

## Periphery and Prosody as Determinants of Discourse Marker Functions: A Case in Korean

### 1. Introduction

- Objectives: (i) to describe the development of the two DMs *kulssey* and *mwe* in Korean;  
 (ii) to analyze their functions with respect to positionality and prosodic features; and  
 (iii) to evaluate the hypotheses with regard to positionality and discourse structures.

Organization:

1. Korean in Brief
2. Preliminaries (Periphery & Discourse markers)
3. Grammaticalization of *kulssey* and *mwe*
4. Periphery, Prosody, and Discourse Structures of DMs
5. Summary and Conclusion

### 1.1 Korean in Brief

- About 80 million speakers (Ethnologue 2015)
- SOV word order; Head-final, Relatively free word order

(1) *John-i Mary-lul salangha-n-ta*  
 John-NOM Mary-ACC love-PRES-DEC  
 'John loves Mary.'

(2) a. *John-i Mary-eykey kkoch-ul cwu-ess-ta*  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT flower-ACC give-PST-DEC  
 'John gave Mary flowers.'

b. *Mary-eykey John-i kkoch-ul cwu-ess-ta*  
 c. *Mary-eykey kkoch-ul John-i cwu-ess-ta*  
 d. *kkoch-ul John-i Mary-eykey cwu-ess-ta*  
 e. *kkoch-ul Mary-eykey John-i cwu-ess-ta*

- Agglutinating morphology (strong preference for suffixation; sometimes extensive fusion)

(3) a. *ku-nun caki kyoswu-nim-tul-hanthey-kkaci-to mwulyeyha-ta*  
 he-TOP self professor-HON-PL-DAT-ALLAT-ADD be.rude-DEC  
 'He is rude even to his professors. (lit. ... rude even as much as to self's honorable professors)'

b. *pelsse kanguy-lul kkuthna-y-e.peli-si-ess-keyss-ta-te-kwun-yo*  
 already lecture-ACC finish-CAUS-PERF-HON-PST-FUT-COMP-RETRO-EVID-POL  
 '(I) recall (they told me) that (the professor) must have finished the lecture (by then).'

(4) *(i)-la-ko-ha-nun-kes-un* > *-(i)lan*  
 (COP)-DEC-CONN-say-ADN-thing-TOP > identificational topic  
 'as for the thing about which people say' 'the so-called x is' (Rhee 2011: 766)

- Genealogical classification debated: Altaic (Ramstedt 1939) vs. Isolate (Song 2005, Sohn 2001)
- Limited language contact, but much Chinese influence in lexicon through socio-political influence, religious literature, etc.
- Korean-Japanese relation? (Aston, Martin) cf. Starostin (1991) 25% potential cognates of 100 Swadesh list

## 2. Preliminaries

### 2.1 Periphery

- One of the most difficult tasks with respect to periphery issues is to define the notion of peripheries. (see Beeching and Detges 2014a, 1-4)

- interactional structure (e.g. turn, utterance),
- syntactic structure (e.g. phrase, clause, sentence, argument),
- prosodic structure (e.g. intonation contour, prosodic boundary), etc.

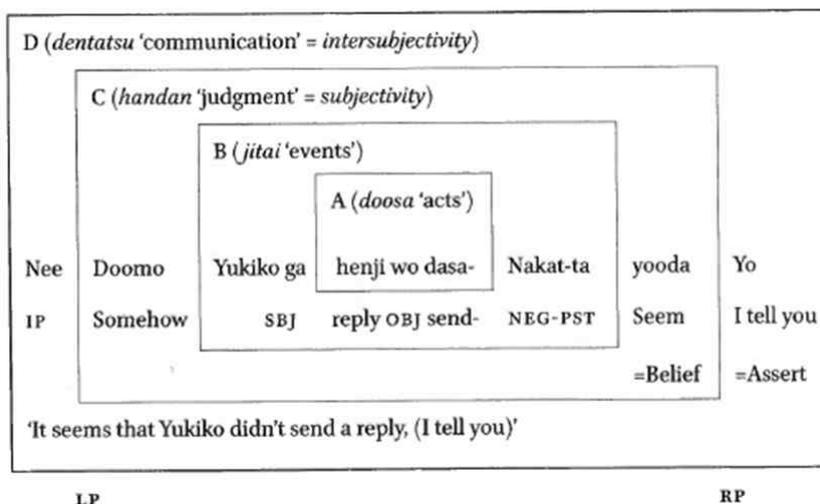
(5) Phrase	Adamson (2000), Narrog (2007, 2010)
Clause	Austin et al. (2004), Degand & Fagard (2011), Suzuki (2007, 2011), Traugott (2014a)
Argument structure	Degand & Traugott (2013), Traugott (2014b)
Sentence	Ernst (2004), Blakemore (2005), Shinzato (2007), Bestgen (2009)
Utterance	Park (1999), Onodera (2007, 2014), Haugh (2008), Onodera & Suzuki (2007), Kim & Jahnke (2010), Haselow (2011, 2012), Beeching (2011), Degand (2014), Higashiizumi & Onodera (2013)
Turn	Sohn & Kim (2014), Haselow (2012)
Prosody	Haselow (2012), Degand et al. (2014), Degand & Simon (2009, 2014)

