

# On determinants of discourse marker functions: Grammaticalization and discourse-analytic perspectives\*

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Rhee, Seongha. 2020. On determinants of discourse marker functions: Grammaticalization and discourse-analytic perspectives. *Linguistic Research* 37(2), 289-325. Recent research on discourse markers (DMs) has been increasingly paying attention to their hypothesized functional asymmetry depending on their position at left- and right-periphery (LP and RP) and the role of prosody, among others. Drawing upon contemporary corpus data in Korean, this paper argues that the LP/RP position does influence the function, yet it is not uniquely correlated with subjectification/ intersubjectification. It further argues that prosodic features indeed play a crucial role in determining DM functions, yet such prosodic features are not unique in DMs only but are in consonance with the patterns in general language use. In addition to these two determinants, there are other factors such as the semantics of source constructions, which serves as the bases of pragmatic inferences in the discursive and interactional contexts. Since pragmatic inferences are largely based on conceptual metonymy, DM functions form a conceptual network by virtue of their relatedness. (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

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## 1. Introduction

Korean has a large inventory of discourse markers (DMs) that carry diverse functions (Koo 2018). Some DM studies have suggested asymmetry of DM functions with respect to Left- and Right-periphery (LP & RP), i.e. the clause-external non-argument positions at the left or right of the clause (see §2.1

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below). Furthermore, recent DM research has shown that functional differences are correlated with the prosodic features of the DM (see §2.2 below). It is indeed true that multiple factors are involved in determining the DM functions, e.g. positions, prosody, source semantics, use contexts, and pragmatic inferencing, among others. This paper comprehensively investigates multi-functional, multi-positional Korean DMs, e.g., *kulay*, *kulssey*, *kuntey*, *kulenikka*, and *kulen*, all derived from *kule* ‘be so’ (< *ku* ‘that’ speaker-distal demonstrative), thus named *kule*DMs. The investigation focuses on the determinants of DM functions that have been proposed in literature.<sup>1</sup>

The objectives of this paper are twofold: (i) to investigate grammaticalization paths and synchronic functions of *kule*DMs, and (ii) to examine correlation of functions and the factors that have been proposed as determinants by DM researchers. The main claim is that among the notable determinants are (i) the semantics of source constructions, (ii) discursive and interactional contexts enabling pragmatic inferences, (iii) prosodic patterns of realization, and (iv) LP vs. RP positionality. It further claims that LP/RP positionality, though an important determinant, is not uniquely correlated with subjective/intersubjective functions contra previous hypothesis (see §2.1 below), and that even though prosody is also an important factor, the prosody-function correlation is not specific to DMs only but is in accordance with characteristic prosodic patterns in general language use (see §4.2).

The data for analysis are largely taken from a 24-million word contemporary Drama and Cinema Corpus, a collection of 7,454 scenarios of dramas and cinemas dating from 1992 through 2015, compiled by Min Li of Seoul National University.<sup>2</sup>

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1 The DM *kulenikka* has phonologically more reduced variants, e.g. *kunikka* and *kunkka*. Functional divergence is notable with *kulenikka* (vs. *kulehanikka*), *kulay* (vs. *kulehay(e)*), *kulssey* (vs. *kule(ha)lsay*), *kuntey* (vs. *kule(ha)ntey*), and *kulen* (vs. *kulen(yen)*), in which the reduced forms function as DMs, whereas the non- or less-reduced counterparts function as connectives.

2 Special thanks go to Min Li and Professor Jin-Ho Park for their generosity of sharing the valuable database for research purposes. For discussion of benefits and trends of corpus-based research, see Park and Nam (2017).

## 2. Outstanding issues

### 2.1 Periphery

A large body of recent DM research hypothesizes that a DM (and supposedly more generally, a linguistic form) acquires subjective meanings as it moves leftward and intersubjective meanings as it moves rightward in VO languages (Adamson 2000; Ghesquière 2010; Onodera 2007; Degand 2014; Traugott 2014a, 2014b; Beeching and Detges 2014a and works therein, among others). The alleged directional correspondence is robust to such an extent that Adamson (2000) and Ghesquière (2010) propose ‘the leftward hypothesis’ for subjectification.<sup>3</sup> According to this hypothesis, LP is associated with subjective, turn- or topic-management functions, whereas RP is associated with intersubjective, turn-management functions.

While a number of studies, e.g. Adamson (2000), Ghesquière (2010), among others, have shown that such directional correlation does exist across languages, counterexamples to subjectivity (at LP) vs. intersubjectivity (at RP) have also been reported. For instance, Degand (2014) on French *donc* and *alors* in spoken French and Traugott (2014a) on English *no doubt* and *surely* show that those DMs do not support the hypothesis that expressions at LP are likely to be subjective whereas those at RP are intersubjective, as suggested by Beeching and Detges (2014a). Rhee (2016) presents a similar argument with the ‘what’-based Korean DMs that the correspondence is not exclusive. The positionality issue still remains unsettled, and previous analyses are usually based on a small data sample, often focusing on a single item. Thus, more in-depth research is called for, and the present research investigates the issue with a larger set of DMs, i.e. five DMs with morphologically shared features.

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3 Adamson (2000: 46) shows with extensive English data that not only DMs or sentence adverbials, but also various forms such as adjectives also undergo the increase of subjectivity (e.g. from descriptive to affective/evaluative meanings) with a leftward movement, e.g. ‘lovely’ in *tall lovely pine-tree* vs. *lovely tall pine-tree*. The proponents of this leftward hypothesis also hypothesize that the directionality is reversed in OV languages.

## 2.2 Prosody

It is also noteworthy that prosody plays a crucial role in encoding discourse functions in linguistic forms as attested in a large body of research (e.g. Hancil 2013; Hancil and Hirst 2013; Sohn 2013; Song 2013, 2014, 2015; Song and Shin 2014; Kim and Sohn 2015; Rhee 2017; Song and Rhee 2017; Rhee and Koo 2019, among others). Prosody involves a number of features such as intonation, duration, pause, loudness, and many others. Since prosody is a powerful indicator of emotions, often overpowering literal messages, its role in discourse markers is supposed to be crucial as well.

## 2.3 Pragmatic inferences

Pragmatic inferences are the single most important factor in semasiological change and grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott 2003[1993]; Rhee 2015; Rhee and Koo 2019; and many others). Since language is constantly subjected to meaning negotiation in discourse, and thus grammaticalization also occurs constantly in discourse, pragmatic inference is a significant determinant of discourse functions.

It is also notable that pragmatic inference is closely related to subjectification (i.e. meanings becoming increasingly subjective) and intersubjectification (i.e. meanings becoming relevant to the face of the addressee), as has been discussed in Bybee et al. (1994), Hopper and Traugott (2003[1993]), Traugott and Dasher (2002), Nicolle (2011), among many others.

## 2.4 Source characteristics of the *kule*-DMs

The *kule*-DMs, as noted above, have shared origins with respect to their lexical sources and grammatical constructions. For instance, they all involve the verb *kuleh-* (or equally possibly *kulih-*), which is a composite form consisting of the speaker-distal demonstrative *ku* 'that', the adverbializer *\*-lefi*, and the light verb *h-* 'do/be/say', as illustrated in (1):<sup>4</sup>

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4 For discussion of semantic versatility and syntactic behavior of *kule(h)-* in Modern Korean, see

