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The Discourse-Pragmatic Uses of the Korean Interrogative Sentence Enders -Na/-(u)Nka, -Nya, and -Ni

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The Discourse-Pragmatic Uses of the Korean Interrogative Sentence Enders

-Na/-(u)Nka, *-Nya*, and *-Ni*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Seunggon Jeong

2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Discourse-Pragmatic Uses of the Korean Interrogative Sentence Enders

-Na/-(u)Nka, *-Nya,* and *-Ni*

by

Seunggon Jeong

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Sung-Ock Shin Sohn, Chair

This dissertation attempts to contribute to the study of Korean sentence enders by investigating one particular type of sentence enders—i.e., interrogative sentence enders. By exploring the discourse-pragmatic functions of the familiar and plain speech level interrogative sentence enders *-na/–(u)nka*, *–nya*, and *–ni* that are employed in naturally-occurring informal conversations, this dissertation seeks to illuminate the discourse-pragmatic functions of these interrogative sentence enders and thereby move beyond the traditional account of these interrogative sentence enders as a sentence type and speech level marker. This dissertation shows that the familiar speech level interrogative sentence ender *-na/-(u)nka,* which is often prosodically realized as a high boundary tone, functions as an epistemic modality marker of uncertainty and is employed for various pragmatic uses as follows: (a) to ask other-addressed

questions, (b) to tentatively assert factual information, (c) to allude to disagreements, (d) to express thoughts and feelings in the form of rhetorical questions, and (e) to ask self-addressed questions. It also shows that the speakers use the plain speech level interrogative sentence enders –*nya* and –*ni* for stance taking or discourse organization. –*Nya* and –*ni* that are used to form a rhetorical question function as an alignment marker. As a divergent alignment marker, –*nya* is used to index the current speaker's disagreement with the prior speaker's stance whereas –*ni,* as a convergent alignment marker, is employed to index the current speaker's agreement with the prior speaker's stance. –*Nya* and –*ni* that are used as genuine information-seeking questions function as a discourse-organizing marker. –*Nya* functions as an index of topic discontinuity and is used to form a question that deals with a new topic whereas –*ni* functions as an index of topic continuity and is employed to inquire about a previously established topic. By documenting the discourse-pragmatic functions of -*na/-(u)nka* as an epistemic modality marker as well as those of –*nya* and –*ni* as an alignment marker and a discourse-organizing marker, this dissertation demonstrates that sentence enders are not only a syntactic resource but also a discourse-pragmatic resource.

This dissertation of Seunggon Jeong is approved.

Hongyin Tao

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Steven E Clayman

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2018

To my wife, son and parents

For their love, encouragement, and support

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objective

In Korean, sentence enders are mandatory for a verb or adjective to stand independently and normally appear at the end of a sentence (H.-M. Sohn, 1999). For instance, the verb stem *mek-* 'eat' cannot be used in an utterance by itself without a sentence ender as shown in (a) below.

```
(a-1) mwe  mek-?   (ungrammatical)
      what eat
      What are you eating?

(a-2) mwe  mek-ni?  (grammatical)
      what eat-interrogative sentence ender
      What are you eating?'
```

Sentence enders have traditionally been understood as conveying important grammatical and sociocontextual information (e.g., I.-S. Lee, 2005; H.-M. Sohn, 1999). More specifically, a sentence ender indicates both the sentence type (i.e., declarative, interrogative, imperative, and propositive) and the speech level (i.e., plain, intimate, familiar, blunt, polite, and deferential) of a sentence, which reflects the degree of formality and social solidarity between the speaker and the hearer[1]. For instance, the sentence ender *–ni* in (a-2) indicates that the sentence is an interrogative and it is of the plain speech level. In this traditional approach to sentence enders, the speaker's choice of a sentence ender among others is thus often explained by reference to the sentence type and the social relationship between the speaker and hearer.

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[1] The degree of deference and formality increases as the speech level goes from plain to deferential speech levels (see H.-M. Sohn, 1999).

H. S. Lee (1994), however, calls to go beyond the traditional focus on sentence-type and speech level and look at sentence enders, which he calls sentence-terminal suffixes, to examine their discourse-pragmatic functions by registering the prominence of various epistemic modality-marking functions of sentence enders in informal discourse. By exploring the uses of the declarative sentence ender *–ta,* the interrogative sentence ender *–nya/–ni*, and the imperative sentence ender *–(e)la*, which all belong to the plain speech level, H. S. Lee (1994) demonstrates that in informal communicative contexts, *–ta* is used as an index of noteworthiness, *–nya/–ni* is employed as a marker of the speaker's doubt about or negative bias toward the proposition or communicative situations, and *–(e)la* is utilized when the speaker believes that the addressee's choice or the circumstances are not in accordance with his/her liking or assumed norms.

Taking up H. S. Lee's proposal (1994) to re-examine sentence enders for their discourse-pragmatic characteristics, this dissertation attempts to contribute to the study of Korean sentence enders by investigating the discourse-pragmatic functions of one particular type of sentence enders—interrogative sentence enders—in informal conversations, which is the discourse genre where the discourse-pragmatic functions of sentence enders other than their sentence type and speech level marking functions are likely to be prominent (H. S. Lee, 1994, 2015). As can be seen in Table 1.1 below, different forms of interrogative sentence enders exist in Korean according to the speech level.

Table 1.1 Interrogative sentence enders in Korean

Speech Levels	Interrogative Sentence Enders
Plain	*-nya, -ni*[2]

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[2] *-Nya* and *–ni* are grammatical variants that perform the same functions (M. Park, 2003; Yeon & Brown, 2011)

Intimate	-e, -a
Familiar	-na, -(u)nka
Blunt	-s(o)
Polite	-eyo, -ayo
Deferential	-(su)p-ni-kka

Among the various forms of interrogative sentence enders, this dissertation focuses on exploring the discourse-pragmatic functions of the plain and familiar speech level interrogative sentence enders –nya, –ni, –na, and –(u)nka for the following two reasons.

First, whereas intimate, blunt, and polite speech level interrogative sentence enders can appear in declaratives, imperatives, and/or propositives and thus can function as sentence type enders other than interrogative sentence enders, the plain and familiar speech level interrogative sentence enders (along with the deferential-level interrogative sentence enders) are only used as interrogative sentence enders. In this sense, the plain and familiar interrogative sentence enders can be considered as the prototype of Korean interrogative sentence enders. Second, compared to the deferential speech level interrogative sentence enders, the plain and familiar speech level interrogative sentence enders, which can be used by interlocutors in a close relationship such as friends and family members, are more likely to occur in everyday casual conversations. In brief, the representability of the plain and familiar speech level interrogative sentence enders –nya, –ni, –na, and –(u)nka as interrogative sentence enders, as well as their high likelihood of occurrence in everyday informal conversations, are what make them a good fit for this dissertation study that examines the discourse-pragmatic functions of interrogative sentence enders in informal and casual conversations.

1.2. Research Questions

In exploring the discourse-pragmatic functions of *–nya, –ni, –na,* and *–(u)nka* used in everyday informal conversations, this dissertation focuses on three research questions as follows.

(1) What various pragmatic functions does *–na/–(u)nka* serve? What prosodic features (i.e., boundary tones) are associated with *–na/–(u)nka* performing a particular pragmatic function?

(2) What are the stance-related pragmatic functions *-nya* and *-ni* perform when used in rhetorical questions? Do *-nya* and *-ni* carry out different stance work, and if so, how?

(3) What are the discourse-organizing functions performed *by -nya* and *-ni* when employed in information-seeking questions? Are *-nya* and *-ni* used differently in terms of topic continuity, and if so, how?

1.3. Theoretical and Methodological Approaches and Data

In order to address the aforementioned research questions, this dissertation draws on multiple theoretical and methodological approaches that are suitable for examining language use in context such as the Interactional Linguistics approach (Kern & Selting, 2012), Du Bois's stance triangle (2007), the Discourse Analysis approach (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001), and corpus-based frequency analyses in addition to Jun's model of Korean intonation (1993, 1998, 2007, 2011). More specifically, for research question (1), the diverse pragmatic uses of *–na/–(u)nka* is investigated using the theoretical and methodological approach of Interactional Linguistics (Kern & Selting, 2012) that seeks to describe in detail how linguistic forms are used to build a particular social action/activity/practice in a way that is recognizable as such. The prosodic features of *–na/–(u)nka* are examined using Jun's model of Korean intonation (1993,

1998, 2007, 2011), which is a widely-recognized systematic model of the intonational structure of Seoul Korean based on autosegmental-metrical phonology. As for research question (2), the stance-related pragmatic functions of –*nya* and –*ni* are explored within the theoretical and analytical framework of Du Bois's stance triangle (2007) where stance is seen as a public, social act by a social actor that is achieved dialogically through overt semiotic resources such as language while s/he is interacting with other social actors, and the relationship between the current speaker's stance and the prior speaker's stance (i.e., alignment) is viewed as one essential component of a stance act. As for research question (3), the discourse-pragmatic functions of –*nya* and –*ni* as a discourse-organizing marker is examined using the Discourse Analysis approach where an utterance or a sentence is studied in its relation to its surrounding discourse in order to explicate its use (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001). In addition, for all three research questions, corpus-based frequency analyses are conducted to study the frequency distribution of each identified discourse-pragmatic functions of –*na/–(u)nka,* –*nya,* and –*ni.* For more explanation on each methodological and theoretical approach used in this dissertation, refer to Data and Methods section of Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

Using the aforementioned theoretical and methodological approaches, this dissertation examines instances of –*na/–(u)nka,* –*nya,* and –*ni* that are obtained from the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) spoken corpus. The LDC corpus consists of 100 naturally occurring telephone conversations between native speakers of Korean. The social relationships between the callers and recipients are close friends or family members. The participants were informed that their calls would be recorded, but they were allowed to freely choose the topics of their conversations and carry out their conversations up to 30 minutes. Among the 100 conversations in the LDC corpus, the first 50 conversations were chosen, and each conversation is 16 to 18

minutes long. In total, 173 instance of *–na/–(u)nka,* 149 instances of *–nya* and 39 instances of *–ni* in rhetorical questions, and 186 instances of *–nya* and 68 instances of *–ni* in information-seeking questions are examined respectively for each research question.

By analyzing the instances of *–na/–(u)nka, –nya,* and *–ni* for their discourse-pragmatic uses in naturally occurring telephone conversations among friends and family members, this dissertation will show that the familiar speech level interrogative suffix *–na/–(u)nka,* which is often prosodically realized as a high boundary tone*,* functions as an epistemic modality marker of uncertainty and is employed for various pragmatic uses as follows: (a) to ask other-addressed questions, (b) to tentatively assert factual information, (c) to allude to disagreements, (d) to express thoughts and feelings in the form of rhetorical questions, and (e) to ask self-addressed questions. It will also show that the speakers use the plain speech level interrogative sentence enders *–nya* and *–ni* for stancetaking or discourse organization. *–Nya* and *–ni* that are used to form a rhetorical question function as an alignment marker that displays the relationship between the current speaker's stance and the prior speaker's stance. As a divergent alignment marker, *–nya* is used to index the current speaker's disagreement with the prior speaker's stance whereas *–ni,* as a convergent alignment marker, is employed to index the current speaker's agreement with the prior speaker's stance. *–Nya* and *–ni* that are used as genuine information-seeking questions function as a discourse-organizing marker. *–Nya* functions as an index of topic discontinuity and is used to form a question that deals with a new topic whereas *–ni* functions as an index of topic continuity and is employed to inquire about a previously established topic.

1.4. Significance

As one of the rare systematic studies that looks at the actual discourse-pragmatic uses of the interrogative sentence enders *–na/–(u)nka, –nya,* and *–ni* in naturally-occurring informal conversations, this dissertation study will thus empirically demonstrate that interrogative sentence enders are not only a resource to indicate a syntactic property of an utterance/sentence but also a discourse-pragmatic resource that encodes the speaker's epistemic attitude towards the proposition of an utterance/sentence, the speaker's alignment with the prior speaker, and/or the speaker's view of discourse structure. In addition to expanding our understanding of Korean interrogative sentence enders as epistemic modality, stance, and discourse-organizing markers, which goes beyond the traditional understanding of them as sentence type and speech level markers, this dissertation study will contribute to broadening our understanding of the interplay between grammar and prosody in the construction of a particular pragmatic function of an utterance and grammar as a resource for taking a stance and organizing discourse—the themes that (interactional) linguists, applied linguistics, and discourse analysts have actively been pursuing. This dissertation study will also have implications for Korean language pedagogy as the findings of this study is directly applicable in teaching the discourse-pragmatic uses of the interrogative sentence enders *–na/–(u)nka, –nya,* and *–ni* in everyday conversations. For instance, the types of pragmatic functions performed with *–na/–(u)nka* and their frequency distribution will shed light on which pragmatic functions should be prioritized in instructing the uses of *–na/–(u)nka*-ending utterances. The findings on prosodic features associated with *–na/–(u)nka*-ending utterances will also hold pedagogical value for teaching how to produce *–na/–(u)nka*-ending utterances with appropriate prosody. Furthermore, the discrete uses of *–nya* and *–ni* in terms of stancetaking and discourse organization*,* which has not yet been explored to the

researcher's best knowledge, will contribute to teaching how interlocutors use *–nya* and *–ni* differently to achieve their communicative goals.

1.5. Organization

The remainder of this dissertation is organized as follows. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are analytic chapters. Chapter 2 investigates *–na/–(u)nka* for its diverse pragmatic uses as well as for its prosodic features. Chapters 3 and 4 look at discourse-pragmatic uses of *–nya* and *–ni*. Chapter 3 examines *–nya* and *–ni* that are used to form a rhetorical question and analyzes their respective uses as a divergent and convergent alignment marker. Chapter 4 explores *–nya* and *–ni* that are employed in information-seeking questions and analyzes the use of *–nya* as an index of topic discontinuity and the use of *–ni* as an index of topic continuity. Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of this dissertation study and concludes it with suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER 2

THE PRAGMATIC USE OF THE SENTENCE ENDER –*NA*/-*(U)NKA* AND

ITS PROSODIC FEATURES

2.1. Introduction

Traditionally, the sentence enders (hereafter, SE) -*na/-(u)nka*[3] has been understood as an interrogative SE of the familiar speech level[4] (S.-K. Kim, 1995; Y. Ko & B. Ku, 2008; I. Lee & W. Chae, 1999; J. Park, 1986a, b; H. Sohn, 1999). More specifically, -*na/-(u)nka* has been viewed as a grammatical device that is employed for interrogative sentences when an older adult asks a question to a younger adult (e.g., a male adult addressing to his son-in-law: *caney pap mek-ess-na?* 'you meal eat-PST-**NA'** 'Have you had a meal?') (H. Sohn, 1999; J. Yeon & Brown, 2011). However, the understanding of -*na/-(u)nka*, which focuses on its sentence type and social relationship marking functions, is not unproblematic. Firstly, an understanding of -*na/-(u)nka* as a mere interrogative marker does not do well to explain the myriad of pragmatic functions that utterances with -*na/-(u)nka* can, in actuality, have. In fact, H. S. Lee (2003), who studied -*na,* notes that -*na*-ending utterances can be used, not only for seeking information from its hearers (which is a prototype action performed through an interrogative), but also to deliver information obtained through hearsay to the hearer just as a declarative would do (e.g., *ay-tul-i*

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[3] The SE -*na* and -*(u)nka* are grammatical variants that perform the same function. The choice of –*na* and –*nka* depends on the semantic nature of a verb and the presence of tense markers. -*Na* is commonly used with a processive verb, the past tense -*ass/ess*-, and the future –*keyss*- . By contrast, –*(u)nka* is attached to a descriptive verb, the copula -*ita* 'to be', and the future expression -*l ke. –(u)nka* is occasionally used with a proceeisve verb in the form of- *nunka* (M. Park, 2003; Yeon & Brown, 2011).

[4] Korean has six different speech levels: deferential, polite, blunt, familiar, intimate, and plain speech levels. The social relationship between the speaker and the hearer (e.g., social ranks as determined by factors such as age, gender and social position, the degree of solidarity/formality of the relationship) is an important parameter in the speaker's selection of speech level to use. The degree of deference and formality decreases as the speech level goes from deferential to plain speech levels (see Sohn, 1999).

na-po-ko koyngcanghi sakyocek-i-lay 'child-PL-NOM I see-CONN remarkably social-be-HEARSAY' 'My friends tell me I'm very social.' *future-i bulais-ha-ta-**na**?* 'future-NM bright-do-DC-**NA'** 'They say I have a bright future (but I don't know what they mean)') Secondly, J. Ahn (2015) and Y. Lee (2005) have noted that it is not uncommon for *-na/-(u)nka* to also co-occur with SEs that belong to other speech levels such as plain and intimate speech levels, which are used between intimates of similar or different age/rank. This suggests that unlike traditional understandings of *-na/-(u)nka*, it does not strongly index the social relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

Moving beyond traditional approaches to the SE *-na/-(u)nka* as a sentence-type and speech-level marker, H.S. Lee (2003) and J. Park (1986a, b) propose that *-na/-(u)nka* can be understood as an epistemic marker of uncertainty and doubt. Building on H. S. Lee's (2003) and J. Park's studies (1986a, b), this study seeks to broaden our understanding of the diverse pragmatic uses of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* in a particular genre of spoken discourse (i.e., everyday conversations) in order to contribute to improved communicative competence of Korean learners in their use of *-na/-(u)nka* in real-life conversational settings. To this end, this study explores the various pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances and its frequency distribution according to those functions. This is a necessary analytic process for deciding which functions of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances should be prioritized in teaching the uses of *-na/-(u)nka.*

In addition, the present study examines prosodic features of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances by looking at Intonation Phrase (IP) final boundary tones realized on *-na/-(u)nka* according to the pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka* (For explanation on IP boundary tones, refer to section 2.2.2). Given that meaning is not only constructed from what you say but also from how you say it, (e.g., Goodwin, 2013) knowing how to produce *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances in

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a prosodically appropriate manner has special importance in improving the speaking skills of Korean learners and their use of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances. As a systematic study of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* that focuses on its pragmatic and prosodic features, the findings of this study will provide a useful base from which a usage-based instruction of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* can be created and conducted.

The organization of the remainder of this chapter is as follows. Section 2.2 provides a review of previous studies on the SE *-na/-(u)nka* and the boundary tones to provide background information to the readers (section 2.2.1 and section 2.2.2, respectively). Section 2.3 describes the data and methods for this study, as well as transcription of conversation excerpts. Section 2.4 analyzes diverse pragmatic uses of utterances ending with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* and their frequency distribution (section 2.4.1), as well as the types and frequency of boundary tones realized on it (section 2.4.2). Section 2.5 discusses pedagogical implications of this study, and section 2.6 summarizes the findings of this study and concludes with suggestions for future research.

2.2. Background

2.2.1. The SE – *Na/ -(u)Nka* as an Epistemic Marker of Uncertainty and Doubt

Among a handful of studies that examined *-na/-(u)nka* in depth, H.S. Lee (2003) and J. Park (1986a, b) are worth mentioning in that they provides new insights in understanding the pragmatic meaning and uses of the SE *-na/-(u)nka.* H.S. Lee (2003) and J. Park (1986, a, b) have shown that the SE *-na/-(u)nka* can be understood as an epistemic marker of uncertainty and doubt rather than a sentence-type and speech-level marker. In seeking to provide a unified account of diverse discourse-pragmatic uses of *-na*, H. S. Lee (2003) views the SE *-na* not as an interrogative marker of the familiar level, but as a modal suffix that indicates the speaker's

uncertainty. What is even more interesting is that he considered a question formed with the SE -*na* such as *nay-ka hankul iss-ta-n yayki hay-ss-**na?*** 'I-NM Korean exist-DC-RL story do-PST-NA' 'Have I told you that there is a Korean [word processing program] [I wonder]?' as an indirect question of wondering. This suggests that H. S. Lee (2003) regards the SE -*na* used to form a question as a linguistic device for conventional indirectness (Brown & Levinson, 1987). H.S. Lee (2003) seems to assume that just like the English expression "I wonder," -*na* performs the action of-questioning indirectly by merely indicating the speaker's uncertainty or lack of knowledge towards the state of affairs to its hearer and leaving the floor to provide the answer or not on the realm of its hearer's freedom.

Similarly, J. Park (1986a, b) argues that the pragmatic meaning of the SE -*na/-(u)nka* is merely posing the speaker's doubt about the state of affairs that is unknown to the speaker or the speaker is uncertain about, rather than directly seeking information from its hearer. J. Park's perspective (1986a, b) on the SE -*na/-(u)nka* is drawn from his observation that it can occupy a syntactic position where a suffix that is neutral to speech level should appear as in the clausal-ending suffix position of an embedded clause (e.g., *tangkwukeyse palpyohan hwacay weninul kutaylo mitul swu issnunkaka mwunceyta* 'The issue is whether we could believe the cause of the fire that the government announced as it is.'). Based on this observation, J. Park (1986a, b) points out that -*na/-(u)nka* itself does not carry any speech level information, and thus does not presume the presence of a particular addressee who is expected to provide information that the speaker is wondering about and does not obligate the hearer to respond to the utterances. J. Park (1986a, b), however, mentions that -*na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances can function as an information-seeking question either by the hearer's cooperation in resolving the speaker's doubt during the conversation or by the aid of paralinguistic or prosodic features that convey that its hearer is

expected to respond to these utterances. In particular, J. Park's latter remark is notable in that it suggests the important roles that paralinguistic and prosodic features play in constructing the pragmatic function of questioning with the SE *-na/-(u)nka*.

H. S. Lee's (2003) and J. Park's (1986a, b) perspectives on the SE *-na/-(u)nka* as an epistemic marker of uncertainty and doubt that does not directly require an answer from the hearer seem to have great explanatory power in accounting for the diverse pragmatic functions of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* that are sporadically mentioned in Korean dictionaries, Korean grammar books, and Korean textbooks (e.g., Y. M. Cho, H. S. Lee, Schultz, H. Sohn & S. Sohn, 2012; Research Institute of Korean Studies, 2009; J. Yeon & Brown, 2011; Yonsei Institute of Language and Information Studies, 2006) First, their accounts can explain why *-na/-(u)nka* can be used in a situation where the speaker does not seek the hearer's answer as follows: a) simply expressing what the speaker is wondering about (e.g., *nayka ankyungul etiey twuessna* 'Where did I put my glasses, [I wonder?]'), b) posing an issue the speaker/author has been ruminating about to the audience/readers in order to make the issue shared among them (e.g., mikwukuy taypwuk cengchaykun chwungpwunhi hyokwacenkinka 'Is U.S. policy towards North Korea effective enough?') , c) marking speaker's uncertainty on the information that the speaker is conveying to the hearer (e.g., *ay-tul-i na-po-ko koyngcanghi sakyocek-i-lay* 'child-PL-NM I see-CONN remarkably social-be-HEARSAY' 'My friends tell me I'm very social.' *futue-i bulais-ha-ta-na?* 'future-NM bright-do-DC-**NA** 'They say I have a bright future (but I don't know what they mean)'), or d) creating a rhetorical question, which is not expected to be answered (e.g., *Ay appa-ka tway kaci-kwu tali-lul tte-na*. 'child father-NM become have-and leg-AC shake-**NA**' 'You're a dad, but you jiggle your legs?').

Second, H. S. Lee's (2003) and J. Park's (1986, a, b) views explain that utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka/* can be used as a conventional indirect question that could be used as a politeness strategy by not imposing the responsibility to provide an answer on the hearer (e.g., compare "myechsiey osyese towacwusil kenkayo?" 'What time you would come and help me out, [I wonder]? with "myechsiey osyese towacwusil ke-ye-yo?" 'What time would you come and help me out?')

Third, they can also explain that a yes/no question formed with *-na/-(u)nka* can be employed to show the speaker's uncertainty about the proposition of a question (compare "cey ilum kiekhasinayo?" 'Do you remember my name [I wonder]?' with "cey ilum kiekhasinc(i)yo" 'You remember my name, don't you?'). This is usage of *-na/-(u)nka* can also contribute to making questions ending with *-na/-(u)nka* sound polite. Consider that marking the speaker's uncertainty about the propositional content of a yes/no question is to show that the speaker does not have a strong position regarding whether the proposition of the question is true or not. And it leads to exerting less pressure on the hearer to take an affiliated stance with that of the speaker, allowing more freedom to the hearer in confirming or disconfirming the proposition of the question.

 Although H. S. Lee's (2003) and J. Park's (1986a, b) studies on *-na/-(u)nka* have surely advanced our understanding of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* by pointing out its epistemic stance marking function as its most crucial feature, we still do not have a concrete understanding of how speakers use the marker of uncertainty and doubt in everyday conversations, which would highly benefit learners of Korean language in communicative goals. This seems to be the result of the lack of systematic research that delves into the pragmatic uses of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* in methodically collected corpus of authentic conversations. For instance, H. S. Lee's (2003) and J.

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Park's (1986a, b) do not explore conversational uses of the SE -*na/-(u)nka* in their studies. This seems to be related to the fact that the focus of both studies does not lie in identifying how -*na/-(u)nka* functions in conversation. Instead, they aim to emphasize the use of -*na/-(u)nka* as a marker of doubt and uncertainty using diverse types of data, which include made-up examples. In particular, the data for J. Park's studies (1986a, b) consist mainly of made-up examples, excerpts from novels, and newspaper titles.

The present study addresses the gap in the research of the SE -*na/-(u)nka* by exploring for what pragmatic functions speakers in conversations use utterances ending with -*na/-(u)nka* and investigating the frequency distribution according to their pragmatic functions with the use of a systematically collected corpus of telephone conversations. Attaining this information would contribute to identifying functions not yet identified for -*na/-(u)nka* and thus allows us to decide which more frequent functions of -*na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances should have priority in teaching SE -*na/-(u)nka*. Furthermore, the results of this present study can be applied to developing discourse-based instructional materials which explores various pragmatic functions of -*na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances in their actual context of use.

2.2.2. Prosodic Features of the SE -*Na/-*(u)*Nka*

There exist only few studies that mention prosodic features associated with the SE -*na/-(u)nka*. As mentioned earlier, J. Park (1986a, b) points out the importance of prosodic features in constructing the pragmatic function of questioning with the SE -*na/-(u)nka*. Providing the example of the Waychang dialect of Gyeongsangnam-do Province, he mentions that different terminal contours (i.e., the shapes of IP final boundary tones) are realized on the SE -*na/-(u)nka*, depending on whether the utterance ending with -*na/-(u)nka* is intended to be interpreted as self-

wondering or as a question directed to the hearer. He argues that in case of the former, the SE -*na/-(u)nka* is produced with a deep and elongated falling intonation contour, whereas in case of the latter, it is produced with a shallow and short falling intonation contour. Although J. Park's studies (1986a, b) are meaningful in that it registers the interplay between boundary tones and pragmatic functions the SE -*na/-(u)nka* carries out, it is not without limitations in that it is primarily based on Park's impressionistic observations, and not on pitch tracks analyzed systematically grounded on a phonological model of Korean prosodic structure.

