



The Korean discourse particle *kulssey* across discrete positions and contexts in talk-in-interaction



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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 18 October 2020

Received in revised form 29 May 2021

Accepted 4 June 2021

Keywords:

Deictic marker

Discourse particle

Grammaticalization

Korean conversation

Prospective indexical

Turn-constructional unit

ABSTRACT

The Korean discourse particle *kulssey* has been examined primarily as a response to a question in turn initial position, indicating the speaker's uncertainty or hesitation (e.g., 'well'). A detailed examination of 183 instances of *kulssey* in ordinary conversation shows that its usage and function are much more complex. *Kulssey* occurs in multiple positions (in the beginning, middle, or final position of a turn-constructional unit) and carries out various functions (indexing a prior turn or proposition, serving as a filler or prospective indexical, or retroactively adding the speaker's stance to a matter just reported) across discrete or sometimes even opposite contexts (i.e., claiming or disclaiming epistemic rights, displaying agreements or disagreements). By examining its interactional usage and developmental path, the study shows how *kulssey*'s origin as a deictic expression (*kuleha-ta* 'to be like that') is linked to its current ability to anaphorically and cataphorically index matters discussed in prior turns or about to be discussed in unfolding turns, and how this indexical function explains its mobility and versatility in talk-in-interaction. The findings are supported by diachronic and synchronic empirical examinations.

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1. Introduction

This paper discusses the use of the Korean discourse particle *kulssey* in multiple turn positions in unfolding talk-in-interaction and explains the process of its development. The prototypical translations of *kulssey* are 'well', 'let me see', or 'uh' (Sohn, 1999). *Kulssey* has been primarily examined in its turn-initial position, typically prefacing a response to an initiating action (Kim, 1995, 2018; Lee, 1994; Lee, 1995; Oh 1995). In this position, the main discourse function of *kulssey* is to express uncertainty or hesitation, whether it occurs standing alone, as in (1), or followed by a reason for not being able to answer as in (2).

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(1) Lee, 1995, p. 179

A: 너 내일 학교에 올 거니?

ne nayil hakkyo-ey o-l ke-ni?

YOU TOMORROW SCHOOL-TO COME-WILL-Q

'Are you going to come to school tomorrow?'

B: 글썄요.

kulssey-yo.

KULSSEY-POL

'KULSSEY.'

(2) Kim, 2018, p. 103

A: 'And the problem at the church is resolved well?'

B: 글썄 어떻게 됐는지 난 잘 모르겠어.

kulssey ettehkey tway-ss-nunci na-n cal molu-keyss-e.

KULSSEY HOW BECOME-PST-WHETHER I-TOP WELL NOT.KNOW-DCT:RE-DC

'KULSSEY how (it)'s been dealt with, I don't know well.'

This use of *kulssey* resembles the use of the English turn-initial particle *well*, which serves to index a departure from expectations established in the previous turn or sequence (Heritage, 2018). Second-position *well*-prefaced turns typically provide non-type-conforming or non-direct responses.

Extending the sense of hesitation, studies have also discussed that *kulssey* can express disagreement, dissatisfaction, or rejection in response to a prior speaker's utterance (Lee, 1994; Lee, 1995; Oh, 1995; Song, 2019). Following a statement that requires agreement, *kulssey* can periphrastically express the speaker's unwillingness to agree (Lee, 1994). However, these studies have also claimed that rather than being purely disaffiliative or disaligning, *kulssey* in turn-initial position can also be used to display agreement (Lee, 1994; Lee, 1995; Oh, 1995; Rhee, 2015). Rhee (2015) showed that the source lexical meaning of *kulssey* is 'at it being so', and explained how it has been grammaticalized into a discourse particle of agreement. As an agreement marker, *kulssey* can be translated as 'You're right!' or 'You can say that again!'.

(3) Rhee, 2015, p. 24

A: 'Mr. Kim is tardy again today.'

B: 글썄.

kulssey.

'at it being so' >> 'because that is so' >> 'because he is tardy again today'

>> 'We are saying this because he is tardy again' >> 'You are right! / You can say that again!'

In this type of *kulssey*-prefaced turn, the speaker shows strong support and affirmation of the thought or opinion expressed by an interlocutor in the preceding talk. In a similar vein, studies have also discussed *kulssey* as an emphatic marker (Lee, 1994; Oh, 1995; Rhee, 2015) highlighting the speaker's attitude toward the proposition in non-initial positions.

Although there have been multiple studies on the discourse functions of *kulssey*, coherent explanations of how each function has developed and when each function is relevant are still lacking. By analyzing naturally occurring instances of *kulssey* from the perspective of conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007) and interactional linguistics (Ochs et al., 1996; Selting and Couper-Kuhlen, 2001; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2018), this paper seeks to provide a clearer picture of when and how *kulssey* is used in interaction and to reconcile the diverging views of its functions.

An examination of naturally occurring interactions shows that while *kulssey* frequently occurs at the start of a turn-constructional unit (TCU), it also occurs in the middle of TCUs and at the end of TCUs. For example, in Excerpt 1, from a telephone call between two friends, *kulssey* appears both TCU-initially (line 6) and TCU-finally (line 5).

Excerpt 1 Career and future [Ko 4012]

1 B: 하여튼 어디 앞날이 얼마나 브릴리언트한지 보자구:
 hayethun eti aphnal-i elmana brilliant ha-nci po-ca-kwu:.
 ANYWAY DM FUTURE-NOM HOW.MUCH BRILLIANT BE-WHETHER SEE-PROP-QT
Anyway, what I say is, I'll be watching to see how brilliant your future is.

2 A: 하하하
 hhh
 hhh

3 B: 그렇게 말 빠직빠직 안 듣고 그러는데,
 kulehkey mal ppicikppicik an tut-ko kule-nuntey:.
 LIKE.THAT WORD AT.ALL NOT LISTEN-AND BE.SO-WHILE

4 앞날이 어떻게 되는지
 aphnal-i ettehkey toy-nunci
 FUTURE-NOM HOW BECOME-WHETHER

5 내 한번 보자구 글썄:.. 아휴
 nay hanpen po-ca-kwu **kulssey:..** ahyu
 I ONCE SEE-PROP-QT KULSSEY GOSH

*Since you don't listen (to others) at all,
 I'll be watching to see how your future turns out **KULSSEY:..** Gosh*

6 A: 글썄: 보라고:
kulssey: po-la-ko:.
 KULSSEY SEE-IMP-QT
KULSSEY: see (for yourself).

These two instances of *kulssey* also differ in terms of their positions in the sequential interaction. In line 5, B's TCU-final *kulssey* is tied to the unfolding turn that it ends. In line 6, A's TCU-initial *kulssey* occurs in second position; that is, in response to the prior turn by B. Notably, neither use displays uncertainty or hesitation. Most of the studies that have contributed to compiling profiles of *kulssey* in its diverse discourse functions have not considered its multiple TCU and sequential positions.

This study aims to provide a comprehensive account of *kulssey* and its diverse uses in different turn and sequential positions across a wide range of conversational contexts, based on micro-analysis of its occurrences in naturally occurring interaction. By looking at turn design and action formation, the study will show how *kulssey*'s functions relate to its turn positions: in TCU-initial position, *kulssey* serves to refer to propositions discussed in a prior turn; in TCU-medial positions, it functions as a filler or prospective indexical; and in TCU-final positions, it serves to retroactively add the speaker's stance to the matter she just reported. This study contributes by explicating how *kulssey*'s functions as a discourse particle are tied to its original function as a deictic marker that emerged from the deictic expression *kuleha-ta* 'to be like that/to be so' (Rhee, 2015). It is that underlying deictic meaning that lets discourse particle *kulssey* serve to anaphorically or cataphorically index matters discussed in prior turns or about to be discussed in unfolding turns. This also allows *kulssey* to occur in a wide range of contexts (i.e., agreements, disagreements, topic shifts, storytelling, and word searches). An examination of the development pathway of *kulssey* from the perspective of grammaticalization will also validate our claim.

Building upon existing studies on discourse particles (Brinton, 1996; Aijmer et al., 2006; Heine, 2013; Beeching, 2016), this study will illustrate the importance of examining naturally occurring instances of discourse particles. Such an examination makes it possible to observe and verify how interlocutors draw upon certain discourse particles for interactional needs emerging in real time as their talk-in-interaction unfolds. This study will also demonstrate the significance of investigating the correlation among form, function, and conversational positions. The identical discourse particle can implement different actions depending on how it is locally deployed in specific turn and sequential positions. The turn and sequential positions illustrate additional layers of interactional functions and usages of discourse particles.

2. Data and methodology

This study is based on an examination of 183 instances of *kulssey* found across 53 different sets of ordinary telephone calls from the Linguistics Data Consortium Korean Telephone Conversations corpus (Han et al., 2003).¹ Each conversation is approximately 20–30 min long, approximately 22 h in total. All conversations were recorded with the consent of the 106 participants. The interactions are among family members, friends, and close acquaintances across different gender and age groups. The data are transcribed following conversation analysis conventions (Jefferson, 1984), and analyzed from the perspective of interactional linguistics, which is concerned with how linguistic structures and uses are formed through interaction (e.g., Ochs et al., 1996; Selting and Couper-Kuhlen, 2001; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2018).

As mentioned, this study analyzes *kulssey*'s functions and uses in relation to its position in turn-constructive units (TCUs), which are the building blocks of turns. A TCU can be a word, a phrase, a clause, or a sentence that grammatically, pragmatically, or intonationally completes a communicative act (Sacks et al., 1974). A turn can consist of a single TCU or multiple TCUs; therefore, not all TCU-initial cases are also turn-initial. Table 1 shows the distribution of the 183 instances of *kulssey* across different TCU positions.

Table 1
The distribution of *kulssey* across different TCU positions.

Position	Number of occurrences
Stand-alone	14
TCU-initial <i>kulssey</i>	134
TCU-medial <i>kulssey</i>	29
TCU-final <i>kulssey</i>	6
	183

The paper examines how speakers deploy *kulssey* in each TCU position for a specific function. All instances of *kulssey* were analyzed, but the representative instances are provided and discussed in the following sections. The focus is on the qualitative analysis of the functions of *kulssey*. Each co-author verified all instances of the discourse particle and their functions so that the analysis is based on the consent of the three authors.

