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Interplay of Prosodic Features and Discourse Functions
in Korean Conversation

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Jihyeon Cha

2017

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Interplay of Prosodic Features and Discourse Functions in Korean Conversation

by

Jihyeon Cha

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Sung-Ock Shin Sohn, Chair

This dissertation explores the discourse functions and the prosodic features of the Korean discourse marker *mwe* that is derived from the interrogative pronoun *mwues* ‘what’ through the grammaticalization process. Within the frameworks of the interactional linguistics and the discourse-functional approach, this study addresses the importance of the positional context where *mwe* appears. In particular, special emphasis will be put on the final position, as it displays unique discourse functions as well as salient prosodic features. This study also investigates the tonal patterns of the *mwe*-attached unit based on its position within an utterance.

The findings of this study suggest that when *mwe* is deployed in the final position, it shows a close relationship to the immediately preceding sentence. In this case, the Korean committal suffix *-ci* (H. Lee, 1999) is the most frequently used ender in the preceding sentence. Furthermore, it is observed that the interactional function of *mwe* can be understood based on the

notion of the speaker's epistemic authority. That is, the speaker treats the propositional contents conveyed in the preceding element as a matter of no importance. Moreover, superimposing unique prosodic features onto *mwe*, the speaker displays his negative attitude with less degree of commitment toward the propositional contents.

By demonstrating how interlocutors of a conversation skillfully utilize *mwe* as a means of manipulating intonation patterns, this study ultimately sheds light on the functions of the Korean discourse marker *mwe* deployed in the final position from a new perspective with prosodic consideration.

The dissertation of Jihyeon Cha is approved.

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Sung-Ock Shin Sohn, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2017

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents
for their love, endless support
and encouragement.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objectives of the Study

“Language is by its very nature a communal thing; that is, it never expresses the exact thing but a compromise—that is common to you, me and everybody.”

(Thomas Ernest Hulme, ‘Romanticism and Classicism’
in *Speculations*, 1923, p. 62)

Those who belong to a particular society use the same language to interact and communicate with each other in their own historical, social, and cultural context. In the process of social interaction, the most crucial element is a language. Without a language, one cannot verbally communicate with others. We, as principal agents of the society, constantly exchange ideas and negotiate with other members of society. That is, when two or more people communicate, they not only convey propositional and truth-conditional information, (e.g., tell stories of their experience, inform each other of news, ask questions, etc.), but also make and reject requests, invitations, or offers. Additionally, people express their subjective opinions or make evaluation toward the propositional content. Maynard and Peräkylä (2003) view language as “co-constitutive of social activity”; therefore, “language and action are facets of a single process that participants collaboratively organize through their practices of speech and gestures” (p. 235).¹ Ochs (1996) also addresses that language is “never neutral” and “the choice of language and of linguistic strategies is therefore related to the social surrounding in terms of

¹ Another viewpoint on language is to see it as a ‘conduit metaphor’ concerning “how well linguistic concepts refer to, correspond with, or represent reality, including internal thoughts and feelings” (Maynard and Peräkylä, 2003, p. 235).

social domains and institutional framework.” Although her claim is based on social relations, norms, and conventions in a strict way, it is becoming evident that language use in general (i.e., the way in which people use their language in various situations and contexts) can be understood in the same vein.

As such, it is essential to investigate any language phenomenon in regard to its society, its regional and social distributions, or its relationship to actual speakers and listeners in the real world. As opposed to traditional linguists whose interests mainly involve the language structure with a syntactic approach, functional linguists draw attention to the matter of what language does with respect to humans’ social interaction. In the late 1960s and 1970s, a wide array of studies started to focus on the relationship between a language and those who use it by examining the context of the two. More specifically, functional linguistics began to establish its own identity as an interdisciplinary field of linguistics concerned with real-world language issues. This field is divided into two major frameworks: Conversation Analysis (CA) and Discourse Analysis (DA). What is common in these two approaches to analyzing language is that the scope of the research extends beyond the sentence as a unit, i.e., paragraph and discourse encompassing the contexts. As to the dataset employed in the field of Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis, authentic materials such as actual conversations in both naturally-occurring and institutional situations were adopted, rather than experimentally well-produced examples—which of them are governed following syntactic rules—made by a researcher for a particular linguistic phenomenon.

Discourse Analysis (DA) originated from a branch of ethnography in the 1970s with an attempt to investigate the structure and organization of discourse. Within the discourse analytic framework, linguists tried to clarify the structural properties of sentences and utterances and to understand what constitutes a stereotype of texts and narratives, and therefore, a focus was made

on the intra-sentential organization. That is, discourse analysis mainly dealt with how a text (written form)/conversation (spoken form) is structured and organized based on the notions of coherence and cohesion, using deductive reasoning (Levinson, 1983). In this respect, discourse analysis indeed enabled scholars to provide rule-based answers to the questions about the structural and organizational properties of discourse. However, the question still remains as to how we could apply this mechanism to spontaneous and interactive discourse, more specifically, naturally occurring face-to-face conversation in real time.

Separately and even earlier than an advent of Discourse Analysis, Conversation Analysis (CA), as a branch of sociology, which was initially originated by Cicourel (1963, 1968, 1973, 1980) and Garfinkel (1967) (dating back to the 1950s) and later elucidated by Sacks (1974, 1984, 1987, 1992a, 1992b, etc.), Schegloff (1968, 1972, 1979, 1987, 2007, etc.), and Heritage (1984, 1988, 2002, 2007, 2010, etc.), among others (dating back to the late 1960s and 1970s), arose from ethnomethodology (Coulon, 1995). The mechanism of conversation analysis lies in the notions of sequential organization, turn-taking, turn construction, preference organization, topic organization, repair construction, and response tokens to understand how language is intertwined with social actions in the course of talk-in-interaction, using inductive reasoning. Analyzing language in the CA framework is based on the premises that “turns are not just serially ordered; they are sequentially ordered, which is to say that there are describable ways in which turns are linked together into definite sequences” (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998, p. 38). By all accounts, both approaches (e.g., Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis) regard use of authentic materials as their primary resources; however, in terms of the types of data, discourse analysis deals with rather limited and well-selected databases in written and spoken forms whereas conversation analysis deals with solely unplanned and spontaneous spoken databases.

More importantly, despite the two reliable analyzing tools (e.g., Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis) in the disciplines of linguistics, sociology, sociolinguistics, etc., the analytic framework from a functional perspective has evolved and taken prosodic features into account when interpreting linguistic phenomenon in order to grasp the aspects of language use previously overlooked by the preexisting frameworks. Not only do interlocutors verbally produce meaningful utterances but they also consistently deploy non-verbal resources such as eye contact, gestures, bodily attitude/stance, and so on. When we consider the following two examples, we see a clear distinction in comprehension of the intended message depending on the prosody and context, which could be determined by suprasegmental factors (e.g., intonation, volume, a voice of tone, etc.) and non-verbal factors (e.g., facial expressions, gestures, etc.).

(1) I can't thank you enough.

Without considering the context of this utterance the above example could be interpreted as an exaggerated appreciation for what has been done for the speaker of the utterance in a general sense. However, if we take the situation into consideration, the interpretation differs from the literal meaning. Consider the following example.

(2) Sue (to someone who has done her a disservice): I can't thank you enough.

(reprinted from Matsui et al., 2016, p. 74)

It is evident in the comparison between Examples 1 and 2 that the intent/attitude of the speakers of each utterance is different. The former shows the speaker's gratitude toward the addressee whereas the latter indicates the speaker's negative or critical attitude toward the addressee. The

differing interpretation of the latter can be attributed to the external factors, i.e., the surrounding utterances in the context and explicit non-verbal expressions. For the accounts of the latter utterance, Matsui et al. (2016) discuss that there is “a gap between the semantic content of the utterance and the speaker’s communicative intent” on the hearer’s side, and thus, the speaker of such utterance tries to “provide the hearer with rich but implicit clues regarding how the utterance should be interpreted.” In this case, ‘implicit clues’ include a set of suprasegmental factors, which could be stress, tone, pitch, intonation, length, loudness, juncture, and so on. Furthermore, to this end, the sarcasm mechanism is employed to “highlight the contrast between the semantic content of the utterance and what they intend to communicate” (p. 75).

A distinction between a neutral statement and a sarcastic statement is comparable to the following Korean utterances. Example 3 is extracted from the spontaneous spoken corpus with little modification.

- (3) a. *cal ha-nta*
 well do-PLN
‘(Wow) you are doing (so) good!!’
 ‘잘 한다!!’ (in an exclamatory manner)
- b. *ca::::::l ha-nta*
 well:::::: do-PLN
‘(displaying a negative stance) Look what you’ve done.’
 ‘자:::알 한다’ (in a sarcastic manner)

The literal transcript of the two utterances above is the same, whereas the phonetic transcript differs in terms of the lengthening and loudness imposed on the first syllable of the utterance *ca::::::l*, which literally means ‘well.’ While Example 3a can be literally interpreted as a

complimentary comment, Example 3b can be seen as a sarcastic comment due to the manner in which it is produced. In other words, utterances produced in a natural setting can be ambiguous unless the prosodic features have been taken into consideration at a discourse level. Thus, even in the discourse frames in which both Examples 3a and 3b are equally acceptable, their communicative implications can be strikingly different.

In the similar vein, Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (1996) also advocate the importance of integrating prosody into interactional functions of discourse by emphasizing the work done by Gumperz (1982, 1992). He claims that “participants in verbal interaction employ ‘empirically detectable signs’ which *cue* conversational interpretation by evoking interpretative schemata or frames.” And thus, “members of a speech community consciously or unconsciously appeal to these frames in drawing inferences about what is being said in interaction or more generally about what is going on” (p. 13). The concept of ‘contextualization’ has been brought up to explicate how prosodic features can make utterances interpretable to contextualize language in a particular context.

In the current study, I aim to scrutinize the discourse functions of the polyfunctional Korean discourse marker *mwe*² from various perspectives and recast the ways in which linguistic forms are related to social actions through the investigation of ordinary language. The research questions for the present study are as follows:

1. Languages keep changing over time. In order to understand a newly emerging function of a word or expression in a language, it is necessary to investigate it from where it originates. The target linguistic form *mwe* also has undergone a change over time. First, the current study will describe the grammatical pathway that has been involved in the

² The rationale for choosing the Korean discourse marker *mwe*—which is originally derived from the interrogative pronoun *mwues*—as a target subject for the current study is described in Section 2.4.

usages of *mwe*, and further, discuss how *mwe* acquired its grammatical status as a discourse marker.

2. Discourse markers appear within an utterance freely, meaning that they can appear at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of the utterance. As evidenced in the previous studies, when the discourse marker *mwe* is utilized at the end of an utterance, it creates distinctive functions after being attached to a certain set of suffixes. This study will uncover the motivation of such phenomenon with respect to the discourse marker's position within an utterance.
3. An investigation of the developmental process of *mwe*—from an interrogative pronoun to an indefinite pronoun to a discourse marker—has given rise to a possibility that prosodic features mapped onto *mwe* will show similar patterns in respect of corresponding discourse functions. Furthermore, a pilot study of the discourse marker *mwe* occurring at the end of an utterance showed that *mwe* along with the predicate attached to it displays unique prosodic features. Building upon earlier work, this study will further investigate the aspects of the prosodic features that are involved in the *mwe*-attached unit in spontaneous discourse.
- 4 This study is ultimately an attempt to present the role of prosodic features when determining discourse functions in spoken discourse and provide applicable accounts for correlation between linguistic form, discourse functions, and prosodic features in interaction.

1.2 Data

The importance of large, balanced, tape-recorded, and video-taped data in analyzing a language in the field of linguistics cannot be overemphasized. Sacks (1984) puts great stress on working with actual recordings of talk-in-interaction by pointing out the fact that there are instances where “many apparently counterintuitive and unexpected things actually do happen” in daily human social interaction. In his lecture, he states:

I want to argue that, however rich our imaginations are, if we use hypothetical, or hypothetical-typical versions of the world we are constrained by reference to what an audience, an audience of professional, can accept as reasonable. That might not appear to be a terrible constraint until we come to look at the kinds of things that actually occur. Were I to say about many of the objects we work with “Let us suppose that this happened; now I am going to consider it,” then an audience might feel hesitant about that I would make of it by reference to whether such things happen. That is to say, under such a constraint many things that actually occur are debarred from use as a basis for theorizing about conversation. I take it that this debarring affects the character of social very strongly.

(Sacks, 1984, p. 25)

In this respect, authentic data is an indispensable part of the research in that it reveals how interlocutors of a language use language for communication purpose and how grammatically incorrect forms and expressions can be interpreted without confusion among interlocutors. To this end, I implemented two different sets of data to look more closely at what actually happens as an interaction unfolds.

The primary data for the present study comes from the 21st Century Sejong Corpus³ and the LDC Korean telephone conversation data.⁴ Both data sources are extensively used to examine the discursive and functional interpretations of the target linguistic form *mwe* from

³ The 21st Century Sejong Corpus consists of written and spoken data representing a broad range of register variations. More specifically, spoken data is comprised of two subcategories; one is naturally-occurring conversational data and the other is planned quasi-spoken data. The former includes ordinary conversations, group discussions, in-class lectures, and so on, and the latter includes broadcasted TV/radio news, drama conversations, and scripted public speeches. As the primary goal of the present study is to investigate the multifunctional discursive usages and prosodic features of the Korean discourse marker *mwe* in the casual settings, only the spoken parts of the data were adopted. The data used in this study is drawn from the 2012 release. For more information, refer to the official Sejong Corpus website: <https://ithub.korean.go.kr/user/guide/corpus/guide1.do>

⁴ LDC stands for Language Data Consortium. The Linguistic Data Consortium supports language-related education, research, and technology development by creating and sharing linguistic resources, e.g., data, tools, and standards. The LDC is an open consortium of universities, libraries, corporations, and governmental research laboratories. It was formed in 1992 to address the critical data shortage that research institutes in the field of language technology and development had faced. Specifically, Korean data was collected in 1995. For more information, refer to the official LDC website: <https://www ldc.upenn.edu>.

various perspectives. However, in order to capture the best properties of the target form in question, the 21st Century Sejong Corpus was used as a primary source for quantitative analysis (e.g., frequency distribution). Collocation patterns and frequency-based descriptions are based on the tokens extracted from the 21st Century Sejong Corpus. The LDC Corpus, on the other hand, was primarily used for an analysis of prosodic features, as it was released in the form of transcribed texts along with the corresponding audio files.

The 21st Century Sejong Corpus, which was originally designed as part of the Sejong Project sponsored by the Korean government, was developed in 1998 and published in 2007. It aimed to provide researchers in the relevant fields, e.g., discourse analysis, natural language processing/parsing, speech/sound recognition, etc., with electronically available written and spoken language data. It is comprised of two hundred million words in both written and spoken forms.

The LDC Corpus was at first compiled as part of the CALLFRIEND project—a Korean telephone speech in support of the Language Identification (LID) Project. Data selected for the current study consists of 100 telephone conversations; 49 of which were published in 1996 as part of the CALLFRIEND project, whereas the rest of 51 were previously unexposed calls. All conversations were telephone calls between Korean native speakers and each conversation lasts up to 30 minutes. All participants were aware that they were being recorded but were given no guidelines concerning what they should talk about during the recording. Once a caller was recruited to participate he was given a free choice of whom to call. Most participants called family members, close friends, colleagues, and acquaintances. The total length of the data is approximately 44 hours.

1.3 Transcription

The data were transcribed following the Yale Romanization system,⁵ which is basically morphemic, except for the proper names of persons or places, and a three-line gloss was provided: romanization in English, morpheme-by-morpheme gloss,⁶ and English translation. The English translation has been printed in bold for readability. Also, the Korean transcription follows three-line glossing for the sake of Korean native readers. Parentheses (round brackets) are used to insert my own words into the English translation to explain a confusing reference or to maintain the grammar of the sentence in context.⁷ Conventions used for a detailed transcription such as a pause in microseconds, excessive overlaps, and inhaling and exhaling breaths, are excluded from the transcription for this study.

1.4 Relevant Frameworks to the Current Study

As a language encodes a variety of aspects both explicitly and implicitly, it is necessary to look at linguistic phenomena from various perspectives in order to understand how and under what conditions people employ particular linguistic forms, expressions, and patterns for effective communication. For this reason, the analytical frameworks used in the current study are threefold: corpus linguistics, interactional linguistics, and prosodic analysis.

⁵ See Appendix A for the table of the Yale Romanization System.

⁶ See Appendix B for the list of abbreviations used in the Korean morpheme-by-morpheme gloss.

⁷ The Korean language is considered a situation-oriented language; therefore, some components of the sentence are to be left unexpressed if discursively or situationally obvious and recoverable. In a face-to-face conversational situation, the pronouns referring to the speaker and hearer, and even some referents, are usually not explicitly expressed unless focused or delimited (H. Sohn, 1999, p. 401).

1.4.1 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics is a starting point for my research in that it generates concordance lines and provides the context for where the target form in discussion is embedded. As Stubbs (2001) points out, corpus-driven studies give us an account of contextual ‘evaluations’ and rich uses of words and phrases more frequently than is just ‘recorded in many dictionaries.’ It also gives us sets of outcomes in different forms, e.g., concordance, concordance plot, clusters, collocates, word list, keyword list, and so on, depending on the purposes of the research for quantitative and qualitative analyses.

As a computer-readable corpus becomes available, we can easily obtain concordance lines and frequency information of a word or expression using a software program. For the current study, AntConc⁸ is used to gather and sort out the relevant information. First of all, concordance lines were automatically generated for an analysis of frequency and collocation patterns. As emphasized in Sinclair (1991), “language cannot be made without recourse to frequency information” in the sense that “some sequences of words co-occur surprisingly often” (p. 4). Because of this, an attempt was made to uncover typical patterns and to reveal how often a pattern associated with the Korean discourse marker *mwe* is found. Subsequently, the tokens were manually tagged to identify discourse functions for qualitative analysis.

1.4.2 Interactional Linguistics

Interactional linguistics focuses its attention on the relation between language structure, patterns of use, and interaction among language users. Contrary to the traditional view of the grammar, which is the so-called generative grammar laid out by Chomsky in 1965, scholars in

⁸ AntCont is a freeware concordance program developed by Professor Laurence Anthony, Director of the Center for English Language Education at Waseda University in Japan. For further details, see the official website at <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>.

interactional linguistics claim that language does not have innate properties, instead it emerges as participants in conversation interact with each other. The notion of linguistic structure, which can also be termed as ‘grammar,’ has been viewed as a response to discourse needs; thus, grammar comes about through the repeated use of forms in discourse among interlocutors (Hopper, 1979; Hopper and Thompson, 1980, 1984; Du Bois, 1985; Hopper, 1987; Thompson, 1991; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2001; Hornstein et al, 2005; Fox, 2007; Hopper, 2011). In the same vein, Hopper (1987), who proposed ‘emergent grammar’ as a functional approach against the previously accepted standard on grammar, also claims that “grammar is the name for certain categories of observed repetitions in discourse, therefore, its forms are not fixed template, but emerge by discourse use, and this process itself is ongoing.” Later, the scope of research extended to a grammatical description of ‘talk-in-interaction’ to look at the orderly structured organization in the course of interaction in the field of sociolinguistics (Aijmer & Stenström, 2005).

Within this approach, there are two mainstreams of research orientation: (i) the research can start from a particular linguistic form and explore its association with interactional function(s) and (ii) it can start from a particular interactional function and then specify which linguistic form(s) typically realize those functions (Ford & Thompson, 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001). In the present study, the first perspective will be adopted to account for multifarious functions of the Korean discourse marker *mwe* using the inductive method of reasoning. Based on the principles of emergent grammar, the intricately connected relation between language structure and the recurrent patterns embedded in the use of *mwe* will be recast to explain why certain types of linguistic forms are interrelated to certain types of discourse functions, prosodic features, or social actions. Furthermore, a great deal of attention will be given

to functional interpretations explaining why peculiar patterns and collocates coexist in one word and how they are employed with respect to their position within an utterance. More specifically, we will focus on the final position.

1.4.3 Prosodic Analysis

As aforementioned in the Introduction section, prosodic features are indispensable to understanding of linguistic phenomenon in that an examination of prosodic features can provide a ground for the functions, actions, and contextual background embedded in the use of the word in discussion. Not looking solely at the sentential and sequential environments, but also taking prosodic features into consideration enables us to figure out the characteristics of the discourse markers serving multiple functions simultaneously.

To attain this end, Praat⁹ is used to obtain the prosodic information such as intonational patterns and suprasegmental information such as pitch, amplitude, and so on. Spectrogram readings give an idea of how an utterance is produced in terms of intensity, fundamental frequency, etc. Detailed phonetic explanations about the intonational structure of Korean will be provided in Chapter 4.

1.5 Organization of the Current Study

The present dissertation has five main chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the research, including the objectives of and data adopted for the study. Transcription convention and the relevant frameworks are also dealt with in Chapter 1. Following the Introduction, Chapter 2 provides the theoretical background that the analysis is grounded on. It will examine

⁹ Praat is developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink of the University of Amsterdam in 1995. It is a computer software used for the scientific analysis of speech in phonetics. For further details, refer to the official website at <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>.

the general theories of grammaticalization, the developmental process that the Korean interrogative pronouns have gone through, differing perspectives on the definition of discourse markers, and a brief review of the previous scholarly works on the Korean discourse marker *mwe*.

Chapter 3 demonstrates the developmental process of the target subject *mwe* from an interrogative pronoun to an indefinite pronoun to a discourse marker. Particularly, discourse functions serving as a discourse marker will be discussed in detail. It will also examine the importance of the positional context where *mwe* appears, as it forms particular collocation patterns along with the predicate of the preceding sentence in the final position. Chapter 4 provides the analysis of prosodic features that are involved in the *mwe*-attached unit, focusing on the two intonationally defined units: Intonation Phrase (IP) and Accentual Phrase (AP). Finally, Chapter 5 summarizes the major findings of this dissertation and presents suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Grammaticalization Theory

The generally accepted concept of grammaticalization¹⁰ is that a lexical word or phrase, which carries a specific content meaning, has undergone significant changes across time (and even space) and attained a grammatical meaning and fulfilled as a function word in certain linguistic context. In this case, the direction of language change is unidirectional; that is, a morpheme changes from less grammatical to more grammatical, and a meaning changes from less subjective to more subjective or even to intersubjective (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). It was the French linguist Antoine Meillet who coined the term “grammaticalization” in 1912. He defined grammaticalization as “the attribution of the grammatical character to a previously autonomous word (*l'attribution du caractère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome*).” In the modern sense, however, grammaticalization is most widely understood as follows:

- (i) a research framework for studying the relationships between lexical, constructional, and grammatical material in language, diachronically and synchronically, both in particular languages and cross-linguistically, and
- (ii) a term referring to the change whereby lexical items and constructions in certain linguistic contexts come to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to evolve new grammatical functions.

(Hopper & Traugott (2003), as cited in J. Im (2011))

¹⁰ Linguists have come up with a different interpretation of the term “grammaticalization,” and an alternative term “grammaticization” is also used in a different sense. Some scholars argue that “grammaticalization” has more focus on the outcome of the change, whereas “grammaticization” has more focus on the process of the change. In the current study, I will adopt the term “grammaticalization” to refer to the developmental process of language change.

At the start of the 20th century, many scholars proposed principles and mechanisms that have been involved in the developmental process of the language change, which differ among researchers (Givon, 1979; Traugott, 1982, 1988, 1989; Heine & Reh, 1984; Lehmann, 1985; Wiegand, 1987; Craig, 1991; Traugott & König, 1991; Greenberg, 1991; Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Brinton & Traugott, 2005, among others). In citing Heine (1994)'s work, S. Lee (1998) summarizes the principles proposed by numerous scholars into 18 categories based on the notion of basic principles, derived principles, and tendency.

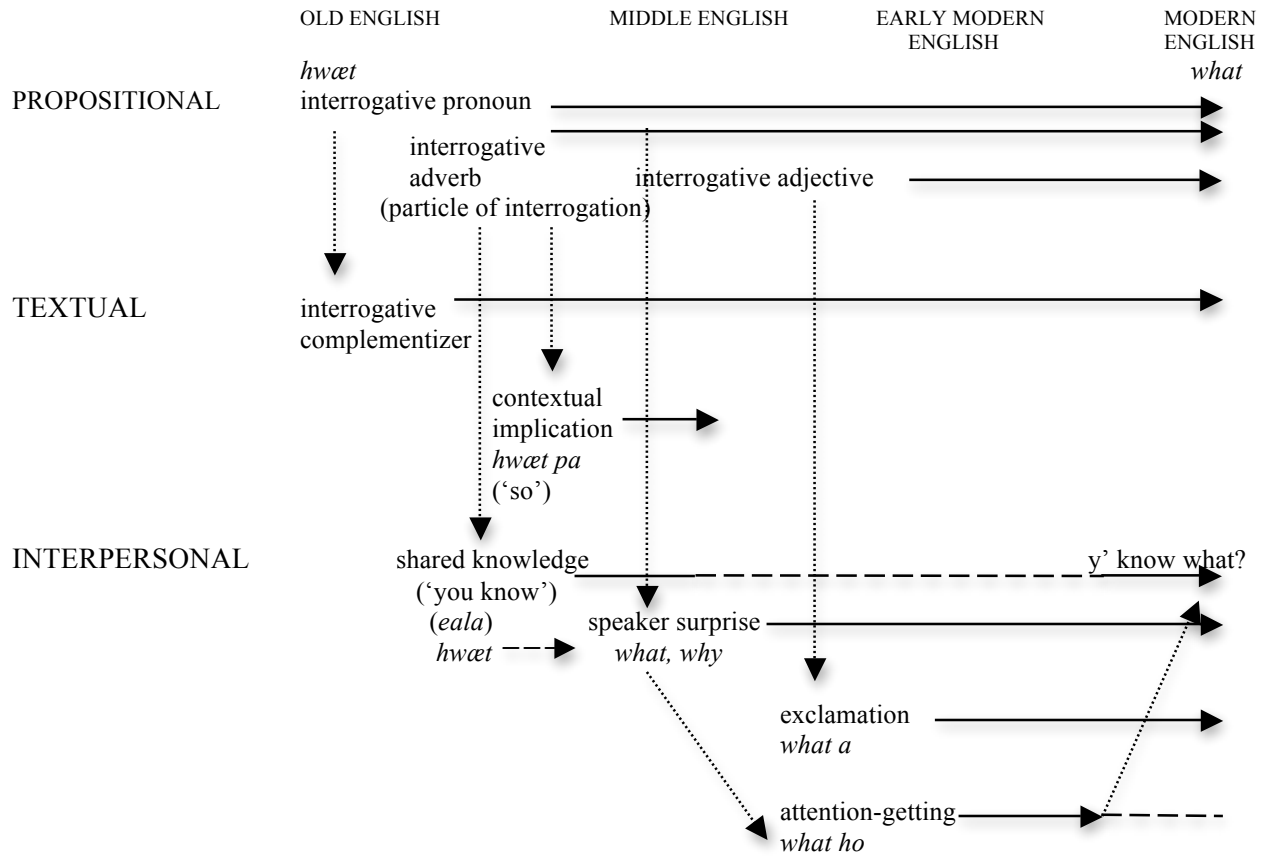
Table 1. Principles of Grammaticalization
(Reprinted from S. Lee (1998: p. 203))

Basic principles	Derived principles	Tendency
1. Abstraction	1. Chain model	1. Recurrence
2. Metaphorical transfer	2. Unidirectionality	2. High textual frequency of source
3. Context-induced reinterpretation	3. Conceptual shift before formal shift	3. High textual frequency of target
4. Overlap	4. Decategorization	4. Generalization
5. Split	5. Erosion	
6. Layering	6. Persistence	
7. Loss	7. Janusian process	

In the literature, a large number of studies on interrogative pronouns showed that interrogative pronouns have also gone through the grammaticalization process and obtained new grammatical functions over the course of the history (Hopper, 1991; Bybee et al., 1993; Brinton, 1996; Traugott & Hopper, 2003, among others). Crosslinguistically, interrogative pronouns have developed into indefinite pronouns and have further expanded to discourse markers. As the hypothesis of unidirectionality implies, the developmental path of interrogative pronouns into

indefinite pronouns occurs only at the beginning stage, and further, evolves into discourse markers with varying extent to which each interrogative pronoun can be extended. In this case, there can be no reversal of a grammaticalization process. As evidenced in the earlier works, interrogative pronouns are one of the common sources for a variety of discourse markers, and thus, the development of grammatical morphemes from interrogative pronouns is pervasive in many languages. Such an example is offered by the old English *hwæt* in Brinton (1996). She demonstrates that the English interrogative pronoun ‘what’ has evolved “from interrogative in direct questions to complementizer in indirect questions to pragmatic marker, though the course and timing of the development are difficult to establish” (p. 199). She also claims that the development of textual and interpersonal functions in *hwæt* is consonant with many of the syntactic changes seen during grammaticalization (p. 200). Figure 1 shows the developmental path of the old English *hwæt*.

Figure 1. The Development of *What*
 (Reprinted from Brinton, 1996, p. 207)



Similar changes occurring in interrogative pronouns are observed in the Korean interrogative pronouns. Of several principles that are linked to grammaticalization, the mechanisms that are most relevant to the development of *mwe* are as follows.

(i) Phonological reduction¹¹: “once a lexeme is conventionalized as a grammatical marker, it tends to undergo erosion; that is, the phonological substance is likely to be reduced in some way and to become more dependent on surrounding phonetic material”

(Heine, 1993, p.106)

(ii) Semantic bleaching: “linguistic units lose in semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance”

(Heine and Reh, 1984, p. 15)

(iii) Polysemy: “one lexical item can mean the combination of a single semantic reading with a single underlying phonological shape, a single syntactic category, and a single set of specifications of exceptional behavior with respect to rules”

(McCawley, 1968, p. 126)

First of all, the Korean discourse marker *mwe* initially originated from its full form *mwues*, which is still used in a formal setting of the language use, e.g., writing, academic journals, and so on, and has gone through phonological reduction as it developed across time. Also, when *mwe* is used as a discourse marker, it no longer marks lack of knowledge, which is a core connotation of the interrogative pronouns. Even after *mwe* is grammaticalized into a discourse marker, it has evolved to fulfill multifarious functions in discourse depending on the position within an utterance where it occurs. A detailed description of the developmental process of the Korean interrogative pronouns from a diachronic perspective follows in the subsequent section.

¹¹ Heine and Kuteva (2002) have described different kinds of phonetic erosion for applicable cases:

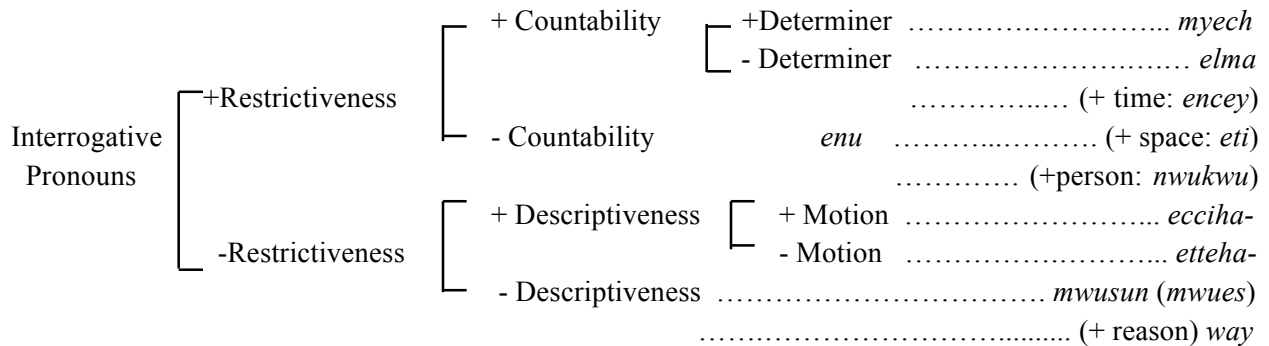
- (i) Loss of phonetic segments, including loss of full syllables
- (ii) Loss of suprasegmental properties, such as stress, tone, or intonation
- (iii) Loss of phonetic autonomy and adaptation to adjacent phonetic units
- (iv) Phonetic simplification

2.2 Emergence of New Functions of Korean Interrogative Pronouns in History

In K. Kim's earlier work (1983), he categorized all Korean interrogative pronouns into ten subcategories based on several linguistic dichotomous features, e.g., restrictiveness, countability, descriptiveness, and activeness as to whether a meaning of the pronoun indicates active movement or static state. The following diagram represents the classification of ten Korean interrogative pronouns, which, for the first time, was systematically categorized in the early 1980s.

