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From an affirmative response to a discourse marker:

Focusing on the Korean interjection *ney*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

Requirement for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Yeonseob Lee

2024

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2024

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

From an affirmative response to a discourse marker:

Focusing on the Korean interjection *ney*

by

Yeonseob Lee

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2024

Professor Sung-Ock Shin Sohn, Chair

This dissertation explores the multifaceted Korean interjection *ney* from the pragmatic, multimodal, and historical perspectives. As a polite expression, *ney* demonstrates a speaker's awareness of the socio-cultural expectation for individuals to use honorifics appropriately, indicating their relative status vis-à-vis their interlocutors. Being employed in diverse interaction scenarios to build effective communication and cultivate interpersonal relationships, *ney* has become one of the most frequently used expressions in contemporary Korean.

Though it was initially regarded as a dialectal expression of the standard Korean expression *yey* and/or an incorrect expression of *nyey*, *ney* has developed into a versatile device due to the feature of flexibility and adaptability as an interjection. Eventually, *ney* has come to be used across

various interaction contexts and was finally recognized as a word of the standard Korean expressions in the late 20th century.

The multifunctionality of *ney* can be broadly classified into a response form and a discourse marker. As a response form, *ney* conveys a speaker's attitudinal stance of politeness and emotional stance of (dis)affiliation toward the interlocutor's utterances or ongoing interaction. In some cases, *ney* politely provides a speaker's affirmation, confirmation, and acceptance, and indicates a speaker's agreement, interest, presence, and departure, signaling affiliation. In some other cases, it politely elicits a desirable response, requests an interlocutor's reiteration, and interrupts an interlocutor's undesirable utterance, signaling disaffiliation. As a discourse marker, on the other hand, *ney* is used to politely start an utterance, elaborate on a previous utterance, backtrack a previous utterance, summarize a previous utterance, and manage a topic at the utterance-initial position. It is also used to fill a pause and hold a conversation turn at the utterance-medial position and to finish an utterance and yield a conversation turn to the interlocutor at the utterance-final position. These various discourse-pragmatic functions are associated with the different acoustic features (such as pitch, break, and length) and nonverbal behaviors (such as head nod, gaze, and body orientation).

The development of *ney* from politely providing affirmation to emerging as a discourse marker for organizing discourse and negotiating a conversation turn in a polite way can be viewed as an instance of grammaticalization. From a broader perspective toward grammar, *ney* has acquired new grammatical functions, following the general tendencies observed in the grammaticalization into discourse markers, including phonetic erosion, layering, divergence, and specialization. As *ney* has become widely used, *yey* has become specialized for marking formality. Additionally, as *ney* was acknowledged as a standard language expression, its archaic form *nyey*

became an incorrect expression. This instance illustrates how a linguistic device can vary its usage by conforming to socio-cultural norms, indicating the dynamic interrelationship between language, culture, and society.

The dissertation of Yeonseob Lee is approved.

Shoichi Iwasaki

Hongyin Tao

Steven E. Clayman

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University of California, Los Angeles

2024

To my parents

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Acknowledgment

First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my advisor, Professor Sung-Ock Sohn, for her guidance and encouragement over the last five years. It has been my great honor and pleasure to study Korean linguistics with her in the U.S. She has always been willing to listen to my trivial questions and provide insightful comments, despite her busy schedule. I will never forget my time in LA with her, from the day we first met in front of her office to my hooding ceremony. Thank you very much. Best wishes for 'our' new journey.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to my committee members: Professor Emeritus Shoichi Iwasaki, Professor Hongyin Tao, and Professor Steven Clayman. It has been valuable to study Discourse Analysis, Conversation Analysis, and interactional linguistics under their guidance. Despite their busy schedules, they generously joined my committee and provided constructive feedback on my humble draft. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor Emeritus Shoichi Iwasaki, who has treated me not only as a junior scholar but also as a colleague and even a friend. He has consistently showed interest in my thoughts on language phenomena and encouraged me to develop them into writing. His insightful comments on my humble ideas ignited my passion and guided me in transforming them into coherent pieces of writing. I will miss our random conversations on the way back to Royce Hall. Thank you very much.

I am sincerely grateful to Professor Emeritus Seongha Rhee at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, South Korea. Without him, I would not be who I am now. After I met him in his seminar on grammaticalization, my life was totally changed. I always tried to emulate even a little bit of his endless passion to linguistics, keen insights into language phenomena, exceptional teaching, and unwavering dedication to his students, but it proved impossible. Thank you very much.

I am also deeply indebted to Professor Emeritus Gui-Sun Moon at Hansung University, Seoul, South Korea. I vividly recall the day when I knocked on her office door. Even though I remained silent, she said, “You want to go to graduate school to study more, right?” She always shows her interest in my research and provides insightful comments to enrich my academic journey.

My gratitude also goes to Professor Iksoo Kwon, Professor Jeong-Woon Park, Professor Kwang-sup Kim, and Professor Sung-Hoon Hong at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, South Korea. Their exceptional seminars and kind encouragement immersed me in the field of linguistics.

I would like to extend my gratitude to the grammaticalizationists who have consistently supported me both academically and emotionally, with special thanks to Professor Mikyung Ahn, Professor Hyun Sook Lee, Professor Kyou-Dong Ahn, Professor Sunhee Yae, and among others.

I am also grateful to Professor Nayoung Kwon, whose encouragement to analyze language phenomena from new angles has been enlightening and invaluable to my academic growth.

I also thank the Korean language instructors at UCLA, particularly Dr. Hee Ju and Dr. Jane Choi, as well as my friends on this wonderful campus, especially Chul Namgung, Jinyoung Jo, and Ariel Chan for their support and encouragement.

My special thanks go to my old friends in South Korea, especially Sunghyun Park, Daejeong Kim, Injong Jeong, and Junshik Oh for their genuine camaraderie. I want to say this: “Thank you for making me laugh every day.”

Last but not least, needless to say, my deepest appreciation and gratitude go to my parents in South Korea. I want to say this: “Thank you for always being by my side. I made it. See you soon.”

This dissertation is partially supported by Pony Chung Foundation in South Korea.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This dissertation explores the multifaceted Korean interjection *ney* from the pragmatic, multimodal, and historical perspectives. This interjection is similar to English *yes*, but is much more versatile as described below.

In the history of the Korean language, *ney* was initially regarded as a dialectal expression of a standard language expression *yey* and/or an incorrect expression of *nyey* commonly utilized in the Seoul area, the capital city of South Korea. However, as its usage expanded throughout South Korea and the Ministry of Education designated most Seoul speech as standard in 1988, *ney* was officially acknowledged as a word of the standard language. Despite its relatively recent acknowledgment as a standard language expression, however, *ney* has become one of the most frequently used expressions within the contemporary Korean speech community.

According to the *phyocwunkwuketaysacen* (lit. 'Standard Korean language dictionary') by the National Institute of Korean Language in 1999, *ney* is categorized as an interjection synonymous with *yey*, which is used by a speaker for his/her social superior when he/she i) responds to a question or summoning positively, ii) responds to a request or command positively, iii) requests the interlocutors to repeat their utterance, and iv) asks the interlocutors to do something.

However, within the contemporary Korean speech community, *ney* serves over 17 discourse-pragmatic functions, which can be broadly classified as either a response form or a discourse marker depending on its target (i.e., an interlocutor's utterance and a speaker's own utterance). Additionally, *ney* is more widely and frequently used with the various discourse-pragmatic functions compared to *yey*, which is typically used by a male speaker in a formal

situation to convey politeness and formality to a greater extent than *ney*. Notably, the various functions of *ney* can be distinguished by different phonetic features (such as its pitch pattern and vowel lengthening), which may be accompanied by distinct nonverbal behaviors (such as nodding, bowing, changing gaze direction, smiling, widening eyes, and leaning backward or forward).

Despite the aforementioned intriguing history, multifunctionality, and (non-)verbal features of the Korean *ney*, there has been little comprehensive research on them thus far.

1.2 Goals of the dissertation

The goal of this dissertation is threefold: i) to illustrate the various discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney* with the different phonetic features and nonverbal expressions, ii) to discuss the various discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney* in the contemporary Korean speech community as an example of grammaticalization, and iii) to argue the different use *ney* and *yey* in contemporary Korean, in terms of the function of marking varying degree of formality, is as an example of specialization which was attributed by the grammaticalization of *ney.*

By achieving these goals, this dissertation attempts to provide valuable insight into the multifaceted aspects of interjections and contribute to the field of pragmatics in general and Korean pragmatics in particular.

1.3 Data

This dissertation analyzes the Korean *ney* from three different datasets in order to illustrate its various uses in different contexts.

The first dataset is *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversations* data which consists of 30 sets of video-recorded 'casual conversations' between unacquainted pairs.[1] Each conversation is approximately 20 minutes long, totaling approximately 10 hours. The conversation participants were asked to talk about any aspects of their COVID-19 experience for about 20 minutes. For this dataset, researchers (including myself) recorded conversation via *Zoom*, a video conferencing platform, on both audio and video to use as data. To do so, researchers had the approval of the Institutional Review Board (IRB). To help the participants freely talk, the researchers left after introducing the project. This dataset is appropriate for this dissertation as the conversation participants were expected and required to use polite expressions to adhere to the Korean socio-cultural norms where strangers demonstrate politeness toward each other through (non)verbal polite expressions.

The second dataset contains video clips downloaded from *YouTube*. This data shows how *ney* is used in different contexts, such as variety shows and lectures, rather than casual conversations. For the second dataset, I used *Youglish for Korean* (https://youglish.com/korean), which was originally made for language learners who want to see how target expressions are used and actually pronounced. That is, the first and second datasets are used to illustrate how Korean speakers employ *ney* while they demonstrate their awareness of politeness toward the addressees in casual conversations and other interaction settings, respectively.

[1] The title of this project is "Multilingual COVID-19 Conversations" (PI: Professor Emeritus Shoichi Iwasaki at the University of California, Los Angeles). The data were collected with the support of a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, "COVID-19 and the Digital Native Generation: Collection and Analysis of Multilingual Narratives" (Project No. JP 22H00660, Principal Investigator: Professor Kazuyo Murata at Ryukoku University in Japan, 2022-2024), Academic Senate at the University of California, Los Angeles, "the Multilingual Covid-19 Conversation Data Analysis Project" (Principal Investigator: Professor Emeritus Shoichi Iwasaki at UCLA, 2022-23, 2023-24) and the Terasaki Center for Japanese Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, "the Covid-19 Conversations" (Principal Investigator: Professor Emeritus Shoichi Iwasaki, 2021-22, 2023-24). The author of this dissertation has participated in this project as a research assistant.

The third dataset comprises various historical sources from Middle Korean (15th - 19th centuries) to Modern Korean (20th century). This dataset contains a variety of literature from *sekposangcel* (lit. 'Interpretation of Buddha's Sermons') in the 15th century to a bundle of *sinsosel* (lit. new novels) in the 19th century. Additionally, it incorporates historical dictionaries published from the 19th century to the 20th century, as well as the *phyocwune kyuceng* (lit. 'Standard Korean Prescript') announced in 1988 and nationally implemented since 1989 by the Ministry of Education. This dataset illustrates the historical and prescriptive usage of *ney*.

1.4 Methods

This dissertation adopts various methodological approaches in order to examine the pragmatic, multimodal, and historical aspects of the Korean interjection *ney*.

In Chapter 3, I describe the various discourse-pragmatic functions of the Korean *ney* in contemporary Korean from conversation and discourse analytic approaches. I analyze speakers' acoustic properties (such as pitch, breaks, and length) on *ney* using *Praat*, a speech analysis tool. I also illustrate speakers' nonverbal expressions (such as gaze and body orientation), which co-occur with *ney*, adopting multimodal analysis. To illustrate these nonverbal expressions, I captured speakers' face and body on recorded videos and used an angel bracket symbol (>) to indicate how the speakers' the nonverbal behaviors change while they are using *ney*. I covered parts of the speakers' face to protect their privacy, especially for the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* data. However, I leave key motions that are notable in this study visible. This includes nodding and gaze direction changes, as well as changes in tilting the head or orienting leftward or rightward. Additionally, I use an arrow symbol (→) to mark the target of analysis when *ney* occurs multiple times throughout one excerpt.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the development of the various discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney* from a broad and flexible perspective toward grammar. After that, I weigh-in the controversies over whether the functional extension of an interjection is grammaticalization or pragmaticalization. I argue, after considering alternative viewpoints, that such development is a result of grammaticalization.

1.5 Organization

This dissertation is organized in the following manner.

Chapter 2 provides the background for this dissertation, introducing key concepts which are discussed in this dissertation including Korean language, interjection, response form, discourse marker, stance, and grammaticalization. Additionally, it introduces the history of the Korean *ney* (and its alternative expression *yey* and *nyey*) and reviews previous research on *ney*.

Chapter 3 classifies the various discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney* into a response form and discourse marker, and describes the way in which Korean speakers employ *ney* with different phonetic features and nonverbal behaviors depending on its functions, thereby suggesting the interrelation between them.

Chapter 4 discusses the various discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney* within the contemporary Korean speech community as an example of grammaticalization, thereby participating in the controversies over whether the development of interjection is the result of grammaticalization.

Chapter 5 summarizes and concludes this dissertation and suggests future research.

Chapter 2 Preliminaries

This chapter introduces the background of this dissertation to facilitate my analysis and discussion of the Korean interjection *ney*. The first section introduces key concepts used in this dissertation, including Korean language, interjection, Korean interjection, response form, discourse marker, stance, and grammaticalization. The second section provides the background information on the Korean interjection *ney* by illustrating the development of its prescriptive usage and reviewing previous research.

2.1 Key concepts of this dissertation

2.1.1 Korean language

The Korean language is an agglutinative language with the SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) word order. Korean has its own original writing system, *Hangul*, which was invented by King Sejong the Great in 1443.[2]

With the influence of Confucianism on society, Korean has a highly developed honorific system which consists of an array of lexical and grammatical items to mark different degrees of politeness, intimacy, and formality.

The Korean interjection *ney*, the main concern of this dissertation, is a polite expression that indexes a speaker's awareness of politeness toward the interlocutor. In contrast, its casual form *e* and *ung* lack this politeness element.

[2] Before the invention of the orthography, the Chinese characters were borrowed to represent the Korean language. For example, in *itwu* writing system, the meanings or sounds of the Chinese characters were adopted to write Korean. The *itwu* writing system may include *hyangchal* writing system, which was used in a similar manner, especially in *hyangka* poems.

Contemporary Korean distinguishes six speech levels from the plain level to the deferential level by the sentence- or utterance-final elements. The final element varies according to the type of sentence/utterance, as illustrated in <Table 2.1> below.

		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	Propositive
-Honorific	Plain	*-ta*	*-ni*?/-(*nu*)*nya*?	*-kela*/*-ela*	*-ca*
	Intimate	*-e*/*a*	*-e*/*a*?	*e*/*a*	*-e*/*a*
	Familiar	*-ney*	*-na*?/*-nunka*?	*-key*	*-sey*
	Blunt	-(*s*)*o*/-(*s*)*wu*	-(*s*)*o*?/-(*s*)*wu*?	-(*u*)*o*/*wu*	-(*u*)*psita*
+Honorific	Informal Polite	-(*e*/*a*)*yo*	-(*e*/*a*)*yo*?	-(*e*/*a*)*yo*	-(*e*/*a*)*yo*
	Deferential	-(*su*)*pnita*	(-*su*)*pnikka*?	*-sipsio*	-(*u*)*sipsita*

<Table 2.1. Korean speech levels based on Sohn (1999)>

These speech levels have undergone historical development and variation (cf. Brown, 2015; Kiaer et al., 2019; Koo and Rhee, 2023; Sohn, 1999, inter alia). The plain level and intimate level are commonly used among close friends and by the elder or superior to the younger or inferior. The familiar level and blunt level are used by the older adults of older generations toward younger adults, but they are considered somewhat obsolete in contemporary Korean society. The informal polite level and deferential level indicate a speaker's politeness toward the listener, which distinguishes them from the previously mentioned speech levels. As the term implies, the deferential level marks a high degree of formality, unlike the informal polite level.

2.1.2 Interjection

Interjections include, but are not limited to, expressions for showing spontaneous feelings, attention-getters, response words, and swear words. Discussions on interjections can be traced back to Greek and Latin grammarians' works. Greek grammarians treated interjections as a

subclass of adverbs (which modify verbs), while Latin grammarians regarded interjections as a separate class of words that are syntactically independent in the function of indicating the state of mind without stable meaning (Ameka, 1992a; Robins, 1997 [1967]).

In the twentieth century, Jespersen (1924) suggests that interjections consist of words used solely as interjections (such as *hullo* and *oh*) and words used as part of other word classes (such as *Well*! and *Why*?). Bloomfield (1962 [1933]): 176) argues that interjections "occur predominantly as minor sentences, entering into few or no constructions other than parataxis." He suggested that interjections can be "special words" (such as *ouch*, *oh*, *sh*, *gosh*, etc.) or phrases of "peculiar constructions" (such as *dear me*, *goodness me*, etc.).

In modern linguistics, interjections are commonly classified into two categories in formal dimension: primary interjections and secondary interjections (Ameka, 1992a, 2006; Ameka and Wilkins, 2006; Evans, 1992; Norrick, 2007, 2009). Primary interjections are little or non-words that can constitute an independent non-elliptical utterance (such as *Oh*! and *Wow*!), and they are solely used as interjections. Meanwhile, secondary interjections (such as *Help*! and *Fire*!) possess their own lexical meanings, and thus they can belong to other word classes.