3. *Kulssey* across different TCU and sequential positions

The examination of the 183 instances of *kulssey* in conversation shows that the meaning of *kulssey* has diverged from the meaning of its source construction to include several variants with distinct functions across different TCU and sequential positions. Yet *kulssey*'s diverse functions all retain the anaphoric or cataphoric indexical meaning that reflects the source construction (the deictic expression *kuleha-ta* 'to be like that/to be so'; Rhee, 2015), and enables *kulssey*'s flexible positioning.

3.1. TCU-initial *kulssey*: anaphoric indexical marker

As mentioned, in prior studies the main function of TCU-initial *kulssey* (henceforth, initial *kulssey*) has been described as displaying the speaker's uncertainty or hesitation. In this study's data, however, 92 instances of initial *kulssey* are shown when the speaker is claiming to already know the information another interlocutor has just raised ('I know what you are referring to') while only 39 instances of initial *kulssey* are shown displaying uncertainty or hesitation ('well', 'uh').

Excerpt 2 is an example. The excerpt comes from a conversation between two friends talking about a recent flood that has affected many areas in the United States. Prior to this segment, B told A that areas close to her neighborhood have been warned of possible flooding. As the excerpt opens, A begins to tell B what happened to her own neighborhood in Pennsylvania.

¹ The Korean Telephone Conversations corpus compiled by the Linguistic Data Consortium consists of a total of 100 different sets of ordinary telephone calls between native Korean speakers visiting or living in U.S. and Canada (Han et al., 2003). Out of 100 telephone calls, 219 tokens of *kulssey* are found across 60 different sets of calls. 36 instances of *kulssey* are excluded from our study due to their occurrences in lexical bundles, such as *kulssey mal-i-ta* 'that's what I mean' and its variations, leaving 183 tokens of *kulssey* as the target of analysis. Each excerpt identifies the data set from which it is extracted (e.g., [Ko 4012]).

Excerpt 2 Flood [Ko 6621]

1 A: 이 동네도 저기 해리스버그랑 막 [다리 끊어지고]=
 i tongney-to ceki Harrisburg-lang mak[tali kkunheci-ko]=
 THIS NEIGHBOR-ALSO DM NAME-AND DM BRIDGE COLLAPSE-AND
This neighborhood and Harrisburg were also (affected), the bridges collapsed and,

2 B: [글쎄 응]=
 [kulssey ung]=
 KULSSEY, yeah,

3 A: =[막 굉장했어.]
 =[mak koyngcanghay-ss-e.]
 DM TREMENDOUS-PST-DC
(it was) really something.

4 B: =[뭐 난리났다]하데:.
 =[mwe nanlina-ss-ta] ha-tey:.
 WHAT HIT.HARD-PST-DC SAY-RT:IE
I heard it hit hard.

5 A: 응.
 ung.
 Yeah.

6 B: 펜실베이니아에.
 Pennsylvania-ey.
 PENNSYLVANIA-IN
In Pennsylvania.

7 A: 음: 지금 뭐 디제스터 에리어래네.
 um:. cikum mwe disaster area-lay-ney.
 YEAH NOW WHAT DISASTER AREA-HEARSAY-FR
Yea:h. They say it has been now (designated) a disaster area.

8 B: 어. 저기 텔레비에 많이 나오더라.
 e. ceki theyleypyi-ey manhi nao-tela.
 YEAH DM TELEVISION-ON MUCH COME.OUT-I:NOTICED
Yeah, I saw (the news) being well covered by the media.

9 A: 음:.
 um:.
 Ye:s.

In lines 1–6, while A is still in the midst of explaining what happened to her neighborhood (i.e., ‘this neighborhood’) and the nearby town of Harrisburg, B speaks in overlap with A to report her independent knowledge of the matter. To do so, she begins by prefacing her turn with *kulssey* (line 2). Then, by deploying the retrospective suffix *te(y)*, which is used when a speaker recalls past experience (‘I heard’), B claims her prior exposure to the information regarding A’s neighborhood that A has not yet fully disclosed, and, in line 8, B attributes her knowledge to the media.

Excerpt 3 shows a similar case in which the speaker claims to know of a matter the prior speaker has not yet fully explicated. The excerpt comes from a talk between two friends conversing about visa problems. The segment begins with A’s question to B about how she entered the United States without difficulty, while many of A’s acquaintances have experienced trouble with their visas. Note how speaker B repeatedly deploys *kulssey* whenever she discloses her knowledge of what speaker A is talking about.

Excerpt 3 Visa [Ko 6773]

- 1 A: 오: 그때 어떻게 나왔어?=
o: kuttay ettehkey nawa-ss-e? =
OH THAT.TIME HOW COME-PST-Q
Oh:, how did you enter (the US) last time?
- 2 =사람들 다: [비자-] 저기 뭐야?
=salamtul ta: [pica--] ceki mwe-ya?
PEOPLE ALL VISA DM WHAT-BE:Q
All the people, (due to) visa, whatchamacallit?
- 3 B: [어.]
[e.]
Uh huh.
- 4 B: >글쎄 비자 때문에< [뭐 그] 동네 못 나온
>**kulssey** pica ttaymwuney< [mwe ku] tongney mos nao-n
KULSSEY VISA DUE.TO WHAT THAT NEIGHBOR NOT COME-RL
KULSSEY, due to visa (problems), many of your neighbors could not enter (the US),
- 5 A: [어:~.]
[e::~.]
Yeah.
- 6 B: [사람 많대매?]
[salam manh-taymay?]
PEOPLE MANY-YOU.SAID
you mentioned (that).
- 7 A: [여기 우리 교회.] 소프라- 소프라노:,
[yeki wuli kyohoy.] sopra-- soprano:,
HERE OUR CHURCH SOPRA- SOPRANO
Yeah, the sopra- soprano in our church here,
- 8 B: <글쎄, 그 분 아직도 못 나왔어?
<**kulssey**, ku pwun acikto mos nawa-ss-e?
KULSSEY THAT PERSON STILL NEG COME-PST-Q
KULSSEY, that person still could not enter (the US)?
- 9 그때 얘기했잖아 자기가.
kuttay yaykihay-ss-canh-a caki-ka.
THAT.TIME TALK-PST-YOU.KNOW-DC YOU-NOM
You told me about her last time.

In lines 1–4, while A is still searching for words to explain others' visa problems, B formulates the utterance A is having trouble with, prefacing her response with *kulssey* (line 4). It turns out that A has already told B about the matter, which makes it possible for B to formulate A's unfinished utterance (line 6, 'You mentioned (that)'). In line 7, A begins to provide a detailed example of a specific person who has a visa problem; in line 8, in the midst of A's unfolding turn, B rushes (as marked by the angle bracket at the beginning of line 8) to disclose that she already knows of the case. Sure enough, B again prefates her turn with *kulssey*, and again explains that A has previously mentioned the matter (line 9). Here, both *kulssey*-prefaced turns serve to alert the prior speaker that the recipient knows about the matter the prior speaker is referring to, so she can get to the point and skip the unnecessary preambles.

As shown by Excerpts 2 and 3, a *kulssey*-prefaced turn serves to display the speaker's knowledge with respect to the matter another interlocutor is speaking of, thus claiming the current speaker's epistemic rights over the matter. This leaves us with the question of how *kulssey* can be used in two opposite ways: when a speaker discloses her knowledge of a matter being discussed, but also when a speaker displays uncertainty due to a lack of knowledge of a matter being discussed.

From Excerpt 3:

- 7 A: [여기 우리 교회.] 소프라--소프라노,
 [yeki wuli kyohoy]. sopra--soprano:;
 HERE OUR CHURCH SOPRA- SOPRANO
Yeah, the sopra- soprano in our church here,
- 8 B: <글쎄, 그 분 아직도 못 나왔어?
 <kulssey, ku pwun acikto mos nawa-ss-e?
 KULSSEY THAT PERSON STILL NEG COME-PST-Q
KULSSEY, that person still could not enter (the US)?

To answer this question, we looked at the source meaning of *kulssey*. Rhee (2015) demonstrated that *kulssey* emerged from the deictic expression *kuleha-ta* 'to be like that/to be so'. Consisting of the deictic expression *kuleha-* and the nominalizer *ssay*, which describes an action, event, or state, *kulssey* indexes a whole prior proposition, the entire matter the prior speaker is referring to. It is thus unlike the demonstrative *ku* 'that', which usually refers to a specific referent; for instance, in lines 7–8 from Excerpt 3, *ku pwun* 'that person' refers only to the soprano mentioned in the prior turn. In contrast, *kulssey* in line 8 refers to the whole proposition A is delivering: that the soprano in her church is having a visa problem. *Kulssey* itself indicates neither certainty nor uncertainty in one's knowledge state. Rather, it simply indexes or refers to the matter being discussed in a prior turn, and therefore, what follows *kulssey* is not restricted to a certain epistemic context.

Excerpt 4 shows the more prevalently discussed usage of *kulssey* as a marker of hesitation or uncertainty. B asks when A will visit (line 1). In response, A begins his line 2 turn with a click ('tch') and a long in-breath (.hhh), which both project a non-conforming, non-direct answer. Then, still hesitating to answer that he does not know, B fills the gap before providing this non-conforming response with the deictic marker *kulssey*.

Excerpt 4 A visit [Ko 6696]

- 1 B: 언제 우리 집에 오시겠어요?:
 encey wuli cip-ey o-si-keyss-e-yo?:
 WHEN OUR HOUSE-TO COME-SH-WILL-Q-POL
When are you going to come to our place?
- 2 A: 쏫 ((들숨)) 글쎄:: 뭐: 잘 모르겠네요.
 tch .hhh kulssey:: mwe: cal molu-keyss-ney-yo.
 KULSSEY WHAT WELL NOT.KNOW-DCT:RE-FR-POL
tch .hhh KULSSEY:: what: I don't know.
- 3 B: 모르겠어요? [아휴]
 molu-keyss-e-yo? [ahyu]
 NOT.KNOW-DCT:RE-Q-POL GOSH
You don't know? Gosh.
- 4 A: [네.]
 [ney.]
 YES
Yes.