Figure 2. Classification of Ten Korean Interrogative Pronouns

(Reprinted from K. Kim, 1983, p. 45)



According to his classification, the target form *mwe* for the current study, which has been derived from *mwues*, is considered to belong to the same category as *mwusun* in Middle Korean.¹² The first appearance of *mwues* (>*mwe*) 'what' in the historical data has been traced

¹² In Contemporary Korean, *mwusun* is categorized as an interrogative adjective, which should be followed by a noun as shown in the example below.

mwusun senmwu-lul sa-lkk-ayo
 what.kind present-ACC buy-Q-POL
 'What kind of present shall we buy?'

‘무슨 선물을 살까요?’

back to the 15th century. There have been a variety of attempts to discover the grammaticalization process involved in the Korean interrogative pronouns in the literature (J. Ahn, 1996; Y. Ko, 1997; J. Kwon, 1998; S. Jang, 1998; H. Lee, 1999; J. Lee, 1999; Ku, 1999, 2000; M. Kim, 2005).

As a pioneering work, C. Kim (1997) explores the motivation of the extended usages of *mwe* over the course of history. He claims that *mwe* was dominantly used as an interrogative pronoun by the late 18th century. However, due to its frequent use, it expanded to serve more frequently as an indirect question. In the late 19th century it developed into an indefinite pronoun. In his advanced work, C. Kim (2000), using diachronic methods, provides a detailed analysis of the functional changes occurring in the Korean interrogative pronouns. He examines Korean historical documents ranging from the 6th century to the 1910s in order to determine when Korean interrogative pronouns started to appear in documentation. He also attempts to determine how they diachronically developed into other forms that served syntactically and pragmatically differentiated functions.

Table 2 below indicates the historical time period when new functions of Korean interrogative pronouns started to appear in the written documents for the first time. Smaller dots (•) indicate the time when the interrogative pronouns started to be used in the indirect question

In Middle Korean, however, *mwusun* was used as a free-standing interrogative pronoun without a noun following it (H. Im, 1998). Its usage was known to be similar to *mwe* ‘what’ at that time. This is illustrated in the following examples taken from M. Kim (2006, p. 37).

구트나 울고 가고 그리는 대를 심어 무슨 하리오
무심한 저 고기를 여어 무슨 하려는다

and bigger dots (■) indicate the time when the interrogative pronouns started to function as an indefinite pronoun.¹³

Table 2. Emergence of Usage of Interrogative Pronouns Appearing in Indirect Question and Usage of Indefinite Pronouns in History
(Reprinted from C. Kim, 2000, p. 133-134)

	1752-	1777	1782	1790-	1892-	1895	1896-	1908	1917
<i>nwukwu</i>		▪			▶ ■				
<i>mwues</i>				▪			▶ ■		
<i>eti</i>			▪	▶ ■					
<i>encey</i>							▪ ■		
<i>way</i>									▪
<i>ettehkey</i>						▪	▶ ■		
<i>mwusun</i>	▪		▶ ■						

With regard to the emergence of new functions from a historical linguistics point of view, 1896 is considered to be the year of a paradigm shift in which most of the indefinite pronouns started to function as indefinite pronouns, including *mwues* ‘what,’ which was the original written form of *mwe* at that time. It is worth noting here that *way* ‘why’ started to appear in following years (1917), and there is no evidence for the usage of *way* as an indefinite pronoun in

¹³ C. Kim (2000) specifies the usages of interrogative pronouns depending on the types of question that interrogative pronouns are embedded (e.g., direct question, indirect question). The following examples show how *mwe* is used in two different question types.

In direct question: *cikum mwe ha-sey-yo*
now what do-HON-POL
‘What are you doing now?’
‘지금 뭐 하세요?’

In indirect question: *ce salam-i mwe-lul ha-nun-ci a-si-o*
that person-NOM what-ACC do-IND know-HON-Q
‘Do you know what that person is doing?’
‘저 사람이 뭐를 하는지 아시오?’

the written text. As is evidenced in K. Kim (1983), *way* ‘why’ was found to never fulfill as an indefinite pronoun in any historical documentation.

In a similar vein, S. Rhee (2004) divides the historical time into four distinct periods—Ancient Times (approximately by the time of the collapse of the Unified Silla), Medieval Times (covering from the Koryo Dynasty to the Chosun Dynasty when the Korean alphabet *Hangul* was created), Enlightenment Times (1876-1910), and Contemporary Korean Times (after the Japanese Colonial period in 1945 to the present)—and demonstrates that high frequency interrogative pronouns, e.g., *nwukwu* ‘who,’ *mwues* ‘what,’ *eti* ‘where,’ and *mwusun* ‘what kind of,’ already started to appear in the direct question by the late 18th century, whereas relatively low frequency interrogative pronouns, e.g., *encey* ‘when’ and *ettehkey* ‘how,’ started to appear by the late 19th century with the outlier of *way* ‘why,’ which appeared 100 years later.

2.3 Properties of Discourse Markers Relevant to the Current Study

Discourse markers¹⁴ are traditionally known as “fillers” and thought to be empty of lexical meaning, difficult to translate, marginal in respect to word class, syntactically free and optional; thus, they appear to be serving simply grammatical function without propositional meaning (Brinton, 1996). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, however, rather than seeing discourse markers as meaningless or merely stylistic, discourse analysts started to view them as an important element, functioning 1) to mark various kinds of boundaries in terms of discourse opening and closing and 2) to assist in turn-taking in oral discourse on the textual level. In this

¹⁴ The term ‘discourse markers’ is the most commonly used term in pragmatic and discourse analytic research. ‘Discourse markers’ are also known under a variety of labels, such as discourse particles (Schourup, 1985), discourse operators (Redeker, 1990, 1991), discourse connectives (Blakemore, 1987, 1992), discourse signalling devices (Polanyi and Scha, 1983), pragmatic markers (Fraser, 1988, 1990; Schiffrin, 1987; Brinton, 1996), pragmatic particles (Östman, 1995), pragmatic connectives (van Dijk, 1979; Stubbs, 1983), pragmatic expressions (Erman, 1987), etc. I will use the term ‘discourse markers’ to refer to a group of functionally related words/expressions for the current study.

respect, the analysis of discourse markers is part of the more general analysis of discourse coherence in both writing and speaking in that the classes of conjunctions, connectives, connectors, adverbs, or prepositional phrases were recognized to help the structure of the discourse, using a discursive approach. Items typically featured in this research include, for English, *y'know, well, oh, I mean, so, after all, moreover*, etc. (Schourup, 1999, p. 227). In earlier work by Schourup (1999), he provides a general description of discourse markers and summarizes the characteristics based on concept of the discourse cohesion and coherence.¹⁵ For all its clarity of the functions that the so-called discourse markers fulfill in a discourse, his initial claim was delineated from a coherence-based function perspective rather than an interaction-based function perspective.

However, researchers do not engage solely in the analyses of coherence function. An extensive body of research has shown that discourse markers do more than just perform a 'coherence' function, which is to relate an element of the preceding turn(s) to the following turn(s) in discourse, and furthermore, the range of the term is far larger than just a 'discourse marker.' From this point of view, discourse markers were treated as expressions that function to subjectively express the speaker's attitude and interactively to achieve intimacy between the speaker and the hearer in a conversation. That is, discourse markers play an important role in indicating how speakers and hearers (or writers and readers in the case of written forms) jointly integrate forms, meanings, and actions to make overall sense out of what is said on the discourse level (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 49).

Building on the existing body of research within the framework of functional linguistics, numerous studies on discourse markers have followed, reaching an agreement on the definition

¹⁵ His categories include connectivity, optionality, non-truth-conditionality, weak clause association, initiality, orality, and multi-categoriality (Schourup, 1999).

of discourse markers, while there is still discord on some aspects of discourse markers among researchers. In general, discourse markers are defined operationally as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 31) and theoretically as “members of a functional class of verbal and nonverbal devices which provide contextual coordinates for ongoing talk” (Schiffrin, 1987: 326). However, as J. Im (2011) points out that when dealing with expressions that function as discourse markers in Korean, it is crucial to consider typological features that are unique in Korean. As Korean is a syntactically verb-final language that places all predicates in the clause-final or sentence-final position with various conjugations, expressions that are considered as Korean discourse markers are morphological terms rather than discourse-related terms (p. 26). That is to say, unlike English discourse markers, the ways in which Korean expressions are employed in sentences, paragraphs, or discourse greatly differ from those appeared in other languages.

Because of these differences, here I provide some descriptions of the discourse markers directly relevant to the polyfunctional marker *mwe*. In this study, discourse markers are deemed to have the following properties, among other widely recognized characteristics on discourse markers.

1. To signal the relation of an utterance to the immediate context and implicitly anchor the act of communication to the speaker’s attitudes towards the aspect of the ongoing interaction (as emphasized in Östman (1981))
2. To relate element(s) of the preceding and following turn(s) in discourse
3. To service pragmatic and interactional purposes
 - i) functioning as a discourse organizer directed to the speaker
 - ii) serving as a vehicle to express the speaker’s stance or attitude toward the propositional content, the interlocutors of a conversation, or a topic at issue
4. To affect the truth-conditions of an utterance

2.4 Previous Studies on the Korean Discourse Marker *Mwe*

In its early stage, studies on *mwe* were included with reference to other WH-question words, e.g., *nwukwu* ‘who,’ *eti* ‘where,’ *encey* ‘when,’ *way* ‘why,’ and *ettehkey* ‘how,’ in the research of Korean interrogative pronouns in general. Most of the earlier works on *mwe* have focused their attentions on its literal meaning as an interrogative pronoun at the sentence level. C. Kim (1997) attempts to centralize the focus on the developmental path of *mwe* from an interrogative pronoun to an indefinite pronoun by examining the most famous *pansori* (musical story telling), named *yelye chwunhyang swucelka*¹⁶ ‘A song for a woman of chaste, *ChunHyang*.’ Nonetheless, his study fails to include the functions of *mwe* as a discourse marker on the discourse level. This could be attributed to the genre of the database, *pansori*, which he selected for his study.

Only recently have Korean linguists started to look at *mwe* from a different perspective by considering it as a discourse marker. Since the late 1990s, a variety of research presenting the multifarious functions of *mwe* as a discourse marker have emerged (H. Lee, 1999; Ku, 2000; Y. Jung, 2005; S. Park, 2007, among others). Supporting the grammaticalization theory, M. Kim (2005) provides diachronic and synchronic accounts of the development of Korean interrogatives pronouns that focus on *mwe* ‘what’ along with *way* ‘why,’ through the examination of historical documents. She observes that *mwe* ‘what’ is a speaker-oriented subjective marker, whereas *way* ‘why’ is a hearer-oriented intersubjective marker while interlocutors of a conversation interact with one another.

In a similar vein, the functions of *mwe* as a discourse marker are discussed in greater depth in H. Lee (1999)’s study. He examines the functions and usages of *mwe* based on the *co-*

¹⁶ It is considered to be the best *pansori* musically and as a work of literature and play in the country for the past century.

*operative principle*¹⁷ proposed by Grice for efficient and effective use of language in conversation (Levinson, 1983, p. 101). He presupposes that no matter how many functions and usages *mwe* serves in a conversational situation, the polyfunctionality imposed on *mwe* can be inferred from its basic meaning denoting lack of knowledge. Particularly, he focuses on what triggers the speaker to use the discourse marker *mwe* in an utterance and the ways in which the hearer interprets the use of *mwe* in a given context.

In another study on the characteristics of *mwe* as a discourse marker, Ku (2000) proposes the process of grammaticalization and discusses the discourse functions of *mwe* by adopting Brinton (1996)'s notion of pragmatic markers and applying it into Korean discourse markers. He classifies the functions of *mwe* as hedges, marking hesitation, expressing dissatisfaction, expressing a negative/underestimating attitude, displaying indifference, etc.

It is worth noting here that frequency information about frequently appearing words in spoken discourse indeed supports an increasing body of the research on *mwe* as a discourse marker. E. Ahn (2008) provides a ranking of the words that indicate the degree of colloquiality in the Korean lexicon. Adopting the concept of Leech et al. (2001)'s G^2 , Ahn (2008) calculates G^2

¹⁷ Grice identifies four basic **maxims of conversation** (original emphasis) as guidelines for efficient co-operative use of language, which jointly express a general **co-operative principle** (original emphasis). These principles are expressed as follows (p. 101-102):

- I. The maxim of Quality: try to make your contribution on that is true, specifically:
 - (i) do not say what you believe to be false
 - (ii) do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence
- II. The maxim of Quantity
 - (i) make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange
 - (ii) do not make your contribution more informative than is required
- III. The maxim of Relevance: make your contributions relevant
- IV. The maxim of Manner: be perspicuous, and specifically:
 - (i) avoid obscurity
 - (ii) avoid ambiguity
 - (iii) be brief
 - (iv) be orderly

values for the Korean spoken corpus comprised of 9,014,915 words, which are drawn from the 21st Sejong Tagged Corpus and generates a list of 50 most frequently used words.

Table 3. Rank Frequency List for the Whole Corpus

(Reprinted from E. Ahn (2008: 100-101))

Rank	Form	Tag ¹⁸	Raw Frequency		Normalized Frequency		G ² Value
1	<i>ke</i> ‘thing’	NNB	25407	15781	2624.2	175.1	76690.6
2	<i>e</i> ‘uh’	IC	12305	206	1270.9	2.3	60370.4
3	<i>a</i> ‘ah’	IC	7833	979	809.0	10.9	33759.5
4	<i>mwe</i> ‘what’	IC	7258	443	749.7	4.0	33510.9
5	<i>um</i> ‘well’	IC	6555	20	677.0	0.2	32992.3
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
19	<i>mwe</i> ‘what’	NP	6228	5457	643.3	60.5	16353.1
20	<i>ney</i> ‘yes’	IC	3568	281	368.5	3.1	16138.9
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
50	<i>ketunyo</i> ‘because’	EF	1848	313	190.9	3.5	7640.7

In her analysis, she divides the functions of *mwe* into two categories; a discourse marker as tagged by ‘IC (interjection)’ and pronouns (either interrogative or indefinite) tagged by ‘NP (pronoun),’ respectively. As frequency indicates, the total use of *mwe* in the selected data reveals

¹⁸ A list of the tags used for the 21st Sejong Tagged Corpus is as follows:

NNG for general nouns NNG, NNP for proper nouns, NNB for dependent nouns, NP for pronouns, NR for numbers, VV for verbs, VA for adjectives, VX for auxiliary verbs, VCP for positive demonstratives, VCN for negative demonstratives, MM for determiners, MAG for general adverbs, MAJ for connectives, IC for interjections, JKS for subjective particles, etc.

that *mwe* is more frequently used as a discourse marker (Rank 4 with a G^2 value of 76690.6) than as a pronoun (Rank 19 with a G^2 value of 16353.1) in a speaking situation.

Furthermore, applying the framework of pattern grammar (Hunston & Francis, 2000), Nam and Cha (2010) explore the correlation between functions and patterns in terms of the collocates that are regularly associated with the word and contribute to its meaning (Hunston and Francis, 2000, p. 37). The advantage of adopting the notion of pattern grammar in analyzing a language is that analysts can make a generalization about a certain facet of the language use based on the scientific evidence, e.g., the frequency of the pattern, for the rationale of the generalization. Using a morpho-syntactic approach and mapping patterns with functions regardless of the location where *mwe* is manifested within an utterance, they characterize the functions of *mwe* as 1) time-buying device (for word search), 2) enumerating examples of a category, 3) downgrading the speaker's epistemic authority, and 4) serving as a negative stance marker. They reach the conclusion that correlation between the patterns and the functions of *mwe* is one-to-multi relation.

The most recent study on the interrogative pronouns was a crosslinguistic comparative study carried out by Lee et al. (to appear) which focused on the extended uses of *what*-like tokens in three languages: *mwe* and *mwusun* in Korean, *shenme* Chinese, and *what* in English, from a crosslinguistic comparative perspective. They define 'the extended uses' as the cases where 'the interrogative form is not meant for the speaker to ask a question and solicit an answer from the addressee but rather for some other functions.' In their analytical frame, they include the indefinite function of interrogative pronouns in the extended uses under the label of 'indefiniteness.' They identified nine functional coding categories of *what*-like tokens. The categories include 1) generic, which corresponds to the English form *whatever*, referring to an

entire set of membership, 2) indefiniteness, 3) disapproval, 4) general extender, 5) rhetorical question, 6) fillers, 7) exclamation, 8) softener, and 9) avoidance. Utilizing the concept of an increase in the degree of subjectification (Traugott, 1989, 2010; Traugott & Dasher, 2002), they contend that the extended uses of WH-forms are strongly associated with the negativism, marking uncertainty, lack of commitment, disapproval, and incredulity, along with previously recognized functions.

Thus far, I have given an overview of the relevant studies on the target subject *mwe*. In the next chapter, building on the findings mentioned in the earlier works, I will describe in more detail the functions of *mwe* from its three main functional frames: the functions as an interrogative pronoun, an indefinite pronoun, and a discourse marker in varying contexts. As pointed out in H. Sohn (1999), the sentence final position in Korean is the territory of the speaker's modality toward the hearer in interactive communication. As such, when *mwe* is deployed in the final position along with the predicate of the preceding sentence, it displays unique discourse functions in relation to the interlocutors of a conversation. Thus, emphasis will be placed on the functions of *mwe* as a discourse marker, particularly in the cases where it appears in the sentence final position.

CHAPTER 3

EMERGENCE OF NEW DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF *MWE*

3.1 Interrogative Pronoun

An interrogative pronoun is a functional word used to request information that is missing in the interrogative sentence, such as *mwues* (> *mwe*) ‘what,’ *nwukwu* ‘who,’ *encey* ‘when,’ *eti* ‘where,’ *way* ‘why,’ and *ettehkey* ‘how,’ which basically connote the concept of the ‘unknown’ of the proposition. Unlike a yes-no question,¹⁹ an interrogative pronoun-affixed question requires question recipients to provide the information being asked. That is, when an interrogative pronoun is addressed, one can expect an adequate response to follow accordingly. Thus, the appropriate answer should follow a wh-question, forming an interrogative pronoun question-answer sequence (H. Kim, 2006). With regard to *mwe* ‘what,’ which is a target interrogative pronoun under investigation in this study, a questioner imposes answers on the question recipient to provide proper information. The usage of *mwe* as an interrogative pronoun is illustrated in the following examples.²⁰

- (1) *cyay ilum-i mwe-y-a?*
That-kid name-NOM what-COP-IE
‘What is the name of that kid?’

‘*채 이름이 뭐야?*’

¹⁹ A yes-no question is also known as a ‘polar question,’ which expects a simple answer of ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ Yes-no polar questions always ‘prefer’ one type of response over another (H. Kim, 2011, p. 43).

²⁰ Examples are taken from the Korean National Dictionary compiled by the National Institute of Korean Language.

- (2) *ku sok-ey mwe-ka tul-ess-ci?*
 that inside-LOC what-NOM include-PST-COM
‘What is contained inside (of that)?’

‘그 속에 뭐가 들었지?’

- (3) *totaychey kulehkey hwa-lul nay-nun iyu-ka mwe-ni?*
 what on earth like that anger-ACC get-RL reason-NOM what-Q
‘What is the reason (behind you) getting so angry like that?’

‘도대체 그렇게 화를 내는 이유가 뭐니?’

- (4) *mwe mek-ko siph-ni? mwe-l ceyil cohaha-ci?*
 what eat-and want-Q what-ACC most like-Q
‘What do you want to eat? What do you like the most?’

‘뭐 먹고 싶니? 뭘 제일 좋아하지?’

- (5) *i siktang-eyse mwe-ka ceyil masiss-e?*
 this restaurant-LOC what-NOM most delicious-IE
‘What is the most delicious (food) in this restaurant?’

‘이 식당에서 뭐가 제일 맛있어?’

As can be seen in the examples above, the questioner asks for specific information that the question recipient is expected to answer. Examples 1 through 5 include the Korean interrogative pronoun *mwe* ‘what’ with various grammatical morphemes. As an interrogative pronoun, *mwe* can be used as an isolated word (e.g., Example 4), inflected with case particles (e.g., subject particles in Examples 2 and 5, an object particle in Example 4, in this case, the target word *mwe* and the object particle *-(u)l* are contracted, forming *mwel*), and conjugated with sentence enders (e.g., informal non-polite ending *ya* in Example 1 and informal plain speech ending *ni* in Example 3).²¹ Each case can be accompanied by spaces required by the Korean orthography spacing rules and notable pauses before and/or after the interrogative pronoun.

²¹ H.-M. Sohn (1999) states that sentence enders consist of three suffix categories: addressee honorific, mood, and sentence type. Sentence enders are further classified by six different speech levels: plain (PLN), intimate

3.2 Indefinite Pronoun

In addition to performing as an interrogative pronoun, some interrogative pronouns (e.g., *mwe* ‘what,’ *nwugwu* ‘who,’ *encey* ‘when,’ and *eti* ‘where’) can also play as an indefinite pronoun denoting ‘indefiniteness’ of the unknown object, which is not explicitly specified in the sentence.²² Here are some examples of *mwe* being used as an indefinite pronoun. In this case, *mwe* is translated into ‘something,’ ‘anything,’ or ‘whatever’ in English in the various discursive contexts. The following examples are also drawn from the Korean National Dictionary.

- (6) *kamanhi iss-ci mal-ko mwe-lato hay-la.*
 motionlessly exist-COM stop-and anything-even do-IMPER
‘Don’t just sit (doing nothing), do something.’

‘가만히 있지 말고 뭐라도 해라.’

- (7) *nay-ka ha-l swu iss-nun il-i-myen mwe-tun*
 I-NOM do-RL way exist-RL thing-COP-COND what-ever

ha-l sayngkak-i-ta.
 do-RL thought-COP-PLN

(INT), familiar (FML), blunt (BLN), polite (POL), and deferential (DEF). The summary of the sentence type and speech levels is shown in the table below (p. 234-238).

Table 4. Six Sentence Types and Speech Levels Marked by Sentence Enders in Korean

	Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	Propositive
Plain	-ta	-ni/nunya	-kela/ela	-ca
Intimate	-e/a	-e/a	-e/a	-e/a
Familiar	-ney	-na/nunka	-key	-sey
Blunt	-so/swu	-so/swu	-owu/wu	-(wu)psita
Polite	-(e/a)yo	-(e/a)yo	-(e/a)yo	-(e/a)yo
Deferential	-(su)pnita	-(su)pnikka	-sipsio	-(wu)sipsita

²² The Korean interrogative pronouns *way* ‘why’ and *ettehkey* ‘how’ do not serve as an indefinite pronoun in any case.

‘Whatever it is, as long as I can do it, I’m willing to do anything.’

‘내가 할 수 있는 일이면 뭐든 할 생각이다.’

- (8) *ku cip maknay-nun mwe-l hay-to ta sengkongha-l-ke-y-a.*
that house youngest-TOP what-ACC do-even all succeed-RL-thing-COP-IE
‘Their youngest child will succeed in whatever he/she does.’

‘그 집 막내는 뭘 해도 다 성공할거야.’

- (9) *elyewum-i manh-usi-l the-y-ntey towum-i*
difficulty-NOM much-HON-RL intention-COP-CIMCUM help-NOM

philyoha-myen mwe-tunci malssumha-sip-si-o.
need-COND any-FRC tell-DEF-HON-IMP

‘(It) must be very difficult. If you need anything, please let me know.’

‘어려움이 많으실 텐데 도움이 필요하면 뭐든지 말씀하십시오.’

- (10) *na-nun mwe-n-ka mal-ul hay-ya-keyss-tako*
I-TOP something-NOM word-ACC do-NEC-CONJ-COMP

sayngkakh-ayss-nuntey cektangha-n mal-i tteolu-ci-l anh-ass-ta.
think-PST-CIRCUM appropriate-RL word-NOM come.up-COM-RL NEG-PST-DEC

‘I thought I needed to say something, but the right words weren’t coming up.’

‘나는 뭔가 말을 해야겠다고 생각했는데 적당한 말이 떠오르지 않았다.’

Similar to interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns can also take grammatical morphemes, e.g., particles for nouns and suffixes for predicates, such as an object particle as in Example 8, (i.e., in this case, *mwe* and the object particle *-(l)ul* are contracted), subject particle as in Example 10 (i.e., *mwe* along with the noun-modifying suffix *-n* on the copula *i-* meaning ‘be’), and selective particle *-tun/-tunci* as in Examples 7 and 9. The commonality between functions of interrogative pronouns and indefinite pronouns is that they can inflect and conjugate with other grammatical particles and suffixes; however, *mwe* as a discourse marker rarely inflects with

other morphological particles in any way, with some exceptions.²³ In the next section I will examine the developmental process of *mwe* from an interrogative pronoun to an indefinite pronoun to a discourse marker.

3.3 Grammaticalization of *Mwe*

As reviewed in Section 2.2, Korean interrogative pronouns have gone through a particular developmental process and gained the status of a polyfunctional word in terms of their class in Korean lexicon (J. Ahn, 1996; Y. Ko, 1997; J. Kwon, 1998; J. Lee, 1999; Ku, 1999; H. Lee, 1999, etc.). Examples 11 through 13 illustrate how *mwe* can be used in different ways in naturally occurring conversations.

- (11) *ne mikwuk wa-se myech il tongan mwe hay-ss-ni?*
 you U.S.A. come-CONN some day for what do-PST-Q?
 ‘What did you do for a couple of days after you came to the U.S.?’

‘너 미국 와서 며칠 동안 뭐 했니?’

- (12) *na-nun ipen thoyoil wekhusyap-ey ka-se mwe hay-ya tway.*
 I-TOP this Saturday workshop-LOC go-CONN something do-NEC become-IE
 ‘I have to go to a workshop and do something (there) this Saturday.’

‘나는 이번 토요일 워크샵에 가서 뭐 해야 돼.’

²³ In some cases, the Korean discourse marker *mwe* can be inflected with the object particle *-(l)ul* as shown in the following example. In this case, the usage of *mwe* with the object particle is viewed to function in the same way as the bare form *mwe* without any meaning difference.

po-ci-to mos-hay-ss-nuntey mwe-l
 see-COM-even NEG-do-PST-CIRCUM *mwe-ACC*
 ‘I didn’t even see him/her, *mwe*.’

‘보지도 못했는데 뭐’

- (13) *mwe thayksi tha-ko ka-myen sasip o bwul nao-keyss-ci mwe.*²⁴
mwe taxi take-CONN go-COND forty five dollars cost-CONJ-COM mwe
 ‘Well, it would cost \$45 if (I) take a taxi, *mwe*.’

‘뭐 택시 타고 가면 사십 오 불 나오겠지, 뭐.’

Example (11) indicates the speaker’s unknown knowledge about the addressee in that ‘He/she (the speaker of the utterance) has no idea about what the addressee did after he/she came to the U.S.A.’. In this case, *mwe* plays a role as a typical interrogative pronoun asking a question in the interrogative sentence. In Example (12), however, *mwe* is deployed in the declarative sentence where *mwe* no longer performs as an interrogative pronoun. Instead, it implicitly indicates ‘something’ other than a specific referent by connoting ‘indefiniteness’ in the context where the unknown object is not explicitly specified. In contrast, Example 13 shows that the functions of *mwe* have been specialized into a discourse marker. There are two occurrences of *mwe* in Example 13; however, none of them can be translated into ‘what’ or ‘something’ in this case. Moreover, there is no English counterpart in translation. In this sense, *mwe* does not affect the truth conditionality toward the propositional content. Thus, the sentence that does not have *mwe* (i.e., *thayksi thako kamyen sasip obwul naokeyssci* ‘it would cost \$45 if I take a taxi’) delivers the same meaning as the sentence that contains *mwe* if we take the propositional message *per se* into account. In this respect, *mwe* can be considered as an optional factor in the given context; however, if we view the use of *mwe* from a functional linguistics perspective, it is notable that *mwe* plays a pragmatic role while performing interactional goals carried out among conversation participants.

²⁴ In Example 13, both the initial *mwe* and the final *mwe* function as a discourse marker; however, their roles in the utterance are somewhat different. *mwe* performing as a discourse marker in the sentence-initial position can be viewed as a turn initiator/holder. Detailed accounts of *mwe* by the position within an utterance or sentence will follow in the subsequent sections.

In terms of the frequency distribution of the various functions of *mwe*, Cha (2010) presents that more than 85% of *mwe* was employed as a discourse marker in spontaneous conversation. The following table shows the detailed frequency distribution of *mwe*, as categorized by its functions.

Table 5. Frequency Distribution of *Mwe* in Spoken Discourse

(Reprinted from Cha, 2010, p. 229)

Function	Frequency	Percentage
Interrogative pronoun	80	10.13%
Indefinite pronoun	32	4.05%
Discourse marker	678	85.82%
Total	790	100%

Consistent with the earlier works regarding frequency distribution,²⁵ it is evident that *mwe* is predominantly used as a discourse marker rather than interrogative or indefinite pronouns in naturally occurring conversation. Moreover, in terms of the position in a sentence, the

²⁵ S. Jang (1998) reported the frequency information of discourse markers that are derived from interrogative pronouns. In this study, instead of providing the frequency according to their functions, i.e., as an interrogative pronoun, indefinite pronoun, or discourse marker, she pointed out the percentage of each interrogative pronoun that played as a discourse marker in the selected data (*mwe* ‘what’: 73.2%, *eti* ‘where’: 13.5%, and *way* ‘why’: 12.4%, respectively). Her result is based on data that consist of 140,000 words.

M. Kim(2005) also analyzed 6,000,000 words drawn from The 21st Century Sejong Corpus and provided the frequency information of Korean interrogative pronouns as follows. Even though this information does not specify the frequency according to their functions, it is obvious that *mwe* ‘what’ is the most frequently used interrogative pronoun, i.e., almost half of the occurrences (13,341 out of 27,577 tokens that counts for 48.38%).

Pronoun	<i>mwe</i>	<i>ettehkey</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>mwusun</i>	<i>eti</i>	<i>encey</i>	<i>nwukwu</i>	Total
Meaning	what	how	why	what kind of	where	when	who	
Frequency	13,341	5,061	4,887	2,551	875	546	316	27,577
%	48.38	18.35	17.72	9.25	3.17	1.98	1.15	100%

distribution between interrogative and indefinite pronouns and a discourse marker differs. That is, *mwe*, as a discourse marker, can be deployed in any utterance/sentential position, e.g., initial, medial, or final position.

All things taken together, it is obvious that *mwe* has come to acquire various discourse functions in spoken discourse through the process of meaning and/or function changes and phonological reduction, e.g., from *mwues* to *mwe*.²⁶ When all is said and done, the changes in the usages of *mwe* can be interpreted in the light of the concept of grammaticalization. Heine and Kuteva (2002) define grammaticalization as:

the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms. Since the development of grammatical forms is not independent of the constructions to which they belong, the study of grammaticalization is also concerned with constructions and with even larger discourse segments. Typically, grammaticalization involves four main interrelated mechanisms: a) desemanticization (or “semantic bleaching”—loss in meaning content, b) extension (or context generalization)—use in new contexts, c) decategorialization—loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms, and d) erosion (or “phonetic reduction”)—loss in phonetic substance. (p. 2)

In the same vein, Korean interrogative pronouns, particularly *mwe* in this study, have shown a similar developmental path as delineated in the grammaticalization process. First of all, *mwe* lost its lexical meaning ‘what’ as it evolved into a less grammatical form, in this case, a discourse marker [desemanticization]. Secondly, *mwe* has started to appear in the context where it is not necessarily required by the grammatical rules [extension]. Thirdly, *mwe* has undergone notable changes in terms of its word class from an interrogative pronoun to an indefinite pronoun to a discourse marker [decategorialization]. Lastly, the full form of *mwues* has gone through the

²⁶ J. Ku discusses the developmental process of the interrogative pronouns *eti* ‘where’ and *mwe* ‘what’ in his studies 1999 and 2000, respectively.

phonetic reduction process leading to the short form *mwe* [erosion]. And furthermore, only the short form *mwe* can serve as a discourse marker in spoken language.