Interjections are also categorized into three types in functional/pragmatic dimension: expressive interjections, conative interjections, and phatic interjections (Ameka, 1992a; Dingemanse, 2021; Goddard, 2014; Wierzbicka, 1992). Expressive interjections express a speaker's emotions or state of mind, such as surprise (*Wow*), disgust (*Yuck*), joy (*Yay*). Conative interjections are used to attract interlocutors' attention or ask them to do something, such as *shh* ('Please be quiet.') and *eh*? ('Can you say that again?'). Phatic interjections are employed to maintain ongoing conversations, such as *mhm* and *uh-huh*, and also may include "performance of interactional routines" such as *OK* and *How are you*? (Ameka, 1992a: 114).

There has also been some research to explain the semantic feature of interjections. As part of this, Wierzbicka (1992) suggests that the meaning of interjections can be illustrated in semantic formulae. Similarly, Goddard (2014) shows that interjections are semantically tractable from a natural semantic metalanguage (NSM) approach.

Below are the features of interjections that have been suggested so far (cf. Ameka, 1992a, 2006; Ameka and Wilkins, 2006; Dingemanse, 2021; Dixon, 2010; Evans, 1992; Heine, 2022; Norrick, 2007, 2009; Wharton, 2003).

a) Interjections are spontaneous speech to show a speaker's feelings/emotional status.

b) Interjections can be directed at a listener.

c) Interjections tend to be phonologically and morphologically anomalous.

d) Interjections tend to be monomorphemic.

e) Interjections have Janusian characteristics of being independent words and sentences.

f) Interjections are used by speakers to hold a conversation turn.

g) Interjections are used by listeners to signal that they are following ongoing conversation.

h) Interjections are used with various discourse-pragmatic functions in different situations, even when they don't have lexical meanings.

i) Interjections can constitute ritual pairs (such as *hi-hi* and *bye-bye*).

Since interjections are used in the functions of managing utterances and/or showing speakers' stance, they are examined as a discourse marker or stance marker, from a discourse and conversation analytic approach (Du Bois, 2007; Fraser, 1990; Heine, 2022; Kim et al., 2021; Montes, 1999; Norrick, 2009, inter alia).

2.1.3 Korean interjection

Research on Korean interjections goes back to the early 1900s. Yu (1909) refers to such expressions as *kamtongsa* (Sino-Korean *kam* 'to feel' + *tong* 'to move' + *sa* 'word'), and explains that they are used to express a speaker's spontaneous feelings. He placed fillers (such as *um*) in the *kamtongsa* category. Ju (1910) calls interjections *nol* and suggests that they are sounds uttered with a speaker's surprise or answer. Choe (1945 [1937]) refers to interjections as native Korean *nukkimssi* (*nukkim* 'feeling' + *ssi* 'word'), and in his book places them side-by-side with *kamtongsa* to illustrate that they are sounds that modify previous utterances. He classified such interjections into emotional interjection, which expresses a speaker's emotional status, and intentional interjection which is used to answer, call, warn, demand, and so forth. Chŏng (1956) also uses the terminology of *nukkimssi* to refer to interjections and illustrates that they are used to express a speaker's feelings or simple intentions. He suggested that such expressions are used separately from other words, occur at the beginning, middle, or end of a sentence, and even occur as an independent sentence.

Nam and Ko (1985) use *kamtansa* (Sino-Korean *kam* 'to feel' + *tan* 'to express' + *sa* 'word') to refer to interjections when explaining Korean grammar taught in high school curriculums. They illustrated that such expressions are used to express a speaker's feelings or intentions directly, not relying on other words. They classified *kamtansa* into i) *kamceng kamtansa* ('emotional interjection') which expresses speakers' feelings, ii) *uyci kamtansa* ('intentional interjection') which is used to express speakers' thoughts, with speakers' recognizing the existence of their interlocutors, and iii) stutters and fillers.

Since Nam and Ko (1985), Korean interjections have been usually called *kamtansa* and analyzed with their discourse-pragmatic functions from the conversation and discourse analytic

perspectives. For example, Lee (1993) illustrates the discourse-pragmatic functions of the Korean interjection *yey* 'yes,' *kulssey* 'well,' and *ani* 'no' as a discourse marker. Oh (1997) examines various Korean interjections, such as *ani* 'no,' *ca* 'then,' *kulssey* 'well,' *mwe* 'well,' *ney* 'yes,' *um*, *e*, and so forth. Ahn (2012) analyzes various interjections as a discourse marker, including *ung* 'yes,' *ney* 'yes,' *ani* 'no,' *a*, *e*, *um*, and so forth. Kim et al. (2021) illustrate the pragmatic functions of the Korean vocative interjection *ya* 'hey' in multiple turn positions.

With regard to the frequency of interjections, Jeon (2009) illustrates that interjections usually occur in spoken language, showing her data from spoken corpus (consisting of casual conversations, phone conversations, interviews, etc.), semi-spoken corpus (consisting of lectures, public talks, dramas, movies, etc.), and written corpus (consisting of essays, novels, textbooks, etc.). For multimodal analyses of interjections, Kim (2015) examines speakers' non-verbal expressions while they are using interjections. As for a pedagogical approach toward interjections, Park and Yi (2018) classify interjections, which are illustrated in textbooks for Korean language in Korean as a Foreign Language (KFL) classroom by pedagogical levels (for example, beginning, intermediate, and advanced level).

2.1.4 Response form

Responses occur in talk-in-interaction with various functions including, but not limited to, providing affirmative/negative answers to questions, expressing confirmation, asking for interlocutors' re-utterances, and chiming in. Responses have been examined by different scholars with different understandings and interests and are given different terms such as: response particle, other-initiated repairs, backchannels, and so forth (cf. Biber et al., 1999; Enfield, 2017; Schegloff, 1997; Schegloff and Sacks, 1973; Stiver, 2018; Wiltschko, 2021).

Response particles refer to affirmative and negative responses, such as *yes* and *no*, to a given proposition described in polar questions, imperative, and even *wh*-questions (Biber et al., 1999; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Enfield et al., 2010; Heine, 2022; Wiltschko, 2016, inter alia). Other-initiated repairs involve listeners' request to speakers to repeat their utterances or to confirm, such as *What*?, *Pardon*?, and *Excuse me*? (Dingemanse and Enfield, 2015; Kendrick, 2015; Schegloff, 1997, inter alia). Backchannels (sometimes categorized into continuer or reactive tokens) are short remarks used to chime in, such as *yeah*, *uh-huh*, and *mm* (Clancy et al., 1996; Schegloff, 1982; Tolins and Fox Tree, 2014; Yngve, 1970; Young and Lee, 2004, inter alia). Such backchannels are employed rhetorically to signal that listeners are following an ongoing interaction without any trouble, and further encourage speakers to keep talking.

As such, responses play an important role in an interaction with their various functions. In order to discuss those various discourse-pragmatic functions of responses in reacting to interactants' previous utterances from a macro-perspective, for convenience, the term 'response forms' is adopted in this dissertation, as an umbrella term which encompasses the various interactional uses of responses.

2.1.5 Discourse Marker

Discourse markers have received much attention since the mid 1970's (Traugott, 2007a). One of the most-cited definitions of discourse markers would be "Discourse markers are sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk." (Schiffrin, 1987: 31). With this definition, discourse markers have been studied in relation to their integrative function of contributing to coherence in discourse (Aijmer, 2002; Fraser, 1996; Heine et al., 2021a,b; Schiffrin,

1987, inter alia). Discourse markers can be characterized as follows based on existing research (cf. Aijmer, 2002; Brinton, 1996; Fraser, 1990, 1996; Heine et al., 2021a,b; Schiffrin, 1987).

a) Discourse markers build coherence in utterances.

b) Discourse markers express a speaker's attitudes.

c) Discourse markers construct a speaker's and listener's interaction during conversation.

d) Discourse markers do not affect the truth condition of utterances.

e) Discourse markers can be omitted, which does not affect the grammaticality of utterances.

f) Discourse markers tend to be set off prosodically from their host utterances.

g) Discourse markers cannot be negated.

Discourse markers, however, are labeled and categorized in various ways by scholars with different foci. For instance, Fraser (1996) suggests that discourse markers are a subset of pragmatic markers which are "non-propositional part of sentence meaning" (Fraser, 1996: 323). Besides pragmatic markers, cue phrases (Knott and Sanders, 1998), discourse connectives (Blakemore, 1987; Hall, 2007), discourse particles (Fischer, 2006; Schourup, 1999), formulaic theticals (Heine et al., 2016), and others are used to refer to discourse markers. Regardless of the terminologies used, there is a consensus that the integral function of these linguistic elements is to mark coherence between previous and subsequent utterances.

More recently, discourse markers have been studied from the perspective of the interrelationship between their position in a sentence and the function. For example, Beeching and Detges (2014) and Degand (2014) hypothesize that discourse markers at utterance/sentence-initial

position (Left Periphery; LP) tend to have subjective functions (such as turn-taking, getting attention, showing stance, etc.), while at utterance/sentence-final position (Right Periphery; RP) they tend to have intersubjective functions (such as yielding a turn, seeking confirmation, etc.). However, it is suggested that some discourse markers, especially those in East Asian languages, do not follow these tendencies (Kim et al., 2021; Kim and Sohn, 2015; Onodera, 2014; Rhee, 2016b, 2020b). For example, Rhee (2016b) suggests that the Korean discourse marker *mwe* is employed both at LP and RP to express a speaker's negative or disaffiliative stance toward a situation.

2.1.6 Stance

The term 'stance' by no means defines a single concept, due to its intrinsic nature of stance-marking and stance-taking. Stance includes, but is not limited to, a speaker's personal beliefs, attitudes, judgments, evaluations, feelings, knowledge, and social values, and they often overlap (Du Bois, 2007; Englebretson, 2007; Gray and Biber, 2014; Iwasaki, 2023; Iwasaki and Yap, 2015; Jaffe, 2009; Stubb, 1986, inter alia). Such a stance can be conveyed through verbal expressions, non-verbal behaviors, and other semiotic conventions (e.g., traffic signs) in interaction. These interactional devices through which speakers express and mark their stance are called stance markers. Below are a few of the various aspects of stance, which have been discussed in the literature so far (cf. Biber and Finegan, 1988; Du Bois, 2007; Lyon, 1994; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1989)

a) There is no scholarly agreement on the definition of stance yet.
b) Stance is regarded to be a social action which can be characterized by its interrelated dimension of objective and (inter)subjective orientations.

c) Stance can be realized by single lexical and grammatical expressions, phrases, and even structure.

d) Stance can also be conveyed through both paralinguistic means (such as pitch, loudness, and duration), non-verbal behaviors (such as facial expressions, body posture, and body orientation), and even other semiotic conventions.

e) Stance is collaboratively constructed among interactants, because of its relational nature.

f) Stance is consequential; i.e., taking a stance assumes certain social and interactional responsibility.

g) Stance evokes a broader socio-cultural framework.

Linguists investigate how stance is marked and taken with not only verbal expressions but also nonverbal behaviors in talk-in-interaction, from a conversation and discourse analytic approach (Ahn and Yap, 2020; Du Bois, 2007; Iwasaki and Yap, 2015; Koo and Rhee, 2013; Lee and Sohn, 2022; Stivers, 2008, inter alia)

2.1.7 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is generally understood as a linguistic phenomenon where lexical items or constructions acquire grammatical functions, or where grammatical items acquire a new grammatical function (Bybee et al., 1994; Heine et al., 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 2003 [1993]; Lehmann, 2015 [1982]; Rhee, 2016c; Traugott and Heine, 1991). The term 'grammaticalization' was originally introduced by Meillet (1958 [1912]: 131) who defined it as "l'attribution du caractère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome" (lit. 'the attribution of grammatical character to an erstwhile autonomous word'). Kuryłowicz (1975 [1965]: 52) suggests that grammaticalization

"consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status.", which became a classic definition for grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott (2003 [1993]: 15) define grammaticalization as "the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions."

With regard to the development of discourse markers, some scholars argue that such development should be called pragmaticalization instead of grammaticalization, emphasizing that their occurrence in a sentence is optional, unlike other canonical grammatical items (such as prepositions), and that they are used with 'pragmatic' functions in discourse (Erman and Kotsinas, 1993; Dostie, 2009; Norde, 2009; Waltereit, 2002). Students of grammaticalization, however, suggest that such development is also grammaticalization in that discourse markers underwent morpho-syntactic and semantic-functional changes, which are major tendencies of grammaticalization (Brinton, 2017; Diewald, 2011; Rhee, 2015, 2020a; Tabor and Traugott, 1998; Traugott, 1995; Traugott and Dasher, 2002).

2.2 Background information of the Korean interjection *ney*

2.2.1 Development of the prescriptive usage of the Korean interjection *ney*

Although the acknowledgment of *ney* as a standard language expression in 1988 and the discrepancies found in historical dictionaries regarding the definition of *ney* and its alternative form *yey* (and *nyey*) are both intriguing, they are still underexplored in the existing literature. In this section, I will examine the historical dictionaries published from the 1880s to the 1990s and

phyocwune kyuceng (lit. 'Standard Language Prescript') published by the Ministry of Education in 1988, in order to facilitate my analysis and discussion of *ney* in this dissertation.

It is believed that the first dictionary to address the Korean language is a Korean-French dictionary written by a French missionary, Felix-Clair Ridel, in 1880, titled *hanpwulcAtyen*. With the publication of this dictionary, various language dictionaries, such as Korean-English or Korean-Japanese dictionaries, were subsequently published, as illustrated in <Table 2.2> below.

	Title	Author/organization	Year
i.	*hanpwulcAtyen* (lit. 'Korean-French dictionary') Dictionnaire Coréen-Français	Felix-Clair Ridel	1880
ii.	*hanyengcAtyen* (lit. 'Korean-English dictionary') A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language	Horace Grant Underwood	1890
iii.	*cosene sacen* (lit. 'Korean language dictionary') Korean language dictionary	Governor-General of Chōsen	1920
iv.	*hanyengtaycatyen* (lit. 'Korean-English big dictionary') The Unabridged Korean-English Dictionary	James Scarth Gale	1931

<Table 2.2. Korean language dictionaries written by non-Koreans from the late 19th c. to the early 20th c.>

The dictionaries listed in the table above do not include *ney*. Notably, however, *yey* and *nyey*, which might be considered as an earlier or variant form of *ney* and/or *yey*, are found in these dictionaries. For example, the first dictionary, *hanpwulcAtyen* (Korean-French Dictionary), lists *yey* with the definition of "Son par lequel l'inférieur répond à l'appel de son supérieur. Réponse affirmative d'un inférieur" (lit. 'sounds by which the inferior responds to the call of his superior. Affirmative response from an inferior'). Meanwhile, the second dictionary, *hanyengcAtyen* (Korean-English dictionary) lists *yey*, but the lexicographer clearly indicates that it is a misspelling of *nyey* with the definition of 'yes (to a superior)'. The third dictionary, *cosene sacen* (Korean-

Japanese dictionary) defines *yey* as the Japanese *hai*, which is an affirmative response used in a polite way, and illustrates that *nyey* is the same as *yey*. *hanyengtaycatyen* (Korean-English dictionary) also lists *nyey* and *yey*; it defines *nyey* as 'Yes-a respectful reply in the affirmative' and *yey* as 'yes' with a comment suggesting to "see *nyey*". Based on these definitions in the dictionaries, it seems that *nyey* and *yey*, but not *ney*, were commonly used in Korea during the period when the dictionaries were published (between 1880-1931).

However, *ney* is attested in other dictionaries published by Korean people, i.e., Korean-Korean dictionaries, during similar eras and later. The first Korean-Korean dictionary is believed to be *pothonghakkyo cosenesacen* (lit. 'Elementary school Korean dictionary'), which was published by Uylin Sim for elementary school students and teachers in 1925.[3] With this publication, numerous Korean-Korean dictionaries were subsequently published.

The dictionaries selected to examine the prescriptive usage of *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey* in that period are listed in <Table 2.3> below.

