikka** sengkongha-n ke-ya.*
the woman-TC diligent-nikka / diligent-PST-u-nikka succeed-IN thing-INT

'(I'm sure) the woman succeeded because she is/was diligent.'

        c.   [speech-act causality]

*nuc-ess-**unikka** ppali ka-ca.*
late-PST-unikka fast go-PR

'Let's hurry (and go) since we're late.' (propositive)

*nuc-ess-**unikka** ppali ka-la.*
late-PST-unikka fast go-IM

'Hurry up (and go) since you're late.' (imperative)

It was pointed out earlier that both –*(u)nikka* and –*e/ase* denote real-world

causality, as in (13) and (14a). In the causal relations of –*(u)nikka* and –*e/ase*, previous

studies claim that the connective –*e/ase* only expresses real-world causality, while

–*(u)nikka* denotes both epistemic causality (14b), marking the cause of a belief/knowledge

or conclusion, and speech-act causality (14c), indicating a causal explanation of the speech

act being performed. However, as can be identified in (13b), -*e/ase* also marks the

64

epistemic (and deontic) modality of the speaker, but with a weaker degree of subjectivity compared to the *–(u)nikka*-marked causality.

One of the pronounced syntactic differences between *–(u)nikka* and *–e/ase* is evident in the speech act causal relation. As previously stated, the epistemic causal *–(u)nikka* manifests a speaker's highly subjective perspective and self evaluation for concluding or believing the information in the main clause rather than a propositional meaning as described in the reason clause. Moreover, because information described in *–(u)nikka* clauses are to be identifiable from the interlocutor's knowledge or belief, *–(u)nikka* does not occur with information seeking wh-questions[32], i.e., one with knowledge of the question at hand will not use *–(u)nikka* which marks the subjective stance/knowledge, as in (examples taken from S. Sohn 1992):

(15)   a.   *_eti   ka-(a)ss-__**_unikka_**__ icey o-ni?_
                where go-PST-(u)nikka now come-Q

         b.   _eti   ka-__**_(a)se_**_ icey o-ni?_
                where go-ase   now come-Q

                'Where did you go, that you come now?'

---

[32] The following are examples I noticed where *–(u)nikka* is used with wh- questions :
a.   *eti   ka-**nikka** kulehkey coh-a?*
     where go-nikka so   good/happy-Q
     'So where was so good?' or 'So what place made you so happy?'

 b.   *nwukwu-(lu)l manna-**nikka** kulen ke-l   cwu-ti?*
     who-AC   meet-nikka   such thing-AC give-Q
     'So who (did you meet that) gave you such a thing?'

The questioner is putting him/herself in the hearer's position. But note that 'so good/happy' or 'give such a thing' is an *assumption* made by the speaker from the perspective of the hearer (assuming that they share the fact it was good (or was happy)) (a) or the fact that someone gave something to the hearer) (b).

65

(16) a. *_nwu-ka ttayli-ess-__**_unikka_**_ kulehkey wu-ni?_
    who-NM hit-unikka   like that cry-Q

   b. _nwu-ka ttayli-__**_ese_**_ kulehkey wu-ni?_
    who-NM hit-ese like that cry-Q

   'Who hit you, that you're crying like that?'

Because the speaker in the above examples does not have the knowledge of where the person has been (15), or who has hit him/her (16) (hence the wh- questions), the connective –_ese/ase_ is employed instead of –_(u)nikka_.

Sentences implying speech acts, such as imperatives or propostives, are said to have no truth values (Nahm 1978; Lee 1979; Ree 1975), therefore –_e/ase_, a connective simply used to state an objective cause/reason for an action, feeling or phenomenon, is not capable of triggering an action in the main clause expressed by such sentences. In line with Sweetser (1990)'s three domains under which a causal relation can fall, causal relations of -_(u)nikka_ have also been analyzed in terms of the three domains. Sohn explains that in a speech act causal, "a speaker attempts to justify why a certain speech act is performed and why the hearer should act on it," and because –_e/ase_ is generally limited to describing neutral and objective events it cannot be applied to such speech-act causals, i.e., command, proposal, suggestion, request, and invitation (Sohn 1992). (see examples in (14c).)

Building on Sweetser's three domains and following Crevels (2000), Oh (2005), by claiming that previous studies overlooked the multi-layered nature of the polyfunctional meanings and pragmatic functions of the two causal conjunctive suffixes outside the sentence level, introduces the four-domain semantic approach: the four domains being the content level, epistemic level, illocutionary (or speech act level), and the textual (or

discourse) level[33]. Using both written and spoken data from the *Sejong* corpus, he finds that both suffixes are allocated in all four domains, with the following distribution:

-ese/ase: *content (71%) > epistemic (13%) > textual (10%) > illocutionary (6%)*
-(u)nikka: *textual (34%) > epistemic (27%) > illocutionary (23%) > content (16%)*

Opposing the view that causal relations in the illocutionary level (speech act level) are limited to *–(u)nikka*, Oh claims that *–e/ase* also functions at the illocutionary level, yet with some restrictions to formulaic expressions such as thanking, apologizing, expressing regret, etc. As speech acts include assertives, directives, commissives, and expressives (and declarations, cf. Searle 1975), Oh seems to have considered the wider scope of speech acts whereby he includes expressives (excuses, thanks, apologies, etc.). In the case of S. Sohn's study (and others, such as Sweetser, Schiffrin, Fraser, etc.) however, the speech act type she refers to seems to be reserved for perlocutionary directives (requests, commands, advice, etc.).[34] Following S. Sohn, the current study will also limit the speech act type to directives.

In this section, I have examined the semantic and syntactic properties of the causal connectives *–e/ase* and *–(u)nikka*. The following table shows a brief overview of the semantic and syntactic properties of the two causal connectives:

---

[33] In the present study, the 'textual level' coincides with the pragmatic domain (the domain where *kulenikka* resides as a functional discourse marker), which is subdivided into textual and interactional levels.

[34] This can be confirmed by Sohn's explanation of speech act causals whereby 'a speaker attempts to justify why a certain speech act is performed and why *the hearer should act on it*' (emphasis in original).

Table 9. Semantic and syntactic properties of –*(u)nikka* and –*ese/ase*

	-(u)nikka	*-e/ase*
Semantic - Sequential	1. discovery/ realization 2. sequential (temporal/causal)	related sequence (temporal)
Syntactic properties	- expresses discovery/realization when the –*(u)nikka* clause is used with the auxiliary verb -*e/a pota* 'to try' which may or may not be marked - subject must be different from main clause to express discovery	- subjects must be identical - action verbs as predicates
	- cannot take tense/aspect/modality markers	
Semantic - Causal	1. real-world causality 2. epistemic causality 3. speech-act causality	1. real-world causality 2. epistemic causality
Syntactic properties	- information seeking wh-questions cannot be used in speech-act causality - can take tense/aspect/modality markers	- cannot be applied to speech act causals - cannot take tense/aspect/modality markers

Fixed idiomatic expressions	ex) *poca poca hanikka,*
	     tutca hanikka
		ex) *mannase*
		     pankapsupnita.

3.3.3   The utterance-final –*(u)nikka*

From the previous section, it can be noted that in general the –*(u)nikka* connective

expresses a reason/cause with a highly subjective view toward the information expressed

in the subordinate clause, in comparison to the –*e/ase* connective. Although the –*e/ase*

connective can occur in the sentence-final position, it functions mainly to avoid

redundancy and is always recoverable. While –*(u)nikka* is characterized as "a process of

providing ground for inviting the interlocutor's collaboration and co-alignment with the speaker-initiated, interlocutor-impinging action" (Kim and Suh, 1994), *-e/ase* lacks such a ground-providing function. Sohn claims that the subjectivity/intersubjectivity function of *–(u)nikka* has triggered the grammaticalization process where a clause connective has developed into a sentence-ender (grammatical restructuring), rendering a new functional meaning (meaning shift), that is, a reinforcement of the speaker's subjective stance.

Conversely, not only does this nature of *–(u)nikka* trigger the functional transfer (grammatical restructuring + meaning shift ± phonological change, as outlined by H. Sohn 2000), but the deletion of the main clause also functions as a means of reinforcing the speaker's subjectivity.[35] It can be argued that the principle of economy (to avoid redundancy) also prompts the native speakers' tendency to omit the main clause (especially in instances in which the main clause is recoverable), but additionally Sohn[36] proposes that this phenomenon is "essentially caused by the native speakers' strategies to mitigate, dilute or tone down illocutionary force" toward the hearer. Thus, I propose that the three major factors that render *–(u)nikka* a sentence-ender (followed by the omission of a main clause) are (i) the nature of *–(u)nikka* which highlights the speaker's subjectivity/intersubjectivity, (ii) the desire to mitigate face-threatening acts, and (iii) the principle of economy.

---

[35] As Lichtenberk (1991:78) has pointed out, "Grammars shape discourse, and discourse, in turn shapes grammars." However, Traugott emphasizes that grammar comes first, and is then shaped by discourse.

[36] According to H. Sohn, "sentence final position in Korean and Japanese (SOV languages) is the territory of the speaker's modality toward the hearer in interactive communication."(see also Maynard 1993; Onodera 2004)

With regard to the aforementioned terms subjectifcation and intersubjectification, Traugott defines them as follows: "subjectification is the semanticization of meaning that expresses speaker attitude or viewpoint while intersubjectification is the semanticization of the speaker's attention to address self-image." In previous studies Sohn proposed that –*(u)nikka* has undergone such a "semanticization"[37]: from where the subordinate clause –*(u)nikka* is still context-dependent with the absent main clause recoverable, to a stage where –*(u)nikka* obtains a new meaning which becomes stable and its frequency in use increased. Semanticization in the case of –*(u)nikka* is illustrated as below by Sohn (with my own examples):

(17) [subordinate clause –*(u)nikka*] (ellipsis of the main clause)

   A: w*ay hakkyo an ka-ni?*
      why school not go-Q

      'Why aren't you going to school?"

➔ B: *onul-un ilyoil-i-**nikka** (an ka-yo)*
      today-TC Sunday-be-nikka(not go-POL)

      'Because today is Sunday (I don't go).'

(18) Reanalysis and semanticization for the sentence-final –*(u)nikka* [main clause –*nikka*]

   A: *way hakkyo an ka-ni?*
      why school not go-Q

      'Why aren't you going to school?"

---

[37] The process by which pragmatic inferences become polysemies. Traugott and Hopper (2003) make a distinction between semanticization and lexicalization.

→ B: *ka - n- ta - __nikka__!*
  go-IN-DC-nikka

  '(I've told you/I'm telling you) I'm going!'

The above instances show that in (17), the main clause following the *–(u)nikka*

clause is recoverable. Note that after the process of reanalysis and semanticization (18)

–(u)nikka is posited in the sentence-final position preceded by another sentence ender such

as the declarative *–ta*, interrogative *–nya*, imperative *–la*, or the propositive *–ca*.[38] In this

case the sentence-ender expresses hearsay whereby the quotative *–ko ha-* is omitted. If one

were obliged to add an utterance following the sentence-final *–(u)nikka*, it isn't completely

unrecoverable. However, the expression of hearsay displays a sense of double

reinforcement, an expression too strong to direct a face-threatening act (Brown and

Levinson 1987) toward the hearer. Thus, it can be said that the omission of any main clause

after the sentence-final *–(u)nikka* in this case also mitigates the speaker's utterance while

expressing one's strong subjective stance.[39]

---

[38] The morphological contexts where *–(u)nikka* is preceded by a sentence ender (S. Sohn 2003):

Sentence ender	-*(u)nikka* as a sentence-final particle
Declarative *–ta*	*o* 'come' – *n* (indicative) – *ta* (declarative) – *nikka*
Interrogative *–nya*	*o* 'come' – *nya* (interrogative) – *nikka*
Propositive *–ca*	*o* 'come' – *ca* (propositive) – *nikka*
Imperative *–la*	*o* 'come' – *la* (imperative) – *nikka*

[39] Main clause deletion (which is recoverable) in the sentence-final *–(u)nikka* is employed for the purpose of avoiding redundancy but also to soften one's utterance. However, compared to the recoverable main clause in this case, recovery of any main clause in the case of *-nikka* preceded by a sentence-ender is too forceful, and is therefore used by interlocutors when expressing frustration, anger, etc.
Ex) A is waiting for B and B seems to take his/her time:
  A: *ppali kacanikka! (way ilehkey nukcang pwulye*!)
    'I'm telling you let's go! (why are you being such a lazy bum!'

3.4   Grammaticalization of *kulenikka*

3.4.1   *The emergence of kulenikka*

Unlike most discourse markers, the use of *kulenikka* in early documents already exhibits an

increased pragmatic function in the beginning stages. This can be explained by one of

Cho's two hypotheses (1991)[40] that the connective *–(u)nikka* was used in spoken Korean

for a long period of time prior to its documentation in the late 19th century in

Toklipsinmwun 'Independence Newspaper' which may have emerged with the

introduction to the new colloquial writing styles (cf. S. Sohn, to be published).

Examining the advent of *kule-* type connectives, Ahn (2000) observes that they

have been used since the Middle Korean (15th Century) with about four different

connectives (*kulena*, *kulemyen*, *kulelssAi*, *kulentAlo*). In contemporary Korean (1894 –

present) the number of *kule* –type connectives has increased to approximately thirty, which

Ahn attributes to the long texts connected by connective suffixes in Middle and Modern

Korean to the shorter sentences (and increase in various sentence-enders) in the

present-day. Ahn also identifies the time of the emergence of *kulenikka* as sometime

between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in the novel

'*ChyuwulsAik*' and the newspaper '*Toklipsinmwun.*' He claims that the connective

kulenikka only appeared after the emergence of the connective suffix *–uniskA*, adopting

---

B: *alasstanikka! (way cakkwu cansoliya!)*
      '(I'm telling you) I heard you! (why do you keep nagging!)'

[40] The first being that it is the identical form of the deferential style interrogative sentence-ender
'*–nikka*?,' as in *eti-ey ka-sip-nikka?*(where-at go-SH-Q) 'Where are you going?'

only the meaning of 'cause.' That is, while the connective particle *–uniskA* can denote both cause and discovery/experience, *kulenikka* only denotes cause.

Claiming that the *kule-* type connectives have undergone grammaticalization, Ahn examines the development process and the underlying motivations within the theory. The three stages he identifies are as follows. (translation mine)

Table 10. The three stages of grammaticalization of *kule-* type connectives (Ahn 2000)

Stage 1	Forms a syntactic structure of [verb stem[41] + connective suffix] whereby the relation between main clause and subordinate clause is expressed by the connective suffix.
Stage 2	- The following sentence substitutes the preceding sentence with the verb[42] '*kuleha-*'. - Syntactically close to stage 1 (syntactically loose), thus allowing insertions of tense markers, honorific markers, and modal elements.
Stage 3	- [*kuleha*+connective suffix] ➔ (contraction and omission of '*ha-*') ➔ **connective** : with the omission of '*ha,*' the boundary between the word stem and suffix becomes ambiguous (reanalysis), resulting in a shorter form (fusion). - Change from clause to a lexical unit, and from content word to functional word. - Form is syntactically fixed, thus does not permit any insertions of tense markers, honorific markers, and modal elements. - The *kule-* connectives do not take on all the meanings of the connective suffix, e.g., the connective suffix *–nikka* denotes cause and discovery/experience. However, the connective *kulenikka* only denotes cause (specialization). *kulenikka* also takes on various meanings distinct from the connective suffix as grammaticalization takes place.

---

[41] Adjective stem and copula should also be included.

[42] Should be corrected to adjective as *kulehata* denotes a state, not action.

In order to identify the semantic meaning and the morphonsyntactic features of early usages of *kulenikka*, I have taken some data from the 1900s to the 1940s from the "*Sejong* Corpus." The 21 selected files range from the very early newspapers to theatrical play scripts and consist of a total of 419,654 words. The earliest documentation of *kulenikka* I was able to find was in *Kyenghyangpokam,* a separate volume of the weekly *Kyenghyang Sinmwun* 'Kyeonghyang Newspaper' published between the years 1906 and 1910 by the Chosun Catholic church. The newspaper was published with the objective of participating in the "patriotic enlightenment movement" during Japan's rule over Korea while spreading the words of the Roman Catholic doctrine[43]. The data is meaningful in that we can see the usages of *kulenikka* in interaction, as in the following segment.

(19) *Kyenghyangpokam*, 1906-1910; magazine, handbook

(Debate between a Christian (Kim) and Catholic (Park))

Kim: *thyencyukyo hA-nAn nala-heysye yeyswu kyoin-ul yuksin-uy pel-no*
Catholicism do-RL   country-at   Christian-AC   body-GN punishment-by

kumhA-nAn kes-i   ep-na-yo.
forbid-RL thing-NM not exist-Q-POL

'Is there anything that the Catholics do to punish the Christians?'

Park: *na mwus-nAn mal-puthye tAytaphA-si-o. yeyswukyo hA-nAn nala-hey-nun*
I   ask-RL   saying-from answer-SH-BLN Christianity do-RL land-at-TC

thyencyu kyoin-ul yuksin-uy pel-no kumhA-nAn kes-i ep-na-yo.
Catholic-AC flesh-GN punishment-for forbid-RL thing-NM not exist-Q-PL

'Just answer my question first. Do the Christians give bodily punishments to the Catholics?'

---

[43] Authors are unidentified.

Kim: *molu-keys-sy-e.yo.*
        not know-think-SH-POL
        'I don't know.'

Park: → *ha..* **kuleni.ska** *yeyswukyo moksA-tul-i thyencyukyoin-tul-uy calmoshA-nAn*
         INJ kulenikka   Christian   pastor-PL-NM Catholic-PL-GN   do bad-RL

         kes-man malhA-o-kulye. (…)
         thing-only say-APP

         'Ha! That's why the Christian pastors only talk about the wrongdoings of
         the Catholics.'

Park above uses *kulenikka* to present the reasons and basis for the strong belief

expressed in the main clause following *kulenikka*. It can be noted that *kulenikka* operates

with a wider scope beyond two segments of the texts, that is, between the utterance and

one's knowledge or experience. Although *kyenghyangpokam* was published only 10 years

after *Toklipsinmwun*, the interactional functions of *kulenikka* can be easily observed.

Discourse marking functions are prevalent throughout other data as well. Note how

kulenikka (malici) in the following segment has lost most of the truth-conditional meaning

and functions like a discourse marker with greater pragmatic meaning.

(20) *Tongkakhanmay* (Kong-yem Hyen, 1911; new-style novel)

(Narration: Now changing stories, (…) plaster Kwen and his wife are constantly arguing.)

Wife: → **kuleniska mal-i-ci,**   *esci-s-ta-ko mwus-nun kes-i-ya.*
         kulenikka saying-be-SUP how-PST-DC-QT ask-RL thing-be-INT
         'So... what are you asking?'

Kwen: *moln-A tul-e.*   *Amman malhAi-to ku-key ku-ke-ya. (…)*
         not know-INF listen-INT no matter say-even that-NM that-thing-(be)-INT
         'You don't understand. No matter how many times I tell you, you don't
         understand.'

75

The next usage of *kulenikka* coincides with the synchronic textual-interactional function of providing an explanation/elaboration to the hearer especially when in disagreement.

(21) *Hwanghon* 'Dusk' (Yeng Song, 1945; full-length novel)

Mother: *kamanhi anc-e tul-eya   ney mal-i-la-ko-nun   hana-twu*
    stil sit-INF   listen-even if your saying-be-DC-QT-TC one-even

    mol-ukeys-kwuna. ce stan   soli   mal-kwu, ne apeci malsum-man
    not know-will-APP that different saying stop-and your father saying-only

    cal tul-umyen ku ocuk   cos-khey toy-keyss-ni (…)
    well listen-if   that indeed good-AD become-will-Q

    'Although I sit here and listen to you, I don't understand a thing you're saying. Don't be foolish, and if you listen to your father then everything will be very good.'

Son: →   ***kulenika-yo**, cey malsum-un talu-n   stus-i   an-ila,*
    so-POL   my saying-TC different-RL meaning-NM not-but

    honin-i-la-n   kes-un kaschi sa-l   salam-skili
    marriage-be-(QT)-RL thing-TC together live-PRS person-together

    cenghay-ya   toy-l   kes-i-la-kwu-yo.
    Decide-have to become-PRS thing-be-QT-QT-POL

    'So, what I'm trying to say is (nothing else but that) marriage is something two people who will live together need to decide.'

Findings from the selected data show that the use of *kulenikka* from early documentation functions in a way that is similar to the discourse-marking functions of the present day. From the strong pragmatic functions evidenced so close to the attested period (1896 in *Toklipsinmwun*) we can draw the conclusion that *kulenikka* may have been used

much earlier than the advent of *kulenikka* in written form.

Lastly, data reveals that *kulenikka* was used interchangeably with *kuleni*, *kulekiey*, and *kulelssAi/kulssey*[44] for a period of time. An instance of *kulinikka* 'because/since one behaved in such a way,' a combination of *kulihata* 'to do so' and *–(u)nikka* 'since' was also evidenced. Various forms have been identified such as *kuleniska*, *kuleni.ska*, *kuleni.ska*, *kulenika*, and, *kulenikkantulwu*[45], and *kulenikka*. Also noteworthy is the frequent occurrence with *mal* 'saying,' as in *kulenikka malico* 'so, you see,' *kulenikka malyayyo* 'so,' *kulenikka cey malun* 'so what I'm saying is,' and also reported speech.

3.4.2   *Unidirectionality - the double cline formation of kulenikka*

To reiterate what I have stated in Chapter 2, grammaticalization is viewed as a unidirectional process. However, one thing to note is that it does not always operate on a single cline.[46] That is, in some instances a particular form will not develop into only one form, but into two or more forms with different grammatical functions. They are said to be unidirectional nonetheless, in that the change is from less to more grammatical, i.e., more abstract, reduced and generalized.

Likewise, in the case of *kulenikka*, the discourse marker develops into different forms on the respective discourse levels (textual and interactional), maintaining

---

[44] An instance of agreement marking *kulssey maliya* 'I know' can be observed in the data which share an identical meaning with *kulenikka (maliya)*.

[45] Pyengan province dialect.

[46] Craig (1991) uses the term for such a formation on more than one cline as "poly-grammaticalization" (cited from Hopper and Traugott 2003).

unidirectionality nonetheless. That is, on the textual level, significant phonological

reduction takes place (from *kulenikka* to *kka*) and on the interactional level, the sentence

initial conjunctive *kulenikka* develops into a sentence ender[47]—or, more precisely, to an

independent marker *per se*, where the polite ending *-e/ayo* can be affixed. On the one hand,

in organizing one's information or discourse in naturally occurring speech (textual level),

one goal of the speaker is to convey information or thoughts/beliefs as clearly and in as

timely a manner as possible; hence the extensively reduced form. On the other hand, in

interaction, speakers express great subjectivity/intersubjectivity, engaging in

backchannels, agreements, disagreements, empathy, etc. The utterance-final position

permits space for expressing the speaker's attitude, respect, deference, solidarity, etc. to the

interactant(s) (by affixing the polite ender *–e/ayo*), while simultaneously enabling the

speaker to be more polite (or less direct) especially in face-threatening situations (through

the omission of the main clause).

By and large, *kulenikka* follows the unidirectionality of grammaticalization in all

three areas, i.e., phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic. Phonologically,

on a unidirectional double cline, *kulenikka* is reduced to the shortest form ***kka*** on the

textual level, and ***kunkka(yo)*** on the interactional level. Morphosyntactically, as

grammatical restructuring (reanalysis, see 2.2.3) and semanticization take place, the clause

initial connective is employed as an utterance-final marker, whereby synchronously

enforced speaker belief and attitude (subjectivity) and intersubjectivity is expressed.

---

[47] The data shows the shortest form of the interactional marker *kulenikka* as ***kunkka(yo).***

78

Table 11. Double cline formation of the discourse marker *kulenikka*

Discourse Functional Level	Change(s) involved	Cline
(1) Propositional > Textual	•Phonological reduction •Semantic-pragmatic change	•*kulenikka > kka* •external / internal situation > textual / metalinguistic situation
(2) Propositional > Interactional	•Phonological reduction •Grammatical restructuring •Semantic-pragmatic change	•*kulenikka > kulenikka(yo)/kunkka(yo)* •Conjunctive adverb > Sentence ender •Less subjective > more subjective

3.4.3   *The change of kulenikka*

As mentioned in *3.4.1*, there are more than 30 different *kule-* type connectives in

Contemporary Korean as opposed to four in Middle Korean (Ahn 2000). This phenomenon

can be attributed to the discourse-oriented typological characteristics of Korean and the

principles and mechanisms underlying grammaticalization, i.e., paradigmaticization,

metaphorization, reanalysis, and generalization, to name a few. Before discussing the

aforementioned concepts, this section will begin by examining the necessary conditions for

grammaticalization to occur and the typological characteristcs of Korean that allow for

such a procedural change.

H. Sohn (2000) outlines the prerequisite conditions for grammaticalization

cross-linguistically as semantic suitabitlity, typological salience, syntagmatic contiguity,

and frequency of use. As the most important condition, "semantic suitability of the source

concepts" refers to the grammaticalization of a limited set of lexical items. Citing Heine,

Claudi, and Hünnemeyer (1991:151), Sohn explains that "source concepts tend to refer to some of the most elementary human experiences," whereby they make abstract concepts easier to comprehend for the human mind. As for typological salience, languages that share typological similarities will undergo similar patterns of grammaticalization. Additionally, "two or more forms must be contiguous in order to merge and form a grammatical element" and they need to occur with greater frequency.

The grammaticalization of connective suffixes (such as –*nikka, -ntey, -ciman, e/ase, -ko*, etc.) into *kule-* type connectives is not coincidental. According to H. Sohn (2008), the following characteristics of Korean provide the environment for clause-linking especially those between the anaphoric *ku* construction and the conjunctive ender (connective suffix):

a. Korean allows major sentential constituents, such as subject and object, to be omitted if recoverable from discourse contexts.

b. Korean has hundreds of inflectional suffixes that mark grammatical categories, relations, and functions. Frequently suffixes occur one after another in a long sequence.

c. All Korean predicates (verbs, adjectives, and copulas) are bound in that they cannot be used without a sentence or clause ender.

Based on the principle of economy whereby speakers seek simplicity and optimality, the connective suffixes all take on the deictic *ku* 'that,' resulting in the *kule-* type connectives. Paradigmaticization takes place as they are classified together into similar elements—or paradigms. In the following, I have outlined the 4 stages of *kulenikka*

starting from the suffix –(u)nikka in stage 1 to the discourse-marking *kulenikka* in stage 4,

and the principles and mechanisms involved in the grammaticalization process.

Table 12. Grammaticalization of *kulenikka*

Stage	Structural, meaning, and phonological changes	Mechanisms and principles involved
Stage 1 (Connective suffix)	**Clause 1 [predicate stem+ *(u)nikka*] + Clause 2** Relation between main clause and subordinate clause is expressed by the connective suffix –*(u)nikka*.	
Stage 2 (substitution, indexing)	**Sentence 2 subtitutes Sentence 1 with *'kuleha-'*** Syntactically close to Stage 1 (syntactically loose) ➜ *kulay<u>ss</u>unikka* (past tense marker –*ess/ass*), *kule<u>si</u>nikka* (honorific –*si*)	*Paradigmaticization*
Stage 3 (Conjunctive adverb)	***kulehanikka*** ➜ **connective *kulenikka*** (contraction and omission of '*ha*' – boundary between word stem and suffix become ambiguous, and becomes a shorter form)	*Decategorialization* *Reanalysis* *Fusion*
	From meanings situated in the external described situation ➜ meanings situated in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation	*Subjectification* *Tendency I,* *Metaphorization*
	Form is syntactically <u>fixed</u>, and thus does not allow any insertion of tense, honorific markers, and modal elements.	
	The connective suffix –*nikka* denotes a cause and discovery/experience. However, the connective *kulenikka* only denotes cause.	*Specialization*
	Occurs in the initial position of a sentence.	