Thus far, this section has shown the developmental path of *mwe* evolving from an interrogative pronoun to an indefinite pronoun to a discourse marker within the framework of grammaticalization. *Mwe*, as a discourse marker, plays functionally distinctive roles depending on its position in the sentence. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that when *mwe* is placed in the sentence final position with a certain group of modal suffixes, it serves a unique function in regard to salient prosodic features. In the remainder of this chapter I will examine the usages of *mwe* as a discourse marker with a special focus on the collocation patterns and the positional distribution within an utterance and/or sentence.

3.4 Discourse Marker

This dissertation does not aim to propose an exhaustive and comprehensive list of the functions of *mwe* in Korean, but rather to examine a variety of such functions as they are used in naturally occurring conversation. In this chapter, attention will be focused on each function of *mwe* in the synchronic state from a semantic and pragmatic perspective. As reviewed in the previous sections (3.1 and 3.2), in ordinary conversation *mwe* occurs frequently in various discursive contexts; however, the function *mwe* takes in each utterance plays a different role even within the coherent narrative depending on the place of its appearance and the context in which it is embedded. There is a remarkable repetitive occurrence of *mwe* in my data. This phenomenon is illustrated in Example 14 below.

(14) Workout²⁷

- 1 A: *han mommayha-ten salam-i pay way ilehkey tway-ss-e?*
one great.body-do-RT person-NOM belly why like.this become-PST-IE
‘What happened to the stomach? You had a great body at one point.’
- 2 B: *um::::::*
hmm
‘Hmm’
- 3 → *ani mwe,*
DM *mwe*
‘Well.’
- 4 → *caknyen imamttay-man ha-tu-latwu coh-ass-ci mwe.*
last.year this.time-only do-RT-even good-PAT-COM *mwe*
‘I was still pretty nice until around this time last year, *mwe*.’
- 5 A: *caknyen imamttay ccom manhi mall-assess-ci.*
last.year this.time little much skinny-DPST-COM
‘This time last year, you were pretty skinny.’
- 6 *coh-un ke-y ani-la,*
good-RL thing-NOM not-but
‘Not that it’s good.’
- 7 B: *ung.*
yes
‘Yeah.’
- 8 A: *com ettehkey cal hay pw-a.*
little how well do try-IE
‘Just try something.’
- 9 → B: *ani mwe:::, com ppaci-kwu iss-e yosay ccom.*
DM *mwe* little lose-and exist-IE these days little
‘Well... I’m losing some weight these days.’
- 10 A: *e cincca-ya?*
EXT really-IE
‘Oh, really?’
- 11 → *mwe ha-yss-nuntey sal ppac-ye?*
What do-PST-CIRCUM weight lose-IE
‘What did you do to lose weight?’

²⁷ Lines on focus are marked with arrows (→).

- 12 B: *mayil achim ilccik ilena-nikka.*
 everyday morning early wake.up-therefore
‘Because I wake up early morning everyday.’
- 13 → *ilccik ilena- mwe, han kaci-man ha-te-lato*
 early wake.up mwe one kind-only do-RT-even
‘If I wake up early morning and do just one (exercise),
- 14 *sal-i ppaci-tu-lakwu.*
 weight-NOM lose-RT-QT
‘I seem to lose weight.’
- 15 A: *ilccik ilena-myen com tongney-latwu han-pakhwi*
 early wake.up-CONN little neighborhood-even one-lap
- 16 *tol-tunka way.*
 run-RT-FRC DM
**‘If you wake up early morning, then (you should) try to run round
 the neighborhood, or at least something (like that), you know.’**
- 17 B: *a:: yosay achim-ey an coh-a,*
 EX these days morning-TEM NEG good-IE
‘ah... (the air is) not that good in the morning these days,’
- 18 *sewul sinay kongki-ka wenak thakh-ayse.*
 Seoul downtown air-NOM very murky-so
‘The air in the downtown areas of Seoul is so polluted.’
- 19 *achim-ey ta kalaanc-a iss-nuntay ku, kuke-l mak,*
 morning-TEM all settle-CONN exist-CIRCUM that that-ACC just
‘The pollution is subsided in the morning,’
- 20 *heychi-kwu tanimyense ta masi-lakwu,*
 disperse-and go.around-SIM all breathe-Q
‘(You mean) you want me to stir that up running around and breath that in?’
- 21 *ne-nun kule-kwu siphe?*
 you-TOP be.like-and want-IE
‘Would you want to do that yourself?’
- 22 → A: *phyengsayng wuntong mos-ha-ci mwe, kulem.*
 lifelong exercise NEG-do-COM mwe then
‘You’ll never exercise if you’re like that then, mwe.’

-
- 1 A: 한 몸매하던 사람이 배 왜 이렇게 됐어?
 2 B: 음.....

3 → 아니 뭐,
4 → 작년 이맘때만 하드라두 좋았지 뭐.
5 A: 작년 이맘때 쫘 많이 말랐었지.
6 좋은 게 아니라,
7 B: 응.
8 A: 좀 어떻게 잘 해 봐.
9 → B: 아니 뭐, 좀 빠지구 있어 요새 쫘.
10 A: 어 진짜야?
11 → 뭐 했는데 살 빠져?
12 B: 매일 아침 일찍 일어나니까.
13 → 일찍 일어나 뭐, 한 가지만 하더라도
14 살이 빠지드라구.
15 A: 일찍 일어나면 좀 동네라두 한바퀴
16 돌든가 왜~.
17 B: 아 요새 아침에 안 좋아,
18 서울시내 공기가 워낙 탁해서.
19 아침에 다 가라앉아 있는데 그, 그걸 막,
20 헤치구 다니면서 다 마시라구,
21 너는 그러구 싶어?
22 → A: 평생 운동 못하지 뭐, 그럼.

In this 30-second long excerpt, the target word *mwe* occurs as many as six times in lines 3, 4, 9, 11, 13, and 22. Example 14 starts with A's topic-proffering question addressed to B. A brings up the changes she just noticed about B's physical appearance and asks what happened to B in line 1. Following the elongated hesitation marker *um* 'hmm' in line 2, B shows her disalignment regarding A's deprecation by responding *ani* 'well' in line 3 and giving an opposing statement in line 4 (H. Kim, 2011). Note that both lines 3 and 4 are associated with the discourse marker *mwe* at the end of each turn, displaying B's attitude in a resigned tone. By exaggerating B's utterance, e.g., from *cohassci* to *mallassesci* 'from being good to being slim,' A slightly changes her position from a 'harsh evaluator' to a 'moderate good listener' in lines 5 and 6. The talk further develops into morning exercise in the downtown areas of Seoul, which B thinks it is not a good place for exercise, in lines 17 through 20. B, finally, finishes her speaking by answering back with the question, e.g., *nenun kulekwu siphe?* 'Would you want to do that yourself?' in line 21, in turn, instead of giving an answer with 'yes' or 'no,' A makes an evaluative comment by

disregarding B's question in line 22. Once again, the discourse marker *mwe* is attached to the syntactically complete sentence, e.g., *phyengsayng wuntong moshaci* 'you'll never exercise if you're like that then,' to implicitly show A's so-called pejorative attitude.²⁸

Except the instance in line 11, where *mwe* is used as an interrogative pronoun meaning 'what' (i.e., *mwe hayssnuntey sal ppacye?* 'what did you do to lose weight?'), all instances of *mwe* are used as a discourse marker. Note that *mwe*, as a discourse marker, does not have any syntactic relation with adjacent components in any way. Nonetheless, diverse usages of *mwe*, as illustrated in Example 14, show a kind of systematic pattern in terms of its collocation (i.e., *mwe* with the discourse marker *ani*, which is derived from a lexical word, in lines 3 and 9 and the Korean modal suffix *-ci* in lines 4 and 22). In the subsequent sections, I will explicate the various discursive functions of *mwe* with a special focus on the collocation pattern, with which *mwe* appears together in the utterance/sentence.

3.4.1 *Mwe* Collocated with Conjunctive Adverbials

Korean conjunctive adverbials include *kule*-prefaced adverbs, such as *kulayse* 'so,' *kulenikka* 'therefore' along with its variations *kunikka/kunkka*, and *kulentey* 'but; however' with its variation *kuntey*. Etymologically, all of these forms are comprised of the deictic reference *kuleha-* (for adjectives) or *kuliha-* (for verbs) 'to be/to do so' and the clausal connectives *-e/ase* 'so,' *-(u)nikka* 'therefore,' and *-(u)nun/ntey* 'but; however,' respectively. In J. Choi (2007)'s study, she argued that the fundamental function of conjunctive adverbials is to connect the previous and following independent clauses. Furthermore, conjunctive adverbials not only function as connectives at the sentence level, but also serve as discourse markers at the discourse

²⁸ S. Suzuki (1998) argues that in certain contexts, Japanese expressions such as 'X *nante*, X *nanka*, X *nado*, X *dano*, X *toka*, and X *tari*,' may connote the speaker's contempt toward X, and the pejorative connotation is evoked by the implication of lack of specification (p. 261).

level. Examples 15 and 16 demonstrate the different usages of *kulentey* ‘but; however; by the way’ as a clausal connective (e.g., Example 15) and a discourse marker (e.g., Example 16).

Examples are taken from J. Choi (2007, p. 15).

- (15) *meyli-nun hakkyo-ey ka-nta. kulentey con-un an ka-nta.*
 Mary-TOP school-LOC go-PLN but John-TOP NEG go-PLN
 ‘**Mary goes to school. But John does not.**’

메리는 학교에 간다. 그런데 존은 안 간다.

- (16) *meli moyang-i cengmal kunsaha-si-ney-yo.*
 hair shape-NOM truly splendid-HON-FR-POL
 ‘**Your hair looks very nice.**’

kuntay ipen-ey khunatunim-i kyelhonha-sin-tamyen-yo
 by.the.way this time-TEM oldest.son-NOM marry-HON-Q-POL
 ‘**By the way, I heard your oldest son is getting married (soon), right?**’

머리 모양이 정말 근사하시네요.
 근데 이번에 큰아드님이 결혼하신다면서요?

In Example 15, *kulentey* ‘but’ connects two independent clauses by constituting a contrastive relation, whereas Example 16 illustrates *kuntay*, which is a contracted form of *kulentey*, being used to shift the topic of conversation and functioning as a discourse marker. According to J. Choi (2007), most of *kule*-prefaced conjunctive adverbials have gone through the grammaticalization process, and thus, come to function as discourse markers. Specifically, they are used to organize discourse in a coherent manner, e.g., topic shift, topic initiator, topic development, marker of causality, marker of reformulation, etc.²⁹ As the frequency analysis indicates, *kule*-prefaced conjunctive adverbials are more often utilized as discourse markers than clausal connectives in spoken language (J. Choi, 2007, pp. 21, 58, 103, 137). My data also

²⁹ J. Choi (2007) points out that *kulayse* ‘so’ and *kuliko* ‘and’ did not go through the phonetic reduction process, whereas *kulenikka* ‘therefore’ and *kulentey* ‘but; however’ have been reduced to *kunkka* and, by extension, *kukka*, and *kuntay*, respectively. She suggests that there are different underlying factors for their paths of form reduction (p. 6).

confirmed that *kule*-prefaced conjunctive adverbials are often used, and more interestingly, *mwe* often appears together with *kule*-prefaced conjunctive adverbials. See Example 17 for example:

(17) Foreign language test

- 1 → A: *kulentey mwe, thoik-ul ha-tun mwe,*
by.the.way *mwe* TOEIC-ACC do-FRC *mwe*
‘Well, whatever you do, either TOEIC,’
- 2 → *thophul-ul ha-tun mwe, ku cenmwunhakwen-i sayngki-nikka mwe*
TOEFL-ACC do-FRC *mwe* that private school-NOM form-so *mwe*
‘Or TOEFL, the private school that specializes in that is opening,’
- 3 *kulen, etten, ku, oykwuke nunglyek-ina kulen ke cachey-twu.*
such certain that foreign language skill-FRC such thing itself-also
‘So, the skills in foreign languages, and stuff like that itself,’
- 4 B: *ung.*
yeah
‘Yeah.’
- 5 A: *kali-l swu iss-nun nunglyek cachey-ka mohoha-n ke-ci.*
discriminate-RL way exist-RL ability itself-NOM vague-RL thing-COM
‘The fact that they can discriminate (students) by their ability is ambiguous.’
- 6 *thophul-ina thoik-i-la ha-tela-twu,*
TOEFL-FRC TOEIC-COP-QT say-RET-also
‘Even if you take TOEIC or TOEFL,’
- 7 *kuke cenmwun-ulo ha-nun tey-se*
that.thing specialty-with do-RL place-LOC
‘In the place that specializes in (the foreign language tests)’
- 8 → *ccik-e-cwu-nun taylo-man ha-myen-un mwe*
pick-INF-give-RL as-only do-COND-TOP *mwe*
‘If you do it exactly how the specialists tell you to do it,’
- 9 → *kumsey mwe, opayk osip isang nem-nuntey,*
soon *mwe* 500 50 over exceed-CIRCUM
‘then, I heared you’ll get at least 550 for sure.’
- 10 *thophul kath-un kyengwu.*
TOEFL like-RL case
‘Like with TOEFL,’

- 11 → *thoik kath-un kyengwu-ey-to mwe,*
TOEIC like-RL case-LOC-also *mwe*
‘Even with TOEIC,’
- 12 *kulehkey ccik-e cwunun tay-loman ha-myen kwupayk isang nem-kwu.*
like.that pick-INF give-RL as-only do-COND 900 over exceed-and
‘As long as you do as (they) tell you, (you) will get over 900.’
- 13 → *kunkka mwe, thophul kwupayk isang nem-etwu mwe,*
so mwe TOEFL 900 over exceed-even though mwe
‘So (I mean), if you get over 900 on TOEFL.. mwe’

-
- 1 → A: 그런데 뭐, 토익을 하든 뭐,
2 → 토플을 하든 뭐, 그 전문학원이 생기니까 뭐,
3 그런, 어떤, 그, 외국어 능력이나 그런 거 자체두.
4 B: 응.
5 A: 가릴 수 있는 능력 자체가 모호한 거지.
6 토플이나 토익이라 하더라도,
7 그거 전문으로 하는 데서
8 → 찍어 주는 대로만 하면은 뭐,
9 → 금세 뭐~ 오백 오십 이상 넘는데,
10 토플 같은 경우.
11 → 토익 같은 경우에도 뭐,
12 그렇게 찍어 주는 대로만 하면 구백 이상 넘구.
13 → 근까 뭐~ 토플 구백 이상 넘어두 뭐~,

Example 17 shows how often and freely *mwe* can be used in such a short segment. In Example 17, A, who maintains speakership throughout the entire excerpt, continuously uses *mwe* in lines 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, and 13, whereas B simply responds with a backchannelling token *ung* ‘yes’ in line 4 by portraying a supportive listenership, at the same time, playing as a co-constructor of interactive talk.³⁰ Among the nine tokens of *mwe* represented in this excerpt,³¹ particularly in lines 1 and 13, *mwe* is deployed with *kule*-prefaced conjunctive adverbials, e.g., *kulentey* ‘but;

³⁰ K. Lambertz (2011) has emphasized that backchannelling, which had been disregarded in the literature, is important for a listener to show his/her engaged listenership by providing tokens of continuers, alignment, and agreement in interactional conversation (p. 13-15).

³¹ A detailed account of repetitive occurrence of *mwe* will be discussed in Section 3.4.5.

however' in line 1 and *kunkka* 'therefore' in line 13. Note that both *kulentey* and *kunkka* are used as discourse markers in this context. Before the excerpt, speakers (A and B) were talking about official English tests, the TOEIC and TOEFL, which are the two most accredited English tests in Korea. A uses *kulentey mwe* 'by the way, *mwe*' in line 1 before she proceeds to make subjective comments on the topic. Here, *kulentey* 'but' is used to indicate that A shifts her focus from "the objective explanation of the tests" to "how effectively those two tests are used to differentiate test takers from one another." In lines 1 and 2, A redundantly adds *mwe* after each utterance unit to foreshadow the background for upcoming evaluative comments.³² On the other hand, as argued in J. Im (2011), the discourse marker *kunkka* is utilized as an effective explanation device for "elaboration/supplementation, exemplification, approximation, reformulation, and modification" (p. 125). Likewise, *kunkka* in line 13 elaborates on A's prior statements made in lines 5 through 12. The presence of *mwe* along with *kunkka* can be seen as a tool to mitigate the strong force of *kunkka*.

3.4.2 *Mwe* Collocated with Demonstratives

Korean demonstratives show a three-way distinction: 1) proximal forms, e.g., *i*-types 'this,' 2) speaker-centered distal forms, e.g., *ku*-types 'that,' and 3) speaker- and hearer-centered distal forms, e.g., *ce*-types 'that over there.' H. Sohn (1999) summarized the characteristics of demonstratives as one of the subcategories under the term "determiners." According to his accounts, demonstratives are used "very frequently and go into a wide variety of compounds" (p. 210). Examples of compounds include 1) demonstrative pronouns with an accompanying noun in

³² In Y. Jeon (1993), she notes that when defining "utterance units," we need to consider 1) sentence final endings as well as noun- or adverbial-phrases from a syntactic perspective, 2) association with semantic and pragmatic meanings, 3) phonetic features such as intonation contour, accent, tempo, and pauses, and 4) non-verbal cues such as clapping, contextually meaningful silences, etc (p. 11-13).

phrases such as *i salam* ‘this person,’ *ku chayk* ‘that book,’ *ce sikyey* ‘that clock over there,’ 2) adverbial forms such as *ilehkey* ‘like this,’ *kulehkey* ‘like that,’ *celehkey* ‘like that,’ 3) noun-modifying forms such as *ilen* ‘this kind of,’ *kulen* ‘that kind of,’ *celen* ‘that kind of,’ and 4) locational demonstrative pronouns such as *yeki* ‘here,’ *keki* ‘there,’ *ceki* ‘over there.’ When discussing the role of demonstratives in discourse, Diessel (1999) stressed the following:

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

(Diessel, 1999, as cited in J. Im, 2011, p. 48)

Utilizing Diessel (1999)’s accounts of ‘demonstratives,’ J. Im states that conversation participants strategically use demonstrative pronouns and their compounds in discourse in order to 1) organize both prior and ongoing discourse for a textual function purpose and 2) affectively collaborate with interlocutors for an interactional function purpose (2011, p. 48).

This leads one to question the motivation of the use of the demonstratives used with the discourse marker *mwe* in discourse. Examples 18 and 19 illustrate the cases of the [demonstrative + *mwe*] sequence with varied demonstrative compounds, (i.e., adverbial form *kulehkey* ‘like that’ with *mwe* in Example 18 and *kuken* ‘*kuke* + topic particle (*n*)’ with *mwe* in Example 19, respectively). Before Example 18 begins, A and B were talking about A’s older brother, who appeared not interested in dating with girls.

(18) Interests in girls

1 B: *yeca-ey* *tayha-n* *kwansim-i* *eps-nun* *ke* *ani-ya?*

woman-LOC about-RL interest-NOM not.exist-RL thing NEG-IE
‘Isn’t that (he) is not interested in girls?’

2 A: *ani, kwansim-i eps-nun kes-twu ani-ntey.*
no interesti-NOM not.exist-RL thing-also NEG-CIRCUM
‘No, it’s not that there’s no interest.’

3 *mwenka-ka eps-e.*
something-NOM not exist-IE
‘But something’s just no all there.’

4 B: *kwansim-i iss-ci anh-kwuse-ya,*
interest-NOM exist-NOM NEG-and then-IE
‘Even if there was no interest,’

5 → *kulehkey mwe pothong phyengpemha-n salam-i-laytwu*
be.like mwe normal ordinary-RL person-COP-even
‘(You know) even a regular person,’

6 A: *a:::*
ah:::
‘Ah..’

7 B: *kulehkey-kkaci*
be.like-even
‘Even to that extent,’

8 A: *ettehkey ha-myen yeca-hanthey calhay cwu-nuncito*
how do-COND woman-to nice-INF give-whether-too
‘He doesn’t seem to know.’

9 *molu-nun ke kath-kwu.*
not.know-RL fact same-and

10 *an sakwi-e pwa-ss-unikka wusen-un.*
NEG date-INF try-PST-so first.of.all-TOP
‘Since he never dated anyone before.’

11 B: *ung.*
yeah
‘Yeah.’

12 A: *e kule-n ke cal molu-nun ke kath-ay.*
yeah be.so-RL thing well not.know-RL fact same-IE
‘Yeah, he doesn’t seem to know stuff like that.’

1 B: 여자에 대한 관심이 없는 거 아니야?

2. A: 아니 관심이 없는 것두 아닌데.
 3. 뭔가가 없어.
 4. B: 관심이 있지 않구서야,
 5 → 그렇게 뭐, 보통 평범한 사람이라두-
 6. A: 아:::
 7. B: 그렇게까지,
 8. A: 어떻게 하면 여자::한테 잘해 주는지도
 9. 모르는 거 같구.
 10. 안 사귀어 봤으니까 우선은.
 11. B: 응.
 12. A: 어 그런 거 잘 모르는 거 같애.

Example 18 starts with B's request for confirmation concerning whether A's older brother is interested in dating girls or not. B's question in line 1 (*yecaey tayhan kwansimi epsnun ke aniya?* 'Isn't that he is not interested in girls?') is formulated with a negative polarized question using *-nun ke aniya* 'Isn't that the case..?' In response to B's request for confirmation, A first provides disconfirmation in line 2 and adds her own speculation regarding the matter in line 3. In turn, B reinforces his initial assertion made in line 1 by challenging A's response made in lines 2 and 3. Upon his reinforcement, B reformulates his turn by deploying the adverbial demonstrative *kulehkey* 'like that' with *mwe* in line 5. Then, B's contention is maximized by bringing up a referent word, *phyengpemhan salamilaytwu* 'even a regular person,' which could be compared with A's older brother, implying that A's older brother does not belong to the category of regular people in terms of his approach to relationships with girls. In line 5, *mwe* is used to mitigate B's strong assertion about A's older brother, which could offend A regarding the topic of discussion (A's older brother) as he is A's immediate family member. A and B finally reconcile the dispute through the mutual agreement (in lines 8 through 12) as they approach the end of the talk. The following excerpt also illustrates the use of demonstrative pronoun *kuke* used with *mwe*.

(19) Ugly skin

- 1 B: *na ni elkwul po-myen acwu eccay,*
I your face see-CONN very how.come
'When(ever) I see your face,'
- 2 *hhh, phipwu-ka celehkey toy-nya hhh..*
hhh skin-NOM like.that become-Q hhh
'(I always) wonder, 'how can your skin get like that?'
- 3 A: *a:: na-twu wuwulha-y.*
EX I-too gloomy-IE
'Ah, I feel gloomy, too.'
- 4 (0.6)
- 5 *kulehkey isangha-y?*
like.that weird-IE
'(Is it) that weird?'
- 6 *na onul hwacang-twu hay-ss-nuntey.*
I today makeup-too do-PST-CIRCUM
'I even put on makeup today, too.'
- 7 B: *kewul an pwa-ss-e achim-ey*
mirror NEG look-PST-IE morning-TEP
'(Did you) not look in the mirror?'
- 8 A: *hhh.. e na onul kwaynchanh-ta-kwu sayngkakha-kwu nawa-ss-nuntey, hhh*
hhh yes I today okay-PLN-Q think-Q come.out-PST-CIRCUM
'(I) did. I came out thinking that (I) looked okay today.'
- 9 B: *solcikhi.*
honestly
'Honestly.'
- 10 A: *eti-ka ceyl isangha-y yeki?*
where-NOM most weird-IE here
'Which part is the weirdest? Here?'
- 11 *yeki?*
here
'Here?'
- 12 B: *ta isangha-y cikum cencheycek-ulwu.*
all weird-IE now overall-by
'Everywhere, in general.'

- 13 A: *pwu-ese kulay cikum.*
swell-CONN to.be.so now
‘(It’s) because I’m swollen now.’
- 14 B: *cencheycek-ulwu kyunhyengtwa mwunec-ye iss-kwu.*
overall-by balance-too collapse-INF exist-and
‘(It just) looks slightly off, overall.’
- 15 A: *elkwul cachey-ka wenlay mwunec-ye isse, hhhh*
face itself-NOM originally collapse-INF exist-IE hhh
‘(My) face was originally slightly off.’
- 16 B: *hhh, way susulo wuwulha-key mantu-nya ne. hhh*
hhh why yourself gloomy-into make-Q you
‘Why are you making yourself gloomy?’
- 17 → A: *ai kuke-n mwe, sasil-i-ya.*
EX that-TOP mwe true-COP-IE
‘Well, (it’s) true, (though).’
- 18 B: *ile-n,*
like.this-RL
‘Oh, gosh.’

-
- 1 B: 나 니 얼굴 보면 아주 어째
2 hhh 피부가 저렇게 되냐? hh
3 A: 아 나두 우울해.
4 (0.6)
5 그렇게 이상해?
6 나 오늘 화장두 했는데.
7 B: 거울 안 봤어 아침에?
8 A: hh 어 나 오늘 괜찮다구 생각하구 나왔는데, hhh
9 B: 솔직히.
10 A: 어디가 켈 이상해 여기?
11 여기?
12 B: 다 이상해 지금 전체적으루.
13 A: 부어서 그래 지금.
14 B: 전체적으루 균형두 무너져 있구.
15 A: 얼굴 자체가 원래 무너져 있어. hh
16 B: hhh. 왜 스스로 우울하게 만드냐 너. hhh
17 → A: 아이 그건 뭐, 사실이야.
18 B: 이런,

In Example 19, B brings up the issue of A’s dough-faced skin by mentioning it in an aggressive manner in lines 1 and 2. In response to B’s snarky remarks, A produces a consentient comment

a: *natwu wuwulhay* ‘I’m gloomy, too’ by aligning her position with B in line 3. As there is no uptake from B in response to A’s self-deprecation (e.g., the 0.6-second pause in line 4), A requests B for confirmation about how weird she looks (e.g., *kulehkey isanghay?* ‘(Is it) that weird?) in line 6. Further, she adds comments to refute and defend herself against B’s reproach. In line 7, instead of responding to a yes-no question with a direct answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ B inserts an additional question, which foreshadows later answering of the question in lines 9 and 12.³³ In line 12, B elaborates on her opinion, which was made indirectly in line 9. After several attempts to explain her situation (e.g., lines 6 and 8), A eventually admits that her facial skin does not look good by making an excuse in line 13. Upon B’s even harsher evaluative comment in line 14, A displays her stance of self-reproach in line 15. In response to B’s reproving question in line 16, A admits all the discussions they made in the prior turns. Note here that *kuke* in the phrase *kekun mwe* ‘(as for) that thing, *mwe*’ in line 17 refers to the immediately preceding turns (lines 14 through 15), and *mwe* in this turn, is used to mitigate A’s abashed position while admitting her faults in line 17.

3.4.3 *Mwe* Collocated with Discourse Markers Derived from Lexical Words

It has been observed that interlocutors of a conversation frequently employ diverse discourse markers such as *mwe* ‘what,’ *way* ‘why,’ *com* ‘a little,’ *mak* ‘recklessly, haphazardly,’

³³ Schegloff (2007) states that there are some alternatives to doing an appropriate SPP (second pair part) next after an FPP (first pair part), which could be made through sequence expansion. The following example taken from a psychotherapeutic session shows how FPP and SPP get expanded by the insertion of one question-answer exchange (p. 16-17).

(2.02) Scheflen, 1641:114, as adapted in Peyrot, 1994:17

(Schegloff, 2007, p. 17)

- | | | | | |
|---|------|------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 1 | Pat: | F | → | Do you think I’m insane now. |
| 2 | Doc: | F _{ent} | → | Do you think so? |
| 3 | Pat: | S | → | No, of course not. |
| 4 | Doc: | | | But, I think you are. |

*ani*³⁴ ‘no,’ *kunyang*³⁵ ‘just,’ *icey*³⁶ ‘now,’ etc., for a variety of conversational purposes. It is important to note here that they are discourse markers that are derived from lexical words—specifically, adverbials, i.e., *com*, *mak*, *ani*, and *kunyang*, and interrogative pronouns, i.e., *mwe* and *way*. The commonality between these markers is that they tend to appear collocated with each other within an utterance. Following examples demonstrate how they can be collocated.

- (20) a. *ani mwe hakkyok-kaci ka-nun ke-yess-nuntey*
 no *mwe* school-up.to go-RL thing-PST-CIRCUM
 ‘No, (I mean), it was to go as far as school.’

‘아니 뭐, 학교까지 가는 거였는데,’

- b. *ani incey acwumma-ka incey, ccom yakkan memwuskeli-nun tus-ha-yse*
 no now lady-NOM now a.bit slightly hesitate-RL as.if-do-CONN
 ‘No, for now, the old lady seems to hesitate a bit,’

‘아니 이제, 아줌마가 이제, 좀 약간 머뭇거리는 듯해서,’

- c. *kulaytwu mwe-nka com mwe isangha-n ke kath-kwu,*
 though something-NOM a.bit *mwe* weird-RL thing same-CONN
 ‘But still, I feel like something is weird.’

‘그래두 뭔가 좀 뭐, 이상한 거 같구.’

³⁴ H. Kim (2011) states that an adequate transition of *ani* is ‘no’ in English in many cases as often used as a negative response to a yes/no polar question. However, for some other cases, when *ani* is prefaced as an initial response in second and third position turns. It functions as a discourse marker playing diverse roles in the local context of talk.

³⁵ H. Park (2012) analyzed a corpus that is composed of 58,000 words from the 21st Sejong Corpus and reported frequency distribution of *kunyang* in reference to its functions. According to her findings, *kunyang* is used as an adverbial (21.6%) and discourse marker (74%) with 4.4% of unidentifiable cases. The results indicate that *kunyang* is more frequently used as a discourse marker rather than an adverbial in conversational Korean (p. 215).

³⁶ The Korean adverbial *icey* originated as a temporal adverb indicating time and evolved into a discourse marker. Functioning as a discourse marker, *icey* indicates shift between one event and another. In this case, two events are sequentially related, and the use of *icey* marks change of state between the two events (Sohn & Kim, 2008).

Example 20 (a-c) show a variety of combinations of discourse markers (*ani* collocated with *mwe* in 20a, *ani* collocated with *icey* in 20b, and *com* collocated with *mwe* in 20c, respectively).

Repetitive occurrence of non-identical discourse markers as in Example 20 is one of the salient features of spoken discourse. A convincing hypothesis about the multiple uses of discourse markers in an utterance, even in a very short segment, would be that speakers in a conversation generate synergy while interacting with each other. In other words, not only do conversation participants deliver the propositional message in an object manner, but they also display their subjective attitude by increasing the effect that arises from each discourse marker.

Following examples demonstrate the use of *mwe* with the discourse marker *ani* ‘no’ in Example 21 and *kunyang* ‘just’ in Excerpt 22, respectively. See Example 21 below, in which female college students A and B talk about how they handle college life as freshmen and how they prepared for the midterms they had just finished.

(21) Study habit

- 1 A: *na-nun keuy kongpwu an ha-yss-e kuke, hhh..*
 I-NOM nearly study NEG do-PST-IE that.thing
‘I pretty much didn’t study that.’
- 2 B: *ai kuke nemwu kemanha-ta.*
 EX that.thing too arrogant-PLN
‘Oh, (that’s) too arrogant (of you).’
- 3 *kongpwu-lul way an hay-sse?*
 study-ACC why NEG do-PST
‘Why didn’t (you) study?’
- 4 → A: *ani mwe,*
 DM *mwe*
‘Well..’
- 5 → *phyengso-ey swuep-sikan-ey ha-nun ke-l mwe.*
 usual-TEM class-time-TEM do-RL thing-ACC *mwe*
‘(We) study in class, anyway.’