	Title	Author, organization, or publishing company	Year
i.	*pothonghakkyo cosenesacen* (lit. 'Elementary school Korean dictionary')	Uylin Sim	1925
ii.	*swuceng cungpo cosene sacen* (lit. 'Revised Korean dictionary')	Seyyeng Mwun	1940
iii.	(*cosenmal*) *khun sacen* (lit. 'Large dictionary')	Hankul Hakhoy (Formerly, Cosene Hakhoy) (lit. 'Korean Letter Society')	1947-1957
iv.	*kwuketaysacen* (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary')	Huysung I	1961

[3] The name of dictionaries and authors were also transliterated in accordance with the Extended Yale Transliteration System (see Appendix B).

v.	*sayhankulsacen* (lit. 'New Korean letter dictionary')	Hankul Hakhoy (Formerly, Cosene Hakhoy) (lit. 'Korean Letter Society')	1967
vi.	*tamokcek conghap kwukesacen* (lit. 'Multi-purpose, comprehensive Korean dictionary')	Minswu Kim & Wungsen Hong	1968
vii.	*hyentay kwuketaysacen* (lit. 'Large contemporary Korean dictionary')	Hanse Publishing company	1973
viii.	*say wulimal khunsacen*[4] (lit. 'New Korean large dictionary')	Kichel Sin & Yongchel Sin	1975
ix.	*hankwuketaysacen* (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary')	Hankwukesacenphyenchanhoy (lit. 'Korean Dictionary Editorials')	1976
x.	*taykwukesacen* (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary')	Hyunmoon Publishing company	1981
xi.	*kwuketaysacen*[5] (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary')	Huysung I	1982
xii.	*wulimal khunsacen* (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary)	Hankul Hakhoy (Formerly, Cosene Hakhoy) (lit. 'Korean Letter Society')	1992
xiii.	*kwukeyonglyeysacen* (lit. 'Korean usage dictionary')	Yengsin Nam	1995
xiv.	*kyeleymal yonglyeysacen*[6] (lit. 'Korean usage dictionary')	Yongswu Pak	1996
xv.	*phyocwunkwuketaysacen* (lit. Standard Korean language dictionary)	National Institute of Korean Language	1999

<Table 2.3. Korean language dictionaries written by Koreans from the early 20th c. to the late 20th c.>

While *pothonghakkyo cosenesacen*, mainly for elementary school students and teachers, lists only *ney* as a responding sound and does not include *nyey* and *yey*, most other dictionaries list at least two of the three varieties: *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey*. For example, *swucengcungpo cosene sacen*,

[4] *wulimal* (*wuli* 'our' + *mal* 'speech') refers to the Korean language.
[5] This *kwuketaysacen* is a revised edition of the original *kwuketaysacen* which was published by the same author in 1961.
[6] *kyeleymal* (*kyeley* 'compatriots + *mal* 'speech') refers to the Korean language.

which is believed to be the second Korean-Korean dictionary, includes all three items: *ney*, *nyey*, and *yey*. It describes *nyey* as being the same as *ney*, defining it as a responding sound to a superior or a word expressing doubt in response to a question, and *yey* as a responding word used to an adult. However, notably, *khun sacen* published by the Hankul Hakhoy (lit. 'Korean Letter Society') indicates that *ney* and *nyey* are not a word of the standard language, whereas it describes *yey* as a responding word used in a situation where a speaker shows respect or asks a question again. The rationale behind the lexicographers of this dictionary, i.e., Hankul Hakhoy (lit. 'Korean Letter Society'), considering *ney* and *nyey* as non-standard language expressions may be traced back to *hankul machumpep thongilan* ('Draft for a Unified Spelling System'), which they announced in 1933. In the draft, they introduced correct spellings for Korean words based on various morphological and phonological rules and suggested that /n/ and /l/ sounds be deleted at the beginning of words (that is, the prohibition on word-initial /n/ and /l/), which is referred to as *twuumpepchik* 'Initial sound rule.'[7] Subsequently, in their publication titled *cosene phocwunmal moum* (lit. 'The collection of standard Korean language'), they described *yey* as a word of the standard language, exemplifying it as a linguistic form where the initial /n/ sound should be deleted, in 1936. In this publication, *ney* and *nyey* are listed as non-standard language words, alongside the standard language word *yey* (Cosene Hakhoy, 1936: 37).

After the Japanese colonial rule (1910-1935) and the Korean war (1950-1953), a greater variety of dictionaries began to be published. As for the dictionaries published in the 1960s, *kwuketaysacen* describes *ney* as a word for response or asking which is used in a situation where a speaker shows respect. Notably, this dictionary indicates that *ney* marks a lower level of politeness than *nyey*, which is described as a responding word used to a person to be honorified

[7] For example, *nyeca* 'woman' and *lyeksa* 'history' changed into *yeca* and *yeksa*.

and a word to ask again to a superior. Additionally, this dictionary lists *yey* with the definition of a responding or re-asking word in a situation where a speaker shows respect. *sayhankulsacen* describes that *ney* and *nyey* are the same as *yey* but indicates *ney* and *nyey* are not a standard language expression, which is similar to *khun sacen* published by the same organization, i.e., Hankul Hakhoy (lit. 'Korean Letter Society'). This dictionary defines *yey* as a responding or asking-back utterance used in a situation where speakers show respect. *tamokcek conghap kwukesacen* lists *ney* with the definition of a responding utterance showing politeness. Similar to the definition of *ney* and *nyey* in *kwuketaysacen*, as examined from the third to sixth line in this paragraph, it also indicates that the level of politeness marked by *ney* is lower than that marked by *nyey*. Additionally, it lists *yey* as a responding utterance used in situations where a speaker shows politeness.

With regard to the dictionaries published from the 1970s to 1980s, there are also variations in the inclusion and explanation of *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey*. *hyentay kwuketaysacen* exclusively lists *yey* with the definition of responding utterance in a situation where a speaker shows respect. However, *say wulimal khunsacen* and *hankwuketaysacen* include all the expressions (i.e., *ney*, *nyey*, and *yey*) with the same definition of an utterance in response to a superior or asking back. Notably, these two dictionaries leave an 'X' mark next to *ney* and *nyey*, which indicates that the expression is incorrect and/or dialectal, while they provide an explanation for *yey*. *kwuketaysacen*, a revised edition of the original, maintains its original entries for *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey*, stating that *ney* marks a lower degree of politeness compared to *yey* and *nyey*.

As for the dictionaries published in the 1990s, it is remarkable that even the Hankul Hakhoy (lit. 'Korean Letter Society'), which had regularly published dictionaries since 1947, changed their perspective toward *ney*. As illustrated above, they originally suggested that *ney* and *nyey* were not

a word of standard Korean in their earlier dictionaries (e.g., *khun sacen* published in 1947-1957 and *sayhankulsacen* published in 1967), but they eventually recognized *ney* as a standard language expression in their relatively recent dictionary, *wulimal khunsacen* published in 1992. *kwukeyonglyeysacen* lists *nyey* as a polite response to superiors' calling or a polite expression to ask back to them, *ney* as a response to superiors or asking back to them, and *yey* as a response to a person to be respected. However, *kyeleymal yonglyeysacen* does not list *nyey*. Instead, it defines *ney* as an expression to answer or ask back in a situation where a speaker shows respect, and *yey* as an expression to answer, ask back, or agree with a superior.

As illustrated above, there were different opinions on *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey*, which can be summarized in <Table 2.4> below. In the table, an 'O' mark indicates that the expression (i.e., *ney*, *yey*, or *nyey*) is listed in the dictionaries, while the absence of the 'O' mark indicates that the expression is not listed. An 'X' mark indicates that the expression is listed as a dialectal and/or non-standard Korean expression. Additionally, '↓' mark and '↑' mark indicate a lower and higher degree of politeness, respectively, if the dictionaries mention the degree of politeness associated with the expression.

	Dictionary	Year	*ney*	*yey*	*nyey*
i.	*hanpwulcAtyen* (lit. 'Korean-French dictionary') Dictionnaire Coréen-Français	1880		O	
ii.	*hanyengcAtyen* (lit. 'Korean-English dictionary') A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language	1890		X[8]	O
iii.	*cosene sacen* (lit. 'Korean language dictionary') Korean language dictionary	1920		O	O
iv.	*hanyengtaycatyen* (lit. 'Korean-English big dictionary') The Unabridged Korean-English Dictionary	1931		O	O

[8] The lexicographer clearly indicates that it is a misspelling of *nyey* with the definition of 'yes (to a superior).'

v.	*pothonghakkyo cosenesacen* (lit. 'Elementary school Korean dictionary')	1925	O		
vi.	*swuceng cungpo cosene sacen* (lit. 'Revised Korean dictionary')	1940	O	O	O
vii.	(*cosenmal*) *khun sacen* (lit. 'Large dictionary')	1947- 1957	X	O	X
viii.	*kwuketaysacen* (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary')	1961	O↓	O	O↑
ix.	*sayhankulsacen* (lit. 'New Korean letter dictionary')	1967	X	O	X
x.	*tamokcek conghap kwukesacen* (lit. 'Multi-purpose, comprehensive Korean dictionary')	1968	O↓	O	O↑
xi.	*hyentay kwuketaysacen* (lit. 'Large contemporary Korean dictionary')	1973		O	
xii.	*say wulimal khunsacen*[9] (lit. 'New Korean large dictionary')	1975	X	O	X
xiii.	*hankwuketaysacen* (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary')	1976	X	O	X
xiv.	*taykwukesacen* (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary')	1981	X	O	X
xv.	*kwuketaysacen*[10] (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary')	1982	O↓	O↑	O↑
xvi.	*wulimal khunsacen* (lit. 'Large Korean dictionary)	1992	O	O	
xvii.	*kwukeyonglyeysacen* (lit. 'Korean usage dictionary')	1995	O	O	O
xviii.	*kyeleymal yonglyeysacen*[11] (lit. 'Korean usage dictionary')	1996	O	O	
xiv.	*phyocwunkwuketaysacen* (lit. Standard Korean language dictionary)	1999	O	O	X

<Table 2.4. Discrepancies in dictionaries defining *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey* from the late 19th c. to the late 20th c.>

[9] *wulimal* (*wuli* 'our' + *mal* 'speech') refers to the Korean language.
[10] This *kwuketaysacen* is a revised edition of the original *kwuketaysacen* which was published by the same author in 1961.
[11] *kyeleymal* (*kyeley* 'compatriots + *mal* 'speech') refers to the Korean language.

The aforementioned discrepancies in defining *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey* have gradually been resolved since the 1990s, as the Hankul Hakhoy (lit. 'Korean Letter Society') did, with the publication of *phyocwune kyuceng* (lit. 'Standard Language Prescript'), which was announced in 1988 and has been implemented on a national level by the Ministry of Education since 1989.

As illustrating the prescriptive usage of standard Korean (such as spelling and pronunciation) for promoting effective communication, the Prescript designates the modern Seoul language, which is commonly used by educated (well-cultivated) people, as the standard language.[12] Additionally, it introduces newly acknowledged standard language expressions, including *ney*. Notably, it identifies *ney* as a form of the principle use and *yey* as that of allowed use, while demonstrating several words with slightly different pronunciations but the same meanings/functions (i.e., variant forms), and then, categorizes them into 'principle use' and 'allowed use' in Paragraph 18. This distinction may reflect the prescriptive guidelines for standard language usage as outlined in the official document.[13]

Ten years later, the National Institute of Korean Language published *phyocwunkwuketaysacen* (lit. 'Standard Korean language dictionary') in 1999. This dictionary holds significant authority and is regarded as one of the credible sources for demonstrating the prescriptive usage of standard Korean, as it was published by a national organization in accordance with various rules and stipulations such as *phyocwune kyuceng* (lit. 'Standard Language Prescript').

[12] The Ministry of Education acknowledged not all the Seoul language constituted standard Korean, stating that people are nonetheless aware of the standard language due to its conventional use in written language.

[13] *phyocwune kyuceng* (lit. 'Standard Language Prescript') was updated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in 2017, around 30 years after the initial announcement. The newly updated prescript provides a detailed explanation for the acknowledgment of *ney* as a word of the standard Korean. It notes that both *ney* and *yey* are acknowledged as a standard language expression, as they are used frequently and with similar frequency for responses, whereas previously only *yey* held this status of a standard language expression. *phyocwune kyuceng* (lit. 'Standard Language Prescript') is available on the official website of the National Institute of Korean Language: https://korean.go.kr/kornorms/regltn/regltnView.do?regltn_code=0002#a (Accessed May. 19, 2024).

In the dictionary, *ney* and *yey* are listed as synonyms with the following definition: i) responding to an elder/superior's calling or question in a positive way, ii) accepting an elder/superior's request or command, iii) requesting the reiteration of what an elder/superior has said, and iv) badgering or imploring an elder/superior.[14] Additionally, the dictionary states that *nyey* is a wrong expression of *ney*.

To summarize, *ney* was widely used in speech communities, especially in the Seoul area, to such an extent that it warranted acknowledgment in the prescript by the National Institute of Korean Language.[15] As a consequence, with a sociocultural reason that Seoul language, i.e., *ney*, tends to be associated with positive traits while other regional dialects are associated with relatively negative traits (cf. Kwon, 2023; Lee and Ramsey, 2000; Park, 2020; Shin et al., 2013), *ney*, which was mainly used in Seoul, became widely adopted throughout South Korea. These historical events regarding *ney* (as well as *yey* and *nyey*) illustrate the evolution of prescriptive language usage in response to the actual usage within speech communities.

2.2.2 Previous linguistic research on the Korean interjection *ney*

In earlier linguistic research on *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey*, linguists held different perspectives on *ney* as the lexicographers did. For instance, Kim (1989: 58), in his research on various functions

[14] The example sentences of *ney* and *yey* are different. However, there is no significant difference in the use of sentence-enders in these sentences, which mark the degree of politeness and formality (see Chapter 1): for *yey*, i) Did you finish homework? > *yey*, I did. (in the informal polite level), ii) *yey*, I will (with pleasure). (in the deferential level); *yey*, I see [understand]. (in the deferential level), iii) *yey*? What do you mean? (in the deferential level); *yey*? What did you say? (in the deferential level), and iv) Father, let's go out to hang out, *yey*? (in the informal polite level), and for *ney*, i) *ney*, did you call me? (in the deferential level); Did you have a meal?> *ney*, ii) Can you please go to a bank?> *ney*, I will. (in the deferential level); Don't smoke a cigarette here.> *ney.*, iii) *ney*? Please say that again. (in the informal polite speech level), and iv) Let's have a cup of coffee, *ney*? (in the informal polite speech level).

[15] This kind of acknowledgment is well observed in contemporary Korea. For example, the National Institute of Korean Language originally acknowledged only *cacangmyen*, which refers to a Korean Chinese noodle dish made of chunjang, pork, and vegetables, as a standard language expression, and *ccacangmyen* as a non-standard Korean expression. However, as most ordinary people pronounced it as *ccacangmyen*, they eventually acknowledged the latter one as a word of standard Korean as well.

of *ney*, suggests that *nyey* and *yey* are variant forms of *ney*. However, he acknowledged that his research was based on devised conversations rather than naturally occurring ones, and raised a potential concern about the reliability of the data compared to recorded conversation data. On the other hand, Lee (1993) examines *yey* while analyzing three volitional interjections *yey*, *kulssey*, and *ani* (see Chapter 2.2 and Chapter 2.3 for volitional interjections). He assumed that *ney* and *nyey* are variants of *yey* based on the prevalence of *yey* in his naturally occurring conversation data (Lee, 1993: 145). He examined the functions of *yey* to provide agreement and acceptance, to show surprise, interest, and lack of understanding, to make a request, to mark a topic, to elicit agreement, to mark the boundary of utterance, to emphasize, and so on.

As a gender study, Kim (2009) analyzes students' use of *ney* and *yey* in responding to summons in a college classroom setting from 2002 to 2008. According to her research, female speakers consistently favored *ney* over *yey*, while the use of *yey* by male speakers gradually declined over time. Drawing upon this finding, Kim argues that this trend may indicate the dissemination of women's language into male society.[16] Additionally, she examined the use of *ney* and *yey* in novels published from the 1980s to the 2000s and found that male characters tended to use *yey* more frequently than *ney*, whereas female characters tended to use *ney* more frequently than *yey*.

In previous studies on *ney* focusing on its function as a discourse marker, Ahn (2012) regards *ney* as a representative form of *ney* and *yey* due to the higher frequency of *ney* than *yey* in her research on the various Korean discourse markers developed from interjections, such as *a*, *e*, *ey*, *um*, *ung*, *ney*, and *ani*. She examined various functions of showing active listenership, changing a conversation topic, taking and holding a conversation turn, and emphasizing. Im and Kim (2014)

[16] She notes that the higher number of female students in classrooms might influence the use of *ney* by male students.

examine *ney* and *yey* from a corpus linguistics approach. They found that both *ney* and *yey* were frequently used as a discourse marker and the function of showing active listenership (backchannelling) was particularly prominent among their various functions, which were illustrated in Kim (1989), Lee (1993), and Kang (2009).

From a variationist perspective, Kang and Kim (2017) examine the variation of *ney* and *yey* in instant messages on *KakaoTalk*, which is a mobile/computer instant messaging application. They found that a wider range of variation forms are used in the instant message data than spoken language data, such as *neyp*, *neyng*, *neyneyng*, *nyey*, *yeyp*, and so on. They also found that *ney* exhibits the characteristics of women's language in spoken language while its variation in the instant message register is gender-neutral language. Drawing upon this finding, they suggested that these variations serve as substitutes for the paralinguistic features and nonverbal behaviors observed in spoken language.

From a register perspective, Song (2019) examines the uses of *ney* and *yey* in television dramas broadcasted from 2011 to 2018. He categorized the usage in formal and informal situations, adopting Poynton's (1985) and Eggins's (2004) suggestion that the relation between interlocutors is shaped by social factors such as power, contact, and affective involvement. Song (2019) suggests that interactions between employers and employees, sellers and customers, and strangers, among others, would be categorized into formal settings, while those between family members, relatives, and friends would be considered informal settings. He argues that male speakers use *yey* much more frequently than *ney* in formal settings, while they use *ney* slightly more frequently than *yey* in informal settings. However, female speakers employ *ney* much more frequently than *yey* in both formal and informal settings.

Chapter 3 Discourse-pragmatic functions of Korean *ney*

This chapter describes the multifunctionality of Korean *ney* using an interactional linguistic approach. As noted in Chapter 2, *the Standard Korean Language Dictionary* categorizes *ney* as an interjection, which is used by a speaker for his/her social superior when he/she i) responds to a question or summoning positively, ii) responds to a request or command positively, iii) requests the interlocutors to repeat their utterance, and iv) asks the interlocutors to do something. However, *ney* is actually used in much more varied talk-in-interaction scenarios with different discourse-pragmatic functions, which are associated with different acoustic features (such as pitch, breaks, and length) and nonverbal behaviors (such as head nod, gaze and body orientation). This chapter will pay special attention to these various functions, which have not yet received much scholarly attention.