	Connective *kulenikka* ➔ DM *kulenikka*	*Decategorialization*
	Change from clause to a lexical unit, and from content word to functional word	*Lexicalization Grammaticalization*
	From meanings situated in the described external/internal situation to meanings situated in the textual/metalinguistic situation (presentation marker)	*Subjectification Tendency II*
Stage 4 Discourse Marker	From meanings situated in the described external/internal situation to meanings increasingly situated in the speaker's (inter)subjective belief/state/attitude toward the situation. (reception marker)	*Subjectification Tendency III (Intersubjectification)*
	kulenikka also takes on various meanings distinctive of the connective suffix or conjunctive adverb as grammaticalization takes place.	*Persistence*
	Also occurs in the sentence final position.	*Reanalysis*
	Form is reduced to **kulenkka**, **kunkka**, and the shortest form **kka**.	*Phonological reduction (attrition)*

Additional principles such as persistence and layering as proposed by Hopper, occur as well. For example, despite the expansion in meaning of *kulenikka*, all the original meanings exist synchronously with the newly created functions of *kulenikka*. Furthermore, despite the loss in meaning from indexing discovery and experience, *kulenikka* gains a multitude of meanings and functions as also suggested by Sweetser (1988) and Hopper & Traugott (2003). However, the original meaning is maintained throughout and traces can be observed. Additionally, *kulenikka* goes through a shift in meaning (rather than a sudden loss), and bleaching (whereby the meaning is stripped off completely) only happens in the very late stages of grammaticalization as predicted by Hopper and Traugott.

3.5   Semantic vs. pragmatic properties of *kulenikka*

The present study defines the semantic as the domain in which the propositional content and truth conditional meaning of the lexical item lie. Numerous terms have been used to refer to the semantic domain vs. the pragmatic domain, e.g. ideational vs. pragmatic (Redeker 1990), content vs. epistemic, speech act (Sweetser 1990), propositional vs. illocutionary (Sanders and Spooren 1999), subject matter vs. presentational (Mann and Thompson 1988), external vs. internal (Halliday and Hasan 1976), and objective vs. subjective (Pander Maat and Degand 2001), etc. A lexical item transitions into the pragmatic domain when the propositional content or the truth conditional meaning is weakened (semantic weakening)[48] by the increased pragmatic meaning, such as participants' intentions, inferences, presuppostional value, and illocutionary force.

The question then is, how do we distinguish between semantic properties and pragmatic properties? Making a clear distinction between semantic and pragmatic properties is implausible. Brown and Levinson (1978: 276-278, as cited in Brinton 1996) propose that forms such as 'I guess' or 'I suppose' as hedges are "transparently derived" from their literal meaning. Following Brown and Levinson, I am also of the view that the two properties overlap at some point, and that the transition from semantic to pragmatic properties is formed on a continuum. This means that at one end of the semantic level, the propositional meaning is prominent, whereas at the other end of the pragmatic level, very little or no propositional meaning can be evidenced. That is, at the end of the semantic

---

[48] In the process of grammaticalization they have been termed as "bleaching," "fading," "weakening," "desemanticization," "attrition" (Lehmann 1985), etc. (as cited in Brinton 1996).

domain, *kulenikka* denotes causality (or temporality), and at the opposite far end of the pragmatic domain, *kulenikka* functions as a discourse marker where the lexical meaning has been stripped off.

Within the theory of grammaticalization, Hopper (1991:22) has termed this characteristic "persistence", whereby "some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution." Sweetser admits that a loss of meaning occurs in the process of grammaticalization but also suggests that additional meaning is added to the grammaticalized word. For example, while the future "go" "loses the sense of physical motion (together with all its likely background inferences)" it gains "a new meaning of future prediction or intention" (Sweetser 1988:392, cf. Brinton 1996; Traugott and Hopper 2003). Along the same line, Hopper and Traugott suggest that although it may seem like weakening of meaning, in fact there is an increase in a word's polysemy. They also argue that "bleaching" is only involved in the very late stages of grammaticalization and that in the beginning it is a shift in meaning rather than a sudden loss of meaning that occurs.

Following an overview of the dictionary meaning of *kulenikka*, I will further discuss the three main causalities of the semantic *kulenikka* and the textual and interactional functions of the pragmatic *kulenikka*. As mentioned above, I follow the notion that the two properties of semantic and pragmatic meaning lie on a continuum and that instead of a loss in meaning, there is in fact a gain in different meaning(s) and/or functions in the process of grammaticalization. Once a marker enters into the pragmatic domain as a discourse marker, the primary functions can be classified into textual and interactional

functions. Again, each function cannot be appointed to one specific use, instead the various functions that are subsumed under the textual and interactional features may perform from one to several functions at the same time.

3.5.1 The dictionary meaning of kulenikka

Earlier data from the early 20th century display similar functions to those presented as the dictionary meaning or the propositional meaning of *kulenikka* in contemporary Korean reference books. The example sentences show that the usages of *kulenikka* as listed in the reference books are generally associated with the causalities of epistemics, deontics, and speech acts. (Translation and indication of causality types are mine.)

1. *Donga Say Kwuke Sacen* (New Korean Dictionary) (2003)

   1) Adv. – a conjunctive adverb meaning *kulehanikka* 'as it is so/such'
   Example:
   *cikumkkaci phicha sonhay pon ken hanato epsta. **kulenikka** ipen kyeyyak-un
   epsten kel-lo haca.* (speech act causality)
   'Neither party has lost anything up to this point. So let us nullify the contract.'

   2) Abbrev. – It is an abbreviated form of *kulihanikka* 'upon doing such/since one is acting that way' or *kulehanikka* 'as something/someone is such'.
   Example:
   *ney-ka **kulenikka** salam-tul-i yok-ul ha-ci.* (epistemic causality)
   'Since you're like that/acting like that, people are saying bad things about you.'

2. *Minjung Seorim* (1999)

   1) abbreviated form of *kulehanikka* 'as something/someone is such'
   Example: ***kulenikka*** *ku-ui calmos-i a ani-la-n mal-i-ci.* (epistemic causality)
       'So (from what I gather), you're (they're) saying it's not his fault, right?'
        (Discourse-marking function)

   2) abbreviated form of *kulihanikka* 'upon doing such/since one is acting that way'
   Example: ***kulenikka*** *il-i cal toytenka?* (shortened form of *kulehkey hanikka*)
       'Did everything go well by doing that (acting like that)?'

3. *New Edition Korean Grammar for International Learners (*Yonsei University Press, 2005*)*

   Meaning - so; therefore; thus; that's why; what I mean to say is …
   Explanation: The conjunctive adverb *kulenikka* is used to preface a sentence which expresses a result following from the reason given in the preceding sentence.

   Examples:
   seysang-un mwuseweyo. ***kulenikka*** *malcosim ha-seyo.* (speech act causality)
   'The world is a scary place. <u>So</u> be careful what you say.'

   hankwukmal-ul ppalli paywuko sipciyo? ***kulenikka*** *hankwukmal-lo haseyyo.*
   (speech act causality)
   'You want to learn Korean quickly, don't you? <u>So</u> speak Korean.'

   kaykci saynghwal-i himtul-cyo. ***kulenikka*** *kohyang-ulo tolaka-seyyo.* (speech act causality)
   'Living in a foreign land is hard, isn't it? So go home.'

*i panchan-un ccayo. **<u>kulenikka</u>** cokumssik capswuseyyo.* (speech act causality)
'This side dish is salty. So eat it just a little at a time.'

*nayil kyelsungcen-i isssupnita. **<u>kulenikka</u>** ilccik caya hayyo.* (deontic causality)
'Tomorrow is the final game. So I've (or you've) got to get to bed early.'

In general, most reference books refer to *kulenikka* as a shortened form of *kulehanikka* 'as something/someone is such' (reference to a state) or *kulihanikka/kulehkey hanikka* 'upon doing such/since one is acting that way' (reference to an action) depending on the context. The example sentences, although made up, predominantly show that *kulenikka* is used to provide the reason or grounds for stating one's belief (epistemic causality) or the speech act—"perlocutionary directives" to be more precise—that is being performed (speech act causality).

3.5.2   *The Semantic kulenikka – epistemic, deontic, and speech act causalities*

Sanders and Sweetser (2009) recognize that causal relations are expressed in all languages around the world by means of connectives, and that "all humans in all cultures seem to interpret and describe the world in terms of causal relations." Sweetser distinguishes the three domains of causality as content, epistemic and speech act. This categorization is also applied to explaining coherence relations, whereby causality is generally categorized into epistemic causality and speech act causality. Some researchers (e.g. Traugott 1989; Palmer 1986; Sun 1988, as cited in Traugott 1989) include the third subdomain of deontic causality whereby a speaker expresses permission, obligation, and related concepts. Basing the

87

definition on Palmer (1986), Traugott characterizes deontics as having to do with "will, obligation, and permission" and epistemics having to do with "knowledge and belief about possibilities, probabilities, and so forth."

As functions of the connective *–(u)nikka*, it has been noted that it marks epistemic and speech act causality. In other words, by the use of *–(u)nikka* the speaker expresses the reason or grounds for stating the knowledge/belief (or permission, obligations, etc.) or the speech acts being performed. Again, the speech acts performed with the causal marker are specifically perlocutionary directives (e.g. requests, commands, proposals, advice) — directives whereby the speaker seeks to change the addressee's behavior. Examples of the respective causalities have been illustrated in the following (Data taken from the drama transcription of "Catching Up with Kangnam Moms"):

(22) Epistemic causality

(Mikyeng gets her husband to go to their son's open class, as he was told other fathers come, too. Once he gets to school, he finds out that he is the only guy there.)

1	Sangsik:	*ta-tul manhi o-nta-te-ni napakkey eps-canha!*
		'I thought you said they were all coming, but (as you can see) I'm the only one!'
2 →	Mikyeng:	**kulenikka** *te pich-i na-nun ke-ci!*
		'That's why it's more special!'

(23) Deontic causality

| 1 | Mincwu: | *solcikhi manhi (hwuhwoy) haysscyo. na ani-ess-umyen kulehkey an toy-ss-ul they-ntey.. hwuhwoy manhi haysscyo.* |

'To be honest, of course I did (regret) a lot. If it weren't for me, he wouldn't have ended up like that.. Of course I had regrets.'

2 → Sangwen: *ke pwa-yo. **kulenikka** acwummaka na mak-a <u>cwu-eya tway-yo</u>.*

'See.. That's why you have to help me (stop this situation).'

(24) Speech act causality

1 Cwunong: *cincca appa ttaymwuney chayngphihay cwuk-keyss-eyo!*

'You really embarrass me, dad!'

(Cwunong goes into his room.)

2 Sangsik: *i casik-i ce, ce!*

'That.. that little, that…!'

3 → Mikyeng: **kulenikka** *tangsin-to ceypal chayk com ilkko kongpwu com hay. Ay-ka chayngphihae hacanha.*

 'So please read some books and study a little. Don't you see your son feels embarrassed?'

The clause initial connective *kulenikka* shares the same meaning and function as that of the connective particle *–(u)nikka*, substituting a predicate (adjective or verb) or previous utterance with *kulehata* 'to be so' (or 'to do so'[49]). On the one hand, the substitution of *kulehata* 'to be so' enables the speaker to avoid redundancy and on the other hand, due to the nature of spontaneous conversations (being unplanned and taking place in

---

[49] Early 20th century data showed an instance of *kulinikka* "by behaving in such a way," a combination of *kulihata* 'to do so' and the connective *–(u)nikka*. Also evidenced were *kulikiey* (instead of *kulekiey*), which was used interchangeably with *kulenikka*, a form which cannot be found in contemporary Korean. From these occurrences we can see that in the early 20th century speakers distinguished between describing actions and states by using *kulinikka* and *kulenikka*, respectively.

real time), the use of *kulehata* conveniently provides the speaker a means to add to his/her

utterance(s) that were not expressed prior to. However, *kulehata* affixed to the connective

particle *–(u)nikka*, not only indexes discourse directly adjacent (or close) to the current

discourse (local coherence) but it also provides an environment for global coherence,

whereby *kulehata* can further index the speaker's prior thoughts and beliefs, attitudes

toward the hearer, etc. outside the ongoing discourse. For this reason, despite the

similarities in discourse function shared by the connective particle *–(u)nikka* and the

connective *kulenikka*, I claim that *kulenikka* subsumes a wider range of meanings and

functions.[50] The following excerpt illustrates an example of a wider scope in the meaning

of *kulenikka*.

(25) Queen of Housewives Episode 1 – Mother and daughter's conversation

1	Cengwen:	c*hi! aytul-un ta yenge hantan mal-i-ya.*
		'Hm! (But) All the kids take English lessons!'

| 2 | Ciay: | *ne.. kongpwunun ton ssota pwusnuntako cal hanun key aniya. i emmato hakkyo tanil ttay hakwenimye kwawoymye an hay pon key epsessciman nul kkolcciyesse. panmyeney ney appa-nun amwukes-to an hayss-eto maynnal iltung-man hays-ko.* |
| | | 'Well you know, studying isn't something you'll do well just because you invest so much money into it. When mommy (I) went to school, I tried everything like going to those after school classes and private lessons, but I was always bottom in class. On the other hand, your father didn't do anything (like after school classes or private tutoring) but was always top in class.' |

---

[50]   Which is also an important aspect related to the grammaticalization process.

3	Cengwen:	*natwu emma-chelem maynnal kkolcci-man ha-myen ettekhay?*
		I-also mom-like everyday last – only to do-if how-do
		'What if I'm in the bottom just like you, mommy?'

4 → Ciay:
*kuken kulehcika anha. i emma-ka naysin 15 tungkup cwung-ey 15 tungkup-i-ess-ketun. ney appa-n iltungkup-i-esskwu. **kulenikka** emma sayngkak-ey-n nen kiponcek-ulo 7 tungkup-un hal keya. ku cengto-myen 4 nyencey-nun ka.*

'No, that doesn't work that way. Mommy was in the 15th tier out of a total of 15 tiers you see. And your dad was in the top 1st tier. So I think you will at least be within the 7th tier. That's good enough to get you into a 4-year university.'

5 Cengwen:
cincca?

'Really??'

6 → Ciay:
*kulay~~ **kulenikka** yenge thukhwal kule-n ke ha-ci mal-kwu mak ttwuy-e nol-a. Wuli cip-un ney-ka ilukhi-l key ani-la ney-ney appa-ka ilukh-yeya ha-ketun?*

'Yes, of course~~ So don't worry about things like taking extra English activity classes, and just go out and play. You see, this family is supposed to be set up by your father, not you.'

7 Cengwen:
ettehkey ilukhi-nuntey?

'Set up how?'

8 → Ciay:
*kukey… iltanun chwuycik-ul hayya hanuntey… kukes-to emma-ka nasel ke**nikka** nen amwu kekcenghaci ma. alassci? suthureysu pat-umyen khi an khe! ung?*
'Hmm you see… first of all he needs to find a job… and that too, mom will take care of, so you don't worry about anything, okay? You won't grow tall if you stress out too much, okay?'

The first use of *kulenikka* (25-4) is used by the speaker (Ciay) to convey the

reason/grounds for the speaker's belief, that is, it expresses epistemic causality. Ciay

explains to her daughter that since she was in the 15th tier (which is the lowest GPA tier)

and her father was within the first tier in high school, the daughter consequently will at least get into the 7th tier. Assuming that the daughter now shares the grounds for her belief (that she will surely be within the 7th group), she provides her conclusion by appointing the use of *kulenikka*. The use of *emma sayngkakeyn* 'according to what I think/believe' and the probability marking *–(u)l keya* also show that *kulenikka* exhibits the speaker's belief/presumption.

The second *kulenikka* is followed by a speech act, in this case an imperative (or directive). Ciay tells her daughter not to worry about participating in any extracurricular English activities like all the other kids, and to just run around freely and play. The reason is based on her belief that Ciay's daughter will be in the 7th GPA tier, which is good enough to enter a 4 year university. Whereas in the above example the speaker provides her thought/belief based on the reason/grounds (a. epistemic causality), here the speaker performs a speech act (suggesting or ordering) based on the reason/grounds (b. speech act causality).

(26)

a. **Reason/grounds** (I was in the 15th tier and your father was in the top 1st tier.)
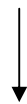
> | *kulenikka* **(Epistemic Causality)** |

Expressing speaker's belief/knowledge ("I'm sure/believe you will be in the 7th tier.")

92

b. **Reason/grounds** (You will be in the 7th tier which is a good enough GPA to apply for a 4 year university.)

| kulenikka (Speech Act Causality) |

Speech act (of suggesting/commanding) ("Don't participate in extra curricular English activities, and just run freely and play.")

Now, closely looking at *kulehata* and what it indicates: the first *kulehata* indexes the preceding utterance of I was in the 15th tier and your father was in the top 1st tier.' The predicate *kulehata* can be fully replaced with *iltungkupiessta* 'was in the first GPA tier,' as in:

*(…) kuken kulehcika anha. i emma-ka naysin 15 tungkup cwung-ey 15 tungkup-i-ess-ketun. ney appa-n iltungkup-i-ess-**unikka[iltungkup-i-es**skwu. kule**nikka]** emma sayngkak-ey-n nen kiponcek-ulo 7 tungkup-un hal keya. ku cengto-myen 4 nyencey-nun ka.*

'(…) No, that doesn't work that way. Mommy was in the 15th tier out of a total of 15 tiers you see. And since your dad was in the top 1st tier I think you will at least be within the 7th tier. That's good enough to get you into a 4 year university.'

When *–(u)nikka* is attached to the main predicate in the prior utterance, in this case *iltungkup-i-essta* 'was in the first tier,' the causal relation the speaker is expressing is restricted to 'daddy being in the first tier.' But with the use of the discourse connective *kulenikka*, the cause is directed to the whole chunk of discourse preceding the *kulenikka* clause. One might argue that the utterance *ney appan iltunkupiesskwu* is part of the preceding utterance '*i emma-ka naysin 15 tungkup cwung-ey 15 tungkup-i-ess-ketun.,*' as in: *ney appan iltunkupiesskwu i emma-ka naysin 15 tungkup cwung-ey 15 tungkup-i-ess-ketun. kulenikka (…),* in which case *kulenikka* indexes the entire previous sentence.

93

Nonetheless, we can clearly see the flexibility and efficiency that the connective *kulenikka* provides to the speaker in naturally occurring speech, and also the wider indexicality of *kulenikka* as opposed to the connective particle *–(u)nikka*.

The second use (25-6) also indexes the prior discourse uttered by the same speaker (that the daughter will get into the 7th tier at least, which is good enough to go to a 4 year university). However, it can also mark the hearer's surprise and relief. In other words, in addition to indexing the mother's prior utterance, it indexes the mother's inference and belief that the daughter is now relieved, which was expressed through the daughter's surprised *cincca?!* 'Really?!' Thus, *kulenikka* in this excerpt also implies, 'as now you are relieved, you should just go out and play,' in which the indexicality of *kulehata* is further extended to aspects that are beyond the meaning of the sentence or the ongoing utterance.

As the two instances of *kulenikka* illustrate, *kulenikka* enables the speaker to do more than merely replace a predicate in the previous discourse (or the utterance itself) for the purpose of avoiding redundancy. In fact, the vague meaning of *kulehata* 'to be so' enables the speaker to mean much more beyond the sentence level. A similarity can be evidenced in the Japanese copula '*da*' which also replaces a predicate in the previous sentence and is affixed to connective particles (such as -*kara* and –*kedo*, as in *dakara* 'because' and *dakedo* 'although'). Citing Okutsu (1978), Onodera (2004) points out that the meaning in the Japanese '*da*' sentence pattern is ambiguous and that this pattern can have more than one meaning. She also emphasizes that despite its ambiguity, it is frequently used in everyday conversation and with precise interpretations between interactants, which is only possible when the speaker and hearer share the context. Thus,

she summarizes that the '*da*' sentence pattern is "a context-dependent system which is used as an economical and convenient strategy in discourse." This characterization of the Japanese '*da*' sentence pattern can be fully applied to that of the predicate *kulehata* constructions in Korean.

(27) Example of the Japanese *da+kara* structure (Okutsu 1978:28; as cited in Onodera)

    a. *Kinoo ame ga futta.*
       'Yesterday it had rained.'

                            kara   yakyuu ni   ikarenakatta.
                            because baseball (I) couldn't go to play
    b. *Da*

      'I couldn't go to play baseball, because it had rained yesterday.'

Da in b. can replace *futta* 'had rained' or even furthermore, the whole utterance marked by *kinoo ame ga futta* 'Yesterday it had rained.' The same is applicable in the case of *kulehata* 'to be so' in Korean.

(28) Example of the Korean *kuleha+nikka* structure

    a. *ecey pika wassta.*
       'Yesterday it had rained.'

                       nikka   yakwuhale mos kassta/kan kesita.[51]
    b. *kule(ha)*   because/since baseball couldn't go to play

      'I couldn't go play baseball, because/since it had rained yesterday.'

---

[51] Although the connective particles *–(u)nikka* and *–kara* are similar in meaning as providing cause or causal relations, the strong subjective meaning of *–(u)nikka* sounds more natural with the translation of *mos kan kesita* 'it is the case of (me) unable to go,' which expresses explanation rather than simply *mos kassta* '(I) couldn't go.'

In this section I have discussed the semantic properties of *kulenikka* as marking epistemic and speech act causality, which is also shared by the connective particle *–(u)nikka*. But it was also noted that *kulenikka* indexes speaker's prior thoughts, beliefs, knowledge, attitudes toward the hearer, etc., in addition to its previous utterance or larger parts of discourse. I would also like to point out that epistemic causality is retrospective, whereas speech-act causality is prospective, translating to 'that's why' and 'so,' respectively. According to Lenk (1998), "retrospective discourse markers" are those that signal a relationship to the prior discourse and "prospective discourse markers" as those that mark "discourse segments intended to follow (e.g., further additions to a list in process, associations that come up in the speaker's mind and are mentioned as an item that will be treated more extensively later on)."

3.5.3   *Pragmatic kulenikka - textual and interactional functions*

While the clausal connective *kulenikka* is located in the propositional semantic domain, this study proposes that the functions of discourse markers reside in the non-propositional pragmatic domain. As the semantic *kulenikka* gains pragmatic meaning or, more properly, "functions," the original propositional meaning of temporality and causality (both epistemic and speech-act causality) weakens and acquires additional meaning, or gains various functions further into the grammaticalization process. The two main functions can be categorized as **textual** and **interactional** functions[52].

---

[52] The term "interpersonal" is used by Traugott and Brinton.

96

Brinton (1996:38) defines the textual as the mode in which "the speaker structures meaning as text, creating cohesive passages of discourse (…) using language in a way that is relevant to text" and interactional as the mode in which the speaker expresses "speaker attitudes, evaluation, judgments, expectation, and demands, as well as of the nature of the social exchange, the role of the speaker and the role assigned to the hearer." She makes the qualification that while there is no apparent consistency among taxonomies of pragmatic markers, she can identify them as having the following basic functions:

Table 13. Textual and interactional functions of pragmatic markers (Brinton 1996:37)[53]

Textual functions:
   a.   to initiate discourse, including claiming the attention of the hearer, and to close discourse;
   b.   to aid the speaker in acquiring or relinguishing the floor;
   c.   to serve as a filler or delaying tactic used to sustain discourse or hold the floor;
   d.   to mark a boundary in discourse, that is, to indicate a new topic, a partial shift in topic (correction, elaboration, specification, expansion) or the resumption of an earlier topic (after an interruption);
   e.   to denote either new information or old information;
   f.   to make "sequential dependence", to constrain the relevance of one clause to the preceding clause by making explicit the conversational implicatures relating the two clauses, or to indicate by means of conventional implicatures how an utterance matches cooperative principles of conversation;
   g.   to repair one's own or others' discourse

---

[53] All the functions listed by Brinton as functional characteristics of pragmatic markers surprisingly coincide with the functions of the discourse marker *kulenikka.*

Interactional functions:
a. subjectively, to express a response or a reaction to the preceding discourse or attitude towards the following discourse, including also "back-channel" signals of understanding and continued attention spoken while another speaker is having his or her turn and perhaps "hedges" expressing speaker tentativesness;
b. interpersonally, to effect cooperation, sharing, or intimacy between speaker and hearer, including confirming shared assumptions, checking or expressing understanding, requesting confirmation, expressing deference, or saving face (politeness).

Andersen (2000) describes textual function as "what the speaker perceives as the relations between sequentially arranged units of discourse; for instance, between propositions or communicated assumptions in general." Interactional features are "functional properties that concern the mutuality of context between speaker and hearer, and may be concerned with saving the hearer's face, drawing the hearer into the discourse, (…) " (2000:64), "signalling newsworthiness, epistemic commitment, empathy towards the hearer and other attitudinal functions" (2000:66). While textual functions are structural, bracketing function of markers, interactional functions are non-structural.

Following previous studies (Fretheim 1981; Ostman 1982; Schiffrin 1987; Stenstrom 1994), Andersen (2000:64) maintains the view that it is impracticable to clearly classify the pragmatic functions of pragmatic markers, as they are multifunctional and can even serve various pragmatic functions at the same time. Data for the present study also showed that although in some contexts the marker displayed a single function, in many instances the marker was evidenced as holding several functions simultaneously. For

example, in the following, the first *kulenikka* in line 1 has the primary function of "providing an example," for which we can also identify with *yey-lul tul-ese* 'for example'. It also functions as a way to provide the speaker with time with which to search for the right words, or an example in this case, while signalling to the hearer that an explanation is to take place.

(29) Discussion on main clause and subordinate clause

1 → J: […] *kuntey <u>yey-lul tul-ese</u> **kunkkan** etten chayk hana-ey-nun mwe-lako*
        but example-AC give-and kunkkan some book one-at-TC what-QT

2   *nawo-a iss-nya-myen* (pause)
        be out-INF exist-Q-(QT)-if

        '… but <u>for example</u> **kunkkan** (so) what it says in one book is (pause)'

3   U: that's because..

4 → J: *ai enni-hanthey-nun yayki-ka… khey ettehkey.. main **kkan** subordinate*
        INJ older sister-to-TC talk-NM like this how main kkan subordinate

5   *clause-i iss-kwu main clause-i iss-e.yo. 'ilenikka ileh-key*
        clause-NM exist-and main clause-NM exist-POL like this like this-AD

6 →   *ha-ca.' **kkan** subordinate clause-nun mwe kuke-ey pwuth-nun ke-ko*
        do-PR kkan subordinate clause-TC what that-at adhere-TC thing-and

7   *main clause-nun kulayse ilehkey haca. kuntey chayk-ey-nun ettehkey*
        main clause-TC so like this-AD do-PR but book-at-TC how-AD

8   *naw-a iss-nya-myen-un…*
        be out-INF exist-Q-(QT)-if-TC

        'umm so how should I explain it to you… so in what way (should I explain)… so there's the main **kkan** (<u>I mean/or</u>) subordinate clause and the main clause. '(for example) as this is the case, let's do it this way'…

> **kkan** (so/in other words) the subordinate clause is something that gets affixed to it and the main clause is (the part that goes) *ilehkey haca* 'let's do it this way.' But what it says in the book is… […]'

Speaker J is trying to explain to hearer U how a clausal connective particle connects the subordinate clause and the main clause (and how this connective particle should not be classified as a discourse marker). Note how J has a hard time trying to explain to the hearer, hence the prevalent use of *kulenikka*, an interjection (*ai* 'darn, gosh'), discourse marker (*khey*, reduced form of *ilehkey* 'like this' or *ettehkey* 'how') and occasional pauses. The second *kulenikka* (line 4), in the form of *kkan,* has the main function of modification/ self-repair in addition to providing the speaker with time to search for the right word(s) or an easier way to explain. Speaker J uses *kkan* to correct the initial 'main' with 'subordinate' as she realizes it is easier for the hearer to understand or for herself to give a better explanation. The third *kkan* (line 6) serves the speaker in order to elaborate on what was said previously, again to give an easier explanation. In the above excerpt *kulenikka*'s basic function can be said to be textual – it is concerned with "sequentially arranged units of discourse" rather than the shared context/world between interlocutors (interactional). It is also noteworthy to point out that textual functions of *kulenikka* can be evidenced in longer stretches of talk, especially within one speaker's turn.

The next segment demonstrates a clear example of the "interactional" function of *kulenikka*, especially the first occurrence in line 4 whereby speaker Y shows a strong agreement to speaker S.

100

(30) Behind in life

1   Y: *an… mit-ki-ci-lul anh-a.*   *chili chili nyen-ilako? il nyen ? he ?*
                not believe-PAS-NOM-AC not-INT seven-two seven-two year-QT one year INJ
                'Not… cannot believe it. You said you were (born in) '72, '72? '71? Huh?'

2   S: *mwe.. coh-ul ttay-ntey.*
                                          what good-PRS time-but
                                          'Well, it's the good times...'

3   *chil-il! ai na-nun cikum umma-ka toy-nuntey yay-nun acikto hanchang*
        seven-one INJ I-TC now mom-NM become-but this kid-TC still prime
        '(She was born in) 1971! I'm becoming a mom now and she is still ….'