To the researcher's best knowledge, M. Park's study (2003) is the only study that examines boundary tones realized on the SE -*na/-(u)nka* based on a solid systematic model of intonational structure of Korean—i.e., Jun's model of intonational structure of Seoul Korean (1993, 1998, 2007, 2011). Before reviewing M. Park's study, Jun's intonational model will be described to equip readers with background knowledge that is necessary to understand M. Park's study (and this present study). According to Jun (1993, 1998, 2007, 2011), the intonational structure of the standard dialect of Korean is organized into three prosodic units: Accentual Phrase (hereafter, AP), Intermediate Phrase (hereafter, ip), and Intonation Phrase (hereafter, IP). The relationship among these prosodic units is hierarchical. As seen in Figure 2.1 below, one or more phonological words (usually a lexical item plus a case marker or a postposition) constitute an AP; one or more AP constitute an ip; and one or more ip constitute an IP.

Figure 2.1 Prosodic structure of Seoul Korean (adopted from Jun, 2011)

```
                              IP
                          ╱       ╲
                       ip           (ip)
                      ╱  ╲
                   AP      (AP)
                  ╱  ╲
               w     (w)
              ╱ ╲
            s   s ... s   s
            |   |     |   |
          T +H      L+ Ha      (H-)  T%
```
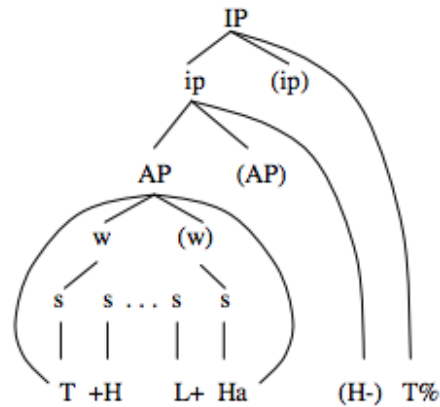
IP: Intonation Phrase; ip: Intermediate phrase; AP: Accentual Phrase
w: phonological word; s: syllable
T = H, when the AP-initial segment is aspirated or tense C or /h, s/; Otherwise, T = L
+H: H tone realized on the second syllable of AP
L+: L tone realized on the penultimate syllable of AP
Ha: an AP-final boundary tone.
(H-): an optional ip-final boundary tone
T%: an IP-final boundary tone (e.g., H%, L%, LH%, HL%, LHL%, HLH%)
(when boundary tones of different prosodic units are realized on the same syllable, the tone of
a higher prosodic unit overrides that of a lower prosodic unit.)

Therefore, an AP is the smallest unit defined by intonation while an IP is the largest, and

an ip lies in the middle of these two. Due to this hierarchical organization, a higher prosodic unit

has to be parsed into a lower prosodic unit(s), thus the right edge of a higher prosodic unit is also

the right edge of a lower prosodic unit. For instance, the end of an IP is also the end of the ip,

and the end of an ip is also the end of the AP. In such cases where the end of a higher prosodic

unit coincides with a lower prosodic unit, thereby boundary tones of different prosodic units

become associated with the same syllable, the boundary tone of a higher unit overrides that of a

lower prosodic unit. What follows are specific tonal patterns and prosodic features that define

each prosodic unit.

An AP is defined by a sequence of tones that demarcates the beginning and end of the

unit. The most common tonal pattern of an AP is Low-High-Low-High (written as a sequence of

L, +H, L+, Ha when labeling the intonation contour; see Jun (2000) for the labeling conventions of Korean intonation, known as K-ToBI (Korean Tones and Break Indices) or High-High-Low-High (H, +H, L+, Ha). For that reason, the tonal pattern of the AP in Figure 2.1 is represented as T, +H, L+, Ha, with T = H or L. The choice between H and L as the AP-initial tone depends on the laryngeal feature of the AP-initial segment. When the AP-initial segment has the feature of [+stiff vocal cords] (i.e., aspirated, tense consonants, or /h, s/), T is realized as H. Otherwise, T is realized as L. The initial two tones, which demarcate the beginning of an AP, are associated with the first and the second syllables of the AP, respectively. The final two tones, which demarcate the end of an AP, are associated with the penultimate and the final syllables of the AP, respectively). All four tones are realized when an AP has 4 or more syllables, but one or both of the two AP-medial tones, i.e., +H, L+, can be deleted when an P has fewer than 4 syllables.

An ip is defined either by a high boundary tone that marks the end of the ip or by pitch reset, the choice of which is determined by its function. When an ip is formed to mark the end of a syntactic unit, the High ip boundary tone (H-), which is higher than ip-medial AP-final high tone (Ha)) is realized on the final syllable of the syntactic unit with minor phrase-final lengthening. By contrast, when an ip is formed to mark prominence (e.g., making a focused word), an ip boundary is inserted at the left edge of the focused word. The beginning of the ip is, therefore, marked by a pitch reset as indicated by a higher f0 peak (i.e., typically +H gets higher, but Ha can be the target of pitch reset if the focused word doesn't have +H) on the focused element, compared to the high tones (i.e., H+ or Ha) of the preceding AP.

An IP is defined by a boundary tone that marks the end of the IP. An IP boundary tone is realized on the last syllable of the IP with substantial phrase-final lengthening. Unlike an AP at IP-medial position, an IP, although not always, may be followed by a pause. According to Jun

(2000, 2007), Korean has at least nine boundary tones (L%: low tone, H%: high tone, LH%: rising, HL% falling tone, LHL%: rising–falling tone, HLH: falling-rising tone, LHLH%: rising-falling-rising tone, HLHL%: falling-rising-falling tone, and LHLHL%: rising-falling-rising-falling tone). The type of an IP boundary tone is determined by the f_0 contour realized on the IP-final syllable starting from its onset. Figure 2.2 below shows the schematic representation of eight boundary tones. The rare boundary tone LHLHL% is not shown. The vertical line in each boundary tone indicates the beginning of IP-final syllable.

Figure 2.2 Schematic representation of eight boundary tones (excerpted from Jun, 2000)
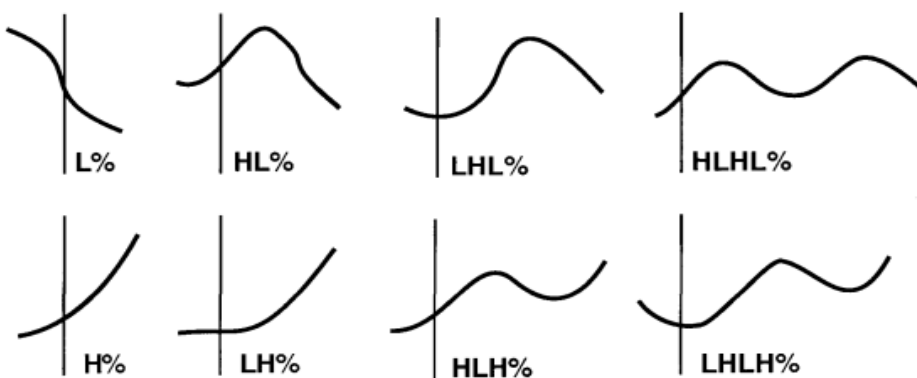
IP boundary tones not only mark the right boundary of IP but they also deliver pragmatic meanings as well as information about the sentence type (Jun 1993, M. Park, 2003). Because SEs, which syntactically mark the end of a sentence, mostly coincide with the right boundary of IP. Thus, IP boundary tones are often realized on the SEs in Korean (Sohn & Kim, 2014). This relationship between IP boundary tones and SEs is what makes it possible for researchers such as M. Park (2003) to look into the intricate interplay between SEs and IP boundary tones realized on the SEs. Furthermore, having the domain of meaning that is equal to or larger than that of a verb phrase, IP boundary tones and SEs perform similar syntactic and pragmatic functions (e.g.,

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delivering information about sentence types, speech acts, and the speakers' epistemic and affective stance towards the propositional contents or the hearers), which suggests a close connection between these two semiotic resources (M. Park, 2003).

As an endeavor to explore the relation between pragmatic meanings of IP boundary tones and those of SEs, M. Park (2003) investigated IP boundary tones realized on *-na/-(u)nka* along with other SEs using naturally occurring conversations collected from an informal weekly home Bible study. M. Park (2003) found that *-na/-(u)nka* is produced with the five different types of boundary tones H%, L%, LH%, HL%, and LHL%. She further noted that *-na/-(u)nka* most frequently occurs with H% and L%, which respectively account for 81.8% and 12.6% of all instances of *-na/-(u)nka* (n=159). LH% and LHL% accounts for 2.5% each, and HL only accounts for 0.6%. She thus first focuses on the relation between the meanings of H% and L% and the pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka*.

The findings of her study shows that H% tends to coincide with the use of *-na/-(u)nka* as an uncertainty marker that indexes the speaker's uncertainty and thereby presents information or a question in the form of self-inquiry (e.g., in response to the question that asks the date for a group trip, *sa wol sip-chil il cengto ani-**nka*** [H%] 'April 17 days around not be-**NKA**' ' Isn't it around April 17th?'). In contrast, L% tends to occur when *-na/-(u)nka* was used to form general questions posed to the audience to think about (e.g., The leader of the Bible study group is posing the following question to the whole group: *a: cwuhwu 58, 59 nyen-i-myen-un pawuli myech sal ccum tway-ss-**na*** [L%] 'uh AD 58, 59 year-be-if-TC Paul-NM how many year about become-PST-**NA**' 'Uh, how old Paul was in year 58, 59 AD?') or to frame direct-style self-quotation/self-representation of thoughts or direct-style quotative explanation (e.g., *nay-ka cikum eti-iss-na* [L%] *kakkum kulen sayngkak-i tule-yo.* 'I-NM now where-be-NA once in a while like

that thought-NM occur-POL' '"Where am I now?" I think about that once in a while.'). Based on the findings, M. Park (2003) concludes that the function of H% used with *-na/-(u)nka* as an uncertainty marker is to elicit the interlocutor's awareness of the speaker's uncertainty, thereby supporting indirect speech acts performed with *-na/-(u)nka*.

In contrast, the function of L% is to index either the speaker's high degree of certainty towards the proposition conveyed through a *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterance or non-existence of the speaker's uncertainty towards it. According to M. Park (2003), a speaker who poses a general inquiry makes the posed uncertainty or wondering shared with the audience at the time of the utterance, instead of making it his/her own. Likewise, *-na/-(u)nka* used for framing indexes non-existence of the speaker's uncertainty towards the framed utterance and thereby contributes to its neutral presentation. Regarding the use of other boundary tones used with *-na/-(u)nka*, M. Park (2003) does not go in depth. However, in exploring general meanings of these other boundary tones, she does mention that compared to H%, LH% indexes a relatively lower degree of certainty and HL% indicates a relatively higher degree of certainty and the speaker's assertive stance.

Foregrounding the epistemic function of boundary tones, M. Park's analyses (2003) of the boundary tones realized on *-na/-(u)nka* provides important empirical evidence that shows how boundary tones can reinforce pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances. Building on M. Park's study (2003), the present study attempts to further investigate the intricate relation between boundary tones and pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances by examining a wide range of pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances and their boundary tones in the context of everyday telephone conversations among intimates. This study thus contributes to not only expanding our understanding of various pragmatic functions

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achieved through *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances and meanings of associated boundary tones but also illuminating the way we approach to teaching how to verbally produce *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances.

2.3. Data, Methods, and Transcription of Conversation Excerpts

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the data for this study consists of 50 telephone conversations obtained from the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) spoken corpus. By using a concordance program called AntConc, all the instances of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances used as a SE were pulled from the data. This means that the cases where *-na/-(u)nka* was used as other syntactic categories such as a noun particle (NP) or a clause ender (CE) that syntactically functions as a complementizer that forms a complement clause of an auxiliary verb or a verb (see (a)-(b) for examples[5]) are excluded from the instances of the SE *-na/-(u)nka*.

(a) *-Na/-(u)nka* used as a noun particle such as a restrictive focus particle 'just' or an uncertainty particle that indicates the speaker's tepidity or uncertainty (Rhee & Koo, 2015).

```
(a-1)
wuli   yenghwa-na   po-ca.
we     movie-NA      watch-PR
Let's just watch a movie.

(a-2)
minsu-nun   kwukehak                  pi    plus-nka      pat-ass-tay.
Minsu-TC    Korean Linguistics        B     plus-NKA      receive-PST-QT
I heard Minsu received a B+ or something for Korean Linguistics
```

(b) *-Na/-(u)nka* used as a CE with the auxiliary verbs *-pota* 'look like' or with the verb *kwungkumhata* 'to be curious about.'

```
(b-1)
```

---

[5] For the purpose of clear and concise illustration, made-up examples are provided here.

```
pakk-ey       nwun-i       manhi o-na/o-nunka        pw-ayo.
outside-at    snow-NM      much  come-NA/come-NKA     seem-DC:POL
It looks like it's snowing a lot outside)

(b-2)
cakun kochwu-ka    cengmal       maywu-nka/mayp-na    kwungkumhay-yo.
small chili-NK     really        spicy-nka/spicy-NA   curious-DC:POL
I'm curious about whether small chilies are indeed hot.
```

Excluding the aforementioned cases, in total, 99 instances of SE *–na* and 74 instance of SE *-(u)nka* were found. Each instance was then examined for its pragmatic function and boundary tone within the framework of interactional linguistics (Kern & Selting, 2012) and Jun's model of Korean prosody (1993, 1998, 2011).

In interactional linguistics, which is strongly influenced by Conversation Analysis, language is viewed as a means to construct and cue interpretation of actions/activities/practices in social interaction. Thus, it has great interest in describing, in detail, how linguistic forms are used to build a particular social action/activity/practice in a way that is recognizable as such. In investigating linguistic forms and their functions as a resource for building social interaction, it uses naturally occurring talk-in-interaction as the data and derives analytic categories directly from the data.

In interactional linguistics, methods for grounding analytic categories in the data are mainly based on principles of sequential analysis. More specifically, it pays careful attention to both the relationship of a linguistic device to the immediately preceding turn and its treatment in the subsequent turn to validate whether an analytic category is indeed relevant to the data (i.e., to the participants in interaction). In accordance with the approach of interactional linguistics to language forms and functions, this study analyzed pragmatic functions of *–na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances in terms of social actions implemented with these utterances, deriving the categories of social actions from the data itself by conducting sequential analysis instead of using a pre-

established data-external coding system. By establishing the data-internal categories of social

actions performed with *–na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances and looking at their frequency

distribution, this study was able to document how the SE *–na/-(u)nka* is actually used by

speakers in conversations.

According to Jun's model of Korean prosody (1998, 2011), this study analyzed IP

boundary tones realized on *-na/-(u)nka* with the use of *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink 2017), which

is a widely used software for speech analysis in phonetics). Since the model of Korean prosody

has already been introduced in section 2.2.2, an explanation on her model will not be reiterated

here. However, it is worth mentioning that not all the cases of *–na/-(u)nka* were subject to the

prosodic analysis. Among 173 instances of *-na/-(u)nka*, 169 cases were realized as IP boundary

tones, including the cases where IP boundary tones that should be realized on *–na/-(u)nka* are

delayed and realized on the last syllable of post-predicate elements (e.g., *hankwukeynun cikum*

*calika iss-**na*** [Ha] in**cey?** [H%] 'Are there some job openings in Korea now?') The four residual

cases were realized as ip boundary tones, not as IP boundary tones. Hence, the prosodic analysis

was only conducted on 169 cases of *–na/-(u)nka* that were realized as IP boundary tones.

Conversation excerpts that will be presented in Section 2.4 (Data Analysis) were

transcribed according to the CA transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (Ochs,

Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996; see Appendix A). The transcript consists of three lines: The first

line presents Korean utterances that represent the actual sounds of Korean rather than standard

orthography and are romanized according to the Yale system..The second line shows a

morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (see Appendix B) for Korean utterances. The third line provides

an idiomatic English translation.

2.4. Data Analysis

2.4.1. The Pragmatic Uses of Utterances Ending With the SE *-Na/-(u)Nka* and Their Frequency Distribution

Analyses of 173 instances of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* reveal that utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* are used to carry out at least five different pragmatic functions: (a) asking other-addressed questions, (b) tentatively assereting factual information, (c) alluding to disagreements, (d) expressing thoughts and feelings in the form of rhetorical questions, and (e) asking self-addressed questions. In what follows, each of these five functions is illustrated with specific instances of utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* and their frequency distribution is presented. In addition, analyses on how *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances come to perform each pragmatic function and what role the SE *-na/-(u)nka* plays as a constituent of a particular pragmatic function are provided.

2.4.1.1. Asking Other-Addressed Questions

Speakers most frequently used the SE *-na/-(u)nka* to ask questions to hearers regarding a domain of knowledge that primarily belongs to the hearers. Among 173 cases of the SE *-na/-(u)nka*, 79 cases (45.7%) were used for this function. In these cases, the SE *-na/-(u)nka* was used to mark the speaker's uncertainty towards information s/he would like to obtain or a state of affairs. Then, how is it that an utterance that indicates the speaker's uncertainty towards information or a state of affairs with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* can function as an other-addressed question? The answer to this question can be found by referring to Heritage (2012, 2013).

According to Heritage (2012, 2013), at the core of the action of questioning (i.e., requesting information from the hearer) is the relative epistemic status between the speaker and

hearer. He explains that epistemic status concerns "the relative access to some domain of two (or more) persons at some point in time (Heritage, 2012, p.4)." He adds that when an utterance concerns information primarily in the domain of the hearer, the utterance is understood as requesting information (e.g., You're divorced currently.). In light of Heritage (2012, 2013), we can know that by marking uncertainty with *-na/-(u)nka* regarding information or a state of affairs that mainly falls into the domain of the hearer, the speaker can construct an utterance that functions as an other-addressed question.[6] (1) and (2) are instances of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances used as other-addressed questions. Note that in both instances the content of the utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* deals with a state of affair that falls into the hearers' domain of knowledge.

Let us examine (1) first. Prior to the exchange shown below, B had explained to A that she and her husband-to-be decided to go to Florida for their honeymoon because flight tickets and hotels for other good places had already been sold out. In lines 1-2, and 7 B continues to explain that the time they plan to go on their honeymoon is during peak holiday season. Thus, she finds that lots of people are travelling and there are no available flights and hotels for other honeymoon spots.

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[6] This does not mean that in Korean, only *–na/-(u)nka* should be used to design an utterance functioning as other-addressed questions. As mentioned in the Introduction section of Chapter 1, Korean has various interrogatives that can be used to form other-addressed questions. In fact, as in English (Heritage 2012, 2013), even declaratives can function as other-addressed questions if they are concerned with information that mainly belong to the hearers' domain of knowledge, not the speakers'. In asking about the state of affairs that is mainly in the domain of the hearers, the speakers, however, can choose to use *–na/-(u)nka* among other SEs to indicate their relatively high degree of uncertainty towards the truth of the state of affairs or their relatively high degree of uninformedness about the information that is being sought.

As briefly introduced in the beginning of Section 2.4.1. *-na- /-(u)nka*-ending utterances can perform diverse pragmatic functions other than asking other-addressed questions. The epistemic status between the speakers and hearers seems to be particularly important in figuring out whether *–na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances are used to ask genuine questions to the hearers or to tentatively assert factual information.

(1) [Florida]

```
01    B:    ku-ttay-ka:,        ceyl        ku: (.)       halleteyi sicun
            that-time-NM        the most    that          holiday season

02          kky-e kackwu; (.)        yehayng-tul-ul    manhi ka-[nta-]
            consecutive-because     travel-PL-AC       many  go-DC:PL
            It's the peak of the holiday season so lots of people are
            traveling then.

03    A:    [yen]-mal-ey
             year-end-at
            During the end of the year?

04    B:    ung:.
            yes
            Yeah

05    A:    ung:::.
            yes
            Yeah

06          (0.2)

07    B:    kulayse   eps-te-lakwu-yo
            So        not be-RT-QT-DC:POL
            So there weren't any.

08          (0.8)

09→   A:    phullolita   kathun       tey-n        iss-na?
            Florida      like         place-TC     be-NA?
            Were these [some flight tickets and hotels] for Florida,
            [I wonder]?

10            (0.6)

11    B:    phullolita-twu: (0.2)    pihayngki   phyo-nun
            Florida-also            airplane    ticket-TC

12          mos   kwuha-yss-kwu      aye,
            not   get-PST-and        completely
            [We] weren't able to get any flight tickets for Florida at all.

13    A:    ung:.
            uh-huh
            Uh-huh

14    B:    wuncenha-kwu (.)  ka-kwu  wuncenha-kwu  ok-wu        kakwu,
            drive-and         go-and  drive-and     come-and     go-and
            [We're] driving there. Driving there and back.

15    A:    e.
            I see
            Oh.
```

```
16          (0.7)

17   B:     hoteyl-pang-man    kansinhi    hana   et-ess-eyo.
            hotel-room-only    barely      one    get-PST-DC:POL
            [We] were barely able to get a hotel room.
```

In responding to B's explanation, in line 9 A issues an other-addressed question that seeks B's

confirmation with the use of the SE -na. Based on B's remark that there were no available flight

tickets and hotels for other honeymoon places (e.g., line 7), in line 9 A is making an inference

that there might be some flights and hotels for Florida and asks B whether it was the case in line

9. B's response to A's question shows that B indeed understands A's utterance in line 9 as a

question directed to A in that in lines 11-12, 14, and 17 B provides an answer to A's question by

saying that she and her husband-to-be were not able to get any flight tickets but were barely able

to get a hotel room.

As one follows the analysis of (1), one might think that this function of the -na-ending

utterance as an other-addressed question evidences the well-known function of -na as

interrogative suffix of the familiar speech level, i.e., the speech level used when an older adult

speaks to a younger adult. However, A's mixed use of various speech styles (e.g., polite speech

level, plain speech level, intimate speech level, and familiar speech level) throughout the

dialogue that this excerpt is part of makes it difficult to attribute A's reason for using -na to

constructing a question that reflects the social relationship between B and himself. Rather, it

seems to be more reasonable to see -na as a stance marker of uncertainty that expresses the

speaker's uncertainty towards the proposition of a question. A piece of evidence that supports the

interpretation of -na as an uncertainty marker is the nature of the propositional content of A's

remark as the inferred state of an affair. Consider that an inferred state of affairs is compatible

with being presented with uncertainty. By marking A's uncertainty towards a state of affairs that

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fall into B's domain of knowledge with *-na*, A constitutes an utterance that functions as an other-addressed question. Note that it is B not A who had searched flight tickets and hotels for honeymoon places including Florida.

The use of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances as an other-addressed question can also be seen in (2). In the beginning of exchange, B brings up a new topic of her having difficulty in checking mails promptly. In lines 1, 2, 4, and 5 B tells A that because she goes to the post office once a week, even if A's letter had arrived, she does not know about it. Then, in line 8-9, B enunciates that she has to go to the post office to get the letter. After hearing this, A picks up on what this implies, that is, A cannot receive her mails directly at her house, and makes the inference that there might be no mailboxes in front of each house in the area where B lives. In proposing his inference for B's confirmation, similarly with A of (1), A designs his utterance with the SE *-na*, thereby showing that the SE *-na* can be used in a context where the speaker is uncertain about the truth of a proposition.

(2) [Mailbox]

```
01    B:    um. ((throat clearing)) nan-nun:    ilcwuil-ey
            um                      I-TC         week-at

02          hanpenssik: wucheykwu-key          ka-ketun:,
            once        post office-at          go-ketun
            Km! I go to the post office once a week.

03    A:    ung.
            uh-huh
            Uh-huh

04    B:    kulayse ne-ka-  ne   phyenci-ka hoksi      w-ass-eto .h
            so      you-NM  you  letter-NM  perhaps    come-PST-although

05          w-ass-nunci an    wa-ss-[nunci-(to)]
            come-PST-or not   come-PST-or-even
            So even if you- your letter had arrived [I don't know] whether it
            arrived or not.

06    A:                                  [wucheykwuk]-to
```

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```
                            post office-even

07          el-lo  ka-ya tw-ay?
            somewhere-to go-must-Q:INT
            Do [you] have to go to a post office somewhere?

08   B:     .h  wucheykwuk     ka-   wu:cheykwuk-kkaci
                post office    go    post office-to

09          ka-se        chac-a       wa-ya tw-ay:,
            go-and       get-and      come-must-DC:INT
            [I] have to [actually] make a trip to the post office [in person]
            to get [It].

10          (0.5)

11→  A:     wuchekwuk-i-      cipcip-mata ilehkey
            post office-NM    house-every like this

12→         wucheythong-i      eps-[na?]
            mail box-NM        not to be-NA
            The post office are there not any mailboxes in front of each
            house, [I wonder]?

13   B:                               [ ai]yu. (.)
                                       well
                                       well

14          ku:-key- (.) kulen:     key  iss-ki-n     iss-nuntey:.
            that-thing   like that  thing be-NOM-TC   be-but
            Well, there is something like that but

15   A:     ung.
            uh-huh
            Uh-huh

16   B:     .hh Yeki:-eyse-nun      ilehkey            (kunyang)    w-ase
                Here-at-TC          like this          just         come-and

17          wulinala-chelem   ilehkey    mak: ilehkey      cwu-ko
            Korea-like        like this  just like this    give-and

18          kulenun      key  tumwul-tu-la:,
            like that    thing rare-RT-DC
            It's not common here for things to just get delivered door to
            door like in Korea.
```

Using -na, A indexes his uncertainty towards his inference that there are not any mail boxes in front of the houses. Although the SE -na does not directly mark A's utterance as an other-addressed question, it functions as an other-addressed question because A is showing uncertainty toward the state of affairs that belongs to B's domain of knowledge. Consider how B treats this

utterance of A in lines 13-14 and in lines 16-18. In lines 13-14, B actually answers A's question by disconfirming A's inference. She mentions that there is something like mailboxes in front of each house. Afterwards, in lines 16-18 she expands on her answer by adding the reason why she should go to the post office even though she has something akin to a mailbox, thereby addressing what B was trying to account for with his inference. She points out that it is not common in the area she lives in for things to get delivered door to door like in Korea.

2.4.1.2. Tentatively Asserting Factual Information.

Interestingly, speakers used utterances ending with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* not only to ask questions to hearers but also to tentatively assert factual information that is mainly within the speakers' domain. Among 173 cases of the SE *-na/-(u)nka*, 42 cases (24.3%) were used for this function. This information asserting function was the second most frequently occurring function of the *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances. The fact that the SE *-na/-(u)nka* is a constituent of utterances that tentatively assert factual information, on the one hand, further supports that the function of doing questioning is not inherent in the SE-*na/-(u)nka*. On the other hand, it is compatible with the perspective that sees the SE *-na/-(u)nka* as an uncertainty marker in that the factual information that is asserted with *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances reflects the speakers' unsure stance as shown in (3) and (4) below. To begin with, let us examine (3) in which the SE *–(u)nka* is used to assert requested factual information . Prior to the exchange shown in (3), A told B that he had been actually pretty good at playing the piano when I was young to the extent that he reached Czerny Op.299 or something in a year after he started taking lessons. In line 1, B is asking A how old A was when he started his piano lessons.

(3) [Czerny Op.299]

```
01    B:    ne    myech sal    ttay        sicakhay-ss-nuntey?
            you   how    old   the time    start-PST-but
            How old were you when you started?

02          (0.5)

03    A:    na    yeysnal-ey        chy-ess-ci:.
            I     long time ago-at  play-PST-DC:COMM
            Of course I played a long time ago.