- (1) a. *kulay*: *kulehA-* 'do/be so' > *kulehA-* 'do/be so' > *kulehA-* 'do/be so' + *e* END/CONN: *kulehaye* > *kulehay* > *kulay*<sup>5</sup>  
 (lit. '(it) is so'/'as (it) is so' > 'Right!/Yes!/'so; therefore')
- b. *kulssey*: *kulehA* 'be so' + *-l-* 'Prospective adnominal' + *sA* 'time/occasion' + *-Ay* 'at': *kulehalsay* > *kulelsay* > *kulssey*  
 (lit. 'at the time when (it) would be so') > 'when (it) is so' > 'then; therefore; meanwhile' (Rhee 2015; Song and Rhee 2017)<sup>6</sup>
- c. *kuntey*: *kulehA* 'be so' + *-n-* 'Simultaneous adnominal' + *tA* 'place' + *-ey* 'at': *kulehantey* > *kulentey* > *kuntey*  
 (lit. 'at the place where (it) is so' > 'where (it) is so; whereas' > 'then; but')
- d. *kulenikka*: *kulehA* 'be so' + *-ni* 'Causal' + *-ska* 'Emphatic': *kulehani* > *kulehanikka* > *kulenikka* > *ku(le)nikka*  
 (lit. 'while (it) is so' > 'because (it) is so' > 'so/therefore')
- e. *kulem*: *kulehA* 'be so' + *-nyen* 'Conditional': *kulehanyen* > *kulenyen* > *kulem*  
 (lit. 'if (it) is so' > 'then' > 'right')

## 2.5 Discourse markers: Toward a definition

The label 'discourse marker' has been used with different definitions and characterizations by researchers. In her seminal work, Schiffrin (1987: 31) defined DMs as sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk, i.e. non-obligatory utterance-initial items that function in relation to ongoing talk and text. Since the definition does not provide a straightforward means to sharply differentiate DMs and non-DMs, many researchers have tried to provide lists of DM properties, e.g. Brinton's (1996) list for 'parentheticals' and 'pragmatic

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Park (2015). A similar lexeme *kuliko* 'and', studied in Kim (2004) and Kang (2005), seems to lack the DM properties, and thus it is not included here.

5 According to Koo and Rhee (2018) and Rhee and Koo (2019), the final element *-e* is polyfunctional as a general non-polite marker of sentential end and a connective (or converb). The two functions merge in the DM development and are practically indistinguishable.

6 According to Jeong (2003: 61), the Old Korean lexeme *sA* denoted 'the sun', which later extended to 'temporal/spatial expanse/interval'.

markers' in her terminology. Heine (2013: 1209) also lists a number of properties, noting that the definition of DMs with the list of properties is 'prototypical rather than based on necessary and sufficient criteria' (see also Koo 2018 for a comprehensive overview).<sup>7</sup> In a more recent study, Heine et al. (forthcoming) list the properties of a DM by the levels of grammar, i.e. its meaning is not part of the sentential meaning; its function is metatextual; it is not a syntactic constituent; it is likely to be set off prosodically; its semantic-pragmatic scope is beyond the sentence; and it favors LP but also occurs, though less commonly, at RP or medially.

For these reasons of categorial fluidity, it is not always clear whether a particular linguistic form is used as a DM or not. For instance, some of the DM studies indicate that there is a great portion of data which is not clear as to their DM status. For instance Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen (2002) in their analysis of the English DM *though* show that 11% of the occurrences of *though* carry the DM function, 14% carry the purely concessive function, and 63% remain in the grey area. Therefore, ambiguity between the DM and non-DM status is a norm, not an exception, and researchers inevitably need to use their insights in the decision based on the observed properties.

In the present study, a concordance search into the corpus returns 157,932 hits for *kulay*, 83,668 hits for *kulem*, 51,676 hits for *kurtey*, 18,888 hits for *kulenikka*, and 8,778 hits for *kulssey*. A cursory survey of the corpus data through random sampling shows variable proportions of DMs in the recalled data, i.e. 99% of *kulssey*, 83% of *kurtey*, 28% of *kulay*, 28% of *kulem* and 13% of *kulenikka*. These proportions indicate that the DMs are 'specialized' (Hopper 1991) at variable degrees.<sup>8</sup>

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7 Korean linguists have extensively researched Korean DMs, largely based on the European and American research frameworks. Since DM usage is supposedly universal (Fraser 2006), there is a considerable degree of commonalities across languages. One issue that may bear critical difference may be 'positionality' due to differential word orders (§2.1 and §4.1).

8 As an anonymous reviewer suggests, a quantitative research will elucidate the DMs' functional distribution better. Despite the obvious merit, however, the vast number of the DMs attested in the corpus makes it impossible to incorporate a quantitative analysis in this macroscopic research. A more detailed microscopic analysis should await future research.

### 3. Functional classification of *kule*DMs

Now, we turn to the discussion of the functions of the *kule*DMs. As noted in §2.5 above, DM functions are diverse and there are no established criteria for classification. The primary reason for such absence of functional typology is that functional labels are largely dependent on the granularity of the analysis. The more fine-grained the functional differentiation, the more functional overlap is for DMs and the less straightforward the supposed label fits the DM function.

In this research, we suggest that DMs be classified along the four major discourse domains that language users manipulate in a discourse situation, i.e. Interaction Management, Topic Management, Information Management, and Interlocutor Management.<sup>9</sup> It is noteworthy that functions are not mutually exclusive; some overlap and some are indistinguishable. For instance, the Attention Attraction function belongs to the Interaction Management (A) and Interlocutor Management (D) (see Table 1 below), and a marker signaling surprise is functionally indistinguishable between Information Management (Mirativity) of (C) and Interlocutor Management (Feigned Surprise) of (D), in that relatively genuine surprise is encoded in the former, whereas in the latter the surprise is strategically feigned for a dramatic effect (see (28) vs. (31), and (35) vs. (37) below for examples).

To the domain of Interaction Management belong such functions as Discourse Initiation, Attention Attraction, Discourse Closing or Leave-Taking, and Floor-holding or Pause-Filling. These functions are exemplified with the excerpts of drama scenarios in (2) through (5), respectively:<sup>10</sup>

9 This four-domain distinction is similar to Schiffrin's (1987) five planes as devices of coherence, i.e. Exchange Structure, Action Structure, Ideational Structure, Participation Framework, and Information State. The present classification is more focused on the distinct domains that jointly comprise discourse scenes rather than on the coherence relationship.

10 The following abbreviations are used for glossing: ACC: accusative; ADN: adnominal; ATTM: attemptive; BEN: benefactive; COM: comitative; CONN: connective; CR: current-relevance; CSL: causal; DAT: dative; DEC: declarative; DM: discourse marker; END: sentence-ender; EXCL: exclamative; FOC: focus; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; HORT: hortative; HUM: humiliating; INFR: inferential; INTEN: intentional; INTJ: interjection; LOC: locative; NEG: negative; NOMZ: nominalizer; OPT: optative; PDK: present-day Korean; PEJ: pejorative; PL: plural; POL: polite; PRES: present; PROH: prohibitive; PST: past; PURP: purposive; Q: question; REPT: reportative; and TOP: topic

(2) *kulay* Interaction Management; Discourse Initiation

(At a family gathering. A's son and daughter-in-law just returned from a honeymoon trip. The daughter-in-law is physically weak and is pregnant, so A is concerned.)

A: *kulay cal-tul kasstao-n ke-y-a?*  
 DM well-PL go.and.return-ADN NOMZ-be-END  
*mom-un kwaynchanh-kwu?*  
 body-TOP be.alright-CONN

'So, did you have a good trip? Your health is good?'

(2003 Drama *1%-uy Etten Kes* Episode #24)

(3) *kulay* Interaction Management; Attention Attraction (cf. (21) in Appendix)

A: (on the phone) [O, Minjoon! What's up? Yes, I've been well.]

B: [(interrupting) Sir, I'm leaving for home.]

A: (to B) *e' nayil po-a'*  
 yes tomorrow see-END

(into the phone) *kulay kutongan ettekey cinay-ss-e?*  
 DM meantime how get.along-PST-END

'Yes, I'll see you tomorrow. So how have you been doing?'

(2009 Drama *Soyakkwukcip Atutul* Episode #30)

(4) *kulay* Interaction Management; Discourse Closing/Leave-Taking

(on the phone) [Don't worry about me. Secure the doors and go to sleep.]

*kulay kkanh-nun-ta* (then she hangs up)

DM cut-PRES-DEC

'OK, I'm hanging up.' (2008 Drama *Kamwunuy Yengkwang* Episode #19)

(5) *kulssey* Interaction Management; Floor-Holding/Pause-Filling

(B avoids A, who has a crush on her daughter-in-law Junghee. A tries to see if she is in.)