4 →   Y: *haha **kunikka***!
                                              INJ   kunikka
                                              'Haha, I know!'

5 → J: *ani **kulenikka** nanun insayng-ey twuyci-kwu iss-nun ke-canha.*
        no kulenikka I-TC life-at behind-and exist-RL thing-you know
        'No, as you know, **that's why** (I think) I am behind in life.'

6   S: *ani ani.*
        no no
        'No, no.'

7   J: *namca-nun encey chac-a kaci-kwu cham! ahyu kekceng-i-ya kekceng!*
        man-TC   when find-INF have-and really INJ worry-be-INT worry
        'When will I find a guy (and get married)! It really worries me!"

3.6   Conclusion

In the previous sections, I have examined the Korean clausal connective *–(u)nikka* 'so,

since, therefore' (with a comparison of the clausal connective *-e/ase*), i.e., from the clausal

connective *–(u)nikka* denoting causality/temporality (propositional), to the sentence-final

position where the referential meaning of the *–(u)nikka* particle cannot be retrieved.

Believing that the free discourse marker *kulenikka* developed from the bound connective

suffix (or particle) *–(u)nikka*, I examined the grammaticalization process and the

underlying principles and mechanisms.

Evidenced in written documents merely over a century ago, it is quite surprising that *kulenikka* has gone through such a big change. Thus, it is my careful view that the marker *kulenikka* existed long before the first attested period of the late 19th century. Because of its strong subjective voice, it may have not been fit for the written form. The discourse marking functions of *kulenikka* can be found in documents as early as the early 1900's.

Despite the widely used discourse marking functions of *kulenikka*, dictionaries limit their definitions of *kulenikka* to the propositional meaning(s) (or semantic meaning), which primarily index epistemic, deontic, and speech act causalities. As *kulenikka* gains stronger pragmatic meanings or functions, I have further divided its functions into textual (relation between speaker and sequentially arranged units of discourse) and interactional functions (those that concern the speaker and the hearer's mutual understanding). In the next chapter, I will discuss the main framework for the synchronic analysis of *kulenikka*, based on the two functional domains.

CHAPTER 4

SYNCHRONIC ANALYSIS OF *KULENIKKA*

4.1   Introduction

The Korean discourse marker *kulenikka* can be frequently encountered in naturally

occurring speech. Despite the wide range of usage in daily conversations, an extensive

analysis from the discourse/pragmatic perspective has not been made to date. In order to

provide a unified account for the various usages and distributions of *kulenikka* within

naturally occurring conversations, this study is based on the premise that *kulenikka* broadly

functions in two dimensions (propositional dimension will not be discussed), i.e., in the

textual and interactional dimensions. According to Schiffrin (1985), discourse markers

create coherence within a speaker's turn or signal the relationship between one speaker's

utterance and another's response. This study parallels textual functions with the former and

interactional functions with the latter.

In accounting for the two dimensions, I have adopted and expanded on the

framework proposed by Jucker and Smith (1998), whereby the discourse markers (in this

case, *kulenikka*, which functions on both domains) are presented as negotiating strategies.

In addition to the two textual and interactional properties, I have further distinguished the

functions based on speaker-oriented vs. hearer-oriented.

This chapter discusses the framework for the synchronic analysis of this study,

examining concepts such as agreement vs. alignment and speaker-oriented vs. hearer-

oriented (or speaker-directed vs. hearer-directed). Subsequently, I will explain the various

functions of the marker within the proposed framework using excerpts from my data. I would like to emphasize, however, that the functions of the discourse marker *kulenikka* are not confined to each exclusive category. They have been categorized according to the one major function, out of several possible functions, in the discourse and within the interaction.

4.2   Framework for the study

4.2.1   Genereal outline of the framework

Jucker and Smith focus on the cognitive and interactional functions of discourse markers and define them as a type of cue that conversationalists use to negotiate their common ground. They see representations of common ground in a conversation as dynamic in that they not only include explicitly stated information that is assumed to be shared but also the inferences the partner is expected to draw from the information. In other words, "presenters might have signals to help the receiver integrate the incoming material more efficiently, and receivers might have signals to help the senders know whether and how easily that material has been integrated" (Jucker and Smith 1998:172).

In their study, Jucker and Smith suggest a distinction between "presentation marker" and "reception marker."[54] This ties in with the notions "own information management (OIM)" and "interactive communication management (IACM)" presented by (Allwood 1995) for the two dimensions, respectively. Allwood observes language and

---

[54] The concepts receptive marker and presentation marker can be seen as concepts in line with Kroon (1995) and Risselada (1998)'s two discourse levels "representational level" and "interactional level," respectively.

communication, especially spoken language, "as aspects of underlying social activities for which they serve a mainly instrumental role." Own information management (OIM) provides mechanisms which allow a speaker to manage his/her own communication with regard to processing, choice (including hesitation, etc.) and change (including cancellation), whereas interactive communication management (IACM) provides mechanisms which allow a speaker (and to some extent the hearer) to structure the flow of interaction with regard to sequencing, turn-taking (yielding, holding, giving, taking, and assignment of turns), feedback (with regard to contact, perception, understanding and reactions to evocative intentions), and rhythm as well as special positioning.

Going back to Jucker and Smith's study, presentation markers include expressions such as 'like,' 'you know,' and 'I mean,' and accompany and modify the speaker's own information (Allwood's OIM). Reception markers, on the other hand, are signals such as 'yeah,' 'oh,' and 'okay' used as a reaction to information provided by another speaker (Allwood's IACM). They further divide the category of presentation markers into "information-centered presentation markers" and "addressee-centered presentation markers." 'Like' is an example of the former which modify the information itself, and the latter include examples such as 'you know' and 'I mean,' which relate the information to the presumed knowledge state of the addressee.

As such, In Jucker and Smith's study, various markers ('like,' 'you know,' 'I mean,' etc.) represent the two different categories (and the two subdivisions). In the case of the Korean discourse marker *kulenikka*, it covers the functions of both categories, i.e., presentation marker and reception marker. However, forms do vary according to the two

categories (reception and presentation markers) and individual variations[55] do apply as well within the category. *kulenikka(yo), kunikka(yo), kunkka(yo)* are typical examples of reception markers and *kulenikka, kunikka, kunkka,* and *kka* are some examples (sometimes the subject marker *nun* or the shortened form *-n* is added for emphasis) of presentation markers where the shortest two forms *kunkka* and *kka* are most often used.

Using Jucker and Smith's description as a basis, I have outlined some general functions of *kulenikka* as a presentation marker and reception marker. To reiterate, the speakers use presentation markers as a device to communicate his/her information effectively and accurately and to mitigate any face-threatening acts on the speaker/hearer's part, particularly by employing hesitation markers in the organization of their speech. Meanwhile, reception markers are used by the hearer to convey the hearer's response to what was provided by the speaker.

Table 14. Functions of *kulenikka* as reception marker and presentation marker

		Presentation Marker	**Reception Marker**
Functions	Effective information management	- pause-filler/to hold the floor - reformulation/modification/repair - explanation/elaboration/ approximation - summarization	- Delivery of agreement - Delivery of disagreement
	FTA management	- hesitation	

[55] For example, one might add the topic marker *–nun* or *–n*, as in *kulenikkanun* or *kulenikkan*. It may also be shortened to *kulenkka(nun)(n)*, *kunkka(nun)(n)*, or *kka(nun)(n)* and dialect variation also exist, e.g., *kulenkkey* and *kunkkey*, *kulenkkantwulwu*, etc.

However, careful review of my data revealed that the functions of *kulenikka* as a discourse marker are not quite so simple and clear-cut. This view is consistent with Lenk (1998) and Andersen (2000), who both argue that discourse markers are multifunctional and may even carry out various pragmatic functions concurrently. Expanding on Jucker and Smith's framework, the present study further allocates the functions of *kulenikka* based on speaker-orientedness and hearer-orientedness.

Additionally, a distinction has been made among textual, interactional, and ***textual-interactional***, for the reason that the use of *kulenikka* can have several functions at the same time, as pointed out in the previous chapter. Especially across turns, *kulenikka* displays both textual and interactional functions concurrently. For example, a speaker can utilize *kulenikka* as a tool to deliver his/her information more effectively to the hearer, but with an (unexpected) intervention or interruption (such as a question, comment, opposing view, etc.), the function of *kulenikka* changes. The textual-interactional mode is textual in nature in that it organizes units of discourse, but it is interactional because it happens within an exchange structure (or across turns), thus an explanation/modification/repair after a turn, a hesitation marking, a taking/holding of the floor, a request for or confirmation of an explanation, all fall under textual-interational functions. As such, the element of turn-taking and the input of the interactant's information apparently add an interactional function.

Going back to Brinton's description of textual and interactional functions of pragmatic markers (cf. section 3.5.3, Table 13), we recall that the textual functions are the following:

a. to initiate discourse, including claiming the attention of the hearer, and to close discourse;

b. to aid the speaker in acquiring or relinquishing the floor;

c. to serve as a filler or delaying tactic used to sustain discourse or hold the floor;

d. to mark a boundary in discourse, that is, to indicate a new topic, a partial shift in topic (correction, elaboration, specification, expansion) or the resumption of an earlier topic (after an interruption);

e. to denote either new information or old information;

f. to make "sequential dependence", to constrain the relevance of one clause to the preceding clause by making explicit the conversational implicatures relating the two clauses, or to indicate by means of conventional implicatures how an utterance matches cooperative principles of conversation;

g. to repair one's own or others' discourse

All the functions listed above coincide with the textual functions of *kulenikka,* with the exceptions of: b. to aid the speaker in acquiring or relinquishing the floor, c. to serve as a filler or dealying tactic used to sustain discourse or hold the floor, and the latter part of g. to repair others' discourse. Quoting Redeker (1991), Brinton considers turn-taking to be simply a "special case of discourse segment transitions" (1996:39), hence the inclusion of interactional elements within the textual domain. However observing that turn-taking is clearly an interactional element, the present study maintains otherwise.

Advancing to Brinton's specification of interactional functions, the present study considers functions such as requesting confirmation and face-saving as a means of operating on the "textual-interactional" level because of the organization/management of "information" that is involved. Furthermore, note that in this study, Brinton's "subjective"

and "intersubjective" functions tie in with the category of speaker-orientedness and hearer-orientednessness, respectively.

  h. ***subjectively***, to express a response or a reaction to the preceding discourse or an attitude towards the following discourse, including "back-channel" signals of understanding and continued attention which are spoken while another speaker is having his or her turn, and perhaps "hedges" which express speaker tentativeness; and

  i. ***interpersonally***, to effect cooperation, sharing, or intimacy between speaker and hearer, including confirming shared assumptions, checking or expressing understanding, <u>requesting confirmation</u>, expressing deference, or <u>saving face</u> (politeness).

Now let us look at an excerpt with both textual and interactional functions. Notice in the segment how *kulenikka* functions either on a textual or interactional level and how they differ in organizing discourse, thoughts and interaction.

(1) Dissertation

1   J: *ahywu moll-a.yo… ppali sse-ya-c-yo.*
          INJ   don't know   fast   write-have to-(SUP)-POL
          'I don't know.. I should finish it soon.'

2 → I: *kotaylo ssu-myen toy-keyss-nuntey me.* **kka** *ku   ttay po-nikka.*
           as is   write-if   become-will-but what. kka that time see-nikka.
           'It seems like you just need to write the way you have. kka when I saw it.'

3 →   *na-twu ku ttay* **kka** *ku to..* **kunkka** *pat-kwu-se-to   kam-I   an*
           I-also that time kka that hel.. kunkka receive-and-and-also feeling-NM not

4   *cap-hi-kwu   ayey po-l   sayngkak-to an hay-ss-canh-a.yo.*
           catch-PAS-and never see-PRS thought-even not do-PST-you know-POL

           'When you uhm hel… uhm even after that, I had no idea where to start and

didn't even think of looking at it, you know.'

5   J: *kuntey hal   ttay tway-se   ccokum-ssik po-myen a ileh-key*
            but   do-PRS time become-and little-at a time see-if   INJ like this-AD
            'But when you near that time and slowly start looking at it..'

6   I: <u>towum-i   tway</u>!
                                      help-NOM-NM become-(INT)
                                      'It helps!'

7   J: taychwung ileh-key   ha-myen toy-nun-kwuna   ileh-key
            briefly   like this-AD do-if   become-IN-APP like this-AD
            'I realize I just need to do it this way… like this..'

8 →   *… **unkka**… nay   maum-i eps-ul   ttay-nun mwe-l   pwa-to*
              unkka   I(-GN) heart-NM not have-PRS time-TC what-AC look-even if
            'so like when I'm not determined, whatever I look at..'

9   I: <u>*mac-e.*</u>
                                        correct-INT
                                      'You're right.'

10   J: *ihay-twu   an ka-kwu ponin-twu nay-ka po-lyeko*
           understanding-also not go-and self-also   I-NM see-in order to
           'can't understand it and I myself won't even…'

11   I: <u>*mac-e.yo.*</u>
                         correct-POL
                    '(You're) right.'

12   J: *ha-ci-to   anh-nun ke kath-a.yo. po-myense-to.*
           Do-NOM-also not-RL thing same-POL see-while-also
           'try I think. Even while looking at it.'

13 → I: <u>***kulenkka.***</u>
           'I know.'

14   J: *kulentey icey ssul   ttay toy-myen-un a   nay-ka icey mwe-ka mocala-ko*
           but now write-PRS time become-if-TC INJ I-NM now what-NM lack-and

15   *ile-n   ke-l   a-nikka   incey ku ttay a ike-lul nay-ka chac-key*
           thiis-RL thing-AC know-because now that time INJ this-AC I-NM find-AD

16   *toy-canha-yo.*   *kulem ku ttay ike-kwun-a* (…)
            become-you know-POL then that time this-APP-PLN

            'But when you write you realize what is lacking and since I know, I will search for them. Then that's when you understand it and go 'oh, so this is what it is..''

17 →   ***kulenikka!*** <u>e e e</u> …
                                            kulenikka yeah yeah yeah
                                            'I know, uh-huh.'

      The textual functions of *kulenikka* can be identified as the first four instances in lines 2, 3, and 8. In line 2, *kka* is used to add supplementary information, or information that the speaker missed or wanted to add. The scrambling characteristic of Korean allows this kind of addition beyond the finished sentence and *kka* highlights or signals information that is supplementary. The *kulenikka*s in line 3 center around the word *towum* ('help'), perhaps for the reason that the speaker couldn't find an appropriate expression and at the same time thought '*towum*' was not the desired word. The last textual function of *kulenikka* in line 8 can be seen as a time-getter, a signal of the forthcoming explanation (elaboration), an exemplification, or even a reformulation. It can be evidenced that the four instances occur within longer stretches of monologic talk and the speaker employs the use of *kulenikka* to better organize his/her information.

      The last two occurrences of the marker in lines 13 and 17 clearly represent the interactional functions which we can also see from the position within the exchange structure—subsequent to or overlapping with the interlocutor's utterance. The hearer-orientedness of the marker conveys strong agreement with the interlocutor and also creates solidarity.

111

On a side note, the above example displays the constant alignment between the two interlocutors which can be identified by the last two *kulenikka*s but also by markers such as *mace(yo)* 'that's right' and *e* 'yeah,' the sentence ender *–canha* 'you know.' Also, in line 6, instead of an obvious agreement marker, the speaker chooses to finish off speaker I's sentence. Lastly, one will notice the various forms of *kulenikka* used, as in *kka*, *kunkka*, *unkka*, *kunikka*, and *kulenikka*.

In the following table, I have outlined the various functions of *kulenikka* based on the proposed framework.

Table 15. Functions of *kulenikka* on a multidimensional level

		Textual	**Textual-Interactional**	**Interactional**
			Presentation Marker	Reception Marker
Speaker-oriented	Turn	*Monologic**	*Dialogic*	*Dialogic*
	Functions	1. Topic organization – topic change/maintenance, indexing prior discourse, open/closing topic 2. Explanation – elaboration, exemplification, specification, approximation, reformulation, modification,repair (own), quotation 3. Pause-filler, hold/maintain the floor, time-getter (word search)	1. Topic Organization – take/hold the floor, topic change, topic maintenance, index prior discourse 2. Explanation – elaboration, exemplification, specification, approximation, reformulation, modification, repair (other) 3. Marker of hesitation (own face- saving)	1. Positive reception – agreement, alignment 2. Negative reception – disagreement, disalignment
Hearer-oriented	Turn		*Dialogic*	*Dialogic*
	Functions		1. Request for *or* confirmation of explanation, elaboration (clarification), exemplification, approximation 2. Marker of hesitation (other face saving)	1. Positive reception – strong agreement 2. Back-channeling

*Monologic – within one's turn, dialogic – across turns

113

4.2.2   *Agreement vs. alignment*

In an agreement, the speaker or the recipient indexes his/her prior thoughts, ideas, knowledge, etc., to align with the interlocutor. Speaker-oriented agreement markers express agreement but can also communicate to the hearer that the thought, idea, knowledge, etc. was originally theirs and of their territory. Thus, they may or may not create solidarity. The speaker-oriented agreement marker *kulenikka* roughly translates to "I know!," "That's what I mean!" or "That's what I was saying!". Meanwhile hearer-oriented agreement markers express agreement to the hearer without the "me factor." The recepient aligns him/herself with the interactant for the primary purpose of expressing sympathy, empathy, the shared world, etc., and to create solidarity. The English counterpart would be something like "I know what you're saying," "I know what you mean," "You're so right," and so forth.

Figure 3-1 illustrates *kulenikka* as a speaker-oriented agreement marker. Notice how S2 agrees with S1's utterance (B) but maintains anchored and aligned to S2's world (A), which I have marked with a solid line.
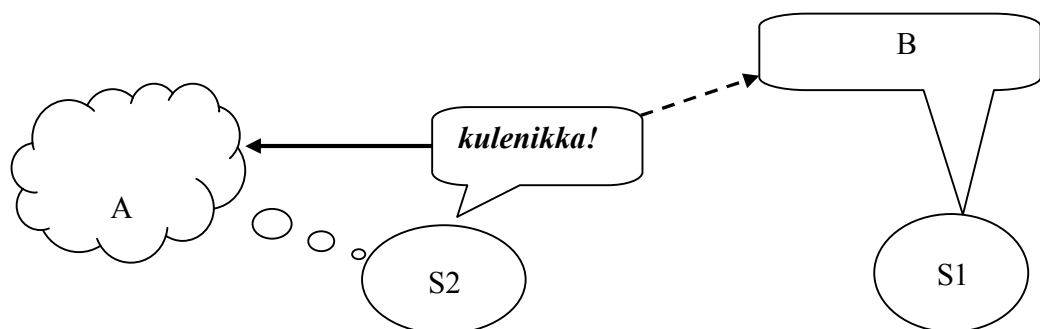
Figure 3-1. Speaker-oriented agreement marker with *kulenikka*

Reversely, in marking hearer-oriented agreement, S2 primarily directs and aligns his/her agreement with S1's utterance or world (B) (Figure 3-2).
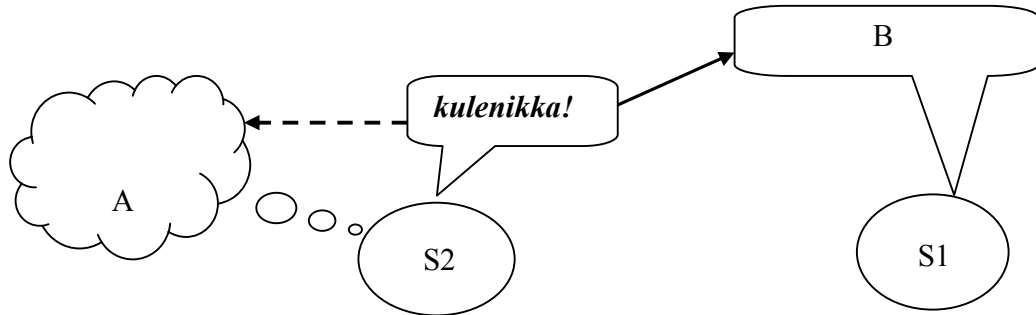
Figure 3-2. Hearer-oriented agreement marker with *kulenikka*

When negotiating common ground, the speaker uses *kulenikka* to index and direct attention/focus to his/her prior utterance/thought/stance in order to strengthen and create support when in disagreement with the hearer. Contrary to the agreement marker or alignment marker discussed above, *kulenikka* as a disagreement marker enables the speaker to align him/herself with what was said or thought (speaker's world) previously.

In the illustration below not only can we see the disconnection between the two speakers (S1 and S2) but we can also see the disalignment (what I have termed a negative presentation marker) between S1's utterance (B) and S2's world (A).
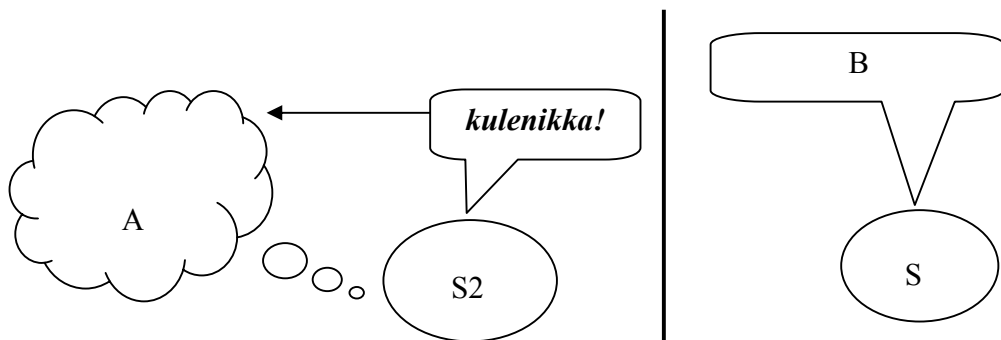
Figure 3-3. Disagreement Marker

115

Despite the similarities between agreement and alignment, it is my view that "when one aligns, is not particularly agreeing, but when one agrees, s/he is aligning." In the next conversation between two friends, a "constant chase of alignment" can be identified, whereby speaker J adjusts her reaction to display a common ground with speaker H.

(2) Depressed

1   H: *nemwu sulphu-kwu (??) wuwulhay-se …*
             too   sad-and   depressed-so
             'I was sad (??) and depressed so…'

2 → J: <u>*u ung*</u>*..*
             INJ yeah
             'Yeah..'

3   H: *kuntey tto onul ilena-nikka tto kwaynchanh-a.*
             but   again today get up-when again alright-INT
             'But when I got up today I was alright.'

4 → J: **<u>*kulenikka*</u>**! *haha enni-twu   yakkan kipok-i   iss-e..*
             kulenikka   INJ older sister-also slightly up and down-NM have-INT
             'I know! Ha-ha! you do have some up and downs, (I tell you).'

5   H: *e na toykey simhay.*
             yeah I very   great-(INT)
             'Yeah, it is very extreme.'

6 → J: <u>*e kipok   iss-e*</u>*.   eccel ttay-n toykey ilehkey*
             yeah up and down have-INT some time-TC very   like this-AD

7   *toykey ileh-key   tway-iss-taka   eccel ttay-n   aa kipwun coh-kwu*
             very   like this-AD become-exist-and then some time-TC INJ mood good-and

8   *mak ile-n   ke.*
             really like this-RL thing

             'You do have your ups and downs. Sometimes you're very like, very like this and then sometimes you're in a really good mood, something like that.'

9   H: *ani **kunikka** wuwulha-n   ke-n   ani-ya.*
          no kunikka depressed-RL thing-TC not-(be)-INT
          'No, so it's not feeling depressed.'

10 → J: <u>*e   kulay*</u>
          yeah to be so-(INT)
          'Yeah. (That's right.)'

11   H: *kunyang kamanhi iss-nun kes-to   coh-untey*
          just   still   exist-RL thing-also good-but
          'Just doing nothing is good, too, but...'

12 → J: <u>*kulay!   swi-l   ttay-nun tto swi-e   cwe-ya twey.*</u>
          to be so-(INT) rest-PRS time-TC again rest-INF give-have to become-(INT)
          'Yeah! You need to get your rest when you are at it.'

13   H: *ecey   wuwulha-n   **kka**[56] ecey   kucey   ccom*
          yesterday depressed-TC kka   yesterday the day before yesterday a little

14   *wuwulha-n   ke-nun (...)*
          depressed-RL thing-TC

          'Feeling down yesterday, I mean feeling a little down yesterday and the day
          before was (…)'

In line 2, J expresses acknowledgment/acceptance of H's sad and depressed

feelings in the past few days with 'yeah.' In line 4, she shows strong agreement to H (as if

she has shared the same experience) followed by an assessment of 'you do have your ups

and downs' which H acknowledges as true. However, in line 6, J repeats the moodiness of

H, elaborating on her condition, which H feels is overemphasized, hence her partial

disagreement with the use *ani kunikka* 'no, so' (line 9)[57]. When H voids her feeling as

---

[56] The function of this particular '*kka*' is modification – from yesterday to yesterday and the day before
yesterday – to provide information more accurately to the hearer.

[57] Agreement to "self-deprecation" is a dispreferred respsonse. (Mori 1999)

117

'being depressed,' J once again acknowledges this by saying *e kulay* 'yeah, you're right' (line 10)[58]. In line 11, H elaborates on her "non-depressedness" and that 'not doing much is good, too' when immediately J agrees with H on the benefits of merely resting. As such, interaction is for the most part an act of constant alignment between/among interlocutors. As a positive reception marker, *kulenikka* creates this alignment.

kulenikka also forms alignment within the textual and textual-interactional domain (or as a presentation marker). "Alignment talk" as accounted for by Ragan (1983) functions metacommunicatively by placing "an interpretive frame around other talk that instructs communicators how a message should be taken" (also see Bateson 1995, 1972; Goffman 1974; as cited by Ragan). According to Ragan, "message sequences" such as "side sequences" (Jefferson 1972), "formulations" (Heritage & Watson 1979), and "my side tellings" (Pomerantz 1980) "align communicators and meaning by placing an interpretive bracket around some portion of talk." Framing of the talk provides explanatory notes to the conversational situation, and thereby clarify meanings, repair disruption, and manage interactants' roles.

4.2.3   *Speaker-oriented vs. hearer-oriented*

The present study regards subjective vs. intersubjective and speaker-oriented vs. hearer-oriented as parallel notions. Traugott (2010:9) observes that for the most part "subjectivity pervades all linguistic expressions, and all language is thus subjective by

---

[58] This is not an agreement because one cannot agree with the other person's innermost state or physical conditions when they have not been mentioned prior to the conversation taking place.

definition." On the same note, Andersen (2000) points out that "a degree of subjectivity is something all markers express, since any utterance expresses a speaker's intention to make something manifest to an individual." The subjective function of a (pragmatic) marker "describes the relation between the speaker and a communicated proposition/assumption" and is "primarily oriented towards the speaker's own beliefs and attitudes." The intersubjective function or interactional function as referred to by Andersen, "takes the hearer's perspective, expresses empathy towards him or attempts to draw him into the conversation" (2000:65).

On (inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification, Traugott (2007) describes them as "gradable concepts" that operate on the following two levels as put forward by Benveniste (1958):

a. The communicative situation in which the speaker aligns him or herself "more or less" to the addressee. Strictly speaking, this kind of (inter)subjectivity is extralinguistic, and allows the situational context in which speakers design and present information and in which innovation is spread in communities of practice to take place. (emphasis added)
b. Linguistic coding of the speaker's attitude to the object world being represented, including the linguistic object world that the speaker is producing on-line.

As highlighted above, (inter)subjectivity (or speaker-orientedness and hearer-orientedness) is "gradable on a scale of more or less." That is, the speaker does not express either subjectivity or intersubjectivity, but oftentimes both at the the same time, with different degrees. The (inter)subjective functions of *kulenikka* follow Traugott's

119

prediction of diachronic meaning change from subjective to intersubjective. In other words, *kulenikka* as a speaker-oriented reception marker has gained greater meaning of hearer-orientedness, from expressing agreement/disagreement based on a speaker's own information/experience to centering on the hearer's world with a purpose of conveying sympathy, agreement and solidarity.

