FROM AN ADVERB TO A DISCOURSE MARKER:
A STUDY OF TTO IN KOREAN

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TO MY FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the evolution of the Korean adverb *tto* as a discourse marker from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. Under the classification systems of Korean adverbs, *tto* has been traditionally viewed as (a) a component adverb that modifies a single element of a sentence or (b) a sentence adverb that modifies an entire sentence. Semantically, *tto* carries the meaning of 'again' as a component adverb and the meaning of 'also' as a sentence adverb. From the diachronic perspective, this study examines the evolutionary pathways of *tto* based on the principles of grammaticalization using Old and early Late Middle Korean data. The analysis focuses on the historical traces of *tto* in earlier periods, its relationship with the delimiter *to*, and its etymology and grammaticalization process. From the synchronic perspective, the study investigates the interactional uses of *tto* using naturally occurring spontaneous data from telephone conversation and media talk. The analysis centers on *tto*'s semantic bleaching and discourse-pragmatic functions in talk-in-interaction, adopting an interactional linguistic (IL) analytic framework. The results show that *tto* is used as a linguistic device to strengthen a speaker's claim and highlight his/her attitude toward the utterance. In sum, the study demonstrates the diachronic development and synchronic functions of *tto* and discusses the evolution of *tto* from an adverb to a discourse marker.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative
AD	Adverbial
ADN	Adnominal
AH	Addressee honorific
APP	Apperceptive
ATTR	Attributive
CAS	Causative
CIRCUM	Circumstantial
COMM	Committal
CONN	Connective
CORREL	Correlative
DC	Declarative
DCT:RE	Deductive reasoning
DEF	Deferential
DR	Directional
DUR	Durative
EXC	Exclamatory token
EXCLM	Exclamative
FR	Factual realization
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
GER	Gerundive
HUM	Humble
IE	Informal ending
IMPER	Imperative
IMPFV	Imperfective
INF	Infinitive
INST	Instrumental
INTERR	Interrogative
INTROS	Introspective
NEG	Negative
NML	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POL	Polite speech level
PRS	Prospective
PURP	Purposive
PST	Past tense
QT	Quotative
RL	Relativizer suffix
RT	Retrospective mood suffix
SFP	Sentence-final particle
SH	Subject honorific
TIME	Time particle
TOL	Tolerative
TOP	Topic particle
TRANS	Transferentive
UNASSIM	Unassimilated
VOC	Vocative

Transcription Conventions

[	The point at which overlapping talk starts
]	The point at which overlapping talk ends
=	Contiguous utterance
word	Some form of stress or emphasis, either by increased loudness or higher pitch
(.)	Micro-pause
(0.5)	The length of silence in tenths of a second
:::	The prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them
?	Rising intonation
¿	Rising stronger than a comma but weaker than a question mark
,	Half-rising intonation
.	Falling, or final intonation
_:	inflected falling intonation contour
:	inflected rising intonation contour
↑↑	A passage of talk with higher pitch than the surrounding talk
> <	Increase in tempo, as in a rush-through
< >	Markedly slow talk
<	"Jump-started," i.e., starting with a rush
--	A cut-off or self-interruption
.hh	Audible inbreath
hhh	Audible outbreath
(hh)	Laugher within a word
(word)	Uncertainty of hearing on the transcriber's part
( )	Something being said, but no hearing achieved
(( ))	Transcriber's remarks

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Issues of the Korean adverb *tto*

This dissertation examines the diachronic development and synchronic functions of the adverb *tto* in Korean. Traditionally, *tto* has been viewed as (a) a component adverb that modifies a single element of a sentence or (b) a sentence adverb that modifies an entire sentence. Semantically, *tto* carries the meaning of 'again' as a component adverb and the meaning of 'also' as a sentence adverb.

(1a) 차가 **또** 고장났다.
cha-ka **tto** kocangna-ss-ta.
CAR-NOM AGAIN BREAK-PST-DC
The car broke down again.

(1b) 차가 고장났다. **또** 버스도 놓쳤다.
cha-ka kocangna-ss-ta. **tto** pesu-to nohchy-ess-ta.
CAR-NOM BREAK-PST-DC ALSO BUS-TOO MISS-PST-DC
The car broke down. Also, (I) missed the bus too.

In (1a), *tto* is a component adverb that modifies the predicate 'break' and carries the meaning of 'again', while in (1b) it functions as a sentence adverb that modifies the whole sentence, *cha-to-kocangna-ss-ta*, and implies the meaning of 'also'. However, when it comes to natural discourse, it is not clear whether *tto* always carries its original meanings. The following examples are extracted from naturally occurring talk of native speakers.

(2) 축구로 경기 나가는 건 **또** 처음이네
chwukkwu-lo kyengki naka-nun ke-n **tto** cheum-i-ney
SOCCER-INST MATCH GO:OUT-RL THING-TOP TTO FIRST:TIME-BE-FR
This is the first time that (I) have participated in a competition as a soccer player.

(3) 남편 돈하고는 **또** 다르지.
namphyen ton-hako-nun **tto** talu-ci.

HUSBAND MONEY-AND-TOP TTO BE:DIFFERENT-COMM

It's different from my husband's money.

In (2) and (3), *tto* does not mean either 'again' or 'also'. Nor does it seem to add any other lexical content. In other words, if these utterances did not include *tto*, they would still carry the same semantic meaning. What then motivates a speaker to utilize *tto* in an utterance of this sort, and what functions does *tto* have in such utterances? Does *tto* occur in utterances that carry out certain social actions or in specific environments? Is there really no difference between the utterances with or without *tto*? To answer these questions, this dissertation explores *tto*'s usage both diachronically and synchronically. It investigates the form's possible origins, semantic changes, and functional shifts over time, and it illustrates its pragmatic functions in contemporary Korean, demonstrating that it now serves as a discourse marker.

1.2 Goals of the study

Based on the observation of present day uses of *tto*, this dissertation research began with the assumption that *tto* has undergone processes of change over time, and that as a result of these processes, it now serves as a discourse marker that delivers discourse-pragmatic functions beyond its known adverbial functions in everyday communication. Therefore, the study scrutinizes the semantic and functional characteristics of *tto* from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. The study has three main goals. The first is to find and describe the uses of *tto* in earlier periods of Korean and thus to identify the possible pathways of its changes. This investigation of the form's historical development is conducted within the framework of grammaticalization. The second goal is to explain how speakers of Present Day Korean deploy *tto* in their utterances and what the speakers achieve with the use of *tto* in social interaction. This analysis of contemporary data provides evidence of *tto*'s meaning change and functional shift

and illustrates its pragmatic functions in talk-in-interaction. Finally, the study seeks to clarify the characteristics of *tto* in contemporary spoken discourse and demonstrate its emergence as a discourse marker. In sum, the goals of the study are to show the semantic and functional development of *tto* from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives and the evolution of *tto* from an adverb to a discourse marker.

1.3 Data and methodology

To explore *tto* from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives, this dissertation will present and examine historical and contemporary data. Chapter 4 offers the diachronic analysis. The chapter will begin by explaining the periodization of the Korean language and then describing the historical data. It will analyze excerpts of the historical data, which will be presented in a four-line transcript format: (a) the original text, (b) the Yale-system romanization, (c) a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and (d) an English translation. Because the earliest records of written Korean employed Chinese characters, and the actual sounds of these characters in the earlier periods are still controversial, the pronunciation of Present Day Korean has been adopted for the romanization and discussion of possible phonological changes.

Chapter 5 presents the synchronic analysis. The Present Day Korean data consist of audiorecordings of telephone conversations and videorecordings of face-to-face conversations from media talk. The telephone conversations are from the CallFriend Telephone Speech Corpus collected and transcribed by the Linguistic Data Consortium (henceforth, the LDC corpus). The LDC corpus comprises 100 telephone conversations between native Korean speakers living in the United States and Canada (Han, Graff, & Kim, 2003). The majority of conversations are between friends, family members, colleagues, or close acquaintances, and the speakers cross

gender and age groups. The duration of each conversation is approximately 20–30 minutes, of which 15–20 minutes were transcribed.

The videorecorded face-to-face conversation data are drawn from Korean entertainment TV shows aired from January 2015 to January 2022. The reason for employing the TV shows is to increase the representativeness of the data, because the LDC corpus was compiled in the late 1990s. All of them are reality shows, in which the participants are filmed in unscripted real-life situations, and do not necessarily know when they are being recorded and/or which parts of their conversations will be broadcast. Table 1.1 provides more details of the TV data.

Table 1.1 TV show data

Name of show	Broadcasting company	Season and episode	Dates aired (MM/DD/YYYY)	Time of occurrence (HH:MM:SS)
Samsiseykki: Echonphyen (*Three Meals a Day: Fishing Village*)	tvN	Season 1, Ep. 1	01/23/2015	00:24:52
		Season 5, Ep. 6	06/05/2020	00:34:17
Miwunwulisaykki (*My Little Old Boy*)	SBS	Ep. 04	09/23/2016	01:29:00
		Ep. 06	10/07/2016	01:09:24
		Ep. 41	06/18/2017	00:04:50
Cipsapwuilchey (*Master in the House*)	SBS	Ep. 185	09/05/2021	00:41:19
Tolsingphomayn (*Dolsing Fourmen*)	SBS	Ep. 06	09/07/2021	00:06:57
Mwungchyeya chanta (*Let's Play Soccer*)	JTBC	Season 1, Ep. 57	08/02/2020	00:02:15
		Season 1, Ep. 57	08/02/2020	00:44:39

Sentapang (*Café Amor*)	tvN	Season 1, Ep. 10	06/03/2018	01:36:58
Haypangthawun (*Liberation Town*)	JTBC	Ep. 34	01/28/2022	00:21:48
Hocekmeyithu (*Family Mate*)	MBC	Pilot	09/21/2021	00:47:16
Nolmyen mwehani (*Hangout with Yoo*)	MBC	Ep. 26	01/18/2020	00:54:27

The data for the synchronic analysis were transcribed according to the CA transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996). The data are represented in a four-line transcript format: (a) the Korean text, (b) the Yale-system romanization, (c) a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and (d) an English translation.

The synchronic analysis adopts an interactional linguistic (IL) analytic framework that focuses on the relationship between language structure and interaction among the speakers (Fox, Thompson, Ford, & Couper-Kuhlen, 2012). IL is an approach to the study of the grammar of interaction that has aimed to uncover how language structure and interaction shape each other in the formulation of particular social actions. It considers not only the patterns of language use and the structure of social action but also prosodic and extra-grammatical features such as intonation, gesture, eye gaze, head movements, and body orientations. Within this approach, there are two research orientations: (a) the research can start from a particular linguistic form and explore its association with interactional function(s), and (b) the research can start from a particular interactional function and then specify which linguistic form(s) typically realize that function (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001). The present study adopts the first research orientation to describe the interactional functions of *tto* being used in certain types of social action in contemporary Korean.

1.4 Organization of the study

The dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the issues of *tto* in contemporary Korean and explained the objectives and goals of the study. It has also briefly described the methodology and data to be used in the analyses. Next, Chapter 2 provides the theoretical background of the study and reviews previous research on discourse markers. Specifically, it discusses the theories of grammaticalization and the general characteristics of discourse markers. It also presents previous studies on Korean discourse markers. Chapter 3 provides a brief overview of the basic grammatical characteristics of *tto* and reviews previous scholarly works related to *tto*. Chapter 4 examines the evolutionary pathways of *tto* using Old and early Late Middle Korean data. It explores *tto*'s relationship with the delimiter *to* and grammaticalization processes in earlier periods. Moreover, it proposes a hypothesis for the etymology and historical development of *tto* under grammaticalization theories. Chapter 5 demonstrates the current uses of *tto* in contemporary Korean and investigates how Korean speakers utilize it in their utterances. It centers on *tto*'s semantic meanings and pragmatic functions in talk-in-interaction, adopting an interactional linguistic (IL) analytic framework. The chapter analyzes the deployment of *tto* in particular types of social action, categorizing these as: (a) complaints, (b) disagreements, (c) realizations, and (d) other actions. By doing so, the chapter examines *tto*'s linguistic manifestation as a discourse marker. Lastly, Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a summary of the findings, their pedagogical implications, and suggestions for future studies.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter presents the theoretical frameworks of this study and discusses the significant research on discourse markers. The chapter is divided into two sections. Section 2.1 introduces the theories of grammaticalization that form the basis for the examination of the diachronic development of *tto* in Chapter 4. Section 2.2 provides an overview of the current understanding of discourse markers in the literature, which provides the background for Chapter 5's discussion of *tto* as a discourse marker in Present Day Korean. The section covers three major approaches to discourse markers, describes their general characteristics, and summarizes previous studies on Korean discourse markers.

2.1 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization (also called "grammaticization") is a process of language change in which a lexical unit or structure becomes a grammatical unit or structure. Among many explanations of what grammaticalization entails, Kuryłowicz's (1965) early definition provides the basic notions and is still considered highly relevant to the current understanding of grammaticalization:

> 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 formant to an inflectional one. (p. 69)

The *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* describes the distinction between lexical meaning and grammatical meaning, on which Kuryłowicz's definition relies, as follows:

> Lexical meaning is that aspect of meaning which is codified in a lexicon or a dictionary, can be semantically analyzed, and, together with the grammatical elements of meaning (such as mood, tense, […]) yields the whole meaning of a linguistic expression. Normally lexical meaning consists of an open class of elements, whereas grammatical meaning is restricted to a closed class of elements. (Bussman, 1996, p. 678)

Some approaches to grammaticalization see it as the morphosyntactic weakening of a lexical item. For instance, Heine and Reh (1984) defined grammaticalization as "an evolution whereby linguistic units lose in semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance" (p. 15). However, many scholars who study grammaticalization from a pragmatic perspective have since criticized this definition because it suggests that linguistic units lose all meaning through the grammaticalization process. In particular, Traugott (1995) called it "a sink model where everything reduces ultimately to zero" (p. 2), and emphasized that, on the contrary, while a linguistic unit's original semantic meaning may be weakened, its pragmatic meaning/function is strengthened in the process of grammaticalization. For instance, when a *go*-verb becomes a future marker, the sense of the speaker's intention is strengthened, not weakened.

Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 1) redefined grammaticalization as a research framework focusing on the "part of the study of language change that is concerned with such questions as how lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions." They proposed a cline of grammaticality in which the categories of linguistic items are organized from the most lexical to the most functional.

Content item > Grammatical word > Clitic > Inflectional affix

Figure 2.1 Cline of grammaticality (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 7)

For example, auxiliary verbs are less lexical than main verbs, but they are more lexical then tense inflections. There are other clines for particular categories such as the nominal cline (apposition > case) and the verbal cline (main verb > tense, aspect, mood marker). Hopper and Traugott (2003) claimed that grammaticalization is a unidirectional process, which would mean that the direction cannot be reversed. This concept is known as the principle of unidirectionality.

On the subject of discourse markers, Traugott (1995) suggested the following cline based on their diachronic path.

Verb adverbial > Sentence adverbial > Discourse marker

Figure 2.2 Adverbial cline (Traugott, 1995, p. 13)

For example, a manner adverb will detach from its original position within the narrow scope of its predicate and move to whatever the position is for wide-scope sentential adverbs. As a sentential adverb, it may acquire new pragmatic functions and polysemies that provide it with the ability to become a discourse marker. Traugott (1995) also indicated that the process of this development is accompanied by a number of different shifts "normally associated with grammaticalization" (p. 13). She specified the six major types of shift listed in (4).

(4) Traugott's six major types of shift involved in the adverbial cline (1995, p. 14)

(a) Decategorialization

(b) Bonding within the phrase

(c) Phonological reduction

(d) Generalization of meaning

(e) Increase in pragmatic function

(f) Subjectification

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003), decategorialization refers to the process in which a linguistic unit undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical form. During this process, the linguistic unit is likely to lose its original morphological and syntactic properties. This decategorialization can lead to coalescence, which creates bondedness between a linguistic unit and other adjacent unit(s). Thus, even as a linguistic unit is gradually separated from its original syntactic scope, it may become more dependent on surrounding phonetic elements, causing phonological reduction. Another type of shift is the generalization of meaning, which refers to an increase in the polysemies of a linguistic unit. It also includes "an increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status" (Kuryłowicz, 1976, p. 69; as cited in Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 101). In the shift from lexical to grammatical, a linguistic unit can lose its original semantic content, while it can acquire pragmatic meanings. And these pragmatic meanings tend to become increasingly based on the speaker's subjective attitude or belief about what is being said and how it is being said. Traugott (1995) further claimed that the development of discourse markers is consistent with prototypical grammaticalization mechanisms, which means that without the grammaticalization process one cannot explain how discourse markers are formed.

2.2 Discourse markers

Over the past four decades, discourse markers have received a great deal of attention from many scholars in pragmatics and discourse analytic research. In English, expressions of pragmatic usage such as *oh*, *well*, *so*, *because*, *I mean*, and *you know* are generally considered to be discourse markers, although this term is not universally accepted. Scholars have attached numerous labels to the phenomenon, indicating various ideas about how to categorize them, including: cue phrases (Hirschberg & Litman, 1993; Knott & Dale, 1994), discourse connectives (Blakemore, 1987; Unger, 1996), discourse deictics (Levinson, 1983), discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987; Fraser, 1988; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Urgelles-Coll, 2010), discourse particles (Schourup, 1985; Aijmer, 2002), discourse signaling devices (Polanyi & Scha, 1983), pragmatic markers (Brinton, 1996; Anderson, 1998), pragmatic particles (Östman, 1981), sentence connectives (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), and utterance particles (Luke, 1988).

In addition, despite many proposals regarding the nature of discourse markers, a number of fundamental questions have yet to be answered: What are discourse markers? What are their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features? What kinds of functions can they carry out in spoken discourse? The next section offers a brief overview of major theoretical approaches to such questions. It begins by introducing Halliday and Hasan's (1976) functional account of cohesion in discourse, which has significantly influenced the study of discourse markers, and it then describes Schiffrin's (1987, 2001) discourse-coherence approach, Fraser's (1990, 1996, 1999) grammatical-pragmatic approach, and Blakemore's (1987, 1992, 1996, 2002, 2004) relevance-theoretic approach.

2.2.1 General approaches to discourse markers

Halliday and Hasan (1976) introduced the concept of *cohesion*, which they defined as "a semantic relation between an element in the text and some other element that is crucial to the interpretation of it" (p. 8). This definition emphasizes the relationship between the meaning of linguistic units. They provided the following example to illustrate their notion of cohesion (p. 2).

(5) Wash and core **six cooking apples**.

Put **them** into a fireproof dish.

In this example, it is clear that the plural pronoun *them* in the second sentence refers to the *six cooking apples* in the first sentence. In other words, the word *them* can be interpreted only when the reader refers back to the previous sentence. This anaphoric function of *them* creates a cohesive relationship (i.e., coherence) between the two sentences so that the reader can think of them as a whole.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) argued that cohesion occurs when the interpretation of some element is dependent on another element within or outside a text, and that cohesive devices are used to achieve cohesive relations. They classified five different types of cohesive devices, which fall into two main categories: *grammatical cohesion* and *lexical cohesion*. Grammatical cohesion, of which there are four types, creates cohesive relations through grammatical means, while lexical cohesion deals with the semantic relationships between words. The four types of grammatical cohesive devices, *reference*, *ellipsis*, *substitution*, and *conjunction*, along with lexical cohesion, are illustrated in (6).

(6) Halliday and Hasan's five types of cohesive devices (1976)

(a) Reference: **John** has moved to a new house. **He** had it built last year.

(b) Ellipsis: Would you like to hear another **verse**? - I know twelve more **[X]**.

(c) Substitution: Does she **sing**? - No, but Mary **does**.

(d) Conjunction: She failed. **However**, she's tried her best.

(e) Lexical cohesion: There's a **boy** climbing that tree.

The **lad**'s going to fall if he doesn't take care. [Reiteration]

Reference is when an item refers to another item within or outside a text for its semantic interpretation (e.g., personal pronouns, demonstratives, locative adverbs, temporal adverbs, and other interrogative, indefinite, reciprocal, reflexive, or intensive pronouns such as *wh*-words, *any*, *none*, *someone*, *nobody*, *anyone*, and so on). Ellipsis is the omission of an item (e.g., deleted nouns, deleted verbs, deleted predicate adjectives, and deleted clauses),[1] while substitution is the replacement of one item by another (e.g., synonym, super-ordinate, general term, arithmetic, verb substitutes, clausal substitutes such as *one*, *ones*, *same*, *do*, *be*, *have*, *so*, *not*, and so on). Conjunction devices are cohesive not in themselves, but through the meanings they express (e.g., additive, causal, and temporal conjunction: *and*, *but*, *or*, *however*, *yet*, *because*, *since*, *therefore*, and so on). Meanwhile, lexical cohesion is achieved through the use of devices based on the selection of vocabulary (e.g., lexical sets, lexical reiteration, lexical collocation).

Halliday and Hasan (1976) emphasized that coherence is a semantic relation and can be achieved beyond the sentence structure. They claimed that cohesive devices are the overt linguistic (syntactic and semantic) signals that express a propositional relationship across sentences. However, Widdowson (1978) pointed out that a text can be coherent without cohesive devices. In his view, cohesive relations can be expressed through the interpretation of illocutionary acts. He provided the following example (p. 29).

(7a) A: That's the telephone.

[1] Halliday and Hasan (1976) defined ellipsis as "substitution by zero."

B: I'm in the bath.

A: OK.

Even though no sentence in this piece of dialogue has a cohesive device, it can be understood as a coherent discourse. Assuming that it takes place at home in a house shared by two people, speaker A's first utterance can be interpreted as a request to speaker B to answer the phone, speaker B's response as a refusal, and speaker A's second utterance as acceptance. In sum, this dialogue shows a wide range of cohesive devices, which contribute to setting up cohesive relations.

(7b) A: That's the telephone. (A requests B to answer the telephone.)

B: I'm in the bath. (B states why s/he cannot answer the telephone.)

A: OK. (A undertakes to answer the phone.)

Halliday and Hasan (1976) mainly focused on cohesion and cohesive devices, and they primarily investigated only written texts; however, their study has become foundational in text linguistics, and has inspired researchers working on diverse issues related to discourse/conversation analysis and discourse coherence. In particular, their analysis of the cohesive functions of conjunctions, such as *and*, *but*, *I mean*, *now*, *of course*, *well*, and *anyway*, has resulted in a great deal of research in the area of discourse markers (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2003).

One of the major approaches of studies on discourse markers was proposed by Schiffrin (1987, 2001). She presented a very detailed analysis of eleven expressions in English and showed how, as cohesive devices, these expressions contribute to achieving cohesive relationships in conversational discourse. The eleven expressions she identified as discourse markers are: *and*, *because*, *but*, *I mean*, *now*, *oh*, *or*, *so*, *then*, *well*, and *y'know*. In her study,

discourse markers are defined as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (p. 31). She further explained that *units of talk* can be propositions, sentences, speech acts, or even tone units. In addition, Schiffrin asserted that discourse markers are not dependent on syntactic structures such as clauses or sentences, but are *sequentially dependent* on the structure of the discourse (pp. 39–40). She proposed a tentative set of conditions under which an expression can come to be used as a discourse marker, which are listed in (8).

(8) Schiffrin's properties of discourse markers (1987, p. 328)

(a) It must be syntactically detachable from a sentence.

(b) It must be commonly used in the initial position of an utterance.

(c) It must have a range of prosodic contours.

(e.g., tonic stress and followed by a pause, phonological reduction)

(d) It must be able to operate on both local and global levels of discourse and on different planes of discourse, meaning that it either must have no meaning, a vague meaning, or be reflexive (of the language or of the speaker).

Being syntactically detachable means that discourse markers can be omitted without causing damage to the sentence structure or its propositional content. Furthermore, discourse markers appear predominantly at the beginning of an utterance, a tendency illustrated by the overall pattern of discourse markers in Schiffrin's (English) data, because they mark the organization of ideas in discourse by signaling cohesive relations between the ongoing utterance and some (or all) of the preceding discourse. Nevertheless, as Schiffrin pointed out, discourse markers are not necessarily restricted to the sentence-initial position. For instance, *then* and *y'know* can occur at the beginning or the end of an utterance, and *y'know* can also appear in the medial position. In addition, discourse markers may either carry tonic stress or the intonational contour of the

containing utterance. Moreover, discourse markers display relationships at both the local and global levels of discourse, as well as operating on either a single plane of talk, or across five planes of talk (i.e., exchange structure, action structure, ideational structure, participation, and information state).[2] Schiffrin (2001, p. 67) also emphasized multifunctionality as "one of the central defining features of discourse markers." As previously discussed, Halliday and Hasan (1976) argued that cohesive devices link adjacent structures of discourse to achieve cohesive relationships. Schiffrin identified discourse markers as also exhibiting cohesion in that they aid in connecting informational units in the ongoing utterance with those in the previous utterance. In other words, she treats discourse markers as members of a functional class of linguistic devices that can contribute to the cohesive relations of conversation discourse by creating links between units of talk.

Another important definition of discourse markers was given by Fraser (1990, 1996, 1999), who conducted his research from a grammatical-pragmatic perspective. Fraser (1999) provided a comprehensive definition of discourse markers:

> [Discourse markers are] a class of lexical expressions drawn primarily from the syntax classes of conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases. With certain exceptions, they signal a relationship between the interpretation of the segment they introduce, S2, and the prior segment, S1. They have core meaning, which is procedural, not conceptual, and

[2] Schiffrin's five distinct planes of talk (1987, pp. 24–25):
1. **Exchange Structure**, which reflects the mechanics of the conversational interchange (ethnomethodology) and shows the results of the participant turn-taking and how these alternations are related to each other;
2. **Action Structure**, which reflects the sequence of speech acts which occur within the discourse;
3. **Ideational Structure**, which reflects certain relationships between the ideas (propositions) found within the discourse, including cohesive relations, topic relations, and functional relations;
4. **Participation Framework**, which reflects the ways in which the speakers and hearers can relate to one another as well as orientation toward utterances;
5. **Information State**, which reflects the ongoing organization and management of knowledge and meta-knowledge as it evolves over the course of the discourse.

> their more specific interpretation is "negotiated" by the context, both linguistic and conceptual. (p. 931)

This definition implies that discourse markers are not a unified grammatical class; rather, they are gathered from different types of syntactic classes such as conjunctions (e.g., *and*, *but*), adverbs (e.g., *anyway*, *however*), and prepositional phrases (e.g., *after all*, *in spite of this*). Fraser argued that even though discourse markers are categorized into different syntactic classes, they carry content meaning and signal different kinds of communicative intentions. He employed the term *pragmatic markers* as an umbrella term for a group of expressions that are "linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker's potential communicative intentions" (1996, p. 168). In Fraser's framework, sentence meaning is divided into two types: *content meaning* and *pragmatic meaning*. Content meaning is the denotative meaning of the utterance while pragmatic meaning refers to the speaker's communicative intention or connotative message. He further classified pragmatic markers into four major categories: *basic pragmatic markers*, *commentary pragmatic markers*, *parallel pragmatic markers*, and *discourse markers*. Basic pragmatic markers include expressions such as *please*, *I promise*, and *I regret*, which signal the force of the basic message or the speaker's illocutionary force. Commentary pragmatic markers include expressions such as *fortunately*, *frankly speaking*, and *certainly*, which signal a separate message that comments on the basic message. Parallel pragmatic markers include deference markers (e.g., *sir*, *my friend*, *your honor*) and conversational management markers (e.g., *now*, *okay*, *well*). They function to convey a message in addition to the basic one. Lastly, discourse markers "signal how the speaker intends the basic message that follows to relate to the prior discourse" (1990, p. 387). In other words, discourse markers signal a sequential relationship between the prior discourse and the ongoing segment. Fraser further divided discourse markers into four subtypes: contrastive

markers (e.g., *but*, *however*, *still*, *yet*), elaborative markers (e.g., *and*, *also*, *moreover*), inferential markers (e.g., *so*, *therefore*, *thus*), and topic-change markers (e.g., *by the way*, *before I forget*). This categorization is based on basic semantic relationships between the ongoing utterance and the propositional meaning of the prior discourse.

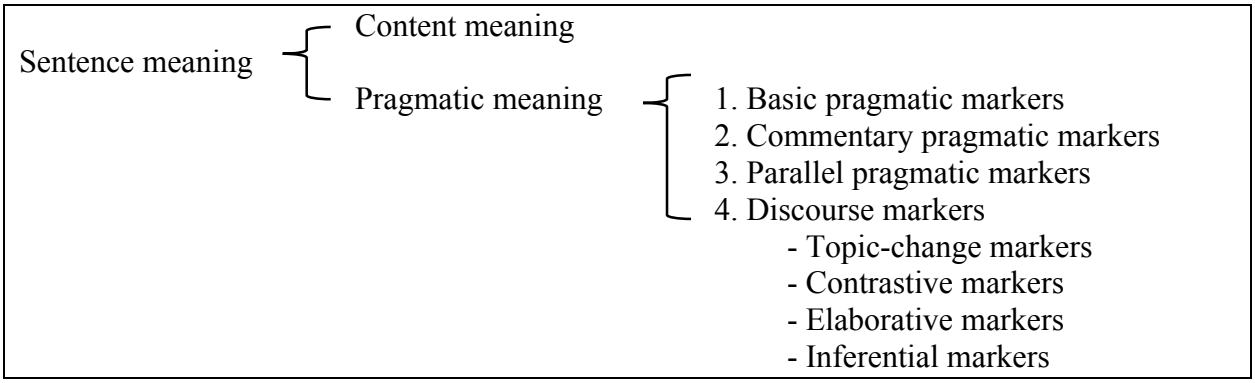

Figure 2.3 Types of pragmatic markers (Fraser, 1990)

Both Schiffrin's (1987, 2001) and Fraser's (1990, 1996, 1999) theoretical frameworks agree that discourse markers are used to convey cohesive relations between units of talk, and that they are recruited from different syntactic classes. However, Schiffrin (1987) claimed that discourse markers display cohesive relations between adjacent units of talk, while Fraser (1999) argued that the cohesive relations marked by discourse markers are not limited to adjacent utterances. The following examples are adapted from his study (1999, p. 938).

(9a) A: I don't want to go very much.

B: John said he would be there.

A: **However**, I do have some sort of obligation to be there.

(9b) You want to know how my garden grew this summer. **Essentially**, the tomatoes grew well. The broccoli was fair as were the peppers. The eggplant and carrots were terrible.

In (9a), *however* does not relate to the immediately adjacent utterance, but rather to the speaker's own prior utterance ("I don't want to go very much"). In (9b), *essentially* relates to not only the immediately adjacent utterance, but also to several following utterances. Therefore, Fraser (1999) proposed the term *global coherence*, which refers to the cohesive relations between noncontiguous utterances. He also argued that discourse markers can appear without S1 and can relate to the nonlinguistic context (1999). In Schiffrin's (1987) approach, discourse markers are divided into three types. The first type carries referential (semantic) meaning and includes *and*, *but*, and *or*. For instance, when the conjunctions *but* and *or* are used as discourse markers in discourse, they still function as conjunctions in the sentence-level structure in order to conjoin propositional properties. The second type of discourse marker, which includes *oh* and *well*, has either no or little referential meaning. This type of discourse marker is independent from the sentence structure, but it still affects the interpretation of the discourse. Lastly, the third type of discourse marker has referential meaning, but is independent from the sentential structure. In other words, this type of discourse marker can be removed without causing any damage to the structure, while still carrying its own referential meaning. This type includes *I mean* and *y'know*. However, Fraser (1998, p. 308) claimed that discourse markers have a core meaning that "places restrictions on the details of the relationship between S1 and S2," and it is not conceptual but rather procedural. In short, although both scholars approached discourse markers within a coherence framework, Schiffrin considered both structural and interpersonal relations of discourse markers, while Fraser focused on their cognitive role.