- Traugott (2014b: 73):

(6) **(X) LP Argument.Structure RP (Y)**

- Onodera (2014)

(7) The layered model (Onodera 2014: 112, adapted from Shinzato 2007)



- A comprehensive model (Degand 2014, 155):

(8)

Turn initial	Utterance initial	Utterance medial			Utterance final	Turn final
		Clause initial	Clause medial	Clause final		

- cf. bi-clausal structures, connectives in verb-final languages like Korean and Japanese, occupy clause-final positions which are sentence-medial.

- >> In these languages connectives (e.g., such as complementizers and subordinators) are among the common sources of DMs (see Sohn & Kim 2014, Park 1999, Onodera 2007, 2014, Haugh 2008, Rhee 2002, 2012).
- >> The source position may be regarded either as a RP (of a clause) or a medial position (of a sentence).

- Traugott (2011) on ambiguity of RP/LP: "In English, expressions at right periphery (RP) (i.e. after the argument

structure) are often disjunct and form a separate intonation unit. Therefore it may not be clear whether the intonation unit is at RP of prior discourse, or at LP (i.e. before the verb and arguments) of upcoming discourse (Lenk 1998)...”

- Despite the absence of consensus as to the definition of peripheries, there are different kinds of benefits depending on these differential standards (Rhee 2016).
  - utterance-based: the uses of DMs in turn management,
  - sentence-based: how a linguistic formant changes its functions by losing the defining characteristics of the category it belongs to and becomes a non-argument element like a DM.

## 2.2 Discourse Markers in Korean

- About 73 DMs in Korean (for global organization, contra local organization) cf. Vincent 2005: connectors and modal elements
- The largest number of DMs comes from the Place Deixis group (33)
- Other source categories: Question constructions (12); Reality/Truth (11); Interjection (8); Time Deixis (5); Yes/No (4); Smallness (3); Word/Saying (2)

(9) Common DMs by function (except for Interjections) and their lexical sources

Mitigation:	<i>com</i> (< a little)
Initiation:	<i>isscanha</i> (< doesn't it exist?); <i>kuntey</i> (< at it being so);
Agreement:	<i>kulay</i> (< that is so); <i>kulssey</i> (at it being so)
Uncertainty:	<i>kulssey</i> (at it being so)
Disagreement:	<i>ani</i> (< no)
Challenge:	<i>mwe</i> (< what?); <i>ani</i> (< no)
Focusing:	<i>incey</i> (< now)
Intensification:	<i>cengmal</i> (< really; the true word); <i>cincca</i> (< a real thing)
Pause-filling:	<i>ce</i> (< that); <i>ku</i> (< that); <i>mwe</i> (< what?); <i>kulssey</i> (at it being so); <i>kunyang</i> (< just that)

## 3. Grammaticalization of the DMs *kulssey* & *mwe*

### 3.1 *Kulssey*

#### 3.1.1 Development in Form

- source construction (modified from Rhee 2015: 18):

(10) The source construction of *kulssey*

<i>kule-ha-l-sA-Ay</i>	>	<i>kuleha-lssay</i>	>	<i>kulelssay</i>	>	<b><i>kulssey</i></b>
so-be-ADN-NOMZ-at		be.so-because		CONN		<b>DM</b>
'at (it) being so'		'because (it) is so'		'meanwhile, therefore'		'Well..., Right!, etc.'

(11) First attestation of the source construction

<i>cungsangmanha-non</i>	<i>cyencha-lo</i>	<i>mAZAM-i</i>	<i>kAli-nAni</i>	<b><i>kulelssAy</i></b>	<i>ce-y</i>	<i>olh-ola</i>
be.vain-ADN	reason-with	heart-NOM	be.covered-CAUS	<b>therefore</b>	self-NOM	be.right-COMP
<i>hA-ko</i>	<i>nAm-Al</i>	<i>oy-ta</i>	<i>hA-ya</i>	<i>cengpep-ul</i>	<i>piwuz-e</i>	<i>ma-Ay</i>
say-and	others-ACC	be.wrong-COMP	say-CONN	right.law-ACC	scorn-CONN	devil-with
<i>hAn</i>	<i>tang-i</i>	<i>tAOy-li-ni</i>				
one	company-NOM	become-FUT-CONN				