A: [Where is Junghee?]

B: [(in surprise) Yes?]

A: [(sensing her surprise) Junghee is not home?]

B: [No... not home... not home.]

A: [(sensing that she's lying) Where did she go?]

B: *ku.kulssey.. molukeyss-ney... pay..paytal-ul ka-ss-na?*



DM(stammering) not.know-FUT-END de.delivery-ACC go-PST-Q  
 'Well, let's see... I don't know. Did (she) go for delivering something,  
 I wonder?' (2000 Drama *Kkokci* Episode #42)

To the Topic Management domain belong such functions as Topic Presentation, Topic Shift, and Phase Shift. Topic Shift involves departure from and disruption of the previous topic, whereas Phase Shift involves gradual and non-disrupted proceeding, thus the two are qualitatively different from each other. These functions are exemplified in (6) through (8):

(6) *kuntye* Topic Management; Topic Presentation

(Two men are visiting A at her office; after an exchange of brief self-introduction,)

A: (studies two visitors and emits a light sigh)

*kuntye nmwusun il-lo ce-l chac-usi-nun*

DM what.kind matter-with I:HUM-ACC look.for-HON-ADN

*ke-cy-a?*

NOMZ-END-POL

'So, for what business are you here to see me?'

(2003 Drama *1%-uy Etten Kes*, Episode #1)

(7) *kuntye* Topic Management; Topic Shift

(A and B are having lunch on the SAT day after the morning tests. A laments and whines that she performed badly on the morning tests.)

A: [All I could figure out was black parts were printed letters and yellow parts the paper. My tuition has been wasted. Truly wasted.]

B: [Why are you complaining already? The results are not out yet.]

A: [You did well on the test, right? You, betrayer!] (then studies B's face)

*kuntye ne cincca sinpangkwa ka-lkey-a?*

DM you really communication.department go-INTEN-END?

'[DM: By the way], are you really planning to go to a communication studies department?' (2009 Drama *Oyinkwutan* Episode #10)

(8) *kulem* Topic Management; Phase Shift

(At a hotel party room an MC announces a transition to cake-cutting)

*kulen.* *iese* *kheyikhu khething-i* *iss-keyss-supnita*  
DM in.succession cake cutting-NOM exist-FUT-DEC

'Now (ladies and gentlemen), we move on to cake-cutting!'

(2009 Drama *Oyinkwutan* Episode #2)

To the Informational Management domain belong such functions as (Re-)Assertion, Emphasis, Reformulation/Elaboration, Summary/Conclusion, Disregard, Mirativity, Tentative Acceptance, Uncertainty, and Elaboration Request, as exemplified in part in the following:<sup>11</sup>

(9) *kulsey* Information Management; (Re-)Assertion

(A walks into a basketball stadium and the security guard stops her.)

*a kulsey an.toy-n-tanikka.. i akassi-ka!*

INTJ DM cannot-PRES-END this lady-NOM

'O, I'm telling you. You can't (just walk in like that). This little lady, you...!'

(2009 Drama *Oyinkwutan* Episode #2)

(10) *kulay* Information Management; Emphasis (with a Mirative overtone)

(A school Vice-Principal to an auditor, realizing that he was his former student)

[It's you, right? I'm not mistaken, right?]

*ike yeysnal susung-kwa ceysa-ka ilehkey manna-nun-kwun kulay.*

DM old.time teacher-and pupil-NOM like.this see-PRES-EXCL DM

*pankap-ney pankaw-e*

be.glad-EXCL be.glad-END

'Look, the old-time teacher and the pupil meet like this, how surprising!

I'm glad, very glad.'

(1999 Drama *Hakkyo-2* Episode #5)

(11) *kulenikka* Information Management; Reformulation/Elaboration

(A recounts her childhood story)

*acwu ely-ess-ulttay.. kulenikka chotunghakkyo*

11 For the interest of space and flow of exposition, only selected excerpts are presented here, with the rest in Appendix (see Table 1 for matching numbers).

very be.young-PSTwhen DM elementary.school  
*tuleka-ki.cer-i-nkapwa*  
 enter-before-be-INFR-END  
 '(It) was when I was very young.. that is.. it seems that it was before I  
 entered the elementary school.' (2004 Cinema *Hongpangang*)

The last functional domain is Interlocutor Management, to which various member functions belong, such as Attention Attraction, Alignment, Coaxing, Feigned Surprise, Challenge/Protest, Discontent, Reproach, Sarcasm, Reluctance/Hesitance, Upcoming Disalignment, Self-Focusing, and Self-Affirmation. Some of such functions are illustrated in the following (also see Appendix for functions not exemplified):

- (12) *kulay* Interlocutor Management; Alignment (Affirmative Response Token /Empathizing)

(seeing a child bleeding by falling)  
*ece-taka ilehkey tachi-ess-nya kulay?*  
 do.what-while like.this get.hurt-PST-Q DM  
 'How come did you get hurt like this, uh?'  
 (Constructed example from Koo and Rhee 2018)

- (13) *kulay* Interlocutor Management; Coaxing

(A is on a swing with her elderly mother B. A is encouraging B to exert some force so that the swing can go up higher.)

A: [Mom, do like this. You will feel better. Come on! Come on!]

B: (pushing once) [Like this?]

A: (smiling) *kulay kulehkey*  
 DM like.that  
 'Right, like that!'

B: (tries again)

A: *aiko calha-n-ta aiko calha-y kulay kulehkey*  
 INTJ do.well-PRES-DEC INTJ do.well-END DM like.that  
*kyeysokha-y-yo kyeysok(...)*  
 continue-END-POL continue

'Wow, you are doing well! Wow, you are doing well! Right, continue

like that! Continue..' (2009 Drama *Kkochpota Aluntawe* Episode #24)

(14) *kulay* Interlocutor Management; Challenge/Protest

(A is stopped by a police officer B while driving, for speeding and talking on the phone exchanging curse words with another policeman. B approaches A with a speed-gun.)

A: *kyengchal-tul motwu han thongsok-i-kwuman*

police-PL all one kind:PEJ-be-END

*kulay na-l ecce-lke-ntey?*

DM I-ACC do.what-FUT-END

'All cops are the same. So what are you going to do with me?'

B: [You sped and used the phone while driving, Show me your driver's license.] (2007 Cinema *Choykanglmaynsu*)

In the above lengthy exemplification of functions, we have taken a cursory look into how functions are classified into four major domains and what types of discursive functions belong to each domain, with some examples. A more global picture is given in Table 1 in which functional labels are accompanied by the propositions that represent the function (N.B. that the numbers indicated in each cell are the numbers of the examples either in the text or in Appendix).

Table 1. *Kule*-DMs and their functions in the 4 Major Discourse Domains

Domain	Function	<i>kulay</i>	<i>kulssey</i>	<i>kurtey</i>	<i>kulerikka</i>	<i>kulera</i>
A: Interaction Management	<b>Discourse Initiation</b> "I want to talk to you"	√(2)				
	<b>Attention Attraction</b> "I want your attention" (A&D double duty)	√(3)				
	<b>Discourse Closing, Leave-Taking</b> "I'm done"	√(4)				√(47)
	<b>Floor-holding, Pause-Filling</b> "I'm not yet finished"		√(5)		√(41)	
B: Topic Management	<b>Topic Presentation</b> "I want to talk about this"			√(6)		√(48)
	<b>Topic Shift</b> "I want to switch our topic to this"			√(7)		