The present study accounts for the "speaker/hearer-orientedness" of *kulenikka* within the different textual and interactional levels of the proposed framework as follows:

a. At the ***speaker-oriented textual level***, *kulenikka* directs orientation toward the speaker's own information/knowledge/experience within a single turn;

b. At the ***speaker-oriented textual-interactional level***, *kulenikka* directs orientation toward the speaker's information/knowledge/experience within an exchange structure (across turns). When marking hesitation, the act of face-saving is directed toward the speaker him/herself;

c. At the ***speaker-oriented interactional level***, *kulenikka* directs orientation to the speaker's own information/experience when expressing agreement or disagreement to the hearer;

d. At the ***hearer-oriented textual-interactional level***, *kulenikka* directs orientation to the hearer's information/knowledge/experience within an exchange structure. When marking hesitation, the act of face-saving is directed toward the hearer;

e. At the ***hearer-oriented interactional level***, *kulenikka* directs orientation to the information/knowledge/experience of the hearer (the interlocutor other than the speaker/self), in agreement.

In sum, the speaker-oriented presentational functions of *kulenikka* index the speaker's information (+speaker/-hearer) and the hearer-oriented presentation functions of *kulenikka* index the hearer's information (-speaker/+hearer). However, when marking hesitation, the speaker-oriented hesitation marker is intended for saving "one's own face" while the hearer-oriented hesitation marker is largely reserved for saving the "other's face." Lastly, as a reception marker, speaker-oriented *kulenikka,* which marks agreement/ alignment or disagreement/disalignment, orients to the speaker's world whereby the speaker aligns with his/her world rather than the hearer's. In contrast, hearer-oriented *kulenikka* is directed toward the interlocutor and expresses strong agreement and back-channeling toward the utterance provided by the interlocutor.

4.3 Speaker-oriented *kulenikka*

4.3.1 *Textual*

4.3.1.1 Topic organization – within a turn

This section looks at examples of *kulenikka* in interaction as a tool for organizing one's discourse, the topic of the discourse in particular. In organizing the topic (or content) of the interactional exchange, the speaker uses *kulenikka* to change or maintain the topic. With the use of *kulenikka*, the speaker also indexes prior discourse (Kim and Suh 1996), or summarizes, opens and closes/concludes a topic. In the following, we will look at some examples of *kulenikka* as a speaker-oriented presentation marker.

(3) *Acwumma* (summarization)

1   S: *Y-nun kunyang acwumma-ta…* (laugh)
            Y-TC just   auntie-DC
            'Y is just an acwumma[59], haha.'

2   J: (laugh) *way acwumma-ya?!*
                   why auntie-Q
            'Haha, why an acwumma?!'

3 ➔ S: *ani **kulenikka**, Y-nun ay-tul-hakwu yaykiha-nun ke   cohaha-kwu*
            no kulenikka, Y-TC other-PL-with chat-RL   thing like-and

4   *swul-twu   an mek-kwu yaykiha-nun ke cohaha-kwu mak ile-nikka*
            alcohol-also not eat-and chat-RL   thing like-and   really like this-nikka

5   *kunyang acwumma-ta.. tto i   tongney   ce tongney*
            just   auntie-PLN   also this neighborhood that neighborhood

6 ➔   *yayki ta al-kwu   iss-canha.   **kka** acwumma-ta ike-y-a.*
            story all know-and exist-you know kka auntie-PLN   this-be-INT

            'Well because… Y likes to chat with everybody, doesn't drink alcohol, and likes to chat, and things like that, so he's just an acwumma. Also, as you know, he knows everything that's going on with everyone. So that's why I'm saying he's an acwumma.'

       In the above conversation segment, speaker J asks S why Y (who is their mutual male friend) is an acwumma. The first *kulenikka* in line three preceded by another discourse marker *ani* 'no,' signals to the hearer that an explanation to the question is to come (speaker-oriented textual-interactional function). Subsequently, from lines 3-5, S gives detailed reasons as to why she calls Y an acwumma and finally goes back to her premise 'Y is an acwumma' while wrapping up the details with a *kka* in line 6.

---

[59] A typical Korean *acwumma* refers to a woman in her 40's-60's with hobbies such as "chatting away," gossiping, eating, and from years of taking care of the family and raising children they feel less shame in doing things like cutting in line, running to save a seat, laughing and talking out loud, etc.

In the next talk show segment, one of the women panelists elaborates on how she is so absent-minded. First, she refers to herself as a *kilchi* (someone who is bad with directions), then adds that she is also a *yelchi* (someone who loses her keys all the time), and summarizes these characters by using *kunkka* and then 'I do all sorts of things.' Then, recalling that she's also a *tungchi*[60] (speaker's use of wordplay—a person who cannot see things that are right in front of him/her), again, she summarizes these traits of hers, using *kka* and concludes that these are all due to the absence of her 77th brain cell.

(4) Morning talk show #1 – *Achimmatang* (summarization)

1   Choi: *kuntey ce kath-un kyengwu-nun kilchi ppwun-man-i ani-ko-yo*
          but I same-RL case-TC roadblind not only-only-NM not-and-POL

2   *ce-nun tto yelchi-eyyo.   yelswoy-lul tto kulehkey mos chac-ayo.*
          I-TC again key- blind-be-POL. key-AC again like that cannot find-POL.

3   ***kunkka*** *ce-nun yelekaci-lul   ha-nuntey, tto tungchi,*
          kunkka I-TC many things-AC do-but, again lamp-blind,

4   *tungcan mith-i   etwup-tako way hyutayphon-ul tul- ko-to   mak*
          lamp below-NM dark-QT why cell phone-AC carry-and-also really

5   *hyutayphon-ul chac-canhayo.   ankyeng-ul tul-ko-to   mak*
          cell phone-AC look for-you see. glasses-AC hold-and-also really

6 →   *ankyeng-ul mak chac-ko   **kka** yelekaci-lo   hamkkey*
          glasses-AC really look for-and kka many ways-DR together

7   *nwoy-seypho-ka 77 pen-i   ppaci-ta po-nikka (…)*
          brain-cell-NM 77 number-NM lack-PLN see-nikka (…)

---

[60] *kilchi*, *yelchi*, and *tungchi* are puns that do not exist in the dictionary, made up by the speaker. Also, the word for 'to be clumsy' in Korean is *chilchilmacta*, whereby *chilchil* literally translates to 77, hence her explanation of lacking the 77th brain cell. *tungchi* is a combination of *tung* 'lamp' and *–chi* a suffix which refers to a person who does not have the perception for something. *tungchi* is somebody who can't find things that are right in front of the lamp (right in front of them – this comes from the proverb "it is darkest in front of the lamp").

Choi:　　　　'In my case on top of being bad with directions, I'm also very absent-minded. I have such a hard time finding my keys. *kunkka* I do all sorts of things (bad with many things) like that, I am also a *tungchi*, as the saying goes '(lit.,) right in front of the lamp is darker,' I look for my cell phone when I have them in my hands. I will also look for my glasses when they are in my hands. *kka* in many ways my 77th brain cell is missing so, once when I used to work (…)'

In example (5), prior to line 1, L asks J what is on her mind but J is hesitant and tells L that she will tell her at a later time. Recognizing the end of the previous topic (with the unanswered question), L starts a new topic (but still within the broader theme of "life") regarding her monotonous life and how she tries even harder to keep herself active, which is signaled with *kka*.

(5) Life (topic change)

1　　J:　　*um.. itta yaykihay cwu-lkey.*
　　　　　　INJ later tell　　give-PRM
　　　　　　'Hmm, I'll tell you later.'

2 → L:　　***kka** na-nun yocum　mwe-l　　nukki-nya-myen sa-nun ke-y*
　　　　　　kka I-TC　　these days what-AC feel-Q-(QT)-if　live-RL thing-NM

3　　　　　*caymieps-nun ke-ya*
　　　　　　boring-RL　　thing-(be)-INT

　　　　　　'So what I feel these days is the fact that life is boring.'

4　　J:　　*ung..*
　　　　　　yes
　　　　　　'Yeah..'

5　　L:　　*kuntey honca cincca pwucilenha-key wumciki-kwu nanli-lul phy-e.*
　　　　　　But　　alone really diligent-AD　　move-and　　commotion-AC open-INT

6　　　　　*mak ilpwule　te　　palakha-nun ke kath-un nukkim. eccel ttay-nun*
　　　　　　really on purpose more go crazy-RL thing like-RL feeling sometimes-TC

124

7   *nay-ka cikum palakha-ko issna ile-n nukkim iss-canh-a.* (…)
      I-NM now go crazy-and stay-Q like this-Rl feeling have-you know-INT

      'But I really move around diligently and all. Like sometimes it feels like
      I'm overdoing it. Sometimes I wonder if I'm just being a little crazy, you
      know that sort of feeling.'

4.3.1.2 Explanation – within a turn

While the previous section focused on *kulenikka* and the topic (or "content") it organizes,

this section examines the various skills employed for effective explanation such as

elaboration/supplementation, exemplification, approximation, reformulation,

modification, and quotations marked with *kulenikka*. That is, *kulenikka* signals to the

hearer that an explanation is to come. It is a useful tool for the speaker because in real-time

interaction, the speaker has to present their thoughts at the moment, which may leave them

with things unsaid, things that lack, or things that need to be taken back, and *kulenikka*

gives them a second chance to mend the aforementioned. To reiterate, it should be noted

that some instances of *kulenikka* represented in the examples have more than one function.

(6) Morning Talk Show #2 – *Achimmatang* (elaboration)

1   M: *chaja-ka-si-nun pwun-un te taptapha-cyo kucyo?*
      find-go-SH-TC person-TC more irritated-POP(Q) to be so-SUP-POL(Q)
      The person that has to find (the place) feels more irritated, right?

2 → Lee: *ku ttay cengmal cincca wu-l ppen-hay-ss-eyo.* **kunkka** *ce-nun ae-tul,*
      that time really really cry-PRS about to-do-PST-POL. kunkka I-TC kid-PL,

3   *aeki-ka twul-i-ntey kyayney-l thay-wu-ko-se-nun honcase mak*
      baby-NM two-be-but them-AC drive-CAS–and-after-TC alone just

4   *chac-a kan-tako chac-a ka-ss-nuntey…*
      find-INF go-DC-QT find-INF go-PST-but…

'I really almost cried then. kunkka, I have kids, two babies and I put them in the car and alone thought I was (doing my best) to find the place…'

Prior to the conversation, Lee's husband has complained about his wife (Lee), who frustrates him by not being able to find her way around. The moderator, taking Lee's side, then comments that it must be frustrating for Lee as well when she has two kids and in addition, has to figure out the right directions. Lee responds by how she almost cried then, and elaborates on the difficulty she had to go through (finding her way to get to the wedding hall where she's supposed to pick her husband up), while having to take care of two babies at the same time, all following *kunkka*.

In the next example, the interlocutor expresses her liking for *natto* 'Japanese-style fermented soy beans' and alludes to the topic of the Korean-style fermented soybean '*chengkwukcang*' which has an even stronger smell. Acknowledging the health benefits of *chengkwukcang,* she refuses to eat it due to its strong flavor. Subsequently, she elaborates on why she cannot eat it irrespective of the smell, which she explains is due to her occupation as a consultant at the dental office. Notice the underlined *mwenyamyen* 'what it is is ~ (lit., if someone were to ask what it is ~),' which is what the speaker is signalling—an explanation/elaboration for the reason she does not eat *chengkwukcang*.

(7) Natto (elaboration, explanation – something to come 'so what it is is')

1 *na-n natto coh-untey natto coha.ha-nun salam-I pyello eps-e.*
 I-TC natto good-but natto like-RL person-NM not particularly none-INT

2 *na-n kuntey chengkwukcang-to toykey mom-ey kuntey na-n naymsay*
 I-TC but chengkwukcang-also very body-for but I-TC smell

126

3 → *ttaymwuney na-n chengkwukcang mos mek-ketun.*   **kunkkan** *mwe-nya-myen*
because I-TC   chengkwukcang cannot eat-you see. kunkkan what-(be)-Q-if

4 *chikwa   ttaymwuney na ilehkey   honca (??) wuli emma-ka ha-myen*
dental clinic because   I like this-AD alone (??) our mom-NM do-when

5 *mek-nuntey nay-ka tto   chikwa-ey   sangtam.hay-ya toy-nuntey*
eat-but   I-NM additionally dental clinic-at consult-have to okay-but

6 *mek-umyen an   toy-nikka* (…)
eat-if   not good-because

'I do like natto, but not too many people like natto. For me though chengkwukcang is also good for your health… but I can't eat it because of the smell. So what it is is because of the dental clinic, I won't eat alone (??) but when my mom makes it I'll eat it. But because I have to do consulting at the dental office, I can't.'

The following two segments show *kulenikka* acting as an indicator of additional information. In both segments, *kka* carries out a parenthetical function similar to the em dash (—) or parentheses which often mark off a break of thought. In sample (8), speaker S describes the small faces of Caucasians but applies *kka* to signal that, what is to follow (the subsequent word, phrase, or clause) is only supplementary information, and picks up from where she left off, that is, at '*elkwuli.*' (*elkwul—momi ttwungttwunghayto—i* 'face—although they have big bodies—is')

Likewise, in example (9), the speaker professes that she does not eat sweets, but adds the clause 'but I do eat chocolate,' which is again marked by *kka* as parenthetical markers. The English discourse marker "like" also functions in this manner, as parenthetical markers, or "quotative complementiser" as identified by Romaine & Lange (1991; cf. Andersen2000; Brinton 1996).

127

(8) Small face (addition, supplementation)

1 S: *awu wenlay woykwuk-ay-tul elkwul-i ccokkum-ccokkumhay.*
      INJ originally foreign-kid-PL face-NM small-small(-INT)

2   *yomanhay. kyayney-tul elkwul **kka** mom-i ttwungttwunghay-to*
      this small(-INT) they-PL face kka body-NM fat-even though

3   *elkwul-i ccokkumha-canh-a. (…)*
      face-NM small-you know-INT

     'Well, usually Caucasians have really small faces. Their faces, I mean
     although they are fat, their faces are small, as you know.'

(9) Chocolate (modification, supplementation)

1 → *na cungmal ta-n ke an mek-nuntey.. **kka** chokholeys-un mek-e. ecceta kuntey*
    I really sweet-RL thing not eat-but kka chocolate-TC eat-INT be once in a while but

2   *yeki iss-ta-nikka cincca kulleyi... ku.. ku mwe-ci.. kulleyisu.ha-n tones-ul ppaksu-lo*
    here exist-DC-because really glaze that that what-Q glaze-RL donut-AC box-in

    'I really don't eat sweet stuff… well, but I do eat chocoloate. But once in a great
    while, just because I hear it's here I bought this whole box of gla… what do you call
    it… glazed doughnuts (…)'

   The examples in the phrases below present *kulenikka* functioning as what I call a

specifier. The function of specifying overlaps with reformulation in that the speaker

rephrases the former (noun or phrase) with more accuracy in information. By way of

specification, the speaker wishes to be more truthful and precise with the information that

s/he passes on to the interlocutor. In some cases, *kulenikka* also functions as an

approximator (Schourup 1985; Andersen 2000; Jucker and Smith 1998), just as the

English discourse marker 'like,' as in, 'I've lived in LA for <u>like</u> a year now.'

(10) Online bulletin boards (specifier)

    a.   *khoskwumeng,* ***kka*** *khoskwumeng palo mith-ey*
            nostril,   kka nostril   right below-LM
            'Nostrils, so like right below the nostrils'

    b.   *wuelyoil ohwu*   ***kunikkan*** *2 si*   *ccum*
            Monday afternoon, kunikkan 2 o'clock approximately
            'On Monday,so like around 2 o'clock'

The same specifying function can be identified in the following face-to-face interaction. Speaker J's reply regarding her departure date in line 4 continually transitions into a more specific, accurate answer from the end of June, to June thirtieth, when J realizes it's actually July the first, which also reflects her train of thought.

(11) Departure (specifier)

1   H: *enni*   *encey ka-ci?   yu wel mal ? chil wel ?*
                 older sister when go-SUP June   end   July
                 'Enni, when are you leaving? End of June? July?'

2   J :   *ung.*
                 yeah
                 'Yeah.'

3   H :   *wuwa olay iss-nun-ta.*
                 INJ   long stay-IN-DC
                 'Wow, you're staying long.'

4 →   J: *yu wel mal **kkan** yu wel sam.. chil wel il il-nal*   *ka-l*   *ke*   *kath-ay.*
                 June   end kkan June three July   one day-day go-PRS thing same-INT
                 'End of June, so like June thirty.... July first, that's when I'm leaving I think.'

An interesting finding of *kulenikka*, as mentioned previously, is that it has a lot in common with the functions of the English discourse marker "like." In Romaine and Lange's (1991) study, they claim that "be like," compared to "say" or "go," is used for

"reduced speaker commitment" and is closely paraphrased as 'what might have been said/thought' (cf. Brinton 1996). It "allows the speaker to retain the vividness and emotiveness of direct speech while preserving the pragmatic force of indirect speech," which "possesses a quality of speaker subjectivity since it is often used for self-presentation," and "has not acquired the status of a verb of *saying*, but functions rather as a *quotative complementizer*" (Romaine & Lange 1991; from Brinton 1996: 61-62). In the next segment, *kka* indicates a demarcation of what the speaker is quoting.

(12) Break-up

1   *nay-ka kuman manna-ca kulay-ss-teni   kka ne na-hanthey   ettehkey ile-l swu*
     I-NM   stop   meet-PR do so-PST-and then kka you me-to how-AD like this-PRS way

2   *iss-e   kule-nun   ke-ya.*
     exist- INT(Q) to be so-RL thing-(be)-INT

     'When I told her we should stop seeing each other she's like how can you do this to me?'

In the next example, formerly the men and women talked about how different they are and how this causes various mishaps and maybe small arguments between the two genders. The emcee (Lee) comments that this can be another interesting aspect of life, and one of the panelists (Kim) adds that women and men are good at different things. Kim starts his utterance with 'in the case of women' (without further elaboration about women), and then, to modify/reformulate his sentence, he uses *kunkka* and starts his sentence anew with '(in the case of) men or women,' departing from the initial adverbial phrase.

130

(13) Morning talk show "Achim Matang"

1   Lee: *kulay-to i-key   tto   salm-uy caymi-canh-ayo kucyo?*
                (but) still this-(NM) again life-GN fun-tag not-POL such-Q
                'But still, this is another (fun/interesting) aspect of life, right?'

2 → Kim: *kulem-yo.   yeseng-tul-i-n kyengwu-ey **kunkka** namseng-ina yeseng-i*
                of course-POL women-be-NOM case-in   kunkka men-or   women-NM

3   *cal ha-nun   pwupwun-i iss-ketunyo.*
                well do-NOM part-NM   exist- you see.

                'Of course. In the case of women, **I mean** there are specific areas in which men are better than women [and vice-versa].'

        Reformulations or modifications are made by the speaker to clear any ambiguities on the part of the hearer, or maximize the truthfulness of the information that is being delivered. They are sometimes corrections of factual error, and sometimes modifications of the utterance (e.g., a whole sentence, a clause, a phrase, a word, etc.) for effective delivery of information.

        Note in the upcoming exchanges how *kulenikka* rephrases previous speech. In excerpt (14), speaker J in line 8 prefaces a modification with *kunkka* whereby she cancels the former *ikicek* 'selfish,' a rather negative term, and replaces it with *kayincek* 'individualistic' which is jointly produced with speaker E in line 9.

(14) Individualistic (changing the whole sentence with no input from other)

1   J: ***kunkka** ne-   kyelhon-ilato hay-ss-ci,   kyelhon.hay-se tto*
                kunkka you-TC marry-at least do-PST-SUP marry-and   again

2   *hankwuk salam-i-kwu menka   kuke-y thong.ha-canha.*
                Korea   person-is-and what-whatever that-NM understand-you know

                'So, well you are at least married, and the person you married is Korean and you share that commonality.'

3   E: *e.. e..*
             yes yes
             'Yeah, yea.'

4   J: *kuntey yay-hakwu-nun   cal cinay-taka-to   ette-n ttay-nun*
             but   this person-with-TC well get along-and then-also some-RL time-TC

5   *mak ehyu myech-il   cen-ey-to   yel pat-akaciko. eccel   ttay*
             really INJ how many-day before-at-also heat receive-and be how-RL time

6   *po-myen-un ku mikwukcec-i-n   kuke-y iss-e.   ikicek-i-n ke.*
             see-when-TC that America-style-be-RL that-NM exist-INT. selfish-RL thing

             'But with him, although we would get along fine for awhile, sometimes..
             Like gosh, a few days ago I was so angry. Sometimes I can see that
             'American-ness,' the selfishness.'

7   E: *e.e.e.e.*
             yes yes yes yes
             'Yeah, uh-huh. Yeah.'

8 →   J: **kunkka** *ikicek-i-n   ke-y   ani-kwu kayinceki-n   ke.*
             kunkka selfish-be-RL thing-NM not-an individualistic-RL thing
             'So I mean it's not selfishness but being individualisitic.'

9   E: (overlapping with J's *kayincekin ke*) kayinceki-n ke?
                                                    individualistic-RL thing
                                                    'being individualistic?'

        In line 4, speaker S explains to J (who loves to eat sushi) what kind of dishes the

restaurant serves. After uttering the word *sushi*, S realizes they are actually rolls, and

immediately makes a repair with *kka*.

(15) Sushi (modifying – replacing a noun, from sushi to roll)

1   S: *an pissa-tu-la-kwu.   kuntey pap conglyu-ka yang-i   manh-kwu*
             not expensive-RT-DC-QT but   meal type-NM portion-NM a lot-and

2   *ccokkum piyong-i   naka-ci.*
                 a little   expense-NM go out-SUP

                 'It wasn't too expensive. But they have a lot of different dishes and the price is a little on the high side.'

3   J: *ung..*
                 yes
                 'I see.'

4 →   S: *susi.. **kka** lol-twu iss-kwu   khaylliphonia lol-twu iss-kwu   ku taum-ey*
                 sushi kka roll-also have-and California   roll-also have-and that next-at

5   *mwe saynduwichi kath-un kes-twu man myech chen wen-ssik-i-ntey…*
                 DM sandwich similar-RL thing-also ten thousand what thousand won-each-but

                 'They have sushi, I mean roll and they have California roll and also uhm what look like sandwich thingies is only a little over 10,000 won, but..'

4.3.1.3   Pause-filler, floor-holder, time-getter

What follows is another excerpt from *Achim Matang* where Kim, a psychiatrist, is displaying his expertise in the area. In response to the question of why men just keep going on and on without asking directions, he begins with '*kka… kka…*' in order to give himself time to give the best answer while filling the pause/holding the floor simultaneously.

(16) Men and asking for directions

1 →   Kim: ***kka... kka…*** *i-key   eti-se   nao-nyamyen*
                   kka…kka… this-thing-(NM)   where-from derive-(QT)-if

2   *sanyangha-nun tey-se   pilostoy-n   ke- yey-yo.*
                 hunt-NOM   place-from derive-NOM thing-be-POL

                 '**kka**… **kka**… where it all began is.. from hunting.'

3   Aud: (AHH…)

4   Kim: *yeysnal-ey inkan-i-n   kyeongwu ettehkey   sanyang-ul*
                old days-at human being-be-NOM case   how   hunting-AC

5   *ha-nya-myen inkan-ey   nunglyek-i iss-nun   ke-n*
                do-(QT)-if   human being-for ability-NM exist-NOM thing-TC

6   *tta-n   key   ani-la olay ccoch-a-ka-nun   ke-yey-yo.*
                different-NOM thing-NM not-but long chase-INF-go-NOM thing-be-POL.

7   *inkan-i-n   kyengwu   **kunkka**[61] ciklip pohayng-ul ha-nikka inkan-un*
                human being-be-NOM case kunkka walk upright-AC do-nikka humans-TC

8   *olay myechil tongan ccochaka-yo.*
                long days   for   chase-POL

'From the early times, in the case of human beings the way they hunted was, the ability a human being has is nothing else(special) other than that they could chase for a long time, in case of human beings. kunkka (they) walk upright, human beings are able to chase (hunt) for days.'

When searching for or recalling the right words, speakers signal to the hearer that they are in "search mode" and often seemingly invite the hearer, as in *kka mweya* ' what was it,' *kka nwukwuya* 'who was it,' *kka (way) kuke isscanha* 'you know, that thing…,' *kka alcanha* 'you know…,' *kka mweci?* 'what was it?,' etc. The addition of *kka* provides the speaker with time to search and hold the floor.

Starting in line 4, immediately after J's question, E begins her search mode, the search for the appropriate word for the kind of school she wants to open in the future. In line 4, she invites (and aligns) E to the word she is seeking, which we can identify with the sentence ender *–canha* 'you know.' She manages to come up with an approximate word (*yenge miswul hakwen* 'English art school'), which she still finds unsatisfactory until she

---

[61] The second *kunkka* functions as reformulation/modification.

comes upon the word she is looking for—*coki yengcay hakwen* 'school for young gifted

children.' Again, we can see the repetition of *kulenikka* collocated with other discourse

markers and pauses.

(17) Art school

1   E: (…) *e. hankwuk ka-se. na-nun hakwen-ul ha-l   sayngkak-i-nikka.*
                     Yes   Korea   go-and I-TC school-AC do-PRS thought-be-since

2   *nay-ka incey.*
               I-NM now

               ' Yeah, since I'm planning on opening a school once I go back to Korea.'

3   J: *miswul hakwen?*
               art school
               'An art school?'

4 → E: *a a miswul..... **kka** yakkan kule-n   ke   iss-canha   enni.*
               INJ art   kka a little like that-RL thing exist-you know older sister

5   *ku elini-tul   cwungsim-ulo miswul cwungsim-ulo ha-nun ku   yenge*
               DM children-PL center-in   art   center-in   do-RL DM English

6 →   *miswul hakwen. (J: u ung ung) **kka kka** coki.. coki.. ku yengcay hakwen*
               art school   (J: yes, yes)   kka kka early early DM gifted children school

7   *kath-un   ke… (…)*
               similar-RL thing

               'Hmm.. umm art… so like unni, slightly you know, that kind of…uhm for
               the kids, taught in English.. uhm I guess English art school. (J: Right, right.)
               So uhm like early early uhm school for gifted children.'

4.3.2   *Textual - Interactional*

kulenikka as a speaker-oriented presentation marker in the textual-interactional domain

functions similarly to the textual presentation marker, with the distinction of occurring

across turns, specifically after some kind of input from the interlocutor. Its major functions are to organize a topic and to provide an explanation based on the information/knowledge that the speaker possesses. Hesitation marking is for the most part to save the speaker's own face.

4.3.2.1 Topic organization

Example (22) starts with speaker Y asking H about her term paper. When the topic starts deviating in lines 5-7 (with Y's comment, although unclear), H signals a change in topic in this segment, in order to return to the topic of 'the term paper,' by employing *kulenikka* in line 8.

(18) Term paper

1	Y:	*ahyu… pheyiphe cal tway-yo?*
		INJ paper well become-POL
		'(sigh) Is your paper going well?'

2	H:	*anye.. incey-pwuthe hay-ya-cy-e.* (unclear)
		no-(POL) now-from do-have to-SUP-POL
		'No, I should start now. (unclear)'

3	Y:	*kuchi... cikum sihem ttaymwuney mo...*
		right now exam because of DM
		'Right, you also have your exam now so…'

4	H:	*enni-nun-yo?*
		older sister-TC-POL
		'How about you?'

| 5 | Y: | (unclear) |

| 6 | H: | *hahahahaha!* |

7	Y:	*hwangtangmwukay...*
		nonsense
		'Crazy…'

8 → H: *enni **kulenikka** S sensayngnim ke-lang P sensayngnim ke-lang tto mwe*
older sister kulenikka S teacher thing-and P teacher thing-and again what

9 *ssu-nuntey-yo?*
write-but-POL

'So unni, other than professor S and P's papers, what else are you writing?'

10 Y: *kuleh-key   twu kay ssu-myen..*
like so-AD two CL write-if
'Those are the two I need to write.'

4.3.2.2   Eplanation – after a turn

In the following, speaker C (line 6) uses *kka* to elaborate on her plans for the summer when her parents visit. The exchange simply starts with J's question as to when C's parents are coming, and C offers detailed information in line 6, which is marked by a *kka*. The supply of such detail would sound awkward had there been an absence of input by speaker J, that is, speaker J's question in line 1.