- 6 B: e::
yeah
'Yeah.'
- 7 A: *al-canha*,
know-you.know
'You know how it is.'
-

- 1 A: 나는 거의 공부 안 했어 그거.. hhh
2 B: 아이 그거 너무 거만하다.
3 공부를 왜 안 했어?
4 → A: 아니 뭐:::;;,
5 → 평소에 수업시간에 하는 걸 뭐::.
6 B: 어::.
7 A: 알잖아,

At the beginning of the excerpt, A strikes up a conversation about how unprepared she was for the exam in line 1. In response to B's question about why A didn't prepare enough for the exam in line 3, rather than giving information being asked directly, A gives an evasive answer uttering *ani mwe* 'no (I mean...)' in line 4, followed by a more specific account of not studying hard in line 5. As H. Kim points out in her comprehensive studies (2011), *ani*-prefaced turn in second position, as observed in line 4, is used to show the question recipient's resistance to responding to the question as it is framed (p. 91). Here, even though the question recipient, A, is supposed to answer to the information-seeking question, i.e., Wh-question, in this case, she does not comply with the questioner's request and instead shows her resistance to doing so. A's reluctant attitude is also evidenced by the noticeable lengthening imposed on *mwe* in line 4. In other words, A designs her responses to B's question in two ways: initially by showing her subjective stance, particularly a negative attitudinal stance in line 4) and subsequently providing an answer in line 5. It should be noted that A's responses (lines 4-5) are marked with *mwe* at the end of each turn. Again here, *mwe* is used to soften the force of *ani* 'no' with relatively long lengthening in line 4

and to alleviate her sheepish attitude about the situation with a comparatively shorter lengthening in line 5. That is, in responding to A's question, B shows dispreferred responses in lines 4-5 by employing *mwe* at the end of each turn.

The discourse marker *mwe* can also be combined with the discourse marker *kunyang* 'just.' The Korean adverbial *kunyang* originally indicates 'physical identicalness' at a general level, and once grammaticalized expresses 'temporal identicalness' at an abstract level. H. Park (2012) claims that *kunyang* has gone through the semantic bleaching process by losing its lexical meaning as an adverbial in speaking environment and evolved not only to express the speaker's attitude and subjective opinion toward either the propositional message per se or an addressee, but also to convey a message by organizing the discourse (p. 212-213). The determining factor of the role of *kunyang* in discourse is non-truth conditionality. That is, if *kunyang* modifies the following verb or adjective,³⁷ it is classified as an adverbial. On the other hand, if *kunyang* does not affect the truth-conditions of the propositional content and is used to convey the speaker's personal view on the propositions it is classified as a discourse marker. In the following example, *kunyang* is used as a discourse marker without affecting any propositions in the given context, and further combines with *mwe* to reinforce its function as a discourse marker. Consider Example 22, which took place between two female college students.

³⁷ H. Park (2012) points out that there are some exceptional cases where the adverbial *kunyang* modifies a noun. In this case, *kunyang* functions like an adjective as shown in the following example.

kukey nay-ka sa-n ke-lang talu-telako. kunyang khameyla-lamye?
 that.thing I-NOM buy-RL thing-with different-DECL+COMP-QT just camera-HRSY
 'That is different from what I bought. (I heard that that is) just a (normal) camera.'
 '그거 내가 산 거랑 다르더라고. 그냥 카메라라며?'

na-nun pitio khameyla-ye-sse.
 I-TOP video camera-COP-PST
 'Mine was a video camera.'
 '나는 비디오 카메라였어.'

When *kunyang* modifies a following noun, it means 'normal, common, general, or nothing special' by functioning as a restrictive adjective (p. 217).

(22) Treadmill

- 1 B: *olaynman-ey manhi wuntongha-yss-nuntey.*
while-TEP much exercise-PST-CIRCUM
‘(It’s) been a while, but (you) worked out a lot.’
- 2 A: *wuntong ches penccay cwunpiwuntong-ha-ko*
exercise first time warm.up-do-and
‘(It’s) because I started out with a warm-up,’
- 3 *macimak-ey cengliwuntong hay-se kulay,*
last-TEP cool.down.exercise do-CONN be.so
‘and finished it off with an exercise that cools down.’
- 4 *kulayse kule-n ke-y ikswukhayci-n thul-i iss-unikka*
so that.kind.of-RL thing-NOM used.to-RL routine-NOM exist-so
‘(I’ve) gotten quite used to it,’
- 5 → *kunyang mwe, na-n tto wenak cohaha-nikka ttwi-nun ke-l,*
just mwe I-TOP again naturally like-therefore run-RL thing-ACC
‘And you know, I love running, too.’
- 6 B: *ttwi-nun ke-l?*
run-RL thing-ACC
‘(You mean) Running?’
- 7 A: *ung.*
yeah
‘Yeah.’
- 8 *lenningmesin ilehkey ai ttamna-nun ke-l cohaha-nun kes kath-ay.*
treadmill like.this EX sweat-RL thing-ACC like-RL thing same-IE
‘(I) think (I) really like to sweat it out on the treadmill.’

-
- 1 B: 오랜만에 많이 운동했는데.
2 A: 운동 첫 번째 준비 운동하고
3 마지막에 정리 운동해서 그래,
4 그래서 그런 게 익숙해진 틀이 있으니까.
5 → 그냥 뛰::: 난 또 워낙 좋아하니까 뛰는 걸,
6 B: 뛰는 걸?
7 A: 응.
8 런닝머신 이렇게 아이 땀나는 걸 좋아하는 것 같애.

Prior to the selected excerpt above, they talked about how good they feel after somewhat strenuous exercise, i.e., running on the treadmill for a long time. In the string of A's accounts of her exercise practices in lines 2-5, she deploys *mwe* with lengthening preceded by the discourse marker *kunyang* in line 5. In this particular context *kunyang* is used as an initiator to paraphrase what A said in the preceding turns (lines 2-4). By connecting with the preceding context, A appears to minimize the significance of what A said (i.e., warm up and cool down in a systematic way in lines 2-3) by comparison with a newly paraphrased statement (i.e., personal preference of running in line 5). So as to mitigate the assertiveness of A's utterances (lines 3-5), A tactically deploys *mwe* along with *kunyang* in line 5. B's uptake in line 6 can be viewed as an unexpected response from B's point of view, given the fact that people normally do not like exercise, particularly running on the treadmill indoors. By partially repeating A's last utterance of line 5 (e.g., *ttwinun kel* 'running'), B requests confirmation about what B heard. When we return to the target expression *kunyang mwe* 'just well:::' in line 5, it is thus clear that *mwe* is used to reinforce the function of *kunyang* and to mitigate the degree of the assertion that follows.

3.4.4 *Mwe* in Rhetorical Question

A rhetorical question is defined as question that does not require information from a question recipient. It is used not only to achieve a specific conversational purpose but also to place emphasis on a point launched by the questioner, particularly, in persuasive discourse when no real answer is expected. A rhetorical question is thought to fulfill pragmatic functions, e.g., strong assertion, sarcasm, reproach, criticism, discontent, dissatisfaction, etc., which mostly connote the speaker's negative attitude toward either the propositional message or conversational situation. Consider the following two English rhetorical questions for example.

- (23) a. Can it be true?
 b. Who knows?

Example 23a is a yes-no rhetorical question, whereas Example 23b is a wh-type rhetorical question. Although the syntactic structure of both examples is formulated in the interrogation form, the illocutionary acts embedded in the utterances are not requesting an appropriate answer pertaining to the question. Instead, the format of the rhetorical question is strategically used to express the questioners' force of strong assertion toward the propositional content. That is, Example 23a is a reversed representation of its positive counterpart 'It cannot be true.' Example 23b is similar and emphasizes the negative meaning of the intended message 'Nobody knows.' Similar types of rhetorical questions are also observed in Korean as in Example 24 below. However, note that unlike English rhetorical questions that tend to be deployed in the formulaic expression,³⁸ Korean rhetorical questions are more contextually framed.

- (24) a. *kuke-y masiss-e?*
 that.thing-NOM tasty-IE
'Is that tasty?'
 '그게 맛있어?'
- b. *keki-lul nwu-ka ka-yo?*
 there-ACC who-NOM go-Q
'Who will go there?'
 '거기를 누가 가요?'

³⁸ In English, rhetorical questions are used to state ideas more powerfully and to influence the audience for literary effect in various types of literature. Despite the high use of rhetorical questions in literary works, rhetorical questions are also used in ordinary speech. Here are some examples of rhetorical questions commonly used in interactional conversation: *Why not? Who knows? You know what? Are you stupid? Are you kidding me?* etc.

Example 24a is a yes-no question and Example 24b is a wh-question, in terms of its syntactic structure. Korean is often called a situation- or discourse-oriented language (H. Sohn, 1999, p. 15). As such, the interpretation of questions in Korean should be understood based on the situation where they are produced; therefore, without considering the contextual environment, one cannot respond to the question properly. That being so, Example 24a can be interpreted as a pure yes-no polar question requesting information by the questioner who is wondering if that food tastes better (compared to another choice). However, it can also be understood as a rhetorical question asked by the questioner not content with the food at issue. A similar interpretation can be applied to Example 24b. Furthermore, the following examples, which are framed with *mwe* in the form of interrogation, lead us to one question as to what triggers the differentiated use of *mwe* in the seemingly same structure.

- (25) a. *cikum mwe mantul-ko iss-eyo?*
 now what make-CONN exist-POL
‘What are you making now?’
 ‘지금 뭐 만들고 있어요?’
- b. *yosay-n mwe hyuka-ka iss-ess-na?*
 these.days-TOP DM vacation-NOM have-PST-Q
‘Do we have vacations these days?’
 ‘요샌 뭐 휴가가 있었나?’

The surface structure of Example 25(a-b) looks familiar in that it is formulated as an interrogation with the interrogative pronoun *mwe*. However, its illocutionary effects are entirely different in terms of the intonation patterns and the functions *mwe* serves in each utterance. Example 25a is a typical wh-question requesting for information, where *mwe*, as an interrogative pronoun, is constrained by syntactic rules. On the other hand, Example 25b is a rhetorical

question in which *mwe* does not have any syntactic relation to other elements in the utterance. That is, *mwe* in Example 25b only influences the ways in which the speaker of the utterance expresses his attitude toward what is being said. Observe the following example, which shows two different uses of *mwe* in one utterance.

- (26) *na-yka mwe, an ha-nun ke-y mwe iss-e?*
 I-NOM DM not do-RL thing-NOM what exist-IE
‘(I always do everything.) Tell me something I didn’t do.’
 ‘내가 뭐, 안 하는 게 뭐 있어?’

Two tokens of *mwe* in the above utterance play totally different roles. In the first occurrence, *mwe* is used as a discourse marker serving as a time-buying device with a noticeable pause marked by a comma in the transcript. On the other hand, the second occurrence serves as an interrogative pronoun rendering the interrogatively formatted question to the rhetorical question. The interactional function achieved by the use of the rhetorical question in Example 26 can be explained by the notion of social actions. Within the conversation analytic framework, a rhetorical question has been understood as a vehicle to take an action, such as complaining, accusing, and challenging (e.g., Schegloff, 1984; Koshik, 2003). In light of this fact, the speaker of the utterance in the above example strategically employed the rhetorical question to indirectly express his complaint about and disagreement with being accused of not doing anything.

Returning to Example 25b, the following example is the context where Example 25b was extracted. Observe the function of *mwe* deployed in the rhetorical question within a little longer spontaneous discourse in Example 27 below.

(27) Vacation

- 1 A: *yosay mwe, thukpyelhi hyuka, hyuka ka-myen eti-lwu ka-nya?*
nowadays *mwe* particularly vacation vacation go-COND where-to go-Q
‘Where do (people) go for vacation nowadays?’
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 *pothong?*
usually
‘Usually?’
- 4 → B: *yosay-n mwe hyuka-ka iss-ess-na?*
these.days-TOP *mwe* vacation-NOM have-PST-Q
‘These days, well, do (we) even get vacations?’
- 5 A: *ung::.*
yeah
‘Yeah.’
- 6 *ani kulaytwu thukpyelhi mwe kakkaw-un tey ka-myen-un mwe.*
DM although special *mwe* nearby-RL place go-CONN-TOP *mwe*
‘I mean, if you go somewhere special nearby.’

-
- 1 A: 요새 뭐~ 특별히 휴가, 휴가 가면 어디루 가냐?
2 (0.3)
3 보통?
4 → B: 요샌 뭐 휴가가 있었나?
5 A: 응::.
6 아니 그래두 특별히 뭐 가까운데 가면은 뭐.

In Example 27, two male study abroad students talk about the upcoming summer break. Before the extracted part of the above example, they were talking about the hardship of living as international students in a foreign county (U.S.A.). Since they cannot afford to make a fancy plan for school break due to their busy school schedule and tight budget, they were less excited and rather apathetic. In response to the question launched by A in line 1, asking for a popular vacation spot where many people go during the vacation season, B displays his non-enthusiastic attitude toward the topic of the question. Note that in line 3, A again tries to solicit B’s response by specifying his question presented in the previous turn, i.e., adding an adverbial expression

bothong ‘usually,’ as there was no uptake by B in line 2 as indicated by a noticeable pause (0.3). Instead of giving a straightforward answer to A’s extended questions (in lines 1-3), B challenges A by asking back ‘do we (even) get vacations?’ in the construction of a rhetorical question in line 4. In this case, the effect of the rhetorical question is to place emphasis to the point that they rarely have leisurely vacation because they can’t truly be free from school-related activities, e.g., studying, writing a paper, doing experiments in the lab, etc. In turn, A initially accepts B’s challenge by saying *ung::* ‘yeah:: (you’re right)’ with lengthening in line 5, but soon, re-challenged B by uttering *ani kulaytwu* ‘no (I mean), even if it’s the case...’ in a more downgraded tone.

In summary, as I have shown in the examples above, the construction of rhetorical questions is a commonly used structural formula where *mwe* can appear to challenge, complain, or disagree with other interlocutors in spontaneous discourse.

3.4.5 Repetitive Occurrences of *mwe*

In the literature on English discourse markers, the major classes that most widely studied discourse markers are derived from are 1) conjunctions such as *and, but, so, or, therefore, because*, etc. (i.e., known to signal how the discourse segment, of which they are a part, is semantically related to the previous segment), 2) adverbials such as *frankly, certainly, obviously, so to speak*, etc. (i.e., known to signal a message commenting on the basic information), and 3) particles such as *well, like, uhm, now, okay, y’know, I mean*, etc. (i.e., traditionally known as a hedge or softener). In Siegel’s study (2002) on *like*, he emphasizes that *like* is not a member of the discourse structure-related category (as in the cases of (1) and (2) above), and rather falls in with words like *uhm, oh, well*, which started out as being called fillers (as in the case of (3)

above). That said, a distinguishing feature of *like* from other discourse markers, e.g., *uhm*, *uh*, *well*, etc. is that only *like* can appear several times within a turn. Observe the following example extracted from Siegel (2002).

(28) They're, like, representatives of their whole, like, clan, but they don't take it, like, really seriously, especially, like during planting season.

(Reprinted from M. E. A. Siegel, p. 38)

As you can see in the above example, *like* appears as a discourse marker four times embedded over two utterances uttered made by one speaker. Siegel explains that *like* has no defined grammatical role and no apparent grammatical relation to the sentences in which they appear, and it seems to convey something about the speaker's relation to what is asserted in the sentence (p. 38).

A similar pattern is also observed in the multiple uses of *mwe* being used as a discourse marker. As discussed so far, the examination of data reveals that *mwe* is predominantly used in a variety of contexts as a polysemy in natural Korean conversation. It is not only deployed as one single occurrence in an utterance, but also tends to appear several times throughout the conversation. In the current study, rather than considering *mwe* merely as a hedge when it occurs repeatedly, I view it to serve a certain kind of discourse functions in relation to the speaker's intention. In the subsequent sections I will look at two examples that demonstrate multiple occurrences of *mwe* throughout the sequences and also show how their usages are distinctive in relation to their surrounding constituent and the position it appears within an utterance.

3.4.5.1 Enumerating Examples of a Category

Frequently the discourse marker *mwe* appears several times when the speaker enumerates examples that belong to a certain type of category. Observe the following Example 29.

(29) City tour bus

- 1 A: *yosay ku sewul sithi thwue pesu kuke kwaynchanh-ten-tey.*
 nowadays that Seoul city tour bus that.thing okay-RET-CIRCUM
‘(I think) the Seoul City Tour Bus thing is pretty nice these days.’
- 2 B: *an kwaynchanh-e.*
 NEG okay-IE
‘(It’s) not nice.’
- 3 A: *tha pwa-ss-e?*
 ride try-PST-IE
‘(You) went on it?’
- 4 *na-nun acik an tha pwa-ss-nuntey.*
 I-TOP yet NEG ride try-PST-CIRCUM
‘I haven’t yet.’
- 5 B: *a::: nosen-ul pwa-ss-nuntey po-l ke-y eps-e*
 ah route-ACC see-PST-CIRCUM see-RL thing-NOM not.exist-IE
‘(I) just saw their route, but there’s nothing much to see,’
- 6 *kulehkey tol-myen*
 like.that turn-COND
‘If they go in that route.’
- 7 A: *way kulaytwu,*
 why be.so-although
‘But still,’
- 8 → *mwe namsan hanok maul-twu ka-kwu.*
mwe Namsan traditional.house village-also go-and
‘(They still) get to see Namsan Traditioanl Village,’
- 9 → *mwe sicheng mwe tayhaklo tongtaymwun*
mwe city.hall *mwe* university.road Dongdaemun market
‘and the City Hall, University Road, and Dongdaemun market,’
- 10 *hakiya hyentaycek-i-n ke-kwuna.*
 in.fact modern-be-RL thing-INF

‘Well, (I) guess that’s quite modern.’

11 B: *po-l ke-y mwe iss-e*
see-RL thing-NOM *mwe* exist-IE
‘What’s there to see?’

12 *kulehkey to-nikka.*
like.that turn-so
‘That’s their route.’

13 A: *ung.*
yeah
‘Yeah.’

14 B: *po-l ke amwu kes-twu eps-ci.*
see-RL thing any thing-also not.exist-COM
‘There’s nothing to see.’

-
- 1 A: 요새 그~ 서울 시티 투어 버스 그거 괜찮던데.
2 B: 안 괜찮어.
3 A: 타 봤어?
4 나는 아직 안 타 봤는데.
5 B: 아 노선을 봤는데 볼 게 없어
6 그렇게 돌면
7 A: 왜 그래두,
8 → 뭐~ 남산 한옥마을두 가구.
9 → 뭐~ 시청 뭐~ 대학로 동대문
10 하기야 현대적인 거구나.
11 B: 볼 게 뭐 있어
12 그렇게 도니까.
13 A: 응.
14 B: 볼 거 아무 것두 없지.

In Example 29 both speakers are female college students, who are good friends of study abroad students at the same school in Korea. Before the utterances shown in Example 29, they were talking about tourist spots they want to recommend to their foreign friends. In line 1 A launches a new topic by offering a suggestion about riding a city tour bus operated by the city of Seoul. In doing so, A deploys the clausal connective *-tentey*, which is composed of the retrospective suffix *-te* and the clausal connective *-nuntey/(u)n/tey*. As discussed in Y. Park (1999), the clausal connective *-(u)ntey* has been grammaticalized into a sentence final particle throughout the

omission of the second clause in the construction, and has further acquired a new grammatical function. *-Nun/(u)ntey*, serving as a sentence final particle, is used to leave room for other conversational participant(s) to figure out what intended message (usually, the omitted part in the second clause) is implied.

Given this function of *-nun/(u)ntey*, it is clear that A tries to make her suggestion as polite and indirect as possible by lessening the impact of the recommendation imposed on B. However, B strictly repudiates A's suggestion by saying *an kwaynchanhe* '(It's) not good' in line 2. Note that contrary to A, whose attitude is somewhat deliberate, B displays a rather strong and direct attitude with no such signals to make her disagreement less strong. In response to B's aggressive response, A asks if B has ridden a tour bus before in line 3 and provides her absence of such experience in line 4. When A expresses that she has not ridden a tour bus before, she again deploys *-nun/(u)ntey* at the end of her turn with the purpose of showing less commitment to the topic in line 4. However, B still takes a firm position on the topic at issue (i.e., an experience of riding a city tour bus) although B does not have firsthand experience. Thereupon, A keeps making efforts to solicit B's agreement by using another discourse marker *way* 'why' at the beginning of the turn in line 7 before she proceeds to elucidate a list of famous tourist spots where the tour bus stops in lines 7-8. Considering that *way* 'why' is frequently used to seek for alignment/agreement from other interlocutors in the spontaneous discourse,³⁹ it seems that A adheres to her original position made in line 1. It should be noted here that A employs *mwe* several times at the beginning of her turns when listing the famous spots where the tour bus stops. When *mwe* is placed at the beginning of the turn it is followed by a noticeable pause and lengthening. This pause and lengthening could be attributed to the action of seeking time since A

³⁹ The Korean interrogative pronoun *way* 'why,' whose basic function is asking for reasons, has also grammaticalized into a discourse marker, and its function is closely related to building solidarity with the hearer in the course of interaction (J. Ku, 2015).

needs to figure out the route the tour bus takes. In the review of the panel discussion titled ‘Approaches to Spoken Interaction,’ which was presented at the International Pragmatics Association Congress in Toronto 2003, Neal Norrick stresses the interactional significance of the construction of forgetfulness and remembering and the effect of the ‘tip-of-the-tongue states.’ That is, in the process of unfolding a story, a conversational participant, who is governing the talk at the time of his turn, often shows signs of hesitation, which are strong proof of authenticity; therefore, discourse markers are often used to service resources for the construction of the story (Aijmer & Stenström, 2005). In the same vein, A shows signs of hesitation with lengthening and pause, which were achieved with the use of the discourse marker *mwe* before listing words in the turn-initial position.

In lines 11-12, however, B continues to assert her position by repeating part of her statements displayed earlier in lines 5-6 with modification of the structure, i.e., through the form of rhetorical question, *pol key mwe isse* ‘what’s there to see?’ (in line 11) and with different clausal connectives from the conditional *-myen* (line 6) to *-nikka* (line 12). Finally, A seems to avoid further confrontation with B, who has a strong view on the city tour bus and eventually agrees with B by providing an agreement token *ung* ‘yes’ in line 13.

Here, it is important to compare the ways in which A and B exchange their opinions in terms of epistemic authority. Despite the fact that both conversation participants do not have firsthand experience in riding a city tour bus, A takes a very discreet position toward what she is saying, whereas B takes a very straightforward and assertive position throughout the conversation. That is, B keeps displaying superior epistemic authority throughout the segment so that A mitigates her disaffiliation in the response turn using *mwe*. The discrepancy in their attitudes is clearly evidenced by the different use of linguistic forms between A (e.g., -

nuntey/(u)ntey) and B (assertive use of the intimate ending *-e/a*). The example I will examine in the following section is somewhat different from the above example in that *mwe* is not associated with a noun (or a noun phrase) as shown in Example 29. Rather, *mwe* has a close relation to the turns produced by the same speaker to hold floors when delivering opinions.

3.4.5.2 Holding Floors to Maintain Speakership

In Shigemitsu (2010)'s study, she defines speakership as "a role in which one particular speaker starts afresh and develops a topic to its climax. Other participants hold the recipient role by asking questions, making comments, and adding more information as well as listening quietly or, at most, giving minimal responses" (p. 159). In another one of her studies on the conversational styles of Japanese (2009), she clarifies that there are some initiation- and termination cues as to who will start, and once it is decided, other participants implicitly agree to wait for the current speakership holder to give termination cues that project the completion of his current talk. In the process of initiation and termination of the turn, she describes that Japanese people often deploy discourse markers to initiate or terminate a talk, particularly, lexicalized discourse markers for initiation and particles for termination. As is well known, Korean and Japanese share the same syntactic structure as both are head-final languages, rendering a predicate (a verb or an adjective) to be placed at the end of the sentence. For this reason, a similar pattern is observed in Korean conversations in that a discourse marker is frequently used in the turn final position to indicate the current speaker's intention to maintain his speakership. The following example differs from the previous example despite both containing several tokens of *mwe* employed by the same speaker in their turns. Unlike the example we examined in the

previous section, Example 30 demonstrates how the main speaker deploys *mwe* at the end of his turns to hold speakership until he completes his talk. Observe the following example.

(30) Opening cultural doors

- 1 → A: *cenmyen kaypang mwe*
 full opening *mwe*
‘Full (cultural) opening,’
- 2 *phyeyciha-nta-kwu ilehkey nao-nuntey mwe hhhh pelsse hhh*
 abolish-PLN-QT like.this come.out-CIRCUM *mwe* already
‘I head they’re saying that they’re going to abolish open façade now already,’
- 3 B: *ani phyeyci-lul hay-twu imi intheney-s-ulo wa-ss-ta-ka-ss-ta ta*
 DM abolish-ACC do-although already internet-on come-and-go-PST-PLN all
- 4 *hhh.. wa-ss-ta-ka-ss-ta ha-nuntey. hhh*
 hh come-and-go-PST do-CIRCUM hhh
‘But even if they abolish that, it’s already going around on the invernnet now.’
- 5 → A: *kuntey mwe, intheney-s-ulo ta kaypang-toy-ko mwe*
 but *mwe* internet-on all open-PAS-and *mwe*
- 6 *maynia-chung ilponmal-lo maniachung,*
 mania-group Japanese.language-in Ma-Ni-A-group
‘Well, it’s all open online, from the mania fans, or ‘Ma-nia fans’ in Japanese.’
- 7 B: *ung*
 yeah
‘Yeah. (it’s true.)’
- 8 → A: *ha-nuntey mwe*
 do-CIRCUM *mwe*
‘Doing (as such).’
- 9 → *pelsse ilpon mwunhwa kaypang-toyki cen-pwuthe mwe*
 already Japan culture open-PAS-NOM before-from *mwe*
‘Even before Japan opened up to other cultures,’
- 10 → *citulkkili mwe*
 among.themselves *mwe*
‘Among themselves,’

- 11 → *moim* *kac-kwu* *mwe*
 gathering have-and *mwe*
 ‘(They already) had (their) own meetings (about it),’
- 12 → *sinchon-ina* *mwe*
 Shinchon-FRC *mwe*
 ‘in Shinchon or somewhere (like that)’
- 13 *ile-n* *tey*
 this-RL place
 ‘Place like this.’
- 14 B: *ung*
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’

- 1 → A: 전면 개방 뭐,
 2 폐지한다구 이렇게 나오는데 뭐, hhh 벌써 hhh
 3 B: 아니 폐지를 해두 이미 인터넷으로 왔다 갔다 다
 4 hhh 왔다 갔다 하는데. hhhh
 5 → A: 근데 뭐, 인터넷으로 다 개방되고 뭐,
 6 매니아층 일본말로 매니아층,
 7 B: 응.
 8 → A: 하는데 뭐,
 9 → 벌써 일본 문화 개방되기 전부터 뭐,
 10 → 지들끼리 뭐,
 11 → 모임 갖구 뭐,
 12 → 신촌이나 뭐,
 13 이런 데
 14 B: 응.

In the above example, A brings up the topic on the abolition of the cultural doors between Korea and Japan, which was a hot issue at that time.⁴⁰ In line 1, A launches a rumor going around among people saying that the Korean government will entirely abolish the cultural opening toward Japan, which was initially implemented in 1998. It is noteworthy here that when A presents the rumor, he deploys *mwe* after each of his turns in lines 1-2, the former after a noun phrase in line 1 and the latter after a clausal connective *-nuntey* ‘but; however’ in line 2,

⁴⁰ It was July in 2001 when the issue of abolishing the cultural opening to Japan was widely discussed among Korean people and by the government in Korea due to the conflicting view on several sensitive historical events with Japan.

respectively. As I will show in the following section, when *mwe* is deployed at the end of an utterance, it serves to display the speaker's stance toward either the propositional content of the message, the hearer who is co-participating in the conversation, or the overall conversational situation. That is, in the process of delivering a rumor to the interlocutor (B) of the conversation, A's unpleasant stance toward the message *per se* (i.e., the abolition of the cultural opening) is embedded by utilizing a linguistic resource, in this case, *mwe* functioning as a negative stance marker. In response to this, B also shows his alignment with A's position by providing a rationale for the invalidness of the government's plan in a slightly soft manner, as indicated with laughter *hhh* in lines 3-4. By repeating part of B's utterances, A continues to add his opinions in lines 5 through 13. While A plays as a main speaker throughout the extracted conversation, B appears to serve as a good listener in that he only provides backchanneling tokens *ung* 'yes' in lines 7 and 14. Rather than interrupting A's turns or making his own comments upon A's utterances, B signals A to go on and complete his talk. Note here that in the extended stretch of talk in lines 5-13, A deploys *mwe* in almost every turn in lines 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12. We do not consider this use of *mwe* as looking for time. Instead, it is considered to project the speaker's intention of not terminating a turn and to indicate that further sequences will follow. A does not only index non-finality, but also displays his subjective, in particularly, negative attitude with the use of *mwe*.

In summary, I have shown two examples that utilize several tokens of *mwe* in the stretch of turns of the same speaker; in this case, it turns out that *mwe* serves two distinctive roles depending on the speaker's intention in conversation. With *mwe* deployed in the initial- or medial position, the speaker takes up a moment to think of what to say next as a time-buying device. Furthermore, repetitive tokens of *mwe* are used to indicate that the current utterance is

not final yet and signal that some more talks follow. In this case, *mwe* tends to appear at the end of an utterance.

3.4.6 *Mwe* as a Device to End the Ongoing Dispute

Multifunctional discourse marker *mwe* is frequently observed in the context of speakers of exchanging opinions about a contentious topic. Speakers tend to deploy *mwe* as a way of mitigating subjective views and compromising their disagreeing attitude when they come to a conclusion. Example 31 is a case in which A (female) and B (male) are both college students. B, who holds the speakership role in the extracted script in 31 below, is talking about how inappropriate his behaviors was in the computer lab. In lines 1-6, B explains his wrongdoings about not being attentive to what students were supposed to do in the lab (i.e., engaged in online chatting with his friends instead of focusing on the worksheet assigned to students).

(31) Computer lab

- 1 B: *na achim ilccikp-wuthe honca mak ile-taka.*
 I morning early-from alone DM like.this-TRANS
 ‘I was (just) doing like this from early morning.’
- 2 *solcikhi malha-myen aytul na maysince ttuy-we noh-unikka.*
 frankly tell-COND kids me messenger open-INF hold-therefore
- 3 *aytul-twu kyaysok mwunca nal-la o-kwu*
 kids-also continuously text.message fly-INF come-and
- ‘Frankly speaking, my friends kept sending me instant messages when my
 chatting account was active.’**
- 4 *mak kule-kwu iss-nuntay.*
 just be.so-and exist-CIRCUM
 ‘I was doing like that, but’
- 5 *hhh. sensayngnim-un kkway yelsimhi ha-nun-ci a-nun ke-ya.*
 hhh teacher-TOP quite hard do-RL-NOM know-RL fact-IE

‘My teacher thought (that) I was doing fairly good.’

6 *chaything hanula-kwu caphan chi-kwu iss-nuntey, hhhh*
chatting doing-and key.board type-and exist-CIRCUM hhh
‘(even though) I was just typing on the keyboard for online chatting’

7 A: *an-ya yelsimhi ha-canha oppa.*
no-IE hard do-you.know brother
‘No, you are (in general) a conscientious student, you know.’

8 → B: *mwe amwuthun nalum-taylo.*
mwe anyway my.own-in.the.way
‘mwe, in my own way,’

9 *ai nay kicwun-eyse-n*
EX my standard-LOC-TOP
‘No, (but) in my own standard,’

10 *yelsimhi hanun ke kath-ci anh-ta ike-ci.*
hard do-RL fact same-NOM NEG-PLN this-COM
‘(I’m not) making every effort, you know.’

11 A: *e.*
I see
‘I see.’

1 B: 나 아침 일찍부터 혼자 막~ 이러다가.
2 솔직히 말하면 애들 나 매신저 띄워 놓으니까.
3 애들두 계속 문자 날라 오구
4 막 그러구 있는데.
5 hhh 선생님은 꽤 열심히 하는지 아는 거야.
6 채팅 하느라구 자판 치구 있는데. hhh
7 A: 아냐 열심히 하잖아 오빠.
8 → B: 뭐.. (0.6).. 아무튼 나름대로.
9 아이 내 기준에선
10 열심히 하는 거 같지 않다 이거지.
11 A: 어.