The third theoretical framework is provided by Blakemore (1987, 1992, 1996, 2002, 2004). She focused on how discourse markers contribute to the cognitive interpretation of human language and analyzed them within the framework of *relevance theory*. Relevance theory is an

inferential approach to the pragmatic interpretation of language developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986). According to relevance theory, a speaker encodes his or her intention into an utterance in order to convey a certain meaning.[3] The hearer then infers the speaker's intention based on the provided evidence within the utterance. In other words, the underlying principle of relevance theory is that if the speaker does not provide enough evidence in his or her utterance, the hearer must spend much more cognitive effort to interpret the speaker's intended meaning. Relevance theory considers two types of linguistically encoded meaning: *conceptual meaning* and *procedural meaning*. If a lexical item contributes to the content of the utterance, it is said to have a conceptual meaning. If a lexical item leads to the speaker's intended meaning, it is said to have a procedural meaning. In other words, conceptual meaning expresses "what is said" while procedural meaning expresses "what is implicated" (Clark, 2013, p. 168).

Blakemore (1987) adapted the notion of relevance theory to develop her framework of discourse markers. She referred to discourse markers as *discourse connectives* and defined them as "expressions that constrain the interpretation of the utterances that contain them by virtue of the inferential connections they express" (p. 105). She also argued that discourse markers play a crucial role in the process of utterance interpretation. The use of discourse markers can guide the hearer's cognitive interpretation of an utterance by leading them to infer the speaker's meaning. Blakemore analyzed several expressions, such as *but*, *however*, *nevertheless*, *well*, *after all*, and *so*, based on relevance theory (1987, 1992, 2002), and maintained that discourse markers constrain the relevance of utterances in which they appear. She also claimed that procedural meaning can be encoded by discourse markers and that discourse markers do not affect the truth conditions of utterances. The following example is Blakemore's (1996, pp. 332–333).

[3] Sperber and Wilson (2002, p. 3) defined an utterance as "a linguistically coded piece of evidence, so that verbal comprehension involves an element of decoding."

(10a) Tom can open Bill's safe.

(10b) He knows the combination.

Although it is clear that the relationship between the two utterances is one of cause-and-effect, it can be interpreted in two different ways: that (10b) is a conclusion derived from (10a) or that (10b) is a premise for (10a).

(11a) Tom can open Bill's safe. **So,** he knows the combination.

(11b) Tom can open Bill's safe. **After all**, he knows the combination.

As shown in (11a) and (11b), the use of *so* and *after all* does not affect the proposition expressed by the utterances (the truth condition); rather, they function to constrain the hearer's inference and eliminate ambiguity. Therefore, Blakemore claimed that discourse markers assist the hearer to understand the speaker's intended meaning and achieve the desired effect with the least amount of processing effort necessary. She suggested four major functions that discourse markers serve to achieve relevance in discourse, as detailed in (12).

(12) Blakemore's functions of discourse markers (1992, pp. 138–141)

(a) It may allow the derivation of a contextual implication (e.g., *so*, *therefore*).

(b) It may strengthen an existing assumption by providing better evidence for it (e.g., *after all*, *moreover*, *furthermore*).

(c) It may contradict an existing assumption (e.g., *however*, *but, nevertheless*).

(d) It may specify the role of the utterance in the discourse (e.g., *anyway*, *incidentally*, *by the way*, *finally*).

In addition, Blakemore (1987) proposed that if a discourse marker has a conceptual meaning, it always contributes to the truth condition of an utterance; on the other hand, if a discourse marker has a procedural meaning, it never affects the truth condition of an utterance. However, Wilson

and Sperber (1993) criticized this proposal, claiming that the distinction between conceptual and procedural is not always parallel to truth- or non-truth-conditional. They further argued that *I* and other personal pronouns can be both procedural and truth-conditional, and sentence adverbials such as illocutionary adverbials (e.g., *seriously*, *frankly*, *confidentially*) and attitudinal adverbials (e.g., *unfortunately*, *happily*) can be both conceptual and non-truth-conditional. In response, Blakemore (2002) revised her proposal, agreeing that "it is not the case that all procedural meaning is non-truth conditional" (p. 80).

According to Blakemore (1987, 1989), *but* is a discourse marker that signals either "denial of expectations" or "contrast." Consider her examples below.

(13a) John is a Republican, **but** he's honest.

(13b) Mary votes Labour, Susan votes SDP, Anne votes Tory, **but** Jane votes for the Communist party.

In (13a), *but* signals that the second clause denies an expectation or presupposition derived from the first clause. In other words, the hearer can establish a certain expectation on the basis of the first clause (e.g., "all Republicans are dishonest"), and *but* indicates that the proposition it introduces is relevant as a denial of a certain expectation created by the previous clause. In Blakemore's words, "the connection is not between the constituents of a conjoined proposition...but between the pragmatic interpretation of one proposition and the pragmatic interpretation of another" (1989, p. 27). In (13b), *but* conjoins two propositions, and it partially has the meaning of "and." Because it does not connect incompatible propositions, this *but* is used to draw "attention to the difference, or differences, between just two things" (1987, p. 135).

In her later studies, Blakemore (2002, 2004) indicated that relevance theory does not aim to explain utterance interpretation within a grammatical model, and thus it differs from the social

approaches to pragmatics. Relevance theoretic pragmatics is a subarea of cognitive science, so relevance theorists are not interested in the behavior of discourse markers within their structures, but in the kinds of meaning discourse markers "encode" and how their functions might be pragmatically inferred in discourse.

This section has reviewed three major approaches to discourse markers. Schiffrin's detailed discussion of discourse markers demonstrates that they contribute to the cohesive relations between units of talk, and shows how they function on different levels of discourse. Fraser's work offers an explanation of the structural status of discourse markers and their linguistic and cognitive roles in building cohesive relations. Lastly, Blakemore's research indicates how discourse markers contribute to the hearer's inferential computations in the process of utterance interpretation based on relevance theory. Despite disagreements related to definitions and terminology, these three scholars provided important methodological tools and illuminated a variety of pragmatic functions of discourse markers, inspiring later theoretical insights from other scholars.

2.2.2 Characteristics of discourse markers

Although individual grammaticalization scholars take different perspectives toward discourse markers, many of their descriptions and definitions share common features. Brinton (1996), Heine (2013), and Heine, Kaltenböck, Kuteva, and Long (2021) discussed the key features or characteristics of discourse markers, particularly: (a) non-truth conditionality, (b) optionality, (c) multifunctionality, (d) flexibility of position, (e) orality, and (f) high frequency of occurrence in spoken discourse. In terms of non-truth conditionality and optionality, discourse markers are not a semantic constituent of the sentence, so they do not contribute to the sentence's

truth conditions; therefore, they can be omitted from the sentence. However, this does not suggest that discourse markers are redundant, because they carry out various pragmatic functions within or beyond the sentence. They can occur in variable positions—at the beginning, middle, or end of the sentence, and sometimes more than once in a single utterance. Lastly, they predominately appear not in written but in spoken discourse, where they show a high frequency rate.

2.2.3 Previous studies on Korean discourse markers

Korean discourse markers were generally considered "interjections" in the earlier literature because they do not belong to traditional grammatical categories (Ahn, 1992). With the growing interest in the pragmatic aspect of language use, Korean discourse markers have received increasing attention from researchers in the past two decades. Many of these more recent studies have investigated Korean discourse markers' semantic and pragmatic features using naturally occurring spoken corpus data. This section discusses previous studies on three Korean discourse markers: *com*, *mak*, and *kunyang*. These discourse markers, like *tto*, are derived from adverbs, and their discourse functions have received a great deal of attention from many scholars because they are very frequent in natural discourse.

Several scholars have addressed the functions of *com* as a discourse marker, and its functions are largely unambiguous. The discourse marker *com* is a contracted form of the adverb *cokum* 'a little', and this contracted form has emerged as a discourse marker. Both forms are interchangeably used in many contexts when *com* carries its lexical meaning in contemporary Korean. Son (1988) analyzed the functions of *com*, proposing that they fall into three categories: mitigation, emphasis, and negation. He indicated that *com* mitigates the speaker's illocutionary

force when used in command and request sentences. It can also give emphasis to utterances of all four basic sentence types, that is, statements, questions, commands, and requests. By answering the question *ettayyo*? 'How is it?', *com* implies disagreement, and this function of *com* is characterized as negation. Mok (2001) indicated that *com* is used when the speaker signals new information and when the speaker is imposing on the listener. Park (2011) listed six functions of *com*: (a) to mitigate a request utterance, (b) to mitigate a negative assessment, (c) to avoid making an utterance, (d) to emphasize an utterance, (e) to place a focus on an utterance, and (f) to fill a pause. Song (2015) claimed that *com* is used for mitigating the speaker's opinion, keeping the floor, expressing politeness, emphasizing, and hesitating.

The discourse marker *mak* is derived from the adverb *makwu* 'coarsely'. Several studies address its pragmatic functions from a synchronic point of view using spoken corpora of contemporary Korean. Jeon (2002) indicated that *mak* expresses the speaker's negative attitude toward the utterance. Ahn's (2008) further analysis showed that *mak* can be used not only to express a negative attitude but also to keep the floor and signal new information. Kim (2010) argued that *mak* marks the boundary between preceding and following utterances, signals a supplementary explanation of preceding utterances, and is used to get addressees' attention and to gain time. Song (2015) pointed out the distinct prosodic features of *mak* and characterized its functions as maintaining a turn, expressing a negative stance, and emphasizing. Rhee's (2020) study is noteworthy in that it discussed the grammaticalization pathways of *mak* from Late Middle Korean to Present Day Korean, describing *mak*'s semantic-pragmatic functions throughout history. His analysis indicated that the adverb *mak* is derived from the verb *mak-ta* 'block, seal off'. The adverb *mako* in Late Middle Korean (*makwu* in Present Day Korean) incorporates the verb stem *mak-* and the adverbializer *-o*. The study shows the historical

development of *mak* as a discourse marker, and it addresses its pragmatic functions as (a) signaling the speaker's negative stance toward the event being described, (b) adding the overtone that the unfolding event or situation was unexpected and therefore uncontrollable, (c) dramatizing the event being described, and (d) inviting the addressee into the vivid scene of the event in order to create an effective common-ground (p. 407).

Like *just* in English, the Korean adverb *kunyang* 'just' has also developed into a discourse marker (Lee, 2002; Jeon, 2010; Park, 2012; Shen, 2013; Song, 2015). Although previous studies identify the functions of *kunyang* under slightly different labels, its functions can be summarized as (a) a mitigator/hedge (Jeon, 2010; Park, 2012; Shen, 2013; Song, 2015), (b) a filler (Lee, 2002; Jeon, 2010; Park, 2012), (c) an emphasizer (Lee, 2002; Jeon, 2010; Park, 2012; Song, 2015), (d) maintaining a speaker's turn (Jeon, 2010; Song, 2015), (e) marking a topic shift (Lee, 2002; Shen, 2013), (f) organizing the topic of on-going conversation (Shen, 2013), and (g) expressing a speaker's attitude toward the utterance (Shen, 2013). These studies on *kunyang* as a discourse marker have not, however, conducted diachronic analysis.

This section has reviewed the literature on three Korean discourse markers, *com*, *mak*, and *kunyang*. As mentioned, these discourse markers have received great attention from scholars because of their high frequency in natural discourse. Chapter 5 will discuss *tto*'s frequency rate among these discourse markers. Before beginning the analysis, the next chapter situates the current understanding of *tto* in contemporary Korean and reviews previous studies related to *tto* in the literature.

CHAPTER 3

Background

This chapter provides a brief overview of the basic grammatical characteristics of *tto* and relevant studies of *tto* in previous literature. The chapter begins by discussing systems of classifying Korean adverbs, looking at how *tto* is categorized under each system and considering the current status of *tto* in Present Day Korean. It then reviews previous studies on *tto*, highlighting the justification for this study.

3.1 The grammatical status of *tto*

Various scholars have suggested classification systems for Korean adverbs, organizing them using syntactic, morphologic, or semantic criteria. Most of the systems use syntactic criteria because of the way adverbs are generally defined: as a word category that functions to modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, clauses, or nominal phrases (Sohn, 1999). Therefore, the classification systems rely a great deal on the effective scope of adverbs within syntactic constructions.

In general, there are two different views of Korean adverbs in terms of syntactic structure. One classification system places Korean adverbs into two subcategories: *component adverbs* and *sentence adverbs* (Ko & Ku, 2008; Nam & Ko, 2011). A component adverb modifies one element of a sentence, whereas a sentence adverb modifies the whole sentence. Under this classification, modal adverbs (e.g., *ama* 'perhaps', *keylkuk* 'finally') and conjunctive adverbs (e.g., *kuliko* 'and', *kulena* 'but') belong to the sentence adverb category (Son, 1995; see Table 3.1 (a)). On the other hand, Korean adverbs also can be divided into *free adverbs* and

constraint adverbs: A constraint adverb has a syntactic restriction on its position while a free adverb does not (Son, 1995; see Table 3.1 (b)). In this sense, conjunctive adverbs, which function to link two independent sentences together, must be located at the beginning of the second sentence.

Son (1995) created a classification system based on the syntax-semantics interface that employs both types of division, and he used it to categorize approximately eight thousand Korean adverbs. Table 3.1 illustrates Son's classification of Korean adverbs.

Table 3.1 Son's (1995) Classification of Korean Adverb

(a)	Sentence adverbs	Modal adverbs	*ama* 'perhaps', *keylkuk* 'finally', *keytaka* 'also', etc.
		Conjunctive adverbs	*kuliko* 'and', *kulena* 'but', *kulemulo* 'so', *ttonun* 'or', etc.
	Component adverbs		***tto* 'again'**, *maywu* 'very', *cal* 'well', *ppalli* 'fast', *nopi* 'high', etc.
(b)	Free adverbs	Time adverbs	*pelsse* 'already', *acik* 'still', *cikem* 'now', *akka* 'a while ago', etc.
		Place adverbs	*ili* 'this way', *keli* 'that way', *celi* 'that way over there', etc.
	Constraint adverbs	Conjunctive adverbs	*kuliko* 'and', *kulena* 'but', *kulemulo* 'so', *ttonun* 'or', etc.
		Manner adverbs	***tto* 'again'**, *tasi* 'again', *kakkai* 'near', *melli* 'far away', *hangsi* 'always', etc.
		Degree adverbs	*te* 'more', *kacang* 'the most', *maywu* 'very', *cokum* 'a little', etc.
		Symbolic adverbs	mimetic words, onomatopoeia
		Negative adverbs	*an* '(do) not', *mos* '(can) not'

According to Son's (1995) classification, manner adverbs fall under constraint adverbs because they are located in front of a predicate. However, he indicated that if a manner adverb has a

meaning related to frequency, the adverb may be located anywhere in a sentence because it also carries a time-related meaning. Therefore, time-related adverbs, such as *tto*, *tasi* 'again', *kakkum* 'occasionally', and *congcong* 'frequently', can have characteristics of both constraint adverbs and free adverbs depending on the context of usage. In short, *tto* is a manner adverb, and it can be located anywhere in a sentence.

In the component adverb versus sentence adverb division, Son (1995) listed *tto* as a component adverb; that is, an adverb that modifies one element of a sentence. However, *tto* also can be classified as a conjunctive adverb (i.e., one type of sentence adverb) because it can link one sentence to another (Wang & Min, 1993; Shin, 2014; H. J. Kim, 2015). Wang and Min (1993) included *tto* in their conjunctive classification system, presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Wang & Min's (1993, p. 193) Classification of Korean Conjunctives

Coordination	Result	*kulemulo* 'therefore', *kulese* 'so', *kulihaye* 'thus', etc.
	Cause	*waynyahamyen* 'because'
	Condition	*tan* '(it's) just', *taman* '(it's) only'
	Summation	*kyekuk* 'finally', *yokentey* 'in short'
	Elaboration	*cuk* 'that is', *mullon* 'of course', *yeksi* 'as expected', etc.
	Illustration	*kalyeng* 'for example', *yeykhentey* 'for example', etc.
	Addition	***tto* 'also'**, *tewuki* 'moreover', *kuliko* 'and', etc.
Contrast	Contrast	*kulena* 'but', *kulayto* 'nevertheless', *kelehciman* 'however', etc.
Transition	Transition	*kulemyen* 'then', *kulehtamyen* 'if so', *hanphyen* 'meanwhile', etc.

Tables 1 and 2 above show that *tto* is classified as both a component adverb and a conjunctive adverb. In either usage, *tto* is located before the element it modifies, as in (14a) and (14b).

(14a) 학교에 **또** 지각했다.
hakkyo-ey **tto** cikakhay-ss-ta.
SCHOOL-TO AGAIN BE:LATE-PST-DC
(I) was late for school again.

(14b) 오늘 돈까스를 먹었다. **또** 잡지도 샀다.
onul tonkkasu-lul mek-ess-ta. **tto** capci-to sa-ss-ta.
TODAY PORK:CUTLET-ACC EAT-PST-DC ALSO MAGAZINE-TOO BUY-PST-DC
(I) ate pork cutlet today. Also, (I) bought a magazine too.

As shown in these examples, syntactically, *tto* not only modifies a single element in a sentence (14a), but also functions as a conjunctive adverb that modifies an entire sentence and links two independent clauses or sentences (14b). However, it is not possible to determine whether *tto* means 'again' or 'also' based on its location in a sentence alone, because *tto* is a free adverb when it expresses a time-related meaning. Moreover, the Korean language allows relatively free word order (Sohn, 1999).

These characteristics of *tto* may give rise to syntactic scopal ambiguity, and in some cases, the syntactic scope of an element coincides with its semantic scope. In addition, the semantic scope of *tto* may also be ambiguous in some cases because *tto* carries two different meanings. In fact, the polysemy of *tto* allows it to carry more than one semantic meaning within a single utterance. Many characteristics of *tto*—particularly its relatively free syntactic position, multiple semantic meanings, and ambiguity in context—have made it available to processes of grammaticalization leading to the development of pragmatic functions.

3.2 Previous studies on *tto*

This section reviews the existing studies related to *tto*. In fact, only three relevant studies can be found in the previous literature. Two compared the semantic values of *tto* and *tasi*, which both can be translated as *again* in English. Yoon's (2007) study is in the framework of Pustejovsky's (1995) generative lexicon, while Oh's (2009) is in the framework of von Stechow's (1995, 1996) structural analysis in generative semantics. This review focuses on the two studies' semantic comparisons of *tto* and *tasi* rather than attempting to evaluate the suitability of the two analytic approaches.

Yoon (2007) proposed that *tto* is limited to expressing a simple repetition whereas *tasi* can denote both a simple repetition and a revision (which he called *swucengcek* 'recovery of the original state', 修整的). Yoon (p. 2) provided the examples in (15).

(15a) 연구계획서 또 복사해 오세요.
yenkwukyeyhoykse **tto** poksaha-y o-sey-yo.
RESEARCH:PROPOSAL AGAIN COPY-INF COME-SH-POL
Please copy the research proposal again.

(15b) 연구계획서 다시 복사해 오세요.
yenkwukyeyhoykse **tasi** poksaha-y o-sey-yo.
RESEARCH:PROPOSAL AGAIN COPY-INF COME-SH-POL
Please copy the research proposal again.

(15a) is appropriate for a request for an additional, identical copy of the research proposal, which Yoon considered a case of simple repetition. In contrast, (15b) is suitable for a request for a replacement—for example, if the first copy of the research proposal were damaged—which Yoon defined as a case of revision. These distinct meanings are reflected in the different translations in (16a–b).

(16a) 연구계획서 또 복사해 오세요. (repetition)
yenkwukyeyhoykse **tto** poksaha-y o-sey-yo.
RESEARCH:PROPOSAL AGAIN COPY-INF COME-SH-POL

Please make an additional copy of the research proposal.

(16b) 연구계획서 다시 복사해 오세요. (revision)
yenkwukyeyhoykse **tasi** poksaha-y o-sey-yo.
RESEARCH:PROPOSAL AGAIN COPY-INF COME-SH-POL
Please recopy the research proposal again.

Yoon also agreed that *tasi* and *tto* share roughly the same semantic value of *again* in English and indicated that *tasi* and *tto* have functional differences, in that *tasi* can modify a result state, but *tto* cannot. He provided the following examples to show the meaning differences (Yoon, 2007, p. 4).

(17a) 린다는 또 뉴욕에 갔다.
linta-un **tto** nyuyok-ey ka-ss-ta.
LINDA-TOP AGAIN NEW:YORK-TO GO-PST-DC
Linda went to New York again.

(17b) 린다는 다시 뉴욕에 갔다.
linta-un **tasi** nyuyok-ey ka-ss-ta.
LINDA-TOP AGAIN NEW:YORK-TO GO-PST-DC
Linda went to New York again.

The sentence in (17a) conveys only one meaning: that Linda visited New York before and has re-visited New York again. However, the sentence in (17b) is ambiguous. It can be interpreted as (17a), but it can also be interpreted to mean that Linda went back to the place she lived originally. In other words, if Linda was born and raised in New York, visited Korea for a week, and then went back home to New York, only (17b) is appropriate. In this case, it is the result state of "being in New York" that is repetitive, not the action of "going." The semantic difference between the two sentences is illustrated in the translations in (18a–b), also from Yoon (2007, p. 5).

(18a) 린다는 또 뉴욕에 갔다.
linta-un **tto** nyuyok-ey ka-ss-ta.
LINDA-TOP AGAIN NEW:YORK-TO GO-PST-DC
Linda went to New York one more time.

(18b) 린다는 다시 뉴욕에 갔다.
linta-un **tasi** nyuyok-ey ka-ss-ta.
LINDA-TOP AGAIN NEW:YORK-TO GO-PST-DC
Linda went back to New York.

As mentioned earlier, Yoon's (2007) analysis of the ambiguity between *tto* and *tasi* is mainly based on Pustejovsky's (1991, 1995) generative lexicon theory. From a generative lexicon perspective, the semantic meaning of a word is not always permanent, but is constructed by a fixed number of generative devices in context (Pustejovsky, 1991). In generative lexicon semantic representations, the event structure identifies the specific event type associated with a verb or a phrase expressing an event, which may have a subeventual structure—state, process, or transition.[1] Yoon concluded that *tto* is process-oriented, so it can only modify a process, while *tasi* is neutral in orientation, so that it can modify both a state and a process.

Next, we turn to Oh's (2009) study, which, as mentioned, compared *tto* and *tasi* in the framework of von Stechow's (1995, 1996) structural analysis in generative semantics. is considered to have two possible interpretations, namely, a *repetitive reading* and a *restitutive reading* (von Stechow, 1996; Klein, 2001; Beck & Johnson, 2004; Beck, 2005, 2006; Beck &

[1] Pustejovsky (1991, p. 56) defined these three subeventual structures as in (19), with the examples in (20).

(19) Three subeventual structures
a. State: a single event, which is not evaluated to any other event
b. Process: a sequence of events identifying the same semantic expression
c. Transition: an event identifying a semantic expression, which is evaluated relative to its opposition

(20) a. Mary is sick.
b. Mary walked.
c. Mary walked to the store.

In (20a), Mary being sick is a single event that is not evaluated relative to any other event; the sentence denotes a state. The verb *walk* is used in both (20b) and (20c). In (20b), the sentence denotes an activity of walking for an indefinite duration, and it does not convey any additional information regarding the temporal extent of the activity. On the other hand, in (20c), the sentence carries the additional information regarding when Mary terminates the activity: when she reaches the store. If a sentence does not convey a logical culmination or duration, the sentence is said to denote a process. If a sentence conveys information about an activity and its termination, the sentence is said to denote a transition.

Gergel, 2015). These two readings are illustrated by the paraphrases of (21) in (21a) and (21b); the example is from Beck (2005, p. 1).

(21) Bilbo opened the door again.

(21a) Bilbo opened the door, and that had happened before. (repetitive)

(21b) Bilbo opened the door, and the door had been open before. (restitutive)

In (21a), the sentence conveys that the event of "opening" has been repeated (the repetitive reading), whereas in (21b), the sentence conveys that the result state of "being open" has been repeated (the restitutive reading). The lexical ambiguity of *again* has long been a matter of interest in the study of semantics, and it has been examined from two different perspectives: von Stechow's (1995, 1996) structural analysis and Fabricius-Hansen's (1983, 2001) lexical ambiguity analysis. In brief, the structural analysis assumes that the ambiguity of *again* is generated by syntactic structures and the adverb only carries the meaning of repetition. On the other hand, the lexical ambiguity analysis assumes that *again* can be interpreted in two different ways: repetitive *again* and counterdirectional *again*. The counterdirectional reading presupposes that a counterdirectional event happened before the event that is modified by *again* (e.g., *open-close*, *fall-rise*, *buy-sell*).

Beck (2005) conducted a crosslinguistic survey in order to examine the availability of a restitutive reading of *again* in 18 languages, including Korean. The survey used the two test sentences in (22; p. 46).

(22a) 샐리는 문을 **다시** 열었다.
saylli-nun mwun-ul **tasi** yel-ess-ta.
SALLY-TOP DOOR-ACC AGAIN OPEN-PST-DC
Sally opened the door again.

(22b) 수레시가 **다시** 마을로 달려 갔다.
swuleysi-ka **tasi** maul-lo tal-lye ka-ss-ta.
SURESH-NOM AGAIN VILLAGE-TO RUN-INF GO-PST-DC

Suresh walked to the village again.

Because the adverb *again* can be translated into Korean as *tasi* in both sentences, Beck categorized Korean in the group of languages that allow a restitutive reading of *again*. When Oh (2009) extended the previous analyses of English *again* to Korean, she pointed out that, in addition to *tasi*, *tto* also conveys the meaning of *again*. She examined the different semantic behaviors of *tto* and *tasi* within the framework of structural analysis, indicating that *tasi* allows both the repetitive reading and the restitutive reading while *tto* only allows the repetitive reading. Oh also argued that structural analysis in generative semantics is a more suitable method to understand the Korean adverbs *tto* and *tasi* than the generative lexicon approach taken in Yoon's (2007) study.

While each of these studies provided insight into the semantic properties of *tto*, their analyses concentrated on the ambiguity of the semantic value of *tasi* rather than *tto*. In addition, both studies centered on a semantic point of view within the syntactic-semantics interface. In contrast, in the third and final study reviewed in this section, Yoon (2006) observed the appearance of *tto* in conversation-oriented environments and analyzed its usages from a pragmatic perspective.

Yoon's (2006) study used naturally occurring data to investigate how and why Korean speakers carry out the action of complaining. The study analyzed systematic patterns in the construction of complaint utterances and provided sequential structures of complaining discourse within a conversation analytics framework. The analysis demonstrated that *tto* is one of the lexical resources frequently used to intensify complaint utterances, specifically as a device to emphasize the repetitiveness of an unacceptable event. Yoon provided the following segment (23) to illustrate how *tto* is used to highlight the repetitive aspect of the target behavior in a

complaint utterance. It is taken from a face-to-face conversation among five friends, including Won (W), at a pizza gathering hosted by a married couple, Yun (Y) and Suh (S). Prior to this segment, Yun talked about a habit of her husband, Suh: that he picks only the nicest pieces of kimchi from a shared plate, so the relatively bad pieces are left for her. The extract begins with Suh's response, in lines 1–2, where he says that Yun's scolding on this topic almost led him to put two separate bowls of kimchi on the table.

(23) [Yoon, 2006, pp. 68–69] Pizza gathering (slightly simplified)

01 S: 하:두 구박해가지구 .h 김치를 두 그릇을[2]
ha:twu kwupakhay-kacikwu .h kimchi-lul twu kulus-ul
TOO:MUCH HARASS-BECAUSE KIMCHI-ACC TWO BOWL-ACC

02 떠 놓고 먹(h)을(h)려(h)구 하(h)다(h)가(h) hu
tte noh-ko mek(h)-ul(h)lye(h)kwu ha(h)-ta(h)ka(h) hu
SCOOP PUT-AND EAT-INTEND:TO DO-WHILE

Because (she) treats me so harshly that, (I) was almost going to put two bowls of kimchi on the table when...

03 Y: ↑아:우::: ↑진짜 또 시작이야.
↑awu ↑cincca **tto** sicak-iya.
EXC REALLY AGAIN START-BE:IE
Gosh, really, (you) are starting (this) again.

04 내[가 그랬지 .h]
nay-ka kulay-ss-ci
I-NOM SAY-PST-COMM
I told you this.

05 W: [어 싸우면 안 돼요]=여기 카메라 찍혀요.=
e ssawu-myen an tway-yo]=yeki khameyla ccikhy-eyo.=
OH FIGHT-IF NEG ALLOWED-POL HERE CAMERA TAKEN-POL
Oh, (you) cannot fight. It is videotaped here.

06 Y: =밖이 오--밖이 오면--밖이 오면은:, 어? (0.5)

[2] The glosses on Yoon's examples are slightly changed for the sake of consistency.

=pakk-i o--pakk-i o-myen--pakk-i o-myen-un:, e? (0.5)
OUTSIDE-NOM CO-OUTSIDE-NOM COME-IF OUTSIDE-NOM COME-IF-TOP HUH

07 남들이 오면 밖에서는 나를 칭찬하는
nam-tul-i o-myen pakk-eyse-nun na-lul chingchanha-nun
OTHER-PL-NOM COME-IF OUTSIDE-AT-TOP I-ACC PRAISE-RL

08 =거를 좀 배워라 했었잖아.
=ke-lul com payw-ela hay-ss-ess-canh-a.
THING-ACC A:LITTLE LEARN-IMPER SAY-PST-PST-YOU:KNOW-IE

Outside, if (we) are outside, if you're out in public, you know? If other people come, at least with other people, please learn to praise me, you know.

In line 3, Yun issues a *tto*-marked complaint utterance saying that Suh is starting the same thing again. Yun's utterance does not clearly indicate what kind of thing Suh is starting again, but Suh's immediately preceding turn in lines 1 and 2 can be heard as blaming her. Yun's utterance, however, typifies his act in this particular context as part of what he usually does. Her complaint therefore is not only toward the immediate preceding turn of Suh but toward Suh's frequent pattern of acts. This pattern is clarified in Yun's following utterances, in lines 6 through 8, where she complains about Suh's behavior of blaming her in front of other people. The employment of *tto* in line 3 "adds more emphasis on the repetitive and constant aspect" of the interlocutor's target behavior and thereby "strengthens the basis of complaining" (Yoon, 2006, p. 70).

In the following excerpt, also provided by Yoon (2006), *tto* appears multiple times within a single complaint utterance. The segment is from a face-to-face conversation among five friends at a dinner gathering. The three speakers in (24) are Joo (J), Young (Y), and Hoon (H). Joo and Hoon are brother and sister, and Young is their close friend. All the speakers are single; Joo and Hoon are in their mid-thirties, while Young is much younger. Prior to the segment, Young said that her rice cooker does not work very well, and Joo recommended she buy an electronic pressure rice cooker because it makes better tasting rice. However, Young said that she would

not, both because such cookers are expensive and because she might get married soon. In response, Joo immediately issues the complaint in line 1.