In this excerpt, *kulssey*, as a deictic marker, indexes the matter being asked about in the prior turn, and at the same time serves to hold open a space until the speaker provides an answer. The response to a question is a second-position turn; when *kulssey* is used at the beginning of such a second-position turn, it delays the answer. This usage is why *kulssey* has been called a marker of uncertainty. Yet the function of *kulssey* in this position is not tied to a meaning of

certainty or uncertainty; instead, either of these meanings is understood due to the way in which *kulssey* occurs in the unfolding turns at talk. *Kulssey* in Excerpts 2 and 3 occurs in overlap with a prior speaker's turn or before the prior turn is complete, when the current speaker eagerly displays her knowledge or stance about the matter at hand. On the other hand, *kulssey* in Excerpt 4 occurs in a gap before the current speaker answers the prior speaker's question; in fact, it occurs in a string of delaying tactics: it is not only preceded by the click and the in-breath (.hhh), but followed by the filler *mwe* 'what'. It is the turn and sequential position that determines what action *kulssey* carries out in each context.

3.1.1. TCU-initial *kulssey*'s occurrences across a wide range of contexts

Kulssey's basic function of indexing a prior proposition also explains why prior studies have claimed that *kulssey* is used in the two opposing contexts of displaying agreement and disagreement (Lee, 1994; Lee, 1995; Oh, 1995). However, Excerpts 5 and 6 will show that *kulssey* itself does not convey either agreement or disagreement, but, once again, simply refers to a prior proposition, this time in contexts that require agreeing or disagreeing. Excerpt 5 shows a case in which *kulssey* occurs in the context of displaying agreement. Prior to this segment, A informed B that an acquaintance of A's had committed suicide because she failed to complete her PhD dissertation.

Excerpt 5 PhD degree [Ko 5937]

1 B: 아휴 야 그 꼭 박사학위 받아야 되냐 [인생에서:?
Ahyu ya ku kkok paksahakwi pataya toy-nya [insayng-eyse:?
GOSH DM DM SURELY PHD.DEGREE GET.MUST-Q LIFE-IN
Gosh, does one really need a PhD degree in life?

2 A: [글쎄.]
[**KULSSEY**,]
KULSSEY

3 내가- 내 말이 그 말이야.
nay-ka-- nay mal-i ku mal-i-ya.
I-NOM MY WORD-NOM THAT WORD-BE-DC
KULSSEY, I-, that's what I mean.

4 B: [응.]
[ung.]
YEAH
Yeah.

5 A: [공부가,] 다가 아닌[데:..]
[kongpwu-ka,] ta-ka ani-n[tey:..]
STUDYING-NOM ALL-NOM BE.NOT-BUT
Studying is not everything.

6 B: [그래:.]
[kula:..]
BE:SO
Right.

After hearing the news, B questions the importance of a graduate degree (line 1). In response, A displays her agreement with B's stance. Note how, in lines 2–3, it is not *kulssey* itself that conveys the agreement, but what follows *kulssey* ('That's what I mean.'). In Excerpt 5, as in Excerpts 2 and 3, the speaker of the *kulssey*-prefaced turn, who is actively disclosing her knowledge or stance, speaks in overlap with the prior speaker's utterance. When that knowledge or stance is shared with that of the prior speaker, *kulssey* can be viewed as displaying agreement. However, as these instances of *kulssey* in naturally occurring interaction make clear, the speaker is not simply displaying agreement, but actively claiming epistemic rights over the matter just mentioned by the prior speaker. In Excerpt 5, after all, A is the one who delivered the news. When B responds with an opinion about the news, A uses *kulssey* to swiftly take her turn to

display that she had the same thought all along, which she emphasizes by following it in line 5 with an account for her stance.

In Excerpt 6, *kulssey's* indexical function is again observed, but this time it occurs in a turn formulating disagreement. A and B are discussing a mutual friend whose son is very successful academically. In line 2, B describes her envy, which leads to A complimenting B's daughter (named Senmi), who A assumes to be an excellent student as well (line 4).

Excerpt 6 Academic excellence [Ko 6618]

- 1 A: 그래서 뭐 아우 좋겠다: 그랬죠.
 kulayse mwe awu coh-keyss-ta: kulay-ss-cyo.
 SO WHAT WOW GOOD-DCT:RE-DC SAY-PST-COMM:POL
So, (I) said "Wow, you are lucky".
- 2 B: 정말 좋겠네[요:.] 하하 부럽네요. [하하하 하하
 cengmal coh-keyss-ney-[yo:.] hh pwulep-ney-yo.[hhh hh
 REALLY NICE-DCT:RE-FR-POL ENVY-FR-POL
How lucky (the mom) is. hh (I) envy (her). hhh hh
- 3 A: [예.]. [맞아요. 하하 하하
 [yey.] [mac-a-yo. hh hh
 YEAH CORRECT-DC-POL
Yeah. (You're) right. hh hh
- 4 A: 근데 선미도 그러겠죠 뭐.
 kuntey senmi-to kule-keyss-cyo mwe.
 BUT NAME-ALSO BE.SO-DCT:RE-COMM:POL WHAT
But, Senmi must be (excelling in her studies) too.
- 5 B: 에이: 선미는 그 정도는 아니에요.=
 eyi: senmi-nun ku cengto-nun aniey-yo.=
 NAH NAME-TOP THAT EXTENT-TOP BE.NOT-POL
Nah, Senmi is not to that extent.
- 6 =그냥 지가 지가 하는 거에서
 =kunyang ci-ka ci-ka ha-nun ke-eyse
 JUST SELF-NOM SELF-NOM DO-RL THING-AT
She, she is just doing her things,
- 7 그냥 충실히 따라가고 있는 정도지::
 kunyang tch chwungsilhi ttalaka-ko iss-nun cengto-ci::
 JUST DILIGENTLY FOLLOW-PROG-RL EXTENT-COMM
just to that extent, diligently doing (her things),
- 8 뛰어난 건 [아닌 것 같아요. 하하 하하 하하]
 ttwienan ke-n [ani-n kes kath-a-yo. hh hh hh]
 OUTSTANDING THING-TOP BE.NOT-SEEM.LIKE-DC-POL
(I) don't think she is outstanding.
- 9 A: [에이 그 엄마에 뭐 그 딸이겠죠. 하하]
 [eyi ku emma-ey mwe ku ttal-i-keyss-cyo. hh]

NAH THAT MOM-TO WHAT THAT DAUGHTER-BE-MUST.BE-COMM:POL
Nah, like mother, like daughter she must be (outstanding).

- 10** B: 글썄요? 뭐 하하 우리 뭐 나나 선미 아빠나
kulssey-yo? mwe hh wuli mwe na-na senmi appa-na
 KULSSEY-POL WHAT WE WHAT I-WHETHER NAME DAD-WHETHER
KULSSEY? what hh we, whether myself or Senmi's father
- 11** 평범하니까 애도 평범하겠죠 뭐. 하하
 phyengpemha-nikka ay-to phyengpemha-keyss-cyo mwe. hh
 ORDINARY-SINCE KID-ALSO ORDINARY-DCT:RE-COMM:POL WHAT
(we) are ordinary, so, she also must be ordinary.
- 12** A: 어 평범- 글썄?: 내가 볼 적에 (.)
 uh phyengpem-- **kulssey:?** nay-ka po-l cek-ey (.)
 UH ORDINARY KULSSEY I-NOM SEE-RL EXPERIENCE-TO
- 13** 평범 이상일 것 [같은데. 하하 하하
 phyengpem isang-i-l kes [kath-untey. hh hh
 ORDINARY ABOVE-BE-SEEM.LIKE-BUT
Uh, ordinary- KULSSEY:, but, in my view, (she) is probably more than ordinary. hh
- 14** B: [하하 하하 하하
 [hh hh hh
 hh hh hh

Note how the compliment unravels into a chain of disagreements between A and B. In lines 5–8, in response to A's compliment, B first displays disagreement (which is preferred in such a compliment sequence), downplaying the assessment by claiming that her daughter is not outstanding. In line 9, A further disagrees with B, claiming that the daughter must be outstanding, like her mother, that is, like B. At this point, B begins her turn formulating her disagreement in line 10 with *kulssey*. While *eyi* 'nah', the negative interjection in line 9, displays explicit disagreement, *kulssey* in line 10 itself does not convey disagreement, but projects a non-conforming disaffiliative response to follow (lines 10–11). As in Excerpt 4, here *kulssey* co-occurs with the filler *mwe* 'what', delaying the speaker's response. In Excerpt 4, the two particles serve to delay the current speaker's answer to the prior speaker's question as the current speaker cannot provide a direct answer. Here, in Excerpt 6, the two particles serve to delay the disagreement expressed by B when she assesses her family as ordinary. Interestingly, this usage of *kulssey* is repeated by A in line 12, when she displays her disagreement in the following turn. A begins her turn first with the word she finds problematic in B's prior turn: 'ordinary'. However, she quickly drops the word (marked by –) and restarts her turn with *kulssey*, followed by her statement of disagreement.

As shown in the above excerpts, the meaning of *kulssey* is constructed in the local context. Another context in which *kulssey* occurs is when a speaker is shifting topics or referents. In the previous instances of initial *kulssey*, it occurs in a second-position turn in response to a prior initiating action. In contrast, in Excerpt 7, initial *kulssey* occurs in the first-position turn in a sequence, initiating an action. A and B are both graduate students in the United States who are close to finishing their studies. Here, A tells B what he has been doing lately, which is writing a paper they refer to as a 'return report'.