(19) Parents (elaboration)

1 J: *emma appa osi-ci?   yu-wel?*
mom dad come-SH-SUP six month

2 C: *sip.. sip il.*
ten ten day

3 J: *yu-wel*?
six-month

4 C: *ung.*
yeah

5 J: *um…*
INJ

137

6 → C: **kka** *wuli-ka phainel..i phal-il-nal kkuthna-yo.*
         kka we-NM final-NM eight-day-day end-POL

7   J: *ung*
          yeah

8   C: *kulayse icey kwu-il-nal   chaycem.hay-se wancen sengcek cheli ta hay*
           so   now nine-day-day grade-and   completely grade handling all do

9   *peli-ko…*
           completely do-and

Signalling an upcoming explanation with an example (exemplification) is another function of *kulenikka* as a speaker-oriented presentation marker. Presented in the next exchange is the use of *kulenikka* to signal a forthcoming explanation with an example. In line 2, speaker C starts her explanation with *kunikka* followed by *yeylul telmyen* 'for example,' and goes on to describe a particular event that happened a few times in the past. In fact, *kunikka* alone does the same job, and it is safe to say that it provides the speaker with more "thinking time."

On a side note, again, just like the parenthetical marking function of *kulenikka*, the English discourse marker "like" shares an identical function and can be paraphrased with a "for instance."

(20) Lights (exemplification)

1   J: *kunyang ta khye   noh-nun   ke-ya?*
           just   all turn on to place-RL thing-(be)-INT
           'So they're just all turned on?'

2 → C: **kunikka***… yey-lul tul-myen*..
           kunikka   example-AC give-if
           'So like… for example,'

3   J: *um..*
              INJ
              'hmm…'

4   C: *yay-nun   hangsang yeki nawa-se   kongpwu.ha-canha-yo?*
              this person-TC always   here come out-and study-you know-POL
              'she studies out here all the time you see..'

5   J: *ung.*
              yes
              'Yeah.'

6   C: *kuntey na-nun kongpwu-lul hay pwa-ss-ca (…)*
              but   I-TC   study-AC   do-(INF) try-PST-even if
              'but even if I do study it's only….'

By using *kulenikka*, the speaker offers a detailed explanation to the questioner.

Explanation could be directed to information that the hearer holds, and can include

experience, internal thoughts, knowledge, intention, and so on. In the following exchange,

S talks about her not-so-pleasant job interview at company G, where the interviewer called

out 'mistmatch!' after asking her a few questions. Curious as to what S means by

'mismatch,' J inquires two times (lines 7 and 9), and S offers a detailed explanation of

'mismatch,' which is signaled with an initial *kulenikka* in line 10.

(21) Job interview #1

1   S: *ewu tteleci-l ke kath-ay..   nay-ka toykey yelshim-hi ilyekse ssu-kwu*
              INJ fail-PRS thing same-INT I-NM   very   diligent-ly resume write-and

2   *mak ku salam hanun mal   taytap ttak   hay-ss-e.*
              really that person do-RL saying answer exactly do-PST-INT

3   *kuntey kapcaki sey kaci cilmwun-ul hay G-eyse… kulaykacikwu a mak*
              nut suddenly three kind question-AC do 'G'-at   so   INJ really

4   *taytap-ul   calmos hay-ss-e.yo. kulay-ss-teni   e   ne-nun toykey a..*
                answer-AC wrong do-PST-POL do so-PST-then INJ you-TC really INJ

5   *toykey cal han-takwu sse-ss-nuntey taytap cal mos ha-ney?*
                really well do-DC-QT write-PST-but answer well cannot do-FR

6   *mismatch! kule-nun ke-ya*. (laugh)
                mismatch say-RL thing-(be)-INT

                'Darn, I think I will fail.. I really wrote a good resume and like answered all of his questions. But all of a sudden at the company G, they start asking three kinds of questions and like I didn't give them a right answer. And then he says, um 'you wrote you're really uhm really good, but I see you can't answer that well? Mistmatch!' '

7   J: *a? mwe?*
                INJ what
                'Huh? What?'

8   S: *misumaychi! kule-nun ke-ya.*
                mismatch   say-RL thing-(be)-INT
                'He says, 'mismatch'!'

9   J: mismatch?
                'Mismatch?'

10 → S: **kka** *ney-ka ilyekse ssu-n   ke-lang ne-uy sillyek-un mismatch.ha-ta*
                kka you-NM resume write-RL thing-and you-GN ability-TC mismatch-DC

11   *ike-ya.*
                this-(be)-INT

                'So he's saying, 'your ability and what you wrote in your resume do not match.' '

11   J: *mwe?!*
                what
                'What?!'

Speakers use various ways of signalling an upcoming explanation, but most frequently, data showed that they were collocated with phrases such as *kulenikka nay*

malun (nay malun kulenikka) 'so what I'm saying is' and *kulenikka ~ mwe/nwukwu/encey/ eti/ettenyamyen* 'so what/who/when/where/how' it is is~.' In the first phrase, *kulenikka* indexes *mal* 'saying,' which is optional, as the explanation fully functions without *malun* 'saying is~.' However, we can infer that *kulenikka* indexes "saying." Likewise, disparate in form, the second phrase literally translates to 'if you ask me what/who/when/where/how it is ~,' where the quotative *–ko* is omitted, but the saying (or asking) can be identified.

Finally, the next segment (from the TV drama 'Catching Up With Kangnam Moms') shows a reformulation or modification made by the speaker after the interactant's implicit request. Student 1, who is particularly indifferent to his homeroom teacher, announces to the class that the teacher will be quitting. When Cwunong hears the derogative slang word "*tamthayngi*" he used to refer to their teacher, he slaps Student 1 in the back and starts reprimanding. Scared of Cwunong, Student 1 quickly makes the correction to the polite form *tamim sensayingnimg* 'homeroom teacher' (line 7). Unlike the textual reformulation function, in the textual-interactional domain, the speaker reformulates upon input of the communicator. *kulenikka* can be analyzed as 'so what my saying was…,' again indexing "saying."

(22) Homeroom teacher

| 1 | Student 1: | *ya, kim sensayngnim-to kwantwu-ko tamthayngi-twu* |
| | | INJ Kim teacher-also   quit-and   'homeroom teacher'-also |

| 2 | | *kwantwu-nta-te-ntay?* |
| | | quit-DC-RT-Hearsay |

'Hey, I heard that teacher Kim amd our homeroom teacher are both quitting.'

3 Cinwu: *e?*
          INJ
          'What?!'

4 Student 1: *ung.*
          Yes
          'Yeah.'

(Cwunong approaches student 1 from behind and slaps him.)

5 Student 1: *a! nwukwu-ya issi?!!*
          INJ who-VOC INJ
          'Hey! Who is this?!!'

6 Cwunong: *na-ta. tamthayngi-ka mwe-ya? tamthayngi-ka?*
          I-DC tamthayngi-NM what-(be)-INT tamthayngi-NM
          'It's me! Who are you calling *tamthayngi*??'

7 → Student 1: *ani **kulenkka** tamim sensayngnim-i kwantwu-si-nta-kwu.*
          no kulenikka in charge teacher-NM quit-SH-DC-QT
          'No, I meant our homeroom teacher teacher.'

8 Cinwu: *cincca-ya?*
          truth-(be)-INT
          'Really?'

9 Student: *a cincca-ya.*
          INJ truth-(be)-INT
          'Yeah, it's for real.'

4.3.2.3 Marker of hesitation - own face-saving

(23) Robber (excerpt from TV drama 'Queen of Housewives')

1 J: *a ku casik ku-ke al-ko wa-ss-na po-ney. sinko-pwuthe ha-ca.*
      INJ that guy that-thing know-and come-PST-Q see-FR report-from do-PR
      'Man that guy must've known before he broke in. Let's report it first.'

2 → P: *uk ca! an-ya.. ceki ittaka nay-ka ha-lkey. **kulenkka**.. ceki e…*
      INJ hey no-INT DM later I-NM do-PRM kulenkka DM INJ

3   *na-nun nemwu nollay-se... swi-ko   siph-ese   kulay.*
           I-NM   too   startled-so rest-NOM wishful-so to be so-(INT)

           'Oh my, hey, no… uhm I'll do that later. kulenkka… uhm uhm… I am just
           too startled… I just wanted to rest.'

4   J: *e.. kulay..   kulay..*
           yes to be so-(INT) to be so-(INT)
           'Yeah, okay.. okay..'

Prior to the exchange above, P, who has a crush on J, fakes a break-in just to get the attention of J, who is supposed to meet the girl of his dreams. As he runs in to help her and suggests they report the incident to the police, P is startled. At a loss, she seeks an excuse, thereby using *kulenkka* and an additional discourse marker *ceki* 'uhm,' which is then followed by the instantly fabricated reason, 'that she's just taken aback and that she just wants to rest.' Hesitation markers are known to save the addressee's face, but from the above example, we can clearly see that face-saving is directed more toward the speaker than the hearer. The primary function can be seen as hesitation, but we can also see *kulenikka* as signalling a search for words and a forthcoming explanation all at the same time.

In the next comic TV drama scene, Talca, portrayed as a desperate *nochenye* (old miss), calls her ex-boyfriend and then regrets doing so. In the following excerpt, the degree of hesitation (in order to save her face) is strong, and this can be seen by the repeated use of *kulenikka* (*kulenkka*) and the repeated use of discourse markers such as *a, ey, cekiyo,* and *ce*.

143

(24) *Talcauy pom* "Talca's Spring" TV Drama video clip

1   Talca: *Seyto ssi!* (talks to herself: *michy-ess-na pwa… nayka way pwullessci?*)
               Seyto!   ('crazy-PST-Q see… me-NM why call-PST-Q')
               'Seyto! (Oh my god, I must be crazy. Why did I just call him?)'

2 → Seyto: (turns around, looks at Talca, and walks toward her) *wayyo?*
                                                   why-POL
                                                 'Yes?'

3   Talca: *ey? a… ey… cekiyo…* **kulenkka**… *ce… cekiyo…* **kulenkka**…
               what?a.. uhm.. uhm.. kulenkka… uhm.. uhm.. kulenkka…

               wuli-ka mwe kulehkey chinha-n sai-nun   ani-ciman…
               such   close-RL relation-TC not-but…

               'Yes? Ahh, ehh, umm, **kulenkka..** umm.. umm.. **kulenkka**… I mean we're
               not that close but…'

4   Seyto: *ani-ciman-yo?*
               not-but-POL
               'We're not, so…?'

5   Talca: **kulun~kka**… *aninikka…* (…)
               kulunkka   not-nikka… (…)
               '**kulunkka**… since we're not…' (…)

4.3.3   Interactional

4.3.3.1   Positive reception marker – agreement, alignment

As a reception marker, the functions of *kulenikka* are to express/convey agreement or

disagreement, depending on the context. By using *kulenikka*, the second speaker expresses

agreement and alignment to the first speaker, orienting to his/her prior thought, idea,

knowledge, experience, etc. This kind of agreement and alignment I will term a "positive

reception marker," whereas any disagreement or alignment will be termed a "negative

reception marker."

As will be discussed in further detail, the positive reception marker oriented to the speaker may or may not create solidarity, because the "authority over information" (or "territory of information," Kamio 1997, 1998, 2002) is involved. Solidarity is established when the interlocutor grants the qualifications. As much as interactants maintain a constant alignment and agreement, once the territory of knowledge is challenged or invaded, competition and protection of the authorship begins as well.

(25) Hair

1   J: *kill-e..*
                grow-INT
                'Just grow it out.'

2   L: *uung.*
                 yes
                 'Yeah.'

3   J: *weyipu-lo hay-se kunyang kille.*
                wave-into do-and just   grow-INT
                'Make it wavy and just grow it long.'

4 →   L: **kulenikka**. *na-nun hwaksil-hi nay-ka sayngkak.hay-twu na-twu ki-n meli-ka*
                kulenikka I-TC   certain-ly I-NM   think-even if   I-also   long-RL hair-NM

5   J: *ton-to   akki-kwu*
                money-also save-and

                'I know (that's what I was thinking.) I think for sure I look better with long hair, also saves me money.'

6   L: *hwelssin cal ewulli-nun kes kath-ay…   ccalp-un meli-pota.*
                by far   well suit-RL   thing seems like-INT short-RL hair-than
                'I think it looks much better on me, compared to short hair.'

In the above example, speaker L shows agreement to speaker J's utterance by using *kulenikka*, but simultaneously *kulenikka* indexes speaker H's prior thought ('I look much

better with long hair.') and her authorship, to which she has greater access. Her knowledge is reinforced with *hwaksilhi* 'for sure,' and the phrase *nayka sayngkakhaytwu* 'when I think about it,' and other evidences that indicate to speaker J that L has been thinking about it long before J.

Usually, *kulenikka* as an agreement marker orients toward the speaker's prior thought, feeling, knowledge, expertise, etc., in addition to what has been (explicitly) mentioned before the interactive exchange at hand. The speaker-oriented positive reception marker orients toward the speaker's world, thus from the speaker's perspective, s/he is aligning the interlocutor to the speaker's world. On the other hand, hearer-oriented positive reception markers are highly intersubjective in that "the other" is given credit and authority for the knowledge and experience, and therefore the agreement and alignment is directed toward the hearer.

Note that speaker H in the following interaction takes the credit (or rather, is given credit) for the fact that speaker S will turn down the job at company M if she is accepted to company G. This is because prior to the exchange H has mentioned this message (H's *mal* "saying") to S and thus, S grants part of her authority to H. In line 4, H's *kunikka* indexes her previous remark, or her *mal* 'saying' (line 1) she had made to S, and is reinforced by S's endorsement.

(26) Job interview #2

1   S: *enni-ka   han   mal-i   cincca mac-ta.*
           older sister-NM do-RL saying-NM really correct-DC
           'Unni, what you said is really true.'

146

2   H: *mwe?*
                 What
                 'What?'

3   S: *nay-ka solcik-hi M pwuth-etwu G pwuth-umyen an ka-canha.*
                 I-NM   honest-ly M pass-even if G pass-if   not go-you know
                 'Like you said, even if I make it to M, if G accepts me, I wouldn't go.'

4 → H: e ***kunikka***!
                 yes kunikka
                 'Yeah, (remember) that's what I was saying!'

In the next face-to-face exchange, J expresses her concerns for the dissertation she is having trouble with putting together, especially classifying the various functions of the specific marker found in her data. C carefully offers her advice starting in line 4 through line 7. However, finding that this is not new information for J, J quickly emphasizes her awareness of the matter with *kulenikka* and an additional highlighting phrase of *kuke ttaymwumey* 'because of that' and yet another reinforcement of her knowledge in line 12.

(27) Dissertation data

1   J: *ahyu molu-keyss-e.*
                 INJ not know-think-INT
                 'Darn, I really don't know.'

2   C: *uung…*
                 INJ
                 'Yeah.'

3   J: *heyskally-e   cikum mak…*
                 confused-INT now very
                 'I'm so confused right now'

4   C: *manyakey…*
                 if
                 'What if…'

5   J: *mwe cenhwa.. e..*
              what phone INJ
              'Like phone.. yeah?'

6   C: *no.. ku nonmwun-ey mwusun mwe deyita-la-nun chaypthe-ka iss-umyen*
              diss.. that dissertation-in what what data-QT-RL chapter-NM have-if

7   *khey   phyo kath-un   ke   neh-e   cwu-myen coh-canhayo.*
              like (this) graph same-RL thing insert-INF give-if   good-you know

              'In your data chapter in your diss.. dissertation, it would be nice if you
              include a chart thing.'

8   J: *ung.*
              yes
              'Yeah.'

9   C: ***kka*[62]** *kuke-lul taylyak com ileh-key   hayyo.*
              kka that-AC   roughly little like this-AD do-POL
              'So like do something like this.'

10 → J: ***kulenikka****… ku-ke   ttaymwuney…*
              kulenikka   that-thing because
              'Yeah I know… it's because of that (that I'm having a hard time).'

11   C: *haha…*
              haha
              'Haha.'

12   J: *kuke ttaymwuney meli aph-a   cwuk-keyss-e.*
              that because   head hurt-INF die-will-INT
              'I have a big headache because of that.'

4.3.3.2   Negative reception marker – disagreement, disalignment

In speaker-oriented disagreement, the speaker once again aligns *kulenikka* wth his/her

world, regardless of what the interactant has said. Thus, when there is discrepancy between

speaker and hearer, *kulenikka* signals disagreement or disalignment.

---

[62] *kka* here signals an explanation with an example.

In segment (28), Tahyen and Cayin are bickering about whether to forgive Cwuhi, who was involved in abducting Tahyon. (Caught in a love triangle, Cwuhi had feelings for Cayin; however, Cayin, whose heart is set on Tahyen, did not accept Cwuhi's love for him). Cayin wants to punish Cwuhi but Tahyen wants to forgive her:

(28) TV drama *1% uy etten kes* 'The Untangible 1%'

1	Tahyen:	*Cwuhi ssika kulaysstako Cayin ssito ttokkathi kulemyen ettekhayyo?* 'Just because Cwuhi acted that way doesn't mean you have to act the same way.'
2	Cayin:	*ttokkathi an hay. patun keey icakkaci chyese tollyecwul keya.* 'I'm not going to. I'm going to pay her back on top of everything we had to go through.'
3	Tahyen:	*hakkyo tanil ttay totek sikaney mwe paywesseyo? calmosha-myen yongsehalako sensayngnimi an kaluchye cwuesseyo?* 'What did you learn in school? Didn't the teacher teach you to forgive those who are at fault?'
4	Cayin:	*ikey cikum totekchaykey naonun yaykiya? tephecwuko nemekal swucwuni anicanha.* 'Is this something you'd read in our (ethics) textbook? This isn't something we can just cover up and forget.'
5	Tahyen:	**kulenikka** *te yongsehay-ya-cyo.* 'That's why all the more we need to forgive.'
6	Cayin:	*malto an toynun yaykiha-ci ma.* 'Stop talking nonsense.'
7	Tahyen:	*nay maltaylo hayyo. Cwuhi ssi pansenghako issumyen kunyang tephecwueyo, yongsehaycwueyo.* 'Just do as I say (please). If she reflects on her wrongdoings, then let's just forgive her.'
8	Cayin:	*tangsin papoya. ikey elmana khunilin cwul ala? sayngkakman hayto nan phika malul cikyengiya.* 'You're foolish. Do you realize how serious this is? Just thinking about it gives me the shivers.'

149

9	Tahyen:	*nato alayo. sayngkakhamyen kkumccikhanikka.*
		'I know… Since thinking about it scares me…'

10 →	Cayin:	***kulenikka****… (peptaylo haca)*
		kulenikka… (let's go by law)

11 →	Tahyen:	***kulenikkayo****. han penman pwacwueyo. nahanthey kulen ke Cwuhi ssito kkumccikhayssul keyeyyo. ssawuko, yongsehako, hwahayhako, kulem cohcanhayo. amwu il epsessnuntey cekul mantul philyonun epsciyo.*
		'kulenikkayo**.** Let's just forgive her this one time. I'm sure Cwuhi feels terrible about what she's done to me. To forgive and to make up after a fight, isn't it good? We don't need to make enemies when nothing really happened.'

12	Cayin:	…

In the passage above, three occurrences of *kulenikka* can be observed. The two *kulenikka*s in lines 10 and 11 are used by the speakers to show disagreement while constantly trying to align the person to his/her thought/opinion (Tahyen wants to forgive Cwuhi, while Cayin thinks she should be punished by law). Cayin's *kulenikka* orients to the fact that it scares Tahyen just to think about the whole kidnapping incident (therefore Cwuhi should be punished by law), while Tahyen's *kulenikka* points to her prior utterance (to forgive Cwuhi). As such, *kulenikka* functions as a means to deliver the speaker's opposing view or disagreement while continually trying to align the interlocutor to his/her viewpoint.

Similarly, Mori discusses such an effort as a "pursuit of agreement" whereby these expressions "mark the (…) or <u>causal</u> relationship between their original utterance and the piece of talk added or inserted in order to deal with the recipient's actual or anticipated

disagreement" (1999:138, emphasis in original). As one of the target markers, Mori examines the functions of *dakara* 'so, therefore,' which is a marker sharing similar functions with that of *kulenikka*. Summarizing the functions of *dakara,* she remarks that "*dakara* often introduces supplementary talk in which the speakers rephrase their opinion, or replace a problematic or unclear segment in their prior utterance, in an attempt to clarify what they said earlier and to pursue the recipient's affirmative response." (1999:168). Again, that is just what *kulenikka* does, as we can see in the example below.

(29) Budget cut (excerpt from TV drama "Queen of Housewives")

| 1 | T: | *ku yeysan-sakkam-ul way phyeng-cikwen   sangyekum-eyse ha-p-ni-kka?* |
| | | that budget-cut-AC   why regular-employee reward-from do-AH-IN-Q |

'Why are we cutting the budget from our employees' incentives?'

| 2 | K: | *mwe a-si-tasiphi   kyengki chimchey-ey   ta-tul   himtul-ci* |
| | | what know-SH-as economy depression-from all-PL difficult-NOM |

| 3 | | *anh-sup-nikka?   wusen helitti-pwuthe collamay-se..!* |
| | | to be not-AH-IN-Q   first   belt-from   tighten-and |

'Well, as you know, everybody's going through a rough time because of the depression. So we must start by tightening our belts and …!'

| 4 → | T: | ***kulenikka-yo*** *… nay mal-un   ku helitti-lul way phyeng-cikwen-tul-man* |
| | | kulenikka-POL my saying-TC that belt-AC why regular-employee-PL-only |

| 5 | | *collamay-nya   ha-nun ke-cyo.   kim isa-nim-un yenpong* |
| | | Tighten-Q-(QT) do-RL thing-(SUP)-POL kim director-HT-TC salary |

| 6 | | *olu-sy-ess-te-ntey-yo?* |
| | | increase-SH-PST-RT-but-POL |

'I know, but (what I'm trying to say is) why just the regular employees? I noticed that your salary has increased.'

151

Speaker T, the CEO's son, questions the director (K) about the company's decision to cut the budget for the employees' incentives, and K answers that it is because of the bad economy. In line 3, K smugly asserts that the employees must tighten their belts in order to overcome the difficult times (when he has actually gotten a raise). Subsequently, T partially agrees with the fact that they must save, but disaligns with K by elaborating upon his different views on the matter. Again, we see the recurring *mal* 'saying' and the quotative form *collamayna(ko) (mal)hanu kecyo* 'I am asking why we are tightening.'

4.4 Hearer-oriented *kulenikka*

4.4.1 *Textual – Interactional*

This section looks at examples of *kulenikka* in speaker-hearer interaction, especially those occurring within an exchange structure or across turns, whereby the information/ knowledge is hearer-oriented. Although both function in the textual-interactional domain, *kulenikka* as a hearer-oriented presentation marker differs greatly from the speaker-oriented presentation marker in that the hearer (or interlocutor other than the speaker) has greater knowledge and information. It functions largely as a way of signaling a request and/or to confirm the speaker's prior explanations. It also marks hesitation, but this time to save the hearer's face, as opposed to the speaker's own face (speaker-oriented textual-interactional presentation marker).

4.4.1.1 Request for or confirmation of explanation

In the hearer-oriented textual-interactional domain, *kulenikka* signals a request or confirmation of the information (by way of explanation) to the hearer (or the interlocutor).

While doing so, the subjective center (as I indicate as speaker) gathers the information, summarizes it and confirms it with the hearer marked by *kulenikka*. To reiterate, in the hearer-oriented domain of *kulenikka*, the information and knowledge is situated in the territory of the hearer, not the subjective speaker.

In the forthcoming exchange, C is the one with the "lesser knowledge," and J presuamably with the "greater knowledge," which can be evidenced with the questions C throws to J, twice following the marker *kulenikka*. The questioner's *kulenikka* signals to the hearer that s/he is processing the information received and either asking for more information or confirmation of the information that was received and processed. In line 8, we can clearly see that speaker C is asking for confirmation, that is, the quotative *isstakwuyo* 'so are you saying' explicitly marks the the summary of information received which is in line with the function of *kulenikka*.

(30) Bluetooth

1   C: *enni.   ma.. e.. camkkanman.   enni.   yay-lang yay-lang ettehkey*
            older sister ma INJ short time-only older sister this-and this-and   how

2   *talla-yo?   maithi mawusu waielleysu kit-ilang Bluetooth-lang… ettehkey*
            different-POL mighty mouse wireless   kit-and   Bluethooth-and   how

3   *tall-a.yo?*
            different-POL

            'Unni, mou… um, just a minute. Unni, how are these two different?
            Between the mighty mouse wireless kit and Bluetooth… How are they
            different?'

4   J: *Bluetooth-nun ku-ke ani-ya?   i ke-n   usb-lo   yenkyeltoy-ko*
            Bluetooth-TC that-thin not-(be)-INT this-thing-TC usb-with connect-and

153

5   *i-ke-nun kunyang yeki-ey Bluetooth iss-umyen-un* kunyang USB yenkyel
          this-thing-TC just here-at Bluetooth have-if-TC   just   USB connect

6   *an ha-ko…*
          not do-and

          'Isn't that the Bluetooth? This connects to the USB and this.. if you have
          Bluetooth then you don't have to connect to the USB and…'

7 → C: *ung.. **kka** waiellisu-lato   kkop-ko hay-ya   toy-nun   key*
          yeah kka wireless-even if plug-an do-have to become-TC thing-(NM)

8   *iss-ko an kkop-a.to   toy-nun   key   iss-ta-kwu-yo?*
          exist- an not plug-have to become-TC thing-(NM) exist-DC-QT-POL

          'Yeah.. so you're saying there's a wireless that you need to plug in and
          those that you don't have to?'

9   J: *ung ung*
          yes yes
          'Yeah, yeah.'

10 → C: ***kulenikka** i an-ey   Bluetooth-ka   iss-e.yo?*
          kulenikka this inside-at Bluetooth-NM exist-POL
          'So there's a Bluetooth inside this?'

In the next dialog, T (speaker) asks his wife S (hearer) about the man he saw the day before as he was leaving the house. The questions is asked three times (lines 1, 3, and 5), in different manners ('Did somebody come to the house yesterday?', 'So who is it?', and 'I'm asking you who it is!'). In line 5, the third quotative question 'So, I'm asking you who it is' or 'So, aren't I asking you who it is?' is prefaced by *kulenikka*, whereby T is demarcating an upcoming request for an answer/explanation. As Raymond (2004) and Bolden (2009) point out, the function is similar to that of the English 'so,' in that *kulenikka* also serves to prompt action from the interlocutor.

(31) Visitor (excerpt from TV drama "Queen of Housewives")

1   T: *ke ecey-malya,   nwukwu cip-ey wa-ss-ess-e?*
              DM yesterday-DM who   home-at come-PST-PST-INT
              'Uhm so yesterday, did we have a visitor?'

2   S: *e.. tangsin-i ettehkey   al-a?*
              yes you-NM how-AD   know-INT
              'Yeah, how do you know?'

3   T: *ani.. kunyang naka-ta   po-n ke kath-ase… nwukwu-ntey?*
              no   just   go out-when see-RL thing like-so who-(be)-but
              'No, I just thought I saw someone as I was leaving… who is it?'

4   S: *iss-e.*
              exist-INT
              'Just someone.'

5 → T: **kulenikka** *kuke-y* <u>*nwukwu-nya-kwu?*</u> *ettehkey a-nun   salam-i-ntey?*
              kulenikka that-NM who-Q-QT   how-AD know-RL person-is-but
              'So I'm asking you who that is? How do you know him?'

6   S: *chinkwu-la-kwu hay-twu-ci   mwe.*
              friend-DC-QT   do-leave-SUP DM
              'We'll just say he's a friend.'

Signaling a request or confirmation of information is frequently found in collocation with the quotative *–(ta, nya, la, ca)ko*[63] which is closely equivalent to the word "say" (or "ask"), roughly translating to 'are you saying ~.' Other forms that were frequently located with *kulenikka* in the same sense were *–(ta, nya, la, ca)nun ke(mal)ya* or *–(ta, nya, la, ca)nun ke(mal-i)ci?*, and the implication of "to say," as in[64]:

---

[63] In quotative form *–ko* is used with the ender *–ta* for quoting declarative sentences (s/he told me that ~), *-nya* for questions (s/he asked me if ~), *-la* for imperatives (s/he told me to ~), *-ca* for propositives (s/he said we should ~).

[64] Notice that *ke* 'thing' is interchangeable with *mal* 'saying'.