04 →        nay-ka:(0.2)yeltwu  sal   ttay-nka:,   yelhan sal  ttay-nka.
            I-NM        twelve year  the time-nka eleven year the time-NKA
            It was maybe when I was twelve or eleven.

05    B:    he:! ((with surprise)) Cheyluni   sasippen-kkaci  ka-ss-e:.
            wow                    Czerny     40ᵗʰ-to          go-PST-Q:INT
            Wow!  [You] reached Czerny Op.299.

06    A:    ung:.
            yes
            Yeah
```

In lines 3-4 A asserts factual information requested by B's question. More specifically, in line 3 A first mentions that he started learning piano a long time ago by saying "*Na yeysnal-ey chy-ess-ci:.*" 'Of course I played a long time ago' Then, in line 4 A further elaborates his response by specifying his age when he started playing the piano. Note that in doing so, he is providing two different ages with the SE *-(u)nka,* one being twelve and the other being eleven. The provision of two different ages clearly shows that he is not sure when exactly he started his piano lessons and thereby demonstrates the function of *-(u)nka* as an uncertainty marker.

The use of *-na/-(u)nka* for asserting uncertain factual information is also observable in (4). In this exchange, A, who is a graduate student, is now complaining to B about a new telephone system that his dormitory has. In lines 1-2, A points out that the new system comes with a fixed plan. Additionally, in lines 4, 7, 10-11, and 13-14, and 17 A mentions a problem with the designated plan that is summarized as expensive price.

(4) [20% Discount]

```
01    A:    cakika       mwe   phulikulaym kathun      ke (.)
            oneself-NM   well  program     like        thing

02          mwe   sincheng-to      mos   ha-ko
            well  subscribe-even   not   do-and
            [You] can't like subscribe to like a plan or anything, and

03    B:    ung.
            yes
            Uh-huh

04→   A:    .hhh kunyang:      (1.2) kunyang      kakeyk-ey,
                 just                just         price-at

05    B:    ung.
            yes
            Uh-huh

06          (0.5)

07→   A:    mwe:      isip   pheseynthu-nka: (0.4) tisukhawunthu-ka toy-na?
            maybe     twenty percent-or something discount-NM         be-NA
            [You] get uhm maybe like a 20 percent discount off the price or
            something.

08    B:    e.
            Uh-huh
            Uh-huh

09          (0.2)

10    A:    isip   phesyenthu-man. (.)
            twenty percent-only
            Only a 20 percent.

11          isip   phesyenthu tisukhawunthu-ka  toy-l ke-ya:.
            Twenty percent     discount-NM       be-probally-DC:INT
            [You] probably get a 20 percent discount off the price.

12    B     ung::.
            I see
            I see.

13    A     .hh kuntey, (.)  cyeil       pissan      kakye-ey
                but          the most    expensive   price-at

14          isip   phesyenthu tisukhawunthu-ka  toy-nikka:,
            twenty percent     discount-NM       be-becuase
            But because it's 20 percent off the most expensive price,

15    B:    hhh  [h ] h

16    A:         [.h ]
```

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```
17    A:    kulayse      il    pwul       nem-te-la¿  h .h h
             so           one   dollar     be over-RT-DC
             it's more than a dollar.

18    B:    ahyu:. (1.2) manhi       pissa-kwuna,
             wow             really      expensive-EX
             Wow, that's really expensive.
```

In building up a lead-up for sharing the price issue with the current telephone system in his

dormitory, in lines 4 and 7 A explains the price policy of the new plan (i.e., [You] get uhm

maybe like a 20 percent discount off the price or something), which is received by B with the

response token *e* 'uh-huh' that indicates that B understood A's utterance and signals A to

continue his talk. In asserting this factual information that belongs to A's domain to B, note that

A is using the SE *-na* to mark his uncertainty about the information that is being introduced to A.

In other words, using *-na,* A indicates that he thinks the plan gives a 20% discount rate, but he is

unsure of the exact discount rate.

Both the presence of the uncertainty particle *-nka* attached to the noun phrase *isip*

phesyenthu '20 percent' in A's utterance *isip pheseynthu-nka* 'a 20 percent or something' in line 7

and A's subsequent utterance in lines 10-11 that reformulates his earlier utterance in line 7

supports this interpretation of the SE *-na* in A's utterance. The uncertainty particle *-(u)nka*,

which I believe to be derived from the SE *-(u)nka* as a result of grammaticalization, has the

similar function of the English phrase 'or something' in that it indicates the speaker's uncertainty

towards the truth value of the noun phrase that this particle is attached to is an example or

approximation of what the speaker is trying to convey. In line 7, by attaching this uncertainty

particle *-(u)nka*, A is already showing that the discount rate he is presenting is not exact and he

marks this uncertainty once more by finishing his utterance with the SE *-na*.

However, in line 10 A replaces the uncertainty particle *-nka* with the extent particle *-man*

'only' that limits the amount to what is specified, meaning 'exactly' (see Yeon & Brown, 2011,

p.130). By doing so, he upgrades his certainty towards the discount rate of 20 percent. A's

certainty towards the presented discount rate of 20 percent shown in the phrase *isip phesyenthu-*

man 'Only a 20 percent' continues to be shown in his next utterance *isip phesyenthu*

tisukhawunthu-ka toy-lke-ya: '[You] probably get a 20 percent discount off the price' (line 11).

Although A drops the extent particle *man 'only,'* note that he ends his utterance not with the SE *-*

na but with the SE *-l keya* that indicates the speaker's certainty towards the speaker's inference

about present situations (see Yeon & Brown, 2011, p. 207). The co-occurrence of the SE *-na*

with the uncertainty particle *-(u)nka* and its replacement with *-l keya* in the context where A's

certainty towards the discount rate is present thus clearly show that A is using the SE *-na* to

assert information that he is uncertain about.

2.4.1.3. Alluding to Disagreements

Speakers used utterances ending with SE *-na/-(u)nka* to allude to disagreements with the

information provided by the previous speakers.[7] Among 173 cases of the SE *-na/-(u)nka*, 32

cases (18.5%) were used for this function. Generally, speakers hold some knowledge of or

expectation about the information that they allude to disagreements with, even in cases where the

information falls primarily in the previous speakers' domains, the person who initially delivered

the information. Used for alluding to disagreements with the previous talk, utterances ending

with *-na/-(u)nka* have some compositional characteristics that indicate the scope of

---

[7] The pragmatic function of alluding to disagreements includes the action of "doing pre-disagreements,"
to use a conversation analytic term, which foreshadows the speaker's disagreement with the prior talk but
also gives a chance to avoid this by providing an opportunity for the prior speaker to revise his/her talk
before the current speaker overtly disagrees with it. In particular, the functions of the *-na/-(u)nka*
utterances in (5) and (6) can also be analyzed as doing pre-disagreements. The researcher, however,
prefers to use the term "alluding to disagreements" over "doing pre-disagreements" due the following
reason: in some cases, after foreshadowing disagreements with *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances, the speaker
does not give the prior speaker an opportunity to revise his/her talk but rather moves on to issue
disagreements.

disagreement. When *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances allude to disagreements with a portion of the previous talk, these utterances normally consist of that particular bit(s) of the talk plus the SE *-na/-(u)nka*. By contrast, when they allude to disagreements with the whole previous talk, they normally take the form of *kulenka* 'Is that so?,' which consists of the stem *kule-* of the anaphoric adjective *kulehata* 'be so' that refers to the whole previous talk and the SE *-(u)nka*.

The aforementioned compositional characteristics of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances further enlightens our understanding of how *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances can carry out the action of alluding to disagreements. The SE *-na/-(u)nka* shows the speaker's uncertainty, and the words/phrases that this SE is attached to identify the object that the speaker is uncertain about. When the words/phrases is part of the previous speaker's talk or refers to the whole previous talk, then the object of the speaker's uncertainty becomes what the previous speaker has just mentioned, thereby serving the function of alluding to disagreements. What follows is illustration of such usage of utterances with the SE *-na/-(u)nka*. (5) is an instance of cases where *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances are used to allude to disagreements with part of the previous talk, whereas (6) is an example of cases where *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances are used to allude to disagreements with the entire prior turn. Let us examine (5) first, and then (6).

In (5), A is talking to B about Ceongmi who is a mutual acquaintance of A and B. In lines 1 and 2 A mentions that Ceongmi is going to the military tomorrow. In doing so, A registers that B is also aware of that by using the SE *-canha* 'you know,' which indicates that the hearer knows/should know the information (Ju & S. Sohn, 2011). However, B does not provide any response or uptake towards A's talk as evident in the presence of a micro gap in line 3, which preludes that B has some kind of problem with A's talk.

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(5) [Tomorrow]

```
01    A:    ha.    cikum .h    tto    (Cengmi)ka  nayil:
            well   now         again  Ceongmi-NM tomorrow

02          kwuntay     ka-canha:.
            military    go-you know
            Ugh, and [you know] now Ceongmi is going to the military tomorrow

03          (.)

04    A:    kwuntay     [tul-e-ka-canha.]
            military    to enter-and-go-you know
            [You know she's] going into the military.

05→   B:                    [nayil-i-nka?]
                            tomorrow-be-NKA
                            Is it tomorrow?

06          (0.3)

07    A:    ung:.
            yes
            Yeah

08    B:    sipsail nal-i-lkel?
            14th-day-be-I guess
            It's probably on the 14th.
```

In line 4, A deals with the absence of response from B by refinishing her talk with the repetition

of the predicate of her talk with slight modification. Instead of waiting for A to refinish her talk,

in line 5, B comes in and alludes to her disagreement with A's talk using the SE *-(u)nka*. In

suggesting her disagreement with A's talk, note that B recycles a portion of A's talk and adds the

SE *-(u)nka*. More specifically, B takes the word *nayil* 'tomorrow' from A's talk and attaches it

to the SE *-(u)nka*, inserting the be verb stem 'i' between the two, which is grammatically

required. By doing so, she indicates that the part of A's talk that she is uncertain of and has

trouble accepting is the part that delivers information about when Ceongmi is going to the

military, that is, *nayil* 'tomorrow.'

In responding to B's talk that alludes to her disagreement with the information that

Ceongmi is going to military tomorrow, A simply affirms that it is tomorrow that Ceongmi is

going to military with the affirmation token *ung* 'yeah.' This response of A that does not directly deal with B's disagreement thus shows that what B is doing in line 5 is not a direct, on-record disagreement but is an allusion to disagreement. It is in line 8 where B clearly shows that she has different information regarding when Ceongmi is going into the military, which thereby evidently supports the interpretation of B's utterance *nayil-i-nka?* 'Is it tomorrow?' as an allusion to B's disagreement with A's remark that conveys that Ceongmi is going into the military tomorrow. Here, B says that it is probably on the 14th when Ceongmi is going into the military, which implies that it is not tomorrow.

By analyzing (5), we looked at how utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* can be used to allude to disagreements with part of the previous speaker's talk. (6) below shows how the expression *kulenka* that includes the SE *-(u)nka* can be used to allude disagreement with the whole previous talk. Prior to the exchange shown in (6) below, A said to B that she was planning to return to Korea from the U.S. around the end of December after her English classes end on December, 20th and she expressed her concern that her brother may have sent their father to a nursing home. In lines 1-4, 6, and 8 B is comforting A. Urging her not to worry, B reminds A that she probably has only about three months and a half more in the U.S. from September to December, which means she will return to Korea soon. After listening to B's talk, in line 10 A corrects B by pointing out that she does not even have three months, including the moment they are speaking.

(6) [Is that so?]

```
01    B:    khukey       kekcengha-ci      ma-la ya. (.)
            too much     worry-don't-IM    hey
            Hey, don't worry too much.

02            echaphi     yeki (0.2)  a.    sam    kaywel       ppwun-i
              anyway      here        e     three months       only-NM
```

```
03          te    iss-ulye-na?
            more  be-will-na?
            In any case, [you']re only going to be here [for] like, what,
            three more months?

04          kwu.
            September
            September

05   A:     um.
            yeah
            Yeah

06   B:     sip.  sipil.
            Ten   eleven
            October. November.

07   A:     um
            yes
            Yeah

08   B:     sipi?      a sam       kaywel      pan?
            Twelve     a three     months      half
            December?  Three months and a half?

09          (1.0)

10   A:     sam   kaywel::-to an    toyci.      cikum-pwute-nun.
            Three months-even not   be-COMM     now-from-TC
            [It's] not even three months. Counting from now.

11          (0.5)

12→  B:     kule-nka?
            like that-NKA
            Is that so?

13   A:     kuchi.      cikum pelsse      kwuwel       polum-i-nikka.
            yes         now   already     September     15th-be-becuase
            Yeah. Since it's already a good 15 days into September.

14          (1.0)

15   B:     mwusun      polum-i-nya?
            what        15th-be-Q
            What do you mean 15 days?

16          cikum onul-i      cikum kwuwel:. (.) chilil-i-kwuman.
            now   today-NM     now   September   7th-be-EX
            It's now only September 7th today.

17   A:     ung:. kuleh-kwuna,
            ung   like that-EX
            Oh, right.
```

B, however, does not receive A's correction immediately, thereby yielding a half second gap. Then, in line 12 B suggests his uncertainty and disagreement with the whole previous talk by using the expression *kulenka* 'Is that so?' The evidence that supports this function of *kulenka* comes from both A's subsequent treatment of B's *kulenka* in line 13 and B's knowledge of the topic in discussion in lines 16 and 17. In line 13, A first strongly affirms her previous remark that she does not even have three months in the U.S. counting from now with the strong affirmation token *kuchi* (Bae, 2016) Next, she further adds explanation on why that is the case by enunciating that it is already a good 15 days into September, meaning today is September 15th. This explanation of A implies that B might have miscalculated the remaining duration of her stay in the U.S. due to B's misunderstanding of today's date, thereby revealing A's treatment of B's *kulenka* not as a simple affirmation request but as an indication of his disagreement with her previous remark.

B's utterance in lines 15 and 16 further shows that B's *kulenka* is doing the action of alluding to disagreements with A's remark that she has less than three months in the U.S. before she returns to Korea. In lines 15 and 16, B challenges and corrects A by pointing out today's date is September 7th not 15th, which suggest that the basis of A's calculation of her remaining days in the U.S. is not accurate. Thus, B's correction in lines 15-16 retrospectively illuminate that what B was doing with *kulenka* was alluding his disagreement with A's calculation. Consider that this shows that when B utters *kulenka* in line 12, B already had access to sufficient information that is needed to calculate A's remaining duration in the U.S. in that B knows today's date and A has already informed B that she was planning to leave the U.S. around the end of December prior to the exchange shown above.

2.4.1.4. Expressing Thoughts and Feelings in the Form of Rhetorical Questions

Speakers, though not frequent, employed the utterances ending with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* to expresses their thoughts and feelings in the form of yes/no- or wh-rhetorical questions. 13 cases out of all 173 cases of utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* (7.5 %) were used in this way. What these utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* had in common is that the speakers of these utterances were in fact well informed of the state of affairs that these utterances were describing in the form of yes/no-rhetorical question and/or it was meaningless for their speakers to seek information indicated with wh-words. This means that in this particular epistemic context the speakers were not actually asking questions via these utterances. Therefore, the SE *-na/-(u)nka* did not seem to indicate either the speakers' uncertainty about the state of affairs described with the utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* per se (see also Maynard, 1995 for the understanding of this expressive functions of rhetorical questions) or the speakers' uncertainty towards the information *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances present the speakers are lacking with wh-words.

Rather, in cases where the SE *-na/-(u)nka* was used with utterances that describe the state of affairs that the speakers were well aware of, it seemed to indicate that according to the speakers' judgment, what had happened or what was happening was very unlikely to occur or should not have occurred and that the absurdity of its occurrence was something that could bring doubt and disbelief to the speakers. In addition, in cases where the SE *-na/-(u)nka* was used in combination with a wh-word that concerns information that was meaningless to obtain, it seemed to indicate the speakers' doubt and uncertainty towards the existence of the answer. Examples of such uses *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances are given in (7) and (8) below, (7) being an example of the former cases and (8) being an example of the latter cases.

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Prior to the exchange shown in (7), A overheard B saying "My goodness, why are you

doing that?" to his child in a complaining tone. Then, in line 1 A directly asks to B what his child

did and in line 4 B tells A that his child keeps hitting him for jiggling his legs, which is a

behavior that most South Korean people consider as ill-mannered.

(7) [Jiggling legs]

```
01    A:    way    ay[ki]-ka    way.
             why    baby-NM      why
             Why, what did your baby do?

02    B:                [e?]
                         huh
                         Huh?

03          (0.7)

04    B:    ani    na    tali   tte-nta-ko  cakkwu       ttayli-canha.
             well   I     leg    shake-DC-QT repeatedly   hit-you know
             Well, it's just that [s/he] keeps hitting me for jiggling my
             legs.

05          (0.6)

06    A:    tali   ttel-ci  ma::.
             leg    shake-don't
             Don't jiggle them.

07          (0.3)

08→   A:    ay     appa-ka      tway     kaci-kwu tali-lul     tte-na.
             child  father-NM    become   have-and leg-AC       shake-NA
             [You']re a dad, but [you] jiggle [your] legs?

09          (0.2)

10    B:    um. (.) ai .      kunacena (0.5)     michi-keyss-ta.
             um      well      anyway             crazy-will-DC

11          na-n   yocum,
             I-TC   recently
             Um, well, anyway, I'm going crazy these days.
```


Upon hearing why B's child keeps hitting B, in line 6 A issues a bold imperative that directly

prohibits A from jiggling his legs and thereby shows A's strong disapproval of this behavior of

B. Then, in line 8 A further expresses her disapproval of this behavior using the SE *-na*. In doing so, A first evokes a membership category that B belongs to by pointing out that he is a dad, and then describes what B has been doing, that is, jiggling his legs (Sacks, 1992). According to sociocultural norms of Korean society, dads are a category of people who are supposed to model good manners for their children. By evoking this sociocultural expectation and juxtaposing it with B's ill-mannered behavior of jiggling his legs, A portrays B's jiggling his legs as an absurd and unacceptable behavior that the dad B should not be doing the behavior in front his child. In expressing her disapproval of B's jiggling behavior this way, note that A is employing the SE *-na*. By doing so, A linguistically indicates that the state of affair that the dad B is jiggling his legs in front of his child is so absurd that it brings doubt and unbelief to her. In other words, in this context of expressing her disapproval to B, A is not using the SE *-na* to indicate that she is not certain whether B is actually jiggling his legs. Rather the SE *-na* is used as a way to emphasize the absurdity of B's behavior.

(8) below shows how the SE *-na/-(u)nka* can be used to form an utterance that expresses the speaker's thoughts and feelings in the form of wh-rhetorical question. In this exchange, B is talking about a high school student B considers himself to be the guardian of. Prior to this exchange, B told A that the high school student is now studying in Australia and wants to transfer to a high school in the U.S., but received a terrible recommendation letter full of negative comments. In lines 3, 5-6, and 9-10, 12 of this exchange, B points out specific examples of those that were given regarding the student's English skills. In responding to B's telling, in line 14 A issues an utterance ending with the SE *-na* that expresses A's thought that there might be no schools which the student can get transferred into with such a terrible recommendation letter.

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(8) [Recommendation letter]

```
01    B:    kuliko tto   ay-twu    cekung      mos   hanikka.
            and    again child-also adjust      not   do-becuase
            And because he isn't adjusting well,

02    A:    e:.
            Uh-huh
            Uh-huh

03    B:    tto   chwuchense-lang            ilen       English:
            again recommendation letter-and   like this   English

04    A:    e.
            Uh-huh
            Uh-huh

05    B:    sukhil      mwe   ilay    kwanha  ke-ey tahay   kaci-ko
            skill       what  like this  related thing-about    have-and

06          koyngcanghi pwucengcekulo     ss-e nwa-ss-e.
            really      negatively        write-put-PST-DC:INT
            [the recommendation letter] says really negative things
            about [his] English skills and stuff like that.

07          (0.3)

08    A:    a:::.
            Oh.
            Oh.

09    B:    yenge-(0.3)ka     ceyil
            English-NM        the most

10          mwuncey-[ta:. Mwe  ilken      sik-ulo mak]
            problem-DC    well like this way-as  carelessly
            Like, [his] English is the biggest problem, or something like
            that.

11    A:           [ ((unintelligible)),   e::: .    ]
                                           Uh-huh
                                           Uh-huh,

12    B:    ss-e nwa-ss-te-la-ko.
            write-put-PST-RT-DC-QT
            [That's what] it says.

13          (0.8)

14→   A:    kulen: (.)  chwucense        kaciko     eti-l      ka-na:?
            like that   recommendation   have-and    where-AC    go-NA
            Where can [he] get transferred into with a recommendation letter
            like that?
```

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```
15              (0.4)

16      B:      kulenikka    cikum, (0.2)
                so           now

17              mwe (.) cohun    hakkyo-nun  cikum kkwumto      mos   kkwu-ko:.
                what    good     school-TC   now   dream-even   not   dream-and
                So [he] can't even dream of applying to a good school right now,
                and

18      A:      e::.
                uh-huh
                Uh-huh
```

B's subsequent treatment of A's utterance designed with *-na* confirms that A's utterance in line 14 indeed functions as an expression of A's thought rather than a real question. In lines 16-17 B does not provide an answer to A's utterance, revealing that B does not treat it as a question directed to him. Instead, he starts his turn with the conjunctive adverb *kulenikka* 'so,' which indicates that the utterance that comes before *kulenikka* 'so' serves as a ground/reason for the utterance that follows it. This shows that B treats A's utterance as a negative assertion that emphasizes how terrible the recommendation letter is not as an other-addressed question that B needs to provide an answer to it (i.e., with the recommendation letter full of negative comments, it would be very difficult for the student to get transferred into any high school in the U.S.). B agrees with A's view. Consider what B is saying in lines 16-17. Since the recommendation letter the student received so terrible, applying to a good school is now completely out of the question.

Then, how does A's utterance ending with *-na* can function as an assertion expressing her view on the recommendation letter rather than a genuine question that seeks information from B? As mentioned earlier, B has been telling A what a terrible recommendation letter the student received. Thus, it is not difficult for anyone who is familiar with the importance of recommendation letters in getting admissions to schools in the U.S. to come to the conclusion that it would be very hard for the high school student to get into any high school in the U.S. with

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such an unfavorable recommendation letter. In this context, although A's utterance ending with -*na* is designed as a wh-question, it would undoubtedly be meaningless for A to actually answer it. This is because A already knows her question is unanswerable. The SE -*na* seems to index A's uncertainty and doubt towards the actual existence of an answer to her wh-rhetorical question, thereby supporting the function of the whole utterance as an expression of her assertion rather than indexing A's uncertainty towards the name of a particular school that the student can get transferred into.

2.4.1.5. Asking Self-Addressed Questions

Speakers employed -*na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances to ask self-addressed questions although this usage of -*na/-(u)nka* -ending utterances were quite uncommon. Among all 173 cases of -*na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances, only seven cases (4%) were used for this function. These self-addressed questions with the SE -*na/-(u)nka* were often vocalizations of the speakers' cognitive process of retrieving information from the speakers' memories (see Maynard, 1995 for similar analysis of Japanese self-addressed questions which Maynard named "self-acceptance rhetorical interrogative"). As a constituent of self-addressed questions, the SE -*na/-(u)nka* indexed the speakers' uncertainty towards the information that the speakers are searching for or the state of affairs described by utterances with the SE -*na/-(u)nka*. Because the content of these utterances -*na/-(u)nka* concerns knowledge that the speakers had once access to but was not immediately available at the moment of interaction, it is not the hearers but the speakers themselves who are expected to resolve the speakers' uncertainty indexed through -*na/-(u)nka* by providing the sought-after information. By making public the thought process of finding information or wondering about the truth of the state of affairs with self-addressed questions

ending with *-na/-(u)nka*, the speakers seem to be able to continue their involvement in the conversation with their interlocutors without producing a moment of silence for private thinking. (9) and (10) below are specific instances where the utterances with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* were deployed to ask self-addressed questions. (9) will be examined first and then, (10).

In (9), A is updating B on their mutual friends' recent life events. In lines 1, 3 and 5-7 A is talking about their friend Yunhuy Hong and let B know that she mutual friends got into the Department of French Language and Literature at Inha University. Then, in line 9 A starts to search for the name of a mutual friend on whom A would update B next. This cognitive process of A's searching for the name becomes visible through various verbal cues. The elongation of the word *tto* 'and' indicates that A has some trouble in coming up with the next word, the filler *ceki* 'let's see' which is used in place of the next word shows that A is still looking for the next word, and the interrogative *nwukuci* 'who else' conveys that what A is searching for is a name. Then, the elongated filler *um*::: 'uhm' again shows that A has not retrieved the name yet.

(9) [Who else you would know]

```
01   A:     km ((throat clear)) <   a     mac-e        Yunhuy-nun:,  .h
                                     oh    right-DC:INT      Yunhuy-TC
            Km! Oh right Yunhuy

02   B:     yunhuy?     nwukwu?     hong: [hong]
            Yunhuy?     who?        Hong   Hong
            Yunhuy? Who? Hong

03   A:                                   [e.]   hongyunhuy [:, ]
                                           yes    Hong Yunhuy
                                          Yeah. Yunhuy Hong

04   B:                                                      [ung]
                                                              yes
                                                              Yeah

05   A:     .h  kyay-nun:(.)         inhatay:         ceki (.)
                that person-TC       Inha University  there

06          inhatay          pwule::: (.)     pwulmwun-kwa
```

```
             Inha University  French language  French literature-department

07           ka-ss-kwu:
             go-PST-and
             She got into Inha University, uh the Department of French
             Language and Literature at Inha University,

08    B:     ung:.
             mm hm
             Mm hm,

09    A:     tto:: ceki: nwukwu-ci?  um::
             and  there who-Q:COMM   uhm
             And let's see, who else? Uhm

10           (0.6)

11→   A:     um km ((throat clear))   anun  salam-i
             um                       know  person-NM

12→          nwu(h)ka      [iss]-na=
             who            be-NA
             Uhm  Who else [you'd] know, [I wonder]?

13    B:                   [h ]

14    B:     = hahhahhah hah=

15    A:     =hah hah  .hh     mo-la:.             hathun
                                not know-DC        anyway
             [I] don't know. Anyway,

16           .h   e    hyey- Sehyen       al-ci:.
                  oh   hyey  Sehyen       know-Q:COMM
             Oh, Hyey- [you] know Sehyen, don't [you]?