'Since (he) is vain his heart is closed, and therefore, (he) says he is right himself and others are wrong, and thus scorns the universal law and becomes a party of the devil, so...' (1447, *Sekposangcel* 9:14a)

- The collocation patterns in *sinsosel* ('new novel' at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.): predominantly stand-alone or with other forms of address at utterance-initial position

(12) Collocation patterns of DM *kulsey* in sinsosel (1890s-1910s)

(i) stand-alone:

<i>kulsey</i>	(DM) (cf. <i>kulseyyo</i> (DM-POL))
<i>kulsey kulehAomanAn</i>	(DM, it is so but)
<i>kulsey kamanhi iskey</i>	(DM, stay put!)
<i>kulsey kuli hal swu paskey epso</i>	(DM, there is no other choice)
<i>kulsey hwangsonghAona</i>	(DM, I'm sorry but)
<i>kulsey amosAyngkak malko</i>	(DM, don't think otherwise and)
<i>kulsey pyelsyu epsye</i>	(DM, that's useless!)

(ii) inflected as a sentence:

<i>kulseyyo</i>	(DM-END)
<i>kulseyolsita</i>	(DM-END)

(iii) before other DM:

<i>kulsey kulemyen kulehchi</i>	(DM, yes, that's right!)
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(iv) before/after a vocative:

<i>kulsey i casika</i>	(DM this bastard!)
<i>yepo kulsey</i>	(look, DM)

(v) with 'word/saying' expressions:

<i>kulsey malilsey</i>	(DM (that's) what I'm saying)
<i>kulsey malici</i>	(DM (that's) what I'm saying)
<i>kulsey malsumio</i>	(DM (that's) what I'm saying)
<i>kulsey malsamiolsita</i>	(DM (that's) what I'm saying)
<i>kusey maliolsita</i>	(DM (that's) what I'm saying)... (cf. Rhee 2015)

- PDK: very common (*kulssey*)

(13) a. *kulssey cengpo-kwu napal-ikwu ta philyoeps-e*

**DM** information-and trumpet-and all be.needless-END

'DM, I don't need information or whatever!' (2007, Drama *Kaywa Nuktayuy Sikan* Episode #16)

b. *cikum-kkaci sengcek-ulo-nun kulssey-yo... [...] kangthasen-ul hwangyeng senswu-ka*  
 now-till score-INST-TOP **DM-POL** stronghold-ACC [name] player-NOM  
*mak-ki-nun swip-cianh-ulke-pnita*  
 defend-NOMZ-TOP be.easy-NEG-FUT-DEC

'Considering his performance up until now... DM... it will not be easy for the player Hwang Young to defend the strong attack.' (2009, Drama *Oyinkwutan* Episode #16)

c. *yeki il-un cey-ka al-ase ha-n-takwu-yo kulssey!*  
 here business-TOP I-NOM know-CONN do-PRES-END-POL **DM**

'I'm telling you that I will competently take care of the business here myself, DM!' (2008, Drama *Kangcektul* Episode #14)

### 3.1.2 Development in Function

- *kulssey* (and its variants) very frequently attested in Sinsosel and other early 20th century data with 3 major functions: 'well' (hesitation or uncertainty), 'I know but' (concession), and 'I'm telling you' (emphatic argument-refresher)

(14) a. *kulssey etAy-lo ka-l-sko*

**DM** where-to go-FUT-Q.END

'DM (Well...) where should I go?'

(1908, *Songloykum* 976; Sinsosel)

b. *kulsey nato kwungkumhA-ye hA-nun mal-i-yo*  
 DM I-ADD wonder-because say-ADN saying-be-POL.END  
 ‘DM (I know what you mean), but I’m asking because I’m dying to know about it.’  
 (1912, *Masanghwu* 473; Sinsosel)

c. *kulsey cyengsin-ul com chAli-si-o*  
 DM consciousness-ACC a.little gain-HON-END  
 ‘DM (I’m telling you). You should wake up to the reality.’  
 (1912, *Masanghwu* 267; Sinsosel)

- Historical corpus data: set phrases: *kulsey malilsey*
- The most common developmental context of the DM *kulssey*

(15) *kulssey* << *kulssey mali-{X}*  
 DM while.it.is.so word-be-END  
 ‘While it is so, (we/I) say this.’