In response to what was presented by B in the preceding sequences, A expresses her disalignment stance toward the fact that B considered himself to be a bad student by saying *anya* ‘no,’ and instead pays him a compliment by bringing up B’s ordinary attitude in a normal situation in line 7. She described him as a good student who works hard. It should be noted here

that A even attempts to seek agreement from B on her claim *yelsimhi hacanha oppa* ‘you work hard, you know,’ and this turn is formatted with the Korean sentence ender *-canha* at the end, which is a commonly used sentence ender to solicit agreement from the interlocutor in conversation.⁴¹ However, the way in which B responds to A’s compliment over his self-degradation implicitly signals that B does not align with A’s comment. This is evidenced by the use of *mwe* with a 0.6-second pause at the beginning of B’s turn in line 8. Considering that one of the discursive roles of pause is to show the speaker’s dispreferred stance toward what was said by other participants, thus functioning as a hesitation marker, B’s response in line 8 can be seen as a negative signaling for the following sequences. The format of B’s response to A’s compliment is *mwe* followed by *amwuthun* ‘anyway’ and *nalumtaylo* ‘in my own way.’

Takahara (1998) reports that the English discourse marker *anyway* marks “what has just occurred in the conversation as being only of secondary importance and directs the addressee’s attention back to something earlier that the speaker views as being of primary importance” (p. 328).

Likewise, the Korean adverbial expression *amwuthun* ‘anyway,’ which is used right after the discourse marker *mwe*, may be interpreted as an intensifier to boost the mitigating function of *mwe*. Also, the adverbial expression *nalumtaylo* ‘in my own way’ in this context could be translated into ‘to some extent,’ which shows the degree of his agreement (i.e., partially, not completely) with A’s proposition. After deploying *mwe* as a disalignment token, B partially accepts A’s compliment by saying *amwuthun* ‘anyway’ and even further *nalumtaylo* ‘in my own way.’ In other words, B’s response in line 8 shows that B does not use his hesitation marker (a 0.6 second pause) as a word search and that he still wants to hold the floor while he deals with the delicate situation of disagreeing with a person who has made a positive comment about him.

⁴¹ S. Sohn (2010) emphasizes that the new interactive marker *-canha-*, which is a reduced form of *-ci anh-*, is used by the speaker to solicit agreement and empathy from the interlocutor (p. 254).

Furthermore, this mitigating turn is inserted to save his strong disagreement until later (line 9-10). What follows after the exchange between A and B in lines 7-8 is B's reinforcement of his position. After he partially accepted A's claim in line 8, he continues to expand his disaligned attitude by saying more strongly *ai nay kicwuneysen* 'in my own standard' in line 9⁴² and *yelsimhi hanun ke kathci anhta ikeci* '(I'm not) making every effort' in line 10. Finally, A, who failed to gain B's agreement, concedes grudgingly by saying *e* 'I see' in line 11, and the conversation subsequently moves on to another topic.

In summary, B's responses to A's complimentary comment in lines 8-11 are described as follows:

7	A: compliment offered
8	B: <i>mwe</i> + partial agreement
9	provide background for the coming disagreement
10	complete and strong disagreement

In other words, *mwe* along with the so-called booster, *amwuthun* 'anyway,' is used to dismiss a topic that is somehow felt to be intrusive or deviant (Altenberg, 1986, p. 36), or to transition from one topic to another. Furthermore, the discourse marker *mwe* plays a role in mitigating the degree of negative impact of B's statements in the ongoing talk. In the following section, the discursive functions of *mwe* will be discussed in terms of the modal suffixes to which it is attached.

3.4.7 *Mwe* Associated with Modal Suffixes

Wymann (1996) explains that modalities in Korean are either encoded predominantly by lexical or near-lexical markers or by highly grammaticalized markers (p. 221). Furthermore, he

⁴² H. Kim (2011) mentions that *ai* is a variation of *ani* 'no' produced in a compressed way (p. 157).

views sentence-final inflectional verbal morphology, which is concerned with the expression of mood, as displaying strikingly singular characteristics of morphological encoding which differ substantially from the general morphological patterns of Korean. In general, modalities are understood as something to do with the possibility or necessity of the truth of a proposition, involving knowledge and belief (Lyons, 1977). Building upon the earlier discussions on modality, which mostly focused on the referential meanings in relation to the speaker and the proposition at a semantic level, recent studies have started to emphasize the importance of the interactional aspect of modality concerning conversational participants' relationships in the social context of verbal interaction. S. Kim (2007) examines the so-called commital suffix *-ci*⁴³ in several conversational situations, e.g., telephone conversation context, first-language acquisition context, scripted data such as television and radio talk shows, face-to-face casual context, classroom situation. As I will show in the following section, the commital suffix *-ci* is the most frequently used modal suffix appearing with *mwe* in the sentence final position when *mwe* functions as a discourse marker. Observe the following example.

(32) Movie 'My Sassy Girl'

- 1 A: *ecey kaypong-in ke ani-nka*
 yesterday release-be-RL thing NEG-Q
 '(It was) yesterday when the movie was released, wasn't it?'
- 2 *yepkiceki-n kunye?*
 sassy-RL girl
 'My Sassy Girl?'
- 3 B: *ani-ya ani-ya.*
 no-IE no-IE

⁴³ H. Sohn (1999) terms *-ci* as a 'supportive' suffix, but I will adopt H. Lee (1999)'s term 'commital suffix,' as it indicates the speaker's commitment to the propositional meaning in the course of interaction. This term is also used as an abbreviation 'COM' in morpheme-by-morpheme glossing.

‘No, No.’

- 4 A: *sip myechil-nal kaypong-i-n ke-llwu al-ko iss-nuntey.*
ten what date-day release-be-RL fact-INF know-and exist-CIRCUM
‘As far as I know, it should be
- 5 → B: *alapo-myen toy-ci mwe.*
search-COND become-COM mwe
‘(We can) search for it, then.’
- 6 *kuke-na po-le ka-ya-keyss-ta*
that.thing-FRC watch-INF go-NEC-CONJ-PLN
‘(so) I should go watch it.’
- 7 *yepkiceki-n kunye.*
sassy-RL girl
‘My Sassy Girl.’
- 8 A: *a::: toykey caymiss-ul ke kath-ay.*
ah very fun-RL thing same-IE
‘I’m sure (the movie) will be very fun.’

-
- 1 A: 어제 개봉인 거 아닌가?
2 엽기적인 그녀?
3 B: 아니야 아니야.
4 A: 십 며칠날 개봉인 걸루 알고 있는데.
5 → B: 알아보면 되지 뭐.
6 그거나 보러 가야겠다
7 엽기적인 그녀.
8 A: 아 되게 재밌을 거 같애.

In Example 32, two male speakers talk about a movie release date for ‘My Sassy Girl,’ which was a big hit in Korean pop culture. Since a very famous actress was cast in the movie, many people were excited for the movie release. In lines 1-2, A solicits confirmation about the release date from B; however, it is immediately challenged by B with a strong disagreement token *aniya* ‘nope’ with doubling in line 3. Again, in line 4, A restates with more specific information to seek confirmation. In response to this, instead of giving confirmation or disagreement, B formulates his turn with the suffix *-ci* and *mwe*, which leads the ongoing argument that it is not important—the topic for the argument is too trivial to fight over. As Suzuki (1998) contends, the speaker

pretends that s/he does not value the object or the topic at issue highly so it is easy for the hearer to discontinue the argument, reject the proposal, etc. depending on the social actions embedded in the context (p. 273). In other words, B expresses that he does not value the topic (the movie release date in this case) highly and considers it a trivial topic for argument. Thus, he plays down the topic. This example has a feeling of devaluation, (i.e., ‘I am giving you my opinion, I’m not committed to it since I do not necessarily value it highly’). The point here is that the discourse marker *mwe* plays a key role in displaying the speaker’s devaluating stance. The rationale for this is that the presence of *mwe* at the end of the utterance in line 5 presents a striking contrast to its counterpart without *mwe*. More specifically, the utterance without *mwe* (i.e., *alapomyen toyçi* ‘we can search for it),’ whose auxiliary verb *toyta* ‘to become’ is conjugated with the committal suffix *-çi*, simply shows the speaker’s commitment to the propositional meaning. However, the utterance with *mwe* (as in line 5) has no such strong, yet attenuated commitment toward the proposition, and instead shows his epistemic stance.

Thus far, I have shown the ways in which the target subject *mwe* is utilized in spoken Korean. First, the review of the grammaticalization process was provided to show how the Korean interrogative pronoun *mwe* has attained its status as a discourse marker. After *mwe* was grammaticalized into a discourse marker, it evolved to play a variety of discursive roles in spoken interaction. I have looked at various functions of *mwe* with regard to 1) its collocation patterns, e.g., conjunctive adverbials, demonstratives, and other lexicalized discourse markers, 2) the type of structure, e.g., rhetorical questions, and 3) its recurrent patterns within a discourse, e.g., repetitive occurrence.

In the following section I will elaborate on the discussion (*mwe* associated with modal suffixes), as it displays both morphosyntactically and prosodically unique characteristics of *mwe* among its other discourse functions, in particularly when it is placed in the final position.

3.5 *Mwe* in the Final Position

I return to the topic of the uses of *mwe* associated with modal suffixes already touched upon in Section 3.4.7. Here, however, the issue is not the functions of the modal suffixes that are attached to *mwe* but instead its placement within an utterance. As Schegloff (2007) argues, “the action which some talk is doing can be grounded in its position, not just its composition—not just the words that compose it, but its placement” (p. 20-21). In the current study, it is salient that the functions of *mwe* strikingly differ from its other occurrences when it appears after a syntactically complete sentence at the end of an utterance. Compare the following two sets of examples between with *mwe* and without *mwe* to figure out the role of *mwe* at the end of an utterance and to feel the difference that the absence of *mwe* in this construction could have made.

- (33) a. *mwe hyangswu mwe sangphwumkwen mwe kule-n ke cwu-myen*
mwe perfume mwe gift.card mwe like.that-RL thing give-CONN
‘If you would give (him) such as perfume, gift card, or something like that,’

‘뭐 향수 뭐 상품권 뭐 그런 거 주면,’

- b. \emptyset *hyangswu \emptyset sangphwumkwen \emptyset kule-n ke cwu-myen*
perfume gift.card like.that-RL thing give-CONN
‘If you would give (him) such as perfume, gift card, or something like that,’

‘ \emptyset 향수 \emptyset 상품권 \emptyset 그런 거 주면,’

- (34) a. *pongsahwaltong-i ani-la kunyang cokum nola-cwu-n kec-yo mwe*
voluntary work-NOM not-but just a.bit play-give-RL thing-POL mwe

‘(It’s) not voluntary work, but just (I) played with them for a while, *mwe*.’

‘봉사활동이 아니라 그냥 조금 놀아준거죠 뭐.’

- b. *pongsahwaltong-i ani-la kunyang cokum nola-cwu-n kec-yo ∅*
voluntary work-NOM not-but just a.bit play-give-RL thing-POL
‘(It’s) not voluntary work, but just (I) played with them for a while.’

‘봉사활동이 아니라 그냥 조금 놀아준거죠, ∅.’

Examples 33 and 34 show the distinctive uses of *mwe* in terms of its placement within an utterance; more specifically, *mwe* is placed intrasententially either in the initial and middle of the utterance in Example 33 and in the final position in Example 34, respectively. If you compare Example 33a with 33b, wherein *mwe* is used as a time-buying device for enumerating examples of a category (i.e., a list of the birthday gift in this case), it becomes clear that *mwe* does not have any grammatical relation to other elements in the utterance. Example 33b without *mwe* still delivers the same propositional content as the case of 33a with *mwe*. That is, the truth conditionality is not affected by the absence of *mwe* in 33b. However, Examples 34a and 34b tell a different story. In Example 34a, the speaker’s attitude toward the message (i.e., playing with little kids for fun, not as a voluntary work in this case) was treated as a trivial matter, which thereby serves as a polite strategy in response to someone who complimented the speaker on his behavior. On the other hand, Example 34b straightforwardly carries the factual information without expressing the speaker’s subjective stance. That is, the difference between Examples 34a and 34b lies in the degree of the speaker’s commitment to the proposition. In this case, the functions of *mwe* indicate the relationships between the speaker and the message, and further, the relationships between the speaker and the hearer when interacting with each other.

From what has been said so far, I propose if *mwe* may be used as a vehicle to carry out certain kind of actions (e.g., disagreement, disalignment, complaining, etc.) in accordance with its positional context. Also, it could be assumed that the final position could be a locus where stance-taking is realized with the surrounding constituents due to its agglutinating nature. Since specific functions realized by *mwe* can differ significantly depending on its position within an utterance, focus will be placed on the tokens occurring in the final position. In the subsequent sections, I will discuss the functions of *mwe* appearing in the final position and examine the ways in which the speaker displays his attitude or stance toward the message, the hearer, or the overall conversational context.

3.5.1 Why Final Position?

In the field of Japanese linguistics, more specifically discourse modality, the focus of linguists' attention has been extensively made on Japanese final particles due to their prominent interactional natures (Maynard, 1993; Onodera, 2004; Kitagiri, 2007; Hasegawa, 2010, among others). Being primarily interactional, some particles, (e.g., *yo*, *ne*, *na*, *sa*), play a significant role in the final position. H. Sohn (1999) also contends that "the sentence final position in Korean and Japanese (SOV languages) is the territory of the speaker's modality toward the hearer in interactive communication."

Before I begin the discussion of the characteristics of *mwe* in the final position, a review of the structural unit of an utterance in spoken discourse is in order. As Tao (1993) points out, unlike the fundamental unit in syntax, which is the 'sentence,' consisting of a highly transitive clause with two arguments expressed, natural discourse is produced in prosodically definable segments (p. 2). Observable units in spoken discourse include a noun (or a noun phrase), a clause,

(or a truncated clause), and a sentence. For this reason, it is necessary to clarify the scope of and extent to which the term “final position” can be used. In various disciplines, the studies that deal with the final position give it different labels such as sentence final (in the traditional syntactic approach), turn final (within the framework of Conversation Analysis), clausal final or intonation unit final (in the functional linguistics), and AP-final or IP-final (in the field of phonetics). Observe the following examples in (35)⁴⁴, which illustrate the different types of units where *mwe* is frequently identified.

- (35) a. *kunyang mwe*
 just *mwe*
 ‘그냥 뭐’
- a’. *ku chinkwu-nun mwe*
 that friend-TOP *mwe*
 ‘그 친구는 뭐’
- b. *sensayngnim-ilang myentam-ha-l ttay mwe*
 teacher-with counselling-do-RL time *mwe*
‘When I have a counselling session with my teacher, *mwe*.’
 ‘선생님이랑 면담할 때 뭐’
- b’. *kulikwu kuke-l tu-si-kwu mwe*
 and that.thing-ACC eat-HON-CONN *mwe*
‘And, (he) ate that, and then, *mwe*.’
 ‘그리고 그걸 드시고 뭐’
- c. *sillyek eps-umyen ci-nun ke-ci mwe*
 skill not.have-COND lose-RL thing-COM *mwe*
‘You will lose (a game) if you don’t have quality skill, *mwe*.’
 ‘실력 없으면 지는 거지 뭐’

⁴⁴ The English translations in Examples 35a and 35a’ (the cases of a noun or a noun phrase with *mwe*) are intentionally left out as the meaning is already expressed in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss.

As can be seen in Examples 35(a-c), *mwe* is extensively used with different types of units, e.g., an isolated nominal word with or without the case particle (an adverbial in 35a and a general noun with the topic particle *nun* in 35a'), a clause with or without inflection (35b and 35b'), and a syntactically complete sentence (35c), respectively. This representation does not indicate that *mwe* appears more frequently in the final position over other positional contexts; however, I have restricted this examination to *mwe*'s occurrences to the final position, particularly, the case appearing after a syntactically complete sentence at the end of an utterance, as it displays specific functions in relation to its collocation with the preceding suffixes. For this reason, among the terminology options, I will use the term 'sentence-final,' as described in H. Sohn (1999), when delineating the discourse functions of *mwe* when it is deployed with modal suffixes or sentence enders⁴⁵ in the final position. However, in Chapter 4, where the intonation pattern imposed on *mwe* will be discussed, the terms AP-final and IP-final will be used instead as they are the terminology conventionally used in the field of phonetics.

In discussing the final position as a locus of stance-taking, it is necessary to examine the concept of "stance." Englebretson (2007b) provides comprehensive accounts on the notion of stance in terms of subjectivity, evaluation, and interaction. Englebretson characterizes the properties of stance as follows (p. 10-15):

- i. stance expresses a personal belief or attitude or a social value
- ii. stance is observable and available for interpretation and devaluation by others
- iii. stance is of interactional nature (originating in an exchange and/or opposition to other stances)
- iv. stance is of indexical nature (evoking larger aspects of the physical context of the

⁴⁵ When referring to sentence final suffixes in the Korean linguistics, they are termed in different labels by Korean linguists. H. Sohn (1999) uses 'sentence ender,' where H. Lee (1999) uses 'sentence-terminal suffix.' Of these options, I will follow H. Sohn (1999)'s term 'sentence ender' in this study.

sociocultural systems)

- v. stance is consequential (stance-taking has real consequences for the stance-takers)

Similarly, Conrad and Biber (2000) classify “stance” for their investigation into three categories: epistemic, attitudinal, and style stances. Johnstone (2007) specifically examines identity as a stance expressed. However, every utterance, even the shortest utterance such as *umm* or *ah*, should reveal the uttering person’s stance to a certain degree. In this sense, I agree to Englebretson’s (2007b) view that “every utterance enacts a stance” (p. 70), and Stubbs’s statement that “whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it” (Englebretson, 2007b, p.70). Moreover, I assume that not only people’s verbal utterances but also their silences, murmurings, and sometimes pauses and stutterings reflect their thoughts, attitudes, and other kinds of “stance.” In this sense, “stance” is not always expressed linguistically. Also, in some cases, the same token shows different “stances” depending on its tone or intonation. Therefore, when humans make any kind of interaction, not exclusively speech their “stances” are revealed in various forms, whether consciously or unconsciously. Thus, “stance” is not a feature that is expressed or not expressed, but possible to present on various continuums of conscious-to-unconscious, overt-to-covert, etc.

The following example shows the contrast between the presence and the absence of *mwe* that is attached to the same propositional content in the conversation. Observe Example 36 below.

(36) Weekend plan

- 1 B: *nayil* *cwumal-i-ntey* *mwe* *ha-l-ke-ya*
 tomorrow weekend-be-CIRCUM what do-RL-thing-Q
 ‘(It’s) the weekend tomorrow, so what are you going to do?’
- 2 A: *nayil* *kunyang* *swukcey-na* *hay-ya* *toy-keyss-ta*

tomorrow just homework-FRC do-NEC become-CONJ-PLN
'Tomorrow (I) will just do homework.'

3 → *cip-eyse swukcey-na ha-ko mwe yenghwa-na pwa-ya-ci_Ø*
home-LOC homework-FRC do-and mwe movie-FRC watch-NEC-COM
'(I) will just stay home by doing homework or watching a movie.'

4 B: *ung.*
yea
'I see.'

5 *ehyu, cwumal cal ponay-la.*
aw weekend well spend-IMPER
'Ugh, (hope you) have a good weekend.'

6 A: *kunyang mwe swukcey-ha-ko mwe yenghwa po-ko*
just mwe homework-do-and mwe movie watch-and
'(I will) just do homework and watch a movie.'

7 → *mwe kulehkey cinay-ci mwe.*
mwe like.that spend-COM mwe
'That's what I will do, mwe.'

8 B: *ung.*
yea
'Yes.'

-
- 1 B: 내일 주말인데 뭐할거야?
2 A: 내일 그냥 숙제나 해야 되겠다
3 → 집에서, 숙제나 하고 뭐 영화나 봐야지 Ø.
4 B: 응.
5 어휴, 주말 잘 보내라.
6 A: 그냥 뭐 숙제 하고 뭐 영화 보고
7 → 뭐 그렇게 지내지 뭐.
8 B: 응.

Example 36 comes from the telephone conversation between two male graduate students. In line 1, B asks what A is going to do for the upcoming weekend. In response to B's question, A says *nayil kunyang swukceyna hayya toykeyssta* 'just do homework,' which sounds like no fun at all. Soon after, A reformulates his plans by specifying 'doing homework' and 'watching a movie' in line 3. In turn, B sympathizes with A's opinion (*ung* 'yes' in line 4) and displays somewhat

supporting attitude, as the expression of ‘have a good weekend’ literally means “wishing someone a good time on the weekend” in line 5. However, it could be assumed that B’s attitude toward A is not as favorable as its literal sense in line 5. The basis for this assumption is that his initial token ‘*ehyu*’ in line 5 is a sighing sound that is used to express someone’s undesirable emotion. Upon B’s uptake, A iterates his insignificant plans with the use of *mwe* at the end of his turn in line 7. Note here that the propositional contents of lines 3 and 7 are same in that A delivers the factual information (i.e., his plans for the weekend). However, the way in which A delivers the information differs in that A delivers his plans in a neutral way without *mwe* at the end of his turn in line 3, whereas A displays his negative stance toward the conveyed message by employing *mwe* after the syntactically complete sentence in line 7.

As H. Lee (1999) points out, the committal suffix *-ci* is used to emphasize the certainty of the conveyed message, which is usually informative as in line 3. However, the addition of *mwe* after the committal suffix *-ci* indicates the speaker’s subjective attitude, which can have negative influence on the conveyed message. Relevant lines are represented in Example 37 below.

(37) Weekend plan

- a. *cil-eyse swukcey-na ha-ko mwe yenghwa-na pya-ya-ci ǀ.*
 home-LOC homework-FRC do-and *mwe* movie-FRC watch-NEC-COM
‘Tomorrow, I need to do homework.
So, (I’m going to) stay home and do homework or watch movies.’
 ‘집에서 숙제나 하고 뭐⁴⁶ 영화나 봐야지 ǀ.’ ← **intentional / volitional**
- b. *kunyang mwe swukcey-ha-ko mwe yenghwa po-ko mwe*
 just *mwe* homework-do-and *mwe* movie watch-and *mwe*
‘(I will) just do homework or watch a movie.’
 ‘그냥 뭐 숙제 하고 뭐 영화 보고 뭐’

⁴⁶ The function of *mwe* in the middle of the turn can be understood as the listing of options as a time-buying device.

kulehkey cinayci mwe.
 like.that spend-NEC-COM *mwe*
 ‘That’s what I will do, *mwe*.’
 그렇게 지내지 뭐.’

← negative stance

As can be seen above, Example 37a simply delivers the speaker’s plan in a neutral sense, whereas Example 37b displays the speaker’s subjective attitude, in this case, negative stance. This difference could be attributed to the presence and the absence of *mwe* that is attached to the suffix *-ci* of the preceding sentence in the final position.

Below, I will examine the cases where *mwe* serves specific functions in the final position along with the case of another discourse marker *way* ‘why,’ which is also derived from the interrogative pronoun. Consider Example 38 below.

(38) a. *nayil ha-myen toy-ci mwe*
 tomorrow do-CONN become-COM *mwe*
 ‘(You) can do (it) tomorrow, *mwe*.’

‘내일 하면 되지 뭐.’

b. *ku salam iss-canha way*
 that person be-you.know *way*
 ‘(You) know that person, *way*.’

‘그 사람 있잖아 왜.’

Example 38a and 38b show how *mwe* and *way* can be deployed in association with the syntactically complete sentence in the final position. In Example 38a, *mwe* is attached to the preceding statement, (i.e., *nayil hamyen toy-ci* ‘you can do (it) tomorrow’), whereas *way* is attached to the statement, (*ku salam isscanha* ‘You know that person’). However, it should be noted here that the types of stance evoked by the addition of *mwe* and *way* are strikingly different from each

other. Example 38a shows a rather laid-back, less assertive attitude toward the matter at issue, whereas Example 38b displays an affective attitude to solicit alignment from another interlocutor in the conversation. This is also evidenced by the use of the grammaticalized interactive ender -*canha-*, associated with *way* in the preceding sentence. That is, both *mwe* and *way* are used to emphasize the propositional information conveyed in the preceding sentence and to express the speaker's subjective attitude/opinion/view toward the propositions being addressed. Interestingly, types of the sentence enders that *mwe* can be attached to in this construction are severely limited since only certain kinds of sentence enders tend to appear with *mwe* in Korean compared to other sentence enders. In the subsequent sections, I will examine the collocation patterns that *mwe* is frequently collocated with and its significance with relation to the contextual environment.

3.5.2 Collocation Patterns Associated with *Mwe*

Collocation is widely understood as a sequence of words or expressions that co-occur more frequently than what might be used arbitrarily. Sinclair (1987) notes that each word meaning can be associated with a specific collocation or pattern. For example, when one says *suthuleysulul patta* 'to get stressed out' in Korean, the noun *suthuleysu* 'stress' only takes the verb *patta* 'to receive' over other alternatives, e.g., *etta* 'to get,' *patatulita* 'take, accept,' *chwihata* 'take, have, get,' which are also used to describe the action of 'receiving.' Thus we would say that the noun *suthuleysu* 'stress' is closely connected with the verb *patta* 'to receive' in terms of its collocation. In general, a collocation pattern is determined by frequency. In order to understand the collocation patterns of *mwe*, I ran the concordancing software called AntConc.⁴⁷ An analysis of large corpus data reveals that *mwe* is closely related to a certain group

⁴⁷ Detailed information about AntConc is provided in Section 1.4.1.

of sentence enders and some *kule*-type discourse markers derived from other lexical words. In the following subsections, I will discuss the collocation patterns and frequency of each case in detail.

3.5.2.1 [Sentence Ender + *Mwe*] Construction

First, observe the sentence enders that are frequently used with *mwe* in the sentence final position.

Table 6. Types of Sentence Ender Co-occurring with *Mwe* and Frequency

Types of Sentence Ender	Frequency	Percentage
<i>-ci</i> ⁴⁸	214	59.1%
<i>-tey</i> ⁴⁹	64	17.7%
<i>-ta</i>	63	17.4%
others ⁵⁰	21	5.8%
Total	362	100%

⁴⁸ *-cyo*, which is a combined form of the suffix *-ci* and the polite ending *-yo*, is also included in this category.

⁴⁹ *-tey* is originally a clausal connective as you can see in the examples below. For this category, only the grammaticalized use of *-tey* is counted, which comes in the final position of the speaker's turn. The tokens of *-tey* used as a clausal connective are excluded.

- (a) *-tey* as a clausal connective: *pi-ka o-nuntey mwe wusan-i eps-ney*
rain-NOM come-CIRCUM *mwe* umbrella-NOM not.have-FR
'It is raining, but I don't have an umbrella.'

‘비가 오는데 뭐 우산이 없네’,

- (b) Grammaticalized use of *-tey*: *an toy-l kes kath-untey mwe*
NEG become-RL thing same-CIRCUM *mwe*
'I don't think it will work out, *mwe*.'

‘안 될 것 같은데 뭐.’

⁵⁰ Others sentence enders include *-yo* (10 out of 362), *-ya* (8 out of 362), and *-ney* (3 out of 362), etc., which appear in relatively small numbers.

As you can see in Table 6, the three most frequently used sentence enders are *-ci*, *-tey*, *-ta*. As discussed in the earlier work (Cha, 2010), *-ci*, what H. Lee (1999) calls a ‘committal’ suffix, is predominantly used as a sentence ender in the preceding utterance (214 out of 362, 59.1%). H. Lee (1999) points out that the basic function of the committal suffix *-ci* is to emphasize the speaker’s belief about the truth of the conveyed message with varying degrees of certainty (p. 247). According to him, a high degree of certainty connotes conviction, assurance, and confidence toward the conveyed message, whereas a low degree of certainty expresses supposition and suspicion depending on the context. That is, the use of *-ci* in this construction is associated with the speaker’s low degree of certainty toward the propositional content. The interrelationship between the use of *-ci* and a low degree of certainty is further clarified with the lexical meaning of *mwe*, which is derived from the interrogative pronoun ‘what’ denoting ‘lack of knowledge.’ This is illustrated in Example 39 below.

(39) Movie

1 A: *hankwuk-ey-nun mwusun yenghwa ha-nya yocum*
 Korea-LCO-TOP what.kind movie show-Q these days
‘What movies are on show these days in Korea?’

2 → B: *yocum-ey ta ttokkath-ci mwe*
 these days-LOC all same-COM *mwe*
‘(It is) just the same (nothing special), *mwe*.’

3 A: *ung*
 yes.
‘I see.’

1 A: 한국에는 무슨 영화 하나, 요즘?
 2 → B: 요즘에 다 똑같지 뭐.
 3 A: 응.

In Example 39, *mwe* is deployed in the sentence final position and displays the speaker's indifferent attitude toward the question launched by A in line 1. In other words, after a grammatically complete sentence, i.e., *yocumey ta ttokkathci* '(It's) just the same (nothing special) these days,' B additionally, most likely intentionally, uses *mwe* to treat the propositional content conveyed in the preceding sentence as an insignificant matter by downgrading his epistemic authority. The following example demonstrates the case of *-tey* used with *mwe* in the final position.

(40) Repeater

- 1 A: *myech kaywel hwu-pwuthe-nun cengmal cayswusayng-i-ta*
 some month after-from-TOP real repeater-COP-DEC
 '(We are) becoming real repeaters in a few months.'
- 2 B: *acik ani-ci anh-ulkka*
 yet not-COM not-Q
 '(We are) probably not (repeaters) yet.'
- 3 → A: *colepha-ko han tal cina-ss-nuntey mwe*
 graduate-CONN one month pass-PST-CIRCUM *mwe*
 'It has been (already) one month after (we) graduated from (high school), *mwe*'
- 4 B: *colepha-ko han tal-pakkey an cina-ss-nya*
 graduate-CONN one month-only NEG pass-PST-Q
 'Has it been only one month after (we) graduated from (high school)?'

-
- 1 A: 몇 개월 후부터는 정말 재수생이다.
 2 B: 아직 아니지 않을까?
 3 → A: 졸업하고 한 달 지났는데 뭐.
 4 B: 졸업하고 한달밖에 안 지났냐?

In Example 40, both A and B are high school graduates who failed in this year's college entrance exams and are preparing for their next chance. They differ in several ways in that A perceives himself as a repeater already, whereas B still perceives himself as a graduate. This stark

difference between the two is evidenced by their distinctive uses of sentence enders and particles. More specifically, A formulates his turn with the declarative plain speech form *-ta* in line 1 and *mwe* being used as a discourse marker in line 3, whereas B responds by trying to solicit agreement from A by employing the question conjugated with *-ulkka* (shall we..?) in line 2 and the particle *pakkey* ‘only’ in line 4. It is necessary to note here that the grammaticalization process of the clausal connective *-tey* is involved in the omission of the second clause. Therefore, the grammaticalized use of *-tey* indicates that the speaker avoids the negative impact that could have been brought by the second clause. In light of this, the use of *-tey* as a sentence ender of the preceding sentence goes along the lines of *mwe* in line 3, displaying negativity implicitly, and thereby used as an indirect strategic device.

In summary, the collocates that have a close relation with *mwe* in the final position are modal suffixes, e.g., *-ci*, *-tey*, *-ta*, etc., which express the speaker’s subjective stance or attitude toward the addressee(s), the propositional content *per se*, or the situation where the conversation takes place (Lyons, 1977). Given that modality is realized with the use of various sentence enders in Korean, it is evident that a sentence ender in the preceding utterance enhances the function of *mwe* in the final position, which serves as a subjective stance-taking marker.

3.5.2.2 [*Kule*-type Discourse Marker + *Mwe*] Construction

Mwe is not only used in the sentence final position, but also frequently with some other discourse markers when appearing in the middle of the utterance. The following table shows the twelve most frequent collocates that often co-occur with *mwe* in the non-final position.

Table 7. Types of Collocates Co-occurring with *Mwe* and Frequency

Types of collocates⁵¹	Frequency
<i>icey</i> ‘now’	98
<i>kulenikka</i> ‘therefore’	87
<i>kulentey</i> ‘however’	82
<i>kunyang</i> ‘just’	71
<i>cikum</i> ‘now’	56
<i>tto</i> ‘again’	55
<i>kulemyen</i> ‘then’	52
<i>kuliko</i> ‘and’	50
<i>kulayse</i> ‘so’	46
<i>keuy</i> ‘almost’	44
<i>ani</i> ‘no’	43
<i>mwusun</i> ‘what kind’	40
:	:
:	:

It is worth noting that most of the words collocated with *mwe* in the non-final position are also discourse markers derived from other lexical words. Here it is evident that adjacent occurrences of discourse markers support the nature of discourse markers. Discourse markers are oral phenomena that emphasize a high degree of colloquiality that does not typically occur in written discourse. More interestingly, almost half of them are *kule*-type discourse markers, e.g., *kulenikka* ‘therefore,’ *kulentey* ‘however,’ *kulemyen* ‘then,’ *kuliko* ‘and,’ *kulayse* ‘so.’ Of the collocates from Table 7 above, I selected the *kule*-type discourse markers and reorganized them by frequency in the following table.