(24) [Yoon, 2006, pp. 71–72] Dinner talk among five friends (slightly simplified)

01 J:야 결혼 안 하면 맛있는 거 먹으면 안 돼?
ya kyelhon an ha-myen masiss-nun ke mek-umyen an tway?
HEY WEDDING NEG DO-IF DELICIOUS-RL THING EAT-IF NEG ALLOWED:IE
Hey, if not married, can (we) not eat delicious food?

02 Y:미안해. 하하하
mianhay. hhh
SORRY:IE
(I) am sorry. hhh

03 J:〉마--맛있는 거 먹어야[지〈
>ma--masiss-nun ke mek-eya-[ci<]
DEL-DELICIOUS-RL THING EAT-MUST-COMM
(We) have to eat del-delicious things anyway.

04 H: [왜 또 결혼 얘기를 해서 또
[way **tto** kyelhon] yayki-lul hay-se **tto**
WHY AGAIN WEDDING TALKING-ACC DO-AND AGAIN

05 우리 누나를 [또 건드려 또:]
wuli nwunalul [**tto** kentuly-e **tto**:]
OUR OLDER:SISTER-ACC AGAIN IRRITATE-IE AGAIN

Why do you talk again about marriage again and so again irritate my sister again?

05 Y: [하 하 하]
hhh

In line 1, Joo asserts that anyone can buy a nice rice cooker for themselves whether or not they are married or planning to get married. As mentioned above, Joo is a single woman who is much older than Young. In response, Young produces an apology in line 2. Upon this, Joo's younger brother, Hoon, issues another complaint toward Young, asking why she talks about marriage and

irritates his sister in lines 4 and 5. Although the utterance is designed as a *wh*-question with the question word *wae* 'why', Yoon's analysis demonstrates that, based on its position in the sequential environment, it is a complaint with an assertion, which implies that Young should not have talked about marriage. In this single utterance, *tto* is used four times. Yoon argued that the multiple uses of *tto* in a complaint utterance provide "an extreme emphasis on the repetitive aspect of the target act, which allows the complainant to greatly intensify his claim of complainability" (p. 73). By showing the usage of *tto* in complaint utterances in naturally occurring conversation data, Yoon's study illustrated its pragmatic functions.

This chapter has provided an overview of the previous studies related to *tto*. As this review shows, not much research has been conducted on *tto* so far, and even these studies are only partially concerned with *tto*. Yoon (2007) and Oh (2009) concentrated on the meaning differences between *tto* and *tasi*, focusing on the ambiguous interpretation of *tasi*. Yoon's (2006) study was the first to introduce the interactional usage of *tto* from the conversation analytic perspective, but it only addresses *tto* as one of the linguistic devices for intensifying complaint utterances. In other words, no study has been conducted that solely focuses on *tto*, and the existing studies are not sufficient to understand *tto* as a whole. Therefore, this dissertation focuses primarily on *tto*, including its diachronic development and synchronic behaviors. The dissertation also attempts to provide evidence of *tto*'s functional shift from an adverb to a discourse marker. Before looking at the current uses of *tto* in present-day Korean, the next chapter explores the meanings and functions of *tto* in earlier days and discusses Traugott's (1995) cline of adverbial grammaticalization as a diachronic process.

CHAPTER 4

Diachronic Development of *tto*

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the diachronic development of the adverb *tto* through an examination of historical data. It aims to illustrate the semantic meanings and grammatical functions of *tto* in earlier periods, and by doing so, it also attempts to demonstrate the grammaticalization process. Before beginning to analyze the historical evidence, the chapter provides a brief historical summary of the Korean language itself.

The commonly accepted periodization of Korean divides its history into four stages: Old Korean (OK), Middle Korean (MK), Modern Korean (ModK), and Present Day Korean (PDK) (Lee & Ramsey, 2011; Sohn, 1999). This division into chronological periods is based on significant historical events that have affected the language's usage. Table 4.1 presents the major periods of the Korean language and their timespans, according to Sohn (1999).

Table 4.1 Sohn's (1999, p. 41) Periodization of the Korean language

Periodization	Timespan
Old Korean	Three Kingdoms period to Unified Silla Dynasty (57 B.C.E.–935 C.E.)
Middle Korean	Koryŏ Dynasty to Japanese invasion of Korea (918 C.E.–1592 C.E.)
Modern Korean	Japanese invasion of Korea to 19th century (1592 C.E.–19th century)
Present Day Korean	20th century to now

OK covers from the Three Kingdoms period (roughly the beginning of the Christian era) to the end of the Unified Silla Dynasty (676–935). The written records from this period are very scarce, making it difficult to fully trace usages this far back. MK is usually divided into two substages: Early Middle Korean (EMK) and Late Middle Korean (LMK). The first substage, EMK, lasted from the beginning of the Koryŏ Dynasty (918–1392) to the invention of Hangul (1446), and the second substage, LMK, begins with the invention of Hangul and ends with the initial Japanese invasion of Korea (*Imjin Waeran*) in 1592 during the Chosŏn Dynasty. Therefore, in general, EMK refers to the language of the Koryŏ Dynasty, and LMK represents the first two centuries of the Chosŏn era's language. ModK starts after the initial Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592 and covers the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, and PDK, which may also be referred to as Contemporary Korean, begins with the 20th century.

The next section first addresses the main points of previous studies that are relevant to the etymological source of the adverb *tto* and shed light on some of the controversy surrounding the origin of its morphological construction (Section 4.2). The following two sections exemplify the usages of the delimiter *to* in OK (Section 4.3) and the adverb *tto* in the year 1447, which is the beginning of the LMK period (Section 4.4). The final section discusses the diachronic development of *tto* and suggests its grammaticalization process (Section 4.5).

4.2 Related literature

As mentioned in the introduction to the chapter, few written historical records with which we can investigate OK remain.[1] As a result, any such investigation often involves guesswork using Chinese and Japanese historical records and/or tracing back from MK. One of the few

[1] Old Korean in this dissertation is mainly associated with the language of Unified Silla.

direct sources for OK is *hyangga* (鄕歌, 'native songs'). Hyangga provide the earliest written evidence of the Korean language. They are four-line, eight-line, and ten-line vernacular poems of the Silla Dynasty and the early period of the Koryŏ Dynasty. Records for a total of twenty-five poems have survived: fourteen poems in the *Samguk Yusa* (三國遺事, 'Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms') and eleven poems in the *Kyunyŏjŏn* (均如傳, 'Life of the Great Master Kyunyŏ'). These poems were recorded in the *hyangch'al* (鄕札, 'local letters') script, in which the Korean language was written using Chinese characters to represent phonological values (*ŭm* 音 reading, phonogram) and semantic meanings (*hun* 訓 reading, semantogram).

Chemangmaega (祭亡妹歌, 'Requiem for the Dead Younger Sister') is a ten-line poem that appeared in the *Samguk Yusa* and was written by the Buddhist monk Wŏlmyŏng during the reign of King Kyŏngdŏk (742–765) in the Silla Dynasty. The poem is addressed to the author's younger sister who died young. The original text of *Chemangmaega* and its English translation[2] are shown below.

(25) *Chemangmaega*

1 生死路隱
2 此矣有阿米次分伊遣
3 吾隱去內如辭叱都
4 毛如云遣去內尼叱古
5 於內秋察早隱風未
6 此矣彼矣浮良落尸葉如
7 一等隱枝良出古
8 去奴隱處毛冬乎丁
9 阿也 彌陀刹良逢乎吾
10 道修良待是古如

[2] The English translation of *Chemangmaega* is P. H. Lee's (1981).

On the hard road of life and death, that is near our land. You went, afraid, without words. We know not where we go, leaves blown, scattered, though fallen from the same tree, by the first winds of autumn. Ah, I will polish the path until I meet you in the Pure Land.

In this poem, evidence of the Korean delimiter *to* appears in the third line. OK scholars see the characters 都, 置, and 刀 in hyangga poems as corresponding to the delimiter *to* in PDK (J.-D. Yang, 1942; S. Kim, 2004, 2014; W. Kim, 1980; Baek, 2014; M.-R. Kim, 2015) A detailed interpretation of line 3 is shown in Example (26).[3]

(26) 吾-隱 去-內-如 辭叱-<u>都</u>
na-nAn ka-nA-ta mals-to
I-TOP GO-IMPFV-DC WORD-ALSO
even the words to say goodbye

During the OK and EMK periods, the character 叱 served different functions depending on its usage (e.g., representing the genitive particle *s*, indicating the sound of a syllable-final consonant, and so forth), and the phonological value of 叱 is generally believed to have been [s] or [sV] (Lee & Ramsey, 2011).[4] Because it serves several different functions, the interpretation of 叱 in (26) is also controversial. J.-D. Yang (1942) claimed that 叱 indicates a popular pronunciation (*sokum*, 俗音) of the character 辭, while Ryu (2003) suggested that 叱 occurs with 辭 to illustrate that the word ended in [s]. In other words, the character 辭 at the end of the line of poetry in (26) indicates the meaning of the word, which is "word," while the preceding character, 叱, indicates the sound of the syllable-final consonant. Despite the controversy

[3] Interpretations of hyangga in this dissertation mainly follow J.-D. Yang's (1942) work. W. Kim's (1980) interpretations were also examined as a secondary source. Any errors in morphemic analysis, glossing, and English translation are my own.

[4] The phonological value of the character 叱 in Old Korean is still controversial, but many scholars agree with the notion that 叱 has the sound of [s] or [sV]. The character 叱 in the third line of *Chemangmaega* is exclusively interpreted as [s] in the literature, and this interpretation is also compatible with that of W. Kim (1980), R.-M. Jung (1999), and J. Shin (2000).

surrounding the interpretation of 叱, it is clear that 叱 had a phonological value and that its purpose was more closely associated with carrying phonological information than with conveying a lexical meaning. These characteristics of 叱 as used in writing OK may have affected the formation of syllable- or word-initial consonant clusters in the EMK period.

The syllable- or word-initial consonant clusters developed in the EMK period (Lee & Ramsey, 2011). These clusters are divided into three groups: sC- (e.g., *st* ㅅㄷ), pC- (e.g., *pc* ㅄ), and psC- (e.g., *psk* ㅺ). Regarding the phonological values of the sC- group, three hypotheses have been proposed in previous literature. The first hypothesis is that the initial *s* does not have a phonological value, but tensifies the following lax consonant (e.g., **sk* ㅅㄱ > [k']; Lee, 1955, 1972). This hypothesis is supported by the appearance of epenthetic *s* (*sai-sios*) in PDK because the origin of epenthetic *s* is considered to reside within usages of 叱 in the OK period. The second hypothesis proposes that the initial consonant *s* of any sC- cluster was associated with the [s] sound due to the fact that the *Hunmin chŏngmŭ haerye* (訓民正音解例, 'Explanation and Examples of the Correct Sound for the Instruction of the People') does not include any distinctions for sC-, pC-, and psC- clusters, and it is widely agreed that initial consonant *p* in the pC- cluster was assigned the sound of [p] in the MK period (Huh, 1985). Under this hypothesis, *st* ㅅㄷ was pronounced [st], similar to *st*rike in English. Lastly, Park (1987) suggested a sort of middle ground proposal that claims sC- clusters were written variants of the tensed *s* [s'] that sometimes became phonetically realized as [s] depending on the surrounding environment. However, such syllable- or word-initial consonant clusters no longer exist in PDK, and there is no phonological evidence that allows further examination of their sound values. These clusters merged into tensed consonants (e.g., *st* ㅅㄷ > *tt* ㄸ) or became extinct during the ModK period.

According to the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (2008) published by the National Institute of the Korean Language, the old form of the adverb *tto* is *sto*.[5] Baek (2014) claimed that the adverb *tto* and the delimiter *to* historically share the same root (*tongkune*, 同根語), and he provided the third line of *Chemangmaega* as evidence.

(27) 吾-隱 去-內-如【辭叱-都】 → 辭-叱都
na-nAn ka-nA-ta【mals-to】→ mal-**sto**

Baek's approach is quite credible for the following reasons: (a) It can explain the sudden appearance of sC- clusters (e.g., *sk* ㅺ, *sn* ㅽ, *st* ㅼ, *sp* ㅾ, *sc* ㅽ) in EMK; (b) the character 叱 had often served the function of a transcriptional character, so the complete structure (the entire syllable) might not have been represented in the orthography of the MK period; (c) the syllable structures of *tto* and *to* are almost identical; (d) *tto* and *to* share the same lexical meaning of 'also'. However, this approach is unable to definitively prove that *tto* is derived from the delimiter *to* because the character 都 is thought to have had the phonological value of [to] (*ŭm* reading) and the semantic meaning of 'all' (*hun* reading). In other words, there is no clear-cut indication as to whether 都 appears to represent the *ŭm* reading or the *hun* reading in (27). If 都 was used for its *hun* reading, *tto* would be seen as having been derived from the noun *motA* 'all'. On this point, Kim (2004, 2014) argued that 都 retains its *hun* reading because the character 叱 is located in front of 都. He claimed that 叱 represents a terminal consonant *s* (epenthetic *s*, *sai-sios*), and this phenomenon exclusively occurs between two nouns, so it is possible to see 都 as the noun *motA* 'all'. However, as discussed before, the interpretation of 叱 is still controversial.

[5] *The Standard Korean Language Dictionary* notes that the old form of *tto*, *sto*, can be found from the 15th century.

The issues related to the origin of *tto* and its presumed connection with the delimiter *to* will be discussed again in Section 4.5.

4.3 The delimiter *to* in Old Korean

As mentioned, the characters 都, 置, and 刀 are thought to represent the delimiter *to* in the OK period. Before looking at the historical data, this section explores each of these three characters' phonological values and semantic meanings. Table 4.2 presents the characters' *ŭm* readings and *hun* readings.

Table 4.2 The *ŭm* reading and the *hun* reading of 都, 置, and 刀

	Phonological value (*ŭm* reading)	Semantic meaning (*hun* reading)
都	*to* [to]	all, everyone, everything
置	*twu* [tu]	to put, place, keep
刀	*to* [to]	knife

In the *Samguk Yusa*, 都 and 置 appear four[6] and five times, respectively. Table 4.3 shows these occurrences in chronological order.

[6] Among the four occurrences, two are in the hyangga *Ujŏkga*, but this hyangga is open to different interpretations, according to scholars of Old Korean, because of several missing letters. For this reason, it is difficult to analyze the readings of these two cases of 都 (the lines are given below), and they are therefore not included in this dissertation's analysis.

次弗□□史內於**都**還於尸朗也 (*Ujŏkga* line 6, 785–798 A.D.)
安支尙宅**都**乎隱以多 (*Ujŏkga* line 10, 785–798 A.D.)

Table 4.3 The occurrence of 都 and 置 in the texts of fourteen poems in the *Samguk Yusa*

都	世理**都**之叱逸烏隱第也 (*Wŏnga* line 8, 737 A.D.) 吾隱去內如辭叱**都** (*Chemangmaega* line 3, 742–765 A.D.)
置	他密只嫁良**置**古 (*Sŏdongyo* line 2, 579–632 A.D.) 倭理叱軍**置**來叱多 (*Hyesŏngga* line 3, 579–632 A.D.) 月**置**入切爾數於將來尸波衣 (*Hyesŏngga* line 6, 579–632 A.D.) 阿耶此身遣也**置**遣 (*Wŏnwangsaengga* line 9, 661–681 A.D.) 祈以支白屋尸**置**內乎多 (*Toch'ŏnsugwanŭmga* line 4, 742–765 A.D.)

As for the character 都, further evidence can be found in *Wŏnga.* This hyangga was written by Sinch'ung, who was a loyal servant of King Hyosŏng. Before King Hyosŏng ascended to the throne, he promised Sinch'ung that he would reward him when he became king. This promise was, however, not kept, whereupon Sinch'ung composed this hyangga. Example (3) is line 8 of the hyangga, in which the writer expresses his grief, despair, and disappointment.

(28a) 世理-**都** 之叱逸-烏隱 第-也
nwuli-**to** achyelo-n tey-ye
WORLD-TO DISLIKE-ADN PLACE-EXCLM
(I) hate even the world.

(*Wŏnga* line 8, 737 A.D.)

The majority of OK scholars, including J.-D. Yang (1942), read the character 都 as the delimiter *to* (J. Suh, 1975; H.-C. Yang, 1997; J.-D. Yang, 1942) whereas Kim (1980) interpreted 都 as the noun *motA* 'all' as shown below. In this case, 都 retains its *hun* reading, which contrasts with the *ŭm* reading in J. Yang's interpretation.

(28b) 世理 **都**-(隱) 之叱 逸烏-隱 第-也
nwuli **motA**-n kas yehAy-on tAy-ye
WORLD ALL-ADN THING LOSE-ADN PLACE-EXCLM
(I) have lost everything in the world.

(*Wŏnga* line 8, 737 A.D.)

Although the interpretations of 都之叱 in (28a) and (28b) are not identical, the implicit meaning is the same regardless of whether 都 takes the *hun* reading or the *ŭm* reading. In other words, the *hun* reading of (28a) would lead to the interpretation '(I) hate all the world', which has the same connotation as J.-D. Yang's (1942) original interpretation in (28a). This may have resulted from the structure, 世理都 ('world' + *to*), which refers inclusively to everything in the world. Based on these excerpts, it is not clear whether 都 is used for its *hun* reading or *ŭm* reading, but (28b) shows the possibility that 都 may represent the noun 'all'.

The following two excerpts are taken from *Hyesŏngga* to illustrate the usage of the character 置. The story is about when three *hwarang*[7] knights went on a trip to Kumkang Mountain where they saw a comet, which was traditionally regarded as an evil omen. The comet disappeared, along with an invading Japanese force, when a monk sang this hyangga. In both cases, 置 is used as the delimiter *to*.

(29) 倭理叱 軍-**置** 來叱-多
yeys KWUN[8]-**twu** os-ta
JAPANESE MILITARY-TWU COME:PST-DC
Japanese troops also came.

(*Hyesŏngga* line 3, 579–632 A.D.)

(30) 月-**置** 入切爾 數於將來尸波衣
tAl-**twu** pAculi hyelyelpaay

[7] An elite warrior group of male youth in Silla.

[8] Uppercase letters are used for Chinese characters in mixed writing (Chinese character 漢字 and Korean alphabet) transcription.

MOON-TWU DILIGENTLY LIGHT:UP

Even the moon diligently beams her rays.

(*Hyesŏngga* line 6, 579–632 A.D.)

Unlike 都, 置 was also used to represent the verb stem *twu* from the verb *twuta* 'to put, place, set, keep, put away, leave aside'. The following excerpt is taken from *Toch'ŏnsugwanŭmga*, a poem in which a mother begs for the mercy of Sahasrabhuja-avalokitesvara (the Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara) to cure her child's blindness.

(31) 祈以支白屋尸 **置**-内-乎-多
pisAlvAl **twu**-nwu-o-ta
WORD:OF:PRAYER TWU-AH-INF-DC
(I) place my prayer.

(*Toch'ŏnsugwanŭmga* line 4, 742–765 A.D.)

As the verb stem *twu* was represented by 置, the character also appeared in the auxiliary predicate construction, *-e/a twuta* 'to do something for future use' (infinitive *-e/a* + main clause predicate *twuta*). Examples (32) and (33) illustrate the use of 置 as an auxiliary verb stem.

(32) 他 密只 嫁-良-**置**-古
nAm kuzuci el-e-**twu**-ko
OTHERS SECRETLY HAVE:A:DATE-INF-TWU-AND
Having an affair secretly, and...

(*Sŏdongyo* line 2, 579–632 A.D.)

(33) 阿耶 此 身 遣-也-**置**-遣
au i mom kithy-e-**twu**-ko
EXC THIS BODY LEAVE-INF-TWU-AND
Ah, leaving me here...

(*Wŏnwangsaengga* line 9, 661–681 A.D.)

The texts of *Kyunyŏjŏn* contain more instances of 置, whereas 都 and 刀 appear only once. The usage of 都, 置, and 刀 in the *Kyunyŏjŏn* is summarized in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 The usage of 都, 置, and 刀 in the texts of eleven poems in the *Kyunyŏjŏn*

	Examples	Usage
都	又**都**佛體叱事伊置耶 (*Ch'onggyŏlmujinga* line 8)	-
置	不冬喜好尸**置**乎理叱過 (*Suhŭigongdŏkga* line 8)	Verb stem *twu*
	隔句必只一毛叱德**置** (*Ch'ingch'anyŏraega* line 9)	Delimiter *to*
	命乙施好尸歲史中**置** (*Sangsubulhakga* line 6)	Delimiter *to*
	皆佛體**置**然叱爲賜隱伊留兮 (*Sangsubulhakga* line 8)	Delimiter *to*
	爲乙吾**置**同生同死 (*Hangsunjungsaengga* line 6)	Delimiter *to*
	懺爲如乎仁惡寸業**置** (*Pogaehoehyangga* line 6)	Delimiter *to*
	舊留然叱爲事**置**耶 (*Pogaehoehyangga* line 8)	Retrospective suffix *te*
	吾衣願盡尸日**置**仁伊而也 (*Ch'onggyŏlmujinga* line 2)	Delimiter *to*
	又都佛體叱事伊**置**耶 (*Ch'onggyŏlmujinga* line 8)	Retrospective suffix *te*
刀	病吟體爲白孫佛體**刀** (*Pogaehoehyangga* line 9)	Delimiter *to*

In the following excerpt, which is taken from *Ch'onggyŏlmujinga*, the characters 都 and 置 appear in a single sentence. Here, the adverb *sto* (*tto* in PDK) is represented by the compound

又都. The first character 又[9] appears to represent a *hun* reading while the second character 都 retains its *ŭm* reading. Because the phonological values of LMK are derived from those of OK, it is not surprising to see the phonological value *sto* in the excerpt. However, the use of 都 in 又都 is still notable. As for the character 置, it represents the retrospective mood suffix *-te*, which denotes an act or state as the speaker's past observation or experience (Sohn, 1999). Additional evidence for the compound 置耶 *tela* (retrospective mood suffix *te* + plain-level declarative) also appears in the texts of *Pogaehoehyangga*.

(34) 伊波 普賢行願
ipa POHYENHAYNGWEN
HEY THE:VOWS:OF:SAMANTABHADRA

又**都** 佛體-叱 事-伊-**置**-耶
sto pwuthye-s il-i-twu-la
STO BUDDHA-GEN WORK-BE-TWU-DC

Hey, the Vows of Samantabhadra are also the Buddha's work.

(*Ch'onggyŏlmujinga* lines 7 and 8)

Other instances of 置 show little difference from those found in the *Samguk Yusa*. In all of the examples in (35–37), 置 is again used to represent the delimiter *to* and the verb stem *twu*.

(35) 爲乙 吾-**置** 同生同死
hAl na-**twu** TONGSAYNGTONGSA
DO I-TWU LIVE:AND:DIE:TOGETHER
I also shall serve the Buddha whether I live or die.

(*Hangsunjungsaengga* line 6)

(36) 隔句 必只 一毛-叱 德-**置**
au pilok ILMO-s TEK-**twu**
EXC ALTHOUGH ONE:STRAND-GEN VIRTUE-TWU
Ah, although (I could not express) even a single strand of your virtue...

[9] The character 又 has the semantic meaning 'also' and the phonological value *wu* (in PDK).

(*Ch'ingch'anyŏraega* line 9)

(37) 不冬 喜好尸 **置**-乎-理叱-過
antAl kishuh **twu**-o-lis-ko
NEG DELIGHTEDNESS TWU-INF-FUT-INTERR
How could (I) not be delightful?

(*Suhŭigongdŏkga* line 8)

The use of the character 刀 to represent the delimiter *to* is also found, as shown in (38).

(38) 病吟 體-爲白孫 佛體-**刀**
au YEY-hAsAlvAnson pwuthye-**to**
EXC WORSHIP-DO:SH:RL BUDDHA-TO
Ah, even the Buddha who worships...

(*Pogaehoehyangga* line 9)

So far, in this section, we have reviewed historical evidence for three characters related to the delimiter *to*. Based on the data, the underlying form of the delimiter *to* seems to be the character 都, because the way it adopts both phonological value and semantic meaning is more economical and less ambiguous compared to the other two. The character 置 seems to have originally represented the verb stem *twu*, and its usage expanded to the auxiliary predicate, the retrospective mood suffix *te*, and even to the delimiter *to*. This expansion may be associated with its phonological value, *twu* [tu]. During the MK period, Korean had a very rigid system of vowel harmony in which bright vowels occurred only with bright or neutral vowels while dark vowels occurred only with dark or neutral vowels (Lee & Ramsey, 2011). This vowel harmony was not only observed within a word but also across a nominal and a particle/delimiter (Sohn, 1999). Thus, the differences in phonological values between 都 and 置 may affect the possibility of 置 being used as the delimiter *to*. The pronunciation [tu] is still considered a dialectic variant of the

pronunciation [to] in PDK. As for the character 刀, it seems to have been used as an alternative to 都 to represent the sound [to]. Section 4.5 will include further discussion of the formation of *sto*.

4.4 The adverb *tto* in Middle Korean

We now turn to usages of the adverb *sto* in the MK period. As mentioned in Section 4.1, MK is generally divided into two substages: EMK and LMK. Direct evidence of the form *sto* first appears in texts in 1447, which belongs to the LMK period. Based on observations from historical sources published in 1447, the adverb *sto* extended to have diverse semantic meanings and structural functions. These functions included not only a predicate-level adverb but also a clause-level adverb and a sentence-level adverb. The following subsections explore examples found in historical sources published in 1447 to illustrate the evolution of the adverb *sto* from the OK period. The examined historical sources are listed below.

1. *Hunmin chŏngŭm haerye* (訓民正音解例, 'Explanations and Examples of the Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People')

2. *Yongbiŏch'ŏnga* (龍飛御天歌, 'Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven')

3. *Sŏkposangjŏl* (釋譜詳節, 'Detailed Articles on the Record of Sakyamuni')

4. *Wŏrinch'ŏn'gangjigok* (月印千江之曲, 'Songs of the Moon's Imprint on the Thousand Rivers').

4.4.1 Predicate-level adverb

In the predicate-level adverb category, *sto* encompasses various semantic meanings such as addition, repetition, restoration, extremity, and emphasis. First, in the same manner as the delimiter *to*, *sto* conveys the additive meaning, which can be translated as 'also', as in (39). Excerpt (39) describes the moment when the Crown Prince left the palace.

(39) Addition

出家호려 ᄒᆞ시니 ... 諸天神이 ᄂᆞ려오니이다

CHWULKAho-lye hA-si-ni ... CEYCHENSIN-i

LEAVE:HOME-IN:ORDER:TO DO-SH-CONN ALL:GODS:OF:HEAVEN-NOM

nAlyeo-ni-i-ta

COME:DOWN-DUR-BE-DC

(The Crown Prince) had planned to leave home, all Gods descended from heaven to...

出家ᄒᆞ싫 ᄢᅢ실ᄊᆡ ... 烏蘇慢이 ᄯᅩ 오니이다

CHWULKAhA-si-lH pstay-si-lssAy ... OSOMAN-i

LEAVE:HOME-SH-RL TIME-SH-CONN THE:GOD:OF:DROWSINESS-NOM

sto o-ni-i-ta

STO COME-DUR-BE-DC

When (he) left home, the God of drowsiness also came down to...

(*Wŏrinch'ŏn'gangjigok* Canto 50, 1447)

The predicate-level adverb *sto* also carries the meaning of repetition, which denotes that an action or an event has been repeated. In this case, *sto* can be replaced with the adverb *tasi* in most cases, and it can be translated as 'again'. The interpretation of *sto* in (40) is that the trembling of the ground has been repeated.

(40) Repetition

... ᄒᆞ오사 가싫 제 德重ᄒᆞ샤 ᄯᅡ히 ᄯᅩ 드러치니

... hAoza ka-si-l-Hcey TEKCWUNGhA-sy-a stahi tulechi-ni

ALONE GO-SH-RL-WHEN BE:VIRTUOUS-SH-CONN LAND:NOM VIBRATE-CONN

When (he) went alone ... , the ground would tremble from the strength of his merit.

... 손ᄋᆞ로 ᄭᅳᆯ싫 제 德重ᄒᆞ샤 ᄯᅡ히 ᄯᅩ 드러치니

... son-Alo skAlA-si-l-Hcey TEKCWUNGhA-sy-a stahi **sto** tulechi-ni

HAND-WITH SPREAD-SH-RL-WHEN BE:VIRTUOUS-SH-CONN LAND:NOM STO VIBRATE-CONN

When he placed his hand on ... , it would tremble from his merit again.

(*Wŏrinch'ŏn'gangjigok* Canto 66, 1447)

In the data, the adverb *tasi* appears once in the *Yongbiŏch'ŏnga* text, where the difference between *sto* and *tasi* in terms of meaning appears to be the same as in PDK. The following excerpt praises the generosity of two kings, Emperor Taizong of Tang (唐 太宗, the second emperor of the Tang Dynasty of China) and King T'aejo (太祖, the first king of the Chosŏn Dynasty). The first line refers to the historical event of Emperor Taizong of Tang taking Wei Zheng (魏徵) into the imperial service as a chancellor. Before Emperor Taizong of Tang ascended the throne, Wei Zheng asked Li Jiancheng (李建成, the oldest son of the founding Emperor Gaozu) to kill his brother, Li Shimin (the given name of Emperor Taizong of Tang). When Li Shimin came to the throne, many supporters asked him to execute Wei Zheng, but he instead made him an official. Similarly, when T'aejo ascended to the throne, his retainer Chŏng To-jŏn demanded the execution of opposition party members including Yi Saek and U Hyŏn-bo, but King T'aejo instead granted them new positions.

(41) ... 누믄 仇讎ㅣ라커늘 ... 다시 뽀샤 富庶를 보시니

... nAm-An KWUSWU-i-la-khenul ... **tasi** psu-sy-a PWUSE-lul
OTHERS-TOP ENEMY-BE-IMPER-CONN TASI HIRE-SH-CONN PROSPERITY-ACC
po-si-ni
SEE-SH-CONN
... people said [he] is an enemy ... [but] he again enlisted him and brought about prosperity.

... 누믄 주구려커늘 ... 다시 사ᄅᆞ샤 爵祿을 주시니

... nAm-An cwukyu-lye-khenul ... **tasi** salA-sya CAKLOK-Al
OTHERS-TOP KILL-PURP-CONN TASI SAVE-SH:CONN RANK:EMOLUMENT-ACC
cwu-si-ni
GIVE-SH-CONN
... people wanted to execute [them] ... [but] he again let them live and gave them rank and emolument.

(*Yongbiŏch'ŏnga* Canto 77, 1447)

In Example (41), *tasi* modifies its predicates and carries the meaning of 'again'. Based on the stories, *tasi* in the first line denotes that Wei Zheng has been hired a second time, although this is the first time he has been hired by Emperor Taizong of Tang; that is, *tasi* indicates the repeated action of Wei Zheng being hired, but not a repeated action of his being hired by Emperor Taizong of Tang. However, if *tasi* were replaced with *sto*, it would mean the repeated action of Emperor Taizong of Tang hiring Wei Zheng; that is, *sto* here would mark that the event indicated by its predicate has been repeated. The example in (41) shows that the semantic difference between *sto* and *tasi* also existed in the MK period.