- Availability of dual interpretation

(16) *kulsey malilsey*: ‘I know what you mean.’ (< your word)  
 ‘That’s what I will say, too.’ (< my word)

### [Utterance-initially]

- Diverse functions: **Hesitation, Agreement, Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)**, Reservation/Tentative Acceptance, Preface to Disagreement, Pause-filling, Turn-initiation, Uncertainty, Refocusing/Reformulation/Argument-Refreshing

(17) a. Hesitation  
 A: *ton com iss-e?*  
 money a.little exit-END  
 ‘Do you have some money?’  
 B: *kulssey*.  
 ‘DM (Well... I don’t know.)’

b. Agreement  
 A: *nalssi-ka mwuchek chwup-ney.*  
 weather-NOM very.much be.cold-SFP  
 ‘It’s very cold.’  
 B: *kulssey*.  
 ‘DM (Right!)’

c. Negative Emphasis  
 A: *na ney towum-i philyoha-y.*  
 I your help-NOM need-END  
 ‘I need your help.’  
 B: *kulssey na-n pappu-tanikka.*  
 DM I-TOP be.busy-DEC.SFP  
 ‘DM (Everything notwithstanding), I’m busy.’

- The semantic distance in these three meanings is such that their identical origin may seem doubtful.  
 Emphatic (negative): rebuttal, reprimand, disregard, etc.  
 Hesitation (neutral): hesitation, uncertainty, etc.  
 Agreement (positive): back-channeling, concession, etc.

### [Utterance-medially]

- Functions: **Pause-filling, Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)**

(18) a. Pause-filling  
*pepcek-ulo-nun kulsey... phantan-i talu-l swu-to iss-ci-yo*  
 legal-INST-TOP DM judgment-NOM be.different-ADN way-ADD exist-SFP-POL  
 ‘From the legal point of view DM the judgment can be different.’

b. Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)  
*ku salam-un kulsey an toy-n-ta-nikka*  
 that person-TOP DM NEG become-PRES-DEC-SFP  
 ‘As for him, DM, he cannot be (your husband, etc.). (I’m telling you!)’

### [Utterance-finally]

- Functions: **Challenge**, **Negative Attitude**, Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)

(19) a. Challenge

*kuman com ha-la-nikka kulssey*  
 that.much a.little say-IMP-SFP **DM**  
 ‘Please stop! (Enough is enough!) DM.’

b. Negative Attitude

*kulen wihemha-n tey-lul way ka-nyakwu kulssey*  
 such be.dangerous-ADN place-ACC why go-Q.SFP **DM**  
 ‘Why (on earth) did you go to such a dangerous place? DM.’

- Functional divergence: availability of diverse inference patterns due to neutrality/extendability of the source meaning ‘at it being so’

(20) a. Hesitation

A: [Can you lend me some money?]

B: *Kulssey* ‘at it being so’ >> ‘while it is so’ >> ‘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* ‘at it being so’ >> ‘because of it being 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. Negative Emphasis

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

B: *Kulssey*, *antway*. ‘at it being so, you can’t.’ >> ‘while it is so, you can’t.’ >> ‘While I know what you want, you can’t.’ >> ‘Everything notwithstanding, you can’t!’

- Seemingly contradictory developments have been triggered by pragmatic inferences from the speech situation. This points to the importance of **discourse context** as the locus of grammaticalization.
- The hesitation path: amenable to questions or statements that solicit information or opinion, or to hortative statements requesting a joint action.
- The agreement path: in a situation when the interlocutor uses a declarative sentence saying something obvious, such as the weather, or something that does not require the partner’s active involvement in the discourse such as narrating his or her experience. (Q-A situations not likely)
- The negative emphasis path: less restrictive in terms of sentence types (the situation is replicated, such as repeated questions or requests, to which B has previously expressed his/her stance, and in which A is trying to persuade the interlocutor otherwise)

## 3.2 *Mwe*

### 3.2.1 Development in Form

- *mwe*: an interrogative pronoun ‘what,’ an indefinite pronoun ‘something,’ and a DM of diverse functions
- In contemporary Korean, the ‘standard’ (i.e. conservative) form of the interrogative pronoun *mwe* ‘what’ is *mwues*.
- Historical variants: *musum*, *mwusam*, *musAm*, *mwusuk*, *mwusum*, *musuk*, *mwusAm*, *musam*. etc.
- *mwes* and *mwue* first attested around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.
- *Mwe* only occurs in the 20<sup>th</sup> c. (reductive processes of *musum/mwusum* > *mwues* > *mwes/mwue* > *mwe*)

(21) a. *tye namk-i ep-keni na-y sal-a musum ha-ly-o*

that tree-NOM not.exist-as I-NOM live-NF **what** do-FUT-END

‘As my [cherished] tree disappeared what would I do remaining alive?’ (1447, *Sekposangcel* 6:24)