⁵¹ The base full form is used for each entry item in Table 7. More specifically, the entry item *icey* ‘now’ includes the tokens of its spoken variation *incey*. *Kulenikka* ‘therefore’ has several forms of variations such as *kunikka*, *kunkka*, *kinkka*, *kukka*, *-kka*, etc. All those forms are counted for frequency. *Kulentey* ‘but; however’ also includes the case of *kuntey*, and the entry *kuliko* ‘and’ also includes the tokens of its spoken form *kulikwu*.

Table 8. *Kule*-type Discourse Markers Co-occurring with *Mwe* and Frequency

Types of collocates	Frequency	Percentage
<i>kulenikka</i> ‘therefore’	87	26.3%
<i>kulentey</i> ‘however’	82	24.8%
<i>kulemyen</i> ‘then’	52	15.7%
<i>kuliko</i> ‘and’	50	15.1%
<i>kulayse</i> ‘so’	46	13.9%
<i>kulehkey</i> ‘like that’	14	4.2%
Total	331	100%

As pointed out by J. Im (2011), *kule*-type discourse markers can be broken down into the predicate *kulehata* and *kulihada* ‘to do so/to be so,’ followed by a set of the clausal connectives, e.g., *-ese/ase* for causality, *-(u)n/nuntey* for contrast, *-ko* for continuation, *-nikka* for cause-effect/time indication, *-(u)myen* for conditionality, *-key* for describing the way in which the action is done (p. 46). All the *kule*-type discourse markers include the demonstrative *ku* ‘that,’ which indexes the referent close to the hearer in the physical distance or what is known to the hearer in the cognitive process. Therefore, I hypothesize that *kule*-type discourse markers, whose semantic nature is rooted in the demonstrative *ku* ‘that,’ are interrelated with the meaning of *mwe*, which is also used to indicate the speaker’s psychological distance from the truth-conditional proposition.

3.5.3 Semantic Prosody

As set forth by Sinclair (1991), semantic prosody, also known as discourse prosody, describes the way in which certain seemingly neutral words can be perceived with positive or

negative associations through frequent occurrences of particular collocations (p. 70). Although there are some studies demonstrating that most conversational uses of sentence final particles (in the case of Japanese, e.g., *yo*, *ne*) are not directly associated with any particular illocutionary act or with any specific propositional content (Katagiri, 2007), *mwe* shows a strong tendency to appear in a certain contextual environment when placed in the final position.

The utterance that uses the [sentence ender + *mwe*] construction is mostly utilized as a response to a question, evaluation presented in the prior turns, or overall topic at issue in the ongoing conversation. However, regardless of the types of utterances to which *mwe* is directed, it tends to imply the speaker's negative attitude toward the propositional content, the interlocutors of a conversation, or the situation that encompasses the conversation. This is illustrated in Example 41 below.

(41) Trip to Grand Canyon

- 1 B: *kuntey cinccalo kulayntu khaynyen-i ettenci po-lyemyen*
 by the way really Grand Canyon-NOM how-DISJ see-COND
- 2 *paynang mey-ko mith-ey heka pat-a kac-ko*
 backpack carry-CONN bottom-LOC permission receive-and have-CONN
- 3 *naylyeka-nun ke-y hwelssin na-a*
 go down-RL thing-NOM much better-IE

‘By the way, if (you) want to see what Grand Canyon is really like, it’s much better to shoulder your backpack and go down to the bottom.’

- 4 A: *e heka pat-a kac-ko tto ka-ya*
 oh permission receive-CONN have-CONN again go-NECESS
- 5 *toy-nun-kwuna kukes-to*
 become-RL-UNASSIM that.thing-too

‘Oh, (I didn’t know that I) have to receive a permission.’

6 B: *kulehci anh-umyen-un kunyang yel sikan kase han sip pwun*
 so-COM not-COND-TOP just ten hours ko-CONN about ten minutes

7 → *isip pwun po-ko naylyeo-nun ke-ci mwe*
 twenty minutes see-CONN go.down-RL thing-COM *mwe*

‘Otherwise, (you) go (there) for ten hours, and then come down after you sightsee for just ten or twenty minutes.’

8 A: *ewu ku- kule-l swu-nun eps-ci*
 no that that-RL way-TOP not.exist-COM
‘No way. (I) can’t let things happen like that.’

9 *kulem chalaki te alchakey no-l swu iss-nun pangpep-ul*
 then rather more efficiently play-RL way exist-RL way-ACC

10 *chaca-ya-ci*
 find-NECESS-COM

‘Then, (I) should find another way to spend (time) more efficiently (there).’

11 B: *ung*
 Yes
‘You’re right.’

- 1 B: 근데 진짜로 그랜그캐년이 어떤지 보려면
 2 배낭 메고 밑에 허가 받아 갖고
 3 내려가는 게 훨씬 나아.
 4 A: 어 허가 받아 갖고 또 가야
 5 되는구나 그것도.
 6 B: 그렇지 않으면은 그냥 열시간 가서 한 십분
 7 → 이십분 보고 내려오는 거지 뭐.
 8 A: 어우 그- 그럴 수는 없지.
 9 그럼 차라리 더 알차게 놀 수 있는 방법을
 10 찾아야지.
 11 B: 응.

In providing background information about two speakers in Example 41, A lives on the East coast and B lives in the LA area. A calls B to ask for advice about a trip to Grand Canyon. B gives useful information to A in line 1-3, and based on A’s acknowledgement in line 4 and 5, B adds more information as to what will happen if A does not follow his advice. In line 6 and 7, B expresses how unhappy he would be if A spends more than ten hours to get to Grand Canyon

only for ten to twenty minutes sightseeing. To emphasize the fact that spending too much time driving is not a good idea for a trip to Grand Canyon, B uses the discourse marker *mwe* at the end of his utterance in line 7. By deploying *mwe*, B treats the event (ten-hour driving and ten-minute sightseeing) as a non-recommendable activity and thus waste of time and money for A's visit to Grand Canyon. In other words, the speaker implicitly considers the propositional content as trivial or of little importance, hence feels unwilling to do if the situation is under his control. Or, the speaker thinks 'there is nothing else to do for the given situation' if it is out of his/her control. Thus, the speaker's subjectivity triggers the use of *mwe*, which reflects his/her undesirable stance as a linguistic device.

To examine the relationship between *mwe* and the predicate of the preceding clause and/or sentence, it is necessary to examine the hidden associations that give nonneutral connotations to the usual expression. As pointed out by Bednarek (2008), some lexical items are predominantly co-occurring with what can be called 'negative' (e.g., 'bad,' 'unpleasant,' etc.) and 'positive' (e.g., 'good,' 'pleasant,' etc.) collocates. To examine the semantic prosody of *mwe*, I used concordancing software to arrange *mwe* in context. The five most frequently used predicates are presented in Table 9 below.

Table 9. Semantic Association of the Predicate with *Mwe* in the Final Position

Predicate of the preceding clause and/or sentence ⁵²	Frequency	Semantic association
<i>kuleha-ta</i>	21	Neutral
<i>eps-ta</i>	9	Negative
<i>ha-ta</i>	8	Neutral
<i>mosha-ta</i>	6	Negative
<i>iss-ta</i>	4	Neutral

The lexical meaning of the predicates labelled as ‘Neutral’ in Table 9 (e.g., *kuleha-ta* ‘to be so’, *ha-ta* ‘to do’, and *iss-ta* ‘to exist’) conveys a neutral meaning on their own without any positive or negative connotations. However, when it is associated with the whole context to which the predicate belongs, it comes to yield a negative prosody directing the propositional content into undesirable meaning. In other words, predicates’ semantic prosody is correlated with the conceptual evaluation of the speaker on the propositional contents and expresses the speaker’s preference toward what is being said in the conversation. Observe Example 42 for the semantic association of the predicate in the preceding sentence.

(42) Semantic association

kulenikka wancenhi pal mwukk-ye-iss-ci mwe
 so;therefore completely foot tie-INF-exist-COM *mwe*
‘So (I mean), (I’m) left completely stranded, *mwe*.’

‘그러니까 완전히 발 묶여 있지 뭐.’

⁵² Lemma is used for the entry items in Table 9. In other words, all different forms of one lexeme are merged into one lemma. For example, the entry item ‘*kuleha-ta*’ includes the forms of the same lexeme such as *kulehta*, *kulehci*, *kulenkeci*, *kulayssci*, and so on.

In Example 42, the meaning of the predicate collocated with *mwe* is *issta* ‘to exist: to be’ on its own, which is labelled as ‘Neutral.’ It is one of the commonly used auxiliary verbs that gives further semantic or syntactic information about the main verb preceding it. In the example above, since the predicate *issta* ‘to exist: to be’ is primed with the preceding expression *pal mwukkye* ‘be tied up,’ which describes a negative event, the overall semantic prosody attains a negative connotation before being attached to *mwe*. Thus, it can be concluded that the contextual environment where *mwe* is used in the sentence final position is mostly negative and denotes an undesirable, unfavorable, reluctant attitude in general. This is also evidenced by the fact that both the collocated predicate and semantic prosody primed with *mwe* are negatively formatted.

CHAPTER 4

PROSODIC FEATURES OF *MWE*

4.1 Intonational Structure of Seoul Korean

Prior to investigating the prosodic properties of *mwe*, detailed accounts of the intonational structure of the standard dialect of Korean are in order. The following descriptions of the intonational structure of Korean are from Jun (1993, 1996, 1998, 2000), unless otherwise stated. Jun proposed a model of intonational phonology of Seoul Korean based on the Autosegmental-Metrical framework of intonation developed by Pierrehumbert (1980), Liberman and Pierrehumbert (1984), Beckman and Pierhumbert (1986), and Pierrehumbert and Beckman (1988).⁵³ Typologically, Korean is an intonational language where prosodic prominence is marked by phrase tones, and not by lexical tones or stress.⁵⁴ Phrasal tones mark prosodic groupings, and the tonal pattern of a small prosodic phrase is highly predictable.

According to Jun's model, an Intonation Phrase (IP) and an Accentual Phrase (AP)⁵⁵ are two prosodic units that are defined by intonation in the standard Korean dialect (Seoul dialect).⁵⁶

⁵³ As quoted by Jun (1993), Pierrehumbert's (1980) theory of the phonology of the English intonational contours assumes that "the intonational contour consists of a sequence of discrete tonal entities; thus, there are only two tonal levels, High and Low. These tonal entities have different compositions in terms of tones and different distributions within the Intonational Phrase" (p. 32-33).

⁵⁴ Although researchers agree that Seoul Korean does not have lexical stress, it is still controversial whether Korean has fixed stress at the word-level or phrasal stress. However, this study adopts the position that the prominence claimed to be a property of a word does not refer to a word level stress but is linked to a phrasal phenomenon, i.e., a by-product of a phrase level prosody.

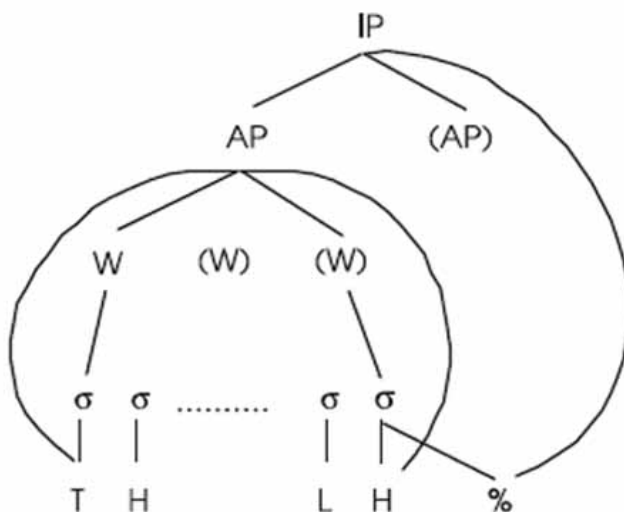
⁵⁵ Intonation Phrase will be represented as in IP and Accentual Phrase as in AP hereafter.

⁵⁶ An Accentual Phrase (AP) is also identified in other languages such as Japanese (Beckman & Pierrehumbert 1986, Pierrehumber & Beckman 1988), French (Jun & Fougeron 2000, 2002) and Bengali (Khan 2008). An AP is a prosodic unit defined by the surface tonal pattern, and its domain is determined by the syntactic as well as non-syntactic factors. The tonal pattern of an AP in Japanese has a close relationship to the presence and absence of the accented word along with the phrasal tones, as Japanese is a lexically marked pitch accent

The intonational structure of Korean is hierarchically organized in such a way that an Intonation Phrase (=IP) can have more than one Accentual Phrase (=AP), which in turn can have more than one phonological word (=w; a lexical item followed by a case marker or postpositions). This hierarchy is schematically represented in Figure 4.1 below taken from Jun (2000).

**Figure 4.1 Intonational Structure of Korean
(Jun, 2000)**

IP: Intonation Phrase AP: Accentual Phrase
w: Phonological word σ : syllable
T=H, when the syllable-initial segment is aspirated/tense;
Otherwise, T=L
%: Intonation Phrase boundary tone



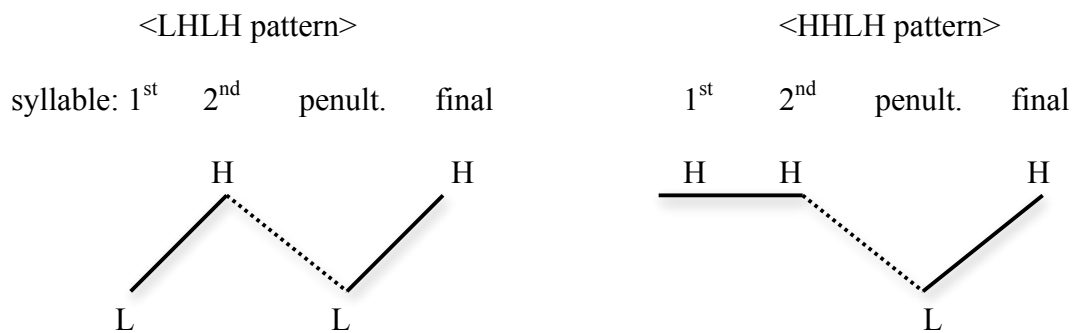
4.1.1 Accentual Phrase (AP)

An AP is smaller than an IP and larger than a phonological word, which is a lexical item plus a case marker or particles. An AP is marked by a phrasal tone sequence, and the underlying

language. An AP in Korean is similar to an AP containing only unaccented words in Tokyo Japanese, as the AP tones in Korean are not specific to a lexical item but are a property of the phrase (Jun, 1993).

default tonal pattern of the AP in Seoul Korean is Low-High-Low-High (LHLH) or High-High-Low-High (HHLH), where the AP-initial tone is determined by the laryngeal feature of the phrase initial segment. Namely, when the AP-initial segment is either aspirated or tensed, the AP begins with a High tone, but otherwise the AP begins with a Low tone. All these underlying tones are realized when an AP has more than four syllables. This is schematized in Figure 4.2 below.

**Figure 4.2. Schematics of Two Underlying Tonal Patterns of APs (J. Lee, 2000)
(Based on the Description of Jun (1993, 1996))**



Two underlying tonal patterns of an AP are applied to the following two compound nouns.

- (1) a. *ca-ki-so-kay*
 자 기 소 개
 L H L H
- b. *han-kwuk-sa-lam*
 한 국 사 람
 H H L H

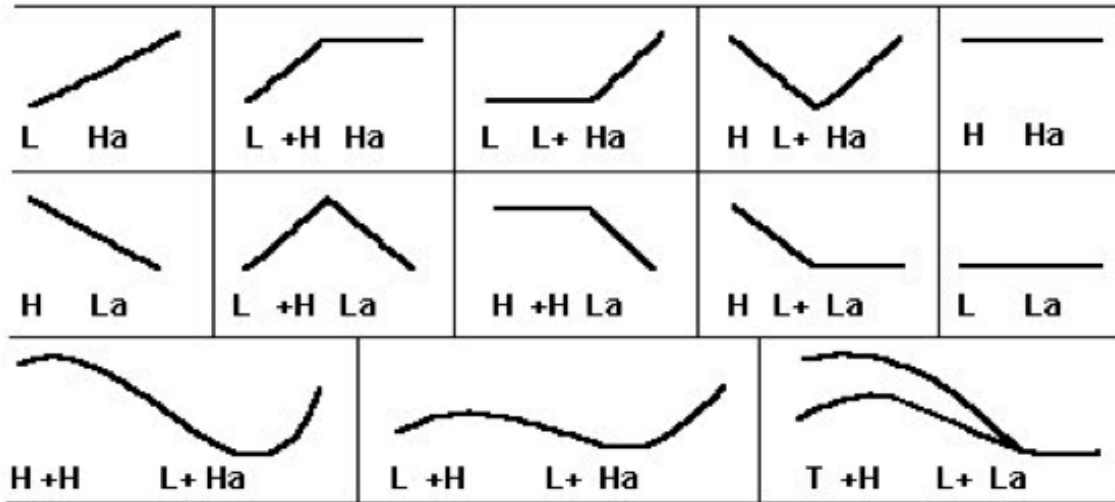
While the example in 1a indicates a L tone on the initial palato-alveolar stop consonant ㄷ ‘c’ /tɕ/, representing a tonal pattern of LHLH, the example in 1b indicates a H tone on the initial

aspirated consonant ㅎ 'h' /h/, representing a tonal pattern of HHLH, respectively.⁵⁷ Yet when an AP has fewer than four syllables, the two medial tones are optionally deleted resulting in LH, HH, LLH, HLH, LHH, and HHH.

However, though two underlying tonal patterns marking an AP are identified (e.g., LHLH, HHLH), there are cases, though rare, where IP-medial AP boundaries are realized with a L tone due to the tonal interaction of adjacent tones and stylistic variations (Jun, 2000). The following schematic f₀ contours represent all four possible tonal patterns of AP in Korean, which are conditioned by the type of AP-initial tone due to the segment type, the type of AP-final tone and the length of AP. The contours on the top row show AP patterns ending in H (i.e., Ha), and those on the mid row show AP patterns ending in L (i.e., La), and those on the bottom row show AP patterns when all four tones of AP are realized. The tonal labels in these schematic f₀ contours are based on Korean-ToBI (Tones and Break Indices) (Jun 2000, 2005b), which is a transcription system based on the phonological model of intonation (see Beckman et al. (2005) for detailed information on the ToBi transcription system). In Korean-ToBI (K-ToBI), the first H is labeled as +H and the following L is labeled as L+. The location of '+' sign indicates a grouping of tones; the +H tone belongs to the AP-initial tones together with the first L tone, while the L+ tone belongs to the AP-final tones together with the final H tone, which is labeled 'Ha' where 'a' refers to 'an Accentual Phrase'. That is, Ha and La is an AP-final boundary tone.

⁵⁷ In this chapter, the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) transcription will be provided in the forward slash, if necessary.

**Figure 4.3 Schematic F0 Contours of Fourteen Tonal Patterns of AP
(Jun, 2000)**



4.1.2 Intonation Phrase (IP)

An IP—the largest prosodic unit—can have one or more APs, and is marked by a boundary tone (%)⁵⁸ and final lengthening, and optional pause. An IP boundary tone delivers various pragmatic and discourse meanings (Park, 2003). The boundary tone is realized on the last syllable of an IP, particularly, in natural spoken discourse, with a noticeable lengthening at the end of an utterance. Jun (1993) identified at least nine boundary tones of Seoul dialect, which include H%, L%, LH%, HL%, LHL%, HLH%, LHLH%, HLHL%, and LHLHL%. When an AP-final syllable is the last syllable of an IP, the AP-final boundary tone is overridden by the IP-final boundary tone. Therefore, only the IP-final boundary tone (%) is labeled at the end of an IP. This phenomenon is illustrated in Example 2 and Figure 4.4 below.

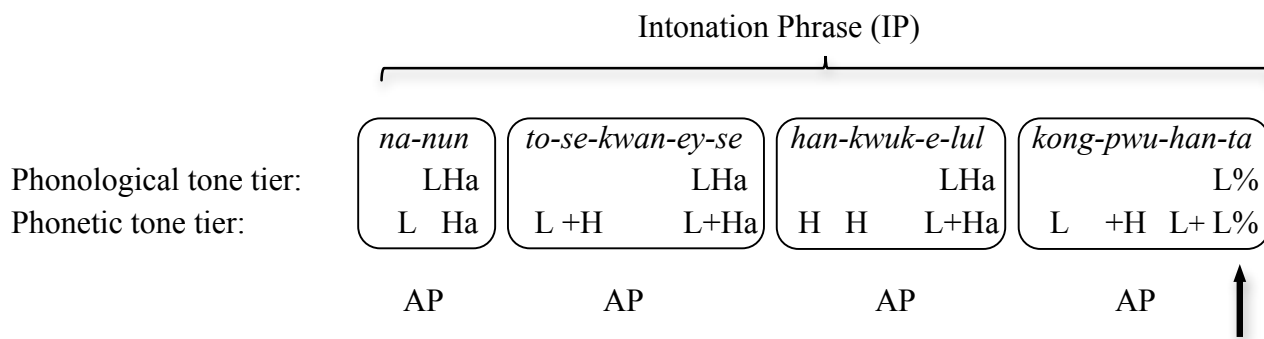
⁵⁸ Percent sign (%) is conventionally used to mark IP boundary tones. See Pierrehumbert (1980) for details.

- (2) *na-nun tosekwan-eyse hankwuke-lul kongpwuha-nta.*
 I-NOM library-LOC Korean.language-ACC study-DEL
 ‘I study Korean in the library.’

‘나는 도서관에서 한국어를 공부한다.’

If we carefully produce the above example sentence into four APs forming one IP and label them with AP tones and the IP boundary tone, a full tonal transcription of the utterance following Korean-ToBI would look like that in Figure 4.4. As you can see in Figure 4.4, the one tier in K-ToBI has two parts—a phonological tone tier where only distinctive tones (LHa for AP and IP-final boundary tones) are labeled and a phonetic tone tier where the surface tonal patterns described in Figure 4.3 are labeled.

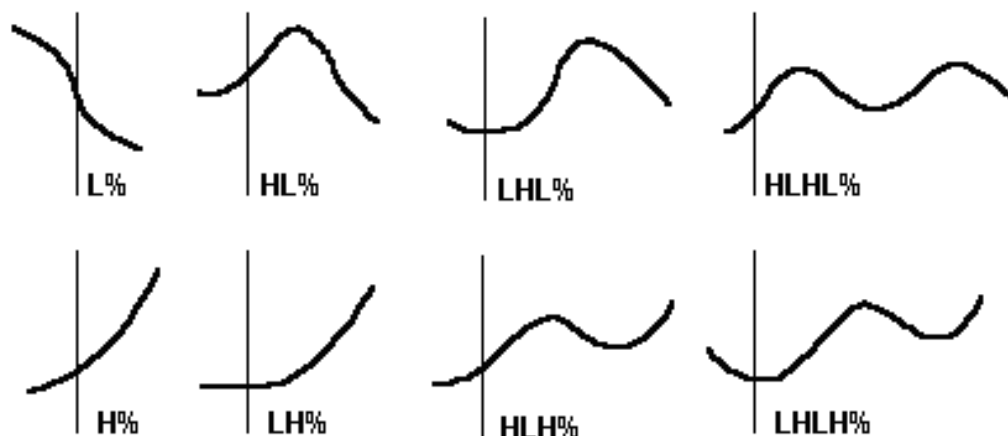
Figure 4.4 Tone Labelling on Both the Phonological and Phonetic Tone Tiers



The tonal labelling of the sentence presented in Example 2 shows that the AP boundary tone ‘Ha’ in the fourth AP (e.g., *kongpwuhanta* (LHLH) ‘to study’) is overridden by the IP boundary tone L% at the end of the IP, as indicated with the arrow ↑.

Figure 4.5 is schematic F0 contours of eight types of IP boundary tone realizations. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the IP final syllable.

**Figure 4.5 Schematic F0 Contours of Eight Boundary Tones of IP
(Jun, 2000)**



4.2 Prosody in Spontaneous Discourse

The existence of spoken language corpora along with electronically available recordings provides excellent opportunities for the study of spoken interaction, and there is an identifiable trend in approaches to discourse to rely on corpora (Aijmer & Stenström, 2005). With the increase of the available recordings of naturally occurring spoken discourse, it indeed enables linguists to carry out research on the basis of spoken corpora. Recently, we have seen the increasing body of the linguistic research, which take prosodic features (e.g., stress, accent, intonation, etc.) into consideration when they carry out discourse analytic research (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996; Schegloff, 1998; Fox, 2001; Snedeker & Trueswell, 2003; Local & Walker, 2012; Sohn & Kim, 2014, among others). Schiffrin (1987) also emphasizes the importance of prosodic features in the study of interactional conversation by stating that “the functions performed by pragmatic markers can also be performed by other forms, such as intonation, lexical repetition, syntactic parallelism, or metalinguistic phrases” (p. 57-60).

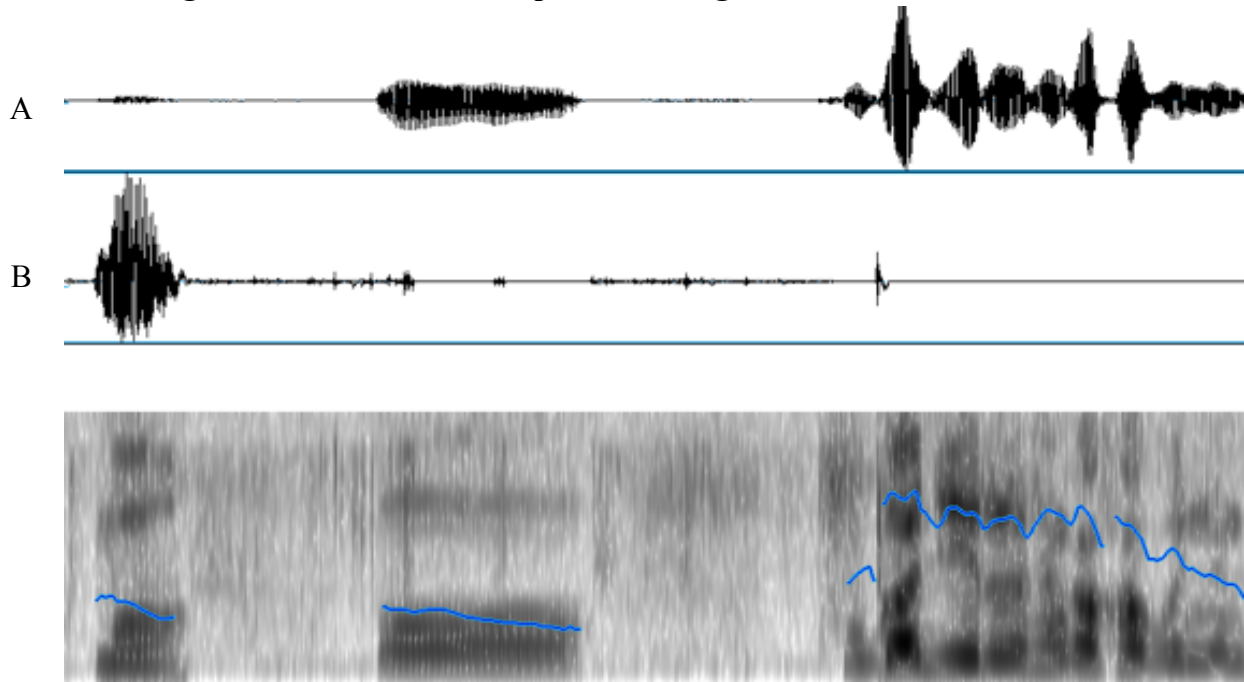
Although Jun's intonational structure of Korean (2000) is devised mostly based on the carefully produced example sentences, applying it to naturally occurring conversation provides us with a greater understanding of how conversational participants employ different intonational tones as emergent resources in the real-time of ongoing interaction. Given that prosodic representations should allow readers without access to the original data to recapture important features unequivocally (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996), Jun's K-ToBI labelling convention of intonational pattern, which includes acoustic representations via software such as *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink, 2013), clearly gives us an idea of how the utterance was produced, along with the gradient prosodic information such as pitch, pause, lengthening, and intensity (identifiable from spectrogram and waveform).⁵⁹ Figure 4.6 shows labeling on four tiers below spectrogram: the top row provides Romanization of Korean utterance, and the row below provides Korean Hangul orthography. The row below provides a tonal transcription, and the last row provides the meaning of the utterance in English. Since the speech is from a conversation between two speakers, A and B, these labeling information is given for each speaker separately. This figure shows how prosodic features can affect the interpretation of the functions of polysemy occurring in spontaneous discourse.

The following example shows how prosodic features can affect the interpretation of the functions of polysemy occurring in spontaneous discourse. Observe the following example along with its corresponding spectrogram and waveform.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The ToBI transcriptions require to have acoustic representation of speech (audio file) and the pitch track as well four labeling tiers so that tonal labeling is aligned with a syllable and word boundaries. See Beckman & Ayers-Elam (1996) and Beckman et al. (2005) for information on ToBI transcription conventions.

⁶⁰ Not only spectrogram, which shows f0 contours, but also waveform will be provided to index the speakers when there are two conversational participants. If there is only one speaker, the waveform will not be included.

Figure 4.6 K-ToBI Transcription Showing Two Different Uses of *Mwe*



A	<i>mwe</i> 뭐 L%	<i>twuka ci lul sayngkakhako iss</i> 두 가 지를 생 각 하 고 있 L+H L%
‘hmm:: (I’m) thinking of two (options).’		
B	<i>mwe</i> 뭐 L% ‘What!?’	

Figure 4.6 shows two different realizations of *mwe* produced by two different speakers; the first *mwe* (by the speaker B) is used as what Lee et al. (to appear) call an ‘exclamation’ marker, indicating the current speaker’s intense emotions in disbelief, surprise, and incredulity (p. 21), whereas the second *mwe* (by the speaker A) is used as a discourse marker. In the latter, *mwe* functions as a time-buying device to clarify the incredulity brought by the prior speaker (B). It is also evident by the noticeable lengthening assigned onto *mwe*, produced by the speaker B. Hangul orthography of the text has its limitations in that it cannot represent such details as prosodic features in the transcript. As we can see in the example above, prosodic features play a

crucial role in determining discourse functions of the linguistic item, particularly words with multiple meanings, in various discourse contexts. In the subsequent sections, I will examine the intonational patterns of *mwe* observed in spoken discourse and discuss how prosodic features are intricately intertwined with the emergence of discourse functions.

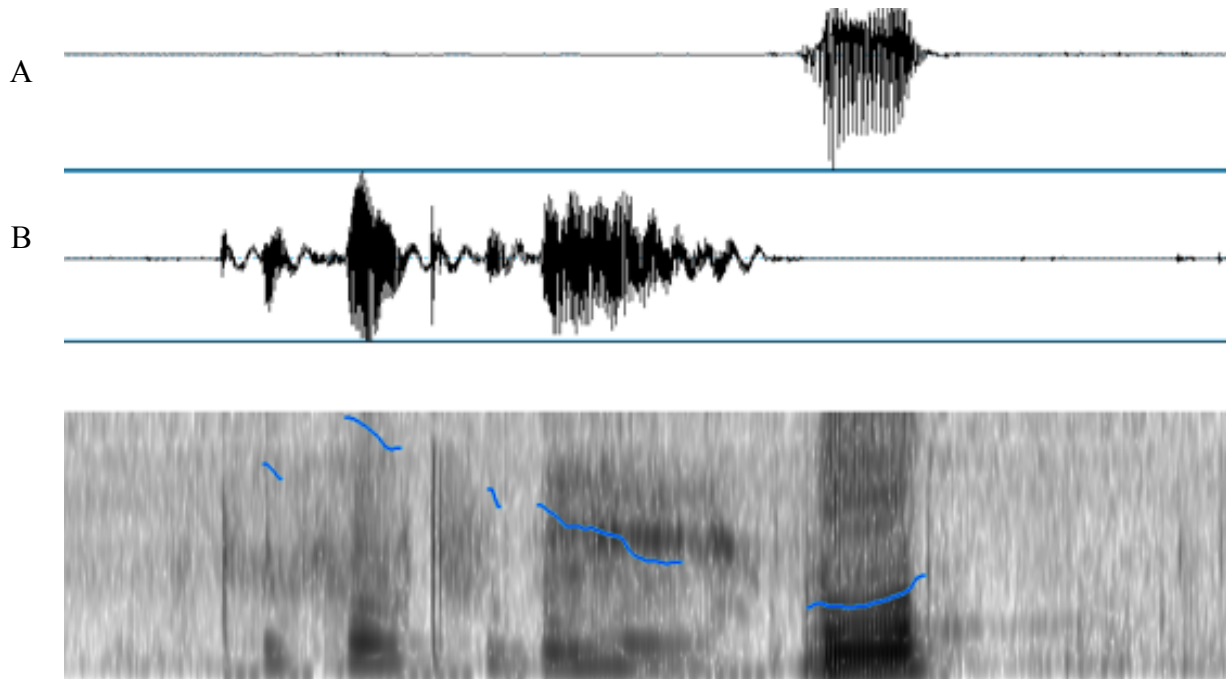
4.3 Realizations of Tonal Pattern on *Mwe*

4.3.1 *Mwe* as an Interrogative Pronoun

The data analysis reveals that *mwe*, functioning as an interrogative pronoun, can appear as either a free-standing form in an isolated IP or part of an AP combined with the following elements. All the instances of *mwe* as an interrogative pronoun in my data show the boundary tone LH% in an isolated IP. Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8 show the boundary tone LH% assigned onto *mwe* asking for information. More specifically, Figure 4.7 shows the single occurrence of LH% and Figure 4.8 illustrates double tokens of *mwe* with the same boundary tone LH%.