17    B:     nwukwu?
             who?
             Who?

18    A:     sehyen:.
             Sehyen
             Sehyen

19           (0.2)

20    A:     [sehyen.]
             Sehyen
             Sehyen

21    B:     [se- e]:     [:.]
             Se    yes
             Se- Yeah.

22    A:                  [e.] kyay-nun: (.)     ceki sam-swu   ha-y.
                               that person-TC    there three-try do-DC:INT
             She's trying a third time to get into the college she wants.
```

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A's name search continues into lines 11-12. A's use of the filler *um* 'uhm,' which holds the place of the name and thereby allows A to hold her turn, shows that A is still searching for the name. Then, A employs the *-na*-ending utterance *anun salam-i nwu(h)ka iss-na* 'Who else [you'd] know, [I wonder]?' that functions as a self-addressed question. This function of the *–na*-ending utterance is supported by B's subsequent response and A's response to it. In lines 13-14 what B does not provide an answer to the *-na*-ending utterance of A, but shows alignment with A's stance display, as seen in the laugh token within the word *nu-ka* 'who' in line 12 by employing successive laugh tokens. B's response thus shows that B does not take A's utterance as a question directed to her. By contrast, what A does in line 15 is to provide an account for not being able to answer to the utterance *anun salam-i nwu(h)ka iss-na* 'Who else [you'd] know, [I wonder]?'This shows that unlike B, A took the utterance designed with *-na* as a question directed to herself. After giving up the name search for a brief period, in line 16 A successfully comes up with the name Sehyun that A thinks B probably know. This again clearly shows she issued the utterance ending with *-na* as a self-addressed question.

In constructing the self-addressed question, the SE *-na* seems to mark A's uncertainty towards the information that whom B would know. In other words, the SE *-na* seems to index that A is unsure of whom B would know besides Yunhuy Hong. This information in question is what A has access to, but is not immediately available to A, which means it is something that A can retrieve from her memory. For this reason, the utterance with *-na* seems to require A to provide information sought after not B, although B might be able to provide the name of a mutual friend.

A's self-addressed question *anun salam-i nwu(h)ka iss-na* 'Who else [you'd] know, [I wonder]?' is interesting in that it verbalizes A's thought processes. It lets B knows that A is now trying to come up with the name of their mutual friend. By doing so, A is able to continue to hold her turn and be involved in conversation with B while thinking without stopping conversation. Thus, in this exchange, this self-addressed question formed with *-na* is an interactional resource that allows A to be engaged in interaction with B even in the middle of private thinking process.[8]

(10) is another instance where the SE *-na/-(u)nka* was used to form self-addressed question. Prior to the exchange shown in (10) below, A was explaining why it is difficult for her to receive calls, which it turns out to be a complaint about A's roommate. She mentioned that since the telephone line could only be installed in her roommate's room, she had no choice but to use the telephone there. In lines 1-3, she continues her explanation by saying that her roommate really hates A receiving calls in her room.

(10) [Minnesota]

```
01   A:    .hh   yay-ka           na-
                 this person-NM   I

02         nay-ka     kyay    cenhwa-lul   sayoungha-nun   ke-l
           I-NM   that   person   phone-AC     use-IN          thing-AC

03         ne:mwunemwu silhehanun   ke-y-a:,
           really      dislike-IN   thing-be-DC:INT
```

---

[8] Goodwin and Goodwin (1986) document crucial roles that gestures play in word search sequences in face-to-face conversations. For instance, they note that a speaker's 'thinking-face' that involves the speaker's gaze withdrawal from the hearer during a word search conveys to the hearer that despite the speaker's silence, the speaker is in search for a word and thus the hearer should remain attentive to the speaker and wait for more talk. Given that the data of this study consist of telephone conversations where interlocutors cannot employ such nonverbal resources to manage the activity of doing a word search, the interactional function of the *–na*-ending self-addressed question as a turn holding device seems to be especially important. Consider that in telephone conversations, a speaker's long silence during a word search may be misinterpreted as a connection problem, as an indication that the speaker is momentarily occupied with another contingent activity, or as something else, and may cause the hearer to be inattentive to the speaker's upcoming talk.

```
            She really really hates I- me using her phone.

04    B:    yay           hankwuk      ay-ni?
            this person Korea          person-Q
            Is she Korean?

05          (0.4)

06    A:    ani, yengkwuk-(.)      mikwuk       ay.
            no    England         America      person
            No, [she's] British-  American.

07    B:    mikwuk       ay-y-a?
            America      person-be-Q
            American?

08    A:    e:.
            yes
            Yeah

09    B:    e:.
            oh
            Oh.

10→   A:    mineysotha-eyse   o-n         ay-nka?
            Minesota-from     come-RL     person-NKA
            Is she from Minnesota, [I wonder]?

11          .hhh  u-    mol-la              hathun,
                  ugh   not know-DC         anyway

12          kulaycaciko: (.) a:h   ssi::
            so               well  shit
            Ugh, [I] don't know. So anyway, shit!
```

In listening to A's explanation that includes complaint towards her roommate, B asks A whether

A's roommate is Korean. In line 6 A disconfirms B's guess and tells B that her roommate is

American. A round of confirmation sequence follows as B seeks re-confirmation from A whether

A's roommate is American (lines 7-9). Afterwards, in line 10 A issues an utterance that concerns

which part of America her roommate comes from by using -(u)nka, that is, *Mineysotha-eyse o-n*

ay-nka? 'Is she from Minnesota, [I wonder]?. This utterance of A functions as a self-addressed

question. A's following response *molla* 'I don't know,' which provide an account for A's not

being able to answer whether her own roommate is from Minnesota or not, clearly shows that A

is treating the utterance ending with *–(u)nka* as a question directed to herself not B (line 11).

Consider that A's *molla* 'I don't know' projects A as a person who is responsible for providing an answer to the utterance *Mineysotha-eyse o-nay-nka?* 'Is she from Minnesota, [I wonder]?' Furthermore, B does not have any information that enables her to sort out whether A's roommate is from Minnesota or not as evidenced by B's question in line 4. Simply speaking, B does not know A's roommate and thus cannot provide an answer to A's utterance ending with *–(u)nka*.

In constructing the self-addressed question, the SE *–(u)nka* marks A's uncertainty toward its proposition, that is, A's roommate is from Minnesota. And coupled with the epistemic status of A as a more knowledgeable person than B about the matter at hand, it functions as a self-addressed question marker. As in the case of (9), this *–(u)nka*-ending utterances of A verbalizes A's cognitive process of wondering whether her roommate is from Minnesota or not and thereby allows A to keep holding her turn without stepping out of conversation with B. Thus, this *-(u)nka*-ending utterances of A can be understood as an interactional resource that enables A to be continuously engaged in interaction with B in the midst of her private thinking process.

Before finishing up the analysis of (10), I would like to address the importance of examining the subsequent talk in ascribing a function of a *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterance. Those readers who closely follow analyses presented so far might wonder about the striking similarity existing between *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances functions as delivering information and asking a self-addressed question. In particular, the *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances introduced in (4) and (10)   seem to be very similar in terms of their syntactic design, the speaker's and hearer's relative epistemic status, and the sequential environment they occur. More specifically, first, both *kunyang: (1.2) kunyang kakeyk-ey, Mwe: isip pheseynthu-nka: (0.4) tisukhawunthu-ka toy-**na**?* 'You get uhm maybe like a 20 percent discount off the price or something' of (4) and *Mineysotha-eyse o-nay-nka?* 'Is she from Minnesota, [I wonder]?' of (10) consist of a statement

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regarding a state of affairs plus the SE *–na/-(u)nka*, thereby showing the speaker's uncertainty towards the state of affairs. Second, in both cases, the speaker is more knowledgeable of the matter at hand that the hearer. Third, both of the utterances appear in a complaining sequence.

The similarities between the two utterances thus reveal the difficulty in distinguishing the function of delivering information from the function of asking a self-addressed question. However, what follows each utterance seems to be quite different. The hearer of the former receives the remark with the response token *e* 'uh-huh,' whereas that of the latter does not. Rather, in case of the latter, what follows next is the speaker's provision of an account for not being able to answer the question. The difference in the subsequent treatment of each utterance thus reveals that the former carries out the function of delivering information and the latter, the function of asking a self-addressed question. In sum, the comparison and the contrast existing between these two utterances show a function(s) an utterance conduct can also be retrospectively shaped by its subsequent talk and highlight the importance of the subsequent talk as a resource for ascribing a function of an utterance.

Section 2.4.1 so far has shown diverse pragmatic functions implemented with utterances designed with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* and the frequency distribution of these functions in ordinary conversations among intimates and acquaintances. Utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* were employed to (a) ask other-addressed questions (45.7%), (b) tentatively assert factual information (24.3%), (c) allude to disagreements (18.5%), (d) express thoughts and feelings in the form of rhetorical questions (7.5%), and (e) ask self-addressed questions (4%). These five functions are listed in the order of its frequency of occurrence, the function of asking other-addressed questions being the most frequent and the function of asking self-addressed questions being the least frequent.

The results contribute to expanding our understanding of the usage of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* at least in two ways. First, they show besides the function of asking other-addressed questions, which most Korean grammar books and textbooks focus on, *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances are also quite frequently used for tentatively asserting factual information and alluding to disagreements. In particular, to the researcher's knowledge, the finding that utterances ending with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* are quite frequently used for the function of alluding to disagreements is new to literature on the SE *–na/-(u)nka*. Second, the diverse pragmatic functions implemented with *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances provide empirical evidence that the SE *-na/-(u)nka* does not have the pragmatic function of asking other-addressed questions inherently. Instead, the SE *-na/-(u)nka* is a modal suffix that indicates the speaker's stance such as uncertainty, doubt, or absurdity. In particular, the fact that *–na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances can be used to assert factual information, which is a prototypical action implemented with declaratives, clearly supports the nature of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* as a stance marker.

In addition to exploring the various pragmatic functions of utterances with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* and their frequency distribution, the present section has addressed the crucial question of how then these utterances come to perform these various pragmatic functions and what role the SE *-na/-(u)nka* as a stance marker plays as a constituent of a particular pragmatic function, the topic that has not been investigated in the previous literature. It has been shown that the SE *-na/-(u)nka* is not a sole player in constructing a pragmatic function of an utterance ending with it. Epistemic status between the speaker and the hearer regarding the matter at hand, the linguistic design, and the sequential context of occurrence all come together to form a particular pragmatic function that the utterance ending with *-na/-(u)nka* is implementing.

More specifically, by marking the speakers' uncertainty with *-na/-(u)nka* regarding the information or the state of affairs that mainly falls into the domain of the hearers, the speakers construct utterances that function as other-addressed questions. The *-na/-(u)nka* marked other-addressed questions often occurred when the speakers made inferences based on the prior speakers' talk. By contrast, by marking the speakers' uncertainty with *-na/-(u)nka* regarding information or a state of affairs that mainly fell into the domain of the speakers themselves, the speakers formed utterances that asserted uncertain factual information. The *-na/-(u)nka* marked utterances asserting uncertain factual information appeared in the answer position of a question or in the midst of the speakers' telling sequence. When the speakers' uncertainty marked with *-na/-(u)nka* is directed towards the immediately preceding utterances of the prior speakers as indicated by the design of the *--na/-(u)nka*–ending utterances (i.e., an element(s) of the previous talk plus the SE *-na/-(u)nka* or *kulenka*), the utterances with *-na/-(u)nka* functioned as alluding to disagreements. When the speakers of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances were well informed of the state of affairs that the utterances were describing or the speakers were not intended to find information with the utterances because the information at hand was not meaningful, the *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances functioned as an expression of the speakers' thoughts and feelings. The *na/-(u)nka* -ending utterances used for this function occurred in the context where the speakers' evaluations were involved. In this case, the uncertainty and doubt that the SE *-na/-(u)nka* indexes were directed towards the absurdity of the state of affairs or the actual existence of the information. Lastly, when a *–nka/-na*-ending utterances concern knowledge that the speakers had once access to but was not immediately available at the moment of interaction, they functioned as self-addressed questions that verbalized the speakers' thought process of finding information or wondering about the truth of the state of affairs. This usage of *na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances

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often occurred when the speakers were involved in telling such as updating the hearers with recent life events of their mutual friends or complaining about a situation or someone.

Besides the aforementioned epistemic status, the linguistic design, and the sequential context of occurrence, how the conversationalists in interaction treat the utterances with *-na/-(u)nka* was another important resource to refer to in ascribing their functions. For instance, *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances that functions as delivering uncertain information and asking self-addressed questions could be very similar in terms of their syntactic design, the relative epistemic status between the speakers and hearers, and the sequential environment they occur as shown in the analyses of (4) and (10). However, *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances that functioned as self-addressed questions were distinguishable from those that functioned as delivering uncertain information by referring to the talk that followed them. The speakers' subsequent talk that provided either an account for not being able to answer or an answer shows that the *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances were treated as self-addressed questions. By contrast, the hearers' subsequent talk that indicates the receipt of the speakers' previous talk show that they were treated as asserting uncertain factual information. The findings that the epistemic status, the linguistic design, the sequential context of occurrence, and the subsequent treatment of the utterances with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* all work together to form their particular function broaden our understanding of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances by revealing that pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka* ending utterances are not confined in the SE *-na/-(u)nka* or even the propositional meanings of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances per se and directing our attention to epistemic status and the larger sequential context of talk as a resource for meaning-making.

2.4.2. IP Boundary Tones on the SE *-Na/-(u)Nka*

As summarized in Table 2.1 below[9], analyses of 169 instances of boundary tones realized on the SE *-na/-(u)nka* show that the five different boundary tones, that is, HLH%, LH%, H%, HL%, and L%, co-occurred with it.

Table 2.1 The types and frequency of boundary tones according to the five pragmatic functions (OQ stands for 'issuing other-addressed questions,' FI for 'tentatively asserting factual information,' AD for 'alluding to disagreements,' ETF for 'expressing the speakers' thoughts and feelings,' and SQ for 'issuing self-addressed questions.')

	OQ	FI	AD	ETF	SQ	Total
HLH%	1 (1.2%)	1 (2.6%),	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1.2%)
LH%	6 (7.4%)	4 (10.5%)	4 (12.5%)	3 (23.1%)	1 (20%)	18 (10.7%)
H%	73 (90.1%)	31 (81.6%)	27(84.4%)	6 (46.2%)	4 (80%)	141 (83.4%)
HL%	1 (1.2%)	0%	1 (3.1%)	4 (30.8%)	0 (0%)	6 (3.6%)
L%	0 (0%)	2 (5.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1.2%)
Total	81 (100%)	38 (100%)	32 (100%)	13 (100%)	5 (100%)	169 (100%)

Among the five boundary tones, H% was the most prevalent, accounting for 83.4% (n=141) of all boundary tones. The predominance of H% compared to other types of tones is in accordance with M. Park's finding in that in her study H% accounts for 81.8% of all boundary tones. Furthermore, H% was the most frequently used tone within each category of the five pragmatic functions identified in section 2.4.1. More specifically, H% occurred at the rate of 90.1% for

[9] The sum of the percentages for each category of the boundary tones and for each category of the pragmatic functions in Table 2.1 may not be equal to 100% because each percentage was rounded up at the second decimal place.

issuing other-addressed questions, 81.6% for tentatively asserting factual information, 84.4% for

alluding to disagreements, 46.2% for expressing the speakers' thoughts and feelings, and 80%

for issuing self-addressed questions. This indicates that H% is the default boundary tone of *-na/-*

(u)nka-ending utterances even across the five different pragmatic functions. Examples of H%

realized on *-na/-(u)nka* according to each pragmatic function are given below, which are from

excerpts analyzed in great detail in section 2.4.1.1 through 2.4.1.5.

(11) OQ: Excerpted from (2)

```
01→   A:    wuchekwuk-i-       cipcip-mata ilehkey
            post office-NM     house-every like this


02→         wucheythong-i      eps-[na?] [H%]
            mail box-NM        not to be-NA
            The post office are there not any mailboxes in front of each
            house, [I wonder]?
```


(12) FI: Excerpted from (4)

```
01→   A:    .hhh kunyang:      (1.2) kunyang      kakeyk-ey,
                 just                just         price-at

02    B:    ung.
            yes
            Uh-huh

03          (0.5)

04→   A:    mwe: isip   pheseynthu-nka: (0.4) tisukhawunthu-ka toy-na? [H%]
            well  twenty percent-about         discount-NM      be-NA
            [You] get uhm maybe like a 20 percent discount off the price or
            something.
```


(13) AD: Excerpted from (5)

```
01→   B:    [nayil-i-nka?] [H%]
            tomorrow-be-NKA
            Is it tomorrow?
```

(14) ETF: Excerpted from (8)

```
01→  A:    kulen: (.)  chwucense        kaciko      eti-l       ka-na:? [H%]
            like that   recommendation   have-and    where-AC    go-NA
            Where can [he] get transferred into with a recommendation letter
            like that?
```

(15) SQ: Excerpted from (10)

```
01→  A:    mineysotha-eyse   o-n          ay-nka? [H%]
            Minesota-from     come-RL      person-NKA
            Is she from Minnesota, [I wonder]?
```

Then, why is that H% occurs with *-na/-(u)nka* so frequently for every pragmatic

functions identified in this study? This result makes sense if we take into account the nature of

the SE *-na/-(u)nka* as an epistemic marker of uncertainty and the epistemic function of H% as an

index of a low degree of certainty (M. Park, 2003) together with the finding that one of the

crucial elements that constitute each of the five functions of utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* is

the modal meaning of *-na/-(u)nka* as an uncertainty marker. As M. Park (2003) have noted first,

H% is the boundary tone that can accentuate the epistemic meaning of *-na/-(u)nka* in that it also

indexes uncertainty. Given that the modal meaning of *-na/-(u)nka* as an uncertainty marker

prevails in all the five different pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances, the

prevalence of H%, the tone that accentuates the uncertainty meaning of *-na/-(u)nka,* across all

the five pragmatic functions makes sense.

LH% followed H% in terms of its frequency of occurrence. It accounted for 10.7%

(n=18) of all the occurrences of boundary tones. What is interesting about LH% is that it also

appeared across all the five categories of pragmatic functions just as H% did. According to M.

Park (2003), LH% indexes a lower degree of uncertainty than H%. In light of this, it seems that

LH% is an alternative tone of H% used to fine-tune the speakers' projected epistemic stance in a

way that displays more uncertainty/doubt/absurdity compared with the same *-na/-(u)nka*-ending

utterances produced with H%. For example, compare the two instances (16) and (17) with each other.

(16) [Mailbox]

```
01    B:    .h  wucheykwuk    ka-   wu:cheykwuk-kkaci
            post office   go   post office-to

02          ka-se        chac-a       wa-ya tw-ay:,
            go-and       get-and      come-must-DC:INT
            [I] have to [actually] make a trip to the post office [in person]
            to get [It].

03          (0.5)

04→   A:    wuchekwuk-i-        cipcip-mata ilehkey
            post office-NM     house-every like this

05→         wucheythong-i     eps-[na?] [H%]
            mail box-NM        not to be-NA
            The post office are there not any mailboxes in front of each
            house, [I wonder]?
```


(17) [Aykyung]

```
01    B:    hatwu .hh (.)     nay-ka       cenhwaha-yse:    way   phyenci
            very              I-NM         call-and         why   letter

02          an   ssu-nya-kwu:      mak:        yokha-ss-ci:.
            not  write-Q-OT        carelessly  swear-PST-DC
            I called her and swore at her, saying "why have [you] not written
            me a litter"

03    A:    e:.
            Uh-huh
            Uh-huh,

04    B:    kunikkan    al-kyess-tay      ssukeysstay.
            then        know-will-QT      write-will-QT
            Then [she] said [she] would write [me] a letter.

05    A:    e:.
            uh-huh
            Uh-huh,

06    B:    ss-ese      ponay-ss-te(h)-la, hhh
            write-and   send-PST-RT-DC
            [She] indeed wrote a letter and sent [it to me].

07→   A:    ani   yosay       namca-ka     iss(h)-na? [LH%] hah h
```

```
               well    recently    guy-NM       be-NA
               Has [she] been dating with a guy these days?

08     B:      a:.    namca iss-ess-e:,
               ugh    guy   be-PST-DC:INT
               Ugh! [She] had a boyfriend.

09     A:      nwukwu?
               who
               Who?
```

In the two instances above, the utterances with -na function as other-addressed questions by

being inferences about a state of affairs that the hearers are more knowledgeable of than the

speakers. In spite of this similarity, -na of (16) is realized as H% and that of (17) as LH%,

reflecting the speakers' different levels of uncertainty towards the truth of the propositional

content of the questions. The utterance with -na of (17) with LH% indicates the speaker's lower

degree of certainty than the utterance with -na of (16) with H%. This is evidenced by the

difference in the ground on which the speaker A of (16) and the speaker A of (17) make an

inference.

In (16), the speaker A is making the inference that there might be no mail boxes in front

of each house in the area where B lives and seeks B's confirmation on his inference. The ground

for A's inference is B's talk that she has to go to the post office to get the letter, which implies B

cannot receive her mails directly at her house and by extension suggests that the houses in the

area where B lives might not have mailboxes in front of them. By contrast, in (17) the ground for

the speaker A's inference is not as solid as that of the speaker A of (16), which means the

speaker A's commitment of the truth of her inference is likely to be lower that that of the speaker

A of (16). Prior to the excerpt shown between A has been complaining why Aykyung who is a

mutual friend between the speaker A and the hearer B has not been keeping in touch with A for a

very long period of time. In line 1 B tells A that Aykyung sent him a letter because he called her

and complained a lot about why she has not been sending any letters to him. B's talk reveals that Aykyung has been out of communication not only A but also B for a while. In line 3 A provides one possible account to explain such behavior of Aykyung in the form of guess by saying "*ani yosay namca-kaiss(h)-**na***?" 'Has [she] been dating with a guy these days?'

Unlike the speaker A of (16), whose inference can properly be supported by the prior speaker B's remark, the speaker A of (17) does not make her inference based on any concrete evidence. To put another way, the talk between A and B do not show any strong ground to support A's inference that Aykyung has a boyfriend with whom she was preoccupied and thus she has been out of communication with her friends. This inference of A of (17) is based on A's sociocultural knowledge about social life of female young adults rather than a solid piece of evidence, although the hearer B who is in better contact with A confirms that it is the case and thereby retrospectively formulates A's inference as other-addressed questions. In sum, the use of H% for the inference based on the proper ground as in (16) and the use of LH% for the inference based on mere guess as in (17) show that speakers differentiate their epistemic commitment towards the truth of the propositional content of an utterance with boundary tones even though they design their utterances all with the SE with *-na/(u)nka*.

Compared to LH%, HL% appeared far less frequently. Only 3.6% (n=6) of all boundary tones were realized as HL%. There was only one instance of HL% used for the categories of issuing other-addressed questions and alluding to disagreements, and the rest of HL% tones occurred in the category of expressing the speakers' thoughts and feelings. The HL% used in an other-addressed question had an alternative question-like characteristic as shown in (18), thereby suggesting the possible relationship between HL% and alternative questions, which though needs to be attested to the larger number of instances of HL%. The interlocutors of (18) are A and B,

who are cousins and know each other very well. In lines 2, and 5-6, A is asking an other-

addressed question to B whether it has passed about two and a half years since A came to U.S.

for studying abroad.

(18) [Two years and a half]

```
01    B:    [e?]
            huh
            Huh?

02    A:    [ya] kuntey
            hey, by the way
            Hey, by the way,

03          .hhh (0.8) [nay]=
                        I
                        I

04    B:              [mwe?]
                       what
                       What?

05    A:    =ka   yeki  o-n        ci    han   i-
            =NM   here  come-IN    since about two

06          (.) i:-nyen    pan-tay-ss-na?
                two-year   half-become-PST-na
            Has it passed about two years and a half since I came here?

07          (0.8)

08    B:     u ((with creaky voice )) e:.
                                       yes
                                       ye-yeah.

09          (1.3)

10→   A:    te    tay-ss-na.  [HL%]
            more  become-PST-NA
            Has it passed more than that?

11          (2.2)

12    B:    kuntey?
            so what
            So what?
```

63

In response to A's question, B affirms the proposition of A's question with *u e:.* 'ye- yeah.'

However, the way B affirms it displays B is not fully committed to his own affirmation. B's

affirmation is significantly delayed as seen in the 0.8 second pause at line 7 and the initial

hesitation *u* in line 8. Instead of accepting B's affirmation, in line 10 A issues the other other-

addressed question, which proposes the other possibility that A can affirm, i.e., it has passed

more than two and a half years since A came to U.S. In designing the second question, A

produces -*na* with HL%. Although the first and second questions are not produced in the same

turn as the most typical alternative questions do, it seems quite clear that these two questions are

very similar with alternative questions in that the propositions of these two questions deal with

two alternative propositions that form a pair and only one of which can be true. After issuing the

second question, A awaits B to affirm/disaffirm its proposition, yield a 1.3 second gap. However,

in line 12 instead of answering A's question, B urges A to get to the point of brining up the issue

of how long A has stayed in the U.S. by saying *kuntey?* 'so what?'

The HL% used in the categories of alluding to disagreement and expressing the speakers'

thoughts and feelings seemed to be employed as a marker of the speaker's assertiveness as M.

Park (2003) noted in her study. However, HL% used for the aforementioned functions was

slightly different from HL% in M. Park's study (2003). In M. Park's study (2003), the speakers

used HL% to show their assurance towards the truth of the propositions of their utterances

together with the committal -*ci* (e.g., a:: ni sayngil –i –ci [HL%] oh your birthday-be-COMM

Oh, it' s your birthday, right?). By contrast, in this study, the speakers used HL% to show their

assertiveness towards the evaluation implied in their utterances ending with -*na/-nka* as

illustrated in (19) below, which is part of (7) and was analyzed in great detail in section 2.4.1.4.

(19) [Jiggling Legs]

```
08→   A:   ay    appa-ka      tway   kaci-kwu   tali-lul     tte-na. [HL%]
            child father-NM    become have-and  leg-AC        shake-NA
            [You']re a dad, but [you] jiggle [your] legs?
```

As previously mentioned, at the time of talk the speaker A had definite knowledge that the hearer had kept jiggling his legs. Thus, what A is doing in line 8 is not to seek whether the hearer jiggle his legs or not. Instead, A is expressing her stance towards the hearer's jiggling that the hearer should not have kept jiggling his legs in front of his child. In constructing the pragmatic function of this utterance, the SE -na serves as an index of the absurdity of the hearer's behavior and the boundary tone HL% as an index of A's assurance towards her evaluation of the hearer's behavior as inappropriate and unacceptable. Consider again that there is no reason for A to mark her strong belief about the truth of the proposition that the hearer indeed jiggled his legs with HL% because it is already a known fact. This use of HL% as a device to accentuate the pragmatic function of an utterance shows that boundary tones can be utilized not only to fine-tune the speaker's epistemic stance implicated in a particular SE but also support the pragmatic function of an utterance.

Lastly, HLH % and L% occurred at the same rate of 1.2% (n=2). HLH% was used in the contexts of asking an other-addressed question and tentatively asserting factual information. What is in common in these two contexts is that the speakers of -na/(u)nka-ending utterances show their uncertainty towards the propositional contents of the -na/(u)nka-ending utterances. Given that according to M. Park (2003), HLH% is an emphatic version of LH%, it seems that when HLH% is used in utterances that ask a question or deliver information, it indicates a lower degree of certainty compared to LH%. For example, (20) below illustrates the use of HLH% in the context of tentatively asserting factual information. Prior to the exchange shown below, A told B that it is very difficult for him to study at home due to hot and humid weather.

(20) [Hourglass]

```
01    A:      [((unintelligible))]
02    B:      [icey          can] mwu-lo    shawe    han   phan ha-ko
                from now on cold  water-with shower   one   round do-and

03            incey      ku   taum-ey    pw-a[ya-ci.]
              from now on that next-at    see-must-COMM
              After [you] take a shower in cold water, [you] should study by
              reading books.