- b. *kyeycip-i hAnah-AI cosch-a cyongsinhA-l.kes.i-ni*  
 wife-NOM one-ACC follow-NF die-FUT-CONN  
*ani cwuk-ese mwues hA-ly-o*  
 not die-and what do-FUT-Q  
 ‘A wife is supposed to die following one (man) and what would I do remaining not dead.’  
 (1581, *Soksamkanghayngsilto*, *Yel* 28a)
- c. *wustyen-i ani-si-myen wuli-key mwues-i is-sao-lko*  
 queen-NOM not.be-HON-COND we-DAT what-NOM exist-HON-Q  
 ‘Except for the queen, what would we have? (Lit. If it were not for the queen, what would exist for us?)’  
 (16xx, *Kyeychwukilki* I: 11a)
- d. *is-te-n mwupi-to ta epsAy-ko mwes-ul hA-ly-e*  
 exist-RETRO-ADN arms-ADD all destroy-and what-ACC do-FUT-END  
 ‘What is [the government] going to do, after destroying all the weapons?’  
 (1904, *Tayhanmayilsinpo* 17272)
- e. *inmin-un mwue-i-nci nimkwun-un nwukwu-ø-si-nci molo-ketun*  
 people-TOP what-be-COMP king-TOP who-be-HON-COMP not.know-CONN  
 ‘Since (people) are ignorant of what people are and who the king is, ...’ (1903, *Sinhakwelpo* 3:338)
- f. *mwe ha-lyekwu-yo*  
 what do-INTEN-POL  
 ‘What do (you) want to do [by looking at the corpse again]?’ (1994, KORTERM doc. #123)

- The DM *mwe* has positional freedom and thus can occur at initial, medial, or final positions of an utterance.

(22) A: [Why isn’t he coming?]

- B: a. *mwe kitali-myen o-keyss-ci* (initial)  
 DM wait-COND come-FUT-SFP  
 b. *kitali-myen mwe o-keyss-ci* (medial)  
 wait-COND DM come-FUT-SFP  
 c. *kitali-myen o-keyss-ci mwe* (final)  
 wait-COND come-FUT-SFP DM  
 a/b/c: ‘I guess (he) will come if we wait.’

- Syntactically: The interrogative pronoun that used to occupy a verbal argument position became no longer subject to such syntactic restrictions.
- Such autonomy, or detachment from the propositional content, is a typical characteristic of DMs (cf. ‘positional mobility’ Brinton 2008: 8; ‘syntagmatic variability’ Lehmann 2015[1982]: 110; see also Bolinger 1989: 186).

### 3.2.2 Development in Function

- from the fully interrogative function to a more discursive function (argument > non-argument)
- DM: general function of marking the speaker’s uncertainty, etc.
- The detailed functions are many and varied (Koo 2000, Nam & Cha 2010, Kim 2002, Song 2013, Lee 1999, Koo & Rhee 2012).

#### [Utterance-initially]

- Diverse functions: **Challenge/Surprise, Perspective Shift, Resignation/Submission**, Elaboration/Tentative Example, Uncertainty, Discontent, Turn-initiation, Pause-filling/Lexical Search, Hesitation, Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude, etc.

(23) a. Challenge/Surprise (context: the speaker is having a tantrum in a restaurant)

- mwe ile-n tey-ka ta iss-e*  
 DM this.kind-ADN place-NOM all exist-END  
 ‘DM, what kind of place is this?’

(KORTERM doc#120)

b. Perspective Shift (context: with regards to someone suffering from loss of a loved one)

*mwe san salam-iya ettehkeytun salaka-ci.anh-keyss-e-yo*

**DM** living person-FOC whatever.way keep.living-NEG-FUT-END-POL

‘DM!, a living person will keep living somehow, wouldn’t he?’

(KORTERM doc#79)

c. Resignation/Submission (context: the speaker having been humiliated and wronged)

*mwe kulen kes-un amwulayto coh-ta*

**DM** such thing-TOP in.any.way be.good-DEC

‘DM, that kind of a thing doesn’t matter (Well, that’s OK./I don’t care.)’

(KORTERM doc#119)

### [Utterance-medially]

- Functions: **Uncertainty, Pause-filling/Lexical Search, Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude, Non-committal/Apathy/Tepidity, Challenge/Protest, Discontent, Hesitation (Politeness), etc.**
- At Medial, it tends to carry the function of a pause-filler, particularly when the speaker is experiencing difficulty finding an appropriate expression (even though the filler function is largely not position-specific).
- The speaker may feign such difficulty for strategic reasons, in which case the DM takes on a hesitation-marking function, often for the sake of politeness. This function, which is closely related to the pause-filling function, is not position-specific, either.

(24) a. Uncertainty

A: [What does she do these days?]

B: *tasi mwe kongpwuha-n-tay-napw-a*  
again **DM** study-PRES-REPT-EVID-END

‘As I hear she DM went back to school to work on her degree (so it seems).’

(1998 Drama *Pokottopoko* Episode #176)

b. Pause-filling (context: a sergeant making the rounds to inspect a sentinel post only to find inattentive guards)

*ike-n mwe ta theleka-to molu-keyss-kwuman*

this-TOP **DM** all steal-even not.know-FUT-SFP

‘This is like DM no one would know even if (a thief) steals away everything.’ (KORTERM doc#77)

c. Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude

*pilemekul kuke-y mwe elmena taytanha-n il-i-ya*

damn.it it-NOM **DM** how.much be.great-ADN thing-COP-END

‘Damn it! (scornfully) What’s a big deal (that someone died)?’