Excerpt 7 Return reports [Ko 6697]

- 1** A: 논문 하나 쓰고 있고 그러죠.
 nonmwun hana ssu-ko iss-ko kule-cyo.
 ARTICLE ONE WRITE-PROG-AND BE.SO-COMM:POL
(I) am writing an article.
- 2** B: 어, 논문 무슨? = 저 귀국 보고서?
 e, nonmwun mwusun? = ce kwikwuk pokose?
 OH ARTICLE WHAT THAT RETURN REPORT
Oh, an article, what (kind)? = The return report?
- 3** A: 예: 예:.. 하하
 yey: yey:.. hh
 YES YES
Yes, yes. hh

- 4 B: 귀국 보고서. <뭐 뭐에 관해서?
kwikwuk pokose. <mwe mwe-ey kwanhayse?
RETURN REPORT WHAT WHAT-REGARD.TO
Return report. About what, what?
- 5 A: 저 아는 분이 회사법 하고 있어요.
ce a-nun pwun-i hoysapep ha-ko iss-e-yo.
I KNOW-RL PERSON-NOM CORPORATE.LAW PRACTICE-PROG-DC-POL
Someone I know practices corporate law.
- 6 B: 회사법 해?
hoysapep hay?
CORPORATE.LAW PRACTICE:Q
(He) practices corporate law?
- 7 A: 예 [예.]
yey [yey.]
YES YES
Yes, yes.
- 8 B: [어:.]
[e:..]
I.SEE
I see.
- 9 B: 글썄 나도 지금 귀국 보고서 써야 되는데,
kulssey na-to cikum kwikwuk pokose sse-ya toy-nuntey,
KULSSEY I-ALSO NOW RETURN REPORT WRITE-MUST-BUT
KULSSEY I also need to now write a return report, but
- 10 A: 예.
yey.
YES
Yes.
- 11 B: 어 지금 당장 급한 거는:
e cikum tangcang kuphan ke-nun:,
UH NOW RIGHT.AWAY URGENT THING-TOP
- 12 날보고 발표를 하라 그래 가지고.
na-l poko palphyo-lul ha-la kulay kaciko.
I-ACC TO PRESENTATION-ACC DO-IMP SAY SO
the urgent thing right now (for me) is that I have been asked to make a presentation, so
- 13 A: 발표?
palphyo?
PRESENTATION
Presentation?
- 14 B: 발표 하하
palphyo hh
PRESENTATION
Presentation. hh

As the discussion about A's paper wraps up, note how B takes the turn and shifts the focus to himself by tying what he has to say to the matter discussed in the prior turns. In line 9, B begins his turn with *kulssey*, thus indicating that he also has something to say regarding what A has been talking about, which is that he also needs to write such a paper. Then, B

further reports what he is up to nowadays, which is preparing a presentation he has been asked to make (lines 11–12). This move is similar to examples noted by Jefferson on recipient topic shift (1993). Jefferson discusses how a stepwise topic shift is carried out by exhibiting attention to the prior topic line while introducing the speaker's own topic using acknowledgement tokens (e.g., 'yeah') or assessments (e.g., 'That's good.'). Our data shows *kulssey* working in a similar manner. By using *kulssey* to index the prior proposition and connect his forthcoming talk to it, B smoothly shifts the referent of the talk from A to B, and the topic to his upcoming presentation. As part of such a step-by-step shift, *kulssey* contrasts with another topic shift discourse particle, *kuntey* 'by the way', which is mostly used for initiating an abrupt topic change.²

Although we found only three such topic shift cases in the data, *kulssey* is indeed used in shifting topics or referents. An earlier study by Lee (1994) discussed *kulssey* as a means to attract an interlocutor's attention when starting or changing a topic. Why *kulssey* is useful for topic shifts and how this usage is related to other usages of *kulssey*-prefaced turns can be better explained by understanding *kulssey* as a deictic marker that ties the unfolding turn to the matters discussed in prior turns, as exemplified in every excerpt in this section. Turn-initial positions are regularly occupied by resources that mark the relationship between the current turn-in-progress and that which precedes it (Schegloff, 2007). *Kulssey* is one of these resources.

3.2. TCU-medial *kulssey*: cataphoric indexical marker

Understanding *kulssey* as a deictic marker helps us further understand the usage of *kulssey* in other TCU positions as well. Let's look now at the usage of *kulssey* in TCU-medial position (henceforth, medial *kulssey*). While *kulssey* in TCU-initial position serves to anaphorically refer to the matter mentioned in a prior turn, *kulssey* in TCU-medial position serves to cataphorically refer to an upcoming matter, which is about to be revealed in the unfolding turn. This usage of *kulssey* is frequently observed when a speaker is engaging in a word search, during which *kulssey* serves as a filler, as shown in the following excerpt. The conversation is between a mother (B), who is offering to buy her son (A) a new suit, which the son declines (lines 1–3).

Excerpt 8 A new suit [Ko 6696]

- 1 A: 아이 그래도 사 주고 싶어도 못 사 주지 인제:
ai kulayto sa cwu-ko siph-eto mos sa cwu-ci incey:.
NAH STILL BUY.FOR-WANT.TO-EVEN.IF NOT BUY.FOR-COMM NOW
Nah, even if (you) want to buy me (a suit), now (you) cannot.
- 2 B: 그러니까 한번만 사 줘야지 인제.
kulenikka hanpen-man sa cwe-ya-ci incey.
SO ONE.TIME-JUST BUY.FOR-MUST-COMM NOW
So (that's why) (I) need to now buy you (one) just (this) one time.
- 3 A: 에에에이구:: 하하하 됐어.
eyeyeyikwu:: hhh twaysse.
NAH NEVER.MIND
Nah:: hhh Never mind.
- 4 B: 어 그 뭐야? 좀 멋::있는 칼라 하나 좀 (0.5)
e ku mwe-ya? com me::sisnnum khalla hana com (0.5)
UH THAT WHAT-BE:Q DM STYLISH COLOR ONE DM
Uh, that, what is it? The one with the very stylish color (0.5)
- 5 사 입고 그러구:,
sa ip-ko kule-kwu:,
BUY.AND.WEAR-AND BE.SO-AND
(you need to) buy and wear (one),

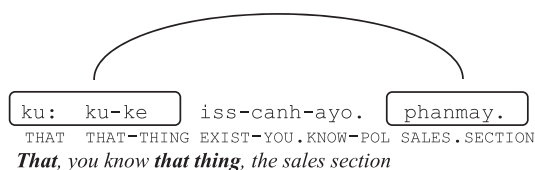
² The discourse particle *kuntey*'s usage is well-illustrated in line 4 Excerpt 6 when Speaker A suddenly brings up Speaker B's daughter as another candidate for academic excellence.

- 6 근데 한- 글쎄::? (0.5) 뭐 뭐 너희 회사니까는
 kuntey han-- **kulssey::?** (0.5) **mwe mwe** nehuy hoysa-nikka-nun
 BUT ONE KULSSEY WHAT WHAT YOUR COMPANY-SINCE-TOP
but one- KULSSEY:: (0.5) what, what, since it is your company,
- 7 네가 휴가를 내려 준다면은 좀
 ney-ka hyuka-lul naylye cwu-n-ta-myen-un com
 YOU-NOM VACATION-ACC GIVE-PRS-DC-IF-TOP DM
if you give yourself a vacation,
- 8 어폐가 되지만, 거 며칠 사이 좀 해 가지고,
 ephyey-ka toy-ciman, ke myechil sai com hay kaciko,
 MISLEADING-NOM BECOME-BUT THAT A.FEW.DAYS DURING DM DO AND
it would be kind of funny, but if (you could) get a few days (off) and
- 9 색깔 좀-
 saykkal com--
 COLOR DM
(buy a suit with) a color-

Although the son declines the offer, the mother continues to express her wish to buy him a stylish suit (lines 4–5) and tries to persuade him to take some time off to shop for such a suit (lines 6–9). Note how the mother deploys the deictic markers *ku* (line 4) and *kulssey* (line 6) as she searches for words.

Kim and Suh's (2002) study showed how the Korean demonstrative *ku* can serve as a *prospective indexical* (Goodwin, 1996). In their example shown below, *ku kuke* 'that, that thing', serves as a placeholder for the referent the speaker is about to present: *phanmay* 'the sale section'.

(4) *Kulssey* as a cataphoric marker (Kim and Suh, 2002)



The same interactional function is shown in Excerpt 8 line 4, when the mother uses *ku* as she searches for words to describe the suit she has in mind ('the one with the very stylish color'). This function of the deictic *ku* can be observed with the deictic marker *kulssey* as well. Unlike *ku* or *kuke*, which are used to refer to specific referents (e.g., sales, a suit with a stylish color), *kulssey* refers to a larger scope of referent, such as a proposition or matters that need to be explicated in detail. In lines 6–8, the speaker begins with a word search in which she deploys *kulssey* as a prospective indexical to set the recipient on the task of attending to the extended proposition to follow. *Kulssey* is followed by another filler *mwe* 'what' as the speaker's search for words continues.

From Excerpt 8

- 4 B: e **ku** mwe-ya? com **me::sisnun khalla hana** com (0.5)
 UH THAT WHAT-BE:Q DM STYLISH COLOR ONE DM
Uh, that, what is it? The one with the very stylish color (0.5)
- 6 kuntey han- **kulssey::?** (0.5) **mwe mwe** nehuy hoysa-nikka-nun
 BUT ONE KULSSEY WHAT WHAT YOUR COMPANY-SINCE-TOP
but one- KULSSEY:: (0.5) what, what, since it is your company,
- 7 **ney-ka hyuka-lul naylye cwu-n-tamyen-un com**
 YOU-NOM VACATION-ACC GIVE-PRS-QUOT-TOP DM
if you give yourself a vacation,
- 8 **ephyey-ka toy-ciman, ke myechil sai com hay kaciko,**
 MISLEADING-NOM BECOME-BUT THAT A.FEW.DAYS DURING DM DO AND
it would be kind of funny, but if (you could) get a few days (off) and

In addition to word searches, another context for the cataphoric usage of *kulssey* is to deliver the punchline of a story or episode. In Excerpt 9, A and B are discussing why A has had to put off moving house: she was too sick. The cataphoric use of *kulssey* introduces A's dramatic illustration of her poor health.