The verb adverbial *sto* also carries the meaning of restoration, marking a return of something to its former condition. When *sto* carries this meaning, it can be replaced with the adverb *tolo*. The following excerpt is about miraculous incidents related to two kings, Kuang Wu Ti of Han (光武帝, Emperor of the Han Dynasty of China) and Ikjo (the great-grandfather of King T'aejo).

(42) Restoration

... 그르매 ᄇᆡ 업거늘 얼우시고 ᄯᅩ 노기시니

... kAlAm-ay pAy ep-kenul el-wu-si-ko **sto** nok-i-si-ni

RIVER-AT BOAT NOT:EXIST-CONN FREEZE-CAS-SH-AND STO MELT-CAS-SH-CONN

... as there was no boat on the river, it was made to freeze [so he could cross] and then to melt.

... 바ᄅᆞ래 ᄇᆡ 업거늘 녀토시고 ᄯᅩ 기피시니

... palAl-ay pAy ep-kenul nyeth-o-si-ko **sto** kiph-i-si-ni

SEA-AT BOAT NOT:EXIST-CONN SHALLOW-CAS-SH-AND STO DEEP-CAS-SH-CONN

... as there was no boat in the ocean, it was made to be shallow [so he could cross] and then became deep.

(*Yongbiŏch'ŏnga* Canto 20, 1447)

Another meaning of *sto* is extremity. Excerpt (45) comes from stories about King Wu of Zhou (周武王) and King T'aejo, who were both widely supported at home and abroad. In this case,

sto carries the meaning of 'even', and the sentence implies the writer's admiration and surprise. When *sto* carries the meaning of 'even', it can be replaced with the delimiters *kkaci* 'even, as far as, up to', *mace* 'even, as far as', and *cocha* 'even, as well', depending on the context. Although these *even*-delimiters have slight differences in their usages,[10] they share the core meaning of 'even'. The difference between the delimiter *to* and these *even*-delimiters is similar to the difference between *also* and *even* in English, as illustrated below.

(43) 스티브[-도] 파티에 갔다.
suthipu[-to] phathi-ey ka-ss-ta.
STEVE-ALSO PARTY-TO GO-PST-DC
Steve also went to the party.

a. Steve went to the party.

b. Somebody other than Steve went to the party.

(44) 스티브[-까지/-마저/-조차] 파티에 갔다.
suthipu[-kkaci/-mace/-cocha] phathi-ey ka-ss-ta.
STEVE-EVEN PARTY-TO GO-PST-DC
Even Steve went to the party.

a. Steve went to the party.

b. Somebody other than Steve went to the party.

c. Steve is the least likely person to go to the party.

As the examples indicate, while *also* and *even* share much of their meaning, a decisive difference is that only *even* can yield the interpretation in (44c). The *even*-sentence (44) expresses that the speaker would not expect or would not expect the listener to expect Steve to go to the party. In other words, only the least likely end of the scale appears in the sentence. Compared to the additive

[10] According to Han and Do (2010), *kkaci* implies the upper bound of a scale of expectation (i.e., the most unexpected). As for *cocha* and *mace*, the former indicates the lower (i.e., less unexpected) end of the expectation scale while the latter is towards the higher (i.e., more unexpected) end of the scale.

function, the aspect of extremity denotes the speaker's subjective attitude toward the sentence content's unexpectedness and/or surprising nature.

(45) Extremity

... 四方諸侯ㅣ 몯더니 ... 西夷 ᄯᅩ 모ᄃᆞ니

... SAPANGCEYHWU-i mot-te-ni ... SEI **sto**
FEUDAL:LORD:ALL:QUARTERS-NOM GATHER-RT-CONN WESTERN:BARBARIAN:NOM STO
motA-ni
GATHER-CONN

... the peers gathered from all quarters ... [and] even the Western barbarians gathered.

... 千里人民이 몯더니 ... 北狄이 ᄯᅩ 모ᄃᆞ니

... CHENLIINMIN-i mot-te-ni ... PWUKCEK-i **sto** motA-ni
PEOPLE:FAR:A:WAY-NOM GATHER-RT-CONN JURCHEN-NOM STO GATHER-CONN

... the people gathered from far away ... [and] even the Jurchen gathered.

(*Yongbiŏch'ŏnga* Canto 9, 1447)

In general, rhetorical questions are used to express the speaker's strong opinion. In (46), *sto* occurs in a rhetorical question, and it functions as an emphatic marker that strengthens the speaker's subjective stance. The main idea of (46) is about praising King T'aejo, who is referred to with the phrase "three arrows" (Cho et al., 2018). Based on background stories, he once shot seven arrows at a pine tree seventy paces away, hitting the seven pine cones he had indicated he would hit; he also shot three arrows at a dead tree one hundred paces away, hitting his target with all three. Another time, when Japanese pirates invaded Chosŏn, he took off his helmet and placed it at one hundred and ten paces in order to test his fortune in battle. He shot three arrows, and all of them penetrated the helmet. Due to these stories, "three arrows" came to refer to the remarkable exploits of King T'aejo.

(46) Emphasis

솔바올 닐굽과 이븐 나모와 투구 세사리

solspaol nilkwup-kwa iv-un namo-wa thwukwu sey-sal-i
PINECONE SEVEN-AND WITHER-RL TREE-AND HELMET THREE-ARROW-NOM

Three arrows hitting seven pinecones, a withered tree, and a helmet

녜도 또 잇더신가
nyey-to **sto** is-te-si-nka
THE:OLD:DAYS-ALSO STO EXIST-RT-SH-INTERR
was there anyone like him in the past?

(*Yongbiŏch'ŏnga* Canto 89, 1447)

This example shows a particular function of *sto*: to mark the speaker's subjective stance toward the sentence content. In (46), although *sto* seems to modify the existential predicate-stem *is*(*i*)- 'be, exist' (*iss*-, in PDK),[11] it actually contributes a pragmatic function as an emphatic marker. Its semantic meaning is redundant because of the delimiter *to*. This emphatic function of *sto* in the data only appears with the predicate-stem *is*(*i*)- in rhetorical questions.

4.4.2 Clause-level adverb

The semantic meaning of *sto* as a clause-level adverb also carries the additive meaning, as illustrated in (47).

(47) Addition

世界를 다 비취시고 또 大衆ᄃᆞ려 니ᄅᆞ샤ᄃᆡ
SEYKYEY-lAl ta pichwi-si-ko **sto** TAYCWUNG-tAlye
WORLD-ACC ALL ILLUMINATE-SH-AND STO PUBLIC-TO
nilA-sy-atAy
SAY-SH-CONN
(He) illuminates the world, and (he) also says to the public that...

(*Sŏkposangjŏl* 23.9a, 1447)

As an outgrowth of the additive meaning, *sto* as a clause-level adverb occurs with a meaning such as '(and) then, (so) then, (if) then'. One of the most frequently attested usages of *sto* is when it is located after conjunctive endings such as -*kwo* 'and', -*mye* 'and', and -*ketun* 'if' to link two clauses in a coordinate relationship. Occasionally, when *sto* is used for this function it

[11] It is thought that during the MK period, the existential predicate-stem *is*(*i*)- had two different forms: *is*- preceding a consonant, and *isi*- preceding a vowel (Kim, 2003).

does not carry the additive meaning because the semantic relation of the two clauses does not involve a presupposition. In other words, the use of *sto* is optional. It seems to be pragmatically motivated because it only denotes that the event in the first clause has happened before the situation in the second clause occurs. The use of this function of *sto* is commonly seen in narrative writing. Excerpt (48) shows the temporal transition meaning of *sto*.

(48) 百姓이 ... 어려ᄫᅳᆫ 厄이어든
PAYKSYENG-i ... elyev-un AYK-i-e-tun
THE:PEOPLE-NOM BE:DIFFICULT-RL MISFORTUNE-BE-PFV-IF

ᄯᅩ 五色幡 ᄆᆡᇰᄀᆞᆯ며
sto OSAYKPEN mAyngkAl-mye
sto FIVE:COLORED:BANNER MAKE-AND

... if a frightful calamity befell the people, craft a five-colored banner, and...

(*Sŏkposangjŏl* 9, 35a, 1447)

Example (49) illustrates the temporal transition meaning of *sto* in a longer unit. The second clause is not simply a continuation of the first clause, but describes a consequence of the situation indicated by the first clause.

(49) ... 네 力士ㅣ ... 香樓를 브티ᅀᆞᆸ다가 몯ᄒᆞ야ᄂᆞᆯ
... ney YEKSA-i ... HYANGLWU-lul puthi-zAp-taka mot-hA-ya-nAl
... FOUR STRONG:MAN-NOM ... INCENSE:BURNER-ACC IGNITE-DEF-CONN NEG-DO-PFV-CONN

ᄯᅩ 여듧 力士ㅣ 드러 브티ᅀᆞᆸ다가 몯ᄒᆞ야ᄂᆞᆯ
sto yetulp YEKSA-i tul-e puthi-zAp-taka mot-hA-ya-nAl
STO EIGHT STRONG:MAN-NOM ENTER-INF IGNITE-DEF-CONN NEG-DO-PFV-CONN

ᄯᅩ 열여슷 力士ㅣ 드러 브티ᅀᆞᆸ다가 몯ᄒᆞ야ᄂᆞᆯ
sto yelyesus YEKSA-i tul-e puthi-zAp-taka mot-hA-ya-nAl
STO SIXTEEN STRONG:MAN-NOM ENTER-INF IGNITE-DEF-CONN NEG-DO-PFV-CONN

ᄯᅩ 셜흔 여슷 力士ㅣ 드러 브티ᅀᆞᆸ다가 몯ᄒᆞ야ᄂᆞᆯ
sto syelhun yesus YEKSA-i tul-e puthi-zAp-taka
STO THIRTY SIX STRONG:MAN-NOM ENTER-INF IGNITE-DEF-CONN
mot-hA-ya-nAl
NEG-DO-PFV-CONN

... four strong men came in to ignite the incense burner..., but they couldn't, and/so then eight strong men came in to ignite (it), but they couldn't, and/so then sixteen strong men came in to ignite (it), but they couldn't, and/so then thirty-six strong men came in to ignite (it), but they couldn't.

(*Sŏkposangjŏl* 23, 45a, 1447)

Still, it is difficult to conclude that the temporal meaning is clearly separate from the additive meaning because the consequence of the second clause can be explicit in the first clause. As Haspelmath (2004, p. 10) pointed out, it is hard to judge to what extent sequential meaning comes from coordinators and to what extent it simply derives from contexts in which sequences of events are reported, and "the sequential sense is a contextual, not an inherent property of these coordinators."

4.4.3 Sentence-level adverb

As a sentence-level adverb, *sto* carries the meaning of addition, which can be translated as 'also, moreover, in addition', as shown in (50).

(50) Addition

또 文殊師利여 믈읫 有情이 貪ᄒᆞ고

Sto MWUNSWUSALI-ye muluys YUCENG-i THAMhA-ko

STO MANJUSHRI-VOC IN:GENERAL SENTIENT:BEINGS-NOM BE:GREEDY-AND

Also, Manjushri, generally speaking, (if) sentient beings are being greedy...

(*Sŏkposangjŏl* 9: 15a, 1447)

So far, we have explored the multifunctionality of *sto* and its manifold meanings through the interpretation of historical data. The data reveals that the use of *sto* was already very productive in the early LMK period. Now we turn to a discussion of the development of the adverb *tto*, focusing on its relevance to the theories of grammaticalization and motivation for historical changes based on typological characteristics of the Korean language.

4.5 Discussion

In the previous sections, we explored the etymological sources of the adverb *tto* and its development of manifold meanings and functions from the OK period to its earliest attestation in 1447. Based on the available evidence, is it possible to conclude that *tto* was originally derived from the noun meaning 'all'? According to the uniformitarian principle (sometimes also referred to as the principle of uniformity), processes that operated in the past can be conjectured by observing current processes in the present (Labov, 1972; Romaine, 1982). Labov (1972, p. 275) argued that "the forces operating to produce linguistic change today are the same kind and order of magnitude as those which operated in the past five or ten thousand years." This principle helps us to understand historical change in the past and ongoing processes in the present. In Korean, adverbs are mostly derived from other adverbs, nouns, verbs, adjectives, or determiners (Sohn, 1999). Examples of adverbs derived from nouns can be easily found in PDK:

cengmal 'correct word', *cincca* 'genuine thing', *cham* 'truth' > 'really, truly, very'

wancen 'completeness' > 'completely'

sasil 'fact, truth' > 'actually, in fact'

On the other hand, adverbs derived from a particle or delimiter seem very rare in Korean. Only one example could be found for this discussion.

pota '(rather) than, (more/less) than' > 'more'

The adverb *pota* is thought to be derived from the comparative particle *pota*. However, this example may show a slight difference in derivational change because the comparative particle *pota* was originally developed from the verb *pota* 'to see'. In terms of language change, forms are relatively conservative compared to meanings (Rhee, 1998). This means that even when the meaning of a lexical item has changed, its form tends to retain its original structure. Because of

this tendency, the difference in syllable structure between the adverb *tto* (*sto* in MK) and the noun *motwu* (*motA* in MK) 'all' seems too great to ignore, particularly because the relationship between *tto* and the delimiter *to* seems more straightforward. It is, of course, possible that we are looking at a case of language change that resulted from a different mechanism or a different process that we have not yet considered.

Before discussing the relation between the adverb *tto* and the delimiter *to*, let us look at historical studies of language change from a crosslinguistic perspective. Matsumoto (1988) and Onodera (1993, 1995, 2004) investigated the formation of Japanese connectives and the motivation for historical changes in these forms. This section presents some of their data and a brief summary of their analyses, and then discusses the role of the typological characteristics of Japanese in language change.

Matsumoto (1988) considered several patterns of grammatical change in Japanese connectives. The hypotheses of unidirectionality and a cline of grammaticality suggest that a content item becomes less lexical and more grammatical throughout grammaticalization processes (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). In contrast to these hypotheses, Japanese connectives show "change toward increasing independence of morphemes" (Matsumoto, 1988, p. 340). The sentences in Example (51) show a case with the clause-final connective particle *-ga*.[12]

(51) Japanese (Matsumoto, 1988, p. 340)

(51a) Taro-wa wakai-**ga** yoku yaru.
TARO-TOP BE:YOUNG-BUT WELL DO[13]
Taro is young, but he does a good job.

(51b) Taro-wa wakio. **Ga,** yoku yaru.
TARO-TOP BE:YOUNG BUT WELL DO

[12] "Connective particle" is Matsumoto's (1988) term for this clause-final bound morpheme.

[13] The glosses on Japanese examples were slightly changed for the sake of consistency.

Taro is young. But he does a good job.

In (51a), *-ga* functions as a clause-final particle that is attached to the adjective-stem of the first clause and links the two independent clauses in a sentence. In (51b), *-ga* is detached from the first clause, instead appearing in the initial position of the second clause, which is here a full sentence. These examples show that a bound morpheme can be detached from its predicate and become an independent morpheme as a sentence-initial conjunction. A similar pattern of detaching is illustrated in Example (52).

(52) Japanese (Matsumoto, 1988, p. 341).

(52a) Taro-wa mada kodomo-**da-kara** sore-wa muri-da.
TARO-TOP STILL CHILD-BE-BECAUSE THAT-TOP UNREASONABLE:REQUEST-BE
Since Taro is still a child, he is not equal to that task.

(52b) Taro-wa mada kodomo-da. **Dakara** sore-wa muri-da.
TARO-TOP STILL CHILD-BE THEREFORE THAT-TOP UNREASONABLE:REQUEST-BE
Taro is still a child. Therefore, he is not equal to that task.

The form *-dakara* in (52a) is composed of the copula *-da* 'be' and a connective particle *-kara* 'because'. In Japanese, the copula *-da* is a bound morpheme because it is always attached to a nominal, such as a noun, pronoun, or noun phrase. However, *-dakara* in (52b) functions as a sentence-initial conjunction.

Onodera (1993, 1995, 2004) examined the pragmatic change[14] of Japanese conjunctions (*demo* and *dakedo*) and interjections (*ne* and *na*) from a historical perspective. She traced the history of these elements back to the eighth century. The historical change of *demo* displays a structural shift from a clause-final connective to a sentence-initial conjunction. The evidence shows that *demo* seems to be derived from the clause-final connective V-*te* + *mo* (gerundive form of a predicate + adversative particle *mo*), and the structural shift involves a functional

[14] Onodera (1993, p. iii) defined "pragmatic change" as "the diachronic process in which items with rather restricted initial functions acquire extended discourse/pragmatic functions."

change into a discourse marker. Onodera's analysis of the historical shift of *demo*, illustrated in the following three examples, is summarized below.

(53a) Japanese (*Tale of Genji*, 1008)

Akekure, mitate matsuri**te** **mo**, ...
MORNING:AND:EVENING BID:FAREWELL:TO HUM-GER BUT
although I bid farewell to (Ukifune) in the morning and in the evening, ...

(Onodera, 1993, p. 148)

(53b) Japanese (*Noo Kyoogen: Suehirogari*, 1792)

Lord: Sore wa daidokoro ni nanbon mo aru kasa ja.
THAT TOP KITCHEN IN SEVERAL EXIST UMBRELLA BE
Sore o motomete kuru to iu koto ga aru mono ka.
THAT ACC GET COME QT NML NOM EXIST THING INTERR
That is an umbrella, several of which are in our kitchen. You shouldn't have brought it back.

Retainer: **Demo,** miyako no mono ga, 'suehirogari' ja to mooshi-ta
BUT CAPITAL OF PEOPLE NOM SUEHIROGARI BE QT SAY-PST
ni yotte motome-te mai-tta.
BECAUSE GET-GER COME-PST
But, because people in the capital told me that it was *suehirogari* (a fan), I brought it back.

(Onodera, 1993, p. 152)

(53c) Present Day Japanese (PDJ)

Mari: **Demo,** nihon ni kaettara tanoshimi desu ne
BUT JAPAN TO GO:BACK FUN BE SFP
But, it will be fun, won't it, when you go back to Japan?

(Onodera, 2004, p. 95)

One of the oldest pieces of evidence for the V-*te* + *mo* structure is shown in (53a). The V-*te* + *mo* structure is located at the end of a subordinate clause expressing a concessive condition. The example in (53b) shows the first appearance of *demo* in the historical record. The form *demo* is composed of *de* (a gerundive form of the copula *da*) and a particle *mo*. The appearance of *de* in the word-initial position indicates that the clause-final connective has detached from the

preceding clause, and emerged as a sentence-initial connective. In (53b), the retainer tries to rebut his lord's opinion by saying *demo*. Here, *demo* marks the inferential contrast (i.e., it is an umbrella vs. it is not an umbrella) and the speaker's intention to refute. The speaker's subjective stance is also expressed through the utterance. Lastly, the example in (53c) is from a present-day casual conversation among three friends. In it, Mari expresses her intention to enter the conversation by using *demo* to resume a prior topic that had not been discussed for some time. In other words, *demo* here does not only indicate a particular point in prior speech, but shares the speaker's intersubjective stance with the other conversation participants. Onodera (2004, p. 109) considered *demo* in (53c) to be a discourse marker with the function of "opening a conversation" without an inferential contrast.

In sum, Matsumoto (1988) and Onodera (1993, 1995, 2004) demonstrated that Japanese connectives have undergone grammaticalization from bound morphemes to lexical items. Matsumoto claimed that the detaching process is related to two factors: (a) Japanese connective particles are relatively bound (clitic) morphemes, and (b) these particles occur at the clause-final position of the first clause. In other words, this phenomenon is strongly associated with the typological characteristics of Japanese, particularly that it is an agglutinative language and thus has connective particles, and that it is a postpositioning language, and thus the connective particles appear in the clause-final position. Onodera agreed that the historical change of unit-final elements into initial markers in Japanese is related to the language's typological features of agglutination, postpositioning, and free word order.[15] She illustrated that these characteristics contribute to the shift in the formation of conjunctions such as *demo* and *dakedo* because a subordinate clause seems to be detachable and somewhat movable in Japanese sentence

[15] Japanese is generally considered to have relatively free word order, as long as the verbs appear in the sentence-final position (Kuno, 1973, p. 3).

constructions, and this process would allow the creation of the initial condensed subordinate clause-like word.

In terms of the diachronic development of the adverb *tto*, the case of Japanese conjunctions is worth considering along with grammaticalization mechanisms. Because Korean, like Japanese, is a predicate-final (postpositional) agglutinative language with relatively free word order as long as the predicates are located at the end of a sentence (Sohn, 1999), it can be hypothesized that the detaching process may also occur in Korean. The following examples show changes in surface structure between OK and LMK.

(54a) OK

吾-隱 去-內-如 **辭-叱-都** / **辭叱-都**
na-nAn ka-nA-ta **mal-s-motA** / **mals-to**
I-TOP GO-IMPFV-DC WORD-(S)-ALL WORD(S)-ALSO

(*Chemangmaega*, 742–765 C.E.)

(54b) LMK

... 흔 말도 몯ᄒᆞ야 잇더시니
... hAn **mal-to** mot-hA-ya is-te-si-ni
ONE WORD-TO NEG-DO-CONN EXIST-RT-SH-CONN

(*Sŏkposangjŏl* 6: 7b, 1447)

The change from (54a) to (54b) probably did not happen in one step, but rather is the result of several stages. Although a definite etymology of *tto* is still unclear due to the lack of historical data, five stages of its grammaticalization can be hypothesized, as follows:

Stage I	Ambiguous stage: [mal] [s] [motA] and [mals] [to]
Stage II	Constituency change: Rebracketing as [mal] [sto]
Stage III	Detaching process
Stage IV	Category label change as an adverb
Stage V	Scope extension: Predicate-level > Clause-level > Sentence-level

At Stage I, there is indeterminacy of the constructions actually used in the OK period. According to the uniformitarian principle, we can assume that [mal][s][motA] was the underlying structure of [mals][to] because the derivation from a noun to an adverb is a general process of grammaticalization in Korean. It is also possible to say that these two forms coexisted at some point and merged into [mals][to] later. In other words, there was at least the potential for ambiguity in the OK period. The change at Stage II involves reanalysis of the constituents of a phrase in which the process of rebracketing had taken place. Although the change in the morpheme boundary occurred during this stage, it is not clear whether the surface manifestation also reformed as an initial consonant cluster *sto* at the same time. At Stage III, the detaching process occurred, and this process led to the category change at Stage IV. The reanalysis and category change at Stage IV would not have been possible without the detaching process. During this stage, the final element *sto* would have been reanalyzed as an adverb. While the delimiter *to* only had an additive meaning of 'also', the adverb *sto* acquired various meanings. Adopting Traugott's (1995) proposal of the adverbial cline and its unidirectionality, the predicate-level adverb *sto* would have developed into a sentence-level adverb through the following diachronic path.

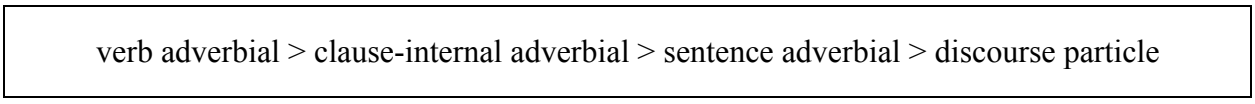

Figure 4.1 Traugott's adverbial cline (1995, p. 1)

In summary, this chapter has explicated the historical traces of the adverb *tto*, focusing on its original meanings and functions and its semantic extension and functional divergence. It has

also sought to explain the historical relationship of *tto* with the delimiter *to* and to suggest its grammaticalization process. With respect to the diachronic development of *tto*, there is a need for significant research to be done to understand its sudden semantic expansion, but due to a lack of historical resources, this chapter has attempted only a brief overview of the historical path of *tto*. Chapter 5 will demonstrate the extensive development of *tto* as a discourse marker, which is the last stage of Traugott's adverbial cline.

Chapter 5

The Interactional Usages of *tto* in Present Day Korean

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the diachronic development of *tto* and hypothesized its grammaticalization process of becoming a sentence-level adverb. This chapter continues to examine the evolution of *tto*, observing its occurrence in Present Day Korean from the synchronic perspective. The analysis centers on the interactional usages of *tto* using naturally occurring conversation data from telephone recordings and face-to-face media talk. Specifically, it aims to demonstrate the role of *tto* in talk-in-interaction by examining its semantic properties and pragmatic functions utilizing an IL analytic framework. By doing so, it ultimately shows that *tto* has become a discourse marker.

According to the *Frequency Dictionary of Spoken Korean* (Suh, 2015), based on data from a 990,662-word spoken corpus collected from 1992 to 2005, *tto* is one of the most frequently used words in spoken discourse, appearing 4,434 times in the corpus. In comparison, *tasi* appears 926 times, which is relatively low, despite the fact that they share a similar meaning equivalent to 'again' (see Section 3.2 for details). The LDC corpus used for this study shows a similar frequency of *tto*. Using the concordance program AntConc (Anthony, 2014; version 3.4. 4m), *tto* was found to occur 1,499 times in the LDC's 100 transcribed conversations, making it the twelfth most commonly used word. This finding not only indicates that *tto* has a very high frequency rate, but also reveals that it ranks among other frequent discourse markers that have been documented to have several different pragmatic functions, such as *mwe* (3rd), *kentey* (6th), *mak* (13th), *kunyang* (15th), and *com* (17th).

Before looking at the data, it is necessary to observe the semantic properties of *tto* in Present Day Korean. According to the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (2008), *tto* is mainly defined as: (a) 'again', 'once more'; (b) 'more', 'additional', 'further'; (c) 'maybe', 'perhaps'; (d) 'also', 'besides', 'in addition', 'moreover'. The following example sentences are from the dictionary, with some slight modifications to nouns and predicates for simplicity and clarity.

(55a) 'again', 'once more'
차를 고쳤는데 **또** 고장났어.
cha-lul koche-ss-nuntey **tto** kocangna-ss-e.
CAR-ACC FIX-PST-CIRCUM AGAIN BREAK-PST-IE
(I) fixed my car, but it broke again.

(55b) 'more', 'additional', 'further'
어제 먹은 김치가 맛있던데 **또** 있어?
ecey mek-un kimchi-ka masiss-te-ntey **tto** iss-e?
YESTERDAY EAT-RL KIMCHI-NOM BE:DELICIOUS-RT-CIRCUM MORE HAVE-IE
The kimchi I ate yesterday was delicious; do you have more?

(55c) 'maybe', 'perhaps'
누가 **또** 알아? 그 사람이 다시 올지?
nwuka **tto** al-a? ku salam-i tasi o-l-ci
WHO MAYBE KNOW-IE THAT PERSON-NOM AGAIN COME-PRS-COMM
Maybe, who knows? That person will come again.

(55d) 'also', 'besides', 'in addition', 'moreover'
그는 변호사이며 **또** 국회의원이다.
ku-nun pyenhosa-i-mye **tto** kwukhoyuywen-i-ta.
HE-NOM LAWYER-BE-AND ALSO CONGRESSMAN-BE-DC
He is a lawyer and also a congressman.

First, *tto* in (55a) functions as a component adverb with the meaning of 'again', indicating that the car has broken down repetitively; thus, in this usage, *tto* carries the meaning of repetitiveness. In (55b), *tto* is a component adverb meaning 'more'. Here, it expresses either repetitiveness or additionality, in that the speaker may be asking whether the interlocutor has the same type of kimchi again today, or additional amounts of the same kimchi the speaker ate yesterday. In other

words, although the most natural translation is 'more' in this context, *tto* has the underlying semantic meaning of repetitiveness or additionality. In (55c), *tto* is again a component adverb with the meaning of additionality; by using *tto* in the question, the underlying semantic meaning can be seen as 'who, in addition to you and me, knows if the person will come again?'. In (55d), *tto* is a sentence adverb that links two independent sentences and implies the meaning of additionality. Based on these underlying semantic meanings of *tto*, this study assumes it has two core meanings: repetitiveness and additionality.

When a lexical form is subject to grammaticalization, the original lexical form may coexist with the new form. This is because the original form sometimes persists for a long period of time, and the process of grammaticalization may occur continuously throughout its existence (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). This coexistence is generally called *layering*, which refers to the synchronic result of language change. In the process of grammaticalization, "the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with new layers" (Hopper, 1991, p. 22). When forms display such layering, they can show pragmatic differences in their usage (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). Such is the case of *tto* in Present Day Korean, in which both *tto* as a lexical form and *tto* as a grammatical form coexist, and can co-occur even within a single utterance.

The following excerpt clearly shows the coexistence of different functions of *tto*. It comes from an outdoor reality show, *Three Meals a Day*, in which two male celebrities, Cha (C) and Yoo (Y), spend time living self-sufficiently in a rural fishing village where they fish and harvest wild foods to make three meals a day. As it is the first episode of the show, the producer conducts an individual interview with each cast member at the end of the first day. To provide more background information, during the episode, Cha and Yoo had heard that a storm was

coming, and so they decided to build an awning-like cover over the outdoor area in which they were planning to prepare dinner. They had a small argument at the time because Cha wanted to build it quickly and improve it later if necessary, while Yoo wanted to think about more options and make it stable to begin with. In the excerpt below, Cha is talking about his first day with Yoo.

(56) [TV data] Personality

01 C:유해진 씨 같은 경우엔 이제 (.) 느긋한 성격.
yuhaycin ssi kath-un kyengwu-eyn icey(.)nukushan sengkyek.
NAME MR. LIKE-RL CASE-TOP DM RELAXED PERSONALITY
In the case of Yoo, he is an easy-going person.

02 신선, 약간 한량.
sinsen, yakkan hanlyang.
CAREFREE A:LITTLE LOAFER
Carefree, a bit like a loafer.

((Cha notices that Yoo is secretly listening to his interview over the wall, so he slams the door shut.))

03 C:하하하
hhh

04 Y:하하하
hhh

05 C:약간 이런 분(h)위(h)기(h)라(h)면,
yakkan ilen pwun(h)wi(h)ki(h)-la(h)-myen,
A:LITTLE THIS:KIND ATMOSPHERE-DC-IF
While (he) has this kind of aura,

06 저는 되게 이렇게 성격이 급해요.
ce-nun toykey ilehkey sengkyek-i kuphay-yo.
I-TOP REALLY LIKE:THIS PERSONALITY-NOM BE:IMPETUOUS-POL
I have a quick temper.

07 〉조급하고〈 뭘 하면 다음 걸 또 해야 되고
>cokup-hako< mwe-l ha-myen taum kel tto hay-ya toy-ko

BE:IMPATIENT-AND WHAT-ACC DO-IF NEXT THING:ACC AGAIN DO-MUST DO-AND
(I) am impatient, and if I've done something, I have to do the next thing.

08 그런 면에서는 좀 저하고 많이 다르죠.
kulen myen-eyse-nun com ce-hako manhi talu-cyo.
SUCH ASPECT-ON-TOP A:LITTLE I-AND MUCH BE:DIFFERENT-COMM:IE
In that respect, (he) is very different from me.

09 다른데, +저 같은 사람이 또 있다라고 치면
talu-ntey, +ce kath-un salam-i tto iss-ta-la-ko chi-myen
BE:DIFFERENT-CIRCUM I LIKE-RL PERSON-NOM ALSO EXIST-DC-DC-QT CONSIDER-IF
((+Figure 5.1))
(He) is different, but let's say there was also a person like me,

10 저는 **또** 못 볼 것 같애요.
ce-nun **tto** mos po-l kes kath-ayyo.
I-TOP TTO NEG SEE-RL THING SEEM-POL
((Cha shakes his head.))
I don't think that I would be able to hang out (with him/her).