(KORTERM doc#69)

### [Utterance-finally]

- Diverse functions: Resignation, Non-committal/Tepidity, Mitigation, Turn-yielding, Emphasis, Negative Emphasis, Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude, Common Ground Seeking (Supportive example giving; Vindicating evidence soliciting confirmation; Tentative conclusion soliciting approval; Discontent/Mild protest soliciting empathy), etc.

(25) a. Resignation

A: [What would you do after graduate school?]

B: *ecce-ki-nun... aphnal kkamkkam-i-ci mwe*  
do.how-NOMZ-TOP future darkness-be-SFP **DM**

‘What do you mean do what? The future is dark, DM.’

(1999 Drama *Nwumwuli poilkkapwa* Episode #1-16)

b. Non-committal/Tepidity

A: [What are you going to eat?]

B: *tuleka-ta kimpap-ina han cwul sa-kaciko tuleka-ci mwe*  
return.home-TRANS seaweed.roll-SEL one roll buy-CONN return.home-SFP **DM**

‘(Well..) on the way home, I might get a seaweed roll (and eat at home alone...).’

(2007 Drama *Talcauy pom* Episode #21)

- RP: The function of marking a common-ground is prominent.
- By adding the seemingly vacuous *mwe*, often without phonological prominence, to a sentence that is technically completed, i.e. already marked with a sentence-final particle, the speaker signals his or her intent to seek a common-ground - epistemic, emotional, or otherwise - with the interlocutor.

- (26) a. (in response to the interlocutor's conclusion that A's financial situation is not bad)  
*kulem-yo khunttal-un thayksi-man thakotani-te-ntey-yo mwe*  
of.course-POL big.daughter-TOP taxi-only ride-RETRO-SFP-POL DM  
'Of course. [A's] first daughter rides taxis only (instead of buses, subways, etc.). DM' (KORTERM doc#117)
- b. (in response to the interlocutor's worry about airplanes being grounded)  
*ha-l.swu.eps-ci mwe*  
do-cannot-SFP DM  
'There is nothing we can do (about it). DM' (KORTERM doc#114)
- c. (in response to an offer of a soft-drink for her help, but declining)  
*mokmalu-l.mankhum taytanha-n kes-to ani-nkel-yo mwe*  
be.thirsty-as.much be.big-and thing-ADD be.not-SFP-POL DM  
'(No, thank you.) It was not so difficult a job as to make me thirsty anyway.' (KORTERM doc#116)

- The common-ground seeking function may also signal the speaker's minor discontent or mild protest.

- (27) a. *nay-ka ... pang-ina pillyecwu-nun salam-i-nka mwe*  
I-NOM room-SEL rent.out-ADN person-be-Q.END DM  
'Am I someone who just rents out a room (for prostitution)?' (KORTERM doc#38)
- b. *na-n caconsim-to eps-na mwe*  
I-TOP self.esteem-also not.exist-Q.END DM  
'(Do you think that) I don't have a sense of self-esteem?' (Koo & Rhee 2012: 77)

#### 4. Periphery, Prosody, and Discourse Structures of the DMs

- Hypothesized functional asymmetries at LP and RP (notably Adamson 2000, Onodera 2007, Degand 2014, Traugott 2014a, 2014b, Beeching & Detges 2014a and works therein, among others).
- LP: turn- or topic-management functions, such as turn-taking, self-selection, response-marking, topic shift, topic resumption, anchoring with previous discourse, mental space set-up, discourse-coherence marking, etc.
- RP: intersubjective, turn-management functions (e.g. confirmation request, turn-transition, turn-invitation, etc.)
- Cases that do not exhibit peripheral asymmetries by default, especially with reference to subjectivity (LP) vs. intersubjectivity (RP), have been reported. (e.g., Degand (2014) on *donc* and *alors*; Traugott (2014a) on English *no doubt* and *surely*)
- Prosody plays an important role in DM grammaticalization (Song 2013, Kim & Sohn 2016, Sohn 2016).
- Schiffrin (1987): discourse consisting of five different structures: ideational structure, action structure, exchange structure, participation framework, and information state.

- (28) Exchange/Action structures (Schiffrin 1987)
- exchange structure: involving turn management and interaction, e.g., turn-taking, adjacency pair, alternating sequential roles, preemption, etc.
  - action structure: involving speech acts encompassing a wide variety of actions in discourse, e.g., clarification, question, answer, acknowledgment, request, compliance, challenge, defense, claim, argument, opinion, confirmation, elaboration, evaluation, etc.