	<b>Phase Shift</b> "I want to move on to the next stage"					√(8)
<b>C: Information Management</b>	<b>(Re-)Assertion</b> "This is what I mean(t)"		√(9)		√(42)	
	<b>Emphasis</b> "This is noteworthy"	√(10)	√(26)		√(43)	
	<b>Reformulation, Elaboration</b> "In other words"				√(11)	
	<b>Summary, Conclusion</b> "In sum; In conclusion"				√(44)	√(49)
	<b>Disregard</b> "No matter what"		√(27)			
	<b>Mirativity</b> "This is surprising" (C&D often indistinguishable)	√(19)	√(28)	√(35)		
	<b>Tentative Acceptance</b> "That granted,"	√(20)				√(50)
	<b>Uncertainty</b> "This is uncertain"		√(29)			
<b>D: Interlocutor Management</b>	<b>Elaboration Request</b> "Tell me more"			√(36)		
	<b>Attention Attraction</b> "I want your attention" (A&D double duty)	√(21)				
	<b>Alignment (Agreement, Empathy)</b> "You're right"	√(12)	√(30)		√(45)	√(51)
	<b>Coaxing</b> "Be good and do it"	√(13)				
	<b>Feigned Surprise</b> "Aren't you surprised!" (C&D often indistinguishable)		√(31)	√(37)		
	<b>Challenge, Protest</b> "What on earth are you doing?"	√(14)	√(32)	√(38)		
	<b>Discontent</b> "I'm not happy with you"	√(22)	√(33)	√(39)		
	<b>Reproach</b> "You are to blame"				√(46)	
	<b>Sarcasm</b> "You're ridiculous"	√(23)				

	<b>Reluctance, Hesitance</b> "I'm not ready to tell you"		√(34)			
	<b>Upcoming Disalignment</b> "You will not like this"			√(40)		
	<b>Self-Focusing</b> "I need to concentrate"	√(24)				
	<b>Self-Affirmation</b> "I'm doing it right"	√(25)				√(52)

#### 4. Analyses in view of functional determinants

##### 4.1 Positionality

As alluded to in §2.1, positionality has been a topic actively debated in recent research. In the present analysis, the positions of each DM are checked to prove or disprove the hypothesized correlation between the function and positionality. Even though DM positions are variable rather than rigidly fixed, the preferred positions of the DMs are quite apparent, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Preferred Positions of *kule*-DMs by their functions

Domain	Function	<i>kulay</i>	<i>kulssey</i>	<i>kuntsey</i>	<i>kulenikka</i>	<i>kulem</i>
A: Interaction Management	Discourse Initiation	L				
	Attention Attraction	L				
	Discourse Closing, Leave-Taking	L				L/R
	Floor-holding, Pause-Filling		L/(M)		L/M/(R)	
B: Topic Management	Topic Presentation			L		L
	Topic Shift			L		
	Phase Shift					L
C: Information Management	Assertion		L/R		L	
	Emphasis	R	L/R		L/M	
	Reformulation, Elaboration				L/M	
	Summary, Conclusion				L/R	L/R
	Disregard		L/(R)			
	Mirativity	R	M/(R)	M/(R)		
	Tentative Acceptance	L				L
	Uncertainty		L			
Elaboration Request			L			

D: Interlocutor Management	Attention Attraction	L				
	Alignment (Agreement, Empathy)	L	L		L	L/R
	Coaxing	L				
	Feigned Surprise		M/(R)	M/(R)		
	Challenge, Protest	L	R	R		
	Discontent	L	R	R		
	Reproach				L/(R)	
	Sarcasm	L				
	Reluctance, Hesitance		L			
	Upcoming Disalignment			L		
	Self-Focusing	L				
	Self-Affirmation	L				L

It is evident that positions of DMs largely depend on the functions and the speech act types of the host sentence. From the distribution patterns shown in Table 2, it is clear that LP occurrences are more frequent than elsewhere. This is in line with the earlier definitions proposed by Keller (1979: 222) Zwicky (1985), and Schiffrin (1987) that DMs characteristically occur at LP. However, there are instances of DMs preferring RP and Medial positions. Thus DM occurrence at LP is only a tendency, not a defining characteristic.

A noteworthy aspect is that certain DMs may involve spontaneous ellipsis, and thus occur at RP. In other words, all the DMs under the present discussion originated from connective forms thus their natural function is to follow a clause and to lead in another clause (cf. Schiffrin 1987; Fraser 1988, 1990, 1993, 1999). However, when the latter clause is ellipted, the connective (now a DM) is stranded at the end of the first clause, i.e. at the RP position. This type of ellipsis often occurs in an emotional context, in which the speaker is emotionally overwhelmed and becomes unable to complete the sentence (cf. Rhee and Koo 2020 in their discussion of *-tani* miratives). High emotionality is often correlated with interactivity and intersubjectivity (Rhee 2012, 2015).

The functions in the Topic Management and Information Management domains are closely related in general to subjectivity, whereas those in the Interlocutor Management domain are to intersubjectivity. However, as clearly shown in Table 2, subjectivity/intersubjectivity and LP/RP are not uniquely correlated, a point contra the claims made by Beeching and Detges (2014a) and some works therein.

## 4.2 Prosody

As indicated in §2.2 prosody is supposed to be among the most important determinants of DM functions. Prosody is crucial but its analysis is difficult and elusive. Elaborate analyses of prosody have been provided in some of the recent research (e.g. Song 2013, 2014, 2015; Song and Shin 2014; Sohn and Kim 2014; Song and Rhee 2017, among others), which mostly analyzed a single item with spectrogram features of spoken data.

In the present research of a macroscopic nature, however, such an in-depth analysis is beyond the immediate scope of interest due to multiplicity of forms and functions, and thus the prosodic features are impressionistically identified and the feature assignments for each function have been confirmed by native speaker consultants.<sup>12</sup> Thus, a fuller picture should involve integration of pitch, speed, lengthening, pause, intonation contour, etc. for each DM and for each function, which should await future research. A partial list of the prosodic characterization is tabulated in Table 3.

Table 3. Characteristic prosody (partial) of *kule*-DMs by their functions

Domain	Function	<i>kulay</i>	<i>kulssey</i>	<i>kurtey</i>	<i>kulerikka</i>	<i>kulem</i>
A: Interaction Management	Discourse Initiation	Short Level				
	Attention Attraction	Short Level				
	Discourse Closing, Leave-Taking	Long Level				Short Level
	Floor-holding, Pause-Filling		Long Level		Long Level	
B: Topic Management	Topic Presentation			Short Rising		Short Level
	Topic Shift			Short Rising		
	Phase Shift					Short Level
	(Re-)Assertion		Short Rising		Short Rising	

<sup>12</sup> Special thanks go to the consultants who are professionally trained linguists.



C: Information Management	Emphasis	Short Falling	Short Rising		Short Rising	
	Reformulation, Elaboration				Short Level	
	Summary, Conclusion				Short Falling	Short Falling
	Disregard		Short Rising			
	Mirativity	Short Falling	Short Fall-Rising	Short Fall-Rising		
	Tentative Acceptance	Short Falling				Short Level
	Uncertainty		Long Level			
	Elaboration Request			Short Falling		
D: Interlocutor Management	Attention Attraction	Short Level				
	Alignment (Agreement/Empathy)	Short Falling (AG) Long Falling (EM)	Short Falling		Short Falling	Short Fall-Rising
	Coaxing	Short Falling				
	Feigned Surprise		Short Fall-Rising	Short Fall-Rising		
	Challenge, Protest	Short Falling	Short Fall-Rising	Short Fall-Rising		
	Discontent	Short Falling	Short Fall-Rising	Short Fall-Rising		
	Reproach				Long Falling	
	Sarcasm	Long Falling				
	Reluctance, Hesitance		Long Level			
	Upcoming Disalignment			Long Level		
	Self-Focusing	Short Falling				
	Self-Affirmation	Short Falling				Short Falling

A prosodic analysis reveals that some DM functions are signaled by uniform prosody across multiple DMs (e.g. Long and Level for Floor-Holding; Short and Rising for (Re-)Assertion; Short and Falling for Summary/Conclusion and Self-Affirmation; Short and Fall-Rising for Feigned Surprise). Other characteristic prosody patterns observable from the analysis are as follows:

(15) Duration and Speed

- a. Short and Fast: Agreement, Elaboration Request, Disregard for Emphasis, Emphatic Reassertion, Topic Initiation, Topic Shift, Surprise, (Discontent, Protest)
- b. Long and Slow: Uncertainty, Pause-filling, Reluctance/Hesitance, Upcoming Disalignment

The observations listed in (15) show that functions associated with the determinate attitude tend to be short; those with the indeterminate attitude tend to be long. This is a general tendency in language use involving affective attitude, not restricted to DMs. Thus it is clear that the duration and speed patterns of DMs follow the general linguistic pattern, which is modulated by the function of the form involved. Characteristic intonation patterns are as shown in (16):

(16) Intonation

- a. Falling: Agreement, Elaboration Request
- b. Rising: Disregard for Emphasis, Emphatic Reassertion, Topic Initiation, Topic Shift
- c. Falling-Rising: Surprise, Discontent, Protest
- d. Level-Elongated: Uncertainty, Pause-filling, Reluctance/Hesitance, Upcoming Disalignment

As shown in (16), the rising (and falling-rising) intonation is more closely related to the functions that solicit the addressee's attention, which is in consonance with the general tendency in language use, since a rising intonation increases perceptual saliency, as is easily observable from the question intonation. It is also notable that the falling intonation is associated with

compliance/acceptance. This is also a part of the general linguistic tendency, since a falling intonation signals propositional/attitudinal alignment.

The prosody of the Elaboration Request function is peculiar. As the function necessitates the addressee's attention it is expected to occur with a salience-increasing intonation (e.g. rising). However, it occurs with a falling intonation. The reason behind this peculiarity is that this usage resembles co-construction of an utterance, thus the DM is simply inserted on behalf of the current speaker rather than as a full speaker-turn (see (36) in Appendix for an example). Finally, the level intonation is associated with the functions of marking indeterminacy, which is also a general tendency of language use.

The presence or absence of pause also constitutes the prosodic characteristics. The observation with respect to pause is as shown in (17):

(17) Pause

- a. With a preceding/following pause: Uncertainty, Pause-filling, Reluctance/Hesitation, Preface to Dispreferred Info, Topic Initiation, Topic Shift
- b. Without a preceding/following pause: Agreement, Disregard for Emphasis, Emphatic Reassertion, Surprise, Discontent, Protest

Pause characteristics in (17) show that the functions associated with the determinate attitude tend to occur without a pause, whereas those with the indeterminate attitude tend to occur with a pause. The pause characteristics are parallel with the duration patterns. This is also a part of the general tendency in language use involving affective stance, not restricted to DMs. In other words, a linguistic form, be it a DM or otherwise, may be realized without a pause and at a fast speed, if it is uttered with a determinate attitude; whereas a form may be spoken with a pause and at a slow speed, if it is uttered with an indeterminate attitude.

### 4.3 Pragmatic inferences

As indicated in §2.3, pragmatic inference is among the most important

functional determinants of a grammaticalizing form, including DMs, thus constituting the driving force of grammaticalization processes. This observation has been named 'context-induced reinterpretation' (Heine et al. 1991) and 'invited inference' (Traugott and König 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003[1993]; Traugott and Dasher 2002; Rhee 2015, among many others).

The power of pragmatic inference is such that it has been observed that different inferences from an identical form may lead to the emergence of divergent, seemingly contradictory, functions. For instance, in his analysis of polyfunctional DM *kulssey*, Rhee (2015) shows the divergent developmental paths of the form into markers of Hesitance, Agreement, and Disregard for Emphasis, as exemplified in the following (modified from Rhee 2015: 23-24):

## (18) a. Hesitance

A: [Can you lend me some money?]

B: *kulssey* ('Well, I don't know.')

Inferential extension: 'at it being so' > 'while that is the case' > 'while I acknowledge what you say' > 'I'm not sure, while I acknowledge what you say' > 'I need more time to answer.'

## b. Agreement

A: [Mr. Kim is tardy again today.]

B: *kulssey* ('You're right.')

Inferential extension: 'at it being so' > 'because that is so' > 'because he is tardy again today' > 'We are saying this because he is tardy again' >> 'You're right!/You can say that again!'

## c. Disregard for Emphasis

A: [Please let me go out to play.]

B: *kulssey antway* 'Everything notwithstanding, no!'

Inferential extension: 'At it being so, you can't' > 'While that is so, you can't.' > 'While I know what you want, you can't.' > 'Everything notwithstanding, you can't.'

Similarly, the pragmatic inferences from *kulay* (lit. '(as) it is so'), a form fundamentally of Agreement-marking function, may take three divergent paths, i.e. acknowledgement (Figure 1), feigned acknowledgement (Figure 2), and

self-directed affirmation (Figure 3). This type of divergent paths is applicable to other *kule*-DMs as well. For instance, *kulse* also takes three divergent paths, i.e. acknowledgment, concession, and unexpectedness, from which various functions emerge. However, since a detailed elaboration on each of *kule*-DMs would be beyond the scope of this paper, a diagrammatic presentation of the DM *kulay* will suffice to illustrate how pragmatic inferences occur. In this context, an important aspect of the *kule*-DMs is that the meaning of the main lexeme *kule*-‘(be) so’ contains inherent indefiniteness, which is vague enough to be able to be applied to a wide context. This is in line with the previous observations that grammaticalizing forms need to be semantically general rather than specific (cf. Bybee et al. 1994; Hopper and Traugott 2003[1993]), among others).

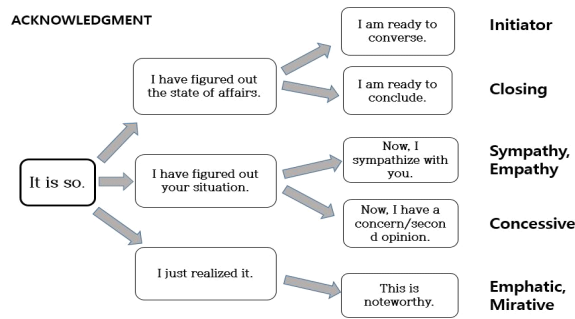


Figure 1. Extension of *kulay* along the Acknowledgment path

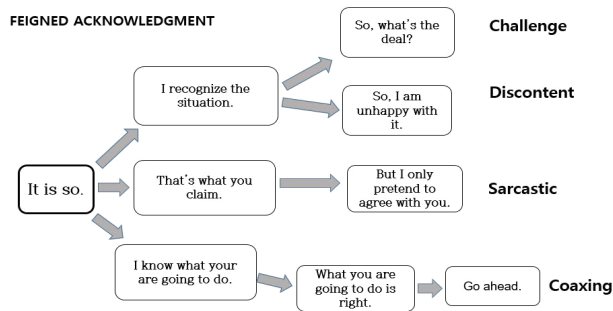


Figure 2. Extension of *kulay* along the Feigned Acknowledgment path

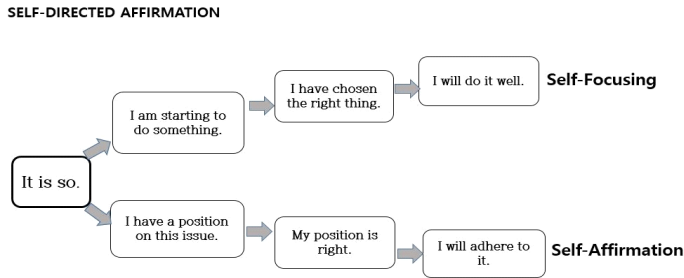


Figure 3. Extension of *kulay* along the Self-Directed Affirmation path

One of the most prominent consequences of pragmatic inference is that the meanings and functions thus formed tend to form conceptual-functional networks. New innovative functions are the results of semantic-pragmatic extension enabled by inferences, which operate largely along the conceptual contiguity, a form of metonymy. The network of the DM *kulay* is as shown in Figure 4 (once again the networks of other *kule*-DMs are omitted for the interest of space).