04    A:                                      [hah hah] hah

05            .hh ecekkey-n    kunyang
                 Yesterday-TC just

06 →          molaysikey-man ney  kay     pwa-ss-na? [HLH%]
              Hourglass-only four things  watch-PST-NA
              Yesterday, [I ] watched maybe four episodes of  "Hourglass" in a
              row.

06            (0.2)

07    B:      ah hah hah
```

In line 6, A lets B know that yesterday, he idled away his time by watching about four episodes of then popular Korean drama "Hourglass" in a row. In asserting this factual information, A uses –na and HLH% to display his uncertainty towards the exact number of the episodes that he watched yesterday. By using HLH% instead of H% or LH% and thereby showing his great uncertainty towards the truth of the proposition expressed in the verb phrase *ney kay pwa-ss* 'watched four episodes', A seems to emphasize that he cannot clearly remember the exact number and the provided number "four" is merely an approximate.

The use of L% seems to be related with providing two alternative answers as shown in (21) below, which is part of (3) and was analyzed in detail in section 2.4.1.2. In (21), A is providing an answer to the prior speaker's question that asks when A started receiving piano

lessons. In doing so, A supplies two alternative answers, i.e., when he was twelve or when he

was eleven (see line 3), the last of which is produced with L%.

(21) Czerny Op.299

```
01    A:    na    yeysnal-ey       chy-ess-ci:.
            I     long time ago-at  play-PST-DC:COMM
            Of course I played a long time ago.

02            nay-ka: (0.2)
              I-NM

03→           yeltwu  sal  ttay-nka:? [H-] yelhan sal   ttay-nka. [L%]
              tweleve year the time-nka    eleven year  the time-NKA
              It was maybe when I was twelve or eleven.
```

The use of L% in the last element of two alternatives juxtaposed with each other was also

observed by M. Park (2003). She mentioned that a small number of L% occurred with *–na/-*

(u)nka in alternative question forms as in (22) below, although it is unclear whether the alterative

question forms functioned as an other-addressed question or information-giving, or something

else.

(22)

```
onul-i       swuyoil-in-ka     mokyoil-in-ka[L%]
today-NM     Wednesday-be-KA   Thursday-be-KA
Is today Wednesday or Thursday [I wonder]  (M. Park, 2003, p.91)
```

M. Park (2003), however, found that most L% boundary tones were used to form general

questions posed to the audience to think about or to frame direct-style self-quotation/self-

representation of thoughts or direct-style quotative explanation. By contrast, this usage of L%

was not found in this study and it seems to account the paucity of L% found in the study

compared to the number of L% found in M. Park's (2003). The difference in the findings seems

to be accountable by referring to the fact that whereas the data for this study was from casual

telephone conversations, that of M. Park's study (2003) was from an informal weekly home Bible study where the pragmatic actions of posing general questions and quoting remarks or thoughts from self or others can occur frequently in the process of studying the Bible.

So far this section has examined the types and pragmatic meanings of IP boundary tones that occurred with the SE *-na/(u)nka*. The five different boundary tones, that is, HLH%, LH%, H%, HL%, and L%, co-occurred with *-na/(u)nka.* Among them, H% was the most prevalent tone across all categories of the five pragmatic functions conducted by utterances with *-na/(u)nka*, thereby showing that the default tone for *-na/(u)nka*-ending utterances is H%. The analyses of the pragmatic meanings of the five boundary tones reveal that these boundary tones are used to fine-tune the level of uncertainty displayed with *-na/-* towards the truth of the propositional contents of *-na/(u)nka*-ending utterances. The level of uncertainty seemed to increase in the order of H%, LH%, and HLH%. In addition to this ancillary function of indicating the level of epistemic uncertainty implied in *-na/(u)nka*, the boundary tones—in particular, HL%—was used to show the speaker's assertiveness towards the evaluative stance the speaker is taking and thereby accentuate the pragmatic functions that *-na/(u)nka*-ending utterances are carrying out. This shows that boundary tones can be utilized not only to fine-tune the speaker's epistemic stance implied in *-na/-(u)nka* but also support the pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka* -ending utterances. Lastly, with the cases of HL% and L% that occurred in the context of juxtaposing two alternative propositions, the relevance of these two tones to presenting alternative propositions was suggested.

2.5. Pedagogical Implications

The present study has pedagogical implications that can contribute to improving communicative competence of Korean learners in using *-na/-(u)nka* in a real-life conversational setting. First, the findings of this study reveal that in introducing the pragmatic meaning of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* to Korean language students, its modal meaning as an uncertainty marker should be emphasized rather than its meaning as a sentence-type and speech-level marker. This is because the five pragmatic functions conducted with utterances-*na/-(u)nka* are grounded on the meaning of *-na/-(u)nka* as an epistemic stance marker.

Second, the findings of this study shed light on which pragmatic functions should be prioritized in instructing the uses of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances. The frequency distribution of the five pragmatic functions show that utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* were most frequently employed to ask other-addressed questions. Additionally, it reveals that these utterances were also used to tentatively assert factual information and to allude to disagreements with noticeable frequency. By contrast, they were used infrequently to express thoughts and feelings in the form of rhetorical questions and ask self-addressed questions. These results thus show that the pragmatic functions of asking other-addressed questions, tentatively asserting factual information, and alluding to disagreement should be given more weight than the other pragmatic functions.

Third, the findings about boundary tones realized on *-na/-(u)nka* hold pedagogical values for teaching how to produce *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances with proper boundary tones. Given that H%, which indexes the speaker's uncertainty, was the most prevalent tone across all the five pragmatic functions, instructors can introduce H% as the default boundary tone for the SE *-na/-(u)nka*. Along with this information, the instructors can present that boundary tones such as LH% and HLH% are used to fine-tune the degree of uncertainty encoded in *-na/(u)nka*.

Finally, this study highlights the importance of discourse-based teaching of the pragmatic functions of utterances with *-na/-(u)nka* where the instances of the pragmatic functions conducted by the utterances with *-na/-(u)nka* are presented in their discourse contexts of occurrence rather than isolated individual sentences. Consider that in addition to the epistemic meaning of *-na/-(u)nka*, epistemic status of the speaker and hearer, the linguistic design, the sequential context of occurrence, and the subsequent treatment of the utterances ending with *-na/-(u)nka* all work together to form the particular functions of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances. This means that without the presence of surrounding discourse where the aforementioned information is embedded, one cannot properly ascribe a particular pragmatic function to an utterance with *-na/-(u)nka*. When teaching advanced Korean courses, instructors can utilize the excerpts analyzed in this study to present diverse pragmatic functions of *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances or to design data analysis activities where students are invited to identify which pragmatic function, a *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterance is used and prove their answer with evidence found in the discourse.

2.6. Conclusion

The present study investigated the SE *-na/-(u)nka,* which traditionally has been understood as an interrogative suffix of the familiar speech level*,* for its diverse pragmatic uses, as well as for its prosodic features. By doing so, it sought to both broaden our understanding of its function as an epistemic modal suffix that marks the speaker's uncertainty and illuminate the intricate interplay between *-na/-(u)nka* and its boundary tone in constructing a particular pragmatic function of a *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterance.

By analyzing 175 instances of the SE *-na/(u)nka* from 50 naturally occurring telephone conversations among friends and acquaintances, which is part of the Linguistic Data Consortium spoken corpus, this study showed that the speakers employed the uncertainty marker *-na/-(u)nka* for various pragmatic uses with different frequency of occurrence: (a) to ask other-addressed questions (45.7%), (b) to tentatively assert factual information (24.3%), (c) to allude to disagreements (18.5%), (d) to express thoughts and feelings in the form of rhetorical questions (7.5%), and (e) to ask self-addressed questions (4%).

As for boundary tones realized on the SE *-na/-(u)nka*, the speakers predominantly chose H%, which is known to index the speaker's uncertainty (M. Park, 2003), across all the different pragmatic functions. The findings revealed that in general, when used with *-na/-(u)nka*, the boundary tones functioned to accentuate its modal meaning, thereby supporting the findings of M. Park's study (2003). Additionally, the analyses of boundary tones other than H% such as HLH%, LH%, and HL% showed the following. HLH% and LH% were used to fine-tune the degree of epistemic uncertainty encoded in *-na/-(u)nka*, and HL% was used to show the speaker's assertiveness towards the evaluative stance the speaker was taking and thereby accentuate the pragmatic functions that *-na/-(u)nka*-ending utterances were carrying out.

The findings also suggested that the distinction between the different pragmatic functions cannot be made merely by resorting to the modal meaning of *-na/-(u)nka* or the type of boundary tone occurring with it. Further analyses showed that the epistemic status of the speaker and hearer, the linguistic design, the sequential context of occurrence, and the subsequent treatment of the utterances with the SE *-na/-(u)nka* all worked together to form their particular functions although bodily orientations such as gaze direction (e.g., Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986; Stivers

& Rossano, 2010) were excluded as a possible factor in that the data were from telephone conversations where mutual monitoring of interlocutors' bodily behaviors is unavailable.

Based on the aforementioned findings of this study, pedagogical suggestions were made in order to contribute to discourse-based teaching of the conversational uses and tonal production of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* in Korean language classroom settings. The importance of presenting *-na/-(u)nka* as an epistemic modal suffix and its major pragmatic functions within its discourse context was advocated. Furthermore, it was mentioned that instructors can introduce H% as the default boundary tone for *-na/-(u)nka*.

Although this study illuminated both the diverse pragmatic uses of the SE *-na/-(u)nka* as an epistemic modal suffix and the relationship between the boundary tones realized on *-na/-(u)nka* and its epistemic modal meaning, it is not without limitations. First, this study only analyzed conversational uses of *-na/-(u)nka*, which means we do not know much about pragmatic uses of *-na/-(u)nka* in other discourse genres such as formal spoken discourse or written discourse. Second, due to the paucity of boundary tones other than H%, in particular, HLH% and L%, this study did not delve into pragmatic functions of these other types of tones. Thus, studies that investigate the pragmatic uses of *-na/-(u)nka* in other discourse genres and compare its uses with those in conversations, or studies that explore the pragmatic uses of boundary tones such as HLH% and L% in detail, which infrequently occur with *-na/-(u)nka,* seem to be a promising endeavor for achieving a more comprehensive picture of pragmatic uses of *-na/-(u)nka* and its prosodic features.

CHAPTER 3

STANCE TAKING AND GRAMMAR: THE CASE OF THE KOREAN

INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE ENDERS –*NYA* NAD -*NI*

3.1. Introduction

According to Du Bois (2007), stancetaking is one of the most important things we do
with language. The centrality of stancetaking in human language use is also observed earlier by
Stubbs (1986). He says:

> "…whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view
> towards it…The expression of such speakers' attitude is pervasive in all uses of
> language. All sentence encode such a point of view." (p.1)

If every act of communication done with language is unavoidably an act of stancetaking,
exploring how language is used as a semiotic resource for stancetaking would be indispensable
in understanding human language use.

The present study acknowledges stancetaking as a fundamental property of human
language use and seeks to illuminate the role of grammar in stancetaking by exploring, within the
theoretical and analytical framework of stance proposed by Du Bois (2007), the stance work
done by two Korean interrogative sentence enders –*nya* and –*ni* at the level of plain speech.[10]
These sentence enders are frequently used in colloquial speech and are traditionally known to be
used when the speaker is of higher status or age than the hearer (e.g., when an adult speaker is

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[10] Korean has six different speech levels: deferential, polite, blunt, familiar, intimate, and plain speech
levels. The social relationship between the speaker and the hearer (e.g., social ranks as determined by
factors such as age, gender and social position, the degree of solidarity/formality of the relationship) is an
important parameter in the speaker's selection of speech level to use. The degree of deference and
formality decreases as the speech level goes from deferential to plain speech levels (see H.-M. Sohn,
1999).

talking to a child or his/her daughter-in-law) or when the speaker and the hearer are intimate

friends (H.-M. Sohn, 1999; Yeon & Brown, 2011,).

According to Englebretson (2007), the research program that investigates the connection

between grammar and stancetaking has been actively pursued by researchers in the fields of

corpus, systematic-functional, sociocultural, and interactional linguistics (e.g., Biber & Finegan

1988, 1999; Conrad and Biber, 2000; Hunston and Sinclair, 2000; Kärkkäinen, 2003, 2007;

Tompson and Hunston 2000). Englebretson (2007), however, points out that the majority of the

work is focused on English and proposes the necessity of exploring a language other than

English.

Taking up Englebretson's proposal (2007a) by investigating Korean—a typologically

very different language from English in its rich inflectional morphology system (Wang, J.-R.

Cho, & Li, 2017), this study will demonstrate that –nya and –ni can function as stance markers

that show the speaker's alignment with the stance displayed by the prior speaker and thereby

move beyond the traditional understanding of –nya and –ni as a sentence type and speech level

marker. More specifically, this study will show that –nya tends to be employed to indicate the

speaker's diverging stance with the prior speaker's stance whereas –ni tends to be used to

indicate the speaker's converging stance with the prior speaker's stance.

The grammaticalization of stance alignment into the interrogative suffix –nya and –ni in

Korean thus clearly demonstrates that grammar is not only a resource to indicate the syntactic

relation among elements of an utterance but also a socio-interactional resource that encodes the

relationship between the speaker's stance and that of the prior speaker. Furthermore, the findings

of this study reveal that stancetaking can be better understood as a public and interactional

phenomenon rather than solely as an individual's cognitive phenomenon that occurs inside one's mind.

The organization of the remainder of this chapter is as follows. Section 3.2 provides a review of Du Bois's theory of stance and previous studies on *–nya* and *–ni* to provide background information to the readers. Section 3.3 describes the data and methods for this study as well as transcriptions of conversation excerpts. Section 3.4 analyzes the uses of *–nya* and *–ni* according to their position of occurrence. Section 3.5 discusses the findings of this study, and Section 3.6 summarizes the findings of this study and concludes with suggestions for future research.

3.2. Background

3.2.1. Stance and Stance Triangle

The present study builds on the theoretical and analytical framework of stance proposed by Du Bois (2007). Du Bois (2007) sees stance as a public, social act by a social actor that is achieved dialogically through overt semiotic resources such as language while s/he is interacting with other social actors. In other words, a social actor's stance is built in a way that can be observed and interpreted by others, thereby enabling others to build their own stances in relation to it.

The importance of the public, social, and interactional nature of stance in its theorization is indeed evident in Du Bois's stance triangle (2007, p.163) shown below in Figure 3.1, where he articulates components of stance as well as the functions simultaneously achieved by the act of stancetaking.

Figure 3.1 Du Bois's stance triangle
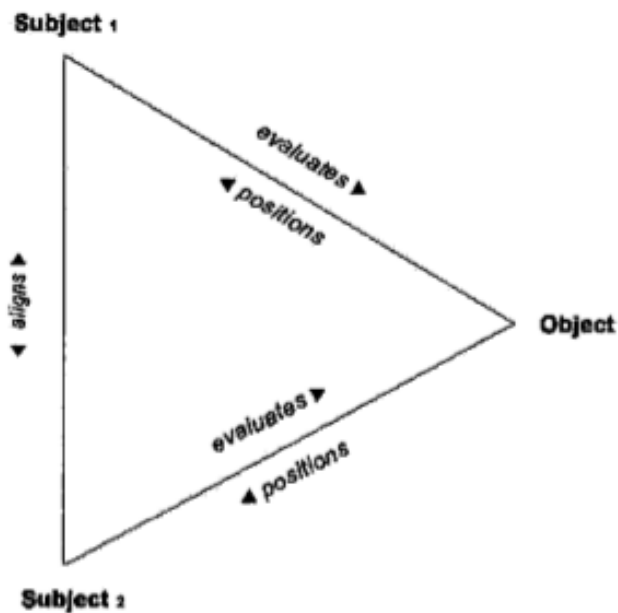
Each node of the triangle represents components of stance, that is, the stancetaker as the subject and the target towards which the stancetaker is taking a stance as the object. Note that the stance triangle includes not just one subject (i.e., stancetaker) but two that share the same stance object, which reflects Du Bois's understanding of stance as a social and interactional phenomenon. The stance triangle also shows three distinctive functions that a single stance act simultaneously conducts. When a subject takes a stance towards an object, s/he evaluates the object as having a specific quality or value and positions himself/herself with respect to the object, thereby also aligning with the other subject who is taking a stance towards the same stance object.

To better illustrate the aforementioned analytic terms, let us examine the following example from Du Bois (2007, p.165).

(a)
1   SAM;   I don't like those.
2   (0.6)
3   ANGELA;   I don't either.

In the example above, the first stance subject (Subject 1) is Sam, the second stance subject (Subject 2) is Angela, and the shared stance object (Object) is what Sam refers to as "those" in line 1. Sam takes a stance towards "those" with the stance predicate "don't like." By doing so, he not only evaluates "those" as something that he does not like but also positions himself along an affective scale as "don't like." Likewise, Angela takes a stance towards the same stance object "those" with the stance predicate "don't," which is a pro-verb meaning *don't like* in this specific context. By doing so, she evaluates "those" as something that she does not like and also positions herself along an affective scale as "don't like."

Most importantly, Sam's and Angela's respective stance acts are closely related to each other as evidenced by the presence of "either" in Angela's utterance in line 3. The word "either," which serves as an alignment marker that calibrates the relationship between the two displayed stances, demonstrates that Angela's stance is built off of Sam's stance and is also similar to that of Sam. Angela's orientation towards calibrating the relationship between Sam's stance and hers with "either" shows that calibrating the relationship between stances originating from different social actors toward a shared stance object is a real concern of social actors in interaction. In other words, it is a real interactional issue for social actors to form an alignment between stances and by implication between the social actors.

To explicate the sequential relation between two stances in an alignment, Du Bois (2007) introduces the two analytic terms, a stance lead and a stance follow. A stance lead indicates a stance that precedes the next subject's stance towards a shared stance object and is aligned with it, whereas a stance follow indicates a stance that follows the prior subject's stance. A stance follow can be convergent or divergent in its relation to a stance lead in terms of its degree of

alignment with a stance lead. When stance alignment is relatively positive, the stance follow is in a convergent alignment with the stance lead, whereas when stance alignment is relatively negative, the stance follow is in a divergent alignment with the stance lead. For instance, in (a), the stance taken by Sam is a stance lead, whereas the stance taken by Angela is a stance follow in that Sam's stance towards the shared stance object "those" precedes that of Angela. By using "either," Angela both marks the status of her stance as a stance follow and shows that her stance is in a convergent alignment with Sam's. Du Bois (2007, 2012) further mentions that alignment between two stances can explicitly be expressed with alignment markers such as *either, too*, *well*, and *I guess* as in (a) but can also remain implicit. In these latter cases, it becomes the listener's job to infer the nature of alignment between relevant stances by comparing them.

Based on Du Bois's theory of stance (2007) explained above, the present study will demonstrate that the Korean interrogative sentence enders *–nya* and *–ni* tend to appear in the position of a stance follow and indicate the current speaker's diverging or converging stance with the prior speaker's stance lead. By doing so, this study contributes to uncovering different stance-related usages of *–nya* and *–ni* which have not yet been explored systematically in previous research.

3.2.2. Previous Studies on *–Nya* and *–Ni*

Traditionally, *–nya* and *–ni* have been understood as the prototypes of interrogative sentence enders. This is because unlike other sentence enders such as *–e/–a*, which can be used to form a declarative, interrogative, or imperative sentence, *–nya* and *–ni* specifically designate a sentence as an interrogative as shown in (b) (e.g., J.-I. Kwon 2002; I.-S. Lee, 2005, H.-M. Sohn, 1999)

(b)
b-1) –e-ending declarative
```
pap  mek-ess-e.
meal eat-PST-DC
I had a meal.
```

b-2) –e-ending interrogative
```
pap  mek-ess-e?
meal eat-PST-Q
Have you had a meal?
```

b-3) –e-ending imperative
```
pap  mek-e.
meal eat-IM
Have a meal.
```

b-4) –nya-ending interrogative
```
pap  mek-ess-ni?
meal eat-Q
Have you had a meal?
```

b-5) –ni-ending interrogative
```
pap  mek-ess-nya?
meal eat-PST-Q
Have you had a meal?
```

For instance, I.-S. Lee (2005, pp. 185-186) mentions that –nya and –ni, which can be considered

as the epitome of interrogative sentence enders, indicate the very fundamental meaning of

interrogatives and thereby are employed when the speaker asks a question about something.

The traditional approach that foregrounds the function of –nya and –ni in marking a

sentence type also highlights their function of marking a particular speech level. As interrogative

sentence enders that belong to the plain speech level indexing the lowest deference and formality

levels, they are known to be used by a speaker who is higher in status or age than the hearer or

between intimate adult friends (H.-M. Sohn, 1999; Yeon & Brown, 2011).

Although the sentence type- and speech level-oriented description of

–*nya* and –*ni* is meaningful in that it explains their syntactic properties as interrogative sentence enders and their reflexivity of the social relationship between the speaker and the hearer, it has limitations in that it does not explain why two different forms that have virtually no distinction in their usage exist, producing redundancy in the Korean linguistic system. For instance, studies such as those conducted by I.-S. Lee (2005) and J.-I. Kwon (2002) in this research tradition explicitly mention that –*nya* and –*ni* can be used interchangeably.

Sociolinguistic studies on –*nya* and –*ni* (e.g., Y. Cho, 2017; S.-J. Kim, 2001; H. S. Yoo 2004; Song, 2013) go beyond the traditional approach to –*nya* and –*ni* in that they attempt to discover differences between the two interrogative sentence enders by examining the relationship between social variables such as the speaker's or hearer's gender, age, or social status and the speaker's choice between the two. Overall, these studies presuppose that compared to –*nya*, –*ni* sounds more soft, gentle, kind, and friendly and thus is employed as an index of politeness that conveys a polite attitude to the hearer or presents the speaker as a person of good demeanor. Based on this assumption, these studies tend to attribute a social group's relatively frequent use of –*ni* compared to other social groups to the sensitivity of the speakers of the particular social group towards the hearers' and/or the speakers themselves' face needs. For instance, Song's study (2013), which analyzed uses of –*nya* and –*ni* in spoken discourse of TV dramas, registers the preference of -*ni* over –*nya* by female speakers in their 30s through 50s and mentions that the preference can be explained by referring to a social norm in Korean society that expects women to be polite and by referring to women being sensitive in general towards other's and their own face needs, as this age group is when women are actively involved in a wide range of social activities and thereby have more social pressure to monitor their own conduct. However, these studies are inconclusive about the connection between a particular social variable and the

speaker's choice between *–nya* and *–ni*. Song (2013) even explicitly points out that the uses of *–nya* and *–ni* cannot simply be accounted by a particular single social variable such as the speaker's gender. The complicated relationship between *–nya /–ni* and social variables seems to suggest that *–nya* and *–ni* may not be strong indexes of a speaker's social identity, and thus the speakers' uses of *–nya* and *–ni* may better be explained by other factors that are internal to discourse than external social variables.

Among the studies on *–nya* and *–ni,* H. S. Lee's study (1994) sets itself apart from the rest in that it is a rare study that analyzes discourse-pragmatic uses of *–nya* and *–ni* based on detailed qualitative analyses of individual instances of *–nya* and *–ni*. Using the naturally-occurring informal discourse that covers face-to-face and telephone conversations, informal spoken narratives, as well as informal notes and letters as the data for the study, H. S. Lee (1994) argues that the primary function of *–nya* and *–ni* is not to mark sentence-type or speech level but to indicate the speaker's epistemic modality towards the proposition expressed with *–nya* and *–ni*. More specifically, H. S. Lee (1994, p.530) mentions that both *–nya* and *–ni* are used "when the speaker is dubious or has a negative bias about the information conveyed)" as in (c) and (d) below.[11]

```
(c)
01   K:    pan-paci      cwu-la      pan-paci
           half-trousers give-IMPER  half-trousers
           Give me short pants. I mean short pants

02 → H:    pan-paci-ka        mac-nya     ne-hantey
           half-trousers-NOM  fit-INTERR  2:SG-DAT
           How on earth would my short pants fit you?

(d)
01   H:    an    maculkel?
           NEG   fit-PRESUM
```

---

[11] These examples are excerpted from H. S. Lee (1994, pp.530-532) with some modification on transcription conventions.