- (29) (Inter)subjectivity & (Inter)subjectification (Traugott 2011, Haselow 2012)
- subjectivity: meanings encoding encode the speaker or writer's subjective belief state or attitude toward the propositional content of an utterance
  - intersubjectivity: meanings encoding the speakers' awareness of the 'self' of the interlocutor by means of an externalization of implicatures regarding the social relation, next to their subjective attitudes

## 4.1 *Kulssey*

### [Periphery & Prosody]

- Relevant positional features: Utterance-initial (LP), Utterance-medial (Med), Utterance-final (RP)
- Relevant prosodic features: Intonation Contour, Length (Duration), Subsequent Pause
- Binary distinction (caveat: variability)

(30) Characteristic features of the DM *kulssey*

Position	Function	Intonation Contour	Length	Subsequent Pause
LP	Hesitation	Low	Long	Long
LP	Reservation/Tentative Acceptance	Low	Long	Long
LP	Preface to Disagreement	Low	Long	Long
LP	Pause-filling	Low	Long	Long
LP	Turn-initiation	Low	Long	Long
LP	Uncertainty	Low/Rising	Long	Long
LP	Agreement	Falling	Short	Short
LP	Refocusing/Reformulating/ Argument-refreshing	Rising-Falling-Rising	Long	Short
LP	Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)	Rising	Short	Short
Medial	Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)	Rising	Short	Short
Medial	Pause-filling	Low	Long	Long
RP	Challenge	Falling-Rising	Short	
RP	Negative Attitude	Falling-Rising	Short	
RP	Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)	Falling-Rising	Short	

- The most common prosodic pattern of *kulssey* at LP is Low-Long-Long.
- The Low-Long-Long pattern also occurs at the Medial position, too.
- The Low-Long-Long pattern is typically associated with the functions related to uncertainty or strategic hesitation.
- The X-Short-Short pattern is associated with the functions related to emphasis (positive or negative).
- The prosodic pattern at RP is exclusively Falling-Rising-Short, and is correlated with negative attitude.

### [Periphery, (Inter)subjectivity, and Exchange/Action Structures]

- Relevant semantic features: subjectivity, intersubjectivity
- Relevant discursive features: exchange structure, action structure

(31) Positional, Semantic, and Discursive Characteristics of *kulssey*

Position	Subjectivity	Intersubjectivity	Exchange Structure	Action Structure
<b>LP</b>	•Uncertainty •Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)	•Hesitation •Reservation/Tentative Acceptance •Agreement •Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation) •Refocusing/Reformulating/ Argument-refreshing	•Turn-initiation •Pause-filling	•Tentative Acceptance •Agreement •Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation) •Refocusing/Reformulating/ Argument-refreshing
<b>Medial</b>	•Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)	•Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)	•Pause-filling	•Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)
<b>RP</b>	•Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)	•Challenge •Negative Attitude •Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)		•Challenge •Negative Attitude •Negative Emphasis (Concessivity/Irritation)

- *Kulssey* carries both subjective and intersubjective functions at LP, Medial and RP positions.
- *Kulssey* at RP does not carry any exchange structure functions.
- Otherwise, *kulssey* is multifunctional with respect to exchange and action structures.

## 4.2 *Mwe*

(32) Characteristic features of the DM *mwe*

Position	Function	Intonation Contour	Length	Subsequent Pause
LP	Common Ground Seeking (Elaboration/Tentative Example)	Low	Short	Short
LP	Uncertainty	Low	Short	Short
LP	Discontent	Low	Short	Short
LP	Turn-initiating	Low	Short/Long	Long
LP	Pause-filling/Lexical Search	Low	Long	Long
LP	Hesitation (Politeness)	Low	Long	Long
LP	Challenge/Surprise	Rising	Short	Short
LP	Perspective Shift	Rising	Short	Short
LP	Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude	Rising	Short	Short
LP	Resignation/Submission	Rising	Short	Short
Medial	Uncertainty	Rising	Short	Short
Medial	Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude	Rising	Short	Short
Medial	Non-committal/Apathy/Tepidity	Rising	Short	Short
Medial	Challenge/Protest	Rising	Short	Short
Medial	Discontent	Rising	Short	Short
Medial	Pause-filling/Lexical Search	Low	Long	Long
Medial	Hesitation (Politeness)	Low	Long	Long
RP	Resignation	Low	Long	
RP	Non-committal/Apathy/Tepidity	Low	Short	
RP	Mitigation	Low	Short	
RP	Turn-yielding	Low	Short	
RP	Common Ground Seeking (Supportive Example Giving)	Falling/Low	Short	
RP	Common Ground Seeking (Vindicating Evidence Soliciting Confirmation)	Falling/Low	Short	
RP	Challenge/Protest	Falling/Low	Short	
RP	Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude	Falling/Low	Short	
RP	Common Ground Seeking (Tentative Conclusion Soliciting Approval)	Rising-Falling	Short	
RP	Negative Emphasis	Rising/High	Long	
RP	Common Ground Seeking (Discontent/Mild Protest Soliciting Empathy)	Rising/High	Short	
RP	Emphasis	Rising/High	Short	