Excerpt 9 Faint [Ko 6546]

- 1 B: 이사 잘 했어?
isa cal hay-ss-e?
MOVE WELL DO-PST-Q
How was moving?
- 2 A: 응? 아직 안 갔어.
ung? acik an ka-ss-e.
HUH YET NOT GO-PST-DC
Huh? I didn't move out yet.
- 3 B: 왜?
way?
WHY
Why?
- 4 A: 나 너무 아파 갖고.
na nemwu apha kacko.
I TOO SICK BECAUSE
Because I was too sick.
- 5 B: 그래? 어디가?
kulay? eti-ka?
BE:SO WHERE-NOM
Yeah? Where?
- 6 (1.0)
- 7 A: 언니 있잖아 나 샤워하다가 글썽,
enni isscanha na syaweha-taka **kulssey:**,
SISTER YOU.KNOW I TAKE.A.SHOWER-WHILE KULSSEY
You know, while taking a shower KULSSEY;
- 8 기절할 뻔 했더니까;
kicelha-l ppen hay-ss-taynikka;
FAINT-ALMOST.DO-PST-DC:QUOTE
I almost fainted. (Can you believe that?)
- 9 A: 왜?
way?
WHY
Why?
- 10 B: 탈진돼 가지고
thalcintway kaciko
BE.EXHAUSTED BECAUSE
Because I was too exhausted.
- 11 A: (하하)
(hh)
hh

In response to B's inquiry about her illness (line 5), A tells of a medical mishap she experienced. Note when and how *kulssey* occurs in A's turn. In line 7, A draws B's attention with *isscanha* 'you know' and then provides the background of the event (she was taking a shower), which she follows with *kulssey* before she finally announces what happened to her, the punchline of the story (she almost fainted). We consistently observed this pattern in the data collection: *kulssey* occurs in TCU-medial position between providing the background of a newsworthy or noteworthy event and describing the event.

In line 7, *kulssey* is prosodically attached to the prior clausal connective (*syaweha-taka kulssey* 'take.a.shower-while KULSSEY:;'), and the punchline follows a slight pause (line 8). Both Excerpt 8 and Excerpt 9 show how *kulssey* in TCU-medial position serves to get the recipient ready to attend to what is about to follow. Excerpt 10 shows a very similar usage of a medial *kulssey*. In this segment, A explains why she rejected an invitation to visit a cabin in a snowy mountain area, as she recalls a previous experience of driving in the snow with her young daughter.

Excerpt 10 Snow [Ko 6774]

- 1 A: 내가 왜냐면은 그걸 리노 한번 체인 끼고
 nay-ka waynyamyen-un kuke-l Reno hanpen chain kki-ko
 I-NOM BECAUSE-TOP THAT-ACC RENO ONCE CHAIN PUT.ON-AND
(It's) because – I was once going to Reno with snow chains on my wheels,
- 2 가면서, 리노에 우리 시어머니 계시는 때,
 ka-myense, Reno-ey wuli siemeni kyeysi-l ttay,
 GO-WHILE RENO-TO OUR MOTHER.IN.LAW EXIST-RL TIME
when my mother-in-law used to live in Reno,
- 3 거기 (시동생)도 살고 할 때,
 keki (sitongsayng)-to sal-ko ha-l ttay,
 THERE BROTHER.IN.LAW-ALSO LIVE-AND DO-RL TIME
also when my brother-in-law used to live there.
- 4 에이미를: 그때 내가:, 어린 것을 데리고서 글썽,
 Amy-lul: kuttay nay-ka:, elin kes-ul tevlikose kulssey,
 NAME-ACC THAT.TIME I-NOM YOUNG ONE-ACC TAKE KULSSEY
When I was taking Amy, that little one KULSSEY,
- 5 가는데, 눈:이 [폭 빠지-
 ka-nuntey, nwu:n-I [phwuk ppaci--
 GO-AND SNOW-NOM DEEP TO.SINK
on the way, (the car) sank into the snow-
- 6 B: [고생했지::.
 [kosavnghav-ss-ci::.
 HAVE.A.HARD.TIME-PST-COMM
You had a hard time.
- 7 A: [혼났다. 혼났어.
 [honna-ss-ta honna-ss-e.
 SUFFER-PST-DC SUFFER-PST-DC
I suffered, I suffered (indeed).
- 8 B: [(하하하)
 [(hhh)
 hhh

Similar to the prior excerpt, after providing the background of the event (she was driving with her daughter), the storyteller deploys *kulssey* in the middle of a TCU, signaling that the punchline of the story is coming up (lines 4–5). We can roughly translate this *kulssey* as ‘what happened is’. As projected by the use of *kulssey*, what follows is A’s description of the noteworthy event (the car sank into the snow) of her story.

This usage of *kulssey* in TCU-medial position is again very similar to what Goodwin (1996) referred to as a prospective indexical.

From Excerpt 9

na syaweha-taka	kulssey:,	kicel-hal ppen hay-ss-taynikka;
I TAKE.A.SHOWER-WHILE KULSSEY		FAINT-ALMOST.DO-PST-DC:QUOT

While taking a shower KULSSEY, I almost fainted. (Can you believe that?)

Goodwin showed that prospective indexicals often appear in story prefaces, where they encourage the recipients to actively engage in discovering their referents. This also seems to be the case with medial *kulssey*. Prior studies have discussed one of *kulssey*’s functions as attracting attention (Lee, 1995; Oh, 1995; Song 2019); our explanation of *kulssey* as a prospective indexical clarifies how and why it occurs in TCU-medial positions, where it helps the speaker design the turn to make sure the recipients are ready for the punchline.

3.3. TCU-final *kulssey*: retroactive stance marker

Let’s now examine cases in which *kulssey* occurs in TCU-final position (henceforth final *kulssey*). Interestingly, in all six cases of *kulssey* in final position, it occurs contiguous to indirect, direct, or self-quotation. Moreover, in most of these cases, it functions to display the speaker’s disaffiliative, or at least surprised, stance toward the matter she is reporting. In Excerpt 11, A is telling B about her plan to paint her deck with new waterproof paint and how much it would cost to hire someone to do the job.

Excerpt 11 Expensive paint job [Ko 5754]

1 A: 그래서 페인트 저한테 페인트도 왜 그냥 그 워터 프루프
kulayse paint ceke-ntey paint-to way kunyang ku waterproof
SO PAINT THAT-BE: BUT PAINT-TOO WHY JUST THAT WATERPROOF

2 왜 그거 물 똑똑 떨어지는 거 있잖아?
way kuke mwul ttwukttwuk tteleci-nun ke iss-canh-a?
WHY THAT WATER DRIP FALL-DOWN-RL THING EXIST-YOU.KNOW-Q

So, you know the paint is, the paint is just waterproof paint which drips like water?

2 B: 어:.
e:.
YEAH
Yeah.

3 A: 거기다 색깔만 약간 넣은 건데,
keki-ta saykkkal-man yakkan neh-un ke-ntey,
THERE-ON COLOR-ONLY A.LITTLE ADD-RL THING-BE: BUT
It's just something which just has a little bit of color in it.

4 B: 어:.
e:.
YEAH
Yeah.

5 A: 그니까 보통 진짜 페인트 진한 색은 안 나왔어.
kunikka pothong cincca paint cinhan sayk-un an nawa-ss-e.
SO NORMAL REAL PAINT STRONG COLOR-TOP NOT COME.OUT-PST-DC
So the color is not as strong as a normal paint.

6 [그냥] 분명 나무 색깔[인테. 응.]
[kunyang] pwunmyeng namwu saykkkal-[i-ntey. ung.]
JUST SURELY WOOD COLOR-BE-BUT YEAH
It just has the wood color. Yeah.

7 B: [어.] [나무 색깔 어.]
[e.] [namwu saykkkal e.]
YEAH WOOD COLOR YEAH
Yeah. The wood color, yeah.

8 A: 그걸 칠하는데 얼마 달라니,
kuke-l chilha-nuntey elma tal-la-ni
THAT-ACC TO.PAINT-AND HOW.MUCH CHARGE-IMP:QT-Q
To paint that (deck), (do you know) how much they charge?

9 >팔백 오십 불 천 불< 달래 글썸:.
>phalpayk osip pwul chen pwul< tal-lay kulssey:.
EIGHT.HUNDRED FIFTY DOLLAR THOUSAND DOLLAR TO.GIVE-HEARSAY KULSSEY
He told me I'd have to pay like \$850 or \$1,000 KULSSEY:

10 페인터 불러서 내 물어보니까:.
painter pwulle-se nay mwulepo-nikka:..
PAINTER CALL-AND I ASK-WHEN
When I had a painter come out and asked him.

- 11 B: 어- 어::
e-- e::
Oh- Oh::
- 12 A: 아휴: 그래가지고 [내가 아휴
ahyu: kulaykaciko [nay-ka ahyu
GOSH SO I-NOM GOSH
Gosh:, so, I was, gosh
- 13 B: [자기네가 하면 안 돼?
[caki-ney-ka ha-myen an tway?
YOU-FAMILY-NOM DO-CAN.NOT:Q
Why don't you do (the paint job)?

A first establishes a shared understanding with B regarding the type of paint she is referring to (lines 1–7), emphasizing that it is nothing special. Then, in lines 8–10, A reports what a professional painter told her as the estimated cost of the job. Note how A builds up a sense of drama by first asking B to guess the amount of the estimate. Additionally, immediately after reporting the quoted message, A attaches *kulssey* to it. Similar to its TCU-medial usage, here *kulssey* as an indexical directs the recipient's attention to the punchline or key event of the story (an unexpected, newsworthy, or outrageous event), which in this case is what A has just reported. In line 9, A's *kulssey* is markedly prolonged and stressed, adding to the implicit message of A's stance toward what she has reported (i.e., that the quoted price is ridiculously high). Note that *kulssey*'s TCU-final position in line 9 is related to the structural constraints of Korean reported speech constructions. The quoted message appears before the reporting framing device, which is the hearsay marker *-lay*.³ When a story's key event is presented as quoted speech, drawing attention to it with a initial or medial *kulssey* could cause confusion regarding whether *kulssey* is part of the reported message. No such confusion is possible if the reporting speaker adds it as soon as she closes the reported message with the framing device. That *kulssey* presents the current reporting speaker's disaffiliative stance toward what she has reported is confirmed by A's subsequent affective interjection (line 12, *ahyu* 'gosh') and B's reaction: she expresses her surprise (line 11) and suggests A do the job herself (line 13).