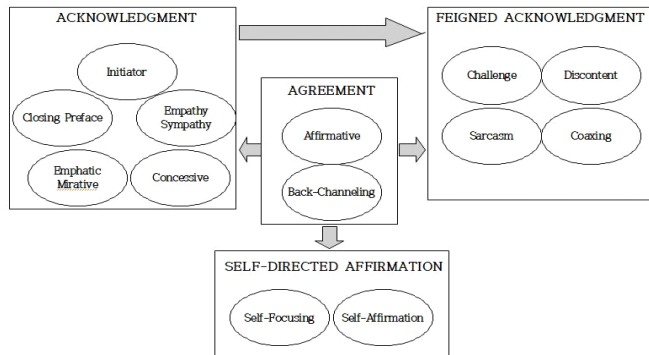


Figure 4. Conceptual-functional network of *kulay*-DM functions

An important point the networks present is that the discursive functions resulting from grammaticalization are not arbitrary but motivated. In other words, the source meaning plays an important role in grammaticalization. The significance of the source meaning has been well captured in the Source Determination Hypothesis (Bybee et al. 1994), which states that the course of

grammaticalization and the resultant grammaticalized function are largely determined by the semantics of the source construction. The importance of the source meaning is also shown by the Persistence Principle (Hopper 1991), which states that source meanings tend to linger even long after the grammaticalization processes have proceeded and to influence the functions of a newly emerged grammatical marker.

The meaning of the source bears significance in this context as it constitutes the starting point of the conceptual network, even though it is subjected to a range of pragmatic inferences. Since pragmatic inferences are chained (thus metonymic) processes, the courses and the results are bound to be fundamentally constrained by the source semantics.

## 5. Summary and conclusion

In this paper we have seen that the diverse functions of DMs are due, in part, to their source meanings, use contexts, and linguistic realization patterns (e.g., semantics, prosody, syntagmatic position, turn position, etc.). We noted that since the meaning of the main lexeme *kule* contains indefiniteness ('so'), it is applicable to a wide context, and, consequently, divergent paths of inferences lead to different functions.

Recent research on discourse markers has been increasingly paying attention to their hypothesized functional asymmetry depending on their position at LP and RP. However, findings with respect to *kule*-DMs do not corroborate the hypothesis. In other words, the LP/RP positionality fails to uniquely characterize the DM functions in a robust way with respect to subjectivity-intersubjectivity distinction (cf. Degand 2014; Traugott 2014a,b; and Onodera 2014, for similar findings as well).

Furthermore, recent contribution to DM research focuses on the role of prosody (notably, Maschler 2009; Song 2013; Rhee 2013; Degand et al. 2014; Sohn 2016), a renewed attention to early observations (Bolinger 1989). Since prosody has been largely neglected thus far (Ajmer 2002), this new research trend is a welcome change. An analysis of the *kule*-DMs shows that prosodic features, e.g., intonation contour, duration, subsequent pause, etc., indeed play an important

role in determining DM functions, but a prominent aspect of DM prosody is that the prosodic features are in consonance with the features of language use in general, with no defining characteristics specific to DMs only.

We have also seen that the emergence of diverse functions is enabled by pragmatic inferences and that consequently the functions form a conceptual network. All these point to the fact that source semantics plays an important role in the development of DM-functions, and more generally, of grammaticalizing forms, which supports the Source Determination Hypothesis as proposed by Bybee et al. (1994). Since the present paper is a macroscopic analysis focusing on the functional determinants from a broad scale, more fine-grained analyses on individual forms and functions, from a quantitative perspective, in the future will help us better understand important aspects of DMs.

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## Appendix

Additional examples sorted by DM and Function (N.B. example numbers correspond to those indicated in Table 1)

(19) *kulay* Information Management; Mirativity

(Mother to her daughter, who left her husband just because he refused to buy her a very expensive handbag)

[What a senseless girl! Do you think your financial situation allows for such a thing? You left home just because of that? Oh, my my. What a disgrace! I'm afraid my neighbors might know. I was stupid to press your husband to tell me what happened.]

*ani nme ilen ke-y nay pajsok-cyse nawa-ss-e kulay?*

DM DM this.kind thing-NOM my tummy-from come.out-PST-END DM

'O, no, what kind of thing is this that came out of my own womb, huh (what a surprise!)?'

(1999 Drama *Nayccay Yewang* Episode #14)

(20) *kulay* Information Management; Tentative Acceptance (Concessive Acceptance)

(A is arguing with her daughter B who is a student in America and is temporarily back home, because A thinks her daughter B is unruly and B thinks her mother is mannerless and unrefined.)

A: [You don't dare to stare at me. I will beat you up to make a good person. The level of education is not all that counts. If you act like that, you will be counted out by everyone in no time. Do you understand how serious that is in Korea?]

B: *ewu!* (then walks into her room mumbling something in English in discontent)

INTJ 'Oh, my...'

A: *æwu ceke-y~ yenge-lo yokha-nta ike-ci~ kulay twu-ko*

INTJ that.thing-NOM English-in curse-DEC this.thing-END DM leave-and

*po-ca*

see-HORT

'Oh, look at that wretched one.. You're cursing in English... OK, just wait and see (what happens)!'

(2007 Drama *Kangnam Emma Italacapki* Episode #17)

(21) *kulay* Interlocutor Management; Attention Attraction (cf. (3) in §3)

A: (on the phone) [O, Minjoon! What's up? Yes, I've been well.]

B: [(to A) Sir, I'm leaving for home.]

A: (to B) *e! nayil po-a! (into the phone) kulay kutongan ettehkey*

yes tomorrow see-END DM meantime how  
*cinay-ss-e?*  
 get.along-PST-END

‘Yes, I’ll see you tomorrow. ... So how have you been doing?’

(2009 Drama *Solyakkwucip Atultul* Episode #30)

(22) *kulay* Interlocutor Management; Discontent

(A happened to overhear her friend, to whom she has amorous feelings, speaking to his friend about her, saying that she is not too bad, just ordinary and conventional. She is infuriated.)

(shivering with anger, speaking to herself) [What? Just not too bad, ordinary, unrefined? Ha!]

*kulay twu-ko po-ca cincca yewu-uy ponsayk-ul poy-awu-ci.*  
 DM leave-and see-HORT true fox-GEN essence-ACC show-BEN-END

‘Alright, just wait and see! I will show you what a fox is really like.’

(2003 Drama *1%-uy Etten Kes* Episode #6)

(23) *kulay* Interlocutor Management; Sarcasm

(A is scolding her friend B for missing his uncle’s birthday party.)

A:[... How can a man miss his uncle’s birthday celebration without telling him a reason? That’s mannerless.]

B:(standing up in anger) [Enough is enough!]

A:[I’m telling you because I’ve seen no successful people who are unkind to their own family.]

B:(hurt) *kulay ne khu-key sengkongha-keyss-ta* (then walks out)

DM you very.greatly succeed-FUT-DEC

‘Sure, you will make a great success!’

(2006 Drama *Pyelnan Yeca Pyelnan Namca* Episode #118)

(24) *kulay* Interlocutor Management; Self-Focusing

(A, a visitor from out of town, approaches an old woman B to ask for a direction to the place he is looking for.)

A:[May I ask you a question? Do you by any chance know where this address is?]

B: *ung kulay eti po-ca... an poy-nu-ntey... an poy...*  
 yes DM where see-HORT not be.seen-CR-END not be.seen..

‘Yes, right, let’s see, it cannot be seen, it cannot be seen (not legible).’

(2009 Drama *Yelhyelcangsakkwun* Episode #2)

(25) *kulay* Interlocutor Management; Self-Affirmation

(A heard from her friend that their mutual friend will be going to Germany for 3

years, leaving her house in Korea unoccupied. A, though unhappy about losing face, is hurrying her way to see her to ask a favor of using her house while she's gone in order to save money. She is talking to herself while walking.)

[Wow, (she said) three years! Just think what kind of big difference it can make! It can change my life.]

***kulay** caconsim-kathun ke samnyen-tongan-man selap-ey chepak-atwu-myen*  
DM self.respect-like thing 3.year-for-only drawer-into put.in-leave-if  
*tway-ø*

be.good-END

'Right, if I ignore things like self respect just for three years, everything will work out alright.'