(32) Collocation with the quotative form –*ko* 'say' and *mal (=ke)* 'saying' (samples taken

from TV drama "Queen of Housewives")

a. ***ku kulenikka*** *ci cikum na-poko mincwu paysin ttayli-ko ne-hanthey* <u>*pwuth-ula-nun ke-ci*</u> *?*
ku- kulenikka n-now me-to Minju betray hit-and you-to stick-IM-(QT)-RL thing-SUP

'So are you <u>telling me that</u> I should betray Minju and take your side?'

b. ***kulenikka****… mincwu-lang an nol-myen ney-ney moim-ey* <u>*kki-e cwu-keyss-ta ike-ya*</u>*?*
kulenikka   Minju-and not play-if you-GN group-in join-INF give-will-DC this-INT

'So are you <u>saying that</u> if I stop hanging out with Minju you will let me join your group?'

c. ***kulenikka****… on-talswu ssi-uy   yakcem-ul   cap-a pwa-<u>la….   kule-n</u>*
kulenikka   Talsoo-HT-GN   weakness-AC catch-INF try-IM to be such-RL

<u>*malssum-isi-n   ke-c-yo?*</u>
saying-be-SH-RL thing-SUP-POL

'So you're <u>telling me</u> to go find his weakness…. That's what you're <u>saying</u>, right?'

d. *ani **kulenikka**… sacang-nim-ilang puth-ess-taka tachi-n   <u>ke-la-n   mal</u>-ya?*
no kulenikka director-HT-with   match-PST-and then hurt-RL thing-DC-RL saying-INT

'No, so.. are you <u>telling me that</u> you got hurt after a basketball match with your boss?'

In the following interaction, H is showing a picture of her sonogram to J and S, but

H cannot figure out where the head is. In line 3, H re-asks her interlocutors with an

unfinished sentence (question) for the information, while still trying to make out the form

of the baby in the picture. The quotaive form is not explicit but we can rephrase H's

incomplete question as *kunkka etika heytulanun ke(mal)yeyo?* 'so where are you saying the

head is?'

(33) Sonogram

1   H: *i-ke   ettehkey   po-nun ke?*
                 this-thing how-AD see-RL thing
                 'How do you make this out?'

2   J: *yeki iss-canha!   heytu-hako pati.*
                 here exist-you know head-and body
                 'It's right here! Head and body.'

3 → H: **kunkka** *eti-ka   heytu?*
                 kunkka where-NM head
                 'So.. the head is?'

4   S: *yeki-ka   meli.. yeki-ka   mom-i-ko.*
                 here-NM head here-NM body-is-and
                 'This is the head and this is the body.'

4.4.1.2   Marker of hesitation – other face saving

In section 4.3.2.3, I presented examples of *kulenikka* as a hesitation marker, but as a device to save one's own face. It was pointed out that like all the other functions of *kulenikka*, marking hesitation also operates on a gradable scale with regard to speaker and hearer-orientedness. For example, with *kulenikka* the speaker expresses reluctance to save face of the speaker him/herself (for many reasons such as to avoid embarrassment, minimize conflict, maximize politeness, etc.) but to a degree face saving is simultaneously directed to the hearer. In this section, I will discuss the said function whereby the face-saving effect is greater for the hearer/interlocutor than for the speaker him/herself.

      The face-saving speech act in lines 8 and 11 can be seen as speaker T suppressing all the forceful things he wants to say to his boss (which might leave him without a job). However, recalling what his wife has said, he feels reluctant to offend the boss (for the above reason) or, potentially, his wife, hence the careful approach with the hesitation

marker *kulenikka*, the other discourse markers (*ani, ku*), the stammering, and the pauses.

(34) Equality (excerpt from TV drama "Queen of Housewives")

1   J: (…) *on talswu-ssi kath-un salam-i   ha-ko   siph-ta-ko   hay-se*
                Talsoo-HT   same-RL person-TC do-NOM want-DC-QT do-so

2   *ha-l swu   iss-nun il-i   ani-eyyo.*
             do-PRS way exist-RL job-NM not-POL

             'It's not a job you can take on just because you want it.'

(T recalls his wife telling him to endure his boss and his overbearing demeanor.)

3   T: *mwullon-i-p-ni-ta.*   *ai   ce kath-un salam-i kamhi kulen kihwoy-lul*
             without doubt-be-AH-IN-DC INJ me same-RL person-NM boldly chance-AC

4   *tal-la-nun key   cham wusup-cye?   haha cey-ka sayngkakhay-to*
             give-IM-RL thing-NM truly funny-SUP-POL haha I-NM think-even

5   *wuski-nikka-yo. hahaha (pause) kulehciman opama-ka   mikwuk*
             funny-since-POL   but   Obama-NM America

6   *taythonglyeng toy-nun   sitay ani-p-nikka?*
             president   become-RL age   not-AH-IN-Q

             'Of course. Well, isn't it funny that someone like me boldly asks you for such a chance? Upon thinking, it makes me laugh, too. Hahaha…. But we are at the age where Obama becomes the president of America.'

7   J: *ney?!*
             yes-(Q)
             'Pardon?'

8 → T: *ani.. ku.. ku..* **kulenikka***… ph.. phyengtung-uy sitay…*
             no   ku   ku kulenikka   e… equality-GN   period

9   *huk-payk-kwa nam-nye-ka   chapyel-eps-nun…*
             black-white-and man-woman-NM discrimination-not exist-RL

             'No.. so I mean… uhmm we've entered the age of e…equality…. of no discrimation between the black and white and men and women…'

10   J: *yoci-man   kantan-hi mal.ha-sey-yo.*
              point-only simple-ly say-SH-POL
              'Just get to the point, please.'

11 → T: **kulenikka***… ce-hanthey-twu phyengtung-uy kihwoy-lul*
              kulenikka   me-to-also   equality-GN   chance-AC

12   *cwu-sy-ess-umyen hay-se…*
              give-SH-PST-if   do-because

              'So (what I'm trying to say is…) I would also like to be given an equal
              chance…'

4.4.2   *Interactional*

4.4.2.1   Alignment – strong agreement

(35) Thief

1   S: (…) *mahun seys-inka neys toy-n   acessi-ka iss-nuntey sumwul tases*
              fourty three-be-Q   four become-RL man-NM exist-but   twenty five

2   *isang-un   celtay an po-ntay.*
              more than-TC never not meet-Hearsay

              'There's this guy who's 43 or 44 and I heard that he won't meet anyone 25
              years and older.'

3   All: (surprised) *chi… ha??! wancen   totwuknom ani-ya?*
                          INJ INJ   completely thief   not-(be)-INT
              'Darn, what?! A complete cradle rocker, isn't he?'

4   H: *hankwuk salam-i-ntey?*
              Korea   person-be-but
              'and he's Korean?'

5   S: *ung.*
              yes
              'Yeah.'

159

6   J: *jayswu-ya..*
              luck-(be)-INT
              'That's sickening.'

7 → H: **kunkka…**
              'Tell me about it.'

8   S: *celtay   an po-ntay…   caki cikum-kkaci kitaly-e o-n   ke-y*
              absolutely not meet-Hearsay self now-until   wait-INF come-RL thing-NM

9   *akkaw-ese-lato   celtay caki-n celm-un ay-lang kyelhon.ha-ntay.*
              waste-so-even for never self-TC young-RL kid-with marry-Hearsay

              'Absolutely no one (over 25)... Just for all that time he has been waiting
              until now he is going to marry a young girl.'

In example (35), S mentions a man she knows who only pursues young women for marriage despite his own maturity. As J criticizes him by saying *jayswu-ya* 'that's sickening,' H follows J's negative assessment toward the man with a *kunkka*. In this scenario, H has no knowledge as to this man or his preferences, so we can safely determine that *kunkka* is not speaker-directed, but directed toward the interlocutor(s), expressing strong agreement and alignment. The three women (who were all above the age of thirty at the time of recording) in actuality are aligning against the man and the unfavorable tendencies they perceive him to possess.

In the next segment from the drama "Queen of Housewives," K and Y visit their husbands' boss's wife, who has influence over her husband's decisions to promote (or demote) K and Y's husbands. They put their best faces/show on to flatter S, who gives them advice (or boasts, after having recently become the representative for the art gallery) and emphasizes the need for a woman to find her "self" instead of depending on a husband. In line 5, Y expresses a strong agreement and acknowledgment of S's "invaluable

160

guidance," in the hopes of earning some brownie points. The relationship among the three women (subordinates K, Y and the boss's wife S) confirms the function of *kulenikka* as an agreement marker that is completely directed toward the listener, the boss's wife S.

(36) Yes-women

1   K, Y: *mesci-sey-yo   tayphyo-nim.*
                splendind-SH- POL representative-HT
                'Wow, you're remarkable, ma'am.'

2   S: *caki-tul-to caa-lul chac-ulye-nun   nolyek-tul-ul hay   pwa.*
                Self-PL-also self-AC find-in order to-RL effort-PL-AC do-(INF) see(try)

3   *namphyen-i kwacang toy-ko   pwucang   toy-myen mwel hay?*
                husband-NM dept. head become-and dept. manager become-if what-AC do-INT

4   *caki-tul-uy ilum-i   iss-eya-ci.*
                self-PL-GN name-NM have-have to-SUP

            'You should all try and discover yourselves, too. So what if your husband is a department head or manager? You should have your own title.'

5 → Y: ***kulenikka-yo****!!! ce-to kulayse wuli yang kwacang-i   pwucang-man*
                kulenikka-POL I-also so   our Yang dept. head-NM dept. manager-only

6   *tal-myen-un   palo   caa-lul chac-ullakwu-yo.* (laugh)
                wear-when-TC instantly self-AC find-intend-POL

            'I know! (I totally agree with you)! So if my husband (Yang) becomes the manager, I will immediately start looking my self.'

7   K: *ce-twu-yo samonim. ellun chac-ulyekwu-yo.*
                I-also-POL ma'am   fast find-intend-POL
                'Oh, me too. I'm intending to do so really soon.'

So far, I have presented examples of *kulenikka* marking strong agreement and alignment with the hearer as an active participant of the interaction. In the next segment we

can see that *kulenikka* also aligns an utterance with a third person who is not physically present during the interchange.[65]

(37) Tongmakkol

1   J: *na-nun col-ass-nuntey…*
            I-TC doze off-PST-but
            'Hmm I fell asleep.'

2   H: *tongmakkol? cikum tases-pen-ccay po-ass-nuntey e nemwu sulph-e.*
            Tongmakkol? Now five-time- -th   watch-PST-but INJ too   sad-INT
            'Tongmakkol? I've watched it 5 times now and it's so sad…'

[omitted]

3   J: *ung. cheum-ey-man com kwaynchanh-taka ku tam-ey-n caymieps-ess-e.*
            yeah first-at-only   little okay-then   that after-at-TC boring-PST-INT
            'Yeah, the beginning was okay and then it was boring.'

4   H: *e na tongmakkol nemwu coh-untey…*
            INJ I Tongmakkol very   good-but
            'Wow, I love Tongmakkol..'

5   J: nay   chinkwu-ka ne ettehkey co-l   swu iss-e?
            I-GN friend-NM you how-AD doze off-PRS way exist-INT
            'My friend says, 'how can you fall asleep'?'

6 → H: ***kulenikka-yo****! cincca caymi.iss-nuntey…*
            kulenikka-POL really fun-but
            I know! It's so good ...

Additionally, the different agreement markers found in the data are: *kulenikka maliya, kunkka mal(i)ya, nay mali, kulsseymaliya, kulssey*(hi-lo pitch), *kulekeymaliya,*

---

[65] A more accurate term encompassing such departures would be "self-oriented" and "other-oriented." This study will maintain the terms speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented for they are more widely recognized in previous literature.

kulekey, kuchi, kuchye, kulay (kulay), cengmal, cincca, kulehcanhayo (kuchanhayo),

kulem, macayo, kulay maca. The *mal* 'saying' appears again which helps to infer that

kulenikka indexes the "saying" (and "internal thought," cf. Andersen 2000), that already

happened, is happening, and will happen.

4.4.2.2   Back-channeling

"Backchannels" (Yngve 1970) are "short optional utterances produced by the current

hearer to signal that s/he is still engaged in the discourse, prompting the current speaker to

go on" (Caspers 2002: 27). They provide the speaker with feedback, and signal to him/her

that the information has been processed. Backchannels do not interfere with the speaker's

turn and are merely signals of acknowledgment and agreement. In the following telephone

exchange, J talks about her financial situation and the dreaded increase in currency rate. As

J takes the floor throughout the conversation, E supports J's utterances with *kulenikka*.

While *kulenikka* functions as an agreement/acknowledgment marker in the passage, it also

functions as a back-channeling device.

 (38) Exchange Rate

1	J:	*keki-taka tto hwanyul-i olla kacikwu (??)*
		there-additionally again exchange rate-NM increase-(INF) so
		'and on top of that the exchange rate went up so'

2 →	E:	***kulenikka***
		kulenikka
		'yeah..'

| 3 | J: | *pothong yey-lul   tul-ese sa-payk   pwul sa-sip man wen* |
| | | normally example-AC give-and four-hundred dollar four-ten ten thousand won |

4   *nay-ss-te-n ke-y mak phal-sip man   wen keuy*
      pay-PST-RT-RL thing-NM terribly eight-ten ten thousand won almost

5   *mak twu pay-lo olu-ko*
      really two times-into increase-and

      'for example smoething that I would normally pay 400 dollars 400,000 won
      is like 800,000 won almost went up like twice as much.'

6 E: *moll-a   moll-a   ta pic-i-ci   mwe.*
      don't know-INT don't know-INT all debt-is-SUP what
      'Ahh what am I gonna do, it's all debt.'

7 J: *cip-twu ta pic-iya.. acwu michi-keyss-e cikum.*
      house-also all debt-is-INT really crazy-will-INT now
      'The house is also debt. Just going crazy these days.'

8 → E: **kulenkka.**
      kulenkka.

      'I know.'

CHAPTER 5

SOCIOPRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF *KULENIKKA*

5.1   Introduction

In previous literature, the causal connective *–(u)nikka* has been associated with a speaker's

subjectivity, evaluative attitude (i.e., judgment or justification toward a causality) (S. Sohn

1992, 2003) and also with providing the speaker's affective or empirical ground for leading

the interlocutor into collaboration with the speaker (Kim and Suh 1994, 1996). As a result

of grammaticalization, the widely used connective *–(u)nikka* affixed to the deictic

kule(ha)- 'to be so,' rapidly developed into the discourse marker *kulenikka* (synchronously

existent with the clausal connective *–(u)nikka*) with various meanings of 'I know,' 'tell me

about it,' 'so,' 'I mean,' 'umm,' etc., depending on different social contexts and prosodic

features. The use of *kulenikka* is frequently manifested in social interaction between/

among interlocutors, as a device with which to express (strong) agreement or disagreement

(or rejection/refusal), while maintaining a sense of harmony and co-alignment. Among the

many functions[66] of *kulenikka* in interaction, the two major functions of "agreement" and

"disagreement" will be discussed in this chapter.

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the speaker delivers both agreement and

disagreement by using *kulenikka*[67]. Delivery of agreement is established when the speaker

---

[66] Functions of agreement, disagreement, modification, elaboration, pause-filler, explanation,
hesitation, etc.

[67] Although there is a distinction between agreement and alignment, this chapter will use the general

aligns his/her world with the hearer's world, while disagreement is conveyed when the speaker aligns with his/her own world, a world different from that of the hearer's.

Agreement is widely accepted as being the "preferred response," whereas disagreement is viewed as the "dispreferred response" (Pomerantz 1984). However, instances of naturally occurring conversations reflect that agreement is not always a preferred response, nor is disagreement a dispreferred response (Schiffrin 1984; Tannen 1981; Goodwin 1980, 1983; Kotthoff 1989a, 1989b, 1993; as cited in Locher 2004). Mori (1999) outlines in detail the relations between agreement/disagreement with various actions and their preferability, as the following table shows. Note that in the case of self-deprecation, agreeing is not preferred, for example agreeing to 'I am so dumb' is universally not preferable.

Table 16. Preference format of some selected action types (Mori 1999:113)

Action	Preferred Format Response	Dispreferred Format Response
Request	Acceptance	Refusal
Offer/Invitation	Acceptance	Refusal
Assessment	*Agreement*	*Disagreeement*
Self-deprecation	*Disagreement*	*Agreement*
Accusation/Blaming	Denial	Admission

term agreement for all positive reception markers (agreement and alignment) and disagreement for all negative reception markers (disagreement and disalignment).

Linguistic elements cannot be interpreted without the social contexts in which individuals are situated. As Stubbs points out, "language does not play a constant role across different social situations—it is revealing to consider how unimportant language may be in certain contexts!" (1983). Similarly, in emphasizing the importance of contextualization, Locher adds, "[…] any interaction in general will be shaped by the personal history of the conversants, their social status, their role in the then-present speech situation and their perception of themselves and their conversational partners" (2004). Thus, it can be realized that what establishes solidarity or creates distance between interlocutors is not merely an expression of agreement or disagreement, respectively, but the situated context as well.

Whether human beings are in agreement or disagreement, the notion of power/solidarity and politeness are underpinned in social interaction. On the one hand, agreement is intended to establish solidarity or a sense of connection between interlocutors, but because we do not (or do not want to) always perceive ourselves as being the same as others the effect of displaying such solidarity may induce other outcomes at times. When encountering disagreement, on the other hand, we (un)consciously exercise power while wishing to maintain equilibrium in the politeness of the discourse.

kulenikka functions as both an agreement marker and disagreement marker. As an agreement marker, I will show that there are instances *kulenikka* establishes solidarity, where in some cases it does not[68], for example:

---

[68] I will use the terms "affirmative agreement marker" and "non-affirmative agreement marker," respectively.

(1) *kulenikka* as an agreement marker (A is complaining about the way some Koreans are):

    a) **affirmative agreement** (successful establishment of solidarity)

        A and B are both Koreans:

        A: Koreans are so shallow! All they care about are looks and money!

        B: *kulenikka!* ➔ solidarity accomplished

    b) **non-affirmative agreement** (failure in establishing solidarity)

        A is a native Korean and B is an American (Caucasian):

        A: Koreans are so shallow! All they care about are looks and money!

        B: *kulenikka!* ➔ failure to establish solidarity

The agreement marker *kulenikka* above both translates to 'I know' or 'tell me about it,' which in Stubbs' terms may be called an "acceptance marker" whereby the other party implies that has "understood and this is no news" (Stubbs 1983), or as Johnson has stated, as a "knowledge marker" (2006). The two examples show that if the interactants do not share the "sameness" (being Korean, in this case), an agreement employing *kulenikka* can provoke a sense of antipathy. In accounting for this phenomenon, I will borrow the theoretical concepts from the following studies: a) Kamio's "Territory of Information" (1990, 1994, as cited in Hudson 1998), b) Heritage's "Oh-Prefaced Responses to Assessments" (2002), and c) Tannen's solidarity/distance continuum (1993).

(2) *kulenikka* as a disagreement marker:

(A and B got into a car accident and are arguing over who is at fault)

A: What's wrong with you? Didn't you see that the light was red?

B: What do you mean? It was yellow!

A: *(ani…) kulenikkayo!* '(No…) so…!'

Disagreements usually put one's face (Brown and Levinson) or self-image at stake, therefore as the above example shows, it is usually indirect or other markers (such as *ce* 'umm,' or *ani* 'no,' or a pause) precede it.

In explaining the sociopragmatic factors underlying both arenas of agreement and disagreement in *kulenikka*, all three concepts of power, solidarity, and politeness will be taken into account, though more focus will be placed on solidarity in the case of agreement, and greater emphasis on power for disagreement.

5.2   *kulenikka* as a marker of agreement

5.2 1   Achievement of solidarity

Although conversation analysis does not address external social systems in accounting for structural phenomena, Pomerantz's (1984) description of agreement implies the speakers' social motives: "conversants orient to agreeing with one another as comfortable, supportive, reinforcing, perhaps as being sociable and as showing that they are like-minded." As such, by supporting one another with an agreement, one may wish to establish some sort of connection. Claiming common ground by seeking agreement is also one of the

strategies set out by Brown and Levinson (1987) as a positive politeness technique. Brown and Levinson observe that positive politeness is in many respects identical to normal linguistic behavior between intimates, and applying positive politeness is not only used for face-threatening act redress, but in general as a kind of "social accelerator," used by the speaker to indicate that wants to "come closer" to the hearer. The use of *kulenikka* as an agreement marker in the first example does just that by creating solidarity and similarity.

The following is an excerpt from a live discussion between four men and four women on the subject "husbands that won't listen vs. wives who aren't good at reading maps," with two emcees (one male and one female) directing and mediating the discussion.[69] In the following, Ahn, one of the male panelists tells the others in the discussion that he is never able to come out the right exit when he gets off the subway. An unidentified person agrees with him by saying 'Oh, I'm also like that,' and when he goes on to explain how he goes back down the subway station (in order to start over again to find the right exit) and then comes out only to find himself in another wrong exit, someone else strongly agrees with *kulenikka*, this time overlapping before he has even finished his utterance[70].

[69] From KBS (Korea Broadcasting Station) *Achimmatang*, a daily one hour talk show. Specifically on Fridays, the show is set in a form of a discussion/panel between four men and four women on a generally controversial (between male and female) topic.

[70] Conversation analysists (Sacks 1987; Pomerantz 1984) observe that "agreement turns are commonly explicitly stated and performed with a minimum of gap between the completion of the prior turn and the initiation of the agreement turn."

(3) Getting lost at the subway station (AM: anonymous)

Ahn: *ce-nun cihachel nakamyen han pen-to   cey-ka ka-koca ha-nun*
      I-TC subway go out-when one time-also I-NM go-intend do-RL

      panghyang-ulo naka po-n   cek-I   eps-eyo.
      direction-to   go out try-RL time-NM not exist-POL

      'When I go out the subway station, I have never exited (the subway station)
      in the direction I had intended to.'

AM. : *ehywu, ce-twu kulay-yo.*
       INJ   I-also like that-POL
       'Gosh, I'm like that, too.'

Ahn: *nacwung-ey-nun ku tasi   tul-e-kass-taka   tto engttwungha-n tey-lo*
      later-at-TC   that again go in-INF-go-PST-TR again wrong-RL place-to

      tto   nao-canh-ayo.
      again come out-you know-POL

      'Later I go back down umm only to come back out the wrong exit.'

➜AM**:** ***kulenikka!***
       'I know (what you mean)!'

As shown in the example above, the use of the agreement marker *kulenikka* as a means to establish solidarity and similarity was more or less successful. However, this is not always the case, which I will demonstrate in the following sub-section.

5.2.2   Failure to achieve solidarity

Following is an excerpt from Tannen where a counter-exemplification (i.e., agreement that fails to establish solidarity) is well illustrated:

171

The similarity/difference continuum calls to mind what I have discussed elsewhere as the double bind of communication. In some ways, we are all the same. But in other ways we are all different. Communication is a double bind in the sense that *anything we say to honour our similarity violates our difference*, and anything we say to honour our difference violates our sameness[71]. (Tannen 1993, emphasis added)

A resemblance of the former ("anything we say to honor our similarity violates our difference") can be evidenced in the following example with the use of *kulenikka*. As two friends are walking the busy fashionable streets of *Apkwucengtong*, considered by many (Koreans) as the Rodeo Drive of Seoul, the following conversation takes place:

(4) Rodeo Drive

A: *ahywu, na-nun encey Porsche tha-ko   pulayntu   kapang-ina sa-le*
      INJ   I-TC   when Porsche ride-and brand name bag-just   buy-in order to

      tani-ko   phyenha-key   sal- kka.
      around-and comfortable-AD live-(PRS)-Q

      'Gosh, I wonder when I will drive a Porsche and go around shopping for expensive brand bags and live an easy life (like all those other people)!'

B: → *kunikka!*
      'I know! / Tell me about it! / That's what I mean!'

A: ....

---

[71] For example, between best friends you wish to share the same values, preferences, thoughts, or even problems and when she/he shows disagreement (showing that their view is different) you will feel that your sameness/closeness as friends has been jeopardized. Example:
[Best friends]
A: I don't like Lisa, she thinks she's all that!
B: Oh.. I think she's sweet.

Speakers A and B are close friends though speaker A perceives herself to be higher in (social) status in relation to B[72]. When B offers the strong agreement, A feels uncomfortable, because she doesn't accept the fact that B has the qualifications to agree. Even between equals (close friends), the intention and effect of speaker B did not fully succeed in establishing solidarity in the above situation. In order for agreement to accomplish its intention of creating solidarity or closeness, two people have to be the "same." Brown and Gilman (1960; as cited in Tannen 1993) who view solidarity and sameness as sharing an approximate meaning, present such an aspect in their definition of solidarity:

> Now we are concerned with a new set of relations which are symmetrical; for example, *attended the same school or have the same parents or practice the same profession*. If A has the same parents as B, B has the same parents as A. Solidarity is the name we give to the general relationship and solidarity is symmetrical. (1960 in "solidarity semantic"; emphasis in original)

Thus, when two people are not in accord with the "sameness," such failure to deliver or establish solidarity is apt to occur. The two examples of the use of *kulenikka* have shown that solidarity can be established only when the addressee acknowledges and accepts the speaker's intention.

---

[72] Speaker A is a graduate student who has graduated from a recognized university in Korea. Both parents graduated from one of the best universities in Korea, and her father held a high position as a government official. Because of the father's occupation the family resided in different parts of the world, whereas speaker B is from a small town in the suburb area of Korea, graduated from a less recognized university, has recently moved to Seoul and only recently has acquired the lifestyle of a city girl (she has started to recognize brand names such as Chanel, or Gucci, and pricey cars, etc.). The weight of importance on the university one graduated from (educational background) or having lived outside at an early age (Korea only started promoting traveling since the early 90's or so) may be a cultural factor, because to many people outside Korea it may not even be an issue to consider.

173

"Camaraderie," one of Lakoff (1973)'s three principles of "Rules of Rapport" (originally called "Rules of Politeness"), conventionalizes equality as an interactive norm and applies the rule of "being friendly." For an illustration of camaraderie and application of the rule, Tannen gives an example of a friend walking into her house saying, "I'm thirsty. Do you have any juice?" In the example, the friend is employing camaraderie where the "being friendly" strategy is applied, however Tannen makes a point that such a linguistic choice depends on whether the addressee shares the expectation that it is an appropriate application of the principle in that particular situation or not. It may have been a conversational style taken up by the friend assuming the addressee will be pleased by "the testament to the closeness of [their] relationship." The problem lies in whether the addressee accepts it or not. If it is not accepted, then as Tannen suggests, the speaker might have been better off choosing another rule (for example, "distance" by "not imposing").

Because face-to-face human interaction is a "joint production" (as cited in Tannen 1993), what one intends by an utterance does not always coincide with the effects the utterance brings about. Again, as Tannen notes, "the same linguistic means can be used for different, even opposite purposes and can have different, even opposite effects in different contexts" (1993). In other words, an expression of agreement used with the intention of establishing a close relationship with the interlocutor(s) in a specific context may, in contrary, be taken as an insult or a downgrade[73], creating a sense of disagreement or distance (or vice versa). Then, what makes us the same or different? It involves such

---

[73] As one colleague has pointed out, however, the opposite may occur: when someone you think is superior to you in a certain context, an agreement with *kulenikka* made by the person will render feelings of acceptance or upgrade on your part.

174

dynamic factors as age, gender, expertise in a specific area, status, personal history, etc. Thus, what affects the acceptance of an agreement as a marker of solidarity depends on how the addressee perceives him/herself in relation to the speaker in terms of these variable factors.

Failure to establish solidarity is also greatly linked to one's knowledge and experience. In her paper "So? (On Japanese Connectives *sorede*, *dakara*, and *ja*)", Hudson (1998) adopts the notion of "territory of information." Kamio (1994) has proposed an explanation of various linguistic phenomena. According to Kamio, the speaker's territory of information is "a conceptual category which contains information close to the speaker him/herself." The speaker's information is illustrated as information obtained through the speaker's direct experience, information about persons, facts, and things close to the speaker, and information relating to the speaker's professional or other expertise. Again, the use of *kulenikka* can create distance or uneasiness for the recipient who feels as though "their territory of information" has been invaded. In the following face-to-face conversation, J and S talk about school and studying. However, Speaker S's *kunkka* in line 5 fails to create solidarity, as J feels S, who is engaged in a completely different occupation, does not have the expertise or experience to fully understand and thus agree with J. From the speaker's perspective, S was expressing agreement to express empathy and shared emotions (illocution), but the outcome (perlocution) was not successful.

(5) Teaching

1   J: *kuntey kongpwu-nun silh-untey haksayng-tul kaluchi-l ttay-n cengmal*
          but studying-TC dislike-but student-PL teach-RL time-TC really

2		*coh-a.* *cengmal paywu-ko siph-un salam-tul-hanthey wuli-nala..*
		good-INT really learn-NOM wishful-RL person-PL-to our country

3   *hankwuke-lul kaluchi-kwu hankwuk-uy mwunhwa-lul nay-ka cikcep*
            Korean-AC   teach-and   Korea-GN culture-AC   I-NM   in person

4   *centalhay   cwu-l swu iss-ta-nun   key   nemwu coh-a.*
            pass on-(INF) give-RL way exist-DC-(QT)-RL thing-(NM) so   good-INT

            'but I don't like studying but I really love it when I'm teaching. Teaching
            people who really want to learn about Korea... It's really nice that I can
            teach Korean and deliver Korea's culture in person.'