```
              I don't think they fit you

02    K:    way?
            why
            Why not?
.
.     ((K realizing that the pants are too small.))
.

03    K:    eyhyu   i-key
            gosh    this-thing
            Oh, dear, this thing.

04→   H:    mac-ni?
            fit-INTERR
            Do they fit?
```

In (c), the speaker H uses –*nya* to form a rhetorical interrogative which functions as a *negative* assertion, i.e., "my short pants would not fit you." In (d), the speaker H uses –*ni* to form a yes/no question whose proposition H thinks is likely to be *negated* by hearer as evidenced in H's earlier remark in line 1.

In line with H.S. Lee's study (1994), the present research takes discourse-pragmatic approach in analyzing stance-related functions of –*nya* and –*ni*, paying careful attention to individual instances of –*nya* and –*ni* and their discourse context of occurrence. However, this study attempts to go beyond H.S. Lee's study (1994) in a number of ways. To begin with, H. S. Lee's study (1994) is based on a very small number of instances of –*nya* and –*ni*. In his data, he only found eight instances of –*nya* and –*ni* altogether, and he further adds that five instances out of eight display the speaker's negative bias but the other three instances do not. The paucity of instances of –*nya* and –*ni* thus raises the need to analyze a larger number of instances of –*nya* and –*ni* to find out whether the findings from H. S. Lee (1994) can be attested by larger data sets and the need to explore whether there are other ways to explain the use of –*nya* and –*ni*. Another consequence of the small number of instances H. S. Lee (1994) uses is that he does not seem to

be able to compare instances where –*nya* and –*ni* are used for the same purposes. His examples show –*nya* used in rhetorical questions and –*ni* used in information-seeking yes/no questions as in (c) and (d) above. It would be possible to find differences between –*nya* and –*ni* if –*nya* used in rhetorical questions are compared with –*ni* used in rhetorical questions or if –*nya* used in information-seeking yes/no questions are compared with –*ni* used in information-seeking yes/no questions.

Unlike H. S. Lee's study (1994), the present study includes a significant number of instances of –*nya* and –*ni* by analyzing 149 instances of –*nya* and 39 instances of –*ni* obtained from naturally occurring telephone conversations. Furthermore, the instances of –*nya* and –*ni* used in this study are both used in rhetorical questions, i.e., questions that do not seek answers from the hearer and are semantically equivalent to assertions (Frank, 1989; Sadok, 1974; Stivers & Enfeild, 2010). In-depth analyses of each instance of rhetorical questions formed with –*nya* and –*ni* will show that besides the function of indexing epistemic modality, –*nya* and -*ni* have the function of indexing the relationship between the speaker's stance and that of the prior speaker (i.e., alignment between the two stances). In addition, unlike H. S. Lee's claim (1994) that –*nya* and –*ni* are free variations, the present study will show that –*nya* and –*ni* are distinctive in terms of the type of alignment they are indexing. More specifically, this study will show that –*nya* tends to index a divergent alignment between the current speaker's stance and the prior speaker's stance whereas –*ni* tends to index a convergent alignment between the two.

3.3. Data, Methods, and Transcription of Conversation Excerpts

3.3.1. Data and Methods

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the data for this study consists of 50 telephone conversations

obtained from the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) spoken corpus. By using a concordance program called AntConc, all the instances of *-nya* and *-ni* used to form rhetorical questions were drawn from the data. In total, 149 instances of *–nya* and 39 instance of *–ni* were found. Each instance was then examined for its discourse-pragmatic function of stancetaking within the theoretical and analytical framework of stance proposed by Du Bois (2007) (for detailed explanation on Du Bois' theory of stance, refer to Section 3.2.1.).

Examining *–nya* and *–ni* used to form rhetorical questions has a special advantage for discovering their stance work since other discourse-pragmatic features of *–nya* and *–ni* such as their stance work may become prominent in these cases where *–nya* and *–ni* do not carry out the function of questioning. In fact, according to Koshik (2003), some linguists such as Bolinger (1957), Horn (1978) and Quirk et al. (1985) have pointed out that rhetorical questions can be a means of delivering the speaker's strong epistemic stance, semantically functioning like (negative) assertions instead of functioning as a genuine question that seeks new information from the hearer (e.g., Who believes such nonsense?). In addition, Maynard (1995) shows that rhetorical interrogatives (i.e., questions that do not seek answers including rhetorical questions) function to express the speaker's emotional attitude (e.g., As a criticism to the hearer requesting more food; How many servings are you having?). In sum, analyzing rhetorical questions where the speaker's epistemic and/or emotional stance is prominent seems to be conducive to discovering stance-related functions of *–nya* and *–ni* besides their function as interrogative markers of plain speech level.

In analyzing stance work done by *–nya* and *–ni*, the present study distinguishes where *–nya* and *–ni* occur in terms of stance lead and stance follow positions (refer to Section 3.2.1. for the explanation of these terms). The rationale behind this distinction is the effect the preceding

stance utterance has on the one that follows. Utterances in a stance follow position, unlike those in a stance lead position, have a preceding stance lead utterance that expresses the prior speaker's stance towards the same stance object. Thus, the speaker of a stance follow utterance must inevitably take into account this preceding stance utterance and calibrate the relationship between his/her own stance and the preceding stance. In other words, unlike a stance lead position, a stance follow position is where the issue of alignment becomes central.

As the next step of analyzing the data, *–nya* and *–ni* in a stance lead position were investigated in terms of their evaluative functions to see whether different evaluative values (i.e., positive or negative evaluation) were associated with *–nya* and *–ni,* as previous studies (e.g., Y. Cho, 2017; S.-J. Kim, 2001; H. S. Yoo 2004; Song, 2013) have often assumed that *–ni,* compared to *–nya,* indexes a soft, gentle, kind, and friendly attitude of the speaker. Then, *–nya* and *–ni* in stance follow positions were investigated in terms of their alignment function to see whether different types of alignment (i.e., convergent or divergent alignment) were indexed by them since, as mentioned earlier, their indexical meanings are often assumed to be somewhat contrasting.

The results of the data analyses will show that *–nya* and *–ni* far more frequently occur in a stance follow position than in a stance lead position. When used in a stance lead position, both *–nya* and *–ni* tend to be used to negatively evaluate a stance object. By contrast, when used in a stance follow position, *–nya* tends to be associated with convergent alignment whereas *–ni* tends to be associated with divergent alignment.

3.3.2. Transcription of Conversation Excerpts

Conversation excerpts that will be presented in Section 3.4 Data Analysis were transcribed

according to the CA transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996; see Appendix A). In indicating speaker information, A refers to a caller, and B refers to the person who received the phone call. The first line of the transcript present Korean utterances that represents the actual sounds of Korean rather than standard orthography and are romanized according to the Yale system. The second line shows a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (see Appendix B) for Korean utterances. The third line provides an idiomatic English translation. Additionally, an arrow next to the line number indicates the line where the target phenomenon is located.

3.4. Data Analysis

3.4.1. –*Nya* and -*Ni* in a Stance Lead Position

Out of 149 instances of –*nya*, 39 instances of –*nya* (26.2%) appeared in a stance lead position. Similarly, out of 39 instances of –*ni,* nine instances of –*ni* (23.1%) occurred in a stance lead position. This frequency distribution shows that both –*nya* and –*ni* tend to be less frequently used in a stance lead position than in a stance follow position.

In a stance lead position, both –*nya* and –*ni* were extremely frequently used in an utterance where a stancetaker displayed his/her negative evaluation towards a stance object. Out of all 39 instances of –*nya* in a stance lead position, 37 instances (94.9%) appeared in utterances doing negative evaluations, and only two instances (5.1%) appeared in utterances doing positive evaluations. In case of –*ni*, the tendency was even stronger. All the nine instances of –*ni* (100%) were used in utterances doing negative evaluations. These findings reveal that –*nya* and –*ni* in a stance lead position do not seem to display differences in terms of the types of evaluative values they co-occur with in that both were predominantly used to form a rhetorical question that

negatively evaluated a stance object. To better illustrate the uses of *–nya* and *–ni* in a stance lead

position, examples (1)-(3) are provided below. (1) and (2) illustrate *–nya* and *–ni* used in a

rhetorical question doing a negative evaluation, and (3) illustrates *–nya* employed in a rhetorical

question doing a positive evaluation. Let us first examine (1) and (2).

In (1), B, who has been studying at a university in the U.S., has recently been showing

symptoms of meningitis and had to have her blood drawn at a student health center to diagnose

her disease. B has been engaged in an extended talk with her sister A. In lines 1 and 4, B is

telling A that if the result of her blood test confirms that she has meningitis, she needs to go to

health counseling services on the upcoming Tuesday and then receive some more tests if

necessary. In lines 6, 7, 9, and 10, B slightly shifts the focus of her talk and complains to A about

how painful and unpleasant it was for her to receive the blood tests. In this process, B uses a

rhetorical question formed with *–nya* in order to complain about the amount of blood that was

drawn out for blood work (line 7).

```
(1) [Blood test]

01   B:    Tuesday khawunseylling  mence  tul-e-ka-ko:.
           Tuesday counselling     first  enter-and-go-and
           On next Tuesday, I should go to counseling first,

02         (.)

03   A:    uum=
           um
           Uh-huh

04   B     =kemsa         ka-ko    kule-ketun,
            examination   go-and   like that-provided that
           [and then] I should get some tests and stuff

05         (0.8)

06   B:    ey (.) phi    ppop-nuntey   tu:lepkey  aphu-te-la.
           aw     blood  pull out-but  dirty      sick-RT-DC
           Ugh, it hurt like hell
           when they were taking my blood sample.
```

```
07→        way   ilehkey    manhi   ppop-[nya?]
           why   like this  much    pull out-NYA
           Why do they take so much?

08   A:                               [manh]I [ppop-ci?]
                                       much    pull out-Q:COMM
                                  They take so much, don't they?

09   B:                                       [.hhhh   ]h!
                                                Oh my god
10         payk-ul       ppop-ayo     mak:.
           hundred-AC    pull out-DC  recklessly
           Oh my god! They just go ahead and take a hundred
           [milliliter].
```

B's utterance, *way ilehkey manhi ppop-*[*nya*?] 'Why do they take so much?.' in line 7 asks about

the reason for drawing out a large amount of blood on the surface. However, in light of its

sequential position and A's knowledge status, it becomes clear that B's utterance is not meant to

seek information from A. This utterance has come up in the context of B complaining about her

experience of her blood being drawn for blood work and not in an information-seeking context.

More importantly, the hearer A, who is the sister of B, is not in the position to provide an answer.

Simply speaking, A is a layperson and does not possess sufficient medical knowledge to provide

a reason for taking out that much blood. What B does in line 7 is to show her negative stance

towards the amount of the blood drawn from her, and by extension, the people who drew her

blood. She is displaying that from her perspective, the amount of the blood drawn seems to be

excessive as indicated by the use of the deictic expression *ilehkey* 'this' as an intensifier

modifying *manhi* 'much.' In sum, B's utterance in line 7 is a rhetorical question that functions as

an assertion that too much blood had been taken for blood work. In line 8, A shows her

converging stance with B's stance by agreeing with A using *manhi ppop-ci?* 'They take so much,

don't they?' This shows that A indeed took B's –*nya*-ending utterance as an assertion that can be

agreed or disagreed with. B's following remark in lines 9 and 10 further provides evidence that

her utterance with –*nya* was indeed used to display her negative stance. B starts her utterance

with an elongated in-breath, which indexes her unpleasant surprise about the amount of the blood

taken. B then specifies how much blood had been drawn from her using the numerical value

payk 'one hundred' with a prosodic emphasis, which is, in her view, very excessive in light of

the fact that normally three to ten milliliter of blood is drawn for blood work. Furthermore, she

adds the adverb *mak* 'careless, reckless,' which has a negative connotation, to indicate that the

people drew a large amount of her blood without much care.

      (2) is an instance of –*ni* used to construct a rhetorical question that delivers the speaker's

negative evaluation towards a stance object. Just as B of (1), A of (2) is engaged in an extended

talk where she complains to B about their mutual friend Aykyung. Until A succinctly expresses

her negative evaluation about Aykyung as an upshot of her complaints with a –*ni*-ending

rhetorical question in lines 10 and 11, A describes in detail what Aykyung did in lines 1, 2, 4,

and 5.


```
(2)  [Aykyung Enni]

01   A:    ani  il-nyen-man-ey    cincca  w-a kaciko:,
           well one-year-after-at really  come-and
           I mean, this came in almost a year,

02         mwusun pyencito    ani-ko:,  yepse      han-cang::.
           what   letter-even not-and   post card  one-piece
           [And] not even a letter but just one post card

03   B:    u[::.          ]
           yeah
           Yeah.

04   A:     [mwe  mal-to]   ccokkum ss-e  kaciko kula-y noh-ko
            what word-even  little  write-then   like that-put-and
            [And] after writing just a tiny bit [of words,]

05         na-poko (.) ah:  tapcang    ssu-lani.
           I-to        ah   reply      write-ENDER
```

```
          [she tells] me ugh to write back.

06        (0.6)

07        na-y cwuk:-eto      an ssu-nta tapcang incey     ah:,
          I-NM die-although   not write-DC repy   from now  ugh
          I swear I'm never going to write back, ugh.

08        (0.6)

09   B:   .hh[h]
          .hhh
          .hhh

10→  A:       [h]h (0.4) Aykyung    enni    a::.
               h h       Aukyung   sister  ugh

11        way  kule-ni:?    Ah::.((with a greatly annoyed tone))
          why  like that-NI ah
          Why does she do stuff like that? Ugh!

12        (0.5)

13   B:   hu hah hah hah
          hu hah hah hah
          hu hah hah hah

     ((B tells A that Aykyung also sent him a letter because he
     called her and complained a lot about why she has not been
     sending any letters to him.))
```

In line 1, A tells B that Aykyung hadn't been in touch with her for almost a year. In lines 2 and

4, A adds that when Aykyung finally reached out to A, Aykyung did not even care to write a

letter and just sent her a post card with a short message. All these aforementioned behaviors of

Aykyung convey that Aykyung is not committed to keeping in close touch with A, and thereby

displays A's negative stance towards Aykyung's behaviors, and by implication, Aykyung. Then,

in line 5 A tells B that Aykyung asked her to write back. In doing so, A also negatively evaluates

Aykyung's request as seen in the use of both the exclamation expression ah:: 'ugh' that indexes

A's disapproval and the sentence ender –lani that is often used to index the speaker's indignation

towards a state of affairs expressed with it. A's remark in line 7 that clearly expresses A's strong

rejection to Aykyung's request to write back further shows that A is negatively evaluating Aykyung's request, and by implication, Aykyung.

After detailing all of Aykyung's behavior in a negative light, A issues a rhetorical question in lines 10 and 11formed with –*ni*, i.e., *aykyung enni* <u>*way*</u> *kule-ni:?* 'Why does she do stuff like that?' Due to its sequential context of occurrence and B's knowledge status, this utterance of A is not heard as a genuine question. A has been complaining about Aykyung, and thus it is unlikely for A to genuinely seek the reasons behind Aykyung's behavior. Furthermore, the propositional content of A's utterance is about the motives behind Aykyung's behaviors, which belong to Aykyung's knowledge domain, not B's. Thus, B is not in a position to provide an answer to A's utterance. For these reasons, A's remark in lines 10 and 11 semantically function as an assertion, i.e., that there are no grounds that justify Aykyung's behavior, and thus Aykyung's behavior is unacceptable. The prosodic cue accompanied with the rhetorical question, as well as the exclamatory expression *ah::.* 'ugh' following it further evidences its function as an assertion that negatively evaluates Aykyung's behavior. A produces the utterance with a greatly annoyed tone, and thereby prosodically elaborates the negative stance displayed in the rhetorical question. Also note how the exclamatory expression ah::. '*ugh'* indexes A's annoyance and disgust towards both Aykung's behaviors and Aykyung.

By analyzing (1) and (2), we have examined how –*nya* and –*ni* were used to form a rhetorical question that displays the speaker's negative evaluation towards a stance object. Although very rarely, –*nya* was also used in a rhetorical question that positively evaluates a stance object as in (3). In (3), the interlocutors A and B are cousins. Prior to the exchange shown in (3), A has just heard from B that his grandparents are going to visit Hawaii when A returns to Korea next year and took it as great news. In lines 1 and 5 of (3), A provides the reason why he

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likes the news by pointing out that he would be able to stay at his grandparents' house by himself.

Then, in line 8 A explicitly evaluates living in his grandparents' house alone as something

positive with the use of the –*nya*-ending rhetorical question *elmana phyenha-nya*: 'How

convenient is that?'


```
(3)[House]

01   A:    keki  anamdong  (0.3) cip-ul:,
           there Anam-dong       house-AC
           The house at Anam-dong,

02         (.)

03   B:    e:.
           yeah
           Yeah

04         (.)

05   A:    na honca  sal-mon   toy-canh-nya:,
           I  alone  live-if   become-you know-Q
           I can stay there alone then.

06         (0.2)

07   B:    e:.
           yeah
           Yeah

08→  A:    h h .hh elmana    phyenha-nya:.
           h h     how       convenient-NYA
           h h  How convenient is that?

09          amwu[na ta   wa-se]    ca-l swu-tu  iss-ko.
            anyone   all  come-and  sleep can-also be-DC:and
            Anyone can come and sleep over.

10   B:            [ hah    hah    ]
                     hah    hah
                     hah    hah
```

A's remark following his own –*nya*-ending utterance clearly shows how A's –*nya*-ending

utterance is not meant to be heard as an information-seeking question. If A had intended to find

out how convenient it is to use his grandparents' house by himself from B, A would have given B a chance to provide an answer. However, instead of doing that, A goes on to provide the reason why he thinks it is convenient for him to stay at his grandparents' house by himself—he can invite any of his friends to come and sleep over.

A's rhetorical question designed with –*nya* functions as a positive evaluation about A's living in his grandparents' house by himself without adults' surveillance. First, A's laughter, which shows that A considers staying at his grandparents' house alone as something joyful and fun, precedes A's rhetorical question. Second, the rhetorical question itself contains the stance predicate *phyenha*- 'convenient,' which has a positive connotation. Furthermore, the reason for convenience A provides in line 9 presents one of the merits of staying at his grandparents' house by himself. In sum, A's rhetorical question ending with –*nya* is semantically equivalent with the assertion that staying at his grandparents' house alone is very convenient for himself and thereby displays A's positive evaluation.

So far this section has examined the uses of rhetorical questions formed with –*nya* and –*ni* in a stance lead position. The findings of this study have shown that both –*nya* and –*ni* tended to occur with rhetorical questions that negatively evaluate a stance object. However, it seems unclear whether –*nya* and –*ni* directly index the speaker's negative stance towards a stance object in that the observed tendency might be explained as that of evaluation done in informal conversations between interlocutors of close relationship. If negative evaluations are more frequent, more tellable, and more prominent than positive evaluations in this type of discourse, the frequent uses of rhetorical questions involving –*nya* and –*ni* for negative evaluations could be understand as reflecting the general tendency in doing evaluations. Further research would be

required to examine whether –*nya* and –*ni* indeed function as an index of the speaker's negative attitude.

3.4.2. –*Nya* and -*Ni* in a Stance Follow Position

Both –*nya* and –*ni* were far frequently used in a stance follow position than in a stance lead position. More specifically, 110 (73.8%) out of 149 instances of –*nya* and 30 (76.9%) out of 39 instances of –*ni* occurred in a stance follow position. This strong tendency of –*nya* and –*ni* to appear in a stance follow position suggests that –*nya* and –*ni* may be related to the alignment function of stancetaking for the following reason: as explained earlier in Section 3.1, in a stance follow position, unlike a stance lead position, the utterance is located after the preceding stance utterance that has already displayed the prior speaker's stance towards the same stance object; thus, the issue of calibrating between the current and prior speaker's stance towards the same shared stance object becomes central.

The analyses of the types of alignment established through rhetorical questions involving –*nya* and –*ni* in a stance follow position reveal a clear distinction between   rhetorical questions with –*nya* (-*nya* RQs) and rhetorical questions with –*ni* (-*ni* RQs*)* as summarized in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Distribution of –*nya* RQs and –*ni* RQs in a stance follow position according to the types of alignment

	Convergent	Divergent	Total
-*nya* RQs	16 (14.5%)	94 (85.5%)	110 (100%)
-*ni* RQs	21 (70%)	9 (30%)	30 (100%)

As for rhetorical questions formed with –*nya*, they were often used to express the current speaker's stance that diverged from the prior speaker' stance. This held true for 94 instances (85.5%) out of 110 instances of –*nya* rhetorical questions in a stance follow position. By

contrast, rhetorical questions formed with *–ni* were more frequently employed to express the current speaker's stance that converged on the prior speaker's stance. This was true for 21 (70%) instances out of 30 instances of *–ni* rhetorical questions in a stance follow position. The findings thus show that *–nya* tends to be used as a divergent alignment marker whereas *–ni* tends to be used as a convergent alignment marker. The following two sections (Sections 3.4.2.1 and 3.4.2.2) further explicate the different uses of *–nya* and *–ni* as a divergent and a convergent alignment marker with specific examples.

3.4.2.1. *–Nya* as a Divergent Alignment Marker

This section examines two instances of *–nya*-ending rhetorical questions used in a stance follow position and illustrates the function *–nya* as a divergent alignment marker. Let us first examine (4) and then (5). The conversation in (4) occurred a few seconds later after the exchange shown in (1). In line 2, A asks her sister B whether B called their mom to let her know about her recent health issue (i.e., that B may have meningitis).

```
(4)[Call Mom]

01   B:    u (.) h [h]
           u     h  h
           u     h  h

02   A:             [u] emma-hantey-n   cenhwaha-ss-e?
                     uh mother-to-TC    call-PST-Q:INT
                         Did you call mom?

03   B:    a:ni::.
           no
           No.

04         hwaksilha-ci-to anh-untey
           sure-COMM-even  not-but
           I'm not even sure [about it,]
```

```
05→        mew-l   cenhwahay-[se ttapalkeli-nya.     ]
           what-AC call-and        rant-NYA
           so why would I call and rant [at her] [about it]?

09   A:                        [na nayil    cip-ey  ka]:.
                                I  tomorrow home-at go
                                I'm going home tomorrow.

10        (0.3)

11   B:   I know. ((spoken in English))

12        (0.9)

13   A:   emma-hantey  an    yaykiha-myen mwe    ettekhay?
          mother-to    not   talk-if        what  what do you do
          [But] if you don't tell mom, what are you going to do?
```

A's question in line 2 expresses A's stance towards B's current health issue, thereby functioning as a stance lead utterance. A's question portrays B's recent health issue as something important and meaningful to the extent that it is worth reporting to their mother.

In responding to A's question, B, however, does not take the same stance as A. In line 3, B provides a disaffirming answer *a:ni::.* 'no' with prosodic emphases as indicated by the underline and colons, thereby suggesting B's strong opposition towards A's construal of B's health condition as something reportable to their mother. Then, in lines 4 and 5, B produces a rhetorical question involving *–nya* and explicitly displays her divergent stance. Its first part, *hwaksilha-ci-to anh-untey* 'I'm not even sure [about it,]' explicates why B did not call her mom to talk about her health issue. The reason is because B is not even sure whether she indeed has meningitis. Its second part, *mew-l cenhwahay-se ttapalkeli-nya.* 'literal translation: so about what would I call mom and rant at her? idiomatic translation: so why would I call and rant at her about it?' functions as a negative assertion that B has nothing to tell her mother regarding her suspected illness and thereby portrays her recent health issue as something not worth mentioning to her mother. A's utterance in line 13 *emma-hantey an yaykiha-mye*n '[But] if you don't tell mom,'

which shows A's understanding that B is not treating her health issue as mentionable to her mother, is further evidence of this function of B's rhetorical question. In brief, regarding the shared stance object, i.e., B's current health issue, A and B have different stances in terms of whether it is something worth reporting to their mother. In responding to A's stance lead utterance, B's stance follow utterance linguistically marks her divergent alignment with A's stance lead using *–nya*.

Below, (5) also demonstrates how *–nya*-ending rhetorical questions in a stance follow position are used to display the speakers' divergent alignment with the prior speakers' stances towards a shared stance object. In (5), A is talking to her friend B about how embarrassing it was when she met some acquaintances who had once been her high-school juniors by chance at a Korean catholic church in the U.S. and how they acted excessively friendly towards her. In lines 1 and 2, A describes the friendly behavior of her acquaintances with some laugh tokens as indicated with 'h' symbols in *cal ci(h)nay-nya(h)-ko [h]* 'was I doing well and stuff.'

```
(5) [Embarrassed]

01   A:    kyaynyetul-i wa    kacko
           them-NM       come  then
           They all came and

02         ta-tul  na-poko  mak   cal  ci(h)nay-nya(h)-ko [h]
           all-PL  I-to     actively well  spend time-Q-QT     h
           [and] were like, was I doing well and stuff.

03   B:                                              [ya]:
                                                     Wow
                                                     Wow

04         kipwun  coh-ass-[keyss-ta:.    ]
           feeling good-PST-SUP-DC
           You must have felt good.

05   A:                    [ccok-phally-e]=
                            face-be sold-DC:INT
```

```
                      [I was] embarrassed

06                 =h   [h    h    h ]
                     h     h    h     h
                     h     h    h     h

07→   B:                [ya.   mwe-ka ]    ccok
                         hey   what-NM face

         phalli-[nya:.]
         be sold-NYA
         Hey! What is there to be embarrassed about?

08   A:            [hh   ] [ h    h    h    h            ]=
                    hh      h    h    h    h
                    hh      h    h    h    h

09   B:                [ku  hwupay-tul-i insaha-y cwu-ko]=
                        the junior-PL-NM greet-give-and

10   A:    =[e huh huh h                    ]

11   B:    =[kule-m      coh-un   ke-ci.]
           like that-if  good-RL  thing-DC:COMM
           It's a good thing when they come [up to you] and say hi.
```

The laugh tokens that are present in A's remark in lines 1 and 2 laminates A's stance towards the acquaintances' behavior on A's remark. The laugh tokens portray the acquaintances' behavior as something pleasant that can bring laughter to A. In lines 3 and 4, B picks up this stance cue and evaluates their behavior as something positive. In line 3, B displays her positive stance with the positive exclamatory expression *ya:* 'Wow!', and in line 4, B explicitly evaluates their behavior as what must have made A feel good by positioning A on an affective scale.

However, in line 5, A issues an explicit stance remark in overlap with B's stance utterance that embodies quite a different stance from B's stance. With the stance predicate *ccok-phally-e* 'embarrassed,' which is the phonetically shortened form of *ccok-phalli-e*, A positions herself as embarrassed by the acquaintances' behavior instead of feeling good. By doing so, A evaluates the acquaintances' behavior somewhat negatively. Interestingly, however, A's use of

laugh tokens right after the negative evaluation displays that A does not take the acquaintances'

behavior as seriously offensive.

Upon hearing A's stance remark, B directly challenges it in line 7 with the *–nya*-ending

rhetorical question *ya. mwe-ka ccok phalli-nya:.* 'Hey! What is there to be embarrassed about?'

In doing so, B reuses the stance predicate *ccok phally-e* 'be embarrassed' that A employed earlier

and transforms it (Goodwin, 1987), and thereby creates what Du Bois (2007) calls 'resonance,'

i.e., affinity across utterances. More specifically, after calling A's attention with *ya* 'hey, ' B

transforms the stance predicate *ccok phally-e* 'be embarrassed' by framing it into the wh-

question word *mwe-ka* 'what-NM' and replacing the sentence ender *–e* with *–nya*. By adding the

wh-question word, B delivers her stance that there actually is nothing for A to be embarrassed

about. Moreover, *–nya* linguistically marks B's stance as divergent from A's. B's remark in lines

9 and 11 where B explicitly states that the acquaintances' behavior of coming up to A and saying

hi to her is a good thing confirms this interpretation of B's rhetorical question involving *–nya.* In

sum, the use of B's *–nya* rhetorical question as a direct challenge to A's stance utterance shows

that *–nya* is a divergent alignment marker which indexes the speaker's diverging stance from that

of the prior speaker.

3.4.2.2. *–Ni* as a Convergent Alignment Marker

Unlike *–nya* which functions as a divergent alignment marker, *–ni* functions as a

convergent alignment marker that indexes the speaker's converging stance on the prior speaker's

stance. (6) and (7) below illustrate such usage of *–ni*. Let us first examine (6) and then (7). Prior

to the exchange shown in (6), A has been complaining to her friend B   about a fellow graduate

student who had just been admitted into the same program and thinks she is far smarter than

other students. A also told B that this student had received a scholarship more out of luck than

from being qualified. In lines 1 through 5, A continues to complain by telling B about an

inappropriate comment this student has made, which reflects the student's condescending

attitude towards other graduate students who are studying without merit-based financial support

from the department. In doing so, A even employs an indignant tone, thereby prosaically

indicating her disapproval of the student's comment. In responding to A's negative description of

the student's behavior, which functions as a stance lead, B displays her convergent alignment

with A's stance towards this student in line 7 by using a –*ni*-ending rhetorical question.


```
(6)[A New Graduate Student]

01   A:    ((with an indignant tone)) cepeney  (.) sinipsayng
                                      Last time     new student

02         hwanyenghui  ka-ss-ta  wa-caciko:
           orientation  go-PST-DC come-and
           After she came back from the new student orientation
           last time, you know,

03         Upenn-ey  ton   an  pat-ko      kongpwuha-nun salam
           Upenn-at  money not receive-and study-RL      people

04         nemwu  manhta-ko nemwunemwu  hansimhata-nun
           so     many-QT   very        pathetic-QT-RL

05         sikulo        yeki-lul  ha-nun  ke    iss-ci:.
           in the manner talk-AC   say-RL  thing be-DC:COMM
           she was saying [in such a condescending way] that there
           were so many people studying here at UPenn who didn't get
           funding and that she though they were so pathetic.

06         (0.2)

07→  B:    .hhh salam-I    wae  kulehkey  hansimha-ni:?
           .hhh person-NM  why  like that stupid-NI
            Why is she so pathetic?