(2010 Drama *Iwuscip Weymswu* Episode #3)

(26) *kulssey* Information Management; Emphasis (Emphatic Reassertion)

(Upon returning home, A feels with her cold hand the forehead of her daughter Hyerim sleeping in bed and thinks that she has fever.)

A: [Mother, Hyerim is running fever. Feel her. She's running fever.]

B: [(after feeling Hyerim's forehead) No, she doesn't have fever.]

A: [(trying to feel her forehead again) Yes, she does. I mean it.]

B: (snatching A's cold hand away from Hyerim's forehead)

*aikwu any-a **kulssey***

INTJ be.not-END DM

'Come on, she does not, I'm telling you.'

(1999 Drama *Chengchwunuy Tech* Episode #1)

(27) *kulssey* Information Management; Disregard

(A's daughter-in-law has kept a secret bankbook, which now her husband forcibly tries to check the content. The struggle develops into a conflict and she begins to cry. A asks her son what kind of bankbook it is, but he says it's none of her business. Deeply troubled, she is asking about it.)

A: a ***kulssey** totaycheyka kuke-y mwusun thongcang-i-ntey*

INTJ DM why.on.earth that-NOM what.kind bankbook-be-CSL

*eymi-ka cele-nyakwu!*

daughter.in.law-NOM do.that-Q.END

'Ah, whatever! What kind of bankbook is it and why on earth is she acting like that!'

(2002 Drama *Hwangkumma* Episode #36)

(28) *kulssey* Information Management; Mirativity

(A and her daughter B are talking about a woman who runs a small vegetable shop at a market.)

A:[The lady has a calm and amiable personality.]

B: *kunty emma kulssey... sinlang-i cwuk-ess-tay...*  
 DM mom DM husband-NOM die-PST-REPT...

'Then, mom, you know what, her husband died, they say.

(1998 Drama *Kutay Kuliko Na* Episode #38)

(29) *kulssey* Information Management; Uncertainty

(A picking up B, discharged from a penitentiary after serving a term)

A: [You seem to have been expelled from school. A young man shouldn't be jobless.]

B: (with a bitter smile) *kulssey mwe. chacha sayngkaka-ypw-aya-cy-o*  
 DM DM slowly think-ATTM-must-END-POL

'[DM: Well, I'm not sure], that is... (I) need to take time thinking about it.'

(2000 Drama *Kkaki* Episode #16)

(30) *kulssey* Interlocutor Management; Alignment (Agreement)

(Speaking of a woman seducing a married man)

A:[Sh\*\*! That woman! I don't like her.]

B: *kulssey maliya! sakopangsik-i thulli-enwuk-ess-e!*  
 DM DM thought.pattern-NOM be.wrong-PERF:PEJ-PST-END

'Right, that's what I'm saying. Her way of thinking is despicably wrong.'

(1994 Drama *Kimkaika* Episode #21)

(31) *kulssey* Interlocutor Management; Feigned Surprise

(speaking of her childhood memory of her mother seeing a woman who married her ex-husband)

[The story doesn't end there. At that moment the woman caught sight of us.]

*kuleteni wuli emma-ka kulssey kongsonhi... ku pwuin-hanthey*  
 then our mom-NOM DM politely that woman-to

*cengmallwu 90.to cel-ul ha-nun-ke-y-ess-e-yo*

truly 90.degree bow-ACC do-ADN-NOMZ-be-PST-END-POL

'Then, my mom, guess what happened, bowed a deep bow politely to the woman, that's what happened.'

(1998 Drama *Kutay Kuliko Na* Episode #40)

(32) *kulssey* Interlocutor Management; Challenge/Protest

(A is infuriated to see his son badly beaten by someone and grabs a pickaxe saying he would go and retaliate. A's younger son, B, tries to restrain him.)

B: [(taking the pickaxe from him) Where do you mean you are going, Father? Do you mean you want to hurt yourself? You will break your bone. Give it to me.]

A: [Are you thinking that I'm a feeble old man? I'm still strong and powerful. Give it back to me. (tries to take it back)]

B: (struggling not to let it go) *apaci-n kaman kyey-s-ey-yo kulssey.*  
 father-TOP quietly exist-END-POL DM  
*cey-ka ka-yo' cey-ka ka-yo'*  
 I:HUM-NOM go-POL I:HUM-NOM go-POL

'Father, you remain still here. Don't be silly!. I will go. I will go.'

(1997 Drama *Kkokci* Episode #14)

(33) *kulssey* Interlocutor Management; Discontent

(Two aunts, A and B, are visiting C. C just came home after he was badly beaten up by a group of thugs at a beach. A is speaking to B and C.)

A: [Of all days to pick, my good-natured nephew has been beaten up today (when we are visiting). Oh, no! You were scared, weren't you!]

*cyay-ka wenakey mal-twu-eps-i swunha-n ay-ntey*  
 that.child-NOM by.nature word-even-without gentle-ADN child-CONN  
*haphilinyen onul mac-kwu tuleo-ney kulssey!*  
 of.what.necessity today be.beaten-and come.in-EXCL DM

'That child is quiet and gentle by nature but today of all days he came home all beaten up! I cannot understand.' (1997 Drama *Kutay Kuliko Na* Episode #3)

(34) *kulssey* Interlocutor Management; Reluctance/Hesitance

(B wonders why A wanted to see him and A suggests having lunch together)

A: [I just wanted to have lunch together. I know a great place serving mudfish soup. Do you like mudfish soup?]

B: *...kulssey... nwe.. chwuethang-un na-n pyellwu-y-a sasil*  
 DM DM mudfish.soup-TOP I-TOP not.great-be-END fact

'Well, wait a minute... that is... Mudfish soup, I'm not particularly fond of it, to say the truth.'

(1997 Drama *Kutay Kuliko Na* Episode #17)

(35) *kuntey* Information Management; Mirativity

(A was hurt while hurrying home since her neighbor B was sitting her nephew and niece (C and D). B, a pharmacist, is treating A's scraped knee applying antiseptic and ointment, and asks why A was in a hurry. A says B was very angry last time when she was late, and even tried to hit her with a broomstick.)

B: [Me hit you? Nonsense!]

A: [Oh, my! There are witnesses! Hey, kids, did you see that or not?]

C/D: [We didn't see.]

A: *nwe-y-a i nyesek-tul-i kuntey!*  
 what-be-END this guy-PL-NOM DM

'What are these guys (saying)! What a surprise!'



(2009 Drama *Solyakkwukcip Atultul* Episode #18)

(36) *kuntey* Information Management; Elaboration Request

(A's would-be in-laws are not happy with him and are not willing to let their daughter marry A soon. A and his friend B are talking.)

A: [It's driving me crazy.]

B: [Why is that? They still haven't consented to your marriage?]

A: [Yes. As long as consent is concerned, they did consent.]

B: *kuntey*

DM

'Then what?'

A: [The problem is the time. They insist that we marry in the fall next year.]

(2003 Drama *1%-uy Etten Kes* Episode #18)

(37) *kuntey* Interlocutor Management; Feigned Surprise

(A, noticing her husband is already in bed,)

A: *i yangpan-i kuntey onul way ilehkey ilccik ca-o?*

this man-NOM DM today why like.this early sleep-END

'This man, why on earth..., why has he gone to bed so early today?'

(2009 Drama *Solyakkwukcip Atultul* Episode #21)

(38) *kuntey* Interlocutor Management; Challenge/Protest

(A is agonized over the imminent death of his secret love. His brother, B, noticing that he is acting strangely, playfully charges him.)

B: [Big Brother, you look strange these days.]

A: [What do you mean I look strange, you dude?]

B: [Your mind seems to be somewhere else... Hey, Big Brother, isn't it that you have hidden a secretly born baby somewhere.]