5 → S: **kunkka**.. *kaluchi-myen kunyang kaluchi-nya-kwu…*
            kunkka   teach-if   just   teach-Q-QT

6   *caki-ka kongbwuhay-se kaluchi-eya-ci.   ta ney   phalca-ya.*
            self-NM study-and   teach-have to-SUP all your destiny-(be)-INT

            'I know, (I'm telling you) you don't just teach. You have to study in order to
            teach. You're meant to do that.'

5.3   *kulenikka* in the delievery of disagreement[74]

In previous studies, the use of *kulenikka* (or A-*(u)nikka*-B utterance as was indicated) has

been illustrated by Kim and Suh (1996) as presenting "a shared ground on which the

speaker imposes his or her action on the hearer" while maintaining (or even strengthening)

their prior stance. In other words, the speaker employs *kulenikka* to "maintain the hearer's

attention to prior talk, and to keep the hearer oriented to the on-topicness of the prior talk."

---

[74] Kakava's definition of disagreement falls in line quite closely to my understanding of *kulenikka* as a disagreement marker:
     Disagreement is "an oppositional stance (verbal or non-verbal) to an antecedent verbal (or non-verbal) action" (1993:36).
Locher elucidates by adding, "[Disagreements] could be put forward either by a previous speaker in the current speech situation or derived from earlier interactions. […] Disagreements are thus by their nature linked to previous positions, but they also usually open a next-position for a next speaker because a disagreement calls for some kind of reaction from the party disagreed with" (2004: 95).

In another work (1994), they identify the function of the discourse marker *kulenikka* as projecting reformulation of the prior talk for various interactional purposes, including when dealing with projected disagreement from the interlocutor. Notice how *kulenikka* is used in the following conversation:

(6) Monograph

(Two colleagues are talking on-line about making a scrapbook or monograph in memory of their professor.)

1   A: *incomplete   iss-te-n   haksayngtul-i*
                     incomplete   have-RT-RL student-PL-NM
                     'Students who received incompletes from his class'

2   B: *ney...*
                     yes
                     'Yeah/Yes…'

3   A: *han 2 nyen cengto-lo cap-ko, mwusun   monograph   kathun   ke*
                     about 2 year about-into determine-and what monograph same-RL thing

4   *mantul-e   po-l-kka? sensayngnim chwumo-lo?*
                     make-INF try-PRS-Q teacher cherishing the memory-for

5   *mwullon   ku   cengto-lo kul-i   nao-l-ci-nun   molu-ciman*
                     of course that extent-to writing-NM come out-PRS-SUP-TC not know-but

                     '(Shall we) try make something like a monograph with a (approximate) timeline of around 2 years? In memory of our professor? Of course, I'm not sure if we can come up with enough, though.'

6   B: *aaa… mwusun scrapbook-ul   mantul-ca-nun   yayki-twu   iss-te-n*
                     INJ   some scrapbook-AC   make-PR-TC   saying-also exist-RT-RL

7   *ke   kath-untey*
                     thing same-but

                     'Ahh (I see)… I think there was also a talk(mentioning) about making a scrapbook.'

8	A:	*aaa… nonmwun-to sil-ko kule-nun keya?*
		INJ dissertation-also carry-and to be so-RL thing-(be)-INT
		'Ahh (I see)… Is it something that'll also include papers (dissertation/ thesis) and things like that?'

9	B:	*ani-yo.*
		no-POL
		'No.'

10 →	A:	***kulenikka****... wuli-ka nunglyek-man toy-myen nonmwuntul-ul moa-se*
		kulenikka we-NM ability-only become-if dissertation-AC collect-and

11		*chwumo nonmwuncip mwe ile-n ke mantul-myen coh-ulthey-ntey…*
		commemoration dissertation-collection like this-RL thing make-if good-PRS
		'Only if we were capable enough/had the ability, it would be nice if we could collect some papers and make a collection (of papers/dissertations) in memory (of our professor).'

12	B:	*aaa… kule-ney-yo.*
		INJ to be so-FR-POL
		'I see… (I realize) you're right.'

In the above example, not only is A directing the focus to her prior talk ('Let's put together a monograph in memory of our professor.'), she is also projecting a disagreement toward B's utterance by pointing out that what she is referring to is "the monograph" (not the "scrapbook") which is different from the "scrapbook" B has mentioned. Eventually, B aligns with A with an "I see." I propose that *kulenikka* is an indirect expression per se therefore also a polite one in that, rather than directly pointing out the discrepancy, the speaker leads the hearer to the prior utterance for him/her to figure out what is problematic. One thing to note with the disagreement marking *kulenikka* is that instead of aligning with the interlocutor, the speaker aligns with his/her own world (e.g., speaker's knowledge, experience, prior utterance, etc.). *kulenikka* as a disagreement marker can often be seen

178

preceded by markers of hesitation or hedging,[75] such as *ce* 'ummm,' *ani* 'no,' or a pause/delay. Likewise, Locher claims that the occurrence of *uhm* and *uh* in front of a word search constitutes mitigation in that they try to protect the speaker's own face.

Heritage (2002) in his work "Oh-Prefaced Responses to Assessments" claims that oh-prefacing expresses the second speaker's "epistemic authority/independence" in relation to the matter being assessed relative to the first speaker. Oh-prefacing conveys that the speaker's own experience is the basis for the evaluation that follows and a resource for conveying superior knowledge of and/or rights to assess the matter under discussion. He explains the phenomena of oh-prefaced responses in the context of both agreement and disagreement.

(7) a. Oh-prefaced agreements[76]: The second speaker has epistemic authority, and is in

some disagreement with the first and deploys an [agree+disagree] response to

register this ("counter-agreement"), and this may create epistemic

competition/tension between the parties even in the most harmonious way.

   b. Oh-prefaced disagreements: "Holding a position" in flat out opposition.

---

[75] Marking hesitation is another major function of *kulenikka* (Example from a TV drama clip):
(A calls B's name out, but immediately regrets doing so. However, it is too late because B looked around and responded. A is at a loss for words.)

A: *ey? aaa…ey…cekiyo…kulenkka… ce… cekiyo… kulenkka… wuli-ka mwe kulehkey chinha-n sai-nun aniciman….*
   'Yes? Ahh, ehh, umm, *kulenkka*.. umm.. umm.. *kulenkka*… I mean we're not that close but…'

[76] I view this as disagreement. This mechanism also applies to the non-affirmative agreement whereby the first speaker feels challenged by the second speaker's "epistemic competition."

179

Hitherto, disagreement has been recurrently associated with power (Rees-Miller 2000; Locher 2004, among others), and power, with solidarity[77] and politeness. The relation among the three concepts can be portrayed as ***power*** taking place between/among interactants (both symmetrical and asymmetrical) and indicating some degree of ***solidarity*** by taking the addressee's face into consideration (***politeness***). Power, according to Locher, is "relational work" that is, constantly negotiated in and around relationships involving two or more interactants. Her perspective on power is that power is not necessarily negative or positive, and sometimes it is exercised with no conscious intention at all.

Nevertheless when power is exercised, interactants display face considerations (or politeness), intending to mitigate any face-threatening acts (Brown and Levinson 1987). Locher proceeds by claiming that "politeness is always identified and evaluated by both the speaker and the hearer as norm-based," and hypothesizes that "showing consideration towards the addressee can be motivated by the wish to soften the exercise of power" (2004: 91).

5.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the discourse marker *kulenikka* as an agreement marker and disagreement marker is displayed in interaction in terms of socio-pragmatic aspects. As an agreement marker not only can it establish solidarity (as agreement markers

---

[77] On the relation between power and solidarity Tannen (1994) illustrates as follows (citing from Locher 2004): "What appears as attempts to dominate conversation (an exercise of power) may actually be intended to establish rapport (an exercise of solidarity). This occurs because […] power and solidarity are bought with the same currency: The same linguistic means can be used to create either or both."

are generally known to do), but it also generates a silent disagreement or disalignment. What underlies the creation of this silent disagreement/disalignment as opposed to the intention of forming closeness is power and status as perceived by the individual. *kulenikka* as a disagreement marker is also associated with power in that when disagreement is expressed by the use of *kulenikka*, one is exercising power. However, because human beings in nature are assumed to maintain a sense of social equilibrium/harmony, the politeness strategy is taken whereby the use of *kulenikka* as a disagreement marker or hesitation marker mitigates the force of power that is exercised. As a concluding remark I add, "As long as we are a part of society, we need each other, yet we need to be separate." (Tannen 1984:15)

CHAPTER 6

DISCOURSE MARKERS IN THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

6.1   Introduction

"Native speakers use discourse particles with great precision as signposts in the interaction, for example to make it easier for the hearer to understand how the different parts of the text are related. If a non-native speaker uses discourse particles incorrectly or not uses them at all this may lead to misunderstandings. A structural and functional description of discourse particles will therefore be useful for learners […]"

(Aijmer 2002:3, cited from Müller 2005).

Learners of a second or foreign language can be seen quite frequently, when encountering a native speaker, to include their first language habits or pragmatic devices (such as *uhm, like, I mean,* etc., in the case of native speakers of English learning a foreign/second language) within their second language utterances, which is evidence that these habits or pragmatic devices (or to be more specific, discourse markers) are necessary in our daily speech in interaction. It can be claimed that this is due to lack of introduction or instruction of such aspects in the second/foreign language classroom. The necessity of incorporating pragmatic factors into the language classroom environment has been widely discussed and accepted in the field of second language research (as cited in interlanguage pragmatics, Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993, 2001) with a focus on speech act performance. However, teaching discourse markers hasn't been dealt with in great depth.

As emphasized in previous chapters, discourse markers are characteristic to natural discourse, in turn-takings, signaling a want to take the floor, modifying utterances, steering

the topic in another direction, showing hesitation, expressing agreement/disagreement, among others. In the following dialog, compare the responses given by B_1 and B_2:

An invitation/proposal to Jane's birthday party (invented dialog)

    A: Hey Bob, wanna go to Jane's birthday party tonight?
    B: No, I'll be too busy with work tonight.
<p align="center">or</p>
    B_1: *Well, (let's see),(uhmm) (I think)* I'll be too busy with work tonight. (English)
    B_2: *kulssey, (kuntey), (kunkka) onul nemwu pappuntey…* (Korean)

Although the response made by B is not completely unacceptable, it sounds impolite and blunt. In order to soften the rejection one is likely to employ mitigators, or discourse markers, such as 'well,' 'let's see,' 'I think,' and an interjection 'uhmm'(B_1) or *kulssey* 'well,'*kunte*y 'but' (B_2), etc. Functions of discourse markers are not limited to cases as described above. Below, I present some functions of discourse markers as outlined by Brinton (1990, as cited in Müller):

      a.   to initiate discourse
      b.   to mark a boundary in discourse (shift/partial shift in topic)
      c.   to preface a response or a reaction
      d.   to serve as a filler or delaying tactic
      e.   to aid the speaker in holding the floor
      f.   to effect an interaction or sharing between speaker and hearer
      g.   to bracket the discourse either cataphorically or anaphorically
      h.   to mark either foregrounded or backgrounded information

Widely known as hesitation markers or fillers (d and e), expressions such as 'well,' 'I mean,' 'you know,' 'uhh,'or 'uhm' have been regarded as being characteristic of a poor speaking style, or a lack in fluency. Chafe (1985), meanwhile, makes the point that "pauses, false starts, afterthoughts, and repetitions do not hinder that goal, but are steps on the way to achieving it." On fluency, I would like to present some interesting findings: Sajavaara (1978; as cited in Kramsch) has reported through his study on the phenomenon of fluency in non-native and native speakers of English. He found that native speakers (who are perceived to be fluent) produced more false starts, rephrasing, extraneous words, and instances of imprecision and incompletion than non-native speakers. Non-native speakers used more pauses or repetitions, while native speakers replaced them with fillers or other conversation management devices. Sajavaara's claim is that this is due to the fact that non-native speakers only learned those two ways (using pauses or repetitions) to give themselves more time for finding the appropriate expression; "they have never been taught how else to behave when they have to keep the communication going but have nothing to say or don't know how to say what they have to say" (ibid.). These fillers are parallel to the so-called discourse markers, and Sajavaara's study shows how teaching and learning of the discourse markers is an integral part of language pedagogy.

In this chapter, I will examine previous accounts of pragmatic/communicative competence and the importance of teaching/learning discourse markers, comparing oral and written discourse (with relevance to language teaching), and suggestions for incorporating discourse markers into the classroom.

6.2   Pragmatics, pragmatic competence and discourse markers

What is pragmatics and what does it encompass within second language studies and teaching? According to Crystal, "pragmatics is the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication" (Crystal 1985, as cited in Müller). Taking the definition of Stalnaker as "the study of linguistic acts and the contexts in which they are performed" (1972:383), Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor add that the aim of teaching pragmatics is "to facilitate the learners' ability to find *socially appropriate language* for the situations they encounter." The areas that the teaching of pragmatics encompass are speech acts (requesting, apologizing, refusing, thanking, etc.), conversational functions (greetings and leave takings), conversational management (back-channeling and short responses), discourse organization, and sociolinguistic aspects of language use (such as choice of address terms), etc.

Pragmatic competence as defined by Jaworski is "an aspect of communicative competence [which] refers to the ability to communicate appropriately in particular contexts of use" (1998:249, as cited in Müller 2004). The term communicative competence was coined by Hymes (1972), who was reacting against Chomsky's distinction between competence and performance, in which the concept of linguistic competence pertains only to the monolingual adult native speaker as "the ideal speaker-hearer's knowledge of grammaticality" (Chomsky 1957, as cited in Kramsch 1981). Hymes' model, although not intended for pedagogy, identified communicative competence as "the speaker's ability to

185

produce appropriate utterances, not grammatical sentences." Modifying Hymes' model, Canale and Swain (1980) later defined communicative competence in terms of four components: grammatical competence (words and rules), sociolinguistic competence (appropriateness), discourse competence (cohesion and coherence), and strategic competence (appropriate use of communication strategies)[78].

Additionally, Kramsch identifies three major aspects of communicative competence: (i) grammatical competence necessary to make oneself understood (locutionary acts), (ii) pragmatic competence (illocutionary acts), and (iii) discursive competence (conversational acts). Recognizing the contributions made by conversation analysts such as Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson to the detailed description of the "conversational mechanisms" evident in everyday conversation, Kramsch refers to some important strategies as emphasized by CA, such as turn taking, moves, and topic ("tellability") in relation to communicative competence. An insightful point is that in between turns, silence creates a problem, putting pressure on potential speakers and in recognizing points of the previous speaker's "possible completion." This creates such utterances/expressions as "*erm, um, mm*, or an audible intake of breath" by the next speaker signaling for their turn. According to Kramsch, there are several *techniques*[79] speakers can utilize to continue past the "possible completion" point. What Sacks refers to as "utterance

---

[78] Müller claims that sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence all manifest themselves in the use of discourse markers. For example, sociolinguistic competence is necessary for the negotiation of the relationship between interlocutors during a conversation (through the use of *well* or *you know*); discourse competence for creating coherence in discourse; and strategic competence is required when in trouble finding appropriate or intended expressions (especially for non-native speakers). (Müller 2004)

[79] Emphasis added.

incompletors" such as *but* or *however* "turn complete sentences into incomplete ones" (Sacks et al. 1974, as cited in Kramsch 1981). It may safely be argued here that Kramsch's so-called "techniques" (or even the "erm" and "um"s) and "utterance incompletors" mentioned by Sacks are clearly what can be referred to as discourse markers.

Concerning the conversation mechanism of topic, Kramsch again points out that communicative competence is required in knowing how to maintain or regain one's topic by relating back to the prior utterance or topic once a hindrance is made by another interlocutor. It is also important to know how to end a conversation or to introduce a new topic, where "markers such as *all right, okay, so, or well*" are manifested. Such markers, although not identified as discourse markers by Kramsch, are clearly the "discourse markers" as defined by many discourse analysts.

As such, discourse markers have been regarded as playing an important role in the pragmatic and communicative competence of the speaker and in the organization of native speaker discourse[80] (Crystal 1988; Aijmer 2002; Trillo 2002; Müller 2005; Hellerman &Vergun 2007). Yet, research in the area of teaching discourse markers has been largely neglected. On the subject of such pragmatic expressions, Crystal comments that they are "the oil which helps us perform the complex task of spontaneous speech production and interaction smoothly and efficiently" (Crystal 1988:488). Thus, pragmatic competence (and the use of pragmatic expressions) is recognized as being an integral part in successful communication. However while a correction will be made when a foreign language learner makes a grammatical error, no correction or indication as to an "error" is given when omits

---

[80] Although in many cases, they are not explicitly or directly referred to as discourse markers.

187

such pragmatic expressions (such as *well*) and will be perceived as impolite, boring, or awkward to talk to or just plainly being "foreign" (Svartvik 1980:171).

6.3   Spoken and written discourse

Orality, as one of the properties of discourse marker, shows that it is used in speech more than in written discourse. Although this is not explicitly stated as a primary feature of discourse markers, Schiffrin (1987) defines discourse markers as "contextual coordinates of talk" apparently focusing on elements of spoken discourse, and Erman goes as far as to say that "pragmatic markers are not only abundant in spoken language" but are "all restricted to spoken language" (Erman 1986:131, 2001:1339, cited from Müller 2005). Also in his list of discourse marker features (under sociolinguistic and stylistic features), Brinton adds, "discourse markers are a feature of oral rather than written discourse and are associated with informality" (as cited in Jucker and Ziv 1998). Working the other way around however, few researchers try to find "principled grounds on which to deny discourse marker status to similar items that are largely found in written discourse" (Schourup 1999:234, as cited in Müller 2005). Notwithstanding, it is generally agreed that discourse markers occupy spoken discourse to a greater extent than written discourse.

Then, what is the difference between spoken and written discourse? As Cook (1989) outlines, spoken language happens in time, often giving the speaker no or less time to think or pause and making it impossible for the speaker to go back and change or restructure the words as one can in writing. Moreover, spoken discourse cannot be viewed in "spatial or diagrammatic terms" as one speaks or listens. In general, spoken discourse is

considered to be less planned and orderly and apt to be interrupted by the interlocutor(s).

Instead of following the steps of the traditional division between spoken and written discourse[81] (which is further divided into the four skills of speaking and listening, writing and reading), Cook makes a distinction within the category of spoken language, between "one-way" speech (such as lectures) and "two-way" speech (such as a conversation). He further comments that conversation (or informal spoken discourse, on the other end of formal, planned discourse) is what the second/foreign language learner wishes to acquire and perform successfully, and yet at the same time may find the most difficult, precisely because of the informality and unpredictability (Cook 1989:50).

Based on Cook's categorization of conversation as a sub-category of spoken discourse, there should be an examination into the features our current textbooks (written discourse) display and a consideration of possible modifications. Following are some distinctive features of a common language textbook for learners of Japanese (Tsuyoshi and Jones 2005):

(a) often lack contextual notes to help explain the contexts in which they sound more natural

(b) typically short, representing very brief encounters or seeming as if they are

(c) decontextualized segments from longer interactions

---

[81] Cook points out that spoken discourse and written discourse can be better represented by a cline rather than a clear-cut distinction. As he has stated, "there are intermediate cases between writing and speech such as spoken language which is read or learnt from a script (like news bulletins and plays) or based on written notes (like talks and lectures)," or "spoken language that are planned in advance or structured by custom and rule (like meetings and trials)"(Cook 1989:115). In the same vein, Ong also supports the view that the connection between spoken discourse (orality) and written discourse (literacy) is a matter of "relationism" (Ong 2002).

(d) are primarily for exchanging information

(e) are composed of utterances neatly matched into pairs of complete sentences such as "Q-A" pairs

(f) contain a high amount of new information per utterance

➔(g) contain little negotiation of meaning between interactants, and little use of linguistic devices used for negotiation (e.g., repetition, repair, postposing, "*aizuchi*", sentence internal particles such as *ne* and fillers such as *ano*) ➔ <u>implies need for inclusion of discourse markers</u>

(h) contain few examples of multiparty talk

Teachers and textbook writers should examine naturally occurring spoken discourse, so they can continue to create dialogs that are closer to real talk. They should be given opportunities to hear and analyze real talk (like using the analytical framework of Conversation Analysis) so they can apply and incorporate the features of spoken discourse into our pedagogical materials.

6.4   Incorporating discourse markers into the language classroom

In order to teach natural discourse (or discourse markers) in the language classroom, I suggest that we need to identify the difference between the native speaker's discourse and classroom discourse. By way of doing so, we can supplement/complement the missing elements/factors in the language classroom by demonstrating language that is closer to natural discourse and perhaps minimize the difference.

Sharing the views of Riley, Kramsch notes that students tend to identify all their linguistic problems as being those of "vocabulary, grammar, and idiom, whereas many are in fact communicative and discursive" (Riley 1976, cited from Kramsch 1981). As language teachers, we also need to pay attention to such aspects of communicative and discursive competence, which students as well as teachers fail to realize. As Kramsch points out, classroom discourse can be" highly unusual" or even "deviant," and have nothing in common either with the learner's mother tongue or with those of the foreign language and culture (Kramsch 1981:21). Another point to be made is that in the classroom, the distribution of talk is weighted toward the teacher, and usually follows the T-S-T (teacher-student-teacher) or what is known as the I-R-F (initiation-response-feedback) pattern (Sinclair and Coutlhard 1975, cf. Kramsch). However, outside the classroom, discourse is usually more casual, and students need to be able to initiate turns to speak rather than merely respond to questions.

According to Candlin, "developing interactional competence means that the language student has to learn the key moves in the management of discourse (1976, as cited in Kramsch 1981), the key moves being, turn taking, linking and expanding, negotiation, and repair. For all the "key moves" mentioned, it is proposed that the utilization of discourse markers are crucial, for example, when the speaker wants to signal to the other interactants that they want to take the floor, need time to modify their utterances, steer the topic in another direction, show hesitation, express agreement/disagreement, among

191

others.[82]

As language teachers, nonetheless, it is almost impossible or unrealistic to break away from the teacher role or the classroom discourse pattern (I-R-F or T-S-T), therefore, my first suggestion is for teachers to incorporate the use of discourse markers into their talk (in interaction with the classroom or individual students) with conscious awareness. Secondly, explicit instruction[83] may also be effective, as Tateyama (2001) has observed in her study on the effects of explicit and implicit instruction in the use of attention getters, expressions of gratitude, and apologies to beginning students of Japanese as a foreign language. Her study revealed that participants of the study benefited from explicit teaching as compared to implicit teaching, suggesting that some aspects of "interlanguage pragmatics" are teachable to beginners of a language before they even develop any "analyzed second language knowledge" (Tateyama 2001; Kasper 2001).

Thirdly, I propose that video clips of drama or movies can aid the students grasp the precise meaning of a certain discourse marker in the shortest of time. Because of the nature of discourse markers lacking in referential or semantic content, it is difficult to give a clear-cut definition or to demonstrate to learners the appropriate use in its relevant contexts. Although textbooks do display conversations or dialogs with certain expressions in context, it has a possibility of getting too lengthy or failing to provide enough situational (background) information. Many criticize dramas or movies as being script-oriented,

---

[82] The Korean discourse marker *kulenikka* encompasses all these functions.

[83] Yoshimi (2001) conducted a study on the Japanese interactional discourse markers *n desu, n desu kedo, and n desu ne*, but her findings were not as fruitful. Despite explicit instruction, the use of the target discourse markers in extended turns were limited which she accounts for the Japanese discourse markers being particularly resistant to the effects of consciousness-raising.

artificial made-up dialogs (in which case conversations represented in the textbooks are even more unnatural unless transcriptions of naturally occurring conversations are employed). However, they should not be simply ruled out as a deviation of everyday language use, since they are based on real-world dialogs perceived to be natural by native speakers of the language. Besides, video recording each and every course of life as it happens is highly unachievable.

Lastly, I suggest the use of the internet. Real time online conversations more often than not break conventional grammar or spelling rules, but are as close to spoken natural (colloquial) speech as one can get. Because discourse markers are frequently used in natural discourse, so will they be reflected in online conversations, thus, I hypothesize this will draw the attention and understanding by the learners in its appropriate use. In this section I have presented some helpful suggestions as to the teaching and learning of discourse markers to and by learners of a second or foreign language.

6.5   Conclusion

A great number of previous literatures reveal that the teaching of pragmatic competence is an integral part of the teaching/learning of a language. The area of teaching discourse markers to learners of a second or foreign language, however, has been widely neglected until recently (Anping 2002; Trillo 2002; Müller 2004; Hellermann and Vergun 2007). The various functions of discourse markers enable speakers to "do many things;" for example, to hold the floor, or express agreement/disagreement, seek time for a correct or appropriate expression, among many others. With so many functions that would enable a learner to

speak more fluently, I have proposed that the incorporation of discourse markers in the

language classroom is crucial.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Overview and findings of the present study

The present study proposes a unified account for the extensively used, multifunctional aspects of the Korean discourse marker *kulenikka*. Despite the wide dependence on discourse markers in managing one's utterance or participating in favorable interactions by native speakers, the users themselves do not realize how skillfully they are manipulated in their own discourse. In fact when asking several native speakers of Korean for their opinion on the functions of my data, I found many discrepancies. This is due to the multitude of concomitant functions *kulenikka* has in our interactions. As we were able to see in the data, it offers the speakers a device for doing many things at once.

The data revealed that *kulenikka* is used in spontaneous speech by native speakers with great frequency, displaying various functions and different forms. Upon close examination, I was able to detect the two major functions (apart from the truth-conditional meaning) to be textual and interactional. Especially, in settings such as presentations, interviews, and where the speaker is the main floor-holder, the textual functions were predominant. In contrast, in interaction and across exchanges/turns, the interactional functions prevailed. Thus, I adopted the framework of Jucker and Smith (1998), whereby they present English discourse markers ('like,' 'you know,' 'I mean,' 'yeah,' 'oh,' and 'ok') as "a type of cue that conversationalists use to negotiate their common ground." The major classification made in the study is between a "presentation marker" and a "reception

marker," which I applied to the present study.

However, our interaction turned out to be more than such a simple layout. Data revealed that some markers were directed mainly to the speaker, whereas some were largely directed toward the hearer. We can evidence this kind of distinction in Jucker and Smith as they further divide presentation marker into "information-centered" and "addressee-centered" markers, which essentially is a speaker-oriented vs. hearer-oriented notion. I argue against the categorization set out by Jucker and Smith, because in both cases they are centered around "information." The distinction should instead be based on "whose" information it is. Thus, building on Jucker and Smith's study, I have added an extra level of speaker-orientedness vs. hearer-orientedness. Missing in Jucker and Smith is this differentiation for reception markers (especially in agreement and alignment), as sometimes the speaker pursues agreement from the hearer and tries to align the hearer to him/herself and in other occasions it is purely directed toward the hearer, to express sympathy, empathy, and agreement.

As pointed out in many studies (Aijmer 2002; Andersen 2000; Brinton 1996; Traugott 1995), the theory of grammaticalization offers a clear account of the diachronic development of discourse markers. Thus, in the study I have examined the change from the bound connective suffix *–(u)nikka* to the free discourse marking *kulenikka* along with the principles and mechanisms that are involved in the change. As Traugott points out, the two main factors operating as primary motivations for grammaticalization are "the speaker's tendency to economize" and "the tendency to enhance expressivity."

In Chapter 5, I discussed the dynamic sociopragmatic aspects of *kulenikka*. With

the use of *kulenikka*, the speaker expresses strong agreement and aligns with the hearer with the intention (illocution) of creating solidarity. However, the outcome (perlocution) is not always as intended. As discussed, solidarity is successfully established when the hearer offers the speaker the qualifications. Because of the functions of *kulenikka* as a means of aligning and creating common ground, the speaker and hearer must share "sameness" regarding the topic at hand. In the case of disagreement, *kulenikka* presents a weak disagreement, whereby the speaker aligns the ongoing topic with his/her own world.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I discussed the importance of implementing discourse markers into the language classrooms. Despite the high frequency in use and the abundance in functions, discourse markers are not introduced in our textbook or in the language classroom. By pointing out the multi-functional characteristics of *kulenikka* on the different levels (of textual vs. interactional level and speaker-oriented vs. hearer-oriented level), I believe it will offer both the students and the teachers a clearer picture whereby they can locate the different functions for adequate use. For example, introducing the various functions of own information management in the language classroom will give the non-native speakers or learners of Korean as a foreign/second language a device/access for effective communication. It is believed that discourse markers aid the non-native speaker in sounding more native-like, and being perceived as such by native speakers will heighten the level of confidence and motivation for the learner in learning the language.