Excerpt 12 shows a similar case. In this excerpt, A tells B what happened when she visited her male friend, Jun's house, where she met his sister. Speaker A reports what Jun said to his sister in front of A about A.

Excerpt 12 "She likes me." [Ko 4296]

- 1 A: 자기 집에 놀러 오래. 자기 시험 끝났다고.
caki cip-ey nolle o-lay. caki sihem kkuthna-ss-ta-ko.
HIS HOUSE-TO COME.TO.VISIT-HEARSAY HIS EXAM FINISH-PAST-DC-QT
He invited us to his place. Saying that he had finished his exams.
- 2 B: 응.
ung.
UH HUH
Uh huh.
- 3 A: 우리 집에 우릴 데리러 왔다.
wuli cip-ey wuli-l teylile wa-ss-ta.
OUR HOUSE-TO WE-ACC COME.TO.PICK.UP-PST-DC
He came to pick us up from our place.

³ Korean has right-side boundaries, and so reporting frame devices occur after quoted material (e.g., Quote + *She said*; Park, 2009). In contrast, English has left-side boundaries (Sidnell, 2006), and reporting frame devices typically occur before quoted material (e.g., *She said* + Quote).

- 4 >그래가지고< 갔어:.
 >kulaykaciko< ka-ss-e::.
 SO GO-PAST-DC
So we we::nt (to his house).
- 5 B: 응.
 ung.
 MHM
mhm
- 6 A: 개 동생이 있다; 막 얘기를 하는데 뭐
 kyay tongsayng-i iss-ta; mak yayki-lul ha-nuntey mwe
 HIS YOUNGER.SIBLING-NOM EXIST-DC DM TALK-ACC DO-WHILE WHAT
His sister was there, (and) while we were talking,
- 7 (0.7)
- 8 A: >동생한테 이러는 거야 글썽.<
 >tongsayng-hanthey ile-nun ke-ya kulssey.<
 YOUNGER.SIBLING-TO LIKE.THIS-RL THING-BE KULSSEY
This is what he said to his sister KULSSEY.
- 9 얘가 나:: ↑애가 ↑나. 좋아하잖아::.=막 이런다;
 yay-ka na:: ↑yay-ka ↑na cohaha-canha::.=mak ile-n-ta;
 SHE-NOM ME SHE-NOM ME TO.LIKE-YOU.KNOW DM LIKE.THIS-PRS-DC
"She (likes) me::, ↑she likes ↑me, you know." He is like this.
- 10 (0.6)
- 11 A: 재수없지. 그래서 막 어찌구 어찌구 막 이러니까,
 cayswueps-ci. kulayse mak ecce-kwu ecce-ku mak ile-nikka,
 SO.FULL.OF.ONESELF-COMM SO DM SUCH-AND SUCH-AND DM LIKE.THIS-SO
He is so full of himself, right? So, when he said such and such things,

Speaker A reports Jun's utterance (lines 6–9), when he told his sister that A likes him. Note how A constructs the reported speech. In line 8, A first prepares the recipient (B) to attend to what she is about to report by utilizing the proximal deixis *ilenun ke ya* 'this is what he said'. Then, A immediately adds *kulssey* at the end of her TCU, embedding her disaffiliative stance. Unlike the indirect reported speech used in Excerpt 11, line 9 constructed with the hearsay marker *-lay*, the reporting speaker (A) here presents the message as direct reported speech, giving the current recipient of the talk, Speaker B, direct access to what Jun said and how he said it (Holt, 1996). A reenacts the way Jun emphasized that it is A who likes him by producing the pronouns *yay* 'she (lit. this person)' and *na* 'me' with high pitch (marked by ↑). A's stance toward Jun and what he said is explicitly addressed in line 11 when A assesses him as egotistical. As shown in these two excerpts, the use of *kulssey* in a TCU-final position consistently serves to draw interlocutors' attention to matters the speaker reports to be outrageous or upsetting. *Kulssey*'s function of eliciting the recipient's engagement with the upcoming punchline in TCU-medial position is further extended to its function in TCU-final position where it retroactively directs the recipient's attention to the reported speech that the speaker has just delivered with a disaffiliative stance.

Kulssey also co-occurs with self-quotation. In Excerpt 13 (which includes Excerpt 1), two friends discuss their plans upon returning to Korea after studying abroad. As A explains her plans (lines 1–5), B criticizes A for planning to return to the same type of work she did before (lines 6–8).

Excerpt 13 Career and future [Ko 4012]

- 1 A: 나 한국 가면은,
 na hankwuk ka-myen-un,
 I KOREA GO-WHEN-TOP
When I go to Korea,
- 2 B: 응.
 ung.
 UH HUH
Uh huh
- 3 A: 내가 옛날에 하던:,
 nay-ka yeysnal-ey haten:,
 I-NOM PAST-IN USED.TO.DO
(where) I used to (work) in the past,

- 4 B: 어. 거기에 또 알아볼 거야?
e. keki-ey tto alapo-l ke-ya?
YEAH THERE-AT AGAIN CHECK.OUT-WILL-Q
Yeah. Are (you) going to look for (work) there?
- 5 A: 예. (.) 아마 그런 일을 할 것 같아요.
yey. (.) ama kulen il-ul ha-l kes kath-a-yo.
YES PROBABLY SUCH WORK-ACC DO-SEEM.LIKE-DC-POL
Yes. (I) probably will do similar work.
- 6 B: 아휴:: 징그러운 것. 이거는 하하 뭐 주는 밥
ahyu:: cingkulewun kes. ike-nun hh mwe cwu-nun pap
GOSH ANNOYING THING THIS-TOP WHAT GIVE-RL MEAL
- 7 안 받아 먹고서는 그::냥 판 데만
an pata mek-kose-nun ku::nyang ttan tey-man
NOT GET EAT-AND-TOP JUST DIFFERENT PLACE-ONLY
- 8 가 가지고 쭈시고 앉아 있어. [응?]
ka kaciko sswusi-ko anca iss-e. [ung?]
GO AND PICK-AND BE.IN.THE.STATE.OF-DC RIGHT
Gosh:, (you're) such an annoying one. You hh go around and look at the wrong places (for work) while there are options available to you. Right?
- 9 A: [맞어.]
[mac-e.]
CORRECT-DC
(You're) right.
- 10 B: 하여튼 어디 앞이 얼마나 브릴리언트한지 보자구:.
hayethun eti aphnal-i elmana brilliant ha-nci po-ca-kwu:.
ANYWAY DM FUTURE-NOM HOW.MUCH BRILLIANT BE-WHETHER SEE-PROP-QT
Anyway, what I say is, I'll be watching to see how brilliant your future is.
- 11 A: 하하하
hhh
hhh
- 12** B: 그렇게 말 빼직빼직 안 듣고 그러는데:.
kulehkey mal ppicikppicik an tut-ko kule-nuntey:.
LIKE.THAT WORD AT.ALL NOT LISTEN-AND BE.SO-WHILE
- 13** 앞날이 어떻게 되는지
aphnal-i ettehkey toy-nunci
FUTURE-NOM HOW BECOME-WHETHER
- 14** 내 한번 보자구 글썽:: 아휴
nay hanpen po-ca-kwu kulssey:: ahyu
I ONCE SEE-PROP-QT KULSSEY GOSH
*Since you don't listen (to others) at all,
I'll be watching to see how your future turns out KULSSEY:: Gosh*
- 15** A: 글썽: 보라고:.
kulssey: po-la-ko:.
KULSSEY SEE-IMP-QT
KULSSEY:: (like you say), see (for yourself).

B continues to express her disapproval of A's plans by vowing she will wait and see whether A's future turns out to be brilliant (line 10), which she formulates as a self-quote. As A responds to B's vow with laughter (line 11), note how B reiterates this vow (lines 12–14). B again uses the self-quotative construction *-ca-kwu*, but this time she follows it with *kulssey*, at the end of the TCU: *-ca-kwu kulssey*. While both vows indicate B's determination to keep an eye on A, the second vow with *kulssey* more explicitly conveys her disapproving stance; before delivering the self-quotation, B blames A for being stubborn and not listening to others' advice, which will have an effect on her future. Furthermore, the self-quotation with *kulssey* is immediately followed by an interjection that expresses B's frustration: *ahyu* 'gosh'. Thus, the whole utterance clearly shows that B's use of *kulssey* in TCU-final position is not a coincidence, but one of her strategies to display her disapproval.

Although the number of cases of final *kulssey* found in the data set is small (six instances), they consistently show a pattern in which *kulssey* occurs with direct, indirect, or self-quotation. By adding *kulssey* at the boundary of the quotation, the speaker retroactively directs the interlocutors' attention to the matter, thereby indirectly embedding the speaker's stance toward the reported message, the reported speaker, or the relevant matter.

In response to B's repeated vow, in line 15, A urges her to go ahead, not backing down from her decision ('See (for yourself)'). Here, she begins her turn with *kulssey* indexing the matter in the prior turn ('KULSSEY (like you say)'). *Kulssey*'s occurrence in two different TCU positions in this excerpt clearly shows its mobility and versatility as a discourse particle that has already become grammaticalized. The developmental pathway of *kulssey* will be discussed in the following section.

4. The developmental pathway of *kulssey* as a discourse particle

Among the primary interests of grammaticalization studies are the processes involved in the development of lexical items or constructions into grammatical markers. In addition, with respect to the grammaticalization of discourse particles, an equally important issue is how a form becomes emancipated from an argument position. In order to address these two major issues with reference to the development of *kulssey*, we look into its source construction, its syntagmatic independence, and the historical emergence of its diverse functions, in turn.