A: (raising voice) *nwe-y-a! inna! i casik-i malha-nun ke-y...*

what-be-END this.guy this fella-NOM speak-ADN NOMZ-NOM

*kuntey...*

DM

'What? Look at this guy! The way this wretched one says is... [DM: what are you doing?]...'

(2009 Drama *Solyakkwukcip Atultul* Episode #13)

(39) *kuntey* Interlocutor Management; Discontent

(A, a social studies teacher, is talking with another teacher, B, and a student, C, about the school festival.)

B: [What is this program "School Bags in Good Old Days" all about?]

C: [That's a joint program with the student government and the film club. It is to

exhibit the teachers' photos of their highschool days. As the title of the festival is Dongkwang Festival with Teachers, that should fit quite well.]

A: *haksayng hoy hayngsa-ey way tto yenghwapan nom-tul-i*  
 student.government event-at why again film.club guy-PL-NOM  
*natay-nun-ke-nya kuntey?*  
 act.up-ADN-NOMZ-Q DM

'Why on earth are those film club guys acting up in a student government event, I don't understand?'  
 (1999 Drama *Hakkyo-2*, Episode 21)

(40) *kuntey* Interlocutor Management; Upcoming Disalignment

(A, drinking hot water B offered, notices that B is knitting something; B hides it.)

B: [You shouldn't see this now. You should see it later... I might give it to you as a present when I'm done.]

A: [Is it (going to be) mine?]

B: [(nods)] *kuntey-yo* (A looks at her puzzled) *eccemyen mos tuli-l-ci-to*  
 DM-POL possibly cannot give-FUT-NOMZ-also  
*mol-a-yo*  
 not.know-END-POL

'Well.. but, as it may turn out, I may not be able to give it to you.'

(2008 Drama *Kanwunuy Yengkwang* Episode #24)

(41) *kulenikka* Interaction Management; Floor-Holding/Pause-Filling (Lexical search)

(A student breaks into a high school and picks the lock of a locker to steal money from inside. When he pulls out the money from the pocket, someone grabs his hand. A realizes that it is his own brother, B, who is a teacher there.)

B: [(snatching away the money) What kind of situation is this?]

A: *e. ike-y. kulenikka.. malhacamyen silcenhwunlyen?*  
 INTJ this-NOM DM so.to.speak real.drill

'Ah, this is.. well.. that is to say, a real drill?'

(2009 Cinema *Hongkiltonguy Hwuyey*)

(42) *kulenikka* Information Management; Assertion/Reassertion

(A speaking to her ex-boyfriend)

[Choi Minwoo, don't be sorry for me]... *nay mal-un kulenikka..*  
 my word-TOP DM

*na-nun ne-hanthey silyentangha-n ke-y ani-canh-a*

I-TOP you-from get.dumped-ADN thing-NOM be.not-EMPH-END

'What I mean is.. the truth of the matter is.. I was not dumped by you, right.'

(2002 Drama *Kechimepsnun Salang* Episode #3)

- (43) *kulenikka* Information Management; Emphasis

(A and B, brothers, are discussing their urgent situation that their companies promissory notes are to bounce. The bank loan has become precarious as well.)

A: [Father has gone to see the bank CEO.]

B: a *kulenikka* *halapeci-nun cincak ichenkap hoychang-hako*

INTJ DM grandpa-TOP earlier [name] CEO-with

son-ul cap-usy-cyaha-n-tanikka

hand-ACC hold-HON-must-PRES-END

'Well, what I mean is, Grandpa should have made a partnership with Chairman Lee Chenkap long ago.' (2008 Drama *Kamwunuy Yengkwang* Episode #7)

- (44) *kulenikka* Information Management; Summary/Conclusion

(A is interested in B, who tries to help the freedom-fighters.)

B: [I told them a lie because it was for the good of our fatherland.]

A: [Are you a freedom-fighter yourself?]

B: ...

A: [You are not answering, but it means you accede to it.]

B: [I'm not yet a freedom-fighter. But I want to help.]

A: *hayspyengali toklipthwusa-kwun kulenikka*

fledgling freedom.fighter-EXCL DM

'You're a fledgling freedom-fighter, then.'

(2007 Drama *Kyengsang Sukhayntul* Episode #2)

- (45) *kulenikka* Interlocutor Management; Alignment (Agreement Response Token)

(A and B are discussing their nephew's new girlfriend and asks their son C to find out about her.)

A: [Father must know about her. If she is a worthless woman, how could he be so quiet?]

B: [In that case he should have been mad at him.]

A: *kulenikka-yo*

DM-POL

'Absolutely true!'

C: [All right then. I'll find out about her.]

(2003 Drama *1%-uy Etten Kes* Episode #6)

- (46) *kulenikka* Interlocutor Management; Reproach (Reproach Framing)

(A is a manager of a firm in which he caused a big damage to the firm, of which B is the CEO and C, B's son, is the president. A upon dismissal kneels down and

begs.)

A: [Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, please save me. I have done wrong. Please forgive me.]

C: [Please stand up.]

A: [I've been reckless.]

B: *kulerikka way nwunchikkes mos kwul-e*

DM why wisely cannot behave:PEJ-END

'All your blame is, how come you did not act wisely.'

(2008 Drama *Kannmunuy Yengkwang* Episode #7)

(47) *kullem* Interaction Management; Discourse Closing/Leave-Taking

(A teacher bids a farewell to his colleagues in the office while walking out)

*han hikki swukoha-sy-ess-e-yo ca kullem ce*

one semester do.well-HON-PST-END-POL DM DM I:HUM

*mence tuleka-prita*

first retire-DEC

'You've done a good semester's work. Now, then, I'm leaving first.'

(2003 Drama *1%-uy Etten Kes* Episode #3)

(48) *kullem* Topic Management; Topic Presentation

(Manager A sits in the seat of the Executive B, while the latter is out, and enjoys the executive chair. B walks in and surprised A pretends he was examining the chair)

*kullem ol yelum ipeynthu ken-ul hanpen tul-epo-lkka-yo*

DM this summer event issue-ACC one.time listen-ATTM-Q-POL

'Well, now, then. Shall I listen to (what you have planned about) the special events for the coming summer?'

(2003 Drama *1%-uy Etten Kes* Episode #1)

(49) *kullem* Information Management; Summary/Conclusion

(A manager at a prosecutor's office reports to B the prosecutor that the man they are looking for has been released from the prison.)

A: [They say he came out at the end of the last month.]

B: *pelsse yelhul-ccum tway-ss-ney-yo kullem.*

already 10.days-about become-PST-EXCL DM

'That means already 10 days passed, then.'(2008 Drama *Sinuy Cewul* Episode #13)

(50) *kullem* Information Management; Tentative Acceptance

(Grim Reapers are collecting the ghosts of those on their list. A checks the list and says that the one to die is a 83 year-old woman)

A: [She has lived long enough. She shouldn't be sorry. Go get her.]

B: [(in surprise) Do you mean I go alone?]

A: *kulem* *phalswun.noinney* *cap-ule* *twul-ina* *ka-li?*

DM octogenarian capture-PURP two-as.many.as go-FUT:END

'In that case, do you mean it takes as many as two (Grim Reapers) to capture an octogenarian?' (2008 Drama *Censeuy Kohyang* Episode #7)

(51) *kulem* Interlocutor Management; Alignment

(A assures her mother B that she would take good care of her adoptive daughter.)

A: [I'll do well.]

B: (hugs A and pats her on the back) *kulem* *nwukwu* *ttal-i-ntey.*

DM who daughter-be-CONN/END

'Of course, you will. (lit. 'whose daughter (are you) and (not do well)?')

(2009 Drama *Oyinkwutan* Episode #14)

(52) *kulem* Interlocutor Management; Self-Affirmation

(A learns that his former girlfriend's has swollen indicating pregnancy and becomes restless wondering who the father would be. In fretfulness he counts the days when they last met, and hits the sandbag to cajole his fretfulness.)

A: *kule-llikaeps-e!* *kuler!*

be.so-cannot-END DM

'That can't be (me)! I'm sure! (1998 Drama *Kutay Kuliko Na* Episode #38)

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