Figure 5.1 [Screen capture] The coexistence of different functions of *tto* in a single utterance

11 그래서 아주 이 그림의 퍼즐이 아주 잘
kulayse acwu i kulim-uy phecul-i acwu cal
SO VERY THIS PICTURE-OF PUZZLE-NOM VERY WELL

12 =맞춰진 것 같아요.
=macchweci-n kes kath-ayo.
PUT:TOGETHER-RL THING SEEM-POL

So, I think all the pieces of this show fit together really well.

13 그래서 좋죠.
kulayse coh-cyo.
SO BE:GOOD-COMM:POL
So, (it's) good.

In this interview, Cha first describes Yoo's personality (lines 1 and 2) and then compares it with his own (lines 6, 7, and 8). In line 7, he describes himself as impatient, saying he feels compelled to do each next thing immediately; in this utterance, *tto* appears as a component adverb that modifies its predicate *hata* 'do' with the meaning of repetitiveness.

In lines 9 and 10, Cha further claims that he and Yoo have quite different personalities, but that he would not be able to bear spending time with someone more like himself. In this example, *tto* is used twice within a single utterance. The first use of *tto*, in line 9, carries the semantic meaning of additionality, but the second use of *tto*, in line 10, carries neither the meaning of repetitiveness nor that of additionality. Rather, it strengthens Cha's claim and emphasizes his stance toward his utterance. This case shows the coexistence of an original lexical form of *tto* and a grammatical form of *tto* that does not have the original semantic meaning of either repetitiveness or additionality but is used as a linguistic device to highlight the speaker's subjective attitude.

This chapter explores how speakers utilize *tto* by analyzing natural conversation and media talk, and it illustrates the semantic and functional changes of *tto* in certain types of actions. By doing so, the chapter ultimately aims to demonstrate *tto*'s linguistic manifestation as a discourse marker. The remainder of this chapter is divided into four sections focusing on specific

social actions—complaints (Section 5.2); disagreements (Section 5.3); realizations (Section 5.4); and other types of communicative acts (Section 5.5)—and a concluding section that summarizes the chapter's findings and discusses the emergence of *tto* as a discourse marker (Section 5.6).

5.2 *tto* in complaints

"Complaining" refers to the act of expressing negative feelings toward irritation, dissatisfaction, negligence, displeasure, or annoyance relating to what speakers present as a complainable matter (Traverso, 2009; Jamil & Razza, 2016). Complaints can be divided into two categories: direct and indirect. Speakers address direct complaints to a listener whom they hold responsible for making a mistake or causing offense. Speakers address indirect complaints to listeners whom the speaker does not consider responsible for the mistake or offense (Boxer, 2010). In Korean, Yoon (2006, p. 28) identified four major patterns of complaints: (a) to characterize the absence of an expected event as problematic, (b) to acknowledge an expected event but claim it is insufficient, (c) to depict a target event as excessive, and (d) to portray a target event as something unwanted that should not have occurred. She also addressed the function of *tto* in complaints, noting that it is used "as a resource to build and emphasize the repetitiveness of an unacceptable event" (p. 67) and that the repeated use of *tto* places "an extreme emphasis on the repetitive aspect of the target act" (p. 73). Although her study is the first and only study that acknowledges the interactional usage of *tto*, it is limited to data in which *tto* still carries the semantic meaning of repetitiveness.

The following segment is provided to illustrate a case similar to those documented in Yoon's (2006) study (see Chapter 3.2 for details), which argued that multiple uses of *tto* serve to intensify the speaker's expressed level of discontent through emphasizing the repetitive aspect of

an interlocutor's behavior or a certain situation. The following is an excerpt from a telephone conversation between a brother (speaker A) and sister (speaker B). In this conversation, speaker A complains about his recent spending; specifically, he complains about the fact that he spent a lot of money not only on moving and buying things for a new house, but also on fixing his car, which was an unexpected additional expense.

(57) [LDC corpus] Living expenses

01 A:°어우° 우리 (.) 집세 말고도
°ewu° wuli(.)cipsey malkoto
EXC WE HOUSE:RENT BESIDES
Gosh, besides rent, we have so many other basic expenses.

02 =기본적으로 나가는 게 엄청나.
=kiponcekulo naka-nun key emchengna.
BASICALLY SPEND-RL THING:NOM BE:HUGE:IE
we have so many other basic expenses.

03 B:그러니까. 그러-- 그러니 그걸 다 어떻게 해?
kulenikka. kule- kuleni kuke-l ta ettehkey hay?
SO SO- SO THAT:THING-ACC ALL HOW DO:IE
Exactly. So, what are you supposed to do about all that?

04 도저히 매니지가 안 될 것 같더(구)만::
tocehi maynici-ka an toy-l ke kath-te-(kwu)man::
NO:MATTER:WHAT MANAGE-NOM NEG BECOME-RL THING SEEM-RT-UNASSIM
It just doesn't seem manageable.

05 A:그러니까 대충 대충 대충 됐었는데
kulenikka taychwung taychwung taychwung tway-ss-ess-nuntey
SO ROUGHLY ROUGHLY ROUGHLY BECOME-PST-PST-CIRCUM
So, somehow, we just got by,

06 =또 이사하고 이러면서
=tto isaha-ko ile-myense
ALSO MOVE-AND LIKE:THIS-WHILE

07 =뭐 돈이 되게 많이 들었잖아.
=mwe ton-i toykey manhi tul-ess-canh-a.

DM MONEY-NOM VERY MUCH SPEND-PST-YOU:KNOW-IE

but I also spent a lot of money moving and stuff, you know.

08 B:어::
e::
Uh huh.

09 A:그러면서 지금 아주 정신 못 차리는 데다가::
kule-myense cikum acwu cengsin mos chali-nun teytaka::
LIKE:THAT-WHILE NOW VERY MIND NEG RECOVER-RL AND:ALSO
While doing that, I haven't been able to get my head together, and

10 B:어::
e::
Uh huh.

11 A:**또** 차까지 **또** 돈 들어갔어요 **또**.
tto cha-kkaci **tto** ton tuleka-ss-eyo **tto**.
TTO CAR-EVEN TTO MONEY GO:INTO-PST-POL TTO
even (some) money went into (fixing) the car.

12 B:차?
cha?
CAR
Car?

13 A:응.
ung.
Yeah.

14 B:왜 왜?
way way?
WHY WHY
Why, why?

15 A: ↑아::이 ↑차 삼만 오천 마일 탔잖아::
↑a::i ↑cha sam-man o-chen mail tha-ss-canh-a::
EXC CAR THREE-TEN:THOUSAND FIVE-THOUSAND MILE RIDE-PST-YOU:KNOW-IE
Gosh, (I) drove the car 35,000 miles, you know.

In lines 1 and 2, speaker A expresses his frustrated state regarding the high cost of living along with rent. In response, speaker B displays her alignment with speaker A. Speaker A then raises another issue: He spent additional money moving. Then, in lines 9 and 11, speaker A issues a complaint about the unexpected circumstance of spending money on his car. While he complains, *tto* appears three times in a single utterance, each instance intensifying the speaker's negative stance toward his utterance. In other words, speaker A complains about the repeated action of paying money for regular, daily life expenses, and then also targets an additional unexpected event that cost him money. His complaint not only focuses on the repetitive aspect of the target action but also the additional event, which, in his view, should not have happened. It is difficult to pinpoint the semantic meaning of each *tto* within this utterance, because their original meanings are not entirely distinct; rather, what is clear is that each use of *tto* functions to amplify the complainability of the situation and to intensify the speaker's negative stance toward the topic of his utterances.

The excerpt above is a very similar case to Yoon's (2006) examples, in that the speaker utilizes *tto* multiple times in a single utterance as a strategic device to strengthen his claim and intensify his negative stance. According to Yoon, multiple uses of *tto* put "extreme emphasis on the repetitive aspect of the target act, which allows the complainant to greatly intensify [the] claim of complainability" (p. 73). The data of the present study also show that *tto* is frequently used in complaint utterances, but its semantic properties are hard to determine. In many cases, it does not carry its traditional semantic meanings at all, but only intensifies a speaker's negative stance toward his/her own or the interlocutor's immediately preceding utterance. Thus, the excerpts in this section provide evidence that speakers employ *tto* to intensify their claims but without targeting the repetitive or additional aspect of the target behavior or situation. The data

reveal that *tto* often appears with *wh*-question words such as *mwe* ‘what’, *mwusun* ‘what kind of’, *way* ‘why’, and so forth. In these cases, the *wh*-question does not perform as an information-seeking question but as a complaint, challenge, and/or assertion. Koshik (2003, 2005) labeled this function of *wh*-questions the “assertive question,” which refers to a rhetorical question that is used for making an assertion rather than seeking information. The following excerpt demonstrates how *tto* appears in a *wh*-question in a complaint. This conversation is also taken from *Three Meals a Day*, in which male celebrities spend time living in a fishing village. In this season, Son (S) also appears as a cast member, along with Cha (C) and Yoo (Y), and they live on an island where they harvest and cook their own meals. In this episode, Lee (L) comes to the village as a visitor. He had previously worked with Yoo and Son and also recently filmed a movie with Cha. To provide more background information, before Lee came to the village, Yoo gave Cha the nickname “Mr. Roller Coaster,” which Cha rejected because he believes everyone knows he is very gentle. As soon as Lee arrives, the three cast members begin to prepare a meal. The conversation begins as Yoo is building a fire outside while Lee and Son do the dishes nearby. Here, Yoo is asking Lee a question about filming with Cha while Cha is preparing another ingredient in the kitchen.

(58) [TV data] Mr. Roller Coaster

01 Y:아니 저 기복 씨하고 촬영할 때 좀 어땠어?
ani ce kipok ssi-hako
DM DM UPS:AND:DOWNS MR.-WITH

02 =촬영할 때 좀 어땠어?
=chwalyengha-l ttay com ettay-ss-e?
SHOOT-RL TIME DM BE:HOW-PST-IE

Well, how was filming with Mr. Roller Coaster?

03 L:((+Lee stares at Yoo without answering the question.))
((+Figure 5.2))

Figure 5.2 [Screen capture] The unmarked typeface style in line 3

04 차(h)기복 씨. 하하하
cha(h)kipok ssi. hhh
NAME UPS:AND:DOWNS MR.
((Yoo laughs while pointing at Cha, who is coming outside.))
Mr. Roller Coaster Cha!

05 C:광수야, 내가 감정의 기복이
kwangswu-ya, nay-ka kamceng-uy kipok-i
NAME-IE I-NOM EMOTION-OF UPS:AND:DOWNS-NOM

06 =좀 심하잖아::
=com simha-canh-a::
A:LITTLE BE:SEVERE-YOU:KNOW-IE

Hey, Kwang-soo, as you know, I have severe mood swings.

07 L:+아:: 흐흐흐 예 흐흐흐
+a:: hhh yey. hhh
EXC YES
((Lee turns his face downward while he laughs.))
((+Figure 5.3))

Ah, yes.

Figure 5.3 [Screen capture] The unmarked typeface style in line 7

08 C:+↑아::예↑는 뭘 **또** 아 예야? 씨, 일로 와,
+↑a:: yey↑-nun mwe-l **tto** a yey-ya? ssi, il-lo wa,
EXC YES-TOP WHAT-ACC TTO EXC YES-BE:IE EXC HERE-TO COME:IE
((Cha approaches Lee and pretends to kick Lee's leg.))
((+Figure 5.4))
What do you mean, "ah, yes"? Damn, come over here.

Figure 5.4 [Screen capture] The *tto*-marked typeface style in line 8

09 L: 하하하
hhh

10 Y: 그것 봐. 금방 알잖아 광수도.
kukes pwa. kumpang al-canh-a kwangswu-to.
THAT:THING SEE:IE SOON KNOW-YOU:KNOW-IE NAME-ALSO
See, Kwang-soo can tell immediately too.

11 C: 나는 그랬거든 나는 진짜 좋았다:
na-nun kulay-ss-ketun na-nun cincca coh-ass-ta:
I-TOP SAY-PST-YOU:KNOW I-TOP REALLY BE:GOOD-PST-DC
I said I had really enjoyed (it), you know.

12 L: 저도 너(h)무 (.) 저 너무 좋았어요.
ce-to ne(h)mwu (.) ce nemwu coh-ass-eyo.
I-ALSO REALLY I REALLY BE:GOOD-PST-POL
I really, I really enjoyed (it) too.

13 Y: 기(h)복 씨랑?
ki(h)pok ssi-lang?
UPS:AND:DOWNS MR.-WITH
With Mr. Roller Coaster?

14 L: ((Lee nods his head.))

15 Y: 진짜지?

cincca-ci?
REAL-COMM
For real, right?

16 L: ㅎㅎㅎ
hhh

In lines 5 and 6, Cha provides a self-deprecating account for why Yoo referred to him as 'Mr. Roller Coaster'. The preferred response to self-deprecation is the interlocutor's disagreement, which saves face for the speaker (Pomerantz, 1984). The general use of the suffix *-canh-* 'you know' in interrogative contexts is to express a higher degree of expectation that the interlocutor will agree with what the speaker is conveying (Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993), but the suffix *-canh-* can also be used to elicit disagreement when asking about something negative, which allows the speaker to express his/her expectation that the listener will disagree, thus rhetorically reinforcing the opposite of the expressed proposition (Lee, 1999). Cha's utterance is of this second type; it does not seek agreement but rather implicitly demands disagreement. However, Lee agrees in line 7; this response counters Cha's expectation. That is, here, agreement is the dispreferred response as it does not align with the speaker's normative expectation; therefore, in line 8, Cha challenges Lee's utterance. Although the sentence structure of the challenge is an interrogative with the *wh*-word *mwe* 'what', which is grammatically designed as an information-seeking question, here it constitutes a challenge and a complaint directed toward Lee's prior utterance. In response, Lee does not answer the question and instead laughs because the question is not answerable. The sequential environment also indicates that the utterance is heard as a complaint displaying the speaker's negative stance rather than a real question. This interpretation is supported by the subtitles (figure 5.4), in which his utterance is represented with exclamation marks, not question marks, indicating that the program's producers and/or editors also

understood the utterance as a complaint. The green-colored fire background image surrounding Cha's utterance also suggests his negative emotion. Cha's immediate action of pretending to kick Lee and negative interjection *ssi* 'damn' also display Cha's stance of discontent. In short, *tto* is utilized here as a linguistic resource to amplify the speaker's negative stance, and its original semantic meaning of repetitiveness or additionality is absent.

In a similar fashion to what we observed in the previous excerpt, the following segment illustrates how *tto* performs in an interrogative sentence with the *wh*-word *way* 'why'. It is taken from the reality program *Dolsing Fourmen*. The word "dolsing" refers to a person who has had a divorce. The show is hosted by four divorced male celebrities, Lee (L), Kim (K), Im (I), and Tak (T), and they talk about their daily lives and share stories about marriage-related topics such as re-marriage, careers, dating etiquette, blind dates, and so forth. This episode was recorded in the middle of summer, and it starts with Kim's story that he recently bought an air conditioner. The cast members have seen Kim's Instagram post, in which he smiles in front of his new air conditioner while saying that he feels so alive. In the immediately preceding talk, we learn that Kim got the air conditioner from Lee, and Lee asks Kim to pay him the money he still owes him for it.

(59) [TV data] Air conditioner

01 T:샀어?
sa-ss-e?
BUY-PST-IE
Did (you) buy (it)?

02 K:아직 돈을 안 줬는데요:
acik ton-ul an cwe-ss-nuntey-yo:
STILL MONEY-ACC NEG GIVE-PST-CIRCUM-POL
(I) didn't pay (him) yet.

03 L:〉아니〈 설치까지 하고
>ani< selchi-kkaci ha-ko
DM INSTALLATION-EVEN DO-AND

04 =[야 이게 설치까지 하고::
=[ya ikey selchi-kkaci ha-ko::
EXC THIS:THING:NOM INSTALLATION-EVEN DO-AND

Well, (you) even installed (it). Gosh, (you) even installed (it), and

05 I: [설치까지 했어? 설치를 했으면은::
[selchi-kkaci hay-ss-e? selchi-lul hay-ss-umyen-un::
INSTALLATION-EVEN DO-PST-IE INSTALLATION-ACC DO-PST-IF-TOP
Did (you) even install (it)? If you have installed (it),

06 안 부친 이유가 뭐야 돈을?
an pwuchi-n iyu-ka mwe-ya ton-ul?
NEG SEND-RL REASON-NOM WHAT-IE MONEY-ACC
Why didn't (you) send (him) the money?

07 K:아 약간 좀 이제 좀 더:: 억울하다.
a yakkan com icey com te:: ekwulhata.
EXC A:LITTLE DM DM DM MORE BE:UNJUST-DC
Um... A little bit more... It's not fair.

((Several lines omitted in which Lee describes the condition of the air conditioner and argues that it was not at all expensive))

08 T:아, 어쨌든.
a, eccaysstun.
EXC ANYWAY
Ah, anyway.

09 I:+아니 그--근(h)데 웃(h)긴 건 (.)
+ani ku--kun(h)tey wus(h)ki-n ke-n (.)
DM BUT-BUT BE:STRANGE-RL THING-TOP
((+Figure 5.5))
Well, but the funny thing is,

Figure 5.5 [Screen capture] Im's facial expression in line 9

10 I:=+너는 〉왜 **또** 돈을 **또**〈 안 줘?
=+ne-nun >way **tto** ton-ul **tto**< an cwe?
YOU-TOP WHY TTO MONEY-ACC TTO NEG GIVE:IE
((Im points finger at Kim.))
((+Figure 5.6))
Why don't you give (him) the money?

Figure 5.6 [Screen capture] Im's facial expression in line 10

11 K:아니, 형이한테 고맙죠.
ani, hyeng-i-hanthey komap-cyo.
DM OLDER:BROTHER-NOM-TO BE:THANKFUL-COMM:POL
Well, (I) am thankful to Lee.

The segment begins with Tak's confirmation question regarding whether Kim bought the air conditioner, and Kim responds by saying that he has not paid for it yet. In lines 3 and 4, Lee issues a complaint over the fact that Kim has already installed the air conditioner; his complaint informs the other interlocutors that Kim's behavior is not appropriate. Im immediately overlaps with Lee's complaint by asking a confirmation question, *selchi-kkaci hay-ss-e?* 'did you already install (it)?', showing some degree of alignment with Lee. Although his utterance is curtailed, it implies that Kim should have paid Lee by now because Kim has already installed the air conditioner. Subsequently, Im directly asks for a reason in line 6, but Kim does not provide a definitive answer while also displaying his hesitation with the discourse markers *com* and *icey* (Sohn & Kim, 2008; Song, 2015). Lee continues to make his claim (in the omitted lines), but Tak attempts to stop Lee's complaint with the word *eccaysstun* 'anyway' in line 8. Then, Im initiates an utterance with the discourse marker *ani* 'well' to claim his turn and gain the attention of the other interlocutors (Yang, 2002). He continues the utterance while staring at Lee with a smiling face (line 9, figure 5.5), saying *wuski-n ke* 'funny thing'. In this case, the verb *wuski-ta* 'make somebody laugh' does not carry its original meaning but its extended meaning of 'be dumbfounded'. The utterance can be translated as "the weird/absurd/ridiculous thing is" and shows Im's strong alignment with Lee. Then, his gaze moves toward Kim at the beginning of line 10, and he makes eye contact with Kim. His facial expression suddenly becomes stern (figure 5.6), and he challenges Kim with a *wh*-question with *way* 'why'. This time, he

restructures his previous question from line 6 into an asseritive question in order to reinforce his negative stance. In other words, his utterance is not an information-seeking question, but an assertive question, which can be interpreted as a complaint challenging Kim's inappropriate behavior. Im utilizes *tto* twice to emphasize his utterance, and in both instances *tto* does not carry its original semantic meaning. In this utterance, *tto* functions as an emphatic marker to intensify the speaker's complaint or opinion that the content is complainable, and to express his negative stance toward Kim's behavior. Kim's response in line 11 also shows that he understands Im's utterance in line 10 as a complaint.

The following excerpt contains an additional example of *tto* being used in a similar fashion with the *wh*-word *way* 'why' in a complaint utterance. The conversation is taken from an observational reality program called *My Little Old Boy*. The cast members of this show are unmarried celebrities who live alone. The cast members' lives are filmed, and their mothers gather together at the studio to watch clips of their son's or daughter's daily activities. The mothers react to and comment on the footage. This episode includes a moment when one of the cast members is having a hard time. After they all watch the clip, the host, Shin (S), asks the mothers about hardships their children have faced, and the mothers, including Jee (J), tell relevant stories about their children. Lee (L) is the last mother to speak, and the conversation begins with the host asking her the same question about her son, Kim Gun-mo.

(60) [TV data] Lipstick

01 S:김건모 씨도 뭔가 (.)
kimkenmo ssi-to mwe-n-ka(.)
NAME MR-ALSO WHAT-IMPFV-NOM

02 =좀 힘들어 했을 때가 있잖아요?
=com himtul-e hay-ss-ul ttay-ka iss-canh-ayo?

DM BE:HARD-CONN DO-PST-RL TIME-NOM HAVE-YOU:KNOW-POL

There were times when Kim Gun-mo also had difficulties, you know?

03 L:한::창 이렇게 정상에 올랐을 때
han::chang ilehkey cengsang-ey olla-ss-ul ttay
AT:THE:PEAK LIKE:THIS SUMMIT-TO GET-PST-RL TIME
In his heyday when (he) was on top,

04 서서히 지 스스로도 잘 내려오고
sesehi ci susulo-to cal naylyeo-ko
SLOWLY ONESELF BY:ONESELF-ALSO WELL COME:DOWN-AND
(he) slowly came down well on his own, and

05 그렇게 그냥 큰:: 슬럼프가 있어가지고 뭐
kulehkey kunyang khu-n:: sullemphu-ka iss-e-kaciko mwe
LIKE:THAT JUST BE:BIG-RL SLUMP-NOM HAVE-CONN-BECAUSE DM

06 =그런 거는 별로 없었던 것 같아요.
=kulen ke-nun pyello eps-ess-te-n kes kath-ayo
LIKE:THAT THING-TOP PARTICULARLY NOT:HAVE-PST-RT-RL THING SEEM-POL

I don't think that (he) had such a big slump.

07 S:립스틱 +이렇게 발랐을 때는?
lipsuthik +ilehkey pall-ass-ul ttay-nun?
LIPSTICK LIKE:THIS WEAR-PST-RL TIME-TOP
((Shin is pretending to wear lipstick on his lips.))
((+Figure 5.7))
(How about) when he put on lipstick like this?

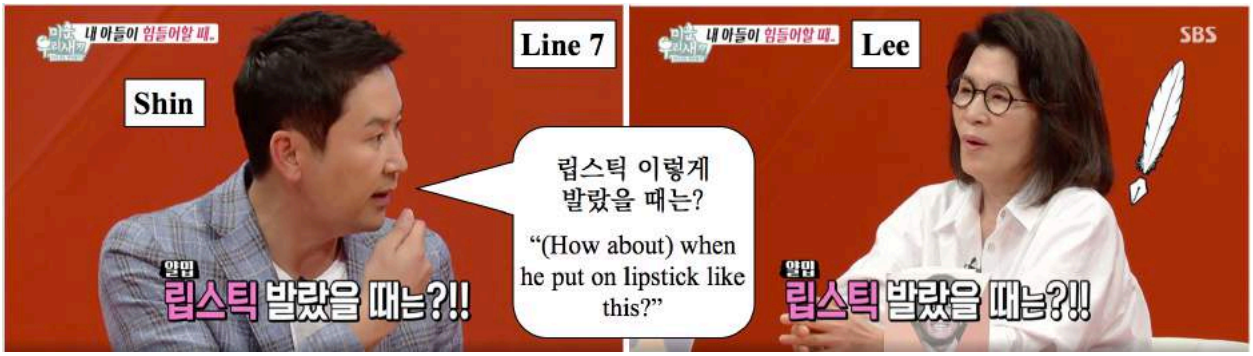

Figure 5.7 [Screen capture] The unmarked typeface style in line 7

08 L:+왜 **또** 그 얘기는 **또** 해요 **또**?
+way **tto** ku yayki-nun **tto** hay-yo **tto**?
WHY TTO THAT TALK-TOP TTO DO-POL TTO
((+Figure 5.8))
Why are you talking about that?

Figure 5.8 [Screen capture] The *tto*-marked typeface style in line 8

09 H:하하하
hhh

10 L:깜짝 놀랐네.
kkamccak nolla-ss-ney.
ALL:OF:A:SUDDEN BE:SURPRISED-PST-FR
You scared me!

11 J:하하하
hhh

In lines 1 and 2, by asking a question with the suffix *-canh-* 'you know', Shin solicits agreement from Lee, conveying his expectation that Lee will discuss some past hardship of her son's.

However, from lines 3 to 6, she instead talks about how well he has faced past challenges, which counters Shin's expectation. Then, Shin directly challenges Lee by recalling a moment when her son wore lipstick in line 7. The background information of this utterance is that Lee's son had participated in a survival singing competition program a few years earlier, and he wore lipstick while he sang a song. He received the lowest number of viewer votes and was eliminated. However, he was given a special offer to remain on the program, and he accepted. This decision angered viewers, and he received a great deal of criticism from the public. Thus, Shin's reference to this incident can be seen as issuing a challenge to Lee. The screen capture (figure 5.7) shows her negative surprise as she smiles awkwardly. The surprise and the challenge are emphasized by the post-production editing, in which a large exclamation mark is placed next to Lee's face. In response to Shin's challenge, Lee displays her discontent with an interrogative question using the *wh*-word *way*, *way tto ku yayki-nun tto hay-yo tto?* 'why are you talking about that?', which functions as a complaint challenging the prior utterance. Her discontent is also expressed both through her facial expression, which immediately changes to a serious look, and her direct eye contact with Shin (figure 5.8). The typeface of the subtitles also changes to a rough handwriting style in a saturated yellow color, which contrasts very strongly with the immediately preceding typeface (figure 5.7). In this utterance, *tto* appears as many as three times, and not once with the semantic meaning of repetitiveness or additionality. The multiple uses of *tto* in a single utterance maximize the speaker's negative stance toward the utterance. In line 10, Lee further displays her negative surprise that Shin referred to the incident.

The following segment provides an example in which *tto* appears with the *wh*-word *mwusun* 'what kind of'. Excerpt (61) comes from a telephone conversation between a daughter (speaker A) and her mother (speaker B). Prior to this segment, speaker A said that she would like

to attend a Presbyterian church instead of her current Baptist church because she does not like her pastor's sermons.

(61) [LDC corpus] Church

01 A:여기 청년부도 없어.
yeki chengnyenpwu-to eps-e.
HERE YOUTH:GROUP-ALSO NOT:HAVE-IE
(They) don't have a youth group here.

02 =청년부가 뭔지 알아?
=chengnyenpwu-ka mwe-n-ci al-a?
YOUTH:GROUP-NOM WHAT-IMPFV-NML KNOW-IE
Do you know what a youth group is here?

03 세상에 서른 살 마흔 살이 어떻게 청년부야¿
seysangey selun sal mahun sal-i ettehkey chengnyenpwu-ya¿
OH:MY:GOD THIRTY AGE FORTY AGE-NOM HOW YOUTH:GROUP-IE
Oh my god. How can those people who are in their thirties, forties belong to a youth group?

04 =글쎄 그걸 그런 사람들 데리고서
=kulssey kuke-l kule-n salam-tul teyli-ko-se
WELL THAT-ACC LIKE:THAT-RL PERSON-PL BRING-AND-AFTER
Well, (they) take people like that and

05 청년부라고 조직해 놓고 하는데::
chengnyenpwu-la-ko cocikha-y noh-ko ha-nuntey::
YOUTH:GROUP-DC-QT ORGANIZE-INF PUT-AND DO-CIRCUM
put them together in a group and call it a youth group,

06 내가 어떻게, 아휴 나 정말 .hhh
nay-ka ettehkey, ehyu na cengmal .hhh
I-NOM HOW EXC I REALLY
so how I... Gosh, I really...

07 B:〉그러니까 니가 그거를〈 빨리 사람의 생각으로
>kulenikka ni-ka kuke-lul< ppalli salam sayngkak-ulo
SO YOU-NOM THAT:THING-ACC QUICKLY PERSON THOUGHT-BY

08 =결정하지 말고 하나님한테 네 마음의

kyelcengha-ci mal-ko hananim-hanthey ney maum-uy
DECIDE-NML DO:NOT-AND GOD-TO YOUR MIND-OF

09 =모::든 것을 이야기를 하라고.
=mo::tun kes-ul iyaki-lul ha-la-ko.
EVERY THING-ACC TALK-ACC DO-IMPER-QT

So, instead of making a hasty decision based on what people think, you should tell God everything that's on your mind.

10 =그래서 그 사람들에게도 너로 인해서
=kulayse ku salam-tul-eykey-to ne-lo inhayse
SO THAT PERSON-PL-TO-ALSO YOU-BY BECAUSE
So, to those people, because of you

11 네가 너 돌아서고 뒤에 놓고 너를 흉보고
ney-ka ne tolase-ko twi-ey noh-ko ne-lul hyungpo-ko
YOU-NOM YOU TURN:AROUND-AND BACK-AT PUT-AND YOU-ACC SPEAK:ILL-AND

12 손가락질 하지 않게
sonkalakcil ha-ci anh-key
POINTING:A:FINGER DO-NML NOT:DO-AD

13 [하나님께서 좋게 인도해 달라고.
[hananim-kkeyse coh-key intohay tal-la-ko.
GOD-NOM BE:GOOD-AD GUIDE:INF GIVE-IMPER-QT

You, you should pray asking for God to guide you well so that people do not speak ill of you behind your back and point fingers at you.

14 A:[무슨 **또** 손가락질이야?
[MWUSUN **TTO** SONKALAKCIL-I-YA?
WHAT TTO POINTING:A:FINGER-BE-IE
What are you talking about? (*lit.* What kind of pointing fingers?)

15 B:그러고 봐라. 너 침례교회를 놔두고
kuleko pwa-la. ne chimlyeykyohoy-lul nwatwu-ko
AND SEE-IMPER YOU BAPTIST:CHURCH-ACC LEAVE-AND

16 또 장로교회를 간다고 하는 것도
tto canglokyohoy-lul ka-n-ta-ko ha-nun kes-to
TTO PROTESTANT:CHURCH-ACC GO-IMPFV-DC-QT DO-RL THING-ALSO

17 침례교회 딸이 또 그렇지 않니?
chimlyeykyohoy ttal-i **tto** kuleh-ci anh-ni?

BAPTIST:CHURCH DAUGHTER-NOM TTO BE:LIKE:THAT-NML BE:NOT-INTERR

And, look. It is not okay that you, as a Baptist daughter, leave the Baptist church and go to a Protestant church, is it?

18 A:어, 그래도 내가 지금,
e, kulayto nay-ka cikum,
YES BUT I-NOM NOW
Yes, but I now,

19 은희는--은희도 뭐 침례교회 안 다닌다며¿
Eunhee-nun--Eunhee-to mwe chimlyeykyohoy an tani-n-tamye¿
NAME-TOP NAME-ALSO DM BAPTIST:CHURCH NEG ATTEND-IMPFV-HEARSAY
I heard that Eun-hee is also not going to a Baptist church, is she?