4.1. The source construction

The discourse particle *kulssey* developed from the adverbial connective *kulssey*. Even though it is perceived as a single lexeme by speakers of contemporary Korean, its origin can be ultimately traced to a more complex polymorphemic form, **kulehA-l-sA-Ay*, which has undergone a series of morphosyntactic and phonological changes as sketched in (5a). The key elements in its formal composition are as shown in (5b) and (5c) (Rhee, 2015; 2020; Song and Rhee, 2017; Rhee and Koo, 2019; cf. Ryu, 1962).

(5)

- a. **kulehAlsAAy* (그러할삭이) > *kulehAlsAy* (그러할식) > > *kulelssAy* (그럴씨)
> *kulssey* (글씨)
- b. *kulehAlsAy* (그러할식): *kulehA-* (그러하-) 'be/do so' + *-l-* (-르-) 'adnominal (Prospective)' + *sA* (삭) 'time/occasion' + *-Ay* (-이) 'at'
- c. *kulehA-* (그러하-): *ku* (그) 'that (medial demonstrative)' + **/e-* (-러-) (adverbializer) + *hA-* (하-) 'do/be' (light verb)

According to Jeong (2003: 61), the Old Korean lexeme *sA* denoted 'the sun', and the meaning was later extended to indicate a temporal expanse/interval, an instance of semantic bleaching or extension. Through increased morphosyntactic bonding and conceptual integration, the phrasal meaning of *kulehAlsAy* 'at the time when (it) would be so' also changed to 'when (it) is so' and further to 'then, therefore, meanwhile' in Middle Korean (Rhee, 2015; Song and Rhee, 2017; Rhee and Koo, 2019).

Among the earliest attestations of the source forms of *kulssey* are *kulehAlsAy* and *kulelsAy*, found in Late Middle Korean (15th–16th century) commentaries on Buddhist scriptures, as exemplified in (6).⁴

⁴ Following a generally accepted tradition, words written in Chinese characters in historical source texts are rendered in uppercase based on their modern pronunciation.

(6)

a. 밋고 滅道를 求하야도 잡간도 得호미 임스니 이룰 닐은 四聖諦라 十二緣도 또 그러흔씩 諸緣人 法이 비록

二乘에 屬하나 實엔 大乘에 通하니

paskuy MYELTO-lal KWUha-yato camskan-to TUKho-m-i
OUTSIDE TRUTH-ACC SEEK-EVEN.THOUGH MOMENT-EVEN ACQUIRE-NML-NOM

eps-uni i-lal nil-on SASENGCEY-la

NOT.EXIST-AS THIS-ACC CALL-RL FOUR.TRUTHS-DEC

SIPIYEN-to sto kulehA-lssAy CEYYEN-s

TWELVE.CAUSES-TOO AGAIN BE.SO-AS ALL.CAUSE-GEN

PEP-i pilok ISUNG-ey SOKha-na sil-ey-n

TRUTH-NOM ALTHOUGH TWO.VEHICLES-TO BELONG-BUT FACT-AT-TOP

TAYSUNG-ey THONGha-ni...

MAHAYANA.VEHICLE-TO RELATE-AS

'(They) seek truths elsewhere but cannot find them even for a moment; these truths are the so-called Four Truths. As the Twelve Causes are like that too, the truth of All Causes belongs to the Two Vehicles, but it is in fact related to the Mahayana Vehicles, and so...'

(1459, *Welinseppo* 14: 38b)

b. 増上慢하는 전초로 막속미 그리노니 그럴씩 제 옳호라 하고 노닐 외다 학야 正法을 비우셔 魔이

흥 黨이 도외리니

CUNGSANGMANha-non cyenchA-lo mazAm-i kAli-nani

BE.SELF.CONCEITED-RL CAUSE-INST HEART-NOM BE.COMVERED-AS

kulelssAy cey olh-ola hA-ko nAm-Al oy-ta hA-ya

THEREFORE SELF BE.RIGHT-DEC SAY-AND OTHERS-ACC BE.WRONG-DEC SAT-CONS

CENGPEP-ul piwuz-e MA-ay han TANG-i taoy-li-ni...

TRUTH-ACC RIDICULE-CONN DEVIL-GEN SAME GROUP-NOM BECOME-FUT-AS

'Since the minds (of those people) are misled by their self-conceit, therefore, they say that they are right and others are wrong and become members of the devil's league, looking down on the truth, and so...' (1447, *Sekposangcel* 9:14a)

As shown in (6), the source forms of *kulssey* carried the meaning of 'as it was/is so; therefore', marking the similitive, causal, or consequential relationship between two coordinates. In terms of the formal shape, the erosion of the light verb *hA-* was in progress even in Middle Korean.

4.2. Syntagmatic independence

Brinton (1996), Heine (2013: 1209), and Heine et al. (2021) list the properties that constitute the defining characteristics of discourse particles. At the syntactic level, discourse particles are not a syntactic constituent of the sentence in which they occur. Because discourse particles arise from a clause-internal position, usually at a syntactically licensed position, the source forms must acquire syntactic freedom in order to develop into discourse particles. The process whereby *kulssey* acquired its syntactic freedom is noteworthy, as elaborated below.

First, we need to look at the bound connectives. In Korean the connective function of many complex connectives is usually carried by bound morphemes involving the particle *-ey* 'at' (or its historical variant *-Ay*; see (5) above), which occurs in the final position of the construction (note that Korean is a head-final language). There are a large number of such connectives; for example, *-ntey-ey* 'where/while' (*tey* 'place'), *-ltay-ey* 'when' (*ttay* 'time'), *-nuntongan-ey* 'while' (*tongan* 'duration'), *-kittaymwun-ey* 'because' (*ttaymwun* 'reason'). It is noteworthy that the particle *-ey* 'at' is susceptible to deletion or reduction when the preceding noun is coda-less; that is, when two vowels occur in succession. This process is responsible for the reduction of the bound connective *-l-sA-Ay* to *-l-sAy* (and ultimately to *-lssey*), as shown in (5).

The development from the bound connective *-lssey* to the independent connective *kulssey* involved the participation of the verb *kuleha-* 'be/do so', thus forming a complex form *kulehalssey* (and its phonological variants), which underwent morphosyntactic 'compacting' (Hopper and Traugott, 2003[1993]: 140) or 'coalescence' (Haspelmath, 2011). The source form also underwent increased conceptual cohesion, and became fully 'univerbated' (Lehmann, 2015[1982]: 160) as *kulssey*. By becoming a single lexeme as an adverbial connective, *kulssey* gained positional freedom. This syntagmatic process seems to have been facilitated by the anaphoric meaning of *kuleha-* 'be/do so', which can index a wide range of contextually determined referents (note that its ultimate origin is the medial and speaker-distal deictic *ku* 'that'). After *kulssey* fully developed as a non-bound lexical connective, freely occurring at non-argument positions, its further development into a discourse particle—that is, from an adverbial connective to a discourse particle—is an easy process widely attested across languages (e.g., the English discourse particles *and*, *so*, *but*, *though*, etc.; also see

Kuteva et al., 2019). The significance of recruiting the verb *kuleha*- ‘be/do so’ in the development of *kulssey* is not restricted to syntactic freedom; it also had semantic-functional effects, allowing the multiplicity of functions to which we now turn.

4.3. Emergence of multiple functions

In the previous sections, we have illustrated that the discourse particle *kulssey* carries out diverse functions largely dependent on situational context and TCU position. A multiplicity of functions is one of the major characteristics of discourse particles, as has been observed across languages by many authors (Jucker, 2002: 213; Aijmer et al., 2006: 103; Gaines, 2011; Beeching, 2016: 185–190; Brinton, 2017: 29; Koo, 2018; Koo and Rhee, 2018; Heine et al., 2021). In their discussion of the discourse particle *kulay*, a formal and functional relative of *kulssey*, Koo and Rhee (2018) noted that the diversity of its functions is partly due to its source meaning, use context, and linguistic realization patterns such as prosody, syntagmatic position, turn position, and so forth. With respect to positionality, the same is applicable to *kulssey*, as explicated above by its variable TCU positions.

From the grammaticalization perspective, the role of source semantics is of particular significance. It is widely accepted that grammatical functions are closely related to, or, in a strong position, determined by the meaning of the source lexemes and constructions (‘persistence’, Hopper, 1991; ‘the source determination hypothesis’, Bybee et al., 1994). Because the meaning of the main lexeme *kuleha*- ‘be/do so’ contains the deictic *ku* ‘that’, it inherently has the indexing function, as noted above. At the same time, the semantics of the lexeme involves indefiniteness and vagueness (as suggested by the English translation’s use of ‘so’). Thus, *kulssey* carries the function of indexing variable segments of discourse material and sometimes of indexing the situation as a whole. In contemporary Korean, the extent of bleaching is such that the lexical semantics of the source lexeme of *kulssey* is largely opaque. For instance, Rhee and Koo (2019) showed that the speakers of Korean are unable to link the discourse particle function of *kulssey* and its source semantics, a state of affairs they attributed to its long grammaticalization history. They further noted that few people are aware that *kulssey* involves the Old Korean defective noun *sA* ‘time’.

As we observed in Section 4.1, a complex construction developed into the adverbial connective *kulehAlssAy* through coalescence, and to *kulelssAy* through more morphophonological reduction. They carried the simulative, causal, and consequential meaning. The more simplified form *kulssey* (or its variant *kulsey*) frequently occurs in classical literary works that were recorded in writing in the 19th century after a long period of oral transmission. Around the turn of the 20th century, a large number of novels were produced in the so-called *sinsosel* genre, literally ‘new novel’, one of its defining characteristics being the use of colloquial language. In *sinsosel*, the discourse particle *kulssey* is productively used.⁵ Even in these early attestations, the discourse particle *kulssey* carried diverse functions. Therefore, we will view the emergence of these multiple functions from a grammaticalization perspective.