In Figure 4.7, the speakers are siblings (younger brother in high school and older sister at college) who study abroad. They talk about the math classes that the younger brother (speaker B) is taking as elective courses at school. Upon the information provided by B (i.e., B is taking two math courses), A launches a question requesting for further information, and this is marked with LH% forming one IP.

Figure 4.7 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as an Interrogative Pronoun in an Isolated IP

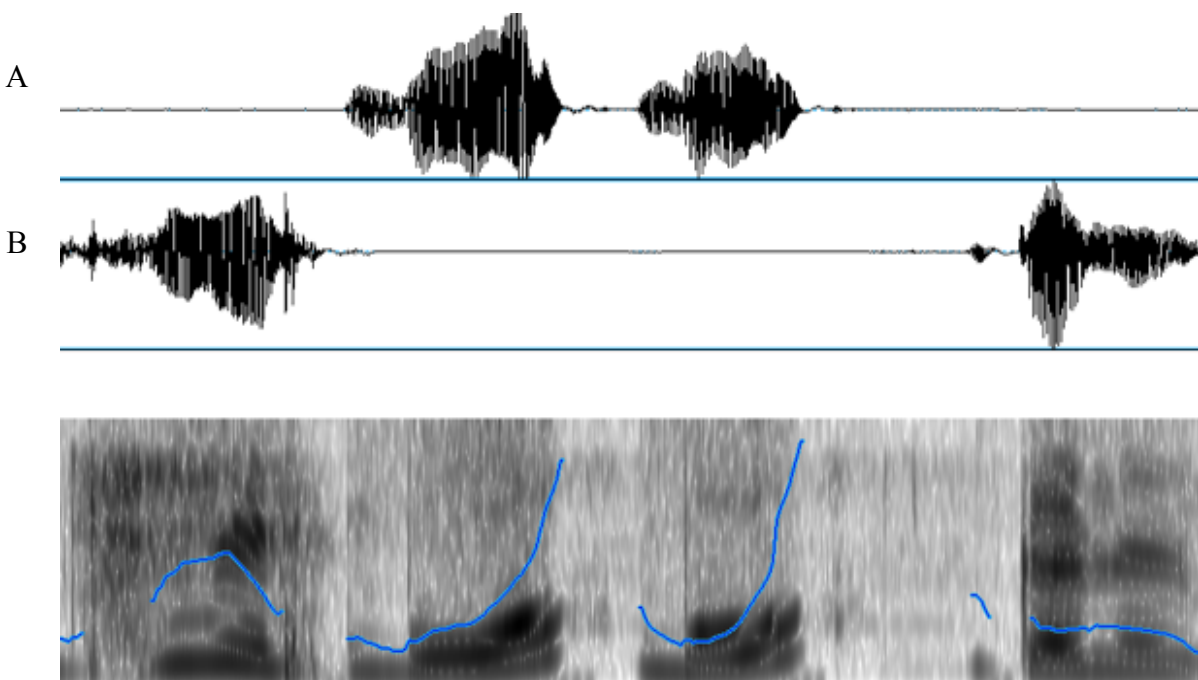


A	<i>mwe</i> 뭐 LH% ‘What (are the courses)?’												
B	<table border="0" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td><i>ta</i></td> <td><i>swu hak</i></td> <td><i>twu kay</i></td> <td><i>hay</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>다</td> <td>수 학</td> <td>두 개</td> <td>해</td> </tr> <tr> <td>La</td> <td>H</td> <td></td> <td>L%</td> </tr> </table> ‘Everyone takes two math courses.’	<i>ta</i>	<i>swu hak</i>	<i>twu kay</i>	<i>hay</i>	다	수 학	두 개	해	La	H		L%
<i>ta</i>	<i>swu hak</i>	<i>twu kay</i>	<i>hay</i>										
다	수 학	두 개	해										
La	H		L%										

Given that LH% is commonly used for questions, continuation rises, and explanatory endings (Jun, 2000), it could be assumed that the semantic property of the interrogative pronoun *mwe* (i.e., denoting lack of information or knowledge) is associated with the boundary tone LH%. In the next figure, the boundary tone LH% is employed two times in a sequence produced by the same speaker, asking for further information. In this case, two tokens of *mwe* are deployed in two separate IPs. In Figure 4.8, the main speaker B talks about how she handled the delicate situation she faced in the computer lab at school, and in turn, A pushes B to talk more about what

happened in the lab. In doing so, A’s repetitive tokens of *mwe* are used with relatively large amplitude by displaying A’s impatient attitude and signaling to solicit immediate response from the other speaker (B).

Figure 4.8 F0 Contour of Repetitive Tokens of *Mwe* as an Interrogative Pronoun in Isolated IPs

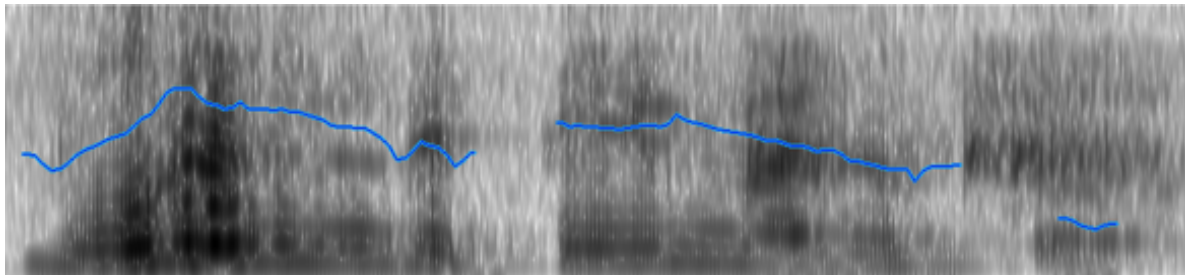


A	<i>mwe</i> 뭐 LH% ‘What?’	<i>mwe</i> 뭐 LH% ‘What?’
---	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Jun and Oh (1996) investigated the role of prosodic features disambiguating three types of wh-phrases in Korean: 1) wh-question, 2) yes/no question, and 3) incredulity question. By analyzing six wh-words, e.g., *mwe* ‘what,’ *nwuka* ‘who,’ *encey* ‘when,’ *eti* ‘where,’ *nwukwulang* ‘with whom,’ *nwukwuhako* ‘with whom,’ they report that the most common boundary tone for wh-questions was LH%. This finding is in line with the observation of the current study in that

However, there are also cases where *mwe* is fused into the following AP by forming one AP when the word *mwe* is used as a wh-question word meaning ‘what.’ Jun and Oh (1996) showed that a word such as *mwe* or *nwukwu* can mean a wh-question word ‘what’ or ‘who’ or an indefinite pronoun ‘anything’ or ‘anyone’ depending on the Accentual Phrasing of the word. If *mwe* forms one AP with the following words, it means a wh-question word, while if it is separated from the following word, it means an indefinite pronoun. In Figure 4.10, *mwe* is combined with the following verb *hata* ‘to do’ that is also conjugated with the clausal connective *-nuntey* ‘but, however.’ As you see in Figure 4.10, where the whole utterance consists of two APs forming one IP, *mwe* forms on AP marked with a AP-initial L tone in accordance with the AP phrasal tone sequence (i.e., LHLH if the AP initial segment is not aspirated nor tense).

Figure 4.10 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as Part of an AP



<i>mwe</i>	<i>hayss</i>	<i>nun</i>	<i>tey</i>	B	<i>mac</i>	<i>ass</i>	<i>e</i>
뭐	했	는	데	B	맞	았	어
L	+H		La	H			L%
‘What did you do?’				‘So, you (just) got a B (on the test)?’			
(What did you do?)							

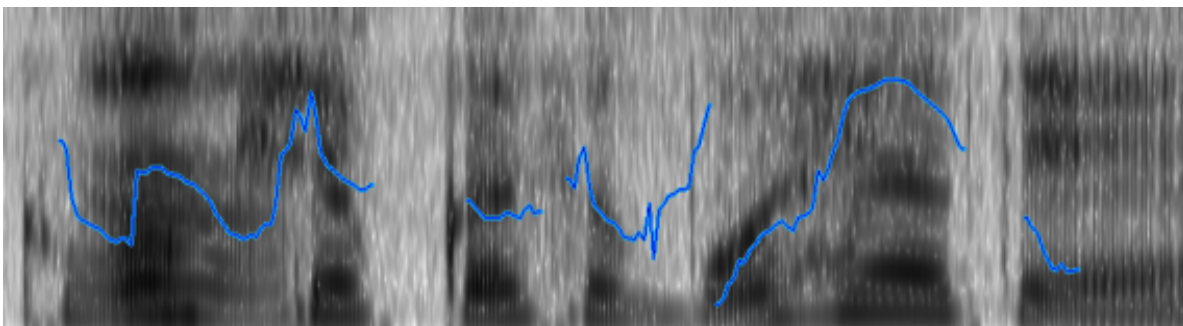
In the above case, *mwe* is integrated with the following AP *hayssnuntey* ‘(you) did, so.’ Here, it is interesting to observe that the last syllable *tey* of the first AP is realized with a falling tone marked by La, though the underlying tonal sequence is LHLH with a rising final tone. Similarly,

the last syllable *e* of the second AP, which is final to IP, is also marked by the boundary tone L% instead of H%, considering that the sentence type of the whole IP is a question. It could be due to the pragmatic effect rather than its syntactic structure in that the whole utterance expresses the speaker's deprecating attitude rather than directly asking for information. Also, it should be noted here that the initial segment of the second AP, *B macasse* '(you) got a B?', is produced as a tense stop, thereby resulting in a H tone (though its underlying tone is a L tone if the segment is produced as a lenis stop, which often corresponds to English voiced stops).

4.3.2 *Mwe* as an Indefinite Pronoun

There are not many instances where *mwe* is used as an indefinite pronoun in my data. Contrary to the cases where *mwe* is used as an interrogative pronoun, *mwe* functioning as an indefinite pronoun tends to appear in an isolated AP. Figure 4.11 illustrates this phenomenon.

Figure 4.11 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as an Indefinite Pronoun in Isolation



<i>we</i>	<i>khu</i>	<i>syap</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>hay</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>tway</i>
위	크	샵	가	서	뭐	해	야	돼
L		Ha	L	Ha	LHa	H		L%

‘(I) attend a workshop and then have to do something (there).’

In Figure 4.11, there is an AP break between *mwe* and *hay* even though it is hard to see it in the f0 pattern due to the word *mwe* that is produced short and a H-initial syllable of the following word. However, *mwe* is lengthened enough to be perceived as a separate AP in its production.

4.3.3 *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker

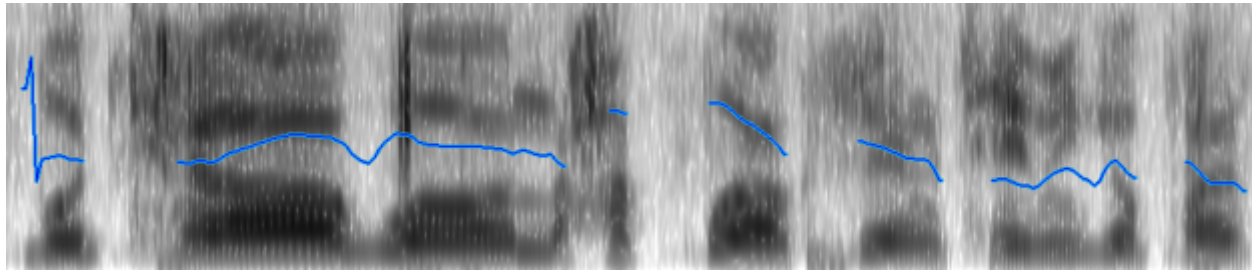
Despite the extensive study on the role of prosodic features with reference to the wh-phrases in Korean (Jun & Oh, 1996), prosodic characteristics of polyfunctional words, e.g., discourse markers, have been disregarded or marginalized in the field of phonetics. Most of the prosody studies in phonetics root its base on the carefully produced sample sentences for production and perception experiments, where data are recorded and collected in the soundproof laboratory. Recently, an innovative study on the discourse functions of *kuntey* ‘but; however’ occurring at the left and right peripheries of a sentence or an utterance is carried out by Sohn and Kim (2014) with a focus on accompanying prosodic features. Yet there has been no research investigating the prosodic characteristics of the wh-words functioning as a discourse marker, particularly *mwe*, (i.e., the most frequently used wh-word in spoken discourse). In this section, I will explicate how *mwe* can be differentiated by its tonal pattern in association with its positional context.

4.3.3.1 *Mwe* in an Isolated Unit

This category includes the cases where *mwe* does not have any relation to the preceding or following APs, but still being a constituent body in a larger unit, i.e., IP. In this case, the boundary tone assigned onto *mwe* can be realized as an AP boundary tone or an IP boundary tone, depending on the juncture. As discussed earlier, when *mwe* serves as a discourse marker, its

positional context varies. That is, *mwe* can be preceded or followed by any AP in an IP, or forms an IP of its own. The following three figures illustrate how variously *mwe* can be employed within an intonational phrase. In Figure 4.12, *mwe* is placed at the beginning of the phrase, functioning as a filler when the speaker enumerates examples of a category. Figure 4.13 shows two pauses before and after *mwe*. However, each pause appears to function in different ways. More specifically, a pause before *mwe* could be assumed that it is a normal pause considering the speech rate of the speaker, whereas a long pause after *mwe* could be regarded as an IP considering the juncture. Moreover, a noticeably long pause after *mwe* along with lengthening indicates that the speaker is hesitant to continue her talk and rather take the time to construct her next turn. It is evident by the following utterance stating that ‘you don’t plan to come and visit here, right?’ which projects the speaker’s negative conjecture about the travel plan. In doing so, the speaker employs the committal suffix *-ci*, which expresses the speaker’s certainty toward the propositional content. In turn, it is confirmed with the positive response in the subsequent turns, which are not included in Figure 4.13. Lastly, Figure 4.14 also shows a similar pattern as the previous two cases. *Mwe* appears in an isolated AP that is preceded and followed by a pause and lengthening. *Mwe* serves as a general extender, which exemplifies a set of like-items (Lee et al., to appear).

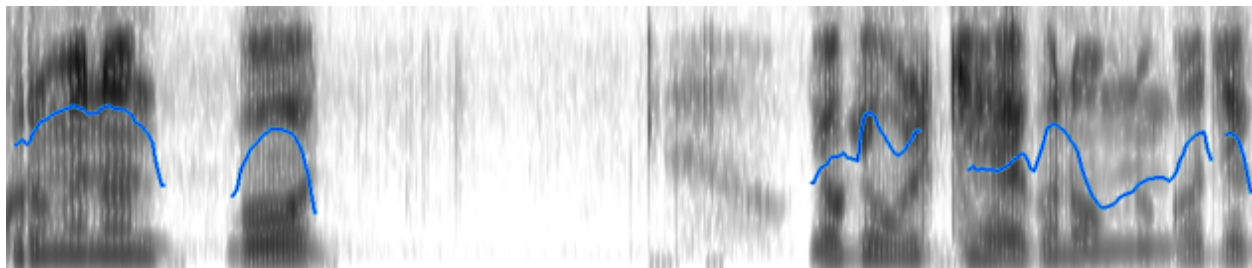
Figure 4.12 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker in a Phrase-Initial AP



<i>mwe</i>	<i>tay</i>	<i>hak</i>	<i>wen</i>	<i>hak</i>	<i>pwu</i>	<i>hak</i>	<i>sayng cay</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>kyo</i>
뭐	대	학	원	학	부	학	생 재	미	교
LLa	L	+H	La	H			La L		

‘(like) graduate (students), undergraduate students, Korean American,’

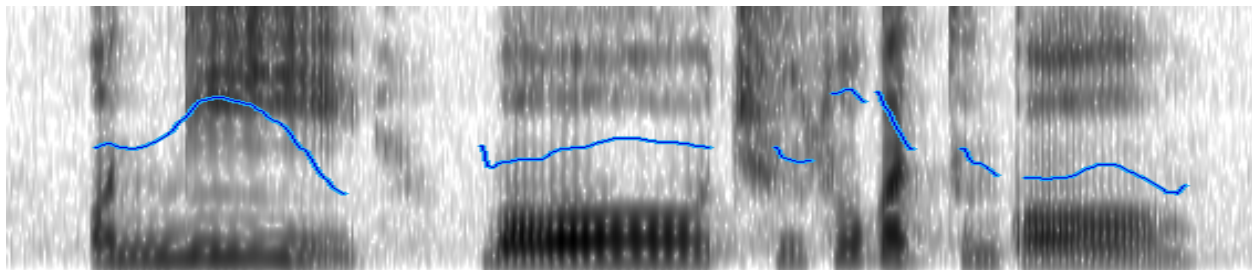
Figure 4.13 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker with LHL% in an Isolated AP



<i>kulemyenun</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>ye ki ol</i>	<i>kyeyhoykun epsnun ke ci</i>
그러면은	뭐	여기올	계획은 없는 거지
L+H La	L+HL%	L Ha	L Ha L H%

‘then, (you) don’t have plan to come (and visit) here, right?’

Figure 4.14 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker with LL% in an Isolated AP



<i>en</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>cwu so kath</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ke</i>
언	니	뭐	주소 같	은	거
L	HL%	LL%	L +H		La

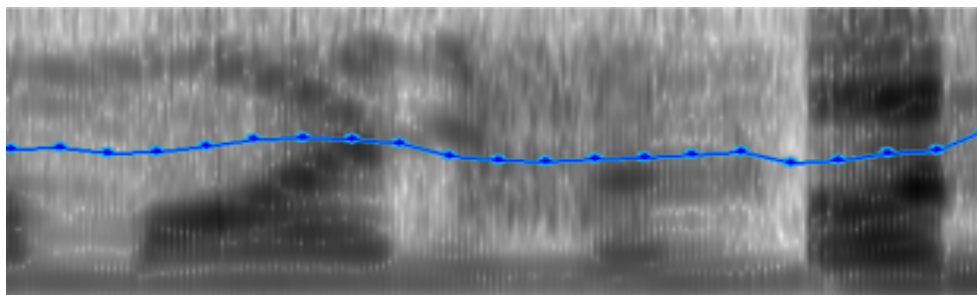
‘(hey) sister, something like address, or the like,’

In the above cases where *mwe* is used as a filler for time-buying device, *mwe* is always marked with La by forming one AP or L% forming one IP by itself. In this case, *mwe* is rarely marked with a H tone.

4.3.3.2 *Mwe* in the AP Initial Position

Unlike the previous cases where *mwe* occurs in an isolated AP, it is frequently observed that *mwe* is attached to either the initial position of the following unit or the final position of the preceding unit by forming one AP. When *mwe* is attached to the initial position of the following unit, it tends to show a low plateau-like tonal pattern spread over the entire AP rather than distinct rising or falling contours. Observe Figure 4.15 for example where *mwe* is attached to the initial position of the following AP *animyen* ‘if not.’

Figure 4.15 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker in the AP Initial Position-A



<i>mwe</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>myen</i>
뭐	아	니	면
L			La
‘If (it)s not,’			

As F0 contour indicates, the initial segment of the AP (i.e., in this case, /m/ in *mwe*) is marked with a L tone and the last syllable with the AL boundary tone La. As indicated in Figure 4.3, LLa

is one of the fourteen patterns of AP. In this case, the AP medial tones are deleted, resulting in the flat LLa tonal pattern.

Figure 4.16 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker in the AP Initial Position-B

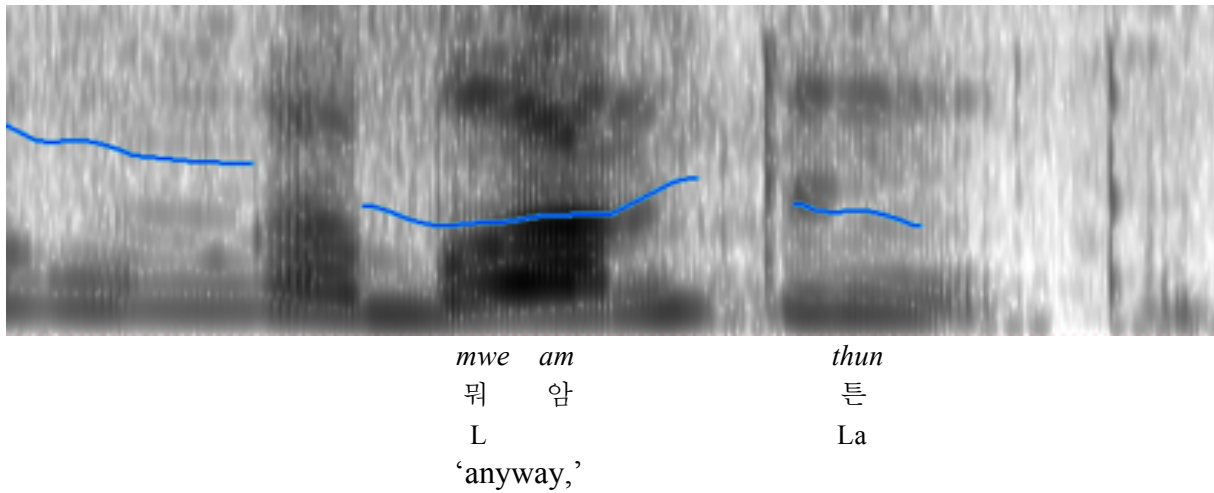
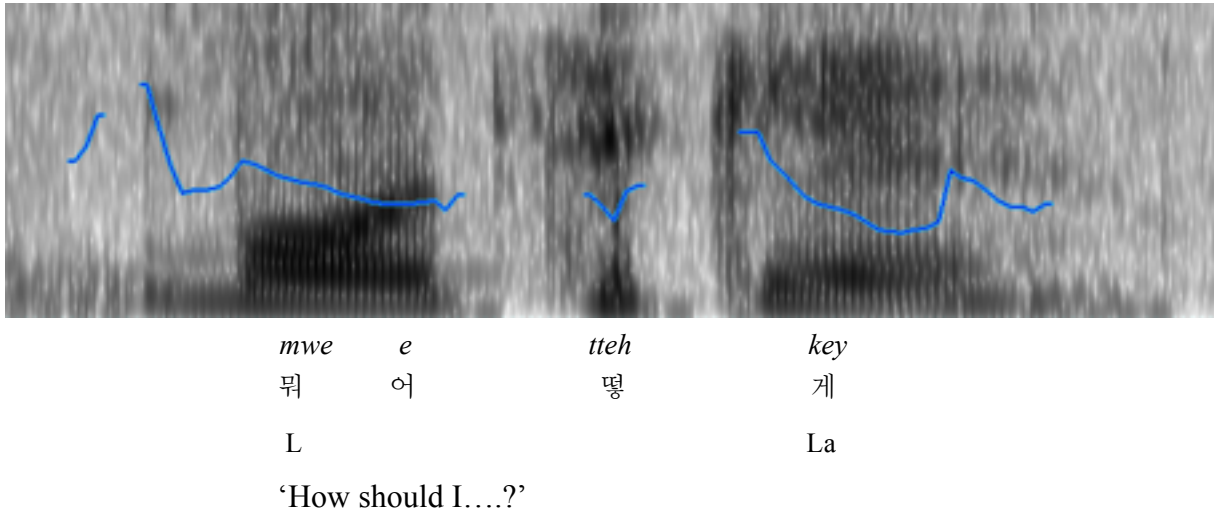


Figure 4.17 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker in the AP Initial Position-C



A similar phenomenon is also observed in Figure 4.16 and Figure 4.17 where *mwe* is attached to the adverb *amthun* ‘anyway’ and *ettehkey* ‘how’ in the AP initial position. Note here that in Figure 4.17, it seems that there is a slight rising tone at the onset of the last syllable *key*. However, it is due to micro prosody (i.e., aspiration involved in the combination of the final

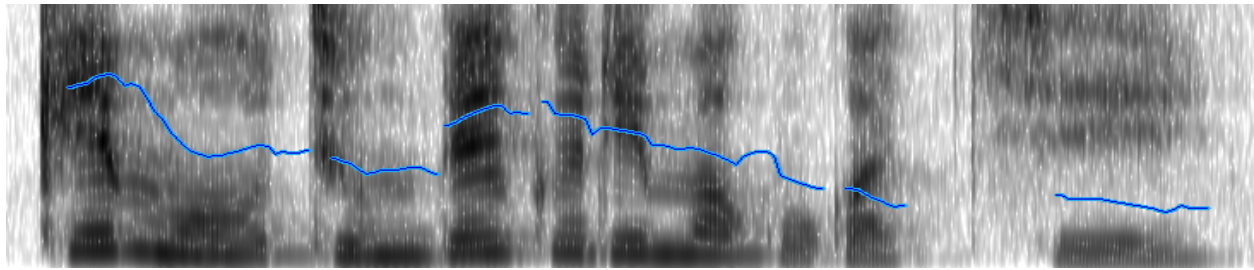
segment /h/ (/ㅎ/) of the third syllable and the initial segment /k/ (/ㄱ/) of the fourth syllable. In Korean phonology, a code /h/ followed by a lenis stop onset /k/ becomes an aspirated stop onset /k^h/.

4.3.3.3 *Mwe* in the AP Final Position

Mwe can also be attached to the final position of the preceding AP forming one AP regardless of the number of the syllables in the preceding AP. Our data reveals that the range of the number of the syllable in the preceding AP varies from one (e.g., ^ *khey mwe* as in Figure 4.18)⁶¹ to five (e.g., *ipen hakkinun mwe* as in Figure 4.21) and possibly more syllables in another conversational situation. The following figures show the attachment of *mwe* to the different number of the syllables. One of the most interesting findings in the [preceding AP + *mwe*] construction is that no matter how many syllables are in the preceding AP, F0 contour gets its peak in the penultimate syllable, which is the last syllable of its original AP. In the [preceding AP + *mwe*] construction, *mwe* seems to be cliticized after the preceding word, thereby resulting in a word-like boundary or even smaller between the preceding word and *mwe*. However, further research is needed to confirm the degree of juncture between the preceding word and *mwe* from native speakers of Korean.

⁶¹ The sign *caret* ^ (an inverted V-shaped grapheme) is commonly used to indicate the shortened or truncated part of the full form.

Figure 4.18 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker in the AP Initial Position When Preceded by One Syllable in the Same AP



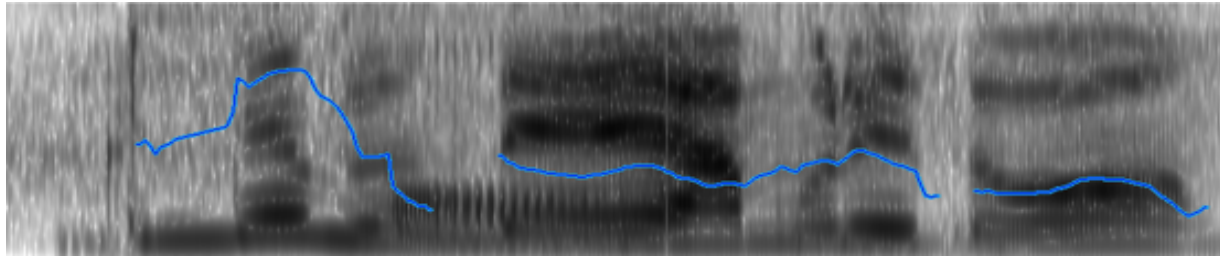
<i>khey</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>tung</i>	<i>tay</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>kath</i>	<i>i</i>
^케	뭐	등	대	그	림	하	고	갈	이
H	La	L	+H						La

‘like (this), together with the lighthouse picture,’

In Figure 4.18, *mwe* is attached to [^]*khey* (i.e., the shortened (or truncated) form of the discourse marker *ilehkey* ‘like this’). As pointed out in J. Im (2011), grammaticalized discourse markers that are derived from the demonstratives are often employed in the shortened form in speaking, sometimes more often used compared to its full form.⁶² As such, *khey* is also employed as a short form instead of *ilehkey*, and it is evident by the pause and the clear onset of the segment /k^h/ in the spectrogram. The following figures show the cases of the preceding AP plus *mwe* in different numbers of the syllables.

⁶² Her discussion on this point was made based on the cases of *kulenikka*. According to her analysis, the full form of *kulenikka* is realized as variations such as *kinkka*, *kunkka*, *nikka*, and even the shortest form *-nkka*.

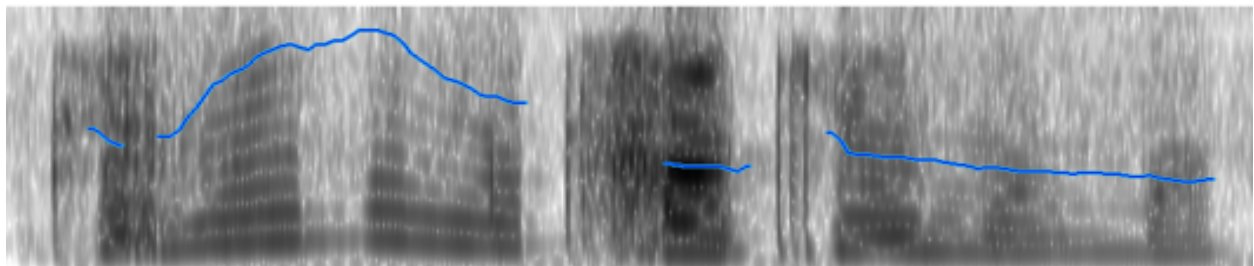
Figure 4.19 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker in the AP Final Position When Preceded by Two Syllables in the Same AP



<i>kun</i>	<i>tey</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>tey</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>mwu</i>	<i>lay</i>	<i>to</i>
근	테	뭐	근	테	아	무	래	도
L	+H	La	L	La	L	HL%	L	La

‘but, well somehow,’

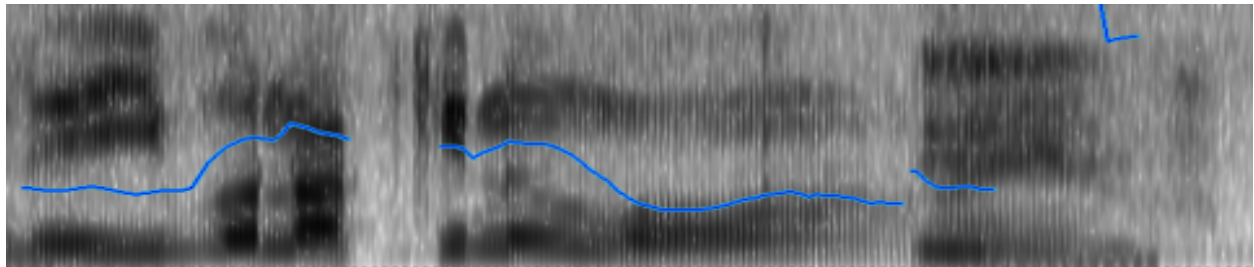
Figure 4.20 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker in the AP Final Position When Preceded by Three Syllables in the Same AP



<i>kyay</i>	<i>ney</i>	<i>nun</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>man</i>
개	네	는	뭐	자	기	음	악	만
L	+H	h(a)	La	L	+H			La

‘as for them, (they) only (care about) their music,’

Figure 4.21 F0 Contour of *Mwe* as a Discourse Marker in the AP Final Position When Preceded by Four Syllables in the Same AP


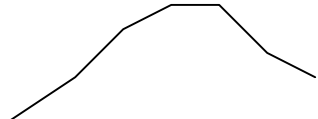



<i>kun</i>	<i>tey</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>hakki</i>	<i>nun</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>hyu</i>
근	테	이	번	학기	는	뭐	아	휴
L	La	L	+H		h(a)	La		

‘but (for) this semester, (sigh)’




Figure 4.18 shows the AP tonal pattern of [H La] and Figure 4.19 shows the [L+H La] pattern on the *mwe*-attached AP. These two patterns of APs are comparable with the AP patterns proposed by Jun (1993). However, Figure 4.20 and Figure 4.21 show different tonal patterns in that the penultimate syllable of each case does not get a L+ tone, which is deemed out of accord with Jun's AP tonal patterns. Observe the following comparison between the two surface tonal patterns and the actual realization of *kyayneynun mwe*.