Another contribution of the study is to give a clear illustration of how the speakers apply the use of *kulenikka* in different contexts. Just as we need documentation from the

past in order to analyze the present, this study will offer the generations to come a record of the past—the ways we interact, and the ways in which we change language. I also believe the multi-level framework will offer other discourse marker studies a tool for analysis.

7.2 Limitations and suggestions for future study

Prosodic features are an integral part of discourse analysis. For example, recorded data showed that the different tone and pitch also affected the meaning of *kulenikka*. In the following conversation (from the drama *Sinip Sawen* 'Super Rookie'), two men who have applied for the same company are filled with ambition and hope as they shout that they can succeed, and make it into a company. One thing to note is that S, who is a graduate of Seoul National University, believes he has the qualifications, but K does not (which K acknowledges, as he graduated from a less prestigious school).

<u>Super Rookie (Episode 2)</u>

1   S: *na-n! i   hoysa-ey   pantusi ipsa.ha-koya   ma-nta!*
               I-TC this company-at for sure enter-and-eventually stop-INF-DC
               'I! I will make it into this company no matter what!'

2 → K: ***kulu kulenikka**!*
               'Of.. of course!'

3   S: *wuli-ka... ani nay-ka Bongsami ku casik-pota mos.ha-n   ke-y*
               we-NM no I-NM Bongsam-i that chap-than unable to do-RL thing-NM

4   *mwe-ka iss-nya-ko!*
               what-NM have-Q-QT
               'What do we… I mean what do I not have that Bongsam has!'

5 → K: ***kulenikka!*** (HLH%, accented on *ku* and *kka*)
               'Right, I know… (I wonder what it is also.)'

6 → S: ***kulenikka!*** (HL%, accent on *ku*)
            'That's what I mean! (That's what I'm saying!)'

The first *kulenikka* , as K is stuttering to S in line 2, is a strong agreement marker (hearer-oriented positive presentation marker). In lines 5 and 6, although they are identical in form, the tone types are not. K's *kulenikka* expresses questioning and doubt, which he is aligning with S's questioning in line 4, followed by a speaker-oriented positive presentation marker whereby the speaker is aligning the utterance with his thoughts.

In addition to tones and accents, I believe non-verbal communication such as pauses, laughs, gazes, and body gestures are also crucial elements that aid in interpreting the interaction and specifically the discourse functional meaning of discourse markers.

In this study, I have analyzed the Korean discourse marker *kulenikka* from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. The rapid change and spread in language will undoubtedly lead to future research opportunities as we strive to achieve a greater understanding of the marker *kulenikka* in our conversations.

Spectrograms of *'kka'* (PRAAT)

(1) *ani,* **kka** *kyelkwa* 'no, so the result'


(a)   (b)   (c)
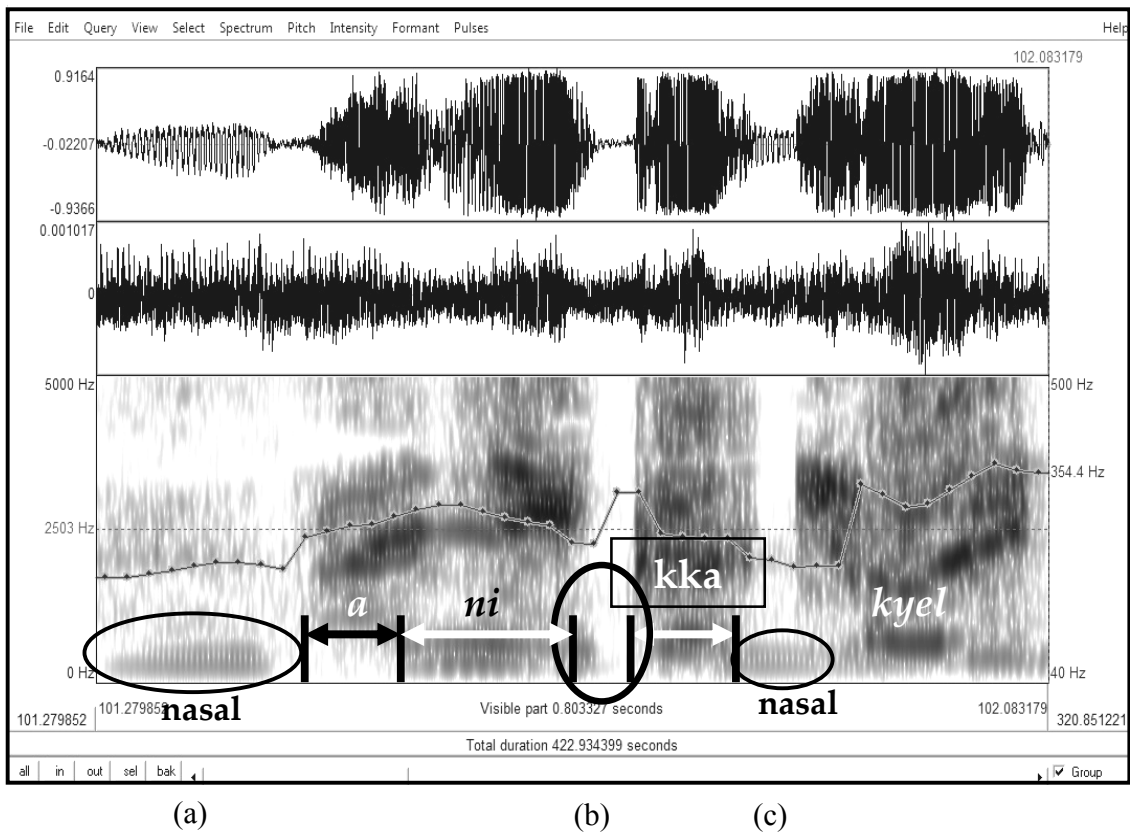
In order to examine whether the shortest form *'kka'* is produced by native speakers, I used several audio clips taken from class presentations (in the advanced class where most students are native speakers of Korean) and a telephone conversation between two colleagues. The two samples are parts of the audio clip where *'kka'* was heard with the naked ear.

In the first spectrogram above, the circled parts marked by (a) and (c) show the nasal sounds. Before the sound *'a,'* and on the sound *'ni'* and *'kka,'* and before and on *'kyel,'* the nasal sounds are clearly visible. However, right before *'kka'* (b), no nasal sound

is existent, which demonstrates that the shortest form of *kulenikka*—'*kka*' is produced by the native speakers of Korean. Referencing the above spectrogram, the absence of any soundwaves immediately before *'kka'* refutes the claim of a preceding *'kun'*. Likewise, the following sample also shows no evident nasal sound before '*kka*' (marked by the dotted circle).

 (2) *kulen kello pomyenun **kka** …* 'if we look at that, so (I mean) ...'
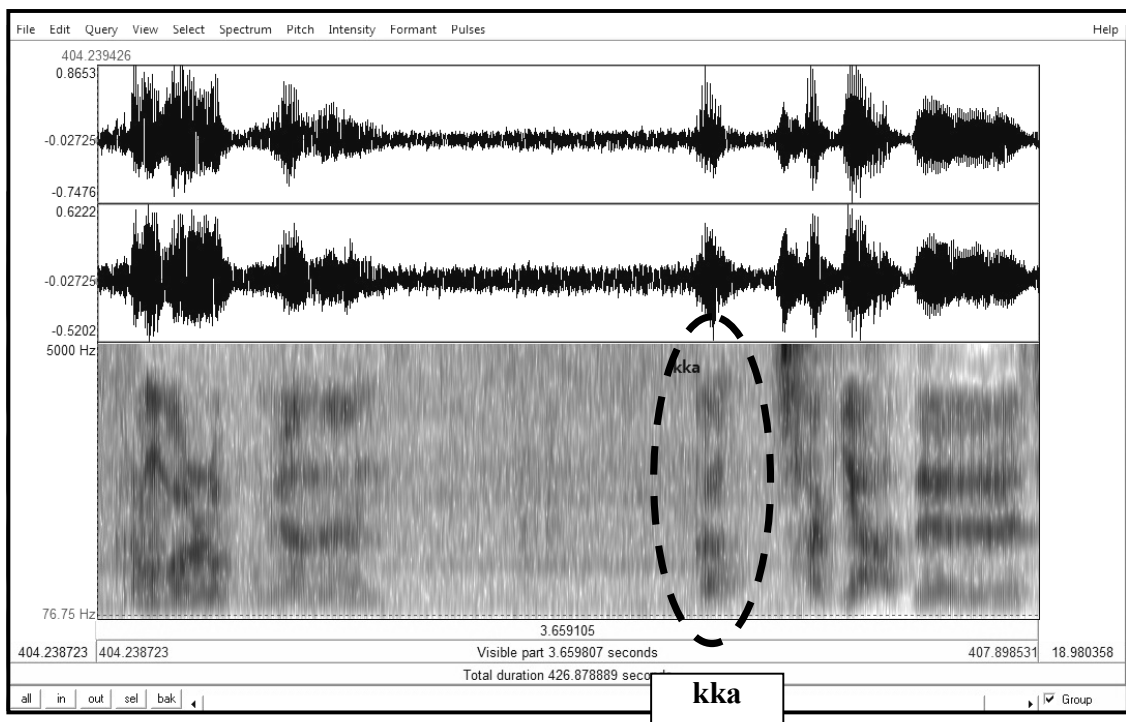
APPENDIX (2)

List of discourse data and sources

	Type	Relationship (no. of participants)	Setting
CHAPTER 3			
(5) Students	TC2	Colleague (2)	N/A
(29) Discussion on main clause and subordinate clause	FFC1	Friend (2)	Friend's
(30) Behind in life	FFC4	Colleague (4)	Workplace
CHAPTER 4			
(1) Dissertation	FFC1	Friend (2)	Friend's
(2) Depressed	FFC6	Friend (2)	Coffee shop
(3) Acwumma	FFC8	Friend (2)	Restaurant
(5) Life	FFC7	Friend (2)	Coffee shop
(7) Natto	FFC8	Friend (2)	Restaurant
(8) Small face	FFC5	Family (3)	Restaurant
(9) Chocolate	FFC1	Friend (2)	Friend's
(11) Departure	FFC5	Family (3)	Restaurant
(12) Break-up	FFC5	Family (3)	Restaurant
(14) Individualistic	TC1	Family (2)	N/A
(15) Sushi	FFC8	Friend (2)	Restaurant
(17) Art school	TC1	Family (2)	N/A
(18) Term paper	FFC3	Colleague (5)	Workplace
(19) Parents	FFC9	Friend (2)	Friend's
(20) Lights	FFC9	Friend (2)	Friend's
(21) Job interview #1	FFC5	Family (3)	Restaurant
(25) Hair	FFC6	Friend (2)	Coffee shop
(26) Job interview #2	FFC5	Family (3)	Restaurant
(27) Dissertation data	FFC9	Friend (2)	Friend's

(30) Bluetooth	FFC9	Friend (2)	Friend's
(33) Sonogram	FFC4	Colleague (4)	Workplace
(35) Thief	FFC4	Colleague (4)	Workplace
(37) Tongmakkol	FFC2	Colleague (2)	Workplace
(38) Exchange rate	TC1	Family (2)	N/A
CHAPTER 5			
(5) Teaching	FFC8	Friend (2)	Restaurant

FFC – face-to-face conversation

TC – telephone conversation

REFERENCES

Ahn, J.-H. (1992). Hankwuke tamhwa phyoci yenkwu [Korean discourse marker research]. *Mal, 17,* 21-37. Yonsei University Korean Language Institute.

Ahn, J.-H. (2000). 'kule-' kyeyyel cepsoksauy hyengsengkwacengkwa mwunpephwa [The formation process and grammaticalization of 'kule-' connectives]. *Kwukehak [Korean Language Studies], 35*, 113-141.

Aijmer, K. (2002). *English discourse particles: Evidence from a corpus.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Allwood, J. (1995). Reasons for management in spoken dialogue. In R. J. Beun, M. Baker, & M. Reiner (Eds.), *Dialogue and instruction.* Springer-Verlag.

Andersen, G. (2000). *Pragmatic markers and sociolinguistic variation: A relevance theoretic approach to the language of adolescents.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Anderson, S. R., & Keenan, E. (1985). Deixis. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic fieldwork vol. III* (pp. 259-308). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Atkinson, J. M., Heritage, J. (Eds.) (1984). *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blakemore, D. (1992). *Understanding utterances: An introduction to pragmatics.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Blakemore, D. (2002). *Relevance and linguistic meaning: The semantics and pragmatics of discourse markers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bolden, G. (2009). Implementing incipient actions: The discourse marker 'so' in English conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, 974–998.

Bolden, G. (2006). Little words that matter: Discourse markers "so" and "oh" and the doing of other-attentiveness in social interation. *Journal of Communication,* 56(4), 661-688.

Brinton, L. J. (n.d.). *I mean: the rise of a pragmatic marker.* Retrieved February, 2010, from http://www.people.bu.edu/bfraser/.../Brinton%20-%20I%20mean.doc

Brinton, L. J. (1990). The development of discourse markers in English. In J. Fisiak, (Ed.), *Historical linguistics and philology.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brinton, L. J. (1996). *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brinton, L. J., & Traugott E. C. (2005). *Lexicalization and language change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language use.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bybee, J. (2003). Mechanisms of change in grammaticalization: The role of frequency. In B. D. Joseph, & R. D. Janda (Eds.), *The handbook of historical linguistics* (pp. 602-623). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics*, 1 (1), 1-47.

Caspers, J. (2002). On the function of the late rise and the early fall in Dutch dialogue: A perception experiment. *ICSLP*, 537-540.

Chafe, W. L. (1985). Linguistic differences produced by differences between speaking and writing. In Olson, Torrance, & Hildyard (Eds.). *Literacy, language, and learning: The nature and consequences of reading and writing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Choi, J. (2007). A Corpus-based discourse analysis of Korean discourse markers: an analysis of spoken and written use. PhD diss., CA: University of California, Los Angeles.

Cook, G. (1989). *Discourse in language teaching: A Scheme for teacher education.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crevels, M. (2000). Concessives on different semantic levels. In E. Couper-Kuhlen, & B. Kortmann (Eds.), *Cause, condition, concession, contrast: Cognitive and discourse perspectives* (pp. 313–339). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gryuter.

Davidse, K., Vandelanotte, L., & Cuyckens, H. (Eds.). (2010). *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization* (pp. 1-25). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Diessel, H. (1999). *Demonstratives: Form, function, and grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Diessel, H. (2007). Frequency effects in language acquisition, language use, and diachronic change. *New Ideas in Psychology,* 25, 108-127.

Fischer, K. (2006). *Approaches to discourse particles*. Oxford: Elsevier, Ltd.

Fraser, B. (1996). Pragmatic markers. *Pragmatics,* 6(2), 167-190.

Fraser, B. (1999). What are discourse markers? *Journal of Pragmatics* 31, 931-952.

Gonzalez, M. (2004). *Pragmatic markers in oral narrative: The case of English and Catalan*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Haspelmath, M. (2004). On directionality in language hange with particular reference to grammaticalization. In O. Fischer, N. Muriel, & H. Perridon (Eds.), *Up and down the cline: The nature of grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Heine, B. (2003). Grammaticalization. In B. D. Joseph, & R. D. Janda (Eds.), *The handbook of historical linguistics* (pp. 575-601). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hellermann, J., & Vergun A. (2007). Language which is not taught: the discourse marker use of beginning adult learners of English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39, 157-179.

Heritage, J. (2002). Oh-prefaced responses to assessments: A method of modifying agreement/disagreement. In C. Ford, B. Fox, & S. Thompson (Eds.), *The language of turn and sequence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hopper, P. (1991). On some principles of grammaticalization. In E. C. Traugott, & B. Heine (Eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization* (pp. 17-35). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Hopper, P., & Traugott E. C. (2003). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hudson, M. E. (1998). So?: On Japanese connectives sorede, dakara, and ja. *Japanese Korean Linguistics* 7, 59-75.

Hyun, H.-M. (2005). A comparative analysis on the usage of discourse markers in narrative discourse : Between English-speaking learners of advanced Korean and native Korean speakers. MA Thesis, Seoul: Ewha Womans University.

Jeon, Y.-O. (2002). Hankwuke tamhwa phyociuy thukcing yenkwu [A study on discourse markers in Korean]. Hankwuk hwapep hakhoy, *Hwapep Yenkwu,* Vol. 4.

Johnson, F. (2006). Agreement and disagreement: A Cross-cultural comparison. *BISAL* 1, 41-67.

Jucker, A., & Ziv, Y. (Eds.). (1998)*. Discourse markers: Descriptions and theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kakava, C. (1993). Negotiation of disagreements by Greeks in conversation and classroom discourse. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University.

Kamio, A. (1994). The theory of territory of information: The case of Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 21, 67-100.

Kasper, G. (1997). *Can pragmatic competence be taught?* 1997 Second Language Teaching & Curriculum Center. Retrieved from http://www.nflrc.hawaii.edu/networks/NW06/

Kasper, G. (2001a). Four perspectives on L2 pragmatic development. *Applied Linguistics,* 22(4), 502-530.

Kasper, G. (2001b). Learning pragmatics in the L2 classroom. In L. F. Bouton (Ed.), *Pragmatics and language learning monograph series,* Vol. 10 (pp.1-25). Urbana-Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Kasper, G., & Blum-Kulka, S. (1993). *Interlanguage pragmatics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kawamori, M., Kawabata, T., & Shimazu, A. (1998). Discourse markers in spontaneous dialogue: A corpus –based study of Japanese and English. In M. Stede, et. al. (Eds.), *Workshop on discourse relations and discourse markers.*

Kim, H.-S. (1980). Inkwa kwumwunuy haysek [Syntax and semantics on causal relations]. *Kwuke Mwunhak*, 21-1, 55-76. Korean Language and Literature Association.

Kim, H.-Y. (1993). A Study of causal constructions in Korean and its implication for teaching Korean to foreign students. *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics*, 5, 562-576.

Kim, K.-H., & Choe, J.-W. (2000). Functions of kule-type discourse markers. From the *Korean Cognitive Science Society Spring Academic Conference*.

Kim, K.-H., & Suh, K.-H. (1994). The discourse connective nikka in Korean conversation. *Japanese Korean Linguistics*, 4, 113-129.

Kim, K.-H., & Suh, K.-H. (1996). Dealing with prior talk: Discourse connectives in

Korean. *Japanese Korean Linguistics*, 5, 83–99.

Kim, K.-H., & Suh, K.-H. (2002). Demonstratives as prospective indexicals: ku and ce in Korean conversation. *Japanese Korean Linguistics*, 10, 192-205.

Kramsch, C. (1981). Discourse analysis and second language teaching. *Language in Education: Theory and Practice,* Vol. 37. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Kroon, C. (1998). A framework for the description of Latin discourse markers. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 30, 205-223.

Kuryłowicz, J. (1975). *The evolution of grammatical categories*. Esquisses linguistiques. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

Lakoff, R. (1973). The logic of politeness, or minding your p's and q's. Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society, 292-305.

Lee, H.-J. (2003). A Study of 'keuro-' form discourse markers in Korean language daily conversation analysis. MA thesis, Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University.

Lee, J.-A. (2002). *Study on discourse markers*. Seoul: Wolin.

Lee, J.-M. (1979). Hankwuke coken weninkwumwuneuy thongsalonkwa uymilon [Syntax and semantics of Korean conditional causal constructions]. *Hankwukhak Kwukcey Hakswul Hoyey Nonmwuncip 1 [Papers from the 1ˢᵗ International Conference on Korean Studies]*. Cengsin Mwunhwa Yenkwuwen [The Academy of Korean Studies].

Lee, S.-H. (2006). *Mwunpephwauy ihay [Understanding grammaticalization]*. Seoul: Hankook Munhwasa.

Lee, W.-P. (2002). *Discourse analysis*. Seoul: Hankook Munhwasa.

Lehmann, C. (1995). *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. München: Lincom.

Lenk, U. (1998). *Marking discourse coherence: Functions of discourse markers in spoken English*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Locher, M. A. (2004). *Power and politeness in action: Disagreements in oral communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Matsumoto, Y. (1988). From bound grammatical markers to free discourse markers: History of some Japanese connectives. In S, Axmaker, A. Jaisser, & H. Singmaster

(Eds.), *Proceedings of the 14th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society. General session and parasession on grammaticalization* (pp. 340-351). Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Maynard, S. (1993). *Discourse modality: Subjectivity, emotion and voice in the Japanese language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Miller, J., & Weinert, R. (1995). The function of like in dialogue. *Journal of Pragmatics, 23*, 365-393.

Mori, J. (1999). *Negotiating agreement and disagreement in Japanese: Connective expressions and turn construction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Müller, S. (2005). *Discourse markers in native and non-native English discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Nahm, K.-S. (1978). '-ase'uy hwayonglon [Pragmatics of '-ase']. *Oykwukeloseuy Hankwuke(mal) [Korean as a Foreign Language], 3*, 9-20.

Nahm, K.-S., & Lukoff, F. (1983). Constructions in '-nikka' and '-ese' as logical formulations. *Kwukeuy Thongsa Uymilon [Korean Syntax and Semantics]*. Seoul: Thap Chwulphansa [Top Publishing Company].

Oh, S.-S. (2005). A multi-level semantic approach to Korean causal conjunctive suffixes *-(e)se* and *-(u)nikka*: A corpus-based analysis. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 10(4), 469-488.

Ong, W. J. (2002). *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the word* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Onodera, N. (2004). *Japanese discourse markers*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Pander Maat, H., & Degand, L. (2001). Scaling causal relations and connectives in terms of speaker involvement. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 12(3), 211-245.

Park, J.-R. (2004). Multifunctional characteristics of the korean pragmatic marker 'ceki'. *Korean Linguistics,* Vol. 12, 99-130.

Park, K.-Y. (2001). Grammaticalization of Korean substitutes. PhD diss., Seoul, Korea: Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.

Pomerantz, A. (1980). Telling my side: 'limited access' as a 'fishing device'. *Sociological Inquiry*, 50, 186-198.

Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In J. M. Atkinson, & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 57-101). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ragan, S. L. (1983). Alignment and conversational coherence. In R. Craig, & Tracy K. (Eds.), *Conversational coherence* (pp. 157-171). Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Raymond, G. (2004). Prompting action: the stand-alone ''so'' in ordinary conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction,* 37 (2), 185–218.

Redeker, G. (1990). Ideational and pragmatic markers of discourse structure. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 14, 367 – 381.

Ree, J.-R. (1975). A semantic reanalysis of (u)ni and (e)se. *Ehak Yenkwu,* Vol. 11-1.

Rees-Miller, J. (2000). Power, severity, and context in disagreement. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32, 1087-1111.

Renkema, J. (1993). *Discourse studies: An introductory textbook.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Romaine, S., & Deborah, L. (1991). The use of *like* as a marker of reported speech and thought: A case of grammaticalization in progress. *American Speech*, 66, 227–79.

Rose, K. R., & Kasper, G. (Eds.) (2001). *Pragmatics in language teaching.* Cambridge: Oxford University Press.

Risselada, R. (1998). The Discourse functions of sane: Latin marker of agreement in description, interaction, and concession. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 30, 225-244.

Sanders, J., & Spooren, W. (1999). Communicative intentions and coherence relations. In W. Bublitz, U. Lenk, & E. Ventola (Eds*.), Coherence in spoken and written discourse* (pp. 235-250). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sanders, T., & Sweetser, E. (2009). Introduction: Causality in language and cognition - what causal connective and causal verbs reveal about the way we think. In T. Sanders, & E. Sweetser (Eds.). *Causal categories in discourse and cognition* (pp. 1-18). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D., & Hamilton, H. E. (Eds.). (2001). *The handbook of discourse analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd.

Schourup, L. (1982). Common discourse particles in English conversation. Ph.D. diss., Ohio, USA: Ohio State University.

Schourup, L. (1999). Tutorial overview: Discourse markers. *Lingua,* 107, 227-265.

Searle, J. (1975). A taxonomy of illocutionary acts. In K. Gunderson (ed.), *Minnesota studies in the philosophy of language* (pp. 334-369). Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Seong, N.-S. (1978). Iyu, weninul nathanaynun cepsokmwun yenkwu (1) : '-ase'wa 'nikka'lul cwungsimulo [Conjunctive sentences . *Yonsei Omunhak 11*.

Shin, H.-S. (1989). Study on discourse substitute markers: On kulayse/kulenikka/kulena/ kulehciman. *Kwukehak,* 19. Kwukehakhoy.

Sohn, H.-M. (1999). *The Korean language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sohn, H.-M. (2000). Functional transfer in sentence-final positions in Korean and Japanese. *Ene Cengpo [Language Information]* 3, 145 – 185.

Sohn, H.-M. (2009). The Semantics of clause linking – A cross-linguistic typology. In R. M. W. Dixon, & A. Y. Aikhenvald (Eds.), *Explorations in Linguistic Typology,* 5.

Sohn, S.-O. (1992). Speaker-oriented and event-oriented causals: A comparative analysis of –nikka and –ese. *Korean Linguistics* 7, 73-83.

Sohn, S.-O. (1996). On the development of sentence-final particles in Korean. *Japanese Korean Linguistics,* 5. California: CSLI Publications.

Sohn, S.-O. (2003). On the emergence of intersubjectivity: An analysis of the sentence-final nikka in Korean. *Japanese Korean Linguistics*, 12.

Sohn. S.-O. (2007). *Grammaticalization in Korean*. Unpublished manuscript.

Stubbs, M. (1983). *Discourse analysis*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Suh, K.-H. (2006). The distal demonstrative *ce* as a politeness marker in Korean conversation. *Language and Linguistics*, 37, 147-168.

Svartvik, Jan, (1980). Well in conversation. In S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, & J. Svartvik (Eds.), *Studies in English linguistics for Randolph Quirk* (pp. 167-177). London: Longman.

Sweetser, E. (1988). Grammaticalization and semantic bleaching.In S, Axmaker, A. Jaisser, & H. Singmaster (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 14th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society. General session and parasession on grammaticalization* (pp. 389-405). Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Sweetser, E. (1990). *From etymology to pragmatics: Metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sweetser, E. (1996). Conditionals and mental spaces. In G. Fauconnier, & E. Sweester (Eds.), *Space, worlds and grammar* (pp. 318–333). Chicago: University of Chicago.

Tannen, D. (1984). *Conversation style : Analyzing talk among friends*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Tannen, D. (1992). *That's not what I meant!: How conversational style makes or breaks relationships*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Tannen, D. (1993). The relativity of linguistic strategies: Rethinking power and solidarity in gender and dominance. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S. J. Yates (Eds.), (2004). *Discourse theory and practice: A reader*. London: Sage Publications.

Tateyama, Y. (2001). Explicit and implicit teaching of pragmatic routines: Japanese sumimasen. In K. Rose, & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Pragmatics in language teaching.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Traugott, E.C., & Heine, B. (1991). *Approaches to grammaticalization Vol. 1*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Traugott, E. C., & König, E. (1991). The semantics-pragmatics of grammaticalization revisited. In E. C. Traugott, & B. Heine (Eds.). *Approaches to grammaticalization Vol. 1* (pp. 189-218). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Traugott, E. C. (1989). On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: An example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language, 65*, 31-55.

Traugott, E. C. (1995). The role of the development of discourse markers in a theory of grammaticalization. Paper presented at the Twelfth International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Manchester.

Traugott, E. C. & Dasher, R. B. (2002). *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tsuyoshi, O., & Jones, K. (2005). Reconciling textbook dialogues and naturally occurring talk: What we think we do is not what we do. *Japanese Language and Literature,* 39, 237-254.

Wang, Y., Tsai P., Goodman D., & Lin, M. (2010). Agreement, acknowledgment, and alignment: The discourse-pragmatic functions of hao and dui in Taiwan Mandarin Conversation. *Discourse Studies*, 12(2), 242-267.

Yngve, V. (1970). On getting a word in edgewise. *Sixth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, 567-577.

Yoshimi, D. R. (2001). Explicit instruction and JFL learner's use of interactional discourse markers. In K. Rose, & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Pragmatics in language teaching*. New York: Cambridge University Press.