- The most common prosodic pattern of *mwe* is Rising-Short-Short.
- This common pattern occurs both at LP and Medial, and is largely correlated with **negativity** (Challenge, Deprecation, Tepidity, etc.) (Discontent marking tends to have different prosody at LP and Medial/RP. cf. Uncertainty and Resignation)
- Prosodic variations per position are observed with Uncertainty, Resignation, Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude, Challenge/Protest.
- Pause-filling and Hesitation are correlated with Low-Long-Long.
- The Low-Short-(Short) pattern occurs both at LP and RP.
- The prosodic features seem to be more diverse and variegated (influence of sentence types?)
- The intonation contour at RP is more variable.

(33) Positional, Semantic, and Discursive Characteristics of *mwe*

Position	Subjectivity	Intersubjectivity	Exchange Structure	Action Structure
LP	• Surprise • Uncertainty • Discontent • Resignation	• Hesitation (Politeness) • Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude • Submission	• Turn-initiating • Pause-filling	• Common Ground Seeking (Elaboration/Tentative Example) • Challenge • Perspective Shift
Medial	• Uncertainty • Non-committal/Apathy/Tepidity • Discontent	• Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude • Challenge/Protest • Hesitation (Politeness)	• Turn-holding • Pause-filling	• Challenge/Protest
RP	• Resignation • Non-committal/Apathy/Tepidity • Negative Emphasis • Emphasis	• Mitigation • Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude • Challenge/Protest • Common Ground Seeking -Supportive Example Giving -Vindicating Evidence Soliciting Confirmation -Tentative Conclusion Soliciting Approval -Discontent/Mild Protest Soliciting Empathy	• Turn-yielding	• Challenge • Common Ground Seeking -Supportive Example Giving -Vindicating Evidence Soliciting Confirmation -Tentative Conclusion Soliciting Approval Soliciting Empathy

- Some functions are attested across positional division (Disparaging/Deprecating Attitude at LP, Medial, and RP; Uncertainty, Discontent, Hesitation, and Pause-filling at LP and Medial; Resignation at LP and RP; Challenge/Protest at Medial and RP)
- The DM *mwe* has both subjective and intersubjective functions at LP, Medial, and RP.
- Some functions that can be attributed to the self-same instance may be either subjective or intersubjective, e.g., Surprise and Challenge/Protest; Resignation and Submission.
- Similarly, pause-filler and hesitation cannot be effectively differentiated on the part of the observer, since the distinction lies in the intention of the speaker.
- RP is markedly more intersubjective, in that the speaker solicits solidarity (common-ground) or exhibits attitudinal stance.

## 5. Summary & Conclusion

- For *kulssey* and *mwe*, LP and RP are not uniquely correlated with subjectivity and intersubjectivity.
- As the interrogative pronoun *mwe* in the argument position loses the argument-marking function and acquires the DM function at LP, it does seem to acquire subjective meanings, but it also acquires intersubjective meanings.
- When the DM moved to the RP position, the acquired meanings are predominantly intersubjective, but increase or decrease of intersubjectivity cannot be determined.
  - >> Therefore, there is no generalizability as to the positional movement to peripheries and (inter)subjectification.
- It is indeed true that in such verb-final languages as Korean and Japanese, subjective and intersubjective elements occur at peripheral positions as is well illustrated by Shinzato's (2007) and Onodera's (2014) 'layered structure model of utterance.'
  - >> However, it is not clear, at least at the current state of understanding, whether there is a robust and unique correlation between LP/RP and (inter)subjectification. It is perhaps likely that, as Traugott (2014b) shows, (inter)subjectivity is related to the original semantics of the forms involved to a greater extent than to LP/RP positions.
- The position of DMs is also among the determinants of functions, esp. with exchange structure, but equally important are their prosodic features, e.g. the intonation contour, length, and subsequent pause.

## Abbreviations:

ACC: accusative; ADD: additive; ADN: adnominal; ALLAT: allative; CAUS: causal; COMP: complementizer; COND: conditional; CONN: connective; COP: copula; DAT: dative; DEC: declarative; DM: discourse marker; END: sentence ender; EVID: evidential; FOC: focus; FUT: future; HON: honorific; INST: instrumental; INTEN: intentional; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PL: plural; POL: polite; PRES: present; PST: past; Q: interrogative; REPT: reportative; RETRO: retrospective; SEL: selective; SFP: sentence-final particle; TOP: topic; TRANS: transferentive

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