20 B:은희야 자기가 좋은, 옛날부터 다니던
Eunhee-ya caki-ka coh-un, yeysnal-pwuthe tani-te-n
NAME-TOL SELF-NOM BE:GOOD-RL IN:THE:PAST-FROM ATTEND-RT-RL

21 지방 교회 갔지 뭐.
cipang kyohoy ka-ss-ci mwe.
COUNTRY:SIDE CHURCH GO-PST-COMM DM

Eun-hee goes to a country church that she likes, that she has been going to for a long time.

In lines 1 through 6, speaker A complains about the youth group at her church because the members are older than most youth groups at other churches. Responding to speaker A's complaint, speaker B argues that speaker A should not make such a decision by herself, and should instead let God decide (lines 7, 8, and 9). Speaker B continuously asserts that speaker A should pray to God so that people do not speak ill of her. As speaker B continues to insist on her point of view in lines 10 through 13, speaker A in line 14 overlaps with speaker B using an interrogative question with the *wh*-word *mwusun*: *mwusun tto sonkalakcil-i-ya?* 'What are you talking about?' (*lit*. 'what kind of pointing fingers?'), marked by loudness. This interrogative utterance with *mwusun* in line 14 is not an information-seeking question; rather, it is a complaint

about speaker B's prior utterance. In this context, it is difficult to identify the semantic feature of repetitiveness or additionality. Instead, *tto* is employed to intensify the speaker's complaint and highlight the speaker's negative stance. Although speaker A issues this strong complaint in line 14, speaker B ignores speaker A's utterance and continues to assert her opinion while maintaining her disputative stance in lines 15 through 17. Speaker B's utterance ends in a long-form negation *-ci anh* in the interrogative structure, which shows strong commitment to her proposition while attempting to seek agreement from the addressee (Lee, 1999). In this utterance, speaker B utilizes *tto* twice, which is similar to the previous cases, in which multiple uses of *tto* strengthen the legitimacy of the claim and amplify the speaker's negative stance.

The next segment also demonstrates how *tto* is utilized in an interrogative question with the *wh*-word *mwusun*. This segment is also taken from a telephone conversation. The conversation is between two graduate students in the same department; speaker B previously asked speaker A to check his mailbox while he was away. Speaker A checked the mailbox the day before, and she is reporting back to speaker B about what was inside.

(62) [LDC corpus] Mailbox

01 A:또 어제 mailbox 에 뭐가 있었냐면은:::
tto ecey mailbox-ey mwe-ka iss-ess-nya-myen-un:::
ALSO YESTERDAY MAILBOX-IN WHAT-NOM EXIST-PST-INTERR-IF-TOP
Also, what else was in (your) mailbox yesterday

02 B:네.
ney.
Uh huh.

03 A:십일월 구일, [십일월 십육일, [십이월 칠일은
sipilwel kwu-il, [sipilwel sipyuk-il, [sipiwel chil-il-un
NOVEMBER NINE-DAY NOVEMBER SIXTEEN-DAY DECEMBER SEVEN-DAY-TOP
November 9th, November 16th, and December 7th

04 B: [네. [예.
ney. yey.
Uh huh. Uh huh.

05 A: 저기 우리가 어:: 몇 호실 어디죠? [그 student center.
ceki wuli-ka e:: myech hosil eti-cyo? [ku student center.
DM WE-NOM UH WHAT ROOM WHERE-COMM:POL THAT STUDENT CENTER
Which room was it that we were going to use? The student center.

06 B: [Top--Top of the Park. 예.
[Top-Top of the Park. yey.
Top of the Park. Yeah.

07 A: 예. 거기는 안 된다네요.
yey. keki-nun an toy-n-ta-ney-yo.
YES THERE-TOP NEG BE:AVAILABLE-IN-DC-FR-POL
Yes. (It says) that place is not available.

08 Available 하지 않다네요.
available ha-ci anh-ta-ney-yo.
AVAILABLE DO-NML BE:NOT-DC-FR-POL
(It says) it is not available.

09 B: 십이월 칠일이요?
sipiwel chil-il-i-yo?
DECEMBER SEVEN-DAY-BE-POL?
(Did you say) December 7th?

10 A: 십이월 칠일, 십일월 십육일.
sipiwel chil-il, sipilwel sipyuk-il.
DECEMBER SEVEN-DAY NOVEMBER SIXTEEN-DAY
December 7th, November 16th.

11 =우리가 행사를 십일월 십육일 날 하기로
=wuli-ka hayngsa-lul sipilwel sipyuk-il nal ha-ki-lo
WE-NOM EVENT-ACC NOVEMBER SIXTEEN-DAY DAY DO-NML-TO

12 =돼 있지 않아요?
=tway iss-ci anh-ayo?
BECOME EXIST-NML NOT-POL
Don't we have an event on November 16th?

13 B: 십육일 날 하는 거는 (.)
sipyuk-il nal ha-nun ke-nun(.)

SIXTEEN-DAY DAY DO-RL THING-TOP(.)

14 그것도 available 하지 않다고?
kukes-to available ha-ci anh-ta-ko?
THAT:THING-ALSO AVAILABLE DO-NML NOT-DC-QT

(Does it say the room is) also not available on the 16th?

15 A:예. 그러니까 누가 그 패컬티 중에서
yey. kulenikka nwu-ka ku phaykhelthi cwungeyse
YES. SO WHO-NOM THAT FACULTY AMONG
Yes. It looks like one of the faculty members

16 B:예.
yey
Uh huh.

17 A:=그거를 그 방을 쓰기로 했나 봐요.
=kuke-lul ku pang-ul ssu-ki-lo hay-ss-na pwa-yo.
THAT:THING-ACC THAT ROOM-ACC USE-NML-TO DO-PST-LOOK:LIKE-POL
is going to use that room.

18 B:우리가 먼저 예약했는데
wuli-ka mence yeyyakhay-ss-nuntey
WE-NOM EARLIER RESERVE-PST-CIRCUM

19 =무슨 소리야, 걔네들 **또**¿
=mwusun soli-ya, kyayney-tul **tto**¿
WHAT TALK-BE:IE, THEY-PL TTO¿

We reserved first, what are they talking about?

20 A:그래서 어쨌든 not available 하다고::
kulayse eccaysstun not available ha-ta-ko::
SO ANYWAY NOT AVAILABLE DO-DC-QT
So, anyway, it says (the room) is not available.

21 B:예.
yey.
I see.

In lines 7 and 8, speaker A says that the room they had previously reserved for their on-campus event is not available. Speaker B then initiates repair and seeks confirmation as to whether the date is December 7th. When Speaker A answers in the affirmative, she further verifies that November 16th is also unavailable. In lines 13 and 14, speaker B requests additional confirmation, but this confirmation request can be interpreted as a rhetorical question addressed to himself and a complaint targeting an unexpected event, because it ends without the polite speech level particle *-yo* and displays his emotion of discontent and frustration. Nevertheless, speaker A does respond, with *yey* 'yes', and provides an account for why the room is not available. In lines 18 and 19, speaker B issues a complaint about the situation (which should not have occurred) and claims that he legitimately reserved the room first. This utterance is structured as an interrogative question with the *wh*-word *mwusun*, and it does not seek any overt response but instead expresses his dissatisfaction toward the situation. When speaker B issues this complaint, he inserts *tto*, marked by stress and rising intonation, at the end of the utterance. The deployment of *tto* at the end of the utterance not only allows the speaker to amplify his negative stance but also invites speaker A's aligning response. As with the other cases in this section, the use of *tto* in speaker B's complaint does not function to convey the semantic meaning of repetitiveness or additionality but rather accentuates his negative stance toward the utterance.

So far, Excerpts (61) and (62) have demonstrated how speakers utilize *tto* with the *wh*-word *mwusun* in interrogative structures. Both excerpts are taken from telephone conversations, which primarily allow two interlocutors. Therefore, the following excerpt is provided to illustrate the use of *tto* with the *wh*-word *mwusun* in a multiparty conversation. Excerpt (63) comes from a face-to-face conversation with seven participants, of whom five take part in this segment. The

conversation is also taken from *My Little Old Boy*. In the previous episode, the host, Shin (S), talked about his father and said that he seemed to be a bit lonely since his wife had passed away a long time ago. Im (I) responded by saying that she could be good friends with him because she has had the same experience. In this episode, Shin and Im discuss plans for a future meeting between Shin's father and Im.

(63) [TV data] Hanbok (Korean traditional clothes)

01 S:어머님, 한복은 있어요, 한복?
emenim, hanpok-un iss-eyo, hanpok?
MOTHER:HON HANBOK-TOP HAVE-POL HANBOK
Mother, do you have hanbok?

02 I:〉한복 있죠〈 저 한복 입으면 참 예뻐요. 하하하
>hanpok iss-cyo< ce hanpok ip-umyen cham yeypp-eyo. hhh
HANBOK HAVE-COMM:POL I HANBOK WEAR-IF SO BE:PRETTY-POL
(I have) hanbok. I look so pretty when I wear hanbok.

03 S:저희 아버지가 한복을 좋아하셔서::
cehuy apeci-ka hanpok-ul cohaha-sye-se::
MY FATHER-NOM HANBOK-ACC LIKE-SH-BECAUSE
Because my dad likes hanbok,

04 나중에 뵈러 갈 땐 한복 입고¿
nacwungey poy-le ka-l ttay-n hanpok ip-ko¿
LATER SEE-TO GO-RL TIME-TOP HANBOK WEAR-AND
when (we) go to see him, (are you going to) wear hanbok?

05 I:그래요, 내가 한복 입고 갈게요,
kulay-yo, nay-ka hanpok ip-ko ka-lkey-yo,
BE:SO-POL I-NOM HANBOK WEAR-AND GO-FUT-POL
Okay, I will wear hanbok.

((About six lines omitted in which Shin asks several confirmation questions to Im, and she provides confirmations that she will definitely wear hanbok when she meets Shin's father. The mothers take a short break and then gather again.))

06 M:아까 이쁘시다 그랬잖아요,
akka ippu-si-ta kulay-ss-canh-ayo,

WHILE:AGO BE:PRETTY-SH-DC SAY-PST-YOU:KNOW-POL
A while ago, (you) said you look pretty when you wear hanbok.

07 J: 그리고 사진도 꼭 올려야 돼요.
kuliko sacin-to kkok ollye-ya tway-yo.
AND PHOTO-ALSO SURELY UPLOAD-MUST-POL
And (you) have to upload photos too.

08 =우리 좀 보게.
=wuli com po-key.
WE DM SEE-TRY:IE
(So) we can see them.

09 I: [하하하
hhh

10 L: [진짜, 아니, 저::기 날 잡아서 예? 날 잡아서
cincca, ani, ce::ki nal cap-ase yey? nal cap-ase
REALLY DM DM DAY SET-AND YES DAY SET-AND

11 =언제 아주 결혼식을 하셔야 되겠어::
=encey acwu kyelhonsik-ul ha-sye-ya toy-keyss-e::
WHEN SO WEDDING:CEREMONY-ACC DO-SH-MUST-DCT:RE-IE

Seriously. Set a date, yeah? (You) need to set a date for the wedding.

12 I: +↑아↑ 무슨 **또** 결혼식이야: 아이고 참:::나
+↑a↑ mwusun **tto** kyelhonsik-iya: aiko cham::: na
EXC WHAT:KIND TTO WEDDING:CEREMONY-IE EXC EXC
((+Figure 5.9))
Ah, what are you talking about? (*lit.*, What kind of wedding ceremony?) Oh, my gosh.

Figure 5.9 [Screen capture] Im's eye gaze with the *tto*-marked utterance in line 12

13 L:하하하
hhh

14 M:[왜 이렇게 서두르냐::
[way ilehkey setwulu-nya::
WHY LIKE:THIS BE:HURRY-DC
Why are (you) in such a hurry?

15 I:[결혼할 건 없고, 거:: 어디
[kyelhonha-l ke-n eps-ko, ke:: eti
GET:MARRIED-RL THING-TOP NOT:HAVE-AND DM WHERE
(I) don't need to get married, and

16 =저기 +가서 맛있는 거나 사 먹고 오면 되지,
=ceki +ka-se masiss-nun ke-na sa mek-ko o-myen toy-ci,
THERE GO-AND DELICIOUS-RL THING-OR BUY EAT-AND COME-IF BECOME-COMM:IE
((+Figure 5.10))
it will be enough to go somewhere and eat delicious food.

Figure 5.10 [Screen capture] Im's eye gaze in line 16

17 =+뭔 결혼식(이야) 그죠?
=+mwe-n kyelhonsik(-iya) ku-cyo?
WHAT-RL WEDDING:CEREMONY-IE BE:SO-COMM:POL
((+Figure 5.11))
What wedding ceremony? Right?

Figure 5.11 [Screen capture] Im's eye gaze in line 17

18 M:하긴 하네.
ha-ki-n ha-ney.
DO-NML-TOP DO-FR
(Anyway, you are planning to) do (something with him).

In lines 7 to 8, Jee (J) asks Im to upload photos after meeting with Shin's father. Lee (L) makes a joke that Shin's father and Im should set a date for the wedding. In response, in line 12, Im immediately expresses her discontent through her facial expression (figure 5.9) and the high-pitched response cry ↑*a*↑. She then immediately issues a complaint, *mwusun tto kyelhonsik-iya* 'what are you talking about? (*lit*. what kind of a wedding ceremony?'). The utterance is designed as an interrogative with the *wh*-word *mwusun* conveying an assertion that she does not intend to meet Shin's father for the purpose of getting married. This question acts as a direct challenge and a complaint toward Lee's utterance. Im's use of *tto* maximizes the level of complaint by intensifying her stance of discontent, and her rising intonation further strengthens the sense of the previous utterance's complainability. The same utterance without *tto* would still carry the same propositional content, but its intensity would be relatively weak. Thus, the employment of *tto* allows the utterance to strongly highlight the speaker's negative stance. The use of the response cry *aiko cham na* 'oh my gosh' also displays her negative reaction toward Lee's prior utterance. In lines 15 and 16, Im maintains a serious face (figure 5.10) and further indicates that her intention is not to get married but simply to have a pleasant time going out to eat with someone. She expresses her stance through the final suffix *-ci*, which marks strong commitment toward her claim (Lee, 1999). In line 17, she turns her head in the opposite direction, shifting her gaze toward Shin (figure 5.11), and she utters another *wh*-question with the *wh*-word *mwe*

'what', this time without *tto*. The *wh*-questions in lines 12 and 17 are interchangeable as propositions, but the question in line 17 does not contain *tto*, so it sounds less intense or less emphasized than the question in line 12. This is because she is asserting her claim to other participants in the conversation in line 17, rather than challenging Lee, as she did in line 12. This segment clearly shows that the intensity of utterances is affected by the presence of *tto*.

This section has shown the pragmatic functions of *tto* in complaints. It has illustrated how speakers utilize *tto* to intensify their complaints and to highlight their emotion of discontent toward the complainable matter. As we have seen, *tto* is used with different kinds of *wh*-words in non-information-seeking questions. It functions as a useful resource for emphasizing the speaker's subjective attitude, while its semantic meanings are minimal or absent.

5.3 *tto* in disagreements

Disagreement is defined as "an oppositional stance (verbal or non-verbal) to an antecedent verbal (or non-verbal) action" (Kakavá, 1993, p. 36). Within the framework of politeness theory, it is considered a face-threatening act (FTA), which interlocutors generally seek to avoid (Brown & Levinson, 1987), and it is typically understood as a dispreferred response in the field of conversation analysis (CA). In the frame of preference organization, preferred responses comply with the initiated course of action (e.g., acceptance or agreement), whereas dispreferred responses refuse or disagree with the initiated course of action (Sacks, 1987; Schegloff, 2007). While agreements are generally executed as immediate and explicit responses, disagreements are frequently accompanied with delays, prefaces, mitigations, and accounts (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2012). Thus, disagreements are more complex and may also include partial or weak agreement to avoid a dispreferred social action. Moreover, disagreements

are highly influenced by factors related to culture and context, and also depend on the interactants, their relationship, and the specific situation. This section illustrates how *tto* is used in disagreements in spoken interactions in contemporary Korean, and explicates its discourse function in these situations.

The following excerpt comes from a telephone conversation between two female friends who currently live in the United States. Prior to this conversation, they talked about their mutual friend who recently returned to Korea for employment after studying in the United States and working there for about two years. Speaker A told speaker B that she could easily get a job in Korea, but speaker B said she would rather stay in the United States.

(64) [LDC corpus] Korean Society

01 A:언니 미국에서 살고 싶어?
enni mikwuk-eyse sal-ko siph-e?
SISTER AMERICA-IN LIVE-AND WANT-IE
Hey, do you want to live in America?

02 B:응, 한국 [가기 싫어.
ung, hankwuk [ka-ki silh-e.
YES KOREA GO-NML DISLIKE-IE
Yes, I do not want to go back to Korea.

03 A: [자꾸 자꾸 미국이 좋아(h)져(h)?
[cakkwu cakkwu mikwuk-i cohacy(h)-e(h)?
MORE MORE AMERICA-NOM BECOME:LIKE-IE
Do you just keep liking America more and more?

04 B:자꾸 미국이 좋아지는 것보다,
cakkwu mikwuk-i cohaci-nun kes-pota,
MORE AMERICA-NOM BECOME:LIKE-RL THING-THAN
It's not so much that I like America more and more, but

05 〉인제 한국 사회에 적응을 못 할 것 같애.
>incey hankwuk sahoy-ey cekung-ul mos ha-l ke kath-ay.
NOW KOREA SOCIETY-TO ADJUSTMENT-ACC NEG DO-RL THING SEEM-IE

it's that now I don't think I could adjust to Korean society.

06 =너무 오랫동안 떨어져 있어서.〈
=nemwu olaystongan ttelecye iss-ese.<
TOO FOR:A:LONG:TIME BECOME:SEPARATE EXIST-BECAUSE
Because I've been away for too long.

07 A:에이:: **또** 안 그래요::
ei:: **tto** an kulay-yo::
EXC TTO NEG BE:SO-POL
Nah, (it) wouldn't be like that.

08 B:왜?
way?
Why?

09 A:((더)) 미-- 한국 사회 나오면 또 쯧
((te)) mi-- hankwuk sahoy nao-myen tto tch
AMERI- KOREA SOCIETY GO:OUT-IF AGAIN
If (you) go into Korean society again,

10 B:응.
ung.
Uh huh.

11 A:근데 여기 있는 사람들은 좀 같은
kuntey yeki iss-nun salam-tul-un com kath-un
BUT HERE EXIST-RL PERSON-PL-TOP DM BE:SAME-RL

12 =한국 학생들이고 유학생이고 [그래도
=hankwuk haksayng-tul-i-ko yuhaksayng-i-ko [kulayto
KOREA STUDENT-PL-BE-AND INTERNATIONAL:STUDENT-BE-AND EVEN:IF

13 B: [응.
[ung.
Uh huh.

14 A:뭉치거나 이런 건 별로 없어::
mwungchi-kena ilen ke-n pyello eps-e::
GET:TOGETHER-OR SUCH THING-TOP NOT:MUCH NOT:EXIST-IE

But, people here do not usually get together because they are Korean students or because they are international students.

In response to speaker A's inquiry about whether speaker B wants to stay in the United States (line 1), speaker B replies with an agreement *ung* 'yes' and asserts that she does not want to go back to Korea (line 2). Overlapping with speaker B's claim, speaker A requests confirmation of whether B has started to like living in the United States more and more. Speaker B claims that it is rather a matter of expecting that she would have a hard time readjusting to Korean society (lines 4, 5, and 6). In response, speaker A uses a *tto*-marked disagreement (line 7). She begins with the stretched negative response cry *ei* 'nah' and then explicitly disagrees with speaker B by stating that that would not be the case. In this utterance, it is clear that *tto* does not have the semantic meaning of either repetitiveness or additionality because speaker B has never been in the situation of going back to Korea for employment after studying in America. Instead, *tto* functions as an emphatic marker that intensifies the speaker's claim: This *tto* is used to highlight the speaker's disaffiliation with the interlocutor and add more emphasis to the speaker's opposition to the preceding utterance.

The following excerpt further illustrates *tto*'s emphatic function in disagreement. It is from a telephone conversation between two male friends, in which they discuss their mutual friend's younger sister, Hana.

(65) [LDC corpus] Makeup

01 A:한나 동생?
Hanna tongsayng?
NAME YOUNGER-SIBLING
Hanna's younger sibling?

02 B:하나.
Hana.
NAME
Hana.

03 A:하나야?
Hana-ya?
NAME-BE:IE
Is she Hana?

04 B:응.
ung.
Yes.

05 A:응. 걔랑.
ung. kyay-lang.
YES THAT:PERSON-WITH
Yeah, with her.

06 B:응. 학교에서?
ung. hakkyo-eyse?
YES SCHOOL-AT
Yeah, at school?

07 A:응.
ung.
Yeah.

08 B:응.
ung.
Uh huh.

09 A:우연히 만난 건데::
wuyenhi manna-n ke-ntey::
BY:CHANCE MEET-RL THING-CIRCUM
(We) met just by chance, and

10 B:야, 하나가 화장을 좀 진하게 하고 다니는 거지?
ya, hana-ka hwacang-ul com cinhakey ha-ko tani-nun ke-ci?
HEY NAME-NOM MAKEUP-ACC DM THICKLY DO-AND GO-RL THING-COMM
Hey, Hana puts on too much makeup when she goes out, doesn't she?

11 =여기 애들보다.
=yeki ay-tul-pota.
HERE KID-PL-THAN
More than other kids around here.

12 A:그렇지, 근데 한국 애에 비하면
kuleh-ci, kuntey hankwuk ay-ey piha-myen

BE:SO-COMM BUT KOREA KID-TO COMPARE-IF
Right, but compared to other kids in Korea,

13 =그렇게 진한 화장은 **또** 아니지.
=kulehkey cinha-n hwacang-un **tto** ani-ci.
LIKE:THAT THICK-RL MAKEUP-TOP TTO NOT:BE-COMM
she does not put much on.

14 B:아니야?
ani-ya?
NOT:BE-IE
Doesn't she?

15 A:그냥 파운데이션만 좀 하고 나오는 것뿐이야.
kunyang phawunteyisyen-man com ha-ko nao-nun kes-ppwun-i-ya.
JUST FOUNDATION-ONLY LITTLE DO-AND GO:OUT-RL THING-ONLY-BE-IE
She just puts on some foundation when she goes out.

16 B:근데 어 나 되게 막 거북--
kuntey e na toykey mak kepwuk--
BUT YES I VERY DM REPUL-
17 좀 거부감을 느끼겠더라.
com kepwukam-ul nukki-keyss-te-la.
DM REPULSION-ACC FEEL-DCT:RE-RT-DC

But, I feel repulsed by (it).

In line 9, speaker A attempts to say something about Hana, but he is cut off by speaker B, who asks a confirmation question, seeking a 'yes' or 'no' response, as to whether Hana uses too much makeup compared to other people (lines 10 and 11). The use of the final suffix *-ci* displays the speaker's strong commitment to his claim (Lee, 1999) and demonstrates that he expects speaker A to agree with him. In response, speaker A replies with a quick agreement *kuleh-ci* 'right', but follows it immediately with *kuntey* 'but'. The use of *kuleh-ci* 'right' prior to *kuntey* 'but' can be understood as weak agreement, which is likely employed to mitigate the upcoming dispreferred social action of disagreement. Thus, the following *tto*-marked utterance in line 13, which is part of speaker A's assertion that Hana does not wear too much makeup in comparison to other

Koreans (lines 12–13), can be interpreted as expressing disagreement. In this disagreement utterance, *tto* is used in front of the sentence predicate *anita* 'not be' and seemingly modifies the predicate as an adverb. Yet, instead of functioning as an adverb with the form's original semantic meaning of repetitiveness or additionality, *tto* functions here as an emphatic marker that highlights the speaker's claim by emphasizing the meaning of its predicate, *anita*. Speaker B then initiates repair, *ani-ya?* 'doesn't she?', in line 14 to force speaker A to account for his claim because it contradicts his own claim. In response, speaker A provides a further account in line 15, in which he suggests that Hana's makeup is minimal.

The following segment provides an example in which *tto* appears with the *wh*-word *mwusun* 'what kind of' in disagreement. The conversation comes from a telephone conversation between two female friends in which speaker A begins talking about going out to dinner with her family the day before.

(66) [LDC corpus] Eating out

01 A:어제 저기 이 사람 수업 끝나고::
ecey ceki i salam swuep kkuthna-ko::
YESTERDAY DM THIS PERSON CLASS FINISH-AND
Yesterday, after my husband's class was over,

02 B:[어.
[e.
Uh huh

03 A:[집에 와서 처음으로 외식을 했거든요¿
[cip-ey wa-se cheumulo oysik-ul hay-ss-ketun-yo¿
HOUSE-TO COME-AND FOR:THE:FIRST:TIME EATING:OUT-ACC DO-PST-YOU:KNOW-POL
he came home, and we went out to eat for the first time, you know.

04 B:〉무슨 **또** 처::음으로 외식해요(h)?
>mwusun **tto** che::umulo oysikhay-yo(h)?
WHAT TTO FOR:THE:FIRST:TIME EAT:OUT-POL

What do you mean that you went out to eat for the first time?

05 =외식하잖아요. 하하하
=oysikha(h)-canh(h)-ayo. hhh
EAT:OUT-YOU:KNOW-POL
(You) do eat out, you know.

06 A:아니 외식 안 해요::
ani oysik an hay-yo::
NO EATING-OUT NEG DO-POL
No, (I) don't eat out.

07 B:아, 애기 때문에¿
a, ayki ttaymwuney¿
EXC BABY BECAUSE:OF
Oh, because of your baby?

08 A:예:: 애 때문에 정말::
yey:: ay ttaymwuney cengmal::
YES CHILD BECAUSE:OF REALLY
Yeah, because of my baby, really.

09 B:[응:: 응::
[ung:: ung::
Yeah, yeah

10 A:[저기 얘 그때 왜 윤선 씨네랑 같이 같다가,
[ceki yay kuttay way yunsen ssi-ney-lang kathi ka-ss-taka,
DM BABY THAT:TIME DM NAME MS.-FAMILY-AND TOGETHER GO-PST-TRANS
At that time, we went out together with your family,

11 B:[예.
[yey.
Uh huh.

12 A:[너무 힘들어서 [그 이후로 안 갔거든요¿ 하하하
[nemwu himtul-ese [ku ihwulo an hay-ss-ketun-yo¿ hhh
TOO BE:TOUGH-BECAUSE THAT AFTER NEG DO-PST-YOU:KNOW-POL
it was too stressful, so after that, we haven't gone out to eat, you know.

13 B: [그냥 돌아왔잖아요.
[kunyang tolawa-ss-canh-ayo.
JUST COME:BACK-PST-YOU:KNOW-POL
We just returned (without having a meal), you know.

In line 4, *mwusun tto che::umulo oysikhay-yo?* 'what do you mean that you went out to eat for the first time?', speaker B challenges speaker A's claim about going out to eat for the first time (lines 1 and 3). Although it is a challenge, it also can be interpreted as speaker B's disagreement with what speaker A had just stated in line 3. The point of contention between the two speakers is speaker A's use of *cheumulo* 'for the first time', which is prosodically stressed. This is perceived to be problematic because speaker A's usage of *cheumulo* is intended to mean 'for the first time in a long time' while speaker B interprets it literally as 'for the first time in her life.' Thus, speaker B's disagreement is based on her disbelief in what she understands to be speaker A's claim. This utterance is structured as an interrogative with the *wh*-word *mwusun* 'what kind of', which marks the speaker's disalignment with the prior utterance. Here, the deployment of *tto* strongly intensifies her claim to highlight her disalignment with the previous speaker, with no meaning of repetitiveness or additionality. Speaker B's certainty is also expressed by her use of the suffix -*canh*- 'you know' in the following utterance in line 5. The suffix -*canh*- solicits alignment from speaker A and conveys a strong assumption that speaker A will agree with speaker B. This excerpt provides a clear example in which *tto* does not contain its original semantic meaning, but rather serves as an emphatic marker used to intensify the speaker's disagreement with her interlocutor's prior utterance.

This section has demonstrated the discourse function of *tto* in disagreements. In all three excerpts, we are able to observe how speakers utilize *tto* to disagree with their interlocutors' prior utterances and how the deployment of *tto* gives more emphasis to their claims. This section also illustrates the use of *tto* when the semantic meaning of repetitiveness or additionality is irrelevant or impossible.

5.4 *tto* in realizations

This section explores the use of *tto* with the sentence-ending suffix *-ney* in natural discourse. The sentence-ending suffix *-ney* is used to convey a speaker's realization of new information, surprise, or counterexpectation (Sohn, 1999). In previous studies, Lee (1993) compared the sentence-ending suffix *-ney* with two other sentence-ending suffixes, *-kwun(a)* and *-ta*, from a cognitive perspective, while Kim (2004) examined these suffixes from a conversation-analytic point of view. Lee claimed that *-ney* expresses newly perceived information that the speaker has noticed immediately at the point of the observation. The information is based on the speaker's factual and definitive knowledge (which Lee calls "factual information"), and the perception is restricted to the current moment. The information can also be contrary to the speaker's background knowledge, and in this case, the speaker expresses his/her counterexpectation to the interlocutor(s). Kim further proposed that a *ney*-marked utterance invites the interlocutor's collaborative uptake (co-assessment or co-action) and displays the speaker's stance. Drawing on Lee's and Kim's studies, this section illustrates how *tto* appears with discourse-marking functions in *ney*-marked utterances.

The following segment is taken from a sports variety program called *Let's Play Soccer*, in which legendary Korean athletes who have never played soccer gathered together and formed a new soccer club to take part in a local tournament. This episode includes the team's first official match in the tournament, and it begins with the participating athletes' arrival at the soccer stadium. The speaker of the following utterance is Park (P), who is a former swimmer.

(67) [TV data] Soccer tournament

01 P:살다가 (.) 축구:: .hh
sal-taka (.) chwukkwu:: .hh
LIVE-WHILE SOCCER

02 +축구로 경기 나가는 (건)< **또** 처음이네 이씨
+chwukkwu-lo kyengki naka-nun (ke-n)< **tto** cheum-i-ney issi
SOCCER-INST MATCH GO:OUT-RL THING-TOP TTO FIRST:TIME-BE-FR EXC
((+Figure 5.12))

Figure 5.12 [Screen capture] The *tto*-marked typeface style in line 2

03 흐흐흐 응? 흐흐흐
hhh ung hhh

This is the first time in my life that (I) have participated in a competition as a soccer player. Gosh. Yeah?