3.1 Response form

In this section, I will first explore a speaker's use of *ney* in response to the interlocutor's utterances. On the one hand, *ney* indicates a speaker's affiliation, providing an affirmative response, confirmation, acceptance, and agreement. Additionally, it signals active engagement in an ongoing interaction. In this use, *ney* appears with a falling or neutral tone, which is often accompanied by a head nod to show a speakers' positive attitude. *ney* in a neutral tone, if accompanied by a hand-raising, indicates a speaker's presence, e.g., during class attendance check. Moreover, if *ney* is accompanied by a slightly rising tone and a bow, it indicates a leaves taking. On the other hand, *ney* could also convey a speaker's disaffiliation, requesting the interlocutor's reiteration or soliciting a preferred response. In this use, *ney* is used in a rising tone, which is often accompanied

by a forward-leaning posture. Furthermore, *ney* with lengthening discourages the interlocutor from further talking.

3.1.1 Providing an affirmative response

The most prevalent use of *ney* is its function to index a speaker's affirmative response to polar questions (yes-no question), thus figuring in a question-response system, i.e., question-answer sequence in a social interaction (Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Enfield et al., 2010, 2018; Heritage, 1984; Stivers, 2018).

See Excerpt 1, which was extracted from the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* data.[17] In the excerpt, Han answers to Dae's polar question, "Are you planning to stay here?" by employing *ney*.

Excerpt 1 [KCO#002: Staying in the U.S.]

01 Dae: 아내분이 마치실 때까지 여기 계실 예정이세요?
anay-pwun-i *machi-si-l* *ttay-kkaci*
wife-HON-SUB finish-HON-ADN time-until
yeki *kyeysi-l* *yeyceng-i-s-eyyo*?
here stay.HON-ADN plan-BE-HON-POL.END
'Are you planning to stay here (the U.S.) until your wife completes her PhD degree?'

02 Han: (with nods) **네. 네. 네.**
ney. ney. ney.
ney ney ney
'Yes.'

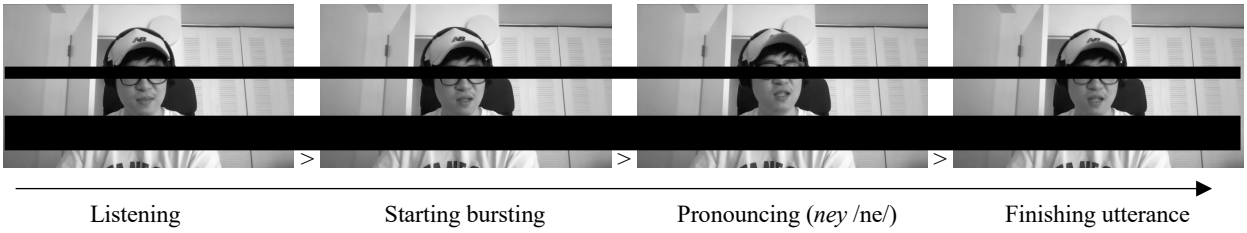
03 Dae: 으음.
uum.
mm-hmm
'Mm-hmm.'

04 Han: 그리고 저도 사실 이제 여기 지금 석사 내보려고 하거든요.
kuliko *ce-to* *sasil* *icey* *yeki* *cikum*
DM I.HUM-too actually DM here now

[17] The *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* data is abbreviated to KCO when they are provided in this dissertation to illustrate the use of *ney*. For example, KCO#002 refers to the second one among all 30 conversation data. See Chapter 2.2 for the information of the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* data.

seksa *nay-po-lyeko* *ha-ketun-yo.*
master's program submit-ATTM-PUR do-SFP-POL
'And, actually I am planning to apply to an M.A. program here.'

Dae, who is in the U.S., asks a question to Han, who is also in the U.S., if he is staying in the U.S. until his wife completes her Ph.D. degree, as it is not mandatory for Han, who is not a student, in line 1. Han responds to the question by employing *ney* three times with a head nod in line 2, as illustrated below.



<Figure 3.1. *ney* with a head nod in providing an affirmative response>

As seen, Han holds his head straight while he is listening to Dae's question, whereas he slightly lowers and raises his head while he is using *ney*. After Dae chimes in with Han's response by producing "*uum*" in line 3 to indicate her acknowledgment of Han's response, Han restarts his utterance with *kuliko* 'and'. He subsequently adds that he intends to apply to an M.A. program in the U.S. in line 4 to elaborate on his previous response, that is *ney*. This signals that he wants to stay with his wife in the U.S. Given this context, Han provides an affirmative response ('Yes, I will.') to Dae's question ('Are you staying in the U.S. until your wife complete her degree?') by using *ney* with a head nod which is a common gesture to convey a positive attitude (cf. Heritage, 1998; Kärkkäinen and Thompson, 2017; Kendon, 1967; McNeil, 1985; Stiver, 2008). This integration of verbal (i.e., the repetition of *ney*) and nonverbal (i.e., nodding) modalities intensifies

the degree of Han's commitment toward his utterance ('Yes, I will.') and his willingness to remain in the U.S.

3.1.2 Providing confirmation

Second, *ney* indicates a speaker's verification of the interlocutor's utterance. By employing this *ney*, in response, the speaker politely establishes the truth of the interlocutor's assumption, belief, or acknowledgment, for example, "That's right." or "I confirm that you are right.", as illustrated in Excerpts 2, 3, and 4 below.

In Excerpt 2, Han and Dae ask each other where they are, and they realize that both are in the U.S.

Excerpt 2 [KCO#002: Current location]

01 Han:	혹시 실례지만 지금 미국:에 계신가요?				
	hoksi	*sillyey-ciman*	*cikum*	*mikwuk*:*-ey*	*kyeysi-nka-yo*?
	by.any.chance	rudeness-CONN	now	the U.S.-LOC	BE.HON-Q-POL
	'Excuse me, but are you in the U.S. now?'				
02 Dae:	(with nods) **네. 네.** 미국에 있어요.				
	ney. ney.	*mikwuk-ey*	*iss-eyo.*		
	ney ney	the U.S.-LOC	BE-POL.END		
	'Yes, right. I am in the U.S.'				
03 Han:	(with nods) 아:				
	a:				
	ah				
	'I see.'				
	(2.0)				
04 Dae:	(smiling) 미국에 계신거죠?				
	mikwuk-ey	*kyesi-n*	*ke-c-yo*?		
	the U.S.-LOC	BE.HON-ADN	NOMZ-COMM-POL		
	'You are in the U.S., right?'				
05 Han:	(with nods) **네. 네.** 저도 미국에 있네요.				
	ney. ney.	*ce-to*	*mikwuk-ey*	*iss-ney-yo.*	
	ney ney	I.HUM-also	the U.S.-LOC	BE-SFP-POL	
	'Yes, I am also in the U.S.'				

Han first asks a question to Dae if she is currently in the U.S. in line 1. Considering Han's use of *-nka*, which marks the assertion of uncertain factual information (Jeong, 2018), while he is asking the question ("*hoksi sillyeyciman cikum mikwukey kyesi-nka-yo*?"), he assumes that Dae is in the U.S. Dae then responds to the question by using *ney* with a head nod, and reiterates part of Han's question, i.e., 'living in the U.S.' in line 2. After listening to Dae's response, Han shows his acknowledgment of the information that Dae is in the U.S. by employing the interjection *a* (cf. Heritage, 1998) which co-occurs with a head nod, in line 3, as a backchannel (Yngve, 1970). After a silence of 2.0 seconds, Dae poses the same question to Han, expressing her strong assumption which is marked by the committal *-ci* (Kawanishi and Sohn, 1993; Lee, 1999; Noh, 2019) that Han would be also in the U.S. Han starts his response to the question by employing *ney* with nods in line 5, as Dae does in line 2, and says that he is also in the U.S. Considering this contextual situation, *ney* which co-occurs with a head nod by Dae in line 2 and by Han in line 5 are used not only to provide an affirmative response to the question about their current location, but also to confirm the interlocutor's assumption. Additionally, they repeat *ney* twice in order to index their commitment to the utterance, encoding their attention to the existence of each other, for example, "I am sincerely telling you. Yes, you are right."

Excerpt 3 below shows the use of *ney* to establish the correctness of the conversation partner's belief in a polite way. In this excerpt, Jun in South Korea and Sue in the U.S. talk about the U.S. situation in the COVID-19 pandemic.

Excerpt 3 [KCO#004: Festival in a pandemic]

01 Jun: 보니까 이제 미국에 사는 친구들 인스타그램이나 이런 거 봐도 거의 그쪽은 다 음 정상화 아닌가요?

po-nikka	*icey*	*mikwuk-ey*	*sa-nun*	*chinkwu-tul*	*insuthakulaym-ina*			
see-CONN	DM	the U.S.-LOC	live-ADN	friend-PL	Instagram-or			
ilen	*ke*	*pwa-to*	*keuy*	*kuccok-un*	*ta*	*um*	*cengsanghwa*	*ani-nka-yo*?
these	thing	see-too	almost	there-TOP	all	hmm	normalization	NEG-Q-POL

'As I see the Instagram posts by friends in the U.S, or such things, I think there (the U.S.) has gotten back to normal, right?'

02 지금 생활 단계가?

cikum *saynghwal* *tankyey-ka*?
now life phase-SUB
'I mean, the current situation?'

03 Sue: 처음부터 딱히 막:

cheum-pwuthe *ttakhi* *mak*:
beginning-from not.specially DM
'From the beginning, well…?'

<21 lines are omitted>

26 Sue: 근데 이제 좀 신경 쓰는 사람들은 마스크 쓰고 다니는 정도,

kuntey *icey* *com* *sinkyeng ssu-nun* *salam-tul-un* *masukhu* *ssu-ko* *tani-nun* *cengto*,
DM DM DM take.care-ADN person-PL-TOP mask wear-CONN go-ADN degree
'But people who care (about COVID-19) go out with a mask…'

27 랄까요?

la-lkka-yo?
QT-Q-POL
'I can say?'

28 음.

um
hmm
'Well...'

29 Jun: 보니까 막 무슨 캘리포니아에서는 썸머 페스티벌도 하고:

po-nikka *mak* *mwusun* *khaylliphonia-eyse-nun* *ssemme* *pheysuthipel-to* *ha-ko*:
see-CONN DM DM California-LOC-TOP summer festival-even do-CONN
'As I see (as far as I know), there are also summer festivals in California...'

30 Sue: (with nods) **네.** 여기도 지금 하고 있어요.

ney. *yeki-to* *cikum* *ha-ko iss-eyo*.
ney here-too now do-PROG-POL.END
'Right. There is one happening here, too.'

31 제가 지금 위스컨신에 있는데,

cey-ka *cikum* *wisukhensin-ey* *iss-nuntey*,
I.HUM-SUB now Wisconsin-LOC BE-CONN
'I am in Wisconsin now, and…'

32 여기도 축제 할 거 다 하고 해수욕장 다 열리고,

yeki-to *chwukcey* *ha-l* *ke* *ta* *ha-ko* *hayswuyokcang* *ta* *yelli-ko*,
here-too festival do-ADN NOMZ all do-CONN beach all open-CONN
'We also hold festivals, beaches are open, and…'

From line 1 to 2, Jun asks Sue if the U.S. has already returned to normal with the interrogative *-nka*, which marks the assertion of uncertain factual information (cf. the use of *-nka* in Excerpt 2) — Jun believes that his thought is true based on what he saw on the Internet before. Sue responds to the question, as a person with first-hand experience, by sharing the U.S. situation without giving a direct answer (such as 'Yes, you are right.' or 'No, you are wrong').

Note Sue's *ney* which co-occurs with a head nod in line 30 after Jun says, "*ponikka mak mwusun khaylliphoniaeysenun ssemme pheysuthipelto hako*…" ('As I see, there are summer festivals in California…)'. She starts her response to Jun's utterance by using *ney* with a head nod, and adds that Wisconsin also holds a festival like California about which Jun talks. Considering Sue's use of *-to* 'also' in "*yeki-to- cikum hako isseyo.*" ('Here (Wisconsin) also does (like California.)') in line 30, *ney* proves the validity of what Jun saw before on the Internet in some extent and confirms the correctness of Jun's personal thoughts at the same time. In other words, Sue employs *ney* to politely confirm Jun's belief, for example, "Here, I (as a person who has the firsthand knowledge of the U.S. situation) confirm that what you saw is correct. Also, you are right."

Excerpt 4 below illustrates the use of *ney* to confirm a conversation partner's correct acknowledgment of new information. In this excerpt, Eun and Ara talk about Ara's hometown. Prior to this exchange, Eun and Ara talked about their high school life.

Excerpt 4 [KCO#001: The location of Alternative school]

01	Eun:	으- 아 그러면 지역이 어디세요?			
		u-	*a*	*kulemyen*	*ciyek-i*	*eti-s-eyyo*?
		um	ah	if.then	region-SUB	where-HON-POL.END
		'Then, where is it (the school you graduated from)?'				
02	Ara:	전 충남 당진? °당진.°			
		ce-n	*chwungnam*	*tangcin*?	°*tangcin*°
		I.HUM-TOP	Chungnam	Dangjin?	Dangjin

'Speaking of me, it is Dangjin, Chungnam. '

03 Eun: 어- 어디요?=
e- eti-yo?=
where-POL
'Where?'

04 Ara: =충청남도 (0.3) 당진.
=*chwungchengnamto* (0.3) *tangcin.*
Chungcheongnam.do Dangjin
'Dangjin, Chungcheongnam-do.'

05 Eun: (with claps and nods) 충청남도 당진, 아:=
chwungchengnamto *tangcin,* *a*:=
Chungcheongnam.do Dangjin ah
'Dangjin, Chungcheongnam-do. I see.'

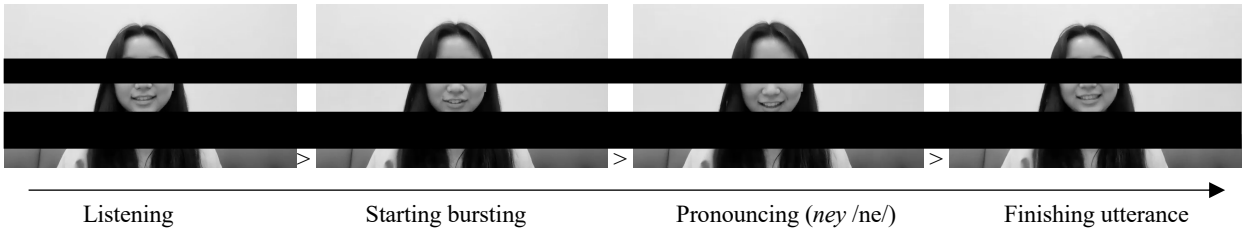
06 Ara: (with nods) =**네.** 맞아요.
=***ney.*** *mac-ayo.*
ney right-POL.END
'Yes, that's right.'

After listening to Ara's anecdote, Eun asks Ara where the school Ara graduated from is in line 1. Ara answers the question by mentioning that she comes from Dangjin, Chungnam in line 2 — Ara's rising boundary tone in her utterance (i.e., "*tangcin*?") and her repetition of the city in an undertone (i.e., "°*tangcin*°") suggest that Ara may be uncertain if Eun would know the location. Eun eventually recognizes the area where Ara talks about, in line 5, after Ara's enunciation in line 4.

Note Ara's *ney* in line 6, which occurs right after Eun's recognition. When Eun first listened to Ara's utterance "*chungnam tangcin*" in line 2, Eun could not ascertain the location, so she requested Ara to reiterate the location by saying "*etiyo*?" ('where?') (cf. other-initiated repair with *wh*-questions). In response, Ara enunciates "*chwungchengnamto* (which was initially abbreviated as *chungnam* in line 2) *tangcin*", leaving a pause of 0.3 seconds between the two words in line 4 for the purpose of clarification. With this reiteration, Eun recognizes the location and repeats Ara's utterance, which is followed by *a*: 'ah' as a token of acknowledgment of new information (cf. the use of *a* in Excerpt 2). Notably, when Eun repeats the location in line 5 after

Ara's reiteration, she is clapping and nodding, which may also be a cue that she just acknowledged the location (Atkinson and Heritage, 2003 [1984]; Cabibihan et al., 2012). After Eun's acknowledgment of the location, Ara uses *ney* with a head nod which is followed by "*macayo.*" ('Right.'). Considering this contextual situation and her use of *macayo* 'Right.', Ara employs *ney* with a nod to confirm Eun's correct acknowledgment and further assert that Eun is correct.

As illustrated in Excerpts 2, 3, and 4, speakers tend to nod while they are using *ney* to establish the correctness of their conversation partners' utterances. Ara's nonverbal behaviors when she uses *ney* is provided in <Figure 3.2> below.



<Figure 3.2. *ney* with a head nod in providing confirmation>

Ara holds her head straight while she is listening. However, when she starts responding verbally, she moves her head downward — comparing the leftmost picture where she is listening, her nose and hair are seen more in the second and third picture from the left because her head moves downward to nod while she is employing *ney*. Through this nodding gesture, she actively shows that she is confirming Eun's utterance, both verbally and nonverbally.