08         (0.4)

09   B:    koyngcanghi hansimha-n  salam-i-ta.     yay yay.=
           totally     pathetic-RL person-be-DC   hey hey
```

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```
        Hey, she is totally pathetic.


10          =.hh yaykiha-l   kachi-ka  eps-ta  cengmal.
                 talk-RL      worth-NM  not-DC  really
            She's not even worth mentioning, really.
```

When B chimes in with A's negative evaluation about A's fellow graduate student in line 7 in

the form of a *–ni* rhetorical question, B cleverly reuses the word that the graduate student herself

once used to criticize other graduate students' incompetence (i.e., *hansimha-* 'pathetic') with

some transformation. By reusing the word *hansimha-* 'pathetic' as an element of her rhetorical

question, B expresses the assertion that from B's point of view, it is that student who is so

pathetic, not the other graduate students. In doing so, B attaches *–ni* to *hansimha-* and

linguistically signals that her *–ni*-ending utterance displays a converging alignment with A's

stance about the student in question. In lines 9 and 10, B even upgrades her criticism against the

student by modifying the word *hansimha-* 'pathetic' with the intensifier *koyngcanghi* 'totally'

and regards her as someone who is not even worth mentioning.

In (7), the interlocutors A and B are cousins. A has been studying at a high school in the

U.S. and B, who is a 6th grader in South Korea, is now visiting other relatives in the U.S. outside

of where A lives. Prior to the exchange shown below, A asked B whether she liked the U.S.

better than South Korea, and B said she liked South Korea better. Then, in line 1 of (7), A

provides a potential account for B's preference of South Korea over the U.S. in the form of a

confirmation-seeking tag-question using the committal suffix *–ci*, which indexes the speaker's

belief to the truth of the proposition of an utterance (H. S. Lee, 1999). A's guess is that B may

has a boyfriend in South Korea and thus B likes South Korea better than the U.S. What is

interesting about A's confirmation-seeking tag-question is that it conveys A's attitude that A can

ask B whether B has a boyfriend or not and that B is responsible for providing an answer to A's question.


```
(7)[Boy friend]

01   A:    hankwuk    namca-chinkwu    iss-ci.
           Korea      boy-friend       be-Q:COMM
           You have a boyfriend in Korea, don't you?

02         (0.8)

03   B:    h h hah hah hah .hh h h huh h

04         (0.5)

05   A:    namca-chinkwu iss-ci:.
           boy-friend    be-Q:COMM
           You have a boyfriend [there], don't you?

06         (1.0)


07   B:    namca-chinkwu, manh-e:.
           boy-friend     many-DC:INT
           [I] have many guy friends.

08         (0.4)

09   A:    h hah hah hah hah manh-e?
           h hah hah hah     many-Q:INT
           h hah hah hah [You have] many?

11         (0.2)

12   B:    e::.
           yeah
           Yeah

13         (0.5)

14   A:    ani. (.) kulenikka (0.2) m (0.6) emcheng
           well     so                m        very

15         manh-ta-n  mal-i-ya?
           many-DC-RL mean-be-Q:INT
           Well, so [you're saying you] have tons?

15         h h (0.3) h [huh ]
```

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```
            h h        h huh
            h h        h huh

16   B:              [e:. ]
                       yeah

            isipkwu-myeng-iss-e. ((with smiley voice))
            twenty nine-people-be-DC:INT
            Yeah, [I] have 29 [of them]

17          (0.2)

18   B:   h [hah hah hah hah  hhh h hah ]h hh=
          h hah hah hah hah  hhh h hah   h hh
          h hah hah hah hah  hhh h hah   h hh

19   A:     [hah  hah  hah  hah   hah   ]
             hah  hah  hah  hah   hah
             hah  hah  hah  hah   hah

20   A:   =kule-n.     chinkwu namca  mal-kwu::::.
          Like that-RL friend  boy    not-and
          [I']m not talking about that kind of guy friends

21          (1.5)

22   B:   u hh  ((mild coughs))
          u hh
          u hh

23          (1.8)

24   A:   an: (0.2) p ((lip parting sound)) (0.3) kulay,
          well                                        okay
          Well, okay.

25→       kuke ilen:. (0.3)
          it   this

26→       sacekin yayki-lul nay-ka nehantey mwe-ha-le
          private talk-AC   I-NM   you-to   what-do-to

27→       mwul-e po-kess-ni.
          ask-try-will-NI
          What's the use of me asking you these kinds of personal
          stuff?

28        ku-ci.
          that-Q:COMM
          Right?
```

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```
29              (.)

30      B:      ung.
                yeah
                Yeah

31              (0.4)

32      A:      kulay,
                okay
                Okay,

33              ((A shifts to a different topic and invites B to come and
                visit him))
```

In dealing with A's question, B issues a resistant response in line 3. Instead confirming or
disconfirming A's proposed guess, B merely laughs and thereby displays her divergent stance
from A's stance towards the questionability of A's inquiry and B's presumed responsibility to
answer it.

In spite of B's resistance, A keeps pursuing his inquiry in line 5 by reissuing his earlier
question, this time taking out the word *hankwuk* '(South) Korea,' which is inferable by reference
to his earlier question in line 1. This shows that A is still keeping his initial stance that his
question is one that can legitimately be asked to B and B has a responsibility to address A's
question.

In line 7 B finally responds to A's question verbally. However, B's response is still
resistant to A's question. Although A's question is about whether B has a boyfriend in Korea, not
about whether B has guy friends, B states that B has many guy friends, and thus avoids dealing
with the topic agenda that A's question imposes on B. B's construction of this resistant response
was possible due to the following reasons. First, the Korean word that refers to a boyfriend or a
guy friend is the same *namca-chinkwu*. Second, unlike English, Korean does not require a plural
marker to indicate the plural meaning of a noun. Thus, *namca-chinkwu* not only can refer to a

boyfriend but also guy friends if one does not take into account its context of occurrence. Exploiting the ambiguity of the word *namca-chinkwu* and reusing *namca-chinkwu* that was once used by A to refer to a different referent, B constitutes her response in a way that seemingly complies to the topic agenda of A's question (i.e., *namca-chinkwu*) but is in fact resistant to it.

In lines 9 through 19, A and B are playfully engaged in a series of repair sequences where A playfully asks B for clarification of B's resistant utterance *namca-chinkwu, manh-e:.* 'I have many guy friends.' In clarifying her own utterance, B, however, does not back down from her purposeful misinterpretation of A's utterance as a question about guy friends and informs A that she has 29 guy friends (line 16). By doing so, she reveals her consistent stance that the topic of A's question is not appropriate for A to ask B about and thus she does not have the responsibility to answer the question.

Although A is continually faced with B's resistance to his question, A does not give up his line of questioning, and in line 20, he does a third position self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff. 1992) and explicitly clarifies that his question is not about guy friends using the unambiguous word *chinkwu namca* 'guy friends.' This shows that A is still holding onto his initial stance that his question is legitimately asked to B and thus B has a responsibility to answer his question. Unfortunately for A, however, B does not step back. Instead of providing an answer to his question, B keeps her silence as indicated by the 1.5-second and 1.8-second gaps in lines 21 and 23, which are infiltrated by her coughing sounds in line 22.

In lines 24 through 27, A finally backs down his initial stance that is divergent from B's stance and takes a convergent stance with B's stance regarding whether his question is a kind that can be asked to B. Note that in doing so, A uses a *–ni*-ending rhetorical question (lines 25 through 27) *kuke ilen:. sacekin yayki-lul nay-ka nehantey mwe-ha-le mwul-e po-kess-ni. 'What's*

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the use of me asking you these kinds of personal stuff?' This rhetorical question functions as a

negative assertion conveying that there is no use in A asking B the question about whether she

has a boyfriend, as evidenced by A's agreement-seeking tag question in line 28 that treats A's

rhetorical question as an expression of A's view rather than as a genuine question of A. In

particular, in this rhetorical question, A portrays the topic of A's previous question as *ilen:.*

sacekin yayki 'this kind of personal stuff,' and thus shows an agreement with B's stance that

asking about whether B has a boyfriend is inappropriate in that it intrudes on B's privacy. The

fact that now A and B take the same view regarding the questionability of A's earlier question

can be further seen in B's agreeing response in line 30 (i.e., *ung* 'yeah') that agrees with A that

his earlier question deals with matters that are too private and thus should not have been asked.

In sum, A's use of a *–ni* rhetorical question at the point where he changes his stance towards his

earlier question in a way that agrees with B clearly demonstrates the use of *–ni* as a convergent

alignment marker.

  Section 3.4.2 has explored the uses of *–nya* and *–ni* rhetorical questions in stance follow

positions and has shown that they tended to occur in different stance contexts, thereby forming a

complimentary distribution. Rhetorical questions formed with *–nya* tended to appear when the

stancetaker expressed a diverging stance from the prior stancetaker's stance towards a shared

stance object, whereas rhetorical questions formed with *–ni* tended to occur when the stancetaker

conveyed a converging stance on the prior stancetaker's stance towards a shared stance object.

Based on these findings, this study has argued that *–nya* functions as a divergent alignment

marker whereas *–ni* functions as a convergent alignment marker. Then what socio-interactional

functions do the diverging alignment marker *–nya* and converging alignment marker *–ni* conduct?

How can these socio-interactional functions of *–nya* and *–ni* explain the prevalent assumption

about –*ni* as an index of softness, gentleness, kindness, and friendliness in comparison to –*nya*? In addition, what does the existence of alignment sentence enders –*nya* and –*ni* tell us about the relationship between grammar and stancetaking? These are the questions that will be dealt with in the section to follow.

3.5. Discussion

By exploring the uses of rhetorical questions formed with –*nya* and –*ni* both in stance lead and stance follow positions, this study has documented that –*nya* and –*ni* perform different kinds of alignment work in stance follow positions. In a stance lead position, both –*nya* and –*ni* tended to occur with rhetorical questions that negatively evaluate a stance object. By contrast, in a stance follow position, –*nya* tended to function as a divergent alignment marker and –*ni* tended to function as a convergent alignment marker. Then, for what socio-interactional purposes did the interlocutors in the data employ these alignment markers? In order to examine this issue, it is necessary to understand the two technical terms "disaffiliative" and "affiliative."

According to Heritage (1984), a speaker's action that is destructive of social solidarity between the speaker and the hearer is "disaffliative," while the speaker's action that is supportive of social solidarity between the speaker and the hearer is "affiliative." In the majority of the cases examined in this study, the speaker' utterances that were divergent from the prior speakers' stances (i.e., the current hearers) worked against supporting social solidarity between the speakers and the hearers, while the speaker's utterances that were convergent on the prior speakers' stances (i.e., the current hearers) worked in a way that promoted social solidarity between them. For instance, in (4) the speaker B takes a divergent stance from the hearer A with the –*nya*-ending rhetorical question *mew-l cenhwahay-se ttapalkeli-nya.* 'literal translation: so

about what would I call mom and rant at her? idiomatic translation: so why would I call and rant at her about it?' By doing so, B displays her disagreement with A's stance that B's current health issue is worth reporting to their mother. This action of B is obviously not supportive of social solidarity between A and herself. By contrast, in (6) the speaker B takes a convergent stance on the hearer B's stance towards A's fellow graduate student by using the –*ni* rhetorical question *salam-i wae kulehkey* <u>*han*</u>*simha-ni:?* 'Why is she so pathetic?' By negatively evaluating A's fellow graduate student as A did, B forms an alliance with A and solidifies their social solidarity as close friends.

For certain special types of social actions, however, (e.g., responding to self-deprecation or to compliments) the speakers' taking a divergent stance with the hearers' stances was affiliative, and the speaker's taking a convergent stance on the hearers' stances was disaffiliative (Pomerantz 1978, 1984). For instance, in (5) the speaker B directly challenges the hearer A's negative evaluation of A's experience (i.e., A's acquaintances came up to her and greeted her) as something that A was embarrassed about with a –*nya*-ending rhetorical question <u>*mwe-ka ccok*</u> *phalli-nya:* 'What is there to be embarrassed about?' By taking the divergent stance, B positively portrays A's experience and thereby implicitly conveys that A is worthy of receiving such friendly reception from her acquaintances and thus contributes to building solidarity between A and B. As alluded to earlier, however, such cross-cutting cases were relatively rare, and in most cases, –*nya* rhetorical questions tended to be used to convey a divergent stance that is disaffiliative with the hearers, whereas –*ni* rhetorical questions tended to be employed to convey a convergent stance that is affiliative with the hearers as summarized in Table 3.2

Table 3.2 Distribution of –*nya* RQs and –*ni* RQs in a stance follow position according to whether they are affiliative or disaffiliative

	Affiliative	Disaffiliative	Total
-nya RQs	21 (19.1%)	89 (80.9%)	110 (100%)
-ni RQs	26 (86.7%)	4 (13.3%)	30 (100%)

The association of the divergent alignment marker *–nya* with a disaffiliative use and the association of the convergent marker *–ni* with an affiliative use seem to explain why language users and scholars alike assume that *–ni,* unlike *–nya,* indicates the speaker's soft, gentle, kind, and friendly attitude. More specifically, the findings of this study show that as a convergent marker, *–ni* tends to occur in an interactional context where the speaker implements a solidarity-supporting action, which can be understood as a gentle, kind, and friendly social action. By contrast, as a divergent marker, *–nya* tends to occur in an interactional context where the speaker conducts a solidarity-threatening action, which can be conceived as impolite and unfriendly.

Attributing the common assumption about the distinction in connotation between *–nya* and *–ni* to the work they do in terms of alignment and solidarity provides a powerful account for why *–ni,* in addition to *–nya,* are also frequently employed in stance lead positions to negatively evaluate a stance object. Consider that *–ni* directly indexes the speaker's convergent and affiliative stance on the hearer's prior stance and, by extension, can indirectly and loosely index the speaker's soft, gentle, kind, and friendly attitude towards the hearer (Ochs,1992). To put it another way, *-ni* comes to loosely index the speaker's positive attitude towards the hearer (or by extension, potentially a stance object other than the hearer) when it is used in a stance follow position as a convergent and affiliative stance marker. Thus, when used in a stance lead position that is not doing alignment work and thereby is not being used to index the speaker's convergent and affiliative stance, *–ni* seems to be freely employed to evaluate a stance object not only positively but also negatively as in *way ni-tul way kule-ku sa-**ni?*** (why you-PL why like that-and

live-NI) 'Why on earth do you guys live like that?' meaning 'Don't live that way, where the stance object (i.e., the hearers *ni-tul* 'you guys') are negatively evaluated by the speaker.

So far we have looked at the relevance of the alignment work done by *–nya* and *–ni* in terms of social solidarity, and how it can explain the generally believed assumptions about different connotative meanings of *–nya* and *–ni*. The next step then would be to discuss what the presence of these two alignment sentence enders tell us about the relationship between grammar and stancetaking, and how the findings of the current study can contribute to a cross-linguistic understanding of stance markers.

The grammaticalization of stance alignment into the sentence enders *–nya* and *–ni* in Korean clearly demonstrates that grammar is not only a resource to indicate syntactic relation among elements of an utterance but also a socio-interactional resource that encodes the alignment of the speaker's stance in relation to that of the prior speaker. The existence of the divergent alignment marker *–nya* and the convergent alignment marker *–ni* in Korean, which is a public resource that makes the process of doing alignment work explicitly visible to the other interlocutors and allows them to easily see the relationship between the current and prior speaker's stances, also reveals the nature of stancetaking as being not the private cognitive property of individuals but a public, socio-interactional practice that can be negotiated between the interlocutors as shown in the analysis of (7) in 3.4.2.2.

Studies on stancetaking in English have shown that alignment markers do exist in English. For instance, Du Bois (2007) introduces the use of 'either' and 'too' as a convergent alignment marker. Furthermore, Kärkkäinen (2003, 2007) demonstrates how 'I guess' and 'I think' that appears to perform responsive actions to some other actions are used to project the

speaker's convergent stance and divergent stance with another speaker's stance, respectively, as

shown (e) and (f).[12]

(e) Convergent use of 'I guess': Prior to the exchange, Kevin was saying that a guy was trying to
sell cologne to Wendy and Kevin.

01   Wendy: No he wasn't trying to sell us cologne.
02 →   Kevin: Well it- No, **I guess** he was trying to lure us to a place
03   where they would sell like, imitation cologne,

(f) Divergent use of 'I think': Miles and Pete are talking about some Indonesian masks displayed
on the wall. Miles, an African American, says that one of the figures in the masks looks like a
certain black person, and Miles disagree with this using 'I think.'

01   Miles: I look at that and think, yeah, that looks like a brother.
02   Pete: That's [interesting,
03   Jamie: [((laughter))
04 →   Pete: cause **I think** Indo- Indonesians,
04   Jamie: Think?
05   Pete: people who've been to Indonesia,
06   think that `those `guys, like the two ˆtop `ones,
07   have `really ˆEuropean `characteristics.

However, what is interesting about Korean is that unlike English alignment markers

shown above that consist of words or formulaic collocations, –*nya* and –*ni* belong to the

syntactic category of verbal sentence enders. In light of the fact that as an agglutinative language,

Korean has a rich morphology, far elaborate and complex than that of English (H.-M. Sohn,

1999; Wang, J.-R. Cho, & Li, 2017), the development of the inflectional interrogative sentence

enders –*nya* and –*ni* into divergent and convergent alignment markers seems to reflect the

characteristics of the Korean language. In addition, unlike the aforementioned English alignment

markers that can be used by any speakers to any hearers, –*nya* and –*ni* have pragmatic

restrictions in terms of who can use which to whom. –*Nya* and –*ni* are often used in informal and

---

[12] Examples (e) and (f) are excerpted from Kärkkäinen (2007, p.201) and Kärkkäinen (2003, p.135),
respectively with some modification on transcription conventions.

colloquial contexts where the speaker and the hearer are in an intimate relationship but cannot be employed in formal contexts where the speaker and the hearer have a greater social distance between them (H.-M. Sohn, 1999; Yeon & Brown, 2011). This seems to suggest that in Korean society, the overt display of one's divergent or convergent alignment with other's stances with explicit linguistic means may be rather restricted to intimate interlocutors in informal interactional contexts with the exception of special formal contexts such as debates.

3.6. Conclusion

The present study has examined stance work accomplished with the two Korean sentence enders –*nya* and –*ni* in order to illuminate the role of grammar as a public resource for stancetaking. To that end, this study has analyzed 149 instances of –*nya* rhetorical questions and 39 instances of –*ni* rhetorical questions from 50 naturally occurring telephone conversations among friends and family members within the theoretical and analytic framework of stance proposed by Du Bois (2007).

The analyses of the data have shown that the speakers tended to far more frequently use –*nya* and –*ni* in a stance follow position than in a stance lead position. Employed in a stance follow position, –*nya* tended to function as a divergent alignment marker, and –*ni* as a convergent alignment marker. Further analyses on the functions of –*nya* and –*ni* as alignment markers revealed that as a divergent alignment marker, –*nya* tended to be used in a way that is hostile to building social solidarity between the interlocutors whereas as a convergent alignment marker, –*ni* tended to be employed to support social solidarity between the interlocutors. To put it another way, –*nya* tended to be used for indexing a disaffiiliative stance whereas –*ni* tended to be employed for indexing an affiliative stance. The frequent use of –*nya* as a divergent, disaffiliative stance marker and –*ni* as a convergent, affiliative stance marker was suggested as a

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possible explanation behind the prevalent assumption regarding the connotative meanings of –*nya* as impolite and unfriendly and –*ni* as soft, gentle, kind, and friendly.

The grammaticalization of alignment into the Korean sentence enders –*nya* and –*ni*, which have traditionally been known as interrogative sentence enders of plain speech, thus clearly demonstrate that grammar is not only a resource to indicate syntactic relations among elements of an utterance but also a socio-interactional resource that encodes the alignment of the speaker's stance in relation to that of the prior speaker. The existence of –*nya* and –*ni* as an overt linguistic resource for alignment work further reveals that stancetaking can be better understood as a public, socio-interactional practice that involves multiple social actors than merely as an individual's cognitive phenomenon. Additionally, the aforementioned findings of this study also contributes to broadening our cross-linguistic understanding of stance markers in that it examines an agglutinative language that has a rich inflectional morphology and thus is typologically very different from English, the main language the majority of previous studies investigating the connection between grammar and stancetaking have focused on.

Despite the important contributions this study makes to the research on grammar and stancetaking as well as Korean sentence enders, it has some limitations with regards to the scope of research. First, it did not delve into the cases where –*nya* was used in a convergent context and –*ni* was employed in a divergent stance context. Second, it did not investigate –*nya* and –*ni* utterances that function as genuine information-seeking questions. Further studies that examine exceptional cases of –*nya* and –*ni* rhetorical questions in greater detail may reveal other insightful findings on alignment work done with –*nya* and –*ni*. Moreover, studies that investigate –*nya* and –*ni* information-seeking questions may reveal other types of distinctions between –*nya* and –*ni* that the present study was not able to capture. Pursing theses agendas in further research

would be a promising endeavor for achieving a more comprehensive picture of the uses of the

sentence enders *–nya* and *–ni* in Korean.

CHAPTER 4

DISCOURSE ORGANIZING FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERROGATIVE

SENTENCE ENDERS –*NYA* AND -*NI*

4.1. Introduction

In Korean, sentence enders convey important grammatical and sociocontextual information (I.-S. Lee, 2005; H.-M. Sohn, 1999;). They indicate the sentence type (i.e., declarative, interrogative, imperative, and propositive), as well as the speech level (i.e., plain, intimate, familiar, blunt, polite, and deferential) of a sentence, which reflects the degree of formality and social solidarity between the speaker and the hearer.

The present study attempts to contribute to the study of Korean sentence enders by investigating the interrogative sentence enders –*nya* and –*ni* and illuminating their distinctions in terms of the discourse-organizing functions they serve.

Traditionally, –*nya* and –*ni* have been understood as the prototypes of interrogative sentence enders. This is because unlike other sentence enders such as –e/–a, which can be used to form a declarative, interrogative, or imperative sentence, –*nya* and –*ni* specifically designate a sentence as an interrogative (e.g., J.-I. Kwon 2002; I.-S. Lee, 2005, H.-M. Sohn, 1999). For instance, I.-S. Lee (2005, pp. 185-186) mentions that –*nya* and –*ni*, which can be considered as the epitome of interrogative sentence enders, indicate the very fundamental meaning of interrogatives and thereby are employed when the speaker asks a question about something. The traditional approach that foregrounds the function of –*nya* and –*ni* in marking a sentence type also highlights their function of marking a particular speech level. As interrogative sentence enders that belong to the plain speech level indexing the lowest deference and formality levels,

they are known to be used by a speaker who is higher in status or age than the hearer or between

intimate adult friends (H.-M. Sohn, 1999; Yeon & Brown, 2011).

The sentence type- and speech level-oriented description of *–nya* and *–ni* is meaningful in

that it explains their syntactic properties as interrogative sentence enders and their reflexivity of

the social relationship between the speaker and the hearer. However, H. S. Lee (1994) presents

an interesting argument that in informal discourse, the primary function of *–nya* and *–ni* is not to

designate a sentence as an interrogative. Instead, H. S. Lee (1994) maintains that as an epistemic

modality marker, the primary function of *–nya* and *–ni* is to index the speaker's dubious or

negative bias about the information conveyed as in (a) and (b) below.

```
(a)
01   K:    pan-paci       cwu-la      pan-paci
           half-trousers give-IMPER half-trousers
           Give me short pants. I mean short pants

02→  H:    pan-paci-ka        mac-nya      ne-hantey
           half-trousers-NOM fit-INTERR   2:SG-DAT
           How on earth would my short pants fit you?

(b)
01   H:    an   maculkel?
           NEG  fit-PRESUM
           I don't think they fit you

02   K:    way?
           why
           Why not?
.
.    ((K realizing that the pants are too small.))
.

03   K:    eyhyu  i-key
           gosh   this-thing
           Oh, dear, this thing.

04→  H:    mac-ni?
           fit-INTERR
           Do they fit?
```

In (a), the speaker H uses *–nya* to form a rhetorical interrogative which functions as a *negative* assertion, i.e., "My short pants would not fit you." In (b), the speaker H uses *–ni* to form a yes/no question whose proposition H thinks is likely to be *negated* by the hearer as evidenced in H's earlier remark in line 1. What these two examples have in common is the speaker H's belief towards the proposition that negates the existence of the state of affairs described in *–nya* and *–ni* interrogatives. In sum, according to H. S. Lee (1994), *–nya* and *–ni* not only indicate that a sentence is an interrogative, but, more importantly, convey the speaker's epistemic attitude towards the truth of the propositional contents of *–nya* and *–ni* interrogatives.

H. S. Lee's study (1994) sets itself apart from other studies that look at *–nya* and *–ni* from the aforementioned traditional perspective (e.g., J.-I. Kwon 2002; I.-S. Lee, 2005, H.-M. Sohn, 1999) in that it is a rare study that analyzes discourse-pragmatic uses of *–nya* and *–ni* based on detailed qualitative analyses of individual instances of *–nya* and *–ni*. Although insightful, H. S. Lee's study (1994) has limitations in that it is based on a very small number of instances of *–nya* and *–ni*. In his data, he only found eight instances of *–nya* and *–ni* altogether, and he further adds that five instances out of eight display the speaker's negative bias but the other three instances do not. The paucity of instances of *–nya* and *–ni* thus raises the need to analyze a larger number of instances of *–nya* and *–ni* to find out whether the findings from H. S. Lee (1994) can be attested by larger data sets and the need to explore whether there are other ways to explain the use of *–nya* and *–ni*. Another consequence of the small number of instances H. S. Lee (1994) uses is that he does not seem to be able to compare instances where *–nya* and *–ni* are used for the same purposes. His examples show *–nya* used in rhetorical questions and *–ni* used in information-seeking yes/no questions as in (a) and (b) above. It would be possible to find differences between *–nya* and *–ni* if *–nya* used in rhetorical questions are compared with *–ni* used in rhetorical

questions or if *–nya* used in information-seeking questions are compared with *–ni* used in information-seeking questions.

Taking H. S. Lee's study (1994) as a point of departure, the present study delves into the discourse-pragmatic functions of *–nya* and *–ni* that are employed to seek information unknown to the speaker from the hearer. This study will show that interrogatives constructed with *–nya* (hereafter, *–nya* interrogatives) and interrogatives formed with *–ni* (hereafter, *–ni* interrogatives) are different in terms of whether they are addressing a new topic or an established topic, which has not been documented in previous research on *–nya* and *–ni*. More specifically, it will show that *–nya* interrogatives tend to be used to request information about a new topic, whereas *–ni* interrogatives tend to be employed to seek information about an established topic. The distinctions between *–nya* interrogatives and *–ni* interrogatives thus show that *–nya* functions as an index of topic discontinuity whereas *–ni* functions as an index of topic continuity. This study will argue that by using the two sentence enders discretely, the speaker conveys to the hearer the relationship of his/her question towards the prior conversation they held and thereby organizes the discourse s/he is engaged in.

The organization of the remainder of this chapter is as follows. Section 4.2 describes the data and methods for this study as well as transcriptions of conversation excerpts. Section 4.3 analyzes the discrete uses of *–nya* and *–ni* interrogatives according to topic (dis)continuity and discusses the findings of the study. Section 4.4 summarizes the findings of this study and concludes with suggestions for future research.