In this utterance, Park uses *-ney* in the context of a self-directed observation about his first time competing as a soccer player. With this *ney*-utterance, he presents information he has newly perceived immediately after arriving at the stadium. The utterance includes the word *cheum* 'first (time)', which indicates that the target event is occurring for the first time. Based on its surface

structure, *tto* here seems to be used as an adverb modifying the predicate *cheum-i-ney* '(it) is the first time', but semantically, *tto* cannot modify this predicate. That is, from the perspective of semantics, *tto* with the meaning of repetitiveness or additionality cannot co-occur with *cheum*, which means 'first (time)', within a single utterance. Furthermore, this utterance would carry the same meaning without *tto*. Hence, instead of *tto* carrying its original semantic meaning, it highlights Park's statement that he is attending a competition as a soccer player for the first time. The presentation of the subtitles supports this interpretation, particularly the use of different colors on the second clause (*tto cheum-i-ney*) of the utterance in line 2 (figure 5.12), highlighting the first-time event. From line 1 to line 3, Park's negative emotions, such as anxiety, tension, and nervousness, are expressed by hearable inspirations and shy laughs. The black vertical lines surrounding the subtitles also indicate the program producers' and/or editors' interpretation that the speaker is expressing negative emotion. This excerpt clearly shows *tto* used as an emphatic marker to intensify an utterance and highlight the speaker's subjective stance.

The following segment provides another example of how *tto* can be deployed with the word *cheum* in *ney*-marked utterances to emphasize the fact that the event is occurring for the first time. This excerpt is from a reality TV show *Café Amor*, in which ordinary Korean men and women meet for one-on-one blind dates at a café run by four Korean celebrity crew members. In this segment, the crew members, Se-hyung (S), In-na (I), and Juck (J), are talking about previous blind date participants.

(68) [TV data] Blind date

01 S:저렇게 긴장하신 분들은--긴장하는 분은
celehkey kincangha-si-n pwun-tul-un-- kincangha-nun pwun-un
LIKE:THAT BE:NERVOUS-SH-RL PERSON-PL-TOP BE:NERVOUS-RL PERSON-TOP

02 =처음 보네 **또**?
=cheum po-ney **tto?**
FIRST:TIME SEE-FR TTO

(This) is my first time seeing a person so nervous like that.

03 I: 되게 진짜 많이 긴장하셨다:::
toykey cincca manhi kincangha-sye-ss-ta:::
REALLY REALLY MUCH BE:NERVOUS-SH-PST-DC
(He) was extremely nervous.

04 J:너무 매력적인 분이
nemwu maylyekceki-n pwun-i
SO BE:ATTRACTIVE-RL PERSON-NOM

05 =앞에 있어서 그런가 봐.
=aph-ey iss-ese kule-nka pwa.
IN:FRONT-LOC EXIST-BECAUSE BE:SO-I:GUESS

I guess it was because there was a very attractive person in front of him.

The segment begins with Se-hyung's observation regarding a previous male participant. In lines 1 and 2, he uses the structure *cheum po-ney* '(this) is my first time that I've ever seen' with *tto* at the end of the utterance. As in the previous excerpts, *tto* does not carry its semantic meaning here; rather, it amplifies the whole utterance. Although *-ney* can signal the interlocutor's collaborative uptake (Kim, 2004), by employing a meaningless *tto* at the end of the utterance with a rising intonational contour, the speaker strongly invites the interlocutor to be involved in the conversation. In other words, *tto* is used as a strategic device to emphasize the whole utterance and evoke the participation of the other interlocutors involved in the discourse. In response, in lines 3–5, In-na immediately displays her alignment with Se-hyung's utterance, and Juck also provides his account of why the male participant was so nervous during the blind date.

The following segment is an excerpt of a subsequent conversation from the same episode of *Let's Play Soccer* as seen in Excerpt (67) above. In this segment, Mo (M) and Lee (L) are talking to each other while walking to the stadium. Mo is a former Olympic speed skating champion, and Lee is a former professional tennis player.

(69) [TV data] Tension

01 M: 묘한 긴장감이 있네요.
myoha-n kincangkam-i iss-ney-yo.
STRANGE-RL TENSION-NOM EXIST-FR-POL
(I can feel that there) is a strange tension in the air.

02 진짜 시합-- 시합 준비하는 것 같네. 이야:
cincca sihap-- sihap cwunpiha-nun kes kath-ney. iya:
REAL COMPETITION COMPETITION PREPARE-RL THING SEEM-FR EXC
(It) really feels like I am preparing for a competition. Gosh.

03 L: 테니스 시합 나가는 긴장감하고
theynisu sihap naka-nun kincangkam-hako
TENNIS COMPETITION GO:OUT-RL TENSION-AND

04 =이 긴장감하고 **또** 다르네:::
= i kincangkam-hako **tto** talu-ney:::
THIS TENSION-AND TTO BE:DIFFERENT-FR

(I) feel a different kind of tension between going to a tennis match and this (soccer match).

05 단체하고 개인하고 또 다르고.
tanchey-hako kayin-hako tto talu-ko.
GROUP-AND INDIVIDUAL-AND ALSO BE:DIFFERENT-AND
There's also a difference between a group match and an individual match.

This segment begins with Mo issuing a *ney*-marked assessment of the amateur soccer match. He further states that he feels like he is about to compete in a professional match like the kind he used to participate in as a speed skater. After hearing Mo's *ney*-marked assessment in lines 1 and

2, Lee immediately co-assesses that he feels a different kind of anxiety participating in this amateur soccer match than he did when participating in a professional tennis match. Here, *tto* is located in front of the predicate *taluta* 'be different' and ostensibly performs the role of a component adverb, which carries the meaning of 'again', modifying its predicate. However, the function of *tto* alongside *taluta* in this utterance appears to maximize the meaning of *taluta.* Semantically, *tto* in line 4 does not carry its original lexical meaning of either repetitiveness or additionality because this is the first time the speaker is participating in such a soccer match. In other words, *tto* functions as an emphatic marker that intensifies the meaning of dissimilarity, and it can be interpreted as 'totally', 'absolutely', or 'completely'. Thus, the utterance can be translated as "the anxiety that I am currently feeling is *totally/completely* different from the anxiety that I felt participating in a tennis match." These English adverbs are also known to have undergone grammaticalization into maximizers by acquiring the discourse function of dramatizing a speaker's subjective attitude (Paradis, 2001). The *tto* in line 4 serves as an emphatic marker that amplifies the semantic meaning of its predicate, *taluta*.

The following excerpt also illustrates the use of *tto* as an emphatic marker in a *ney*-marked utterance. The segment comes from the observational reality program *Liberation Town*, in which married Korean celebrities are away from home and try new things they would not normally have a chance to experience. In this episode, retired basketball player Hur (H) visits a clothing store that is popular with the younger generation and tries to buy the latest style outfit, although he usually buys only sportswear. Before the segment, he tried a couple of outfits recommended by store clerks. Here, he tries on a third outfit that includes an orange coat and asks a question to the male (M) and female (F) store clerks.

(70) [TV data] An orange-colored coat

01 H:잘--잘 어울려요?
cal--cal ewully-eyo?
WELL--WELL FIT-POL
Do I look good?

02 F:((She raises her thumb.))

03 H:응? 응? 잘 어울려요, 진짜?
ung? ung? cal ewully-eyo, cincca?
YES YES WELL FIT-POL REALLY
Yeah? Yeah? Does it really look good on me?

04 F:예.
yey.
Yes.

05 H:예:::::
yey::::: ((elongated upward and downward intonation))
Yeah.

06 F:네, 컬러가 되게 잘 맞으세요.
ney. khelle-ka toykey cal mac-usey-yo.
YES COLOR-NOM VERY WELL MATCH-SH-POL
Yes, the color suits you very well.

07 H:쯧 처음에는 좀 여성스럽--운 옷 같다고 생각했는데::
tsk cheum-eynun com yesengsulep--wun os
AT:FIRST-TOP A:BIT BE:FEMININE--RL CLOTH

08 =같다고 생각했는데::
=kath-ta-ko sayngkakhay-ss-nuntey::
SEEM-DC-QT THINK-PST-CIRCUM

At first, I thought it was a bit feminine, but

09 M:예.
yey.
Uh huh.

10 H:+입어보니까 **또** 틀리네 이게::
+ip-epo-nikka **tto** thulli-ney ikey::
WEAR-TRY-BECAUSE TTO BE:WRONG-FR THIS:THING:NOM

((+Figure 5.13))
it is different when I try it on.

Figure 5.13 [Screen capture] Subtitles of the *tto*-marked utterance in line 10

11 M:네.
ney.
Yes.

12 H:그 다음에,
ku taum-ey,
THAT NEXT-TIME
The next (outfit),

In line 1, Hur requests confirmation about whether the coat looks good on him. The female clerk raises her thumb to display a positive response, but Hur upgrades his prior question by using the intensifier *cincca* 'really', requesting further confirmation. After the female clerk's verbal agreement *yey* 'yeah', Hur responds with a prosodically marked *yey* 'yes', which is upward and downward elongated. This prosodic emphasis conveys his stance of uncertainty over the coat. Then, the female clerk produces a confirmation again and provides an account that he looks good in orange. Hur subsequently provides a self-directed assessment of his appearance in lines 7 and

10, which is marked by *-ney*, indicating a speaker's on-the-spot observation. Here, Hur has just realized the coat is not actually too feminine after seeing himself in the mirror. This utterance contains the speaker's misuse of the verb *thullita* 'be wrong' rather than the adjective *taluta* 'be different'. This misuse or substitution is very common in Present Day Korean, and is confirmed by the subtitles, which change his utterance to *talu-ney* instead of *thulli-ney* (figure 5.13). As discussed in the previous excerpt, *tto* emphasizes the meaning of *taluta* 'be different', thus highlighting the difference between the speaker's previous assumption and his perception of the coat's actual look when he tried it on. Thus, with his *ney*-marked assessment, Hur displays a stance of surprise because his appearance runs counter to his earlier assumption. His gestures also capture his surprise: He keeps staring at his reflection in the mirror and fingering the coat (figure 5.13). His stance of surprise is highlighted by *tto*, and the original semantic meaning of *tto* is not present. This excerpt also shows the speaker's use of *tto* to highlight the semantic meaning of *taluta*. The utterance can be translated as "at first, I thought it was a bit feminine, but it is *quite/totally* different when I try it on."

As we saw in Section 5.2, speakers can utilize *tto* multiple times in a single complaint utterance to strengthen the claim and highlight their negative stance. In fact, multiple uses of *tto* are not only seen in complaints but also in *ney*-marked utterances. Excerpt (71) is taken from the reality show *Family Mate*, which focuses on the interaction of siblings from famous or ordinary Korean families. The following conversation is between three males, Ung (U), Hoon (H), and Joon (J). All three participants are professional basketball players, and Ung and Joon play for the same basketball team. They also share a house. Hoon is Ung's younger brother, who had visited his brother's house the same morning. Because he arrived in the early morning and after physical training, he fell asleep as soon as he arrived. Before this conversation, Ung yelled at Hoon to

wake up and eat breakfast with them, but Hoon refused because he wanted to sleep more. They had a small argument prior to this conversation. In line 1, Hoon finally comes to the table, where he complains about the food.

(71) [TV data] Egg-fried rice

01 H: 웬 갑자기 아침부터 계란밥이야¿
weyn kapcaki achim-pwuthe kyeylanpap-i-ya¿
WHAT SUDDENLY MORNING-FROM EGG:FRIED:RICE-BE-IE
All of a sudden, what is this egg-fried rice in the morning?

02 U: 그냥 먹어:
kunyang mek-e:
JUST EAT-IE
Just eat (it).

03 H: 웬 아침부터 계란밥이야:::
weyn achim-pwuthe kyeylanpap-i-ya:::
WHAT MORNING-FROM EGG:FRIED:RICE-BE-IE
What is this egg-fried rice in the morning?

04 U: 감사하게 먹어::
kamsahakey mek-e::
THANKFULLY EAT-IE
Eat it gratefully.

05 H: ˚근데˚ 누가 했어?
˚kuntey˚ nwuka hay-ss-e?
BY:THE:WAY I:NOM DO-PST-IE
By the way, who made (it)?

06 U: 내가:
nay-ka:
I-NOM
I (did)!

07 J: 형이 해 주죠.
hyeng-i hay cwu-cyo.
OLDER:BROTHER-NOM DO:INF GIVE-COMM:POL
Ung cooks (for me).

08 U:내가 다 해 줘.
nay-ka ta hay cwe.
I-NOM ALL DO:INF GIVE:IE
I do everything.

09 (2.0)
((Figure 5.14: Hoon first stares at Ung and then shifts his gaze toward Ung's egg-fried rice.))

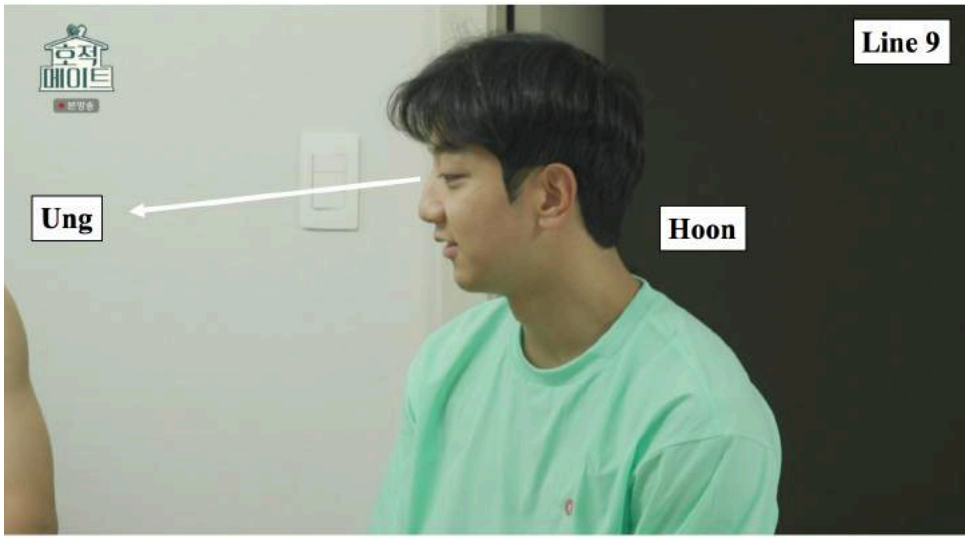

Figure 5.14 [Screen capture] Hoon's facial expression in line 9

10 H:형이 (.) 계란밥을 한다고?
hyeng-i (.) kyeylanpap-ul ha-n-ta-ko?
OLDER:BROTHER-NOM EGG:FRIED:RICE-ACC DO-IN-DC-QT
Did you say that you make this egg-fried rice?

11 >그럼 형이< 이걸 다 한 거라고, 아침부터?
>kulem hyeng-i< ike-l ta ha-n ke-la-ko, achim-pwuthe?
THEN OLDER:BROTHER-NOM THIS-ACC ALL DO-RL THING-DC-QT MORNING-FROM
Then, did you make this all this morning, huh?

12 U:어.
e.
YES
Yeah.

13 H:어? 맨날 이렇게 아침 먹[어?
e? maynnal ilehkey achim mek[-e?
EXC EVERYDAY LIKE:THIS BREAKFAST EAT-IE
Huh? Do you eat breakfast like this every day?

14 J: [맨날 (.) 맨날 이렇게 해 줘요.
[maynnal (.) maynnal ilehkey hay cwe-yo.
EVERYDAY EVERYDAY LIKE:THIS DO:INF GIVE-POL
Every day. He makes (breakfast) like this every day.

15 H:〉맨날 이렇게 먹는다고?〈
>maynnal ilehkey mek-nun-ta-ko?<
EVERYDAY LIKE:THIS EAT-IN-DC-QT
Do you eat (breakfast) like this every day?

16 U:그래.
kulay.
YES
Yes.

17 J:한 달<u>째</u> 지금 (.) 건강을 위해서.
han tal<u>ccay</u> cikum (.) kenkang-ul wihayse.
ONE MONTH NOW HEALTH-ACC FOR:THE:SAKE:OF
For about one month now. For our health.

18 U:이렇게 딱 먹고 오전 운동 딱 하고.
ilehkey ttak mek-ko ocen wuntong ttak ha-ko.
LIKE:THIS DM EAT-AND MORNING EXERCISE DM DO-AND
Eat (breakfast) like this and do a morning workout.

19 J:우리 루틴이잖아 맨날.
wuli lwuthin-i-canh-a maynnal.
OUR ROUTINE-BE-YOU:KNOW-IE EVERYDAY
This is our daily routine, you know.

20 U:응.
ung
YES
Yeah.

21 H:내가 살다가 **또** 형이 해 주는 아침밥을
nay-ka sal-taka **tto** hyeng-i hay cwu-nun achimpap-ul

I-NOM LIVE-WHILE TTO OLDER:BROTHER-NOM DO:INF GIVE-RL BREAKFAST-ACC

22 =**또** 먹어 보네.
=**tto** mek-e po-ney.
TTO EAT-TRY-FR

(I can't believe that) in my life I'm eating breakfast that you made for me.

23 내가 먹어 볼게, 한 번.
nay-ka mek-e po-lkey, han pen.
I-NOM EAT-TRY-FUT:IE ONE TIME
I will eat it then.

24 U:응.
Ung.
YES
Okay.

((The scene changes to a solo interview of Hoon.))

25 H:.hh 그건 좀 믿겨지지가 않아요.
.hh kuke-n com mitkyeci-ci-ka anh-ayo.
THAT:THING-RL A:LITTLE BE:BELIEVED-NML-NOM NOT-POL
I can't believe it.

26 〉태어나서 처음이었어요.〈
>thayena-se cheum-i-ess-eyo.<
BE:BORN-AND FIRST:TIME-BE-PST-POL
It was the first time in my life.

27 이건 진짜 방송이 아(h)니(h)라,
ike-n cincca pangsong-i a(h)ni(h)-la,
THIS:THING-RL REALLY BROADCAST-NOM NOT:BE-DC
((He shakes his head.))
It's not because of the show,

28 진짜 태어나서 처음이었어요.
cincca thayena-se cheum-i-ess-eyo.
REALLY BE:BORN-AND FIRST:TIME-BE-PST-POL
it was the first time in my life.

29 엄마 외에는 해 준 사람이
emma oy-eynun hay cwu-n salam-i
MOTHER BESIDE-TOP DO:INF GIVE-RL PERSON-NOM

((He shakes his head.))

30 =없(h)었(h)거(h)든(h)요? 하하하
=eps(h)-ess(h)-ke(h)tun(h)-yo? hhh
NOT:EXIST-PST-YOU:KNOW-POL

There is no one, except my mom, who has prepared food for me.

31 예, 이십칠 년을 살면서 처음이었어요 진짜.
yey, isipchil nyen-ul sal-myense cheum-i-ess-eyo cincca.
YES TWENTYSEVEN YEAR-ACC LIVE-WHILE FIRST:TIME-BE-PST-POL REALLY
Yeah, in my twenty-seven years of life, it was the first time, really.

((The scene returns to the conversation.))

32 J:+형이 원래 밥 잘 안 해 줘요?
+hyeng-i wenlay pap cal an hay cwe-yo?
OLDER:BROTHER-NOM NATURALLY MEAL WELL NEG DO:INF GIVE-POL
((Joon lifts his head to make eye contact with Hoon.))
((+Figure 5.15))
Doesn't he normally cook for you?

Figure 5.15 [Screen capture] Joon's facial expression in line 32

33 H:+태어나서 처음 먹어 봐.

+thayena-se cheum mek-e pwa.
BE:BORN-AND FIRST:TIME EAT-TRY:IE
((+Figure 5.16))
This is my first time eating (his cooking).

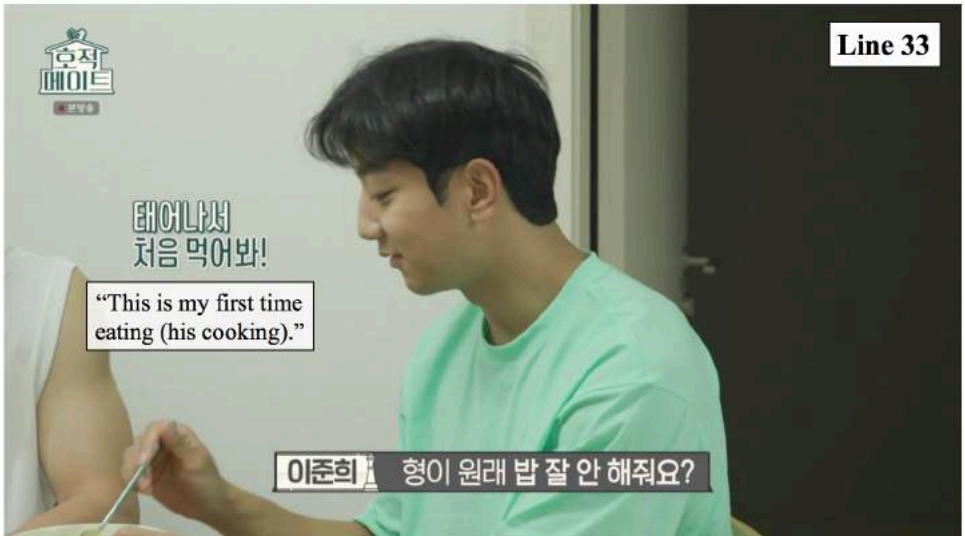

Figure 5.16 [Screen capture] Hoon's facial expression in line 33

34 J:아, 진짜요?
a, cincca-yo?
EXC REALLY-POL
Oh, really?

35 H:어.
e.
Yes.

Hoon inquires who made the egg-fried rice (line 5), and both Ung and Joon respond by saying Ung made it. Upon hearing their responses, Hoon first stares at Ung and then moves his gaze toward Ung's egg-fried rice, during a long silence (line 7, figure 5.14). The long silence and gaze at Ung display Hoon's disbelief; he cannot believe that his brother has prepared breakfast. Then Hoon breaks the silence, challenging Ung in lines 10 and 11. First, Hoon initiates repair using a

quotative construction with *-tako*: *hyeng-i kyeylanpap-ul ha-n-tako?* 'did you say that you made this egg-fried rice?' in line 10, and he then further challenges his brother with a quotative construction with *-lako* in line 11. In an interrogative context, *-tako* and *-lako* carry a counterexpectation function (Ahn & Yap, 2015), which displays the speaker's surprise, shock, disbelief, dismay, and so forth, with a meaning similar to "did you say X?" in English (DeLancey, 2001). The use of *-tako* and *-lako* in lines 10 and 11 displays Hoon's stance of disbelief. Then, Hoon asks whether they eat breakfast like this every morning (line 13), and Joon provides confirmation (line 14). Hoon requests further confirmation, again using the quotative *-tako*, in line 15. A series of questions (lines 10, 11, 13, and 15) displays Hoon's stance of surprise and disbelief and indicates that he has never eaten any dishes made by his brother, Ung.

In lines 21 and 22, Hoon announces that he is eating breakfast prepared by his older brother, Ung. Here, *tto* is used twice within a single utterance, and each *tto* functions as an emphatic marker to intensify the speaker's stance of surprise. This case provides a clear example in which each *tto* lacks the semantic meaning of repetitiveness or additionality. Hoon's later interview also verifies that this was the first time that his brother had prepared food for him. Furthermore, Joon's response to the *tto*-marked utterance, *hyeng-i wenlay pap cal an hay cwe-yo?* 'doesn't he normally cook for you?' (line 32), also demonstrates that Joon understands *tto* in lines 21–22 as an emphatic marker that does not carry any semantic meaning.

Joon frames his response as a confirmation question 'doesn't he normally cook for you?', because, as he explains, Ung prepares breakfast for him every morning. The implication of the question, along with the direct eye contact Joon establishes with Hoon, is that Joon finds it hard to understand that Ung's brother has never eaten food Ung prepares (figure 5.15). In response, Hoon again indicates that it is his first time eating Ung's cooking, while smiling awkwardly (line

33, figure 5.16). Hoon then asks another short confirmation question in line 34. This sequential environment clearly shows that each *tto* is used and heard as an emphatic marker by the interlocutors.

This section has demonstrated the use of *tto* with the sentence-ending suffix *-ney*, which denotes newly perceived information. It has shown how *tto* is used in assessments, especially in *tto*'s deployment with the words *cheum* 'first (time)' and *taluta* 'be different'. These cases clearly indicate the semantic reduction and functional development of *tto*.

5.5 *tto* in other types of social actions

So far, we have observed how *tto* appears in complaint, disagreement, and realization utterances, and we have discussed the functions carried out by *tto* in these social actions. This section further illustrates its pragmatic functions in other types of social actions that have not been discussed in previous sections. The section first addresses the role of *tto* in assertive utterances. Assertion can enact a variety of different actions, such as complaining, disagreeing, informing, and assessing, among many others. When a speaker issues an assertion, it generally displays the speaker's high epistemic status because it expresses the speaker's strong belief or opinion. For the purposes of this section, the term "assertion" refers to an utterance that expresses the speaker's strong belief in the proposition and conveys his/her point of view to another participant in the conversation.[1]

This segment is also taken from *My Little Old Boy*. Before the segment, one of the cast members' mothers, Jee, announced that she had gone to Saipan during the Korean Thanksgiving (*Chuseok*) holidays. The female host, Han (H), asked her whether her son had arranged the trip.

[1] Although an act of assertion can also function as an act of complaint in some contexts, the examples categorized as assertion in this section exclude such cases, which were addressed in Section 5.2.

After Jee provided a confirmation, Han also asked her if she had stopped by the duty-free shop when she returned to Korea, and Jee responded that she had not. Han further asked if she did not shop because she would have had to use her son's credit card, which Jee confirmed. Here, Lee (L), one of the cast members' mothers, tries to explain why mothers do not ask for or receive money from their sons.

(72) [TV data] My son's money

01 L: +자식 돈은 돈 같지가 않아.
+casik ton-un ton kath-ci-ka anh-a.
CHILD MONEY-TOP MONEY SEEM-NML-NOM NOT-IE
((Lee shakes her head.))
((+Figure 5.17))
(My) child's money does not seem like money.

Figure 5.17 [Screen capture] The unmarked typeface style in line 1

02 H: [음::
[um::
Umm.

03 [뭐 같으냐면은, 이제 쪼그만 애기 있잖아요?
[mwe kath-unyamyen-un, icey ccokuma-n ayki iss-canh-ayo?
WHAT SEEM-INTERR-IF-TOP NOW BE:LITTLE-RL BABY EXIST-YOU:KNOW-POL
It's like, there is a little baby, you know?

04 애기가 뭐 이렇게 사탕 같은 거 들고서는
ayki-ka mwe ilehkey sathang kath-un ke tul-kose-nun
BABY-NOM DM LIKE:THIS CANDY SEEM-RL THING HOLD-AND:THEN-TOP
The baby is holding candies, and

05 야, 나 좀 줘라 그러면은 주잖아요?
ya, na com cwe-la kule-myen-un cwu-canh-ayo?
HEY I DM GIVE-DC SAY-IF-TOP GIVE-YOU:KNOW-POL
If I say, "Hey, please give me some," (the baby) gives it to me, you know?

06 딱 그 애기 같아.
ttak ku ayki kath-a.
EXACTLY THAT BABY SEEM-IE
Exactly like that baby.

07 〉우리가 달라 그러면 안 주겠어요?〈 그지?
>wuli-ka talla kule-myen an cwu-keyss-eyo?< kuci?
WE-NOM BEG:DC SAY-IF NEG GIVE-DCT:RE-POL BE:SO:COMM
If we ask, wouldn't he give (it) to us? Right?

08 H: ((She nods her head.))

09 그렇게 그냥 애기 같고 [주는 게 (.) 진짜
kulehkey kunyang ayki kath-ko [cwu-nun key (.)cincca
LIKE:THAT JUST BABY SEEM-AND GIVE-RL THING:NOM REALLY

10 S: [아:::
[a:::
I see.

11 그 돈은 돈 같지가 않아. [돈 같지 ((않아))
ku ton-un ton kath-ci-ka anh-a ton kath-ci ((anh-a))
THAT MONEY-TOP MONEY SEEM-NML-NOM NOT-IE MONEY SEEM-NML NOT-IE
((Lee shakes her head.))
(I think my child) is like a baby, and the money from my child is not like money.

12 H: [아:::::

[a::::: ((elongated upward and downward intonation))
I see.

13 +남편 돈하고는 **또** 다르지.
+namphyen ton-hako-nun **tto** talu-ci.
HUSBAND MONEY-AND-TOP TTO BE:DIFFERENT-COMM
((+Figure 5.18))
It's different from my husband's money.

Figure 5.18 [Screen capture] The *tto*-marked typeface style in line 13

14 J: °맞아요°
°mac-ayo°
RIGHT-POL
((She nods her head.))
That's right.

Lee says that if she asked, her son would definitely give her money, but she adds that asking for money from her son would be like asking a baby for candy (lines 3–7). She explains that money from her son is not like ordinary money (line 11). In line 13, she further asserts that money from

her son is different from money she receives from her husband. This assertion is marked by the final suffix *-ci*, which not only shows Lee's strong belief in her claim but also displays her high epistemic status at this moment. To provide more background information, Lee is the most senior person in the studio, and her son, who is in his late 40s, is also the oldest person among the cast members. The interlocutor, Han, has just given birth for the first time, so she would not know how it would feel to receive money from her child. Thus, Lee has a higher epistemic standing than Han regarding this matter. Here, *tto* is located in front of the predicate *taluta* 'be different' and ostensibly performs the role of a component adverb, which carries the meaning 'again', modifying its predicate. As we saw in Excerpt (71) in Section 5.4, the prime function of *tto* with *taluta* appears to be to maximize the meaning of *taluta* rather than conveying *tto*'s original lexical meaning. Thus, this utterance can be translated as "money from my son is *totally/completely/absolutely* different from the money from my husband." In line 13, the high pitch on *tto* places even more emphasis on the difference between the son's money and the husband's money. The subtitles also orient to the speaker's subjective attitude toward the comparison target, *namphyen ton* 'husband's money', as emphasized by the enlarged yellow letters (figure 5.17). Moreover, the subtitles are slanted against a horizontal line and changed into a pointed typeface. Compared to line 1's subtitles, which are positioned squarely and in a blocky typeface (figure 5.18), the subtitles for line 13 highlight the whole utterance. Excerpt (74) demonstrates that the practice of adding *tto* is used to maximize the meaning of *taluta*; it does not carry its own semantic meaning in this context.

The following excerpt is also provided to demonstrate the pragmatic function of *tto* in assertions. It is taken from the variety program *Master in the House*, in which four celebrities, including Yoo (Y) and Lee (L), spend time with reputable figures who have mastery in various

fields to learn about their lives. In this episode, screenwriter Kim (K) appears as the master. Kim usually writes about the dark side of society, and her work typically describes murder cases. Kim had asked the hosts to visit the National Institute of Scientific Investigation with her to meet the forensic doctor, Ha (H), whom she consults to draw on his medical knowledge and forensic experience. The following conversation was recorded during a break, when all the interlocutors had a small chat. In line 1, Yoo asks whether the main character of the drama *Sign*, played by Park Shin-yang, was Ha. To provide more background information, the drama *Sign* is about forensic doctors solving murder cases, and Park Shin-yang plays a cold-hearted doctor who is short-tempered and frequently scolds his junior colleagues.

(73) [TV data] Forensic doctor

01 Y:>혹시< 박신양 선배님 모델이¿
hoksi paksinyang senpay-nim moteyl-i¿
PERHAPS NAME SENIOR-HON MODEL-NOM
Perhaps, (is he) the real model for Park Shin-yang?

02 그건 ((아니시죠?))
kuke-n (ani-si-cyo?)
THAT-TOP NOT:BE-SH-COMM:POL
Isn't that right?