3.1.3 Providing acceptance

Third, as a positive response either to an offer or (in)direct request, *ney* conveys a speaker's acceptance in a polite way, for example, "Yes, I will." or "Sure, go ahead." With this function, *ney*

constructs a sequence of offer/request-acceptance in a social interaction (Drew, 2013; Goodwin and Sacks, 2004; Heritage, 1990; Schegloff, 2007; Stiver, 2013).

ney in the next excerpt extracted from a *Youtube* is used to accept a direct request. In the video clip, Hak introduces a sports car and classic car and Gun makes an appearance at Hak's channel to introduce his own old car. Prior to this exchange, Hak and Gun talked about the details of Guns' car including name, manufacture year, interior, and other relevant features.

Excerpt 5 [UZZA Channel by Hakrae Kim, Misook Lim: GEO Tracker]

01 Hak: (grabbing the steering wheel on Gun's car) 저 이거 시승 한 번 해 봐도 될까요?

	ce	*ike*	*sisung*	*han*	*pen*
	DM	this	test.drive	one	time

hay	*pwa-to toy-lkka-yo*?
do	PFM-can-Q-POL

'Um… Can I take a test drive of this car?'

02 Gun: → (with nods) **네.** 진행[해] 주시죠.

	ney.	*cinhaynghay*	*cwu-si-c-yo*.
	ney	proceed	BEN-HON-COMM-POL

'Sure. Go ahead.'

03 Hak: [**네.**]

ney.

ney

'Okay'

04 (Hak starts driving)

Note Gun's *ney* in line 2, which occurs after Hak makes a direct request so as to drive Gun's car. Even though Gun would agree that Hak drives before the recording in advance, Hak asks if he can take a test drive Gun's car again — this is because the car is too old. Hak's deliberation is also projected into his use of the discourse marker *ce* which has the function of mitigating a speaker's potential face-threatening act (Hayashi and Yoon, 2006; Park, 2006; Suh, 2005). Gun starts his response to Hak's request by employing *ney* with a head nod, and tells Hak to go ahead. Notably, almost immediately after Gun's *ney*, Hak employs *ney* in line 3 and starts

driving the car. This indicates that Hak personally believes he has received the permission to drive the car, through Gun's *ney* with a nod in line 2; Hak uses *ney* to show his confirmation of Gun's approval (cf. the use of *ney* in Excerpt 4).

Excerpt 6 below, which was extracted from the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* data, further illustrates the use of *ney* to accept a request politely. Prior to this exchange, a moderator introduced the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* project to Jun and Sue, and left the meeting room. After Jun and Sue realized the moderator had left, they laughed and greeted each other to break the ice in lines 1 and 2.

Excerpt 6 [KCO#004: Participants' name]

01 Jun: (with bows) @@@@ 처음 뵙겠습니다. @@@@
@@@@ *cheum* *poyp-keyss-supnita.* @@@@
first see.HUM-FUT.PROS-DEF.END
'Glad to meet you.'

02 Sue: @@@@ 처음 뵙겠습니다. @@@@
@@@@ *cheum* *poyp-keyss-supnita.* @@@@
first see.HUM-FUT.PROS-DEF.END
'Glad to meet you.'

03 Jun: [#그#]
[#*ku*#]
DM
'Well…'

04 Sue: [#처음 아까#] (with waving hands) 이름 들어가면 안 되죠 참 여기 아.
[#*cheum akka*#] *ilum* *tuleka-myen* *an* *toy-c-yo* *cham* *yeki* *a.*
first earlier name enter-COND NEG should-COMM-POL DM here ah
'Oh, right. Our name should not be here.'

05 Jun: 아 여기 대화 중에 이름이 들어가면 안 되나요?
a *yeki* *tayhwa* *cwungey* *ilum-i* *tuleka-myen* *an* *toy-na-yo*?
ah here conversation during name-SUB enter-COND NEG should-Q-POL
'Ah, should our names not be here?

06 Sue: 아까 뭐 그런 거 들어가면 안 된다고 말- 안 들어갈 거라고 말씀을 [하셨던 것 같애서…]
akka *mwe* *kulen* *ke* *tuleka-myen* *an* *toy-n-tako* *mal-*
just.now DM such thing enter-COND NEG should-PRES-QT saying
an *tuleka-l* *ke-lako* *malssum-ul* [*ha-s-yess-te-n*
NEG enter-ADN NOMZ-QT words.HON-ACC say-HON-PST-QT-ADN

kes *kath-ayse…*]
NOMZ like-CONN
'I feel like, I heard just before that such things (name) should not be added, won't be added, so…'

07 Jun: [(with nods) **네.**]
ney.
ney
'Okay.'

08 Sue: 그럼 그냥 호칭을 생략하@고@ 대화를 진[행] 하는 걸로
kulem *kunyang* *hoching-ul* *saynglyakha@-ko@*
if.then just address.term-ACC omit-CONN
tayhwa-lul *cinhayngha-nun* *ke-llo*
conversation-ACC proceed-ADN NOMZ-as
'Then, (let's) have a conversation, omitting address terms (names)…'

09 Jun: → [(with slight nods) **네.**] (nods)
ney.
ney
'Okay.'

10 Sue: **네**. 알겠습니다.
ney. *al-kess-supnita.*
ney know-FUT.PROS-DEF.END
'Okay, I see (I assume that we have a conversation without mentioning our names.)'

11 Jun: **네.**
ney.
ney
'Okay.'

(3.0)

12 Sue: 혹시…
hoksi…
by.any.chance
'By any chance,'

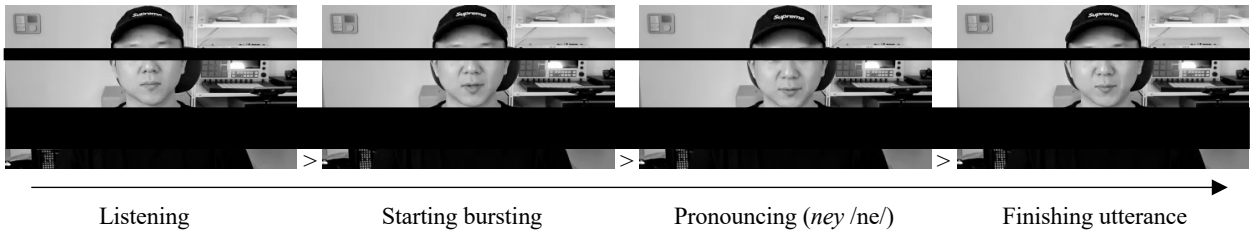
13 Jun: **예.**
yey.
yey
'Yes. (I am listening. Go ahead.)'

14 Sue: 지금 한국에 계시는 건가요?
cikum *hankwuk-ey* *kyeysi-nun* *ke-nka-yo*?
now South Korea-LOC BE.HON-ADN NOMZ-Q-POL
'Are you in South Korea?'

In this excerpt, *ney* occurs four times, and *yey* which may substitute for *ney* also occurs once. [Note: *ney* and *yey* can be used interchangeably, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.2.] First *ney* is used by Jun in line 7 while he confirms new information, as in Excerpt 4. After Sue

says that their names should not be revealed in the ongoing conversation, Jun asks Sue a question about the rule of conversation (and further the policy of project) in line 5 because Jun did not know that their name had not to be revealed.[18] Sue responds to the question by mentioning that she believes their name will neither be disclosed nor be stored in data in line 6. At this moment, Jun employs *ney* with a head nod to express his acknowledgment of the policy, as in Excerpt 4. Upon Jun's confirmation, Sue suggests having a conversation without mentioning their names in line 8.

Note Jun's second *ney* in line 9, which has the function of accepting Sue's indirect suggestion. While Jun is listening to part of Sue' utterance in line 8, i.e., "*kulem kunyang hochingul saynglyakhako tayhwalul…*' (lit. 'If then, conversation omitting address terms…'), he employs *ney* with a subtle head nod before Sue finishes her utterance, as observed below.



<Figure 3.3. *ney* with a head nod in providing acceptance>

Jun's head nod while he is using *ney* can be seen in the third picture from the left where his nose is seen more than others and his eyebrows totally covered by the black bar. After this *ney* with a nod, which is overlapped by Sue' utterance, Sue also uses *ney* and adds that she confirms Jun's utterance by saying, "*alkesssupnita*." ('I see.') in line 10. Jun reciprocates it with *ney* in line 11, which is followed by a long silence of 3.0 seconds. After the silence, they subsequently talk

[18] There was miscommunication between the moderator and Sue. The moderator mentioned that the participants' privacy such as names would be pseudonymized in storing data.

about their current locations, occupations, family members, and even personal political views, but they do not reveal their names until the end of conversation. Considering this conversation topic flow after the long silence, Sue is thinking about what to say or ask, excluding Jun's name, during the pause — this comes after Jun's *ney* which co-occurs with a nod in line 9. That is, Jun accepts Sue's indirect request not to disclose their name for the following conversation, and, through this, Sue acknowledges Jun's acceptance to the request.

After that, Sue uses *ney* in line 10 to indicate her confirmation of Jun's acceptance to the request, and Jun reciprocates it with *ney* in line 11 to confirm that Sue's confirmation, as in Excerpt 4. Lastly, Jun employs *yey* in line 14 to show that he is following Sue's utterance without any difficulty.

Excerpt 7 below illustrates the use of *ney* while a speaker politely accepts an offer, which was extracted from a Korean television drama, *pulamsulul cohahaseyyo*? ('Do you like Brahms?'). Pak and Cha are a couple, and Joo is Pak's mother. While going on a date in Pak's hometown, Pak and Cha encountered Joo; it was the first time for Cha to see Joo. Prior to this exchange, Pak introduced Cha to his mother on the road.

Excerpt 7 [Drama *pulamsulul cohahaseyyo*? ('Do you like Brahms?'): Episode 11]

01 Joo: 밥 먹었어요?
pap *mek-ess-eyo*?
meal eat-PST-POL.END
'Did you have a meal?'

02 아직 식전이면은 우리 가게가서 같이 식사해요.
acik *sikcen-i-myen-un* *wuli* *kakey-ka-se* *kathi* *siksahay-yo*.
yet before.meal-BE-COND-TOP my restaurant-go-CONN together have.a.meal-POL.END
'If you didn't have a meal yet, let's go to my restaurant and have a meal together.'

<3 lines are omitted>

06 밥 먹고 가: 응?=
pap *mek-ko* *ka*: *ung*?=
meal eat-CONN go.INT.END please
'Have a meal and go, please.'

07 Pak: =됐어요.
=*twayss-eyo.*
fine-POL.END
'No, I am fine.'

(0.7)

08 Cha: → **네.** 그럴게요.
ney. *kule-lkey-yo*.
ney that.way-INTL-POL
'Okay, I will.'

(2.0)

09 Joo: (with a smile) 그럴래요?
kule-llay-yo?
that.way-INTL-POL
'Will you?'

10 Cha: (slightly nods with a smile)

11 Joo: 저: 괜찮겠어요?
ce: *kwaynchanh-keyss-eyo*?
DM fine-FUT.PROS-POL.END
'Well… is it okay with you?'

(2.0)

12 Cha: (looking at Pak with a smile and nodding)

13 (looking at Cha with a smile and nodding) **네.** 그럼요.
ney. *kulem-yo*.
ney sure-POL
'Yes, of course.'

In this excerpt, after greeting, Joo asks Cha if she already had a meal to build her offer (cf. pre-expansion), in line 1, and consequently makes an official offer to dine together in her restaurant in line 2. [Note: In the omitted lines, Joo tells Pak that his dad is not in the restaurant, so please feel free to come.] As Cha and Pak do not respond to the offer directly, Joo persistently asks Pak to eat together in line 6, but he rejects the offer by saying "*twaysseyo*." ('No, I am fine.') in line 7. At this moment, instead of Pak, Cha breaks her silence with *ney* as a positive response to the offer and expresses her intention to have a meal in line 8. With a smile to show her affiliative stance and hospitality (Ginzburg et al., 2021; Glenn and Holt, 2013; Holt, 2020; Martin et al., 2017), Joo asks Cha if she is going to dine together in order to confirm the acceptance, in line 9. Cha reciprocates

it with her head nod and smile to signify her affiliative stance toward the offer, in line 10. Despite the verbal and nonverbal cues that Cha accepts the offer in lines 8 and 10, however, Joo asks Cha again if she is truly comfortable having a meal together in line 11 — this is because they had never met each other before. In response, with a smile and nod to show that she is fine, Cha first looks at Pak to negotiate the decision to dine together in line 12, and she subsequently gives an affirmative response ('Yes, of course.') to the question ('Is it okay with you?') by employing *ney* with a smile in line 13, as in Excerpt 1.

3.1.4 Indicating agreement

Fourth, *ney* indicates a speaker's agreement with the conversation partner's utterance. With this use of *ney*, speakers show their alignment with the interlocutor's argument, for example, "Yes, right." or "I agree with you.", as illustrated Excerpt 8 below.

In the excerpt, which was extracted from the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* data, Eun and Ara talk about their high school life. They share a common ground (Clark, 1996; Enfield, 2013; Stalnaker, 1978) that they did not graduate from a typical high school; Eun and Ara went a foreign language high school and an alternative school. They are aware that their schools are different from a traditional high school in that students live together in a dormitory and their classmates never change.

Excerpt 8 [KCO#001 Quarrel in high school]

01	Ara: 근데 어 이게 좋을 때도 있지만,						
	kuntey	*e*	*ikey*	*coh-ul*	*ttay-to*	*iss-ciman,*	
	DM	DM	DM	good-ADN	time-too	exist-CONN	
	'But, well it (living with the same friends everyday) is good, but'						
02	아무래도 기숙사고 똑같은 친구들이랑 계속 보니까 또 갈등이 심화되고,						
	amwulayto	*kiswuksa-ko*	*ttokkathun*	*chinkwu-tul-ilang*	*kyeysok*	*po-nikka*	
	any.way	dormitory-CONN	same	friend-PL-with	continuous	see-CONN	

tto *kaltung-i* *te* *simhwatoy-ko,*
DM conflict-SUB more get.worse-CONN
'(They are in) a dormitory, and see the same friends again and again, so the conflict gets worse, and'

<14 lines are omitted>

17 Eun: 저는 이제 중국어과 한 반이라서 이렇게 쭉 쭉 쭉 쭉 가다 보니까,
ce-nun *icey* *cwungkwukekwa* *han* *pan-i-lase*
I.HUM-TOP DM Chinese.language.major one class-BE-CONN
ilehkey *ccwuk* *ccwuk* *ccwuk* *ccwuk* *ka-ta.po-nikka,*
this.way straight straight straight straight go-CSL-CONN
'I was in a Chinese language class, so the classmates do not change, so…'

18 (H) 24 시간 그 같은 기숙사생활하고:
isipsa *sikan* *ku* *kathun* *kiswuksa* *saynghwalha-ko*:
24 hour DM same dormitory live-CONN
'They live in a dormitory every day, and'

19 이게 계속 붙어 있으니까 싸우는 거예요.
ikey *kyeysok* *pwuthe iss-unikka* *ssawu-nun* *ke-y-eyyo.*
DM continuous stick-CONN fight-ADN NOMZ-BE-POL.END
'They fight because they are always being together.'

21 Ara: (with nods) **네.** 그죠. 그죠. @@@
ney. *ku-c-yo.* *ku-c-yo.* @@@
ney being.so-COMM-POL being.so-COMM-POL
'Yes, right. I agree. That's being so.'

Note Ara's *ney* with a head nod in line 21 which occurs after Eun talks about the reasons about the quarrels between friends. In lines 1 and 2, Ara mentions that living with same friends every day is good but there is also a disadvantage in that the conflict between friends gets worse once they fight. Eun responds to Ara's utterance by arguing that students fight because they always spend time together. Their choice of words (i.e., 'conflict' by Ara and 'fight' by Eun) is different, but their underlying thoughts on the life in a boarding school is nearly identical. In this context, Ara's *ney* with a nod in line 21 signifies her alignment and agreement with Eun's perspective. She reinforces her agreement by adding "*kucyo. kucyo*." ('That's being so. That's being so.') which is an abbreviated form of *kuleh-ci-yo* (*kule* 'so' + committal *ci* + polite marker *-yo*). By employing the committal *ci* which shows a speaker's strong agreement (Kawanishi and Sohn, 1993; Lee, 1999;

Noh, 2019), Ara strengthens her supportive stance, which are already marked by *ney*, toward with Eun's argument.

3.1.5 Showing active listenership

Fifth, *ney* indicates attentive listening and encouraging conversation, for example, "Mm-hmm." or "Yeah, (I see.)" By employing this *ney* while their conversation partners are talking, speakers (who use this *ney*) signal that they are following the ongoing conversation without any difficulty and further encourage their partners to continue talking.

See Excerpt 9 below where Han talks to Dae about his life in the COVID-19 pandemic.

Excerpt 9 [KCO#002 COVID-19 regulation]

01 Han: 제가 심할 때는 여기 없어서 잘 모르겠는데=
cey-ka *simha-l* *ttay-nun* *yeki* *eps-ese* *cal* *molu-keyss-nuntey=*
I.HUM-SUB severe-ADN when-TOP here not.exist-CONN well not.know-MOD-CONN
'I don't know well because I was not here at (COVID-19) was severe, but…'

02 Dae: = (with nods) [음.]
[*um.*]
yeah
'Yeah.'

03 Han: [지금은] 뭐: 그냥 정상적으로 하고,
[*cikum-un*] *mwe* *kunyang* *cengsangcekulo* *ha-ko,*
now-TOP DM DM normally do-CONN
'Now (they) do normally.