Figure 4.22 Comparison Between the Surface Tonal Patterns and the Actual Tonal Pattern of Figure 4.21 [*kyayneynun mwe*]

	Jun's model	Actual realization
(a)	 σ σ σ σ L +H L+ Ha <i>kyay</i> <i>ney</i> <i>nun</i> <i>mwe</i>	 σ σ σ σ L +H h(a) La <i>kyay</i> <i>ney</i> <i>nun</i> <i>mwe</i>
(b)	 σ σ σ σ L +H (L+) La <i>kyay</i> <i>ney</i> <i>nun</i> <i>mwe</i>	

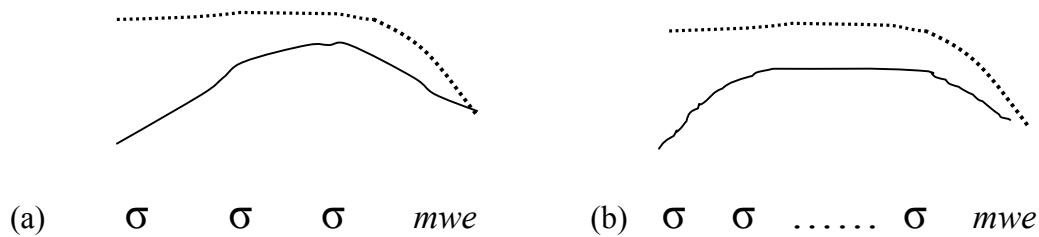
According to Jun's model, no matter what the final boundary tone is realized in the AP final position, the penultimate syllable gets a L+ tone as shown in the upper panel in the left or it can be not realized (i.e., LHL) as shown in the bottom panel in the left column in Figure 4.22 above. However, the actual realization illustrates that the penultimate syllable *nun* (i.e., Korean topic particle) gets even a higher H tone compared to its preceding syllable *ney*, which is in turn marked by the AP boundary tone La at the end. A similar pattern is also observed in the case of Figure 4.21, which has five syllables in the original AP before *mwe* is attached.

Figure 4.23 Comparison Between the Surface Tonal Patterns and the Actual Tonal Pattern of Figure 4.22 [*ipen hakkinun mwe*]

Jun's model	Actual realization
<p>(a)</p>  <p>σ σ σ σ σ σ L +H L+ Ha <i>i pen hak ki nun mwe</i></p>	 <p>σ σ σ σ σ σ L +H h(a) La <i>i pen hak ki nun mwe</i></p>
<p>(b)</p>  <p>σ σ σ σ σ σ L +H L+ La <i>i pen hak ki nun mwe</i></p>	

Again here, the H tone, which was realized on the second syllable *pen*, is maintained until it reaches to the penultimate syllable *nun*, although it does not go higher as in the case of [*kyayneynun mwe*] in Figure 4.22. That is, it is reasonable to assume that *mwe* attached to the final position of the preceding AP always gets a low boundary tone, La, along with a H tone on the penultimate syllable as schematized in Figure 4.24 below. A dotted line indicates a tonal pattern of an AP where the initial segment is aspirated or tense, and a solid line indicates a tonal pattern of all other segments. (a) shows AP patterns of the [three-syllable AP + *mwe*] construction and (b) shows contours of a long AP (i.e., [more than four-syllable AP + *mwe*] construction).

Figure 4.24 Schematic F0 Contour of *Mwe* in the AP Final Position



As can be seen in Figures 4.23 and Figure 4.24, the penultimate H tone in the extended AP including *mwe* could be interpreted as a new AP boundary tone [H+La] spanning over the last two syllables in an AP. Another interpretation could be a mismatch case of tone and juncture as the tone says a H tone whereas the juncture indicates 1m. In this study, I will use h(a) to represent a H tone that could have marked the end of the preceding word (or AP), but lost its boundary-marking function due to the cliticization of *mwe*, assuming the penultimate H tone as a “reduced AP-final H” (i.e., h(a)).

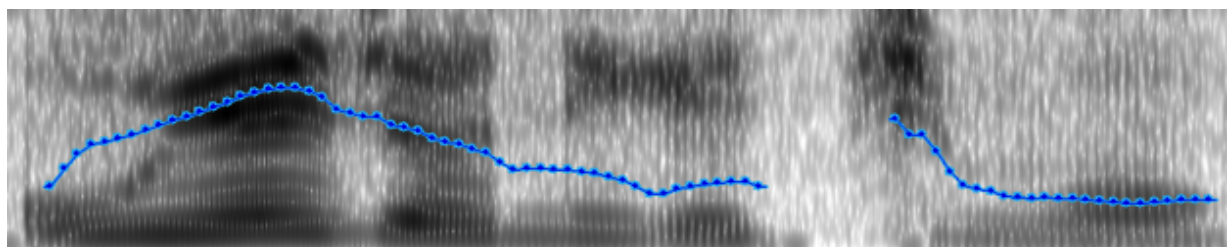
4.3.3.4 *Mwe* in the IP Final Position

Not only attached to an AP, but *mwe* is also attached to the end of an AP in the IP final position. The major difference between the AP final position and the IP final position is the degree of juncture⁶³ along with the presence and absence of possible speaker change afterward. That is, *mwe* that is attached to the AP final position is mainly preceded by the same speaker in the course of conversation, whereas *mwe* that is attached to the IP final position is primarily associated with the final lengthening, and the IP final position is deemed for speaker change to

⁶³ In the ToBI system, break indices represent the degree of juncture perceived between each pair of words and between the final word and the silence at the end of the utterance. In Korean ToBi, an Accentual Phrase (AP) boundary is marked with 2 and an Intonation Phrase (IP) boundary is marked with 3 unless there is a mismatch between the tone and the type of juncture. See K-ToBI Labelling Conventions for details (Jun, 2000).

occur between interlocutors of a conversation. Considering that Korean is a verb-final language (i.e., an SOV language), the last syllable (or together with the penultimate syllable) of an IP falls under the category of the predicate (either a verb or an adjective that is conjugated with various suffixes, grammaticalized clausal connectives, or sentence enders). That is to say, the IP final position is the core of the linguistic resources that creates a pragmatic effect along with prosodic features in Korean. The following figures illustrate how *mwe* is attached to the IP final position with a particular boundary tone.

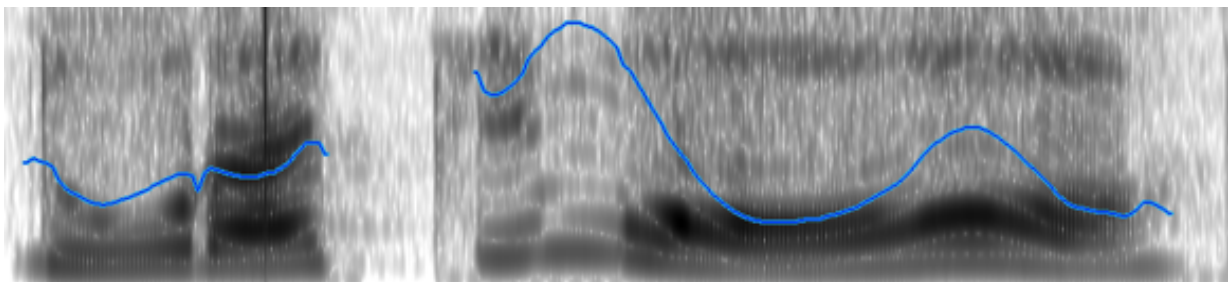
Figure 4.25 F0 Contour of *Mwe* in the IP Final Position-A



<i>wu</i>	<i>hoy</i>	<i>cen</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>keyss</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>mwe</i>
우	회	전	이	겠	지	뭐
L	+H			L+	h(a)	L%

‘(The next) should be a right turn (then).’

Figure 4.26 F0 Contour of *Mwe* in the IP Final Position-B

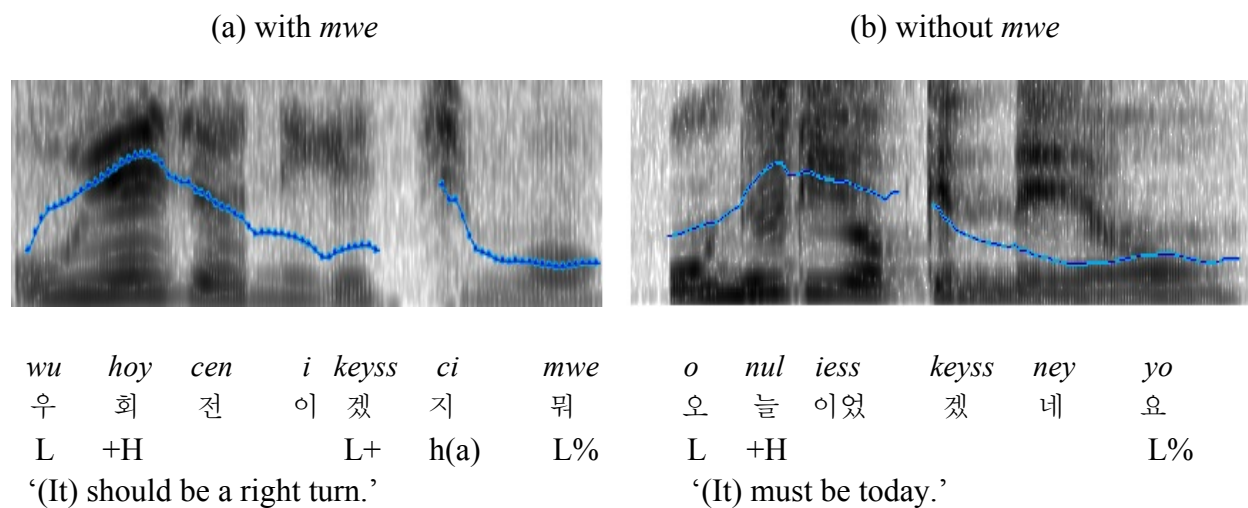


<i>nol</i>	<i>ass</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>mwe</i>
놀	았	지	뭐
L	+H	h(a)	LHL%

‘(So we just) played (as opposed to our original plan).’

Figure 4.25 and Figure 4.26 show that *mwe* is attached to the grammatically complete sentences *wuhoycenikeyssci* ‘(The next) should be a right turn’ and *nolassci* ‘(We just) played’ in the IP final position, respectively. It is worth noting here that the grammatical morpheme that the preceding sentence is conjugated with is a committal suffix *-ci* in both cases.⁶⁴ Particularly, in Figure 4.26, the production of the committal suffix *-ci* is exaggerated with a relatively high tone. In terms of the tonal patterns, both cases are inconsistent with Jun’s phrase tonal sequence model. For comparison, I made a similar phrase that has a same category of the segment in each syllable.

Figure 4.27 Comparison of the Seven-Syllable Phrases between *Mwe* and Without *Mwe* in the IP Final Position



The phrase without *mwe* as in (b) shows a typical tonal pattern of L+H...L%, whereas the phrase with *mwe* as in (a) shows L+H...L+h(a)L%.⁶⁵ Theoretically, there is no ground for the penultimate syllable *ci* to get a H tone followed by the boundary tone L% in (a). However, this

⁶⁴ It is argued that the most frequently used ender that is conjugated with *mwe* is a committal suffix *-ci*. For details about the collocation patterns, see Chapter 3.5.2.

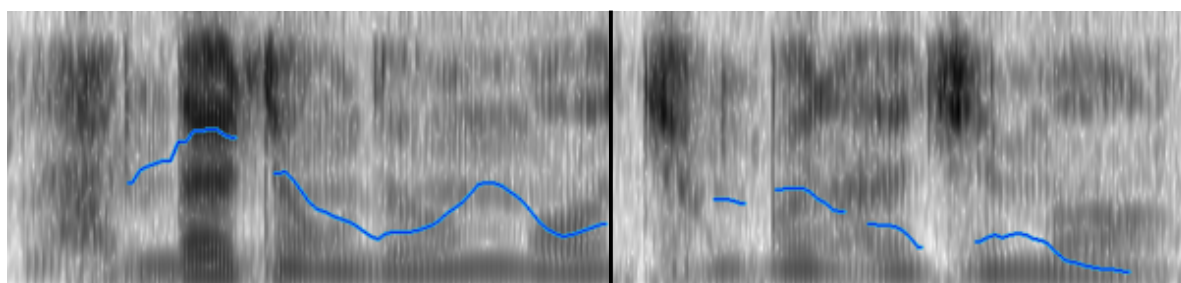
⁶⁵ To reiterate, h(a) is used to mark a mismatch of the H tone that occurs in the phrase where *mwe* is attached in the final position.

exaggerated amplitude, a raised H tone, and the combination of a rising-falling boundary tone (LHL%) can be understood in the same context (i.e., expressing the speaker's discontent at the unexpected happening as opposed to her original plan).

4.3.3.5 Consecutive Occurrences of *Mwe* in the AP- and IP-Final Positions

A thorough analysis of the audio-taped spoken data reveals that there are numerous cases where *mwe* repeatedly occurs over several APs and an IP. Particularly, when they are placed in the final position, it tends to show salient prosodic features. Observe the following figures that demonstrate this aspect. The vertical lines in the spectrogram indicate the AP boundaries.

Figure 4.29 Consecutive Occurrences of *Mwe* in the AP and IP Final Positions-A



<i>han tal</i>	<i>ceng ton</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>chwung pwun</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>mwe</i>
한 달	정 돈	뭐	충 분	하	지	뭐
H +H	L+	h(a)	La	H +H	L+	h(a)

‘(If you mean) about one month, (that would be) enough.’

Figure 4.31 F0 Contours of [Three-Syllable AP + Mwe]

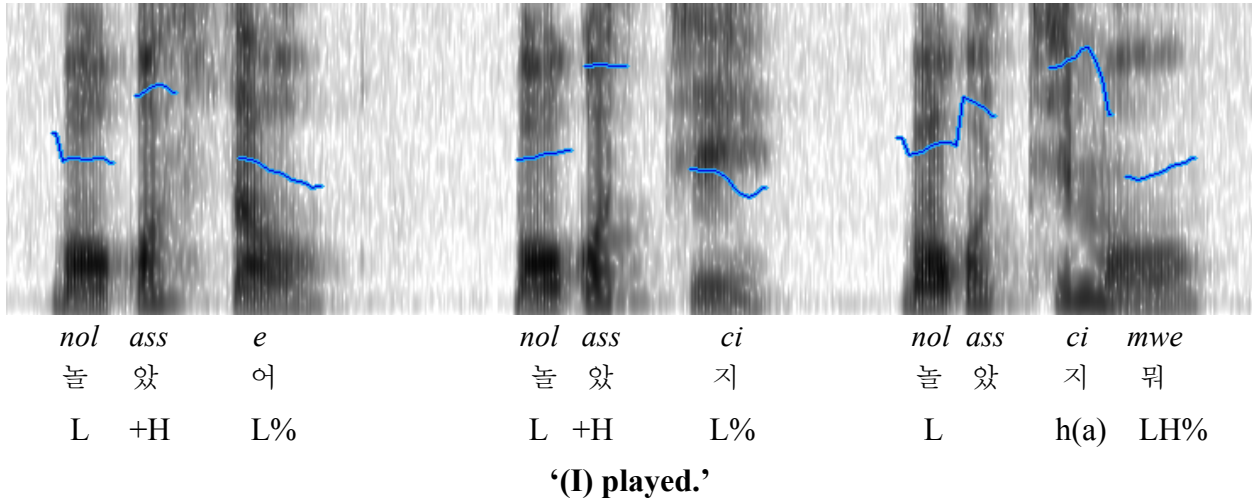


Figure 4.32 F0 Contours of [Four-Syllable AP + Mwe]

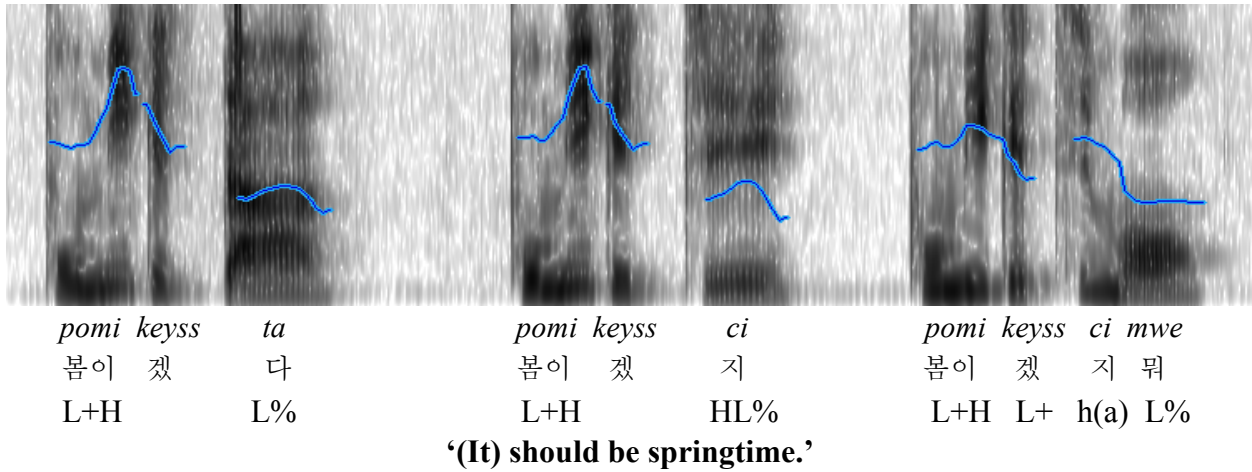
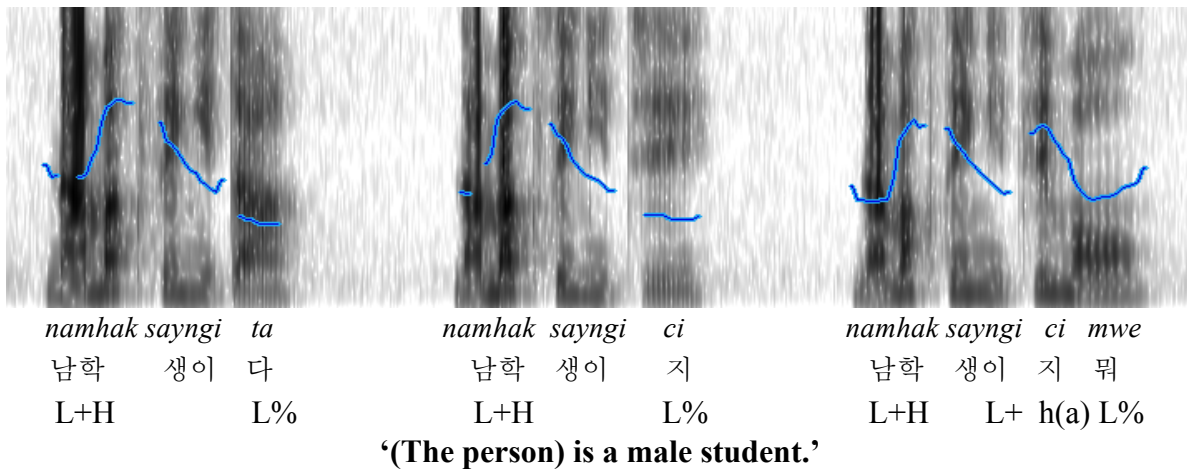


Figure 4.33 F0 Contours of [Five-Syllable AP + Mwe]



Figures 4.31-4.33 show how the phrasal tone sequence changes depending on the sentence type. The first two spectrograms in each figure show similar tonal patterns in general, as might be expected by the intonational structure set forth by Jun (1993). Furthermore, in Figure 4.32, the comparison between the first two spectrograms indicates that the sentence ender *-e* (i.e., a declarative ending in the plain speech style) and *-ci* (i.e., a committal suffix) do not affect the tonal pattern in that they display a similar pattern of L+HLa. That is, the committal suffix, which serves to express the speaker's strong commitment toward the propositional content, does not play any role in relation to the tonal pattern. It could be assumed that the scope in which the committal suffix *-ci* can have influence is a pragmatic domain, not a phonetic domain.

On the other hand, the comparison between the second and the last spectrograms tells us a different story. The difference between the two is the total number of the syllables in the AP (i.e., with *mwe* vs. without *mwe*). Although the number of the syllables in the AP is taken into consideration, the last spectrogram shows somewhat an unaccountable pattern, as it has a H tone on the penultimate syllable along with the optional L tone on the preceding syllable of it.⁶⁶ Now, the assumption we can make at this point is that the unique tonal pattern of the *mwe*-attached AP (as in the last spectrograms in Figures 4.31-4.33) could be attributed to the inconsistency between the underlying and the surface structures. That is, the *mwe*-attached AP is seemingly considered to be one AP in the surface representation as there is no observable juncture. However, the formation of the *mwe*-attached AP is a syntactically complete sentence plus a discourse marker *mwe*. For this reason, the underlying structure of the *mwe*-attached AP implicitly preserves their own phrasal tones and thereby preventing it from displaying tonal patterns.

⁶⁶ This optional L tone can only be realized when the size of the original AP is more than four syllables.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of Findings

This dissertation attempts to make a comprehensive, but not the exhaustive study of *mwe* that is derived from the interrogative pronoun. Due to its high frequency in daily conversation, it has been brought to many linguists' attention, and the extensive studies on *mwe* have been carried out since the early 1990s (H. Lee, 1992; J. Ku, 2000, Y. Jung, 2005; S. Park, 2007, Nam & Cha, 2010, among others). Despite the high volume of the research, the data revealed that *mwe* plays more roles than is as recognized in the literature. In an effort to uncover the functions that *mwe* carries in everyday conversation, I have examined *mwe* from two different perspectives.

First, in Chapter 3, I have examined the developmental process of *mwe* from the interrogative pronoun to the indefinite pronoun to the discourse marker by adopting the theory of grammaticalization. Frequency analysis indicates that the most frequent use of *mwe* in spontaneous discourse is serving as a discourse marker. Functions of *mwe* as a discourse marker can be divided into two types: textual functions and interactional functions, as identified in Brinton (1966). From the perspective of the textual functions, *mwe* is often used to organize the speaker's current turn, functioning as the so-called hedges or fillers. Particularly, when the speaker enumerates examples of a category or attempts to hold floors to maintain speakership, *mwe* is often used as a time-buying device. Another salient feature involved in the use of *mwe* as the textual functions is repetition. It is observed that *mwe* displays not only a single occurrence, but it is also often deployed with multiple occurrences in the speaker's current turn. From the perspective of the interactional functions, on the other hand, *mwe* is frequently used to express

the speaker’s subjective attitude toward 1) the propositional content, 2) the interlocutor of a conversation, or 3) the conversational situation *per se*. Interestingly, when *mwe* plays an interactional role, its positional context is a prominent feature. That is, when *mwe* is associated with the interactional functions, *mwe* tends to appear in the final position, particularly, in association with the preceding element. This is summarized in Table 10 below.

Table 10. Characteristics of *Mwe* According to Its Positional Context

Non-final position	Final position
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Discourse organizer ▪ Turn initiator / turn holder/ time buying ▪ No syntactic relation to other elements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Subjectivity ▪ Negative stance-taking marker ▪ Collocation pattern with the preceding element

Lyons (1982) explains that subjectivity refers to the way in which “natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent’s expression of himself, his own attitudes, and beliefs.” In a similar vein, interlocutors skillfully employ the discourse marker *mwe* after a syntactically complete sentence to express his negative attitude by treating the propositional content as a matter of no importance.

In Chapter 4, I adopted the framework of Jun (1993)’s intonation model to investigate the prosodic features that are associated with *mwe* in conversation. I analyzed *mwe*’s occurrences based on its positional context. According to Jun’s model, there are two intonationally defined prosodic units: Intonation Phrase (IP) and Accentual Phrase (AP). By analyzing f0 contours of an AP or an IP where *mwe* is embedded, I propose that when *mwe* is attached to the preceding AP, it is cliticized into the preceding AP by forming one AP or one IP depending on the degree of

juncture. More specifically, when *mwe* is in the extended AP, the last syllable *mwe* is marked with either the AP boundary tone La or the IP boundary tone L% with its variations (e.g., LH%, LHL%). In turn, the penultimate syllable of the extended IP gets a H tone, which was represented as h(a) in this study, indicating that the syllable is high pitch, but not stressed nor prominent. This particular tonal pattern assigned onto *mwe* in the AP or IP final position appears to be fossilized into the [AP or IP + *mwe*] construction with a H tone on the penultimate syllable and a low boundary tone (either AP or IP) on the final syllable.

5.2 Implications of the Study

5.2.1 Connection with the Typological Features

H. Sohn (1999) contends that “the sentence final position in Korean and Japanese (SOV languages) is the territory of the speaker’s modality toward the hearer in interactive communication.” In Ju (2011), she also discusses that “the projection of talk and action in SOV languages is ‘delayed’ due to the predicate-final structure and agglutination in contrast to SVO languages” (2011:3). That is, the recipients in Korean and other SOV languages must ‘wait and see’ to recognize the trajectory of speaker’s talk. As such, the typological feature that is involved in the development of the discourse marker *mwe* in the final position is closely related to the agglutinating nature of Korean.

5.2.2 Strategic Use of *Mwe* in the Final Position

In this dissertation, I proposed that the four main factors operating as primary motivations for *mwe* to play a unique role in the final position are “modal suffixes,” “positional context,” “prosodic features,” and “frequency.” The finding of this study suggests the unique uses of *mwe*

that is originally derived from the interrogative pronoun does not come from one single factor mentioned above. All the factors are intertwined to generate the functions of *mwe* in the final position, which plays a role as a stance-taking marker, particularly, negative stance marker.

However, in determining the functions of *mwe* in the final position, there appears to be a hierarchical order within the four factors identified in this study. First, *mwe* functioning as a discourse marker is attached to the ender of the preceding sentence, thereby attaining a new interactional function of displaying the speaker's subjective stance in the first sequence. Then, when *mwe* is embedded in the [sentence ender + *mwe*] construction, the last syllable *mwe* is marked by a boundary tone. All things taken together, with its high frequency through time, all the process leads to the emergence of new discourse functions of *mwe*. Ultimately, it has come to attain its status as a negative stance-taking marker.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Research

I would like to suggest a few topics for future research in relation to the use of *mwe* in the final position. Not only the discourse marker *mwe* but other discourse markers, particularly monosyllabic discourse markers, e.g., *way* 'why,' *com* 'a little,' *mak* 'abruptly,' etc., have also gone through the grammaticalization process in that they have acquired new discourse functions in addition to their lexical and adverbial meanings. In light of this fact, further investigation on other monosyllabic discourse markers would contribute to the understanding of discourse functions and prosodic features, particularly, in the final position.

APPENDIX A

TABLE OF THE YALE ROMANIZATION SYSTEM
(Reprinted from H. Sohn (1999: 2-3))

Hankul Letters	Phonemic value in IPA	Phonetic value in IPA	Yale Romanization
<i>Consonants</i>			
ㅂ	p	[p,b]	<i>p</i>
ㅃ	ph	[ph]	<i>ph</i>
ㅍ	p'	[p']	<i>pp</i>
ㄷ	t	[t,d]	<i>t</i>
ㅌ	th	[th]	<i>th</i>
ㅍ	t'	[t']	<i>tt</i>
ㅅ	s	[s,ʃ]	<i>s</i>
ㅆ	s'	[s',ʃ']	<i>ss</i>
ㅈ	c	[c,ʃ]	<i>c</i>
ㅊ	ch	[ch]	<i>ch</i>
ㅉ	c'	[c']	<i>cc</i>
ㄱ	k	[k, g]	<i>k</i>
ㅋ	kh	[kh]	<i>kh</i>
ㆁ	k'	[k']	<i>kk</i>
ㅁ	m	[m]	<i>m</i>
ㄴ	n	[n, ɲ]	<i>n</i>
ㅇ*	ŋ	[ŋ]	<i>ng</i>
ㄹ	l	[l, r]	<i>l</i>
ㅎ	h	[h]	<i>h</i>
<i>Vowels and diphthongs</i>			
ㅣ	i	[i]	<i>i</i>
ㅟ	y, wi	[y, wi]	<i>wi</i>
ㅞ	e	[e]	<i>ey</i>
ㅙ	je	[je]	<i>yey</i>
ㅘ	we	[we]	<i>wey</i>
ㅚ	ø, we	[ø, we]	<i>oy</i>

ዘ	ɛ	[ɛ]	<i>ay</i>
ዘ	jɛ	[jɛ]	<i>yay</i>
ዘ	wɛ	[wɛ]	<i>way</i>
—	i	[i]	<i>u</i>
ታ	ə	[ə]	<i>e</i>
ታ	jə	[jə]	<i>ye</i>
ጥ	wə	[wə]	<i>we</i>
ተ	a	[a]	<i>a</i>
ቱ	ja	[ja]	<i>ya</i>
ታ	wa	[wa]	<i>wa</i>
ጥ	u	[u]	<i>wu</i>
ጥ	ju	[ju]	<i>y(w)u</i>
ጥ	o	[o]	<i>o</i>
ሀ	jo	[jo]	<i>yo</i>
ታ	ij	[i(j), i, e]	<i>uy</i>

APPENDIX B

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE KOREAN GLOSS

ACC	Accusative	<i>ul/lul</i>
AD	Adverbial	<i>key</i>
CL	Classifier	
COM	Committal	<i>ci</i>
COMP	Complementizer	<i>ko/ku/kwu</i>
COND	Conditional	<i>(u)myen</i>
CONJ	Conjectural	<i>keyss</i>
CONN	Connectives	
COP	Copular	<i>-(i)ta</i>
CIRCUM	Circumstantial	<i>nuntey</i>
DEC	Declarative	<i>ta</i>
DEF	Deferential	<i>-(su)pnita/pnita</i>
DISJ	Disjunctive	<i>(nu)n/(u)l ci</i>
DM	Discourse Marker	
DPST	Double past suffix	<i>-essass</i>
EX	Exclamatory	
FR	Factual Realization	<i>ney/kwuna</i>
FRC	Free Choice	<i>-(i)na</i>
HRSY	Hearsay	<i>-ta/lamye</i>
IE	Informal ending	<i>e/a</i>
IMP	Imperative	<i>-(e)la/-(u)la</i>
INF	Infinitive suffix	
LOC	Locative	<i>-e(se)</i>
NEC	Necessitative	<i>-(e)ya</i>
NEG	Negative	<i>an/mos</i>
NOM	Nominative	<i>i/ka</i>
NML	Nominalizer	<i>-ki/-um</i>
PAS	Passive	

PL	Plural suffix	<i>-da/nya/ca/la</i>
PST	Past suffix	<i>-ass/ess</i>
Q	Interrogative	<i>kka/nya</i>
QT	Quotative	<i>-tay/-ko</i>
RT	Retrospective	<i>tu/te(n)</i>
RL	Relativizer	<i>-(u)l/(u)n/n</i>
SH	Subject Honorific	<i>-(u)si</i>
SIM	Simultaneous	<i>-(u)myense</i>
TEM	Temporal	<i>-ey</i>
TOP	Topic marker	<i>un/nun</i>
TRANS	Transferentive	<i>-(e/a)taka</i>
VOC	Vocative particle	<i>-a/ya</i>
VOL	Volitional	

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