4.2. Data, Methods, and Transcription of Conversation Excerpts

4.2.1. Data and Methods

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the data for this study consists of 50 telephone conversations

obtained from the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) spoken corpus. By using a concordance program called *AntConc*, all instances of *–nya* and *–ni* used as genuine information-seeking questions were drawn from the data. Note that in doing so, the instances where *–nya* and *–ni* were used in negative interrogative forms such as *-ci-anh-nya, -ci-anh-ni, -canh-nya, -canh-ni, -ani-nya, -ani-ni, -an-kule-nya*, and *-an-kule-ni* as shown in (c) below were excluded. Negative interrogatives often encode the speakers' strong commitment to the propositional contents of the interrogatives and thereby function as an assertion rather than a genuine question (Heritage, 2002). In total, 186 instances of *–nya* and 68 instances of *–ni* were found.

```
(c)
01→  A:   e  nemwu olay-toy-n         kes    kath-ci  anh-nya
          Uh too   long time-become-RL thing like-COMM NEG-NYA
          Uh doesn't it seem like it's been a long time
          since we saw
          each other?

02   B:   mac-a.
          correct-DC:INT
          That's right.
```

Every instances of *–nya* and *–ni* interrogatives were analyzed in detail to discover distinctive discourse-pragmatic uses of *–nya* and *–ni* within the Discourse Analysis approach where an utterance or a sentence is studied in its relation to its surrounding discourse in order to explicate its use (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001). Through these careful analyses of individual instances of *–nya* and *–ni* interrogatives, a consistent tendency in the uses of *–nya* and *–ni* interrogatives was found: *–nya* interrogatives tended to be employed to ask a question about a new topic whereas *–ni* interrogatives tended to be utilized to ask a question about an established topic, which will be presented in detail in Section 4.3.

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4.2.2. Transcription of Conversation Excerpts

Conversation excerpts that will be presented in Section 4.3 were transcribed according to the CA transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996; see Appendix A). In indicating speaker information, A refers to a caller, and B refers to the person who received the phone call. The first line of the transcript present Korean utterances that represent the actual sounds of Korean rather than standard orthography and are romanized according to the Yale system. The second line shows a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (see Appendix B) for Korean utterances. The third line provides an idiomatic English translation. Additionally, an arrow next to the line number indicates the line where the target phenomenon is located.

4.3. Discourse Organzing Function of –*Nya* and –*Ni*

The results of data analyses reveal that speakers tend to use –*nya* interrogatives and –*ni* interrogatives discretely according to whether the information they are seeking is about a topic that has not been discussed or an already established topic as summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4-1. Distribution of –*nya* and –*ni* interrogatives according to topic (dis)continuity

	New topic	Established topic	Total
–*nya* interrogatives	125 (67.2%)	61 (32.8%)	186 (100%)
–*ni* interrogatives	23 (33.8%)	45 (66.2%)	68 (100%)

More specifically, out of 186 instances of –*nya* interrogatives, 125 instances (67.2%) were about a new topic. By contrast, only 23 instances (33.8%) out of 68 instances of –*ni* interrogatives were about a new topic. As for already established topics, the opposite trend was found. 61 instances

(32.8%) out of 186 instances of *–nya* interrogatives and 45 instances (66.2%) out of 68 instances

of *–ni* interrogatives were about a previously established topic. In brief, while *–nya*

interrogatives tended to be used to ask questions about a new topic, *–ni* interrogatives tended to

be used to inquire about a previously mentioned topic. The difference found in the uses of *–nya*

interrogatives and *–ni* interrogatives thus show that *–nya* functions an index of topic

discontinuity whereas *–ni* functions as an index of topic continuity. In Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2,

the distinctive uses of *–nya* and *–ni* are illustrated with specific conversation excerpts from the

data.

4.3.1. The Use of *–Nya* as an Index of Topic Discontinuity

Examples (1) through (3) below illustrate the use *–nya* as an index of topic discontinuity. In all

of these examples, the speakers use *–nya* interrogatives in order to seek information about a new

topic that has not been previously mentioned during the present conversation. Let us first

examine (1). In lines 1 through 7, A and B talk about the security issue of their telephone

conversation, i.e., that the conversation they are having now is being recorded and is not safe.

However, in line 9, B initiates a new topic by asking A about whether A has been doing alright

or not. In doing so, note that B designs his yes/no question with the interrogative suffix *–nya*.


```
(1) [Greetings]

01   B:    ike  thongsinsang-uy       poan-i     cenhye  eps-nun
           this Telecommunication-GN  security-NM  at all  not-RL

02         ke-kwuman
           thing-APP
           So this phone call isn't safe at all.

03         (.)

04   A:    cikum ku-leh-ci
```

```
            now    that-like-COMM
            Right now, yeah.

05          i    nayyong-[un ta  nokum-i   toy]-ci
            this content-TC  all record-NM become-DC:COMM
            What we're saying is all being recorded.

06    B:                    [nokumha-nun ke-nikka]
                             record-RL    thing-because
            Because [this conversation] is for recording,

07          ku-leh-ci.
            that-like-DC:COMM
            You're right [that this phone call isn't safe.]

08          (.)

09→   B:    Um:: .h  kutongan mwe   cal  iss-ess-nya?
            Um       meantime what well be-PST-NYA
            Uhm, have you been doing alright?

10          (0.5)

11    A:    e:. (.) na-n cal  cinay-ss-ci:.
            yea      I-TC well spend time-PST-DC:COMM
            Yeah, I've been doing well.

12→   B:    mwe-ha-ko    ne (0.2) sal-ass-e?
            what-do-and you       live-PST-Q:INT
            So what have you been up to?

13          (0.8)

14    B:    kutongan incey:. (0.2)
            meantime now

15          cemcem pheyipe o-ko:    cwungkankosa w-a caciko:,
            more   paper   come-and midterm       come-because
            I had um some papers and midterms and so……
```

B's use of *–nya* in line 9 becomes more interesting when we examine how the same speaker B

designs his follow-up information request question in line 12. In line 12, B asks A about what A

has been up to. This question is about A's recent life, and in that sense, it deals with the already

established topic that B initially launched in line 9. Note that in line 12, B does not use *–nya* to

form the information-seeking question. Instead, he uses other interrogative suffix, i.e., *–e/a*.

The same pattern is also observable in (2). Prior to the exchange shown in (2) B recommended that A should apply for universities in the east coast. Then, in line 1 B mentions Washington DC as a potential place for A to live and study abroad by pointing out that it has a large Korean population. This topic—the Korean population living in Washington DC—continues through line 6. Then, in line 8, A asks B about a new topic, i.e., whether there are many places to visit in Washington. In doing so, A designs her question as a –*nya* interrogative.


```
(2)[Washington]

01   B:   yeki wesingten-ey   sa-nun   hankwuk salam  manh-e:.
          here Washington-at live-RL Korea    people many-DC:INT
          There are many Koreans in Washington.

02   A:   manh-e?
          many-Q:INT
          Many?

03   B:   na nolla-ss-e              cheum-ey
          I  be surprised-PST-DC:INT  first-at
          I was surprised too, in the beginning.

04        (0.2)

05   A:   e (.) keki- (0.4) kulay:?  e:[:::]
          oh    there       really   oh
          Oh, is it like that there? Oh.

06   B:                                 [e: ]
                                         yeah
                                         Uh-huh,

07   A:   e- (.)
          uh
          Uh-

08→       ya   kuntey
          Hey by the way

09→       Whashington-ey mwe  po-lmanhan-tey   iss-nya?
          Whashington-at what see-worth-place be-NYA
          Hey, by the way, is there anything worth seeing in
          Washington?
```

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```
10          (0.6)

11   B:     Whashington-ey?  (.) manh[ci ]      ka-myen h h h
            Whashington-at        many-DC:COMM  go-if   h h h
            In Washington? Of course, there are many places to
            visit, once you go there

12   A:                               [ung]
                                       yeah
                                       Yeah.

13→         kamyen manh-a?
            go-once  many-Q:INT
            There are many places to visit once I go there?

14   B:     u[ng:]
            yeah
            Yeah

15   A:      [um:]
               um
               um

16   B:     wuli cip-un:: wesingten-eyse  kakkaw-a    toykey::.
            my house-TC   Washington-from near-DC:INT very
            Our house is very close to Washington, very.
```

A closer examination of the design features of A's *–nya* interrogative in line 8 and 9 reveals

further evidence that the topic of A's *–nya* interrogative is something new. The beginning of A's

question in line 8 and 9 has two linguistic items which mark a topic shift, i.e., *ya ,* which is the

Korean equivalent of the English word 'hey, ' and *kuntey* 'but, by the way.' According to Sacks

(1968) (as cited in Levinson, 1983), 'hey' "marks the introduction of a new topic touched off by

the prior utterance, which is evoked from memory by some association to the content of prior

turn" (Levinson, 1983, p.314). In light of Sacks' analysis of the English word 'hey,' we can see

that A uses *ya* 'hey' to linguistically mark her introduction of a new topic and to show that her

new topic was triggered by B's prior utterance in line 1. Additionally, the second item *kuntey*

'but, by the way' is an adverbial connective which indicates a change into a topic that is new

although related to the prior topic (The National Institute of Korean Language, 2015).

In contrast with A's question designed with –*nya* in line 8 and 9, the follow-up question in line 13 was designed with the suffix -*e/a*. Note that unlike the –*nya* interrogative in line 8 and 9, which involves a topic change, the topic of the question in line 12 remains the same with the preceding question in line 8 in that it is still about sight-seeing places in Washington.

(3) below involves frequent topic shifts. Consistent with (1) and (2), (3) shows that –*nya* interrogatives appear in a sequential position where a topic shift occurs. The participants A and B are cousins. A studies in the U.S. and B is now visiting his aunt and uncle who lives in the U.S. outside of where A lives. In lines 1 through 10, A and B talk about how long B will stay in the U.S. However, A and B do not steadily hold onto this topic. In this exchange, two topic shifts occur, and each of them involves the use of –*nya* interrogatives.

```
(3) [America]

01   A:    han   myeh     il   iss-key?
           about how many days be-Q
           So about how long will you be there?

02         (0.7)

03   B:    ung: mwe (1.2) molu-kess-e
           um   what       not know-PRS-DC:INT
           Um I'm not sure.

04   A:    molu-kess-e?
           not know-PRS-Q:INT
           You're not sure?

05         (0.4)

06   B:    ung
           yeah
           Yeah.

07         (0.5)

08   A:    chus (0.8) ku-la-y?
           phooey     that-like-Q:INT?
           Is that so?
```

```
09         (0.3)

10   B:    ung
           yeah
           Yeah.

11         (1.2)

12→  A:    mikwuk   coh-nya?
           America like-NYA
           So you like America?

13         (0.8)

14   B:    e::
           um
           um

15         (0.3)

16   B:    coh-a.
           like-DC:INT
           I do.

17         (0.4)

18→  A:    hhh .h hanwuk-pota na-a?
                  Korea-than   better-Q:INT
                  Better than Korea?

19         (1.7)

20   B:    e?
           uh-huh
           Uh-huh?

21         (0.3)

22   B:    ku-len    ke-  salki-ka  coh-un   ke    kath-ay
           that-like thing living-NM good-RL thing seem-DC:INT
           It's like...I think it's a good place to live [in].

23→  A:    salki-ka  coh-a?
           living-NM good-Q:INT
           Is living here good?

24         (0.2)

25   B:    e:
           yeah
           Yeah.
```

```
26          (1.4)

27→  A:    ya  kuntey:.
            Hey, by the way

28   B:    ung
            yeah
            Yeah

29→  A:    sayspyuli-to  o-ass-nya?
            Sayspyul-also come-PST-NYA
            Is Sayspyul there as well?

30          (0.5)

31   B:    e:.  yep-ey  iss-e.
            yeah  next-at be-DC:INT
            Yeah, she's right here

32          (0.3)

33→  A:    ku-la-y?
            that-like-Q:INT
            Really?

34          (0.2)

35   B:    e.
            yeah
            Yeah

36→  A:    mwe-ha-y.
            what-do-Q:INT
            What is she doing?

37          (1.1)

38   B:    cikum (.) wus-ko iss-e.
            now        laugh-being-DC:INT
            She is laughing now.
```

The first topic shift occurs in line 12 where A issues a question to B about whether B likes

America. In doing so, A uses –*nya*. By contrast, note that A uses -*a/e* when he issues follow-up

questions about B's expressed fondness towards America in lines 18 and 23. The second topic

shift occurs in lines 27 and 29. Here, the topic of conversation has changed from whether

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America is a good place to live in in A's view to whether B's sister accompanied A to America. In asking about this new topic, A uses –*nya*. Similar to line 8 of (2), A linguistically marks this topic shift in line 27 with the use of *ya* 'hey' and *kuntey* 'but, by the way.' Then, in line 29 A asks B about whether B's sister came with B or not using –*nya*. In contrast with this –*nya* interrogative about a new topic, the follow-up questions in lines 33 and 36 were designed with –e/-a. Note that unlike the –*nya* interrogative in line 29, which involves a topic change, the topic of the questions in line 33 and 36 remains the same in that they are about B's sister Sayspyul.

4.3.2. The Use of -*Ni* as an Index of Topic Continuity

The analyses of (1) through (3) have shown how –*nya* is used to make an inquiry about a new topic. Examples (4) through (6) illustrate how -*ni* is used to request information about a topic that has already been established. To begin with, in (4), B is telling A that A can call her even during the night time since her husband comes home very late and she is available at night to receive A's call.

```
(4)  [Husband]

01   B:    David-NM   nuckey o-cahn-a::[.]
           David-NM   late    come-you know-DC:INT
           David comes home late.

02   A:                               [u:]:[ng]
                                       oh
                                       I see

03   B:                                  [na]nun potong
                                          I-TC    usually

04         honca iss-ci:.
           alnoe be-DC:COMM
           I'm usually home alone, you know.

05         (.)
```

```
06→  A:    myech si-ey    o-ni      potong?
            what  time-at come-NI   usually
            What time does he get home usually?

07          (0.3)

08    B:    potong:: (.)   mwe  taycwung eps-e=
            usually        well inconsistent-DC:INT
            usually uh it varies.

09          =kuntey yeltwusipan-ey-to o-ko:
             but    12:30am-at-also   come-and
            But he comes home at 12:30am and

10          (0.2)

11    A:    ung::
            oh
            I see

12          (0.4)

13    B:    hansi-ey-to o-ko      kuleh-ci          mwe
            1am-at-also come-and like that-DC:COMM well
            sometimes he comes home at 1:00am and something like
            that

14    A:    ung::
            oh
            I see
```

In line 6, A issues an information request about the time B's husband usually comes home. Note that the topic agenda of A's question is not new. B has already brought up the topic of when her husband gets home in line 1. A's question in line 6 seeks further specification about B's utterance in line 1, i.e., about the specific time B's husband arrives home.

The same pattern is found in (5) below. Prior to the exchange shown in (5), B has just informed A that his summer school ended last week and he is going to go to Canada tomorrow. Upon hearing this news, in line 1 A guesses the reason why B is going to Canada, i.e., to see Niagara Falls, which turns out to be a wrong guess. In line 3 B indirectly tells A that he will go

to Canada to see his grandmother by saying that his grandmother is living in Canada. In line 5, A

displays that he indeed well received this information and thereby now knows that B's

grandmother lives in Canada with *a:: kaynada-ey halmeni kye-si-nunkwuna:.*'Oh your

grandma's living in Canada.' In line 10, A asks B an information-seeking question regarding

where B's grandmother lives in Canada using *–ni.*


```
(5) [Grandmother]

01   A:    e::: (.) mwe (.) naiakalaphol?
           oh      what    Niagara falls
           I see. Niagara Falls?


02         (1.3)

03   B:    ani. (.) halmeni     kye-si-canha.
           no       grandmother be-SH-you know
           No. my grandma's living in Canada you know

04         (0.2)

05   A:    a:: kaynada-ey halmeni     kye-si-nunkwuna:.
           oh  Canada-at  grandmother be-SH-APP
           Oh your grandma's living in Canada

06         (0.2)

07   B:    e.
           yeah
           Yeah.

08         (0.4)

09   A:    e::
           I see
           I see.

10→        .h kaynada eti-ey   kye-si-ni:.
              Canada   where-at be-SH-NI
           Where in Canada is she?

11   B:    Toronto
           Toronto
           Toronto
```

```
12            (.)

13    A:    Toronto:.
              Toronto
              Toronto.
```

Note that the topic agenda of A's question is not new. B has already brought up the topic of

where his grandmother lives in in line 3. A's question in line 10 seeks further specification about

B's utterance in line 3—that is, about the specific place B's grandmother lives in. Thus, A's

information request constructed with the *–ni* interrogative suffix in line 10 is not about a new

topic, but about the same one previously established by B in line 3.

(6) even more clearly demonstrates the use of *–ni* in the context where the speaker seeks

information on an established topic in that the same speaker B use *–nya* and *–ni* differently in the

same exchange. B recently has been out of town to visit his former professor. Prior to the

exchange shown below, A asked B whether he was also able to look around a place they call

"AT & T"


```
(6) [Test]

01    B:    uh::: (.) mwe  kunyang. ka-se. (1.0)
              um        well just     go-and

02            hanpen kwukyeng-ha-yss-ci.
              once   sightseeing-do-PST-DC:COMM
              I went [there] and just had a look around.

03            (1.8)

04    A:    um
              um
              I see.

05            (.)

06→   B:    ne-nun:. (0.4) mwe  sihem:.  pw-ass-nya?
              you-TC         well the test take-PST-NYA
```

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```
           Did you take the test?

07         (0.2)

08    A:   e:.
           yeah
           Yeah.
09         (0.2)

10    B:   e:
           oh
           I see.

11         (.)

12→   B:   cal  pw-ass-ni?
           Well take-PST-NI
           Did you do well [on the test]?

13         (0.6)

14    A:   ung: (.) kulay (.)
           yeah      it is
           Uh huh yea

15         tto   an  pw-ato toy-l   ke    kath-ta.
           again not take-allowed-RL thing seem-DC
           I don't think I'll have to take it again
```

In lines 1 and 2, B tells A that he went there and had a look around. Then, in line 6 B suddenly

brings up a new topic by issuing a question to A about whether A took the test. In doing so, A

uses –*nya*. By contrast, A uses a –*ni* interrogative when his question deals with a previously

established topic (see line 12). B's information-seeking question *cal pw-ass-ni?* 'Did you do

well on the test?' in line 1 is a follow-up question that builds on B's earlier question in line 6. It

seeks to obtain information about whether A did well on the test and thus remains on the same

topic, i.e., on A taking the test. For this information-seeking question that is about a previously

established topic, B uses –*ni,* not –*nya*.

So far Section 4.3 has examined how –*nya* interrogatives and –*ni* interrogatives are used

differently according to topic (dis)continuity. As an index of topic discontinuity, –*nya* tended to

be used to ask a question about a new topic. By contrast, as an index of topic continuity, *–ni* tended to be employed to ask a question about a previously established topic. The findings of this study thus show a very different perspective on the uses of *–nya* and *–ni* from that of H. S. Lee's study (1994). H. S. Lee (1994) sees *–nya* and *–ni* as free variations encoding the same epistemic meaning of the speaker's dubious and negative bias towards the propositional contents of interrogatives. By contrast, the findings of this study reveal that *–nya* and *–ni* are not interchangeable since they have different pragmatic meanings, i.e., *–nya* indexes topic discontinuity whereas *–ni* indexes topic continuity. In addition, the findings of this study foreground the discourse organizing functions in *–nya* and *–ni* interrogatives used as genuine information-seeking questions instead of their functions as an epistemic modality marker. I hope these new insights this study brings into the research on Korean sentence enders will spark further studies that re-examine the role of Korean sentence enders in terms of their discourse-organizing functions.

4.4. Conclusion

The present study on the uses of *–nya* and *–ni* has shown the distinctive discourse organizing functions implemented by *–nya* and **-ni**. The findings have shown that *–nya* and *–ni* are starkly different in terms of their discourse-organizing function. Specifically, *–nya* tended to be used to initiate a new topic, whereas *–ni* tended to continue the already established topic. This in turn revealed that *–nya* functions as an index of topic discontinuity whereas *–ni* functions as an index of topic continuity. The findings of this study is meaningful in that they advance our understanding of the differential usage of *–nya* and *–ni* in naturally-occurring conversations, which previous studies (e.g. H. S. Lee, 1994; I.-S. Lee, 2005, H.-M. Sohn, 1999) on *–nya* and *–ni*

have not fully dealt with. However, this study has limitations in that it did not delve into the cases where *–nya* was used to ask questions about an established topic and *–ni* was employed to inquire about a new topic. Further studies that examine these exceptional cases of *–nya* and *–ni* information-seeking questions in greater detail and explore interactional motivations behind these cross-cutting uses of *–nya* and *–ni* may reveal other insightful findings on discourse organizing functions of *–nya* and *–ni*.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. Summary

This dissertation has focused on examining the discourse-pragmatic uses of the interrogative sentence enders *–na/–(u)nka, –nya,* and *–ni* in everyday informal conversations, which moves beyond the traditional sentence type- and speech level-oriented analyses of these interrogative enders. By doing so, this dissertation empirically demonstrated that interrogative sentence enders are not only a resource to indicate a syntactic property of an utterance/sentence but also a discourse-pragmatic resource that encodes the speaker's epistemic attitude towards the proposition of an utterance/sentence, the speaker's alignment with the prior speaker, and/or the speaker's view of discourse structure.

More specifically, this dissertation has shown that *–na/–(u)nka,* which traditionally has been understood as an interrogative sentence ender of the familiar speech level, is an epistemic modality marker indexing the speaker's uncertainty that can perform various pragmatic functions in different frequencies of occurrence: (a) to ask other-addressed questions (45.7%%), (b) to tentatively assert factual information (24.3%), (c) to allude to disagreements (18.5%), (d) to express thoughts and feelings in the form of rhetorical questions (7.5%), and (e) to ask self-addressed questions (4%). It has also demonstrated that despite this diversity of pragmatic functions, the speakers predominantly choose a high boundary tone (H%), which is known to index the speaker's uncertainty (M. Park, 2003), across all the different pragmatic functions. The findings revealed that in general, when used with *–na/–(u)nka*, the boundary tones function to accentuate its modal meaning, thereby supporting the findings of M. Park's study (2003). The

findings had pedagogical implications that can contribute to discourse-based teaching of the conversational uses and tonal production of the SES *–na/–(u)nka* in Korean language classroom settings.

As for *–nya* and *–ni,* which traditionally have been understood as an interrogative sentence ender of the plain speech level, this dissertation has demonstrated that they are distinctively used for stance work and discourse organization. By examining *–nya* and *–ni* in rhetorical questions, it has shown that *–nya* tends to function as a divergent alignment marker and *–ni* as a convergent alignment marker. Further analyses on the functions of *–nya* and *–ni* as alignment markers revealed that as a divergent alignment marker, *–nya* tends to be used in a way that is hostile to building social solidarity between the interlocutors whereas as a convergent alignment marker, *–ni* tends to be employed to support social solidarity between the interlocutors. To put it another way, *–nya* tends to be used for indexing a disaffiiliative stance whereas *–ni* tends to be employed for indexing an affiliative stance. The analyses of *–nya* and *–ni* in information-seeking questions have shown that *–nya* and *–ni* are starkly different in terms of their discourse-organizing function. *–Nya* tends to be used to initiate a new topic, whereas *–ni* tends to continue the already established topic. This in turn revealed that *–nya* functions as an index of topic discontinuity whereas *–ni* functions as an index of topic continuity.

As one of the rare systematic studies that looks at the actual discourse-pragmatic uses of the interrogative sentence enders *–na/–(u)nka, –nya,* and *–ni* in naturally-occurring informal conversations, this dissertation thus broaden our understanding of grammar as a resource for constructing a particular pragmatic function, taking a stance, and organizing discourse and sheds light on the interplay between grammar and prosody in the construction of a particular pragmatic function of an utterance.

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5.2. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

Despite the important contributions this dissertation study makes to the research on Korean interrogative sentence enders, it has some limitations in achieving a fully comprehensive picture of the discourse-pragmatic uses of Korean interrogative sentence enders. First, this study only focuses on the conversational uses of *–na/–(u)nka*, *–nya*, and *–ni*, which means that we do not know much about the discourse-pragmatic uses of these sentence enders in other discourse genres such as written discourse. It would be interesting to see whether the discourse-pragmatic functions identified in this study is also applicable to other discourse genres or whether there exists genre-specific discourse-pragmatic functions of these interrogative sentence enders.

Second, as for *–nya* and *–ni*, this dissertation did not delve into the cases where *–nya* was used in a convergent context and *–ni* was employed in a divergent stance context. Moreover, it did not examine the cases where *–nya* was used to ask questions about an established topic and *–ni* was employed to inquire about a new topic. Further studies that examine these exceptional cases of *–nya* and *–ni* used in rhetorical or information-seeking questions in greater detail and explore interactional motivations behind these cross-cutting uses of *–nya* and *–ni* will add to our knowledge of the distinctive use of *–nya* and *–ni* as an alignment or discourse-organizing marker.

Third, this dissertation did not focus on comparing and contrasting the discourse-pragmatic uses of *–na/–(u)nka*, *–nya*, and *–ni* with the interrogative sentence ender *–e/-a,* which are known to occur very productively in informal conversational discourse. Comparing and contrasting the discourse-pragmatic uses of *–na/–(u)nka*, *–nya*, and *–ni* with *–e/-a* may further

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highlight the unique discourse-pragmatic features *–na/–(u)nka*, *–nya*, and *–ni* as a epistemic/stance/discourse-organizing marker.

Pursuing these research agendas will be a promising endeavor for achieving a more comprehensive picture of the discourse-pragmatic uses of the interrogative sentence enders *–na/–(u)nka*, *–nya*, and *–ni*.

APPENDIX I: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

(Adapted from Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996:461-65)

[	A point of overlap onset
[	
]	A point at which two overlapping utterances both end
]	
=	contiguous utterance(no discernible pause)
(0.5)	Length of silence, represented in tenths of a second
(.)	Micropause
.	Falling, or final intonation, not necessarily the end of a sentence
?	Rising intonation, not necessarily a question
,	Continuing intonation, not necessarily a clause boundary
¿	A rise stronger than a comma but weaker that a question mark
::	sound stretches
-	A cut-off or self-interruption
<u>wor</u>ds	Underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis
:	Inflected rising intonation contour
↑↓	Sharper rise or falls in pitch than would be indicated by combinations of colons and underlining
hh	Aspiration indicating exhaling or laughing; number of h corresponds to length
.hh	Inhalation
(( ))	Transcribers' descriptions of events
(word)	Uncertainty of the transcriber's part
( )	Something is being said, but no hearing can be achived

APPENDIX II: ABBREVIATION

AC	Accusative particle	NP	Noun Particle
APP	Appercetpive	PL	Plural sufix or marker
COMM	Commital	PLN	Plain speech level or suffix
CONN	Connective	POL	Polite speech level or suffix
DAT	Dative	PR	Propositive suffix
DC	Declarative suffix	PRESUM	Presumptive
ENDER	Sentence/clause ender	PRS	Propositive modal suffix
EX	Exclamatory suffix	PST	Past tense suffix
GN	Genitive particle	Q	Question marker
HEARSAY	Hearsay marker	QT	Quotative particle
IM	Imperative	RL	Relativizer suffix
IMPER	Imperative	RT	Retrospective mood suffix
IN	Indicative	SG	Singular
INT	Intimate sppech level or suffix	SH	Subject honorific suffix
INTERR	Interrogative	SUP	Suppositive mood suffix
NM	Nominative case particle	TC	Topic-contrast particle
NOM	Nominative		

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