(0.5)

04 Dae: (with nods) **네.**
ney.
ney
'Yeah.'

05 Han: 뭐 이: 샌프란시스코 같은 경우에는:
mwe *i* *saynphulansisukho* *kathun* *kyengwu-ey-nun*:
DM this San Francisco like case-in-TOP
'Well, speaking of the case of San Francisco,'

06 제가 그 때 친구가 거기에 살아가지고 자[주] 놀러 갔었는데,
cey-ka *ku* *ttay* *chinkwu-ka*
I.HUB-SUB that time friend-SUB

keki-ey *sal-akaciko* *ca*[*cwu*] *nol-le* *ka-ss-ess-nuntey*,
there-LOC live-CONN often hang.out-PUR go-PST-PST-CONN
'I have a friend in there, so I often went there to hang out,'

07 Dae: (with nods) [**네.**]
[***ney.***]
ney
'Yeah.'

(0.3)

08 (with nods) **네.**=
ney.=
ney
'Yeah.'

09 Han: =거기는 음식점에 백신 접종 그 증명서…
=keki-nun *umsikcem-ey* *payksin* *cepcong* *ku* *cungmyengse…*
there-TOP restaurant-LOC vaccine inoculation DM certificate
'There (people can eat in dining when they have) a certificate…'

Note Dae's *ney* with a head nod in lines 4, 7, and 8, which occurs after Han uses clausal connectives to signal his willingness to continue speaking — Han leaves a short pause after the connectives to keep his breath. Specifically, Dae employs first *ney* in line 4 after Han uses the connective *-ko* 'so' which is followed by a pause of 0.5 seconds. Dae's second *ney* in line 7 overlaps with part of Han's utterance in line 6 (*cwu* of *cacwu* 'often'), which occurs right after the connective *-akaciko* 'so' (Ahn, 2015; Kim, 2011) in line 6. The last *ney* is used after Han employs the connective *-nuntey* 'and' (Park, 2006; Sohn, 2015), which is followed by a pause of 0.3 seconds.

With Dae's *ney*, Han continues his utterance without backtracking or veering. Considering this conversation flow, Han realizes, through Dae's *ney*, that Dae is following his utterances with no difficulty so that he can proceed with his previous utterances. That is, Dae employs *ney* with a nod in lines 4, 7, and 8 in order not to interrupt, but to express her active engagement in Han's utterance, thereby encouraging Han to extend his narrative (cf. go-ahead response).[19] While doing

[19] Language expressions so-called backchannels, continuers, and reactive tokens typically occur at or near junctures where a speaker may yield the conversation turn to the listeners, i.e., Transition Relevance Place; TRP (see Sacks et

this, Dae takes an active role in ongoing interaction for co-construction (Jacoby and Och, 1995; Linell, 2009) of the conversation by placing *ney* in the silent pauses. With regard to this aspect, Han is mainly talking in this conversation, yet Dae also contributes to the ongoing conversation by employing *ney* in the right place, as a secondary speaker.

Excerpt 10 below also shows the use of *ney* with the function of showing active engagement in ongoing interaction. Prior to this exchange, Ara and Eun talked about English in academic fields, and Ara said she worried about her grade in a class conducted in English. In line 1, Eun encourages Ara by saying she will be fine. Unlike Excerpt 9 above, a speaker (Ara) abruptly changes a conversation topic.

Excerpt 10 [KCO#001 The Russian language]

01 Eun: 아이- 잘 하실 수 있을 거예요.
ai *cal* *ha-si-l* *swu* *iss-ul* *ke-y-eyyo.*
DM well do-HON-can-ADN NOMZ-BE-POL.END
'Yeah, you can make it.'

(1.0)

02 Ara: 노어가:,
noe-ka:,
noe (Russian language)-SUB
'Noe is…'

03 Eun: → (with widened eyes, lifted eyebrows, and nods) **네.**
ney.
ney
'Yes. (I am listening. Go ahead.')

04 Ara: 노어가 어디 나라 언어예요? @@
noe-ka *eti* *nala* *ene-y-eyyo*? @@
noe (Russian language)-SUB where country language-BE-POL.END
'Which country's language is Noe? (What is Noe?)'

05 Eun: 아 노어가 [러시아어.]
a *noe-ka* [*lesiae.*]
ah noe (Russian language)-SUB Russian.language
'Ah, Noe is the Russian language.'

al. (1974); Schegloff (1982)), but it is also observed that they also occurs anywhere in conversation (Kim, 1999; Kita and Ide, 2007; Pyun and Yoon, 2022).

06 Ara: [그걸 잘 몰라요.]
[*kuke-l* *cal* *moll-ayo.*]
that-ACC well not.know-POL.END
'I don't know that well.'

07 Eun: 러[시아]어.
le[*sia*]*e.*
Russian.language
'The Russian language.'

08 Ara: [아] 러시아어를 노어라고 해요?
[*a*] *lesiae-lul* *noe-lako* *ha-yyo*?
ah Russian.language-ACC noe-QT say-POL.END
'Oh, the Russian language is called Noe (the Russian language)?

09 Eun: (with nods) 네. 에. 에. 에.
ney. *ey. ey. ey.*
ney ey ey ey
'Yes, that's right.'

10 Ara: 우와.
wuwa.
wow
'Wow.'

Note Eun's *ney* in line 3 which occurs while Ara abruptly shifted the conversation topic to the Russian language by saying, "*noega*" ('The Russian language is…'), after a pause of one second.

<Figure 3.4> below provides Eun's nonverbal behavior while she is using *ney* in line 2.

<Figure 3.4. *ney* with a head nod in showing interest>

As illustrated, Eun widens her eyes which is attested by her lifted eyebrows and nods, while she is employing *ney*. Compared to the first picture, her eyebrows are lifted noticeably and her

head moves upwards in the third picture. After employing *ney* with a nod, Eun holds her head straight so her eyebrows are covered by the black bar.

After Eun's *ney*, Ara asks a question ('What is *noe*?') by reiterating "*noega*" ('the Russian language is') at the beginning of her utterance in line 4. Eun answers the question by mentioning that *noe* is the Russian language. Considering this conversation flow, Eun's *ney* signals that she is listening to Ara's utterances carefully and ready to talk about a new conversation topic, for example, "I am listening carefully. Go ahead.". This prompts Ara to keep talking about the new topic. After listening to Eun's response that *noe* is the Russian language, Ara seeks confirmation of her correct acknowledgment by asking if *noe* is the Russian language. Eun then employs *ney* four times, not only to strongly affirm the response to the question but also to confirm Ara's correct understanding, as in Excerpt 4; *ey* is a contracted form of *ney*.

As illustrated so far, *ney* with a falling or neutral tone, in response, harmoniously co-occurs with a head nod, which is a common gesture to signify approval and acceptance in talk-in-interaction (Aoki, 2011; De Stefani, 2020; Heritage, 1998; Kärkkäinen and Thompson, 2017; Maynard, 1987; McClave, 2000; Stiver, 2008, inter alia). This *ney* is used with the function of giving an affirmative response (as in Excerpt 1), providing confirmation (as in Excerpts 2, 3, and 4), accepting an offer or request (as in Excerpts 5, 6, and 7), indicating agreement (as in Excerpt 8), and showing active listenership in ongoing conversation (as Excerpts 9 and 10). Considering a speaker's utterance and gesture is of the same psychological structure, and one's status of emotion and cognition is projected not only into a language use but also into a gesture (Kendon, 2004; Levinson and Holler, 2014; McNeil, 1985; Wager, 2014, inter alia), the integration of *ney* with a head nod is employed as an index of their the positive attitude (i.e., affiliation with the interlocutors) toward on-going conversation.

However, *ney* is not always used with a falling or neutral tone which is accompanied by the head nod. This use of *ney* will be explored in the following subsections.

3.1.6 Indicating presence

Sixth, as being used to respond to one's summons, *ney* serves as an indicator of a speaker's presence, for example, "Yes, I am here." or "I am listening.". This summons-answer sequence is well observed in ordinary classrooms in South Korea where teachers call out students' names to check attendance at the beginning of classes. Students politely respond to the summons by employing *ney* with a neutral or falling tone, which is sometimes accompanied by raising their hands to indicate where they are.[20] Considering a summoner calls the name of the people summoned in order to ascertain their presence and the latter ones uses *ney* in order to respond to the summoning, this *ney* provides confirmation of the summoning (cf. the use of *ney* in Excerpts 2, 3, and 4), and further indicates the speaker (i.e., summonee)'s presence. This use of *ney* is also observed in telephone conversations. A receiver uses this *ney* while picking up the phone call (e.g., "*ney*" or "*ney.* NAME-*i-pnita.*" ('NAME-BE-DEF.END')), to indicate the readiness to talk.

Excerpt 11 below illustrates a reporter's use of *ney* to respond to a news anchor's summoning in a television newscast, which was extracted from the YTN television newscast.

Excerpt 11 [YTN news, Nov. 17, 2022: North Korea's missile]

01 Suk: 오늘 또 그래서 시도를 한 가능성이 있는 것으로 보이는데,
onul tto kulayse sitolul ha-n kanungseng-i iss-nun kes-ulo poi-nuntey,
today again so try-ADN possibility-SUB exist-ADN NOMZ-as be.regarded-CONN
'It seems that (North Korea) tried again today (because they failed before), but'

02 성공한 것인지는 아직 전해지지 않고 있습니다.
sengkongha-n kes-i-nci-nun acik cenhayci-ci anh-ko iss-supnita.

[20] In some exceptional cases, especially when students do not pay attention to their teacher, they employ *ney* with a sharply rising tone, due to unexpectedness, to respond to the summoning.

succeed-ADN NOMZ-BE-whether-TOP yet be.delivered-NEG-PROG-DEF.END
'It is not clear yet whether they succeeded or not.'

03 Kim: **네.** 군 당국이 정확한 내용을 지금 파악을 하고 있는 상황인데요.
ney. *kwun* *tangkwuk-i* *cenghwakhan* *nayyong-ul* *cikum* *phaak-ul*
ney military authority-BE accurate content-ACC now grasp-ACC
ha-ko iss-nun *sanghwang-i-ntey-yo.*
do-PROG-ADN situation-BE-CONN-POL
'Military authority is figuring out the accurate content.'

05 취재 기자 연결해서 내용 들어보겠습니다.
chwicay kica *yenkyelha-yse* *nayyong* *tul-e.po-keyss-supnita.*
reporter connect-CONN content listen-PFM-FUT.PROS-DEF.END
'(We) will connect to a reporter, and listen to the content.'

06 신준명 기자,
sincwunmyeng *kica,*
(NAME) reporter
"Reporter (NAME)"

07 Sin: → **네.** 국방부입니다.
ney. *kwukpangpwu-i-pnita.*
ney Ministry of National Defense-BE-DEF.END
'Yes, here is the Ministry of National Defense.'

08 Kim: **네.** ICBM 으로 추정된다고요?
ney. *ICBM-ulo* *chwucengtoy-n-tako-yo*?
ney ICBM; intercontinental ballistic missile-as be.assumed-PRES-QT-POL
'Is it (the missile) assumed to be an ICBM?'

09 Sin: **네.** 그렇습니다.
ney. *kuleh-supnita.*
ney right-DEF.END
'Yes, it is.'

10 합동참모본부는 오늘 오전 북한이 동쪽 방향으로 미상의 탄도미사일을 발사했다고 밝혔습니다.
haptongchammoponpwu-nun *onul* *ocen* *pwukhan-i* *tongccok*
South Korea's Joint Chiefs of Staff-TOP today morning North Korea- SUB east
panghyang-ulo *misanguy* *thantomisail-ul* *palsahay-ss-tako* *palkh-yess-supnita.*
direction-toward unspecified ballistic.missile-ACC launch-PST-QT clarify-PST-DEF.END
'South Korea' Joint Chiefs of Staff clarified that North Korea fired an unspecified ballistic missile toward the east (East Sea) this morning.

In this excerpt, news anchors Suk and Kim in a studio are delivering the news that North Korea launched a missile; reporter Sin in his newsbeat elaborates on the news by mentioning that the South Korea's Joint Chiefs of Staff clarified that North Korea fired an unspecified ballistic missile.

ney occurs four times: in lines 3 and 8 by the anchor Kim, and in lines 7 and 9 by the reporter Sin. Anchor Kim employs *ney* in line 3 to take a conversational turn from Anchor Suk while she commences her own delivery, which will be further explored in Chapter 3.2. After mentioning that South Korea is figuring out the precise details, Anchor Kim says "We will get into this topic." and calls Reporter Sin to secure his attention and check the connection. Note Reporter Sin's *ney* in line 7. With *ney*, he responds to Kim's summoning and addresses his current location (the Ministry of National Defense building). This signals that he is ready to talk, accepting the anchor Kim's request to elaborate on the current new topic. Anchor Kim subsequently reciprocates Reporter Sin's utterance with *ney* in line 8 to indicate that he just confirmed Sin was listening and there was no connection problem, as in Excerpt 4. After that, he asks a polar question ('Is it assumed to be an ICBM?') to Reporter Sin. Sin employs *ney* in line 9 to provide an affirmative response to the question, as in Excerpt 1, and further elaborates on the news in line 10.

3.1.7. Indicating departure

Seventh, *ney* is conventionally and ritually used in response to a closing salutation, signaling a speaker's intention to leave from an ongoing interaction. In this use, speakers employ *ney* in a slightly rising tone with lengthening, and notably, this *ney* is often accompanied by a bow which is a Korean traditional etiquette in greetings, as illustrated in Excerpts 12 and 13 below.[21]

In Excerpt 12, Hyo, who is a research assistant of the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* project, specifies that the person on the left side on her screen will be assigned as the host, and Dae confirms she received the host role. Following this, they exchange closing salutations. Prior to this exchange, Hyo introduced the project and mentioned her intention to leave the meeting room to

[21] In Korean culture, a person, who is younger than and/or inferior to the interlocutor, often greet with a bow. This nonverbal behavior is socially preferable, as it serves as an indicator of the person's awareness of politeness.

encourage the participants to feel free to talk after designating one of the participants as the host to ensure that the recording would continue when she (the current host) left.

Excerpt 12 [KCO#002: Making a host]

01 Hyo: 어 왼쪽에 계신 분을 호스트로 지정해 드리겠습니다,
e *oynccok-ey* *kyeysi-n* *pwun-ul* *hosuthu-lo*
DM left.side-LOC BE.HON-ADN person.HON-ACC host-as
cicenghay *tuli-keyss-supnita*,
assign BEN.HON-FUT.PROS-DEF.END
'I will assign the person on the left side as a host.'

02 Dae: **네.**
ney.
ney
'Okay.'

03 Hyo: **네.** 받으셨나요?
ney *patu-s-yess-na-yo*?
ney receive-HON-PST-Q-POL
'Okay, did you receive (the assignment of the host role)?

04 Dae: (with nods) **네.**
ney.
ney
'Yes.'

05 Hyo: **네.** 그러며는 다- 자유롭게 대화 나누시[고] 저는 조금 후에 뵙겠습니다:,
ney. *kulemyen-un* *ta-* *cayulopkey* *tayhwa* *nanwu-si-ko*
ney if.then-TOP freely conversation share-HON-CONN
ce-nun *cokum* *hwuey* *poyp-keyss-supnita*:
I.HUM-TOP little later see.HUM-FUT.PROS-DEF.END
'Okay, then please have a conversation freely, and I will see you later.'

06 Dae: → [(nodding)] **네:**
ney
ney
'Okay. (Bye.)'

07 Han: (nodding)

08 Hyo: → (with a slight bow) **네:,**
ney:,
ney
'Okay. (Bye.)'

09 Han: =**네.** 안녕히 가세요:
=***ney.*** *annyenghi* *ka-s-eyyo*:
ney peacefully go-HON-POL.END
'Okay, goodbye.'

10 Hyo: → (with a slight bow) **네:,**
ney:,

ney

'Okay. (Bye.)'

(Hyo leaves.)

In this excerpt, *ney* occurs eight times. First *ney* is used in line 2 by Dae to confirm that Hyo will assign a person a host, as in Excerpts 3 and 4. Second *ney* is used in line 3 by Hyo to express her acknowledgment of Dae's confirmation, i.e., *ney* in line 2, right after she assigns Dae a host, as in Excerpts 3 and 4. After that, Hyo asks Dae if she received the host assignment notification. Third *ney* is used in line 4 by Dae as an affirmative response ('Yes, I received') to the question, as in Excerpt 1. Fourth *ney* is used in line 5 by Hyo to indicate her confirmation of Dae's updated host status. Subsequently, Hyo says she will be back later after she tells the participants to freely engage in the conversation.

Note *ney* in lines 6, 8 and 10, which serves as a reciprocal response to a closing salutation. *ney* in line 6 by Dae occurs with lengthening after Hyo says she will leave the meeting room. Considering Hyo's earlier indication of temporary departure with the host assignment, both participants, Dae and Han, are aware that Hyo is going to leave shortly; Hyo's remark that she will be back is used as a closing salutation before her exit. However, Dae does not use any farewell expressions (such as "Goodbye." or "See you later."), and just employs *ney* with lengthening: the duration of Dae' *ney* in lines 2 and 4 to provide confirmation and an affirmative response is 0.3 seconds, while her *ney* in line 6 to respond to the closing salutation is extended to 0.45 seconds. In response to this *ney*, Hyo employs *ney* in a slightly rising tone with lengthening, which is accompanied by a slight bow — a Korean etiquette in greetings. This nonverbal behavior can be a cue that Hyo is greeting the participants with *ney*. After that, Han breaks his silence with *ney* to confirm that Hyo is leaving, as in Excerpts 3 and 4, and then greets Hyo with "Goodbye". Eventually, Hyo leaves the meeting room, after she again employs *ney* in a slightly rising tone

with lengthening, which is accompanied by a slight bow, to reciprocate Han's greeting. Considering this contextual situation, Hyo makes her closing salutation to convey her intention to greet the participants and leave the meeting room, with the combination of verbal mode (i.e., *ney* in a slightly rising tone with lengthening) and nonverbal mode (i.e., slightly bowing).