03 K:아니, 그 부분이 좀 많이 들어오긴 했죠.
ani, ku pwupwun-i com manhi tuleo-ki-n hay-ss-cyo.
DM THAT PART-NOM DM A:LOT COME:IN-NML-TOP DO-PST-COMM:POL
Well, the part came in a little bit.

04 그:: 까칠- 까칠한 부분::
ku:: kkachil- kkachilha-n pwupwun::
THAT CRANKY BE:CRANKY-RL PART
That... cran... cranky part.

05 Y:아 .hh 진짜요?
a .hh cincca-yo?
EXC REAL-POL

Oh, really?

06 H:〉아 저〈 부드러운 사람(h)인(h)데:: 하하하
>a ce< pwutulewu-n salam(h)-i-n(h)tey:: hhh
EXC I BE:SOFT-RL PERSON-BE-CIRCUM
Oh, I'm a kind-hearted person.

07 +잘-잘 ((이해))를 못 하(h)시는 것 같(h)은(h)데
+cal-cal ((ihay))-lul mos ha(h)-si-nun kes kath(h)-un(h)tey
WELL WELL UNDERSTANDING-ACC NEG DO-SH-RL THING SEEM-CIRCUM
((Ha waves his hand.))
((+Figure 5.19))
It looks like you don't understand well, but

Figure 5.19 [Screen capture] Kim's facial expression in line 7

08 =부드러운 사람입니다. 하하하
=pwutulewu-n salam-i-pni-ta. hhh
BE:SOFT-RL PERSON-BE-IN-DC
((He points to himself.))
I'm a kind-hearted person.

09 K:아, **또** +방송이라고 [막 웃으신다::
a, **tto** +pangsong-i-la-ko mak wusu-si-n-ta::
EXC TTO BROADCAST-BE-DC-QT MUCH SMILE-SH-IN-CD
((+Figure 5.20))

Ah, you're smiling a lot just because it's a broadcast.

Figure 5.20 [Screen capture] Kim's facial expression in line 9

10 H: [하하하
[hhh

11 K:=진짜 정말 [선(h)생(h)님. 어¿
=cincca cengmal [sen(h)sayng(h)-nim. e¿
TRULY REALLY TEACHER-HON YES
Oh my god, doctor. Yeah?

12 L: [하하하
[hhh

In lines 3 and 4, Kim reveals that the crankiness of the character played by Park Shin-yang was inspired by Ha's personality. Yoo responds to this information with *a cincca-yo?* 'oh, really?' because the information is unexpected and surprising. Ha then makes eye contact with Yoo and waves his hand (figure 5.19) while claiming that he is a *pwutulewu-n* person, which can be roughly translated as 'kind-hearted (*lit*. soft)' in lines 6, 7, and 8. In response, Kim challenges

Ha's claim by saying that he is only smiling a lot because they are in the middle of filming a show. This challenge also can be interpreted as an assertion by implying, "(based on my previous experience,) you are not a person who smiles a lot (like you are today)." As discussed above, assertions are highly related to displaying a speaker's epistemic standing in relation to that of the interlocutors. The assertion in this example is also marked by the declarative sentence-ender *-ta*, which has "a special function in informal discourse of informing the addressee of noteworthy information that has provoked the speaker's cognitive attention" (Lee, 1991, p. 423). Throughout this utterance, Kim provides new information to the other interlocutors, regarding what she has observed in the past, and this notable information invites immediate attention from the interlocutors. The utterance is also delivered with a serious face (figure 5.20), which strengthens the legitimacy of the claim. By deploying *tto*, Kim adds additional emphasis to the legitimacy of her claim based on her prior experience, which her interlocutors appear to accept as true. In this example, the employment of *tto* is semantically and syntactically optional, but its presence allows the speaker to intensify her claim. It is one of several resources she uses to do so: Continuing the conversation, she utters intensifying adverbs such as *cincca* 'truly' and *cengmal* 'really' and requests a confirmation directly from Ha (*e*? 'yeah?') in order to further strengthen the claim.

In the two excerpts discussed in this section so far, *tto* is used as an emphatic marker in assertions, showing a speaker's strong belief while denoting the speaker's higher epistemic status relative to the other interlocutors. The deployment of *tto* places an extreme emphasis on the speaker's claim. The next segment illustrates the use of *tto* in another type of action. It is from a telephone conversation between two female friends who are currently living in the United States.

Prior to this conversation they talked about how their husbands are unwilling to help with housework.

(76) [LDC corpus] Returning to Korea

01 A:어휴 저희도:: 형부가 한 시월 말쯤에
ehyu cehuy-to:: hyengpwu-ka han siwel mal-ccum-ey
EXC WE-ALSO BROTHER:IN:LAW-NOM ABOUT OCTOBER END-AROUND-TIME
Gosh, my brother-in-law, around the end of October,

02 그 확실한 건 아니구요, 여기 한 번
ku hwaksilha-n ke-n ani-kwu-yo, yeki han pen
THAT BE:SURE-RL THING-TOP NOT:BE-QT-POL HERE ONE TIME
I am not sure about this,

03 =출장 오시는 걸로 〉나[와있거든요, 지금요¿〈
=chwulcang o-si-nun ke-llo >na[waiss-ketun-yo, cikum-yo¿<
BUSINESS:TRIP COME-SH-RL THING-ON TURN:OUT-YOU:KNOW-POL NOW-POL
is visiting here on a business trip, you know. Right now.

04 B: [응::::::
[Ung:::::: ((elongated upward and downward intonation))
Uh huh

05 A:그래서 이제 만약에 혹시 오시면::
kulayse icey manyak-ey hoksi o-si-myen::
SO NOW IN:CASE-OF PERHAPS COME-SH-IF
So, if (he) comes,

06 B:예.
yey.
Uh huh.

07 A:저 너무 답답하고 그러면:: 쯧
ce nemwu taptapha-ko kule-myen:: tch
I VERY BE:BORED-QT FEEL-IF
if I get too frustrated,

08 그냥 얘 데리고 형부 따라
kunyang yay teyli-ko hyengpwu ttala
JUST S/HE BRING-AND BROTHER:IN:LAW FOLLOWING

09 그냥 한국 들어갈지도 몰라요.
kunyang hankwuk tuleka-l-ci-to molla-yo
JUST KOREA ENTER-RL-NML-ALSO NOT:KNOW-POL

(I) may just go follow him to Korea with my baby.

10 B: ↑에휴:: ↑정말이에요?
↑eyhyu::↑ cengmal-ieyyo?
EXC REAL-BE:POL
Huh... Really?

11 A: 아니 아니 그 한국:: 그 돌 때쯤 들어갈까
ani ani ku hankwuk:: ku tol ttay-ccum tuleka-lkka
DM DM THAT KOREA THAT FIST:BIRTHDAY TIME-AROUND ENTER-INTERR

12 생각은 했거든요::¿
sayngkak-un hay-ss-ketun-yo::¿
THOUGHT-TOP DO-PST-YOU:KNOW-POL

Well, I was thinking I may go back to Korea around (my baby's) first birthday, you know.

13 [근데 예 그::
[kuntey yay ku::
BUT YES THAT
But, yes,

14 B: [아니, 아예 들어간다구요?
[ani, ayey tuleka-n-ta-kwu-yo?
DM PERMANENTLY ENTER-IMPFV-DC-QT-POL
Are you saying that you are going to permanently go back to Korea?

15 A: 아::니요 그건 아니고::
a::ni-yo kuke-n ani-ko::
NOT:BE-POL THAT:THING-TOP NOT:BE-AND
No, it is not that.

16 B: 응::
ung::
Uh huh.

17 A: 한 번 들어갔다 오고 싶거든요.
han pen tuleka-ss-ta o-ko siph-ketun-yo.
ONE TIME ENTER-PST-TRANS COME-CONN WANT-YOU:KNOW-POL

I would like to go to Korea and come back once, you know.

18 B:아:: 난 **또** 아예 들어간다구::
a:: na-n **tto** ayey tuleka-n-ta-kwu::
EXC I-TOP TTO PERMANENTLY ENTER-IMPFV-DC-QT
Ah, I thought you were saying that you are permanently returning to Korea.

19 A:네, 아예는 (0.5) 불가능하고,
ney, ayey-nun (0.5) pwulkanungha-ko,
YES PERMANENTLY-TOP BE:IMPOSSIBLE-AND
Right, it is impossible to go back permanently, and

20 이 사람 혼자 놔두면:: [요즘
i salam honca nwatwu-myen:: [yocum
THIS PERSON ALONE LEAVE-IF NOWADAYS
if (I) left my husband alone, nowadays,

21 B: [안 되지.
[an toy-ci.
NEG BECOME-COMM
You shouldn't.

22 A:예.
yey
Yes.

The conversation begins with speaker A explaining a situation in which her brother-in-law will visit America in late October (lines 1, 2, and 3). She additionally announces that if she gets too frustrated (by the demands of housework and child-rearing), she will follow her brother-in-law to Korea with her baby (lines 5, 7, 8, and 9). In line 10, speaker B immediately responds with a high-pitched response cry, *eyhyu*, and a confirmation request, *cengmal-ieyyo*? 'really?', with stress on the word *cengmal* 'real', suggesting that the additional information catches speaker B by surprise. In fact, the verb *tulekata* 'enter' in line 9 is ambiguous because speaker A does not indicate the duration of her return to Korea. In response, speaker A does not provide confirmation, but rather explains that she was previously considering returning to Korea (lines 11

and 12). Speaker A may have interpreted speaker B's prior utterance as a go-ahead response, which encourages the interlocutor to continue telling a story (Schegloff, 2007). Speaker A continues to elaborate on her story in line 13, but she is cut off by speaker B in line 14. Speaker B pushes back on speaker A with the discourse marker *ani* and asks whether she is going back to Korea permanently. This time, speaker B initiates repair with the word *ayay* 'permanently' to avoid ambiguity. Speaker A responds by saying that she wants to visit Korea once. At this point, speaker B finally resolves her misunderstanding. In line 18, she displays her acknowledgement with the elongated response cry *a* 'ah' and says that she had gotten the impression that speaker A was saying that she intended to permanently return to Korea. This utterance ends with the quotative *-ko*, which functions as a complementizer linking the quoted speech with the verb *hata* 'say'. It can also perform this function with other communication-related verbs, such as *sayngkakhata* 'think', *mitta* 'believe', *yaksokhata* 'promise', and so forth (Sohn, 2015). In this case, the omitted verb is *sayngkakhata* 'think', so the utterance can be translated as "I thought you were saying that you are permanently returning to Korea." The utterance not only secures additional confirmation but also expresses speaker B's noticing of her misunderstanding. In other words, the utterance marks speaker B's realization that contradicts her prior assumption. Without *tto*, the utterance would still carry the same meaning, but by deploying *tto* the intensity of the speaker's stance is amplified. Subsequently, speaker A provides a reconfirmation and explains that she cannot return to Korea permanently without her husband.

The following excerpt shows another interesting use of *tto* as an emphatic marker. It comes from a variety program called *Hangout with Yoo* in which the celebrity host, Yoo (Y), is challenged with a new job he has never done before. In this episode, Yoo is transformed into a restaurant owner, and he has to run the restaurant by himself. Because the only food Yoo can

make is instant noodles, customers have no choice but to order instant noodles. Prior to this conversation, Kim (K) and Jo (J) had arrived as customers, and they had talked about the previous week's Entertainment Awards show, where Yoo had received the grand prize. Kim had also been nominated for the Grand Prize along with six other candidates, but he criticized the practice of having the same candidates nominated over and over again. He argued that the show should shorten the nominee list, eliminating unworthy nominees, including himself. The public highly praised his acerbic comments, and Kim received more attention than the winner, Yoo, in show-related news posts. Kim said that he regretted having stolen the spotlight from Yoo, so he visited Yoo's restaurant. Prior to the segment, Kim asked that they stop talking about the award, and the segment begins with Yoo's suggestion that Kim choose some instant noodles.

(75) [TV data] Instant noodles

01 Y:형, 라면 하나 고르고::
hyeng, lamyen hana kolu-ko::
OLDER:BROTHER INSTANT:NOODLES ONE CHOOSE-AND
Kim, choose instant noodles, and

02 K:〉아니, 근데 말이야 근데 내가 있잖아〈
>ani, kuntey mal-i-ya kuntey nay-ka iss-canh-a<
DM BUT WORD-BE-IE BUT I-NOM EXIST-YOU:KNOW-IE
Well, but, you know what,

03 라면을 안 먹어.
lamyen-ul an mek-e.
INSTANT:NOODLES-ACC NEG EAT-IE
(I) don't eat instant noodles.

04 Y:어? 형 라면을 안 [먹어?
e? hyeng lamyen-ul an [mek-e?
EXC OLDER:BROTHER INSTANT:NOODLES-ACC NEG EAT-IE
Uh? Kim, (you) don't eat instant noodles?

05 K: [라면 안 먹어. 응.

[lamyen an mek-e. ung.
INSTANT:NOODLES NEG EAT-IE YES
I don't eat instant noodles. Yes.

06 Y:왜? 맛이 없어서?
way? mas-i eps-ese?
WHY TASTE-NOM NOT:HAVE-BECAUSE
Why? Because (they) don't taste good?

07 K:아, ↑진::짜↑ 안 먹어. 그냥 [안 먹어.
a, ↑cin::cca↑ an mek-e. [kunyang an mek-e.
EXC REALLY NEG EAT-IE JUST NEG EAT-IE
Ah, (I) really don't eat. (I) don't eat (them) just because.

08 J: [어, 왜죠?
[e, way-cyo?
EXC WHY-COMM:IE
Oh, why?

09 K:아 〉어느 날 그게 아니라〈 라면을
a >enu nal kukey anila< lamyen-ul
EXC WHICH DAY THAT:NOM NOT:BE-DC INSTANT:NOODLES-ACC
Ah, one day, I mean,

10 =먹고 있는 내 모습이:: 좀 초라하더라고.
=mek-ko iss-nun nay mosup-i:: com cholaha-te-la-ko.
EAT-PROG-RL MY LOOK-NOM A:LITTLE BE:SHABBY-RT-DC-QT
it seemed pathetic eating instant noodles (by myself).

11 그래서 안 먹어.
kulayse an mek-e.
SO NEG EAT-IE
So, I don't eat (them).

12 Y:진짜?
cincca?
REALLY
Really?

13 K:어, 그래서 안 먹어. 라면::
e, kulayse an mek-e. lamyen::
YES SO NEG EAT-IE INSTANT:NOODLES
Yes, so I don't eat (them). Instant noodles.

14 Y:〉아니 그럼〈 잠깐만. 볼까?

>ani kulem< camkkanman. po-lkka?
DM THEN JUST:A:MOMENT SEE-INTERR
((Yoo turns around and opens the refrigerator.))
Well, then just a moment. Let's see...

15 이야:: 연예대상의 남자
iya:: yenyeytaysang-uy namca
EXC GRAND:PRIZE:IN:ENTERTAINMENT:AWARD-OF MAN
Wow, the man with the grand prize in entertainment award.

16 J:와:::
wa:::
EXC
Wow.

17 K:아냐 아냐 아냐 아냐 아냐
anya anya anya anya anya
NO NO NO NO NO
No, no, no, no, no.

18 Y:아, 그런데 여기:: 오늘은 라면이라 형
a, kulentey yeki:: onul-un lamyen-ila hyeng
EXC BUT HERE TODAY-TOP INSTANT:NOODLES-BE:BECAUSE OLDER:BROTHER
Ah, but here, since today is the instant noodle (episode),

19 뭐 딴 거 형 줄 게 없네.
mwe ttan ke hyeng cwu-l key eps-ney.
WHAT DIFFERENT:RL THING ODLER:BROTHER GIVE-RL THING:NOM NOT:HAVE-FR
(I) don't have anything different.

20 K:아, 그래?
a, kulay?
EXC BE:SO:IE
Oh, really?

21 Y:네::
ney::
YES
Yeah.

22 K:+난 생라면은 **또** 먹어.
+na-n saynglamyen-un **tto** mek-e.
I-TOP RAW:NOODLES-TOP TTO EAT-IE
((+Figure 5.21))
I eat uncooked instant noodles.

Figure 5.21 [Screen capture] The *tto*-marked typeface style in line 22

23 Y:+하하하
+hhh
((+Figure 5.22))

Figure 5.22 [Screen capture] The producers'/editors' interpretation of Kim's claim

24 K:((생라면은 이렇게 좀))
((saynglamyen-un ilehkey com))
RAW:NOODLES-TOP LIKE:THIS A:LITTLE
Uncooked instant noodles are like...

25 J:선배님 그럼 파스타도 안 드세요?
senpay-nim kulem phasutha-to an tusey-yo?
SENIOR-HON THEN PASTA-ALSO NEG EAT-POL
Kim, do you also not eat pasta?

26 K:파스타는 +먹어 또
phasutha-nun +mek-e tto
PASTA-TOP EAT-IE TTO
((+Figure 5.23))
I eat pasta.

Figure 5.23 [Screen capture] The typeface style in line 26

27 J:아, 파스타는 드세요?
a, phasutha-nun tusey-yo?
EXC PASTA-TOP EAT-POL
Oh, you do eat pasta?

28 K:어.
e.
YES

Yeah.

29 J:잔치국수 이런 거는 [드시는데
canchikwukswu ile-n ke-nun [tusi-nuntey
BANQUET:NOODLES LIKE:THIS-RL THING-TOP EAT-CIRCUM
(You) eat banquet noodles like that, but

30 K: [그런 건 또 먹어.
[kule-n ke-n tto mek-e.
LIKE:THAT-RL THING-TOP TTO EAT-IE
(I) eat those (kinds of noodles).

31 J:((딱)) [라면만.
((ttak)) [lamyen-man.
DM INSTANT:NOODLES-ONLY
(You don't eat) only instant noodles.

32 K: [어:::
[e:::
YES
Yes.

33 Y:하하하
hhh

In response to Yoo's offer, Kim indicates that he does not eat instant noodles in line 3. Yoo then initiates repair by fully repeating Kim's prior utterance, not only requesting confirmation but also displaying his disbelief (Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman, 2010). In overlap with Yoo, Kim repeats his claim that he does not eat instant noodles and provides confirmation, *ung* 'yes'. Yoo continues to question Kim in line 6, and this time, in response, Kim strongly asserts his claim by employing the modifier *cincca* 'really' with prosodic emphasis (stressed and elongated), and he provides an account, *kunyang an mek-e* '(I) don't eat just because.', in line 7. Jo now enters the conversation, and his question in line 8 indicates that Kim's answer is ambiguous and insufficient: Jo asks Kim 'why?' to elicit an actual reason for not eating instant noodles. Kim

finally provides an explanation in lines 9 and 10. Upon hearing Kim's account, Yoo issues a simple confirmation request, *ccincca?* 'really?', and Kim confirms with *e, kulayse an mek-e lamyen* 'yes, so (I) don't eat instant noodles'. Up to this point, Kim has clearly asserted that he does not eat instant noodles.

Upon hearing Kim's confirmation in line 13, Yoo approaches the refrigerator to look for something other than instant noodles, and then informs Kim that he does not have anything else to offer (lines 18 and 19). Kim then claims, in an utterance including *tto*, that he eats uncooked instant noodles, *na-n saynglamyen-un tto mak-e* 'I eat uncooked instant noodles', in line 22. Here, Kim's utterance not only contradicts his prior claim but also goes against Yoo's and Jo's expectation that he would not eat any kind of instant noodles. In line 22, *saynglamyen* 'uncooked instant noodles' (*lit*. 'raw noodles'), is marked by the topic particle *-un*, which indicates contrast. The topic particle *-(n)un* carries a contrastive meaning when the noun phrase is stressed (Yang, 1973; Sohn, 1999). The presentation of the subtitles is also aligned with this function of *-(n)un*, as the stressed noun *saynglamyen* is highlighted in red and slightly slanted (figure 5.21). The utterance can be translated as "(I don't eat cooked instant noodles, but I) eat uncooked instant noodles." Similar to the cases shown in the previous examples, it is difficult to perceive any semantic value of *tto* in this utterance; however, by deploying *tto*, the discrepancy with Kim's prior claim is significantly amplified. In response, Yoo expresses his surprise with a high-pitched laugh (line 23). The subtitles also display the producers'/editors' interpretation of Kim's claim by adding a humorous and ironic comment, *ilkwanseng mwues* "what consistency" in which the word *ilkwanseng* 'consistency' is highlighted (figure 5.22).

After hearing Kim's unexpected claim, Jo inquires whether Kim also does not eat pasta, using a yes/no question, in line 25. Although Kim could simply answer either 'yes' or 'no', or

with a repetitional answer (i.e., *phasutha-to mek-e* 'I also eat pasta.'), he answers with another utterance including *-nun* and ending with *-tto*, saying *phasutha-nun mek-e tto* 'I eat pasta.' in line 26; in other words, the sentence structure is identical to that of his previous utterance in line 22. By using the structure of the topic particle *-(n)un* with *tto*, a speaker can emphasize his/her claim by highlighting the contrast between the claim and the interlocutors' expectation. The subtitles only display the predicate of the utterance, *mek-e* 'eat', in large red letters, which also highlights the contrast (figure 5.23). In line 30, *kule-n ke-n tto mek-e* '(I) eat those (kinds of noodles', Kim once again uses the structure of the topic particle *-(nu)n* with *tto*, again emphasizing his utterance and its contrast with the expectations of his interlocutors. This excerpt shows how *tto* interacts with the topic particle *-(n)un* to intensify the contrast function of *-(n)un*.

Excerpts (74) and (75) illustrate the uses of *tto* related to assumptions among interlocutors. Excerpt (74) demonstrates how a speaker utilizes *tto* to highlight her misunderstanding and her realization that contradicts her own previous assumption. Excerpt (75) shows how a speaker uses *tto* to emphasize his utterance, which he assumes contradicts the interlocutors' and the speaker's own assumptions. These types of utterances are frequently observed in Present Day Korean.

5.6 Discussion

This chapter has illustrated the semantic meanings and pragmatic functions of *tto* using data derived from natural conversations. In the selected data, *tto* is deployed in different contexts where a particular course of action is carried out by the participants. The deployment of *tto* is shown in different communicative acts including complaint, disagreement, realization, assertion, and so forth. All excerpts demonstrate cases in which *tto* carries out pragmatic functions and the original semantic values of *tto* are absent or indistinct. Semantic reduction and an increase in

pragmatic function are both prominent aspects of the grammaticalization process. Thus, the analysis in this chapter has focused on how speakers utilize *tto* as a linguistic device to assist in strengthening their claims and in order to display their attitudes toward their utterances. On the basis of the analysis, the chapter argues that *tto* has undergone a process of grammaticalization and has emerged as a discourse marker in Present Day Korean.

The excerpts presented throughout this chapter have shown that *tto* has the distinctive characteristics of discourse markers (see Section 2.2.2): non-truth-conditionality, optionality, multifunctionality, flexibility of position, orality, and high frequency of occurrence in spoken discourse. The deployment of *tto* does not affect the truth condition of an utterance because it carries no semantic meaning; thus, its use is not obligatory, but optional. In other words, it can be omitted from an utterance without affecting the truth condition of a proposition. It therefore serves a solely pragmatic purpose as an emphatic marker used to intensify the speaker's claim and highlight the speaker's subjective attitude toward the utterance. In terms of multifunctionality, it mainly serves a function as an emphatic marker, but *tto* also can be located at the end of an utterance with a rising intonation contour to invite the interlocutor(s) into the conversation. In terms of position flexibility, *tto* can be deployed multiple times in a single utterance, and its position can be at the beginning, middle, or end of an utterance. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it appears primarily in spoken rather than written discourse, and has a high frequency rate, often even occurring more than once in a single utterance.

In sum, this chapter has demonstrated the semantic and functional shifts of *tto* while examining a number of environments in which *tto* is deployed. By looking at how Korean speakers utilize *tto* in natural conversation, the chapter has provided a foundation for arguing that *tto* has emerged as a discourse marker in Present Day Korean.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Summary of findings

This dissertation has explored the evolution of the Korean adverb *tto* from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. It has addressed the historical relationship between the adverb *tto* and the delimiter *to* in the Old Korean period and has illustrated the expansion of *tto* in syntactic scope and semantic properties in the early Late Middle Korean period. By doing so, it has proposed a path of *tto*'s diachronic grammaticalization process. The study has also provided empirical evidence of *tto*'s emergence as a discourse marker. From the synchronic perspective, it has demonstrated the interactional uses of *tto* and explicated its pragmatic functions using naturally occurring spontaneous conversation data.

More specifically, Chapter 4 showed the diachronic development of *tto* using existing historical data from the Old Korean to the early Late Middle Korean period. It first described the several viewpoints on the interpretation of *Chemangmaega* by Old Korean scholars, because these are directly associated with the etymological source of *tto*. The chapter investigated the phonological values and semantic meanings of three Chinese characters, 都, 置, and 刀, that are thought to represent the delimiter *to* in the Old Korean period to explain the historical relationship between *tto* and *to*. Next, as the first occurrence of *tto* was in the early Late Middle Korean period, its syntactic and semantic expansions were illustrated, while its multifunctionality was highlighted. Lastly, the chapter discussed the historical development of *tto* in light of theories based on grammaticalization. In sum, the chapter explicated the historical

traces of *tto*, focusing on its original meanings and functions and its semantic extension and functional divergence over time.

Chapter 5 investigated the ways in which Korean speakers utilize *tto* as a linguistic device to assist in strengthening their claims and in highlighting their subjective attitude toward their utterances. The chapter demonstrated the uses of *tto* in different types of social actions such as complaints, disagreements, realizations, and so forth. The analysis focused on identifying its semantic properties and pragmatic functions using data from telephone and face-to-face media conversations within an IL analytic framework and thereby established a concrete foundation to verify the linguistic manifestation of *tto* as a discourse marker. This synchronic analysis provided solid evidence that, in these present day uses, *tto* does not carry its traditional semantic meanings; instead, it serves as an emphatic marker to intensify the speaker's claim and subjective stance. The chapter therefore argued that *tto* has undergone a process of grammaticalization to become a discourse marker in Present Day Korean.

6.2 Pedagogical implications

Over the past four decades, discourse markers have received a great deal of attention in pragmatics and discourse analytic research. Due to their significance in the speech of native speakers, discourse markers are seen as essential elements in learners' development of communicative competence in second/foreign language education (Wierzbicka, 1991; Müller, 2004). As Wierzbicka (1991) argued, failure to master the use of discourse markers can severely impair learners' communicative competence. However, relatively little research on discourse markers has addressed their pedagogical implications in second/foreign language education. Regarding the teaching of discourse markers in the language classroom, both teachers and

teaching materials are critical factors (Aşik, 2015). However, second/foreign language education relies heavily on textbook content, and most textbooks are somewhat detached from reality because they do not include naturally occurring talk but scripted conversations (Lam, 2009; Sert & Seedhouse, 2011). Hence, language learners' awareness of discourse markers depends largely on their teachers' understanding of discourse markers. Some research has argued that consistent exposure to discourse markers in teacher talk and explicit and implicit instruction on discourse markers should be key components of second/foreign language teaching (Trillo, 2002; Hellermann & Vergun, 2007).

In Korean language textbooks, *tto* is introduced at the beginning level. At this stage, learners are exposed to two functions of *tto*: as a component adverb ('again') and as a sentence adverb ('also'). Because Korean allows relatively free word order, the position of *tto* does not signal its meaning. Hence, learners must learn how to figure out its meaning based on context. In the classroom setting, the pragmatic functions of *tto* can be delivered by implicit or explicit instruction. As implicit instruction, learners' noticing and awareness of the form's pragmatic uses can be taught through teacher talk. Having some abstract understanding of its usages in teacher talk would probably help learners. Explicit instruction, however, might be more beneficial because teacher talk might not provide learners with enough exposure, given that *tto* is used in different types of social actions. For instance, *tto* is frequently used with *wh*-words in complaint utterances, which teachers are unlikely to use frequently in classroom settings. Thus, direct instruction on the pragmatic usages of *tto* would facilitate learners' pragmatic knowledge development. In addition, *data-driven learning* (DDL) exercises can be used as in-class activities (Johns, 1991). This approach directly utilizes corpus data in a pedagogical setting. It requires learners' observation of native speakers' uses of the target item through corpus data provided by

the instructors. In other words, the learners act as researchers to identify the uses of language, which also exposes them to natural language resources. In terms of DDL activities for *tto*, teachers can provide data that show *tto*'s three functions as (a) a component adverb ('again'), (b) a sentence adverb ('also'), and (c) a discourse marker. For example, the instructor can prepare an exercise that contains several short dialogues extracted from a spoken Present Day Korean corpus and ask the learners to read the dialogues and discuss the meaning of *tto* in each conversation with their classmates. The exercise should include several different social actions, such as complaining, disagreeing, realizing, and so forth. In a following full-class discussion, the instructor could then specify the semantic meaning and function of *tto* in each dialogue and check the learners' awareness of *tto*'s pragmatic usages in spoken discourse. For a post-activity, the learners can create a dialogue with their classmates and utilize *tto* in a conversation where the speaker wants to emphasize an utterance. Such exercises allow learners to find out the particular uses of *tto* themselves rather than relying on their instructors' explanations, and these exercises can be applied to other discourse markers as well. Although such inductive instruction requires more time than deductive instruction, it fosters learners' autonomy and provides them tools to train themselves to become better language learners.

6.3 Suggestions for future studies

This dissertation has a few limitations, and these limitations suggest directions for future studies. One of the limitations is that the diachronic analysis in Chapter 4 does not include data from between the year 1447 in the Late Middle Korean period and the Present-Day Korean period. The reason for this gap is that the primary purpose of the study was to illustrate the current uses of *tto* in Present Day Korean, and the early Late Middle Korean period data showed

the relevant emphatic use with the predicate *iss-ta* 'be, exist'. In a database of a hundred Late Middle Korean original manuscripts that the National Institute of Korean Language has suggested for historical research, *tto* (or *sto* in Late Middle Korean) appears 1,158,669 times, including the 262 tokens investigated in this study. The addition of Modern Korean data would significantly increase the number of tokens, and further quantitative and qualitative investigations of the entire period of Late Middle Korean and Modern Korean would provide a fascinating picture of the gradual changes in *tto*'s historical development.

Furthermore, while the current study demonstrated the interactional uses of *tto* in spoken discourse, it included little information on prosodic features, especially intonation. As illustrated in Chapter 5, *tto* is frequently marked with prosodic emphasis such as high pitch or stress to convey more intensity in the speaker's attitude toward the utterance. Excerpt (68) demonstrated that when *tto* is located in the sentence-final position with a rising intonation contour, it signals the interlocutor's alignment with the speaker's point of view. In some cases in the data, *tto* is used in a similar fashion but with slightly different boundary tones. These observations suggest that follow-up research on the intensity of *tto* with certain boundary tones might reveal the grammaticalization pathway of *tto* as a sentence-final particle.

Finally, one difficulty encountered in this study's analysis of Present Day Korean was in the selection of data segments. Even though *tto* occurs frequently, it is often difficult to determine whether the utterance, action, or situation happened in the past or not. In other words, because it was not feasible to verify each situation's background or contact the speakers, it was difficult to rule out the possibility that a given instance of *tto* was a repetitive utterance, action, or situation, so this study could not include many interesting cases. Therefore, another follow-up study could use data from Korean speakers available for later fact-checking, such as family

members, friends, coworkers, acquaintances, and so forth. Although this would be a small-scale study, it could be the source of many new discoveries.

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