In *sinsosel* and other sources dating from the beginning of the Modern Korean period (1894–present), *kulssey* predominantly occurs in the TCU-initial, second-position turn, as in (7) and (8) below. As attested in our earlier analyses of naturally occurring conversational data, the discourse particle function of *kulssey* in these positions is not limited to signaling uncertainty (see Excerpts 2–3, 5–7). In (7), Speaker A is concerned about the safety of the daughter’s family.

(7)

A: [Do you think our daughter’s family is OK in the war?]

B: 글세 나도 궁금하여 하는 말이요.

kulsey na-to kwungkumha-ye ha-nun mal-i-yo.

KULSSEY I-ALSO WONDER-CONS SAY-RL WORD-BE-POL

‘KULSSEY, what I say is I’m also worried (and anxious to know).’

(1912, *Masanglu* : 473)

In (7), Speaker B displays epistemic rights to matters mentioned in a prior turn (see Excerpts 2 and 3). One notable aspect of this usage is that *kulssey* occurs either alone or in set expressions, such as *kulssey mal-i-o* [*kulssey* saying-be-DEC], *kulssey mal-i-lsey* [*kulssey* saying-be-DEC], *kulssey malsam-i-olsita* [*kulssey* saying:HON-be-DEC:HON], *kulssey malsam-i-o* [*kulssey* saying:HON-be-DEC], and so on, all meaning ‘*kulssey*, that’s the (appropriate) saying.’ or more literally, reflecting the source meaning of *kulssey*, ‘that’s the saying (appropriate) when (the situation) is so’. This usage is exemplified in (8):

⁵ In our data from the first two decades of the 20th century, this discourse particle occurs in the form of *kulsey* (59 times) whereas the modern form *kulssey* occurs only once (the earlier form *kulsey* still survives in Contemporary Korean as an idiolectal variant, but is regarded as incorrect by prescriptivists). Out of the total of 60 occurrences, 45 occur in *sinsosel*. For consistency, the discourse particle is represented as *kulssey* in this paper’s exposition, glossing, and translation.

(8)

A: [When the new mistress was coming into our family, we servants were worried whether our life would become complicated with a new strict mistress. But to our great surprise, she turned out to be a nice person and everyone in the house has been happy. There are indeed many things in life that we cannot make predictions about.]

B: 글세 말이요. 그 마님 첫날 오실 때에야 누가 이럴 줄 아겠소.

kulsey mal-i-yo. ku manim chesnal o-si-lttAeyey-ya
KULSSEY SAYING-BE-POL THAT MISTRESS FIRST.DAY COME-SH-WHEN-EMPH
nwuka ile-l-cyul al-es-keys-so
WHO:NOM LIKE.THIS-ADN-NML KNOW-PST-COJC-END

'KULSSEY that's the (right thing) to say. When the (new) mistress came (to this household) who would have ever guessed that it would be like this (peaceful)?'

(1912, *Haynglakto* : 133)

There is only one occurrence of *kulsey* in the TCU-medial position, which suggests that this usage is a later development. The discourse particle in this function is exemplified in (9), in which a grandmother, the speaker, is discussing with her young granddaughter what to do in response to a 71-year-old man's proposal to the girl. The discourse particle *kulsey* is functioning as a filler (as in Excerpt 8), and cataphorically indexing the speaker's inability to decide and the suggestion that the granddaughter should make the decision.

(9)

[My child, what do you think? [...] There has not been any good man for you, but this man is rich. Isn't it good? But the man is so old that I lost my words...]

아모리 칠십에 청남주려 하논 말은 잇스나 호호호 글세 너른하나의 처녀장가를 들너하니 [...] 나논 무에 무엔지 엇디커면 도홀지 몰오겟다. 네가 잘 생각해여 하여리

amori chilsip-ey sayngnamca-la ha-nan mal-un is-suna
EVEN.THOUGH 70-AT STRONG.MAN-DEC SAY-RL SAYING-TOP EXIST-BUT
hohoho kulsey nilunhana-uy chyenyecyangka-lul tul-nyeha-ni [...] (LAUGHTER)
na-nan mwue-y mwue-y-nci estekhe-myen tyoh-ul-ci molo-keys-ta
I-TOP WHAT-NOM WHAT-BE-NML DO.HOW-IF BE.GOOD-FUT-NML NOT.KNOW-FUT-DEC
ney-ka cal sayngkaha-ye ha-yela
YOU-NOM WELL THINK-CONS DO-IMP

'Even though there is a saying that a seventy-year-old man can be as strong as a young man, (laughter) KULSSEY this man is trying to marry a young maiden at his age 71 [...(11 words omitted)...] I cannot figure out what's what and I don't know how I can handle this. You think about this well and decide yourself.' (1912, *Haynglakto* : 118)

Another notable aspect of early attestations of the discourse particle *kulsey* is that there are no instances of it in TCU-final position. In the historical data sources, this usage begins to appear from the early 1960s, which suggests that it is a recent development. The attested function is the same as the reported cases in Excerpts 11–13: displaying the speaker's disaffiliative or surprised stance toward the matter being reported. The linguistic contexts are also similar in that the discourse particle *kulsey* in the TCU-final position in these early attestations typically occurs contiguous to quotations, as exemplified in (10).

(10)

[I'm talking about your sister. A woman is also a human, and if all humans have intellect and discerning power, as we all know,]

그까짓 놈을 사내라고 글세

ku-kkacis nom-ul sanay-la-kwu kulsey.

THAT-KIND:PEJ GUY-ACC MAN-DEC-QT KULSSEY

'(She is) saying that even that kind of a deplorable fella is a man KULSSEY.'

(1961, *Kkochkwa nakyepi issun entekkil*, radio drama, episode 16)

Excerpt (10) is taken from a radio drama scene in which the speaker is complaining to his son about his daughter who is content with her incompetent husband, of whom the speaker has never approved. In the excerpt, the speaker is expressing his own negative opinion (note the use of the pejorative expression *kukkacis nom* to refer to his son-in-law) as if it were a quotation of his daughter's (note the use of the quotative marker *-kwu*). The disaffiliative attitude is explicitly indexed by the final *kulsey*, with the deictic *ku* anaphorically referring to the preceding utterance.

From the above exposition, we can see that the discourse particle function of *kulsey* emerged in Modern Korean, more precisely at the beginning of the 20th century, when it occurred in the TCU-initial, second-position turn. The discourse particle's occurrence in the TCU-medial position seems to be a later development, judging from its rarity. And its occurrence

in the TCU-final position with the function of marking disaffiliative stance is even more recent, unattested until the mid-20th century. The chronological order of the positionality of the discourse particle is the same as the order of its relative frequency ranking, shown in Table 1 in Section 2: TCU-initial, TCU-medial, and TCU-final. This strongly suggests that the diachronic depth of this grammaticalizing form corresponds to its synchronic strength as reflected in its use frequency.

5. Conclusion

In this study, we have shown how *kulssey* serves as a deictic marker that can be used both anaphorically and cataphorically. As it developed from the deictic verb *kuleha*- 'be/do so', *kulssey* gained an indexing function, and a sense of indefiniteness and vagueness that enables it to index various segments of discourse materials. Specifically, *kulssey* refers to a large-scope referent, such as a whole prior proposition or the entire matter that needs to be explicated in detail, in contrast to the Korean demonstrative *ku* 'that', which usually refers to a specific referent.

The instances of *kulssey* observed in the current study show a highly systematic distribution of its varied positioning in turns-at-talk. In TCU-initial position, *kulssey* is used to anaphorically refer to a matter mentioned in prior turns, tying the unfolding turn to that matter. Due to this indexical function, *kulssey* can freely occur in contrasting contexts, such as when taking or disclaiming an epistemic stance, and when displaying agreement or disagreement. In TCU-medial position, *kulssey* is used as a prospective indexical while a speaker is in search of a word or getting the recipient ready to attend to the upcoming punchline of a story or event. In TCU-final position, *kulssey* occurs contiguous to indirect, direct, or self-quotation and functions to display the speaker's disaffiliative stance toward the reported message, the reported speaker, or the relevant matter. These findings are supported by our examination of the developmental path of *kulssey*, which demonstrates how each function of the discourse in different turn positions emerged over time.

In sum, it is neither an inherent meaning nor a turn position itself that gives *kulssey* a specific function in any instance of its use. As a deictic marker, *kulssey* requires the interlocutors to attend to the prior and/or following turns in order to understand the intended meaning and function of an utterance; this is why the varied functions of *kulssey* sometimes seems contradictory, and why a full understanding of *kulssey* requires examination of its occurrence through the progression of turns and sequences.

This study shows the importance of examining naturally occurring instances of discourse particles as it provides an empirical and concrete understanding of when the discourse particle is used and how it is relevant to the interlocutors themselves in the unfolding talk-in-interaction. As seen in the example of the Korean discourse particle *kulssey*, linguistic forms cannot simply be mapped onto functions. A speaker's turns and actions are not constructed in isolation, but formulated and implemented at a particular interactional juncture in a certain order and intersubjectively with other interlocutors of the talk. Accordingly, for an accurate and comprehensive understanding of the function and use of discourse particles, an emic perspective from the interlocutors themselves is essential. In addition, attention to the turn and sequential position of discourse particles demonstrates the importance of examining correlations among forms, functions, and positions. The turn and sequential positions of discourse particles are keenly tied to the type and scope of their functions and uses.

Declaration of competing interest

There is no conflict of interest.

Acknowledgements

This research was partially supported by the 2021 research fund from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers and Dr. Miriam Locher, Special Issue Editor, for their insightful comments. Any remaining errors are our own.

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Abbreviations

ACC: Accusative
 AT: Address term
 CL: Classifier
 COMM: Committal
 DC: Declarative suffix
 DCT:RE: Deductive reasoning
 DM: Discourse marker
 FR: Factual realization
 IE: Informal ending
 IMP: Imperative
 NML: Nominalizer
 NOM: Nominative
 POL: Polite speech level
 PROG: Progressive
 PROP: Propositive
 PRS: Present
 PST: Past suffix
 Q: Question marker

QT: Quotative particle
QUOT: Quotative construction
RL: Relativizer suffix
RT: Retrospective
SH: Subject honorific
TOP: Topic particle

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