Excerpt 13 below further illustrates this use of *ney*, which was extracted from a *YouTube* clip uploaded by a Korean YouTube content creator, YangPang. In this exchange, there are three people. Yan is Yangpang, Lim is a Korean singer, and Kim is a staff in the content. In this exchange, Yan is leaving after she finishes her duty as Yim's manager for her video content.

Excerpt 13 [YangPang's YouTube]

01 Yan: (with a bow to Lim) 고[생하셨습니다.]
ko[*sayngha-s-yess-supnita.*]
work.hard-HON-PST-DEF.END
'You did hard work (Thanks for your hard work.)'

02 Lim: [(with a bow to Yan) 고생하셨습니다.]
[*kosayngha-s-yess-supnita.*]
work.hard-HON-PST-DEF.END
'You did hard work (Thanks for your hard work.)'

03 고마워요.
komaw-eyo.
thanks-POL.END
'Thank you.'

04 Yan: (with a bow to Kim) 안녕히 계세요.
annyenghi *kyeys-eyyo.*
peacefully stay.HON-POL.END
'Goodbye.'

05 Kim: (with a bow to Yan) **네,:**
ney,:
ney
'Okay. (Bye.)'

06 Lim: (shaking hands) 잘가요.
cal *ka-yo.*
well go-POL.END
'Goodbye.'

07 Yan: (with bowing) **네,:**
ney,:
ney

‘Okay. (Bye.)’

08 Lim: (shaking hands) 다음에 또 봐요.

taumey	*tto*	*pwa-yo.*
later	again	see-POL.END

‘See you later.’

09 Yan: (with bowing) **네,:**

***ney*,:**

ney

‘Okay. (Bye.)’

Note that *ney* in lines 5, 7, and 9, which occurs in response to a closing salutation. After Yan and Yim exchange greetings with a bow for their hard work from line 1 to 3, Yan moves her body to Kim and says, “*annyenghi kyeyseyyo.*” (‘Goodbye.’) with a bow to show her respect toward Kim. Kim responds to this greeting expression by employing *ney* in a slightly rising tone with lengthening, which is accompanied by a bow — Kim does not explicitly say goodbye. After that, as Yan leaves with the greeting, Lim says “*cal kayo*.” (‘Goodbye.’), and Yan responds to Lim’s greeting by employing *ney* in a slightly rising tone with lengthening. She also bows as Kim does before. Subsequently, Yim initiates another closing salutation, saying “*taumey tto pwayo.*” (‘See you next time’), and Yan employs *ney* in a slightly rising tone with lengthening once again, which is accompanied with a bow, as illustrated in <Figure 3.5> below.

(L) Yan: ‘You did hard work.’ (R) Yim: ‘You did hard work.’ > (M) Yan: ‘Goodbye.’ (L) Kim: “*ney*,:” > (R) Yim: ‘Goodbye.’ (L) Yan: “*ney*,:” > (R) Yim: ‘See you next time.’ (L) Yan: “*ney*,:”

<Figure 3.5. *ney* with a bow in leaving>

Each of (L), (R), and (M) refers to the left side, right side, and middle of the picture. Yan is a woman who has blonde hair, Kim is a man wearing a cap and mask in the second picture, and Yim is a man in a yellow shirt on the right side in each image. As provided in the second picture, Kim bows while he is employ *ney*, instead of saying "Goodbye." In the subsequent third and last image, Yan is leaving so her body orients toward the door. Nevertheless, she is bending her back while she is employing *ney*.

This nonverbal behavior which co-occurs with every *ney* is a cue that *ney* in response to a closing salutation is, not merely a confirmation of a greeting, but an index of a speaker's intention to leave an ongoing interaction. In this context, *ney* serves as a polite substitute for a reciprocal greeting, thereby constructing an interactional sequence (cf. adjacency pair) of greeting-*ney*, such as *Thank you*.–*ney* or *Goodbye.*-*ney*. Additionally, this use of *ney* functions to foster interpersonal relationships with the interlocutors in a polite way, as a phatic expression which refers to social formulaic expressions (Ameka, 1992b; Duanti, 1997; Malinowski, 1993 [1923]; Sidnell, 2009; Zuckerman, 2020), for example, "It was great talking to you. Goodbye. See you next time."[22]

3.1.8 Requesting an interlocutor's reiteration

Eighth, *ney* signals that a speaker was not able to follow the interlocutor's previous utterance, due to it being overlapped, delivered in an undertone, beyond expectation. By using this *ney* as a response to the trouble utterance, a speaker politely requests the interlocutor's reiteration, as illustrated in Excerpts 14 and 15 below.

[22] Phatic expressions are also called phatic communion, phatic communication, or social formulae. The terminology 'phatic' was first used by an anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski (1884-1942) while he encountered difficulties in translating local languages in Melanesian tribes of Eastern New Guinea into English, especially when the language expressions were not used with their lexical meanings. For more discussion, see Malinowski (1993[1923]: 10).

In Excerpt 14, Min and Yun talk about their personal opinions of the COVID-19 pandemic. Min says they have to be more careful, quoting an English proverb 'Better safe than sorry.' However, his utterances are not delivered to Yun.

Excerpt 14 [KCO#003: Quarantine guideline]

01 Min: 베러 비 세이프 댄 소리 뭐 그 실제로…
peyle *pi* *seyiphu* *tayn* *soli* *mwe* *ku* *silceylo…*
better be safe than sorry DM DM actually
'Better be safe than sorry, well, actually…'

<2 lines are omitted>

04 Min: 좀 그냥 쫌 쫌 조금 지나치다시피 조심하는 게 나으니까
com *kunyang* *ccom* *ccom* *cokum* *cinachita-siphi* *cosimha-nun* *ke-y* *na-unikka.*
DM DM DM DM DM excessive-like beware-ADN NOMZ-SUB better-CONN
'It is better to beware of (COVID-19) a little bit excessively.'

05 Yun: [###]

06 Min: [근데 아까] 방역 수칙이 합리적인지 잘-
[*kuntey* *akka*] *pangyek* *swuchik-i* *hapliceki-nci* *cal-*
DM earlier quarantine guideline-SUB reasonable-or well
'However, (I am not sure) whether the quarantine guideline is reasonable or not..'

(0.3)

07 → **네?**
***ney*?**
ney
'Sorry?'

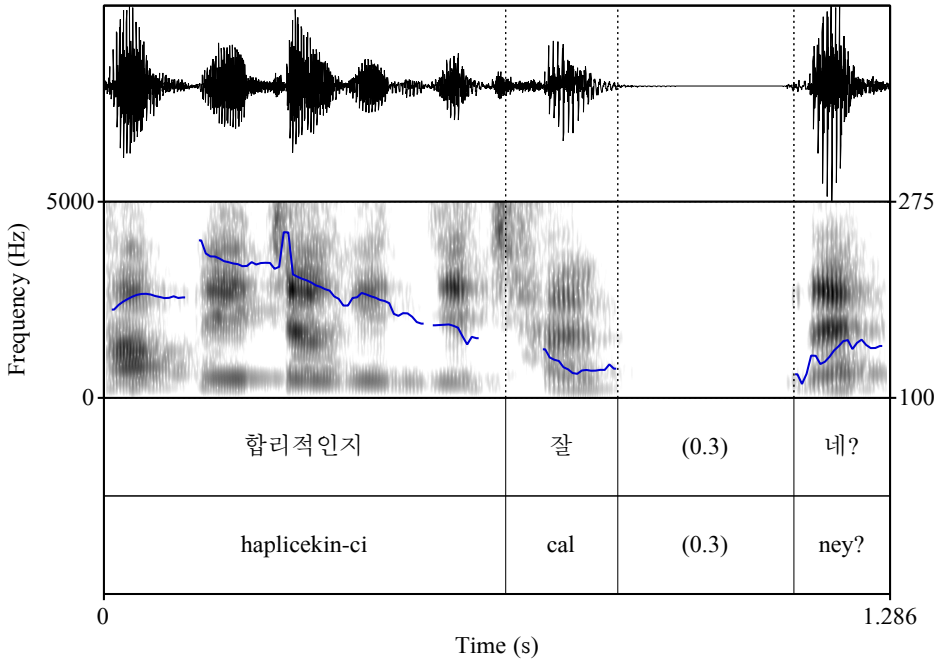
08 Yun: 혹시 배털 뭐라고 하신 거예요?
hoksi *paythel* *mwe-lako* *ha-si-n* *ke-y-eyyo*?
by.any.chance better what-QT say-HON-ADN NOMZ-BE-POL.END
'By any chance (excuse me, but), 'better' what?'

09 ## 다시 한 번만 배털:
tasi *han* *pen-man* *paythel*:
again one time-only better
'Again, better what?'

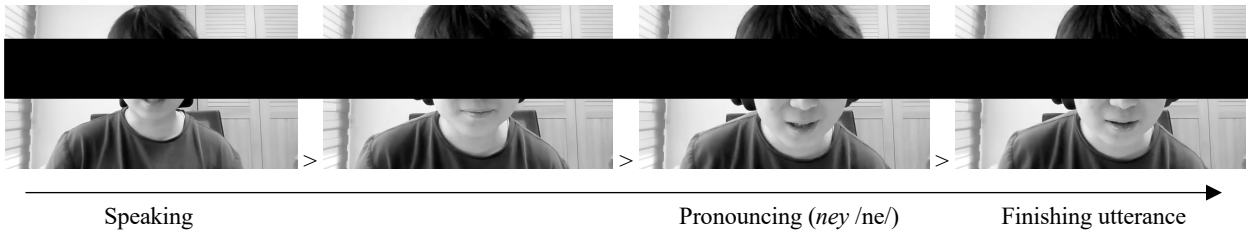
10 Min: 베럴 비 세이프 댄 쏘리.
peylel *pi* *seyiphu* *tayn* *ssoli.*
better be safe than sorry
'Better safe than sorry.'

11 Yun: 아: 맞아요. **네.**
ah: *mac-ayo.* ***ney.***
ah right-POL.END ney
'Oh, right.'

In this excerpt, Min emphasizes the importance of being cautious in line 1. Yun says something in line 5, but it is totally overlapped by Min's utterance in line 6. Note Min's use of *ney* with a slightly rising tone in line 6 which is accompanied by a forward-leaning posture, as illustrated in <Figure 3.6> and <Figure 3.7> below, after he abruptly stops talking about the government's strict policy on quarantine.



<Figure 3.6. Acoustic feature of *ney* in requesting reiteration>



<Figure 3.7. *ney* with a nod in requesting reiteration>

<Figure 3.6> displays the amplitude, pitch, and duration of Min's utterance in line 7. The top tier shows the waveform of the utterance, the second (from the top) tier displays the spectrogram, and the blue line on the second tier illustrates the pitch contour of the utterance (the pitch range is from 100 to 275, as marked on the right side). The number at the bottom indicates the duration of the utterance. As seen, Min employs *ney* with a slightly rising tone after a pause of 0.3 seconds. With regard to Min's nonverbal behaviors, as illustrated in <Figure 3.7>, he leans forward while he is using *ney*.[23]

After this *ney*, Yun politely asks Min to repeat what he said before, in lines 8 and 9. With Min's reiteration of the trouble utterance ('Better safe than sorry' in line 1), Yun is eventually able to catch the utterance — his acknowledgment is marked by the *Oh*-prefaced response (i.e., "*ah*" in line 10) (Heritage, 1984) and "*macayo*" ('Right.') followed by *ney* with the function of providing a speaker's confirmation (cf. the use of *ney* in Excerpt 4). Considering this conversation flow, Min's request for Yun's reiteration is conveyed through *ney* with a rising tone which is accompanied by the forward-leaning posture in line 7 — this will be illustrated again in Chapter 3.2.5 where a speaker is involved in face-to-face communication.

Excerpt 15 below, where Jun and Sue talk about Sue's academic major, illustrates the use of *ney* as a response to the interlocutor's utterance which is beyond the speaker's expectation.

Except 15 [KCO#004: Studying linguistics]

01 Jun: 혹시 어떤 거 공부하시는지 여쭤봐도 돼요?

hoksi	*etten*	*ke*	*kongpwuha-si-nunci*	*yeccw-e.pwa-to*	*tway-yo*?
by.any.chance	which	thing	study-HON-whether	ask.HUM-ATTM-may-POL.END	

[23] This body movement is conducted as a habitual behavior. Since Min is wearing a headset during this conversation on *Zoom*, he does not need to move toward his laptop — this is because he listens to Yun's utterances not through a built-in speaker but through the headset. Nonetheless, however, he leans forward as if he is in an in-person conversation where people come closer to the interlocutors to hear better.

‘If you don’t mind, may I ask you what you are studying?’

02 Sue: (with nods) 저는 언어학: 하고 있어요.=

ce-nun *enehak*: *ha-ko* *iss-eyo.*=
I.HUM-TOP linguistic do-PROG-POL.END
‘I am studying linguistics.’

03 Jun: (with nods) =언어학으로 아::

enehak-ulo *a*::
linguistics-with ah
‘Linguistics, I see.’

04 Sue: (with nods) **°네.°**
°*ney*.°
ney
‘Yeah, right.’

05 Jun: 어 대단[하##]

e *taytanha##*
ah great
‘Wow, great.’

06 Sue: [그냥] 그냥 그냥 쭈구리죠. 뭐 @@

[*kunyang*] *kunyang* *kunyang* *ccwukwuli-c-yo.* *mwe* @@
DM DM DM nobody (loser)-COMM-POL DM
‘I’m just nobody, yea.’

07 Jun: → (with widen eyes and leaning backward) **네?** @@ 왜요? @@

ney? @@ *way-yo*? @@
ney @@ why-POL @@
‘Why?’

08 Sue: 쭈굴- 그냥 @@ 그냥 @ 하루하루 벌어 먹고 사는 그@냥@ 일개 학생일 뿐 @@

ccwukwul- *kunyang* @@ *kunyang* @ *halwuhalwu* *pele mekko sa*-nun
nobody DM @@ DM @ everyday live.from.hand.to.mouth-ADN
ku@nyang @ *ilkay* *haksayng-i-* *lppwun* @@
DM one student-BE- only @@
‘I am just a student who lives from hand to mouth.”

In this excerpt, Jun politely asks Sue about her academic major in line 1, and Sue answers the question by mentioning that she is studying linguistics in line 2. Jun repeats part of Sue’s utterance, “*enehak*” (‘linguistics’), which is followed by “*a*” (‘ah’) to show his acknowledgment in line 3. Sue confirms Jun’s correct acknowledgment of her academic major by using *ney* in line 4, as in Excerpt 4. After that, Jun exalts Sue in line 5, but Sue deprecates herself using a pejorative

expression *ccwukwuli* 'loser' and the attenuated divergent stance markers *kunyang* and *mwe* (Ahn and Yap, 2020; Rhee, 2016b).[24]

Note the second *ney* by Jun in line 7, which is used with a rising tone, after he listens to Sue's self-deprecation. While he employs *ney* with a rising tone, Jun's eyes are widening, and his body is leaning backward, which are common nonverbal behaviors accompanied when people get surprised. With this *ney* and accompanying nonverbal behaviors, Jun asks Sue why she deprecates herself. As illustrated in Excerpt 11, *ney* with a rising tone is used when a speaker cannot hear what their interlocutors say. However, considering the contextual situation where Jun asks the reason, which follows *ney*, that Sue deprecates herself, he catches what Sue said. In other words, Jun does not use *ney* to request Sue to repeat what she said. Rather, Jun employs *ney* to express his surprise at Sue's self-deprecation, for instance, 'I have never thought in that way! Did I hear you correctly? I believe studying is great. Can you repeat what you said?'

3.1.9 Eliciting speakers' desirable response

Penultimately, *ney* is used as a response to an interlocutor's lack of response. This *ney* politely prompts the interlocutor to provide a preferred response to a speaker's previous offer or request, as illustrated in Excerpts 16 and 17 below.

Excerpt 16 below was extracted from a web-drama, *namcamwuli yesachin* ('Female friend among Guys'). Prior to this exchange, Hye had requested Tae to go to the theater or restaurant together, but Tae declined her offers.

[24] *ccwukwuli* (*ccwukwulita* 'to crouch' + bound morpheme *i* 'person') is a slang used among young generations with the metonymical meaning of 'someone who is always timid and trifling, crouching their back.'

Excerpt 16 [Web-drama *namcamwuli yesachin* ('Female friend among Guys'): Episode 7]

01 Hye: 그럼 놀이공원?
kulem *nolikongwen?*
if.then amusement.park?
'Then how about an amusement park?'

02 Tae: 놀이기구 지겨워.
nolikikwu *cikyew-e.*
ride boring-INT.END
'Ride is boring.'

03 Hye: 그럼 바다?
kulem *pata*?
if.then sea
'Then how about the sea?'

04 Tae: 난 산이 더.
na-n *san-i* *te.*
I-TOP mountain-SUB more
'(I prefer) mountains.'

05 Hye: 산 좋네,
san *coh-ney*,
mountain good-SFP
'Mountain sounds good'

06 우리 산 가요,
wuli *san* *ka-yo*,
we mountain go-POL.END
'Let's go to the mountain'

(0.4)

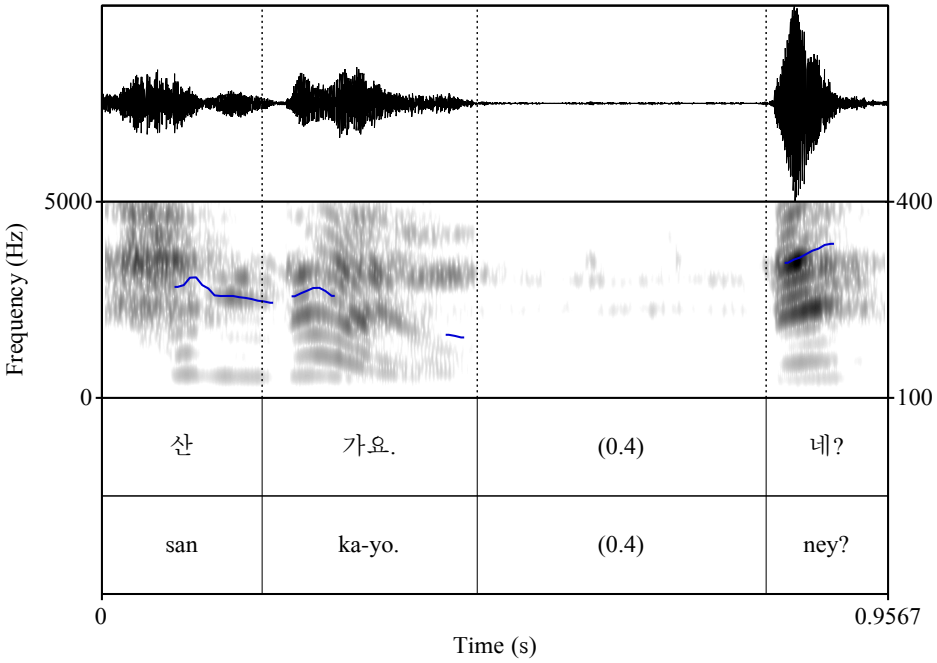
07 **네?**
***ney*?**
ney?
'Please.'

08 Tae: 그렇다고 내가 딱히 산을 좋아하는 것 같지도 않아.
kulehtako *nay-ka* *ttakhi* *san-ul* *cohaha-nun* *kes* *kath-ci-to* *anh-a.*
even.so I-SUB not.specially mountain-ACC like-ADN NOMZ like-COMM-also NEG-INT.END
'I don't think I like the mountain that much.'

In this excerpt, Hye persistently suggests various places, including an amusement park and the sea, to go together with Tae. However, Tae consistently declines Hye's suggestions without any pause to indicate his disinterest in going on a date with Hye. When Hye asks Tae if he would like to go to the sea together, however, Tae mentions that he prefers the mountain rather than the sea in line 4 without a direct refusal which he did so far. Considering Hye's following utterance in

lines 5 and 6, where she expresses that the mountain would be great and suggests going together, she may interpret Tae's previous response ('I prefer the mountains.') as he would take the offer into consideration if she offered him to go to the mountain.

Note that Hye employs *ney* in a rising tone with leaning posture toward Tae in line 7, after a pause of 0.4 seconds, which is illustrated in <Figure 3.8> and <Figure 3.9> below.



<Figure 3.8. Acoustic feature of *ney* in pestering>

<Figure 3.9. *ney* with leaning toward a conversation partner in pestering>

As approaching, signifying her affiliation with Tae (Argyle, 2013; Kleinke, 1986; Mehrabian, 1971, 2017; Oittinen, 2017; Wallbott, 1988, inter alia), Hye employs *ney* to seek her desired response, that is Tae's approval, for instance 'Tell me what I want to hear, please. That is, let's go together.' This use of *ney* with a rising tone accompanied by the leaning posture emphasizes Hye's subjective stance that she wants to go somewhere with Tae, and further reinforces the degree of strength of the illocutionary act from suggesting to pestering, as she seeks Tae's approval.

Excerpt 17 below extracted from the Korean drama, *sulkilowun uysasaynghwal* ('Hospital Playlist') shows another instance of *ney* to elicit a preferred response from the interlocutor. When Chu, who is a resident doctor, is thinking about resignation due to her hard work, Hae, who is a nurse, asks Chu to check a pregnant woman's status in line 2. However, Chu does not answer Hae's request and just looks at her monitor, where she can download the template of a letter of resignation.

Excerpt 17 [Drama *sulkilowun uysasaynghwal* ('Hospital Playlist'): Episode 8]

01 Chu: (looking at a website where she can download the format of a letter of resignation)

02 Hae: 선생님, 도재영 산모 배가 아프다고 하는데 한 번 봐 주세요.

sensayngnim,	*tocayyeng*	*sanmo*	*pay-ka*	*aphu-tako*	*ha-nuntey*
doctor	(NAME)	pregnant.woman	stomach-SUB	sick-QT	say-CONN

han	*pen*	*pwa*	*cwu-s-eyyo*.
one	time	see	BEN-HON-POL.END

'Doctor, the pregnant woman (NAME) says she has a stomachache, so please see her.'

(2.0)

03 **네?** 선생님,

***ney*?** *sensayngnim*,

Hello? doctor

'Hello, doctor?' (Do you hear me?)

04 Chu: 오늘 밤만 벌써 두 번째네요.

onul	*pam-man*	*pelsse*	*twu*	*penccay-ney-yo*.
today	night-only	already	two	time-SFP-POL

'It is already the second time (to think about resignation)'

05 갑니다. 가요.
ka-pnita. *ka-yo*.
go-DEF.END go-POL.END
'I'm coming.'

Note Hae's *ney* with a slightly rising tone in line 3, which occurs after the pause of 2.0 seconds. Considering the emergent situation that a pregnant woman has a stomachache, Hye's preferred response from Chu, who has the duty of care as a doctor in an emergency, would be an immediate action, such as saying, "Okay, I will see her right now." However, Hae receives no response from Chu; Chu remains silent during the pause of 2.0 seconds. At this moment, Hae employs *ney* which is followed by her addressing Chu's title (doctor), and Chu eventually responds to the summoning. Chu first mentions she has already contemplated resignation twice in line 4, and, with a repetitive construction ("*ka-pnita ka-yo*.") (Koo and Rhee, 2023), she adds that she will check the pregnant woman in line 5.[25] Given this contextual situation, Hae uses *ney* with a rising tone not only to attract Chu's attention but also to prompt her desirable response that she will be involved in the emergency right away.

3.1.10 Interrupting an undesirable utterance

Lastly, speakers use *ney* with lengthening to respond to their interlocutors' undesirable utterance. By employing this *ney*, speakers show their disaffiliation toward the utterance, and they even stop their interlocutors from speaking as shown in Excerpt 18.

This excerpt was extracted from a Korean reality TV show, *anunhyengnim* ('Knowing Bros') also known as *Ask Us Anything*. Participants in the show are playing a word matching game

[25] Chu shifts her speech level from deferential to (informal) polite in line 5 while she repeats the message 'I am coming.' (or 'I will see the patient.'). This kind of style-shift within one intonation unit, which is called "Multiply Juxtaposed Sentences" (Koo and Rhee, 2023: 202), often conveys speakers' negative stance toward the situation they encounter. This structural pattern can also be observed in Japanese (see Kaneyasu and Iwasaki, 2017).

where they come up with a word which starts with *sata*, and Hee is facilitating the game as a moderator. Since the participants, except Don, do not know any possible answer, such as *satalikkol* ('trapezoid'), Don shows off his knowledge of the word and teases others by saying, "You don't know this?" in line 2.

Excerpt 18 [Ask Us Anything (Knowing Bros): Episode 327]

01 Don: 게임할 때 왜 사다리꼴 하잖아.
keyim-ha-l *ttay* *way* *satalikkol* *ha-canha.*
game-do-ADN when DM trapezoid do-SFP
'When we play a game, we draw a trapezoid.'

02 이해가 안 [되나?]
ihay-ka *an-*[*toy-na*?]
understanding-SUB NEG-become-Q
'You don't know this?'

03 Gun: [**네::** [[알겠습니다.]]
[***ney*::** [[*al-keyss-supnita*.]]
ney know-IMP-DEF.END
'Okay, I see. (Stop.)'

04 Kim: [[**네::** 알겠습니다.]]
[[***ney*::** *al-keyss-supnita*.]]
ney know-IMP-DEF.END
'Okay, I see. (Stop.)'

05 Don: 사다리꼴 [#####]
satalikkol [#####]
trapezoid
'Trapezoid.'

06 Others: [**네::** 알겠습니다.]
[***ney*::** *al-keyss-supnita*.]
ney know-IMP-DEF.END
'Okay, I see. (Stop.)'

07 Don: 다이하드,
taihatu,
Die.Hard (the name of movie series)
'Die Hard'

08 Hee: 자 그렇다면 다음 문제,
ca *kulehtamyen* *taum* *mwuncey,*
DM if.then next question
'Then, the next question,'

Note the use of *ney* with lengthening in lines 3, 4, and 6 which interrupts Don's utterance. While Don is bragging about his word knowledge, *satalikkol* ('trapezoid') in lines 1 and 2, Gun cuts him off by saying *ney* with lengthening in a mocking tone, which is followed by "*alkeysssupnita.*" ('I see.') in line 3. Subsequently, Kim also employs the same construction, "*ney alkeysssupnita.*" in line 4, following Gun. By doing this, Gun and Kim intentionally interrupt Don's utterance and further ignore him. Don repeats "*satalikkol*" and makes another statement in line 5, but his utterances are overlapped by other participants' use of the construction in line 6 to refrain Don from continuing to speak. After hearing this, Don shouts, "Die Hard" which was the answer to a previous question to show off that he knows every answer in this game and make the audience laugh. Finally, the moderator Hee wraps up this interaction by saying, "*ca kulehtamyen taum mwuncey*" ('Then, the next question is..'). Considering this situational context where *ney* is employed to interrupt Don's utterances while Don is showing off, *ney* with lengthening is a response to a dispreferred utterance (i.e., Don's boast), and serves as an index of a speaker's disaffiliative stance toward an ongoing interaction. In addition, this *ney* with lengthening which is followed by *alkeysssupnita* is used as a directive, signaling, "Okay, stop. That's enough."

3.1.11 Interim summary

In this section, I have examined the use of *ney* as a response to the interlocutor's utterance in various talk-in-interaction scenarios. Speakers utilize *ney* with the hedging function of marking politeness, and the integration of verbal and nonverbal modalities serves to enhance and intensify the speakers' stance within the ongoing interaction.

On the one hand, *ney* indicates a speaker's affiliation with the interlocutor and the ongoing interaction. Specifically, *ney* serves as an affirmative response (Excerpt 1), confirmation (Excerpts

2, 3, and 4), acceptance (Excerpts 5, 6, and 7), and agreement (Excerpt 8). It also indicates a speaker's active listenership (Excerpts 9 and 10). In these uses, *ney* occurs in a falling or neutral tone, which is accompanied by a head nod, a gesture commonly used to convey a positive attitude (Aoki, 2011; De Stefani, 2020; Heritage, 1998; Kärkkäinen and Thompson, 2017; Maynard, 1987; McClave, 2000; Stiver, 2008, inter alia). In addition, *ney* also indicates a speaker's presence when the speaker is summoned (Excerpt 11). In this use, *ney* occurs in a neutral tone, which is often accompanied with a hand-raise to indicate where the speaker is. Lastly, *ney* in response to an interlocutor's closing salutation is used as a substitution of a greeting, and this *ney* conveys a speaker's intention to leave an ongoing interaction in a polite way (Excerpts 12 and 13). In this context, *ney* occurs in a slightly rising tone with lengthening, which is often accompanied by a bow, a gesture commonly used to show a politeness toward the interlocutors in Korean society.

On the other hand, *ney* also conveys a speaker's disaffiliation with the interlocutors. In this use, a speaker modulates vocal qualities, and *ney* does not co-occurs with a head nod. For instance, a speaker employs *ney* with a rising tone, which is accompanied by a forward-leaning posture, to request the interlocutor's reiteration of troublesome utterances (Excerpts 14 and 15). In addition, *ney* is also to solicit a preferred response to a previous offer, especially when the interlocutor did not provide the response earlier (Excerpts 16 and 17). Lastly, I also examined the use of *ney* to discourage the interlocutor from talking (Excerpt 18), where it is used with lengthening to intentionally interrupt the interlocutor's undesirable utterance.

3.2 Discourse marker

In this section, I will examine the use of *ney* as a discourse marker (hereafter, DM) (Brinton, 2017; Fraser, 1996; Heine et al., 2021a,b; Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1999). This DM *ney* occurs

in various positions within an utterance to build a coherence in discourse in a polite way. First, at the utterance-initial position, the DM *ney* is used when a speaker starts an utterance or elaborates on the previous utterance. It is also employed to backtrack or summarize previous statements. In addition, it is used to manage a topic in an utterance. Second, at the utterance-medial position, speakers use the DM *ney* to fill a pause and hold a conversational turn, signaling their hesitation. Third, at the utterance-final position, the DM *ney* indicates speakers' intention to finish their utterance and yield a conversational turn to the interlocutors.

3.2.1 Starting an utterance

I begin this section by examining the use of *ney* as a discourse marker to start an utterance in a polite way.

See Excerpt 19 below, which was extracted from *TED Talks* where an expert on a certain field gives a mini-lecture to the audience. In the excerpt, the guest speaker, Nam, initiates his talk with *ney* after he stepped up to the podium alone; there was neither a moderator to introduce him nor applause from the audience.

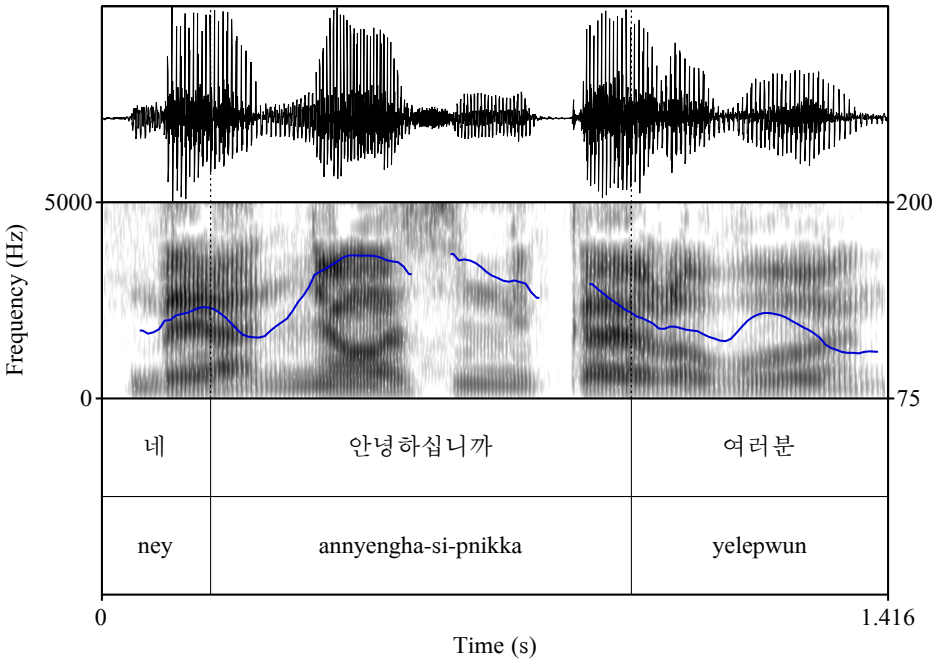
Excerpt 19 [*TED Talks*: Scientification of Korean medicine]

01 Nam: **네,** 안녕하십니까. 여러분.
ney, *annyenghasi-pnikka.* *yelepwun.*
ney hello.HON- DEF.END.Q everyone
'Hello, everyone.'

02 저는 네 번째 연사로 이 자리에 서게 된 남민호입니다.
ce-nun *ney penccay* *yensa-lo* *i* *cali-ey* *se-key.toy-n*
I.HUM-TOP fourth speaker-as this place-LOC stand-INCH-ADN
namminho-i-pnita.
(NAME)-BE-DEF.END
'I am Nam, Min-ho who stands on this floor as the fourth speaker.'

Note the use of the DM *ney* in line 1. Nam starts his utterance with *ney* in a slightly rising tone and greets the audience in a polite way.[26] Given the absence of a moderator who signals the beginning of Nam's talk, Nam employs a brief remark, i.e., *ney*, not only to courteously draw the audience's attention but also to indicate, in a polite way, that his lecture will start shortly.

<Figure 3.10> below shows the acoustic features of Nam's utterance in line 1 where *ney* occurs.



<Figure 3.10. Acoustic feature of the DM *ney* in starting an utterance>

As seen, the speaker Nam does not leave a pause (i.e., prosodic juncture) between the DM *ney* with a slightly rising tone and the following utterance in a falling boundary tone. This phenomenon, where the DM *ney* is not separated from its following utterances but rather attached

[26] Interrogative declarative sentence-ender *-pnikka* in line 1 is a polite and formal expression which is expected to be used in formal settings such as newscasts, job interviews, public speech, and so forth. It is frequently observed that a lot of *YouTubers* who upload their videos on *YouTube* use *ney* when they start their videos, as Min does: "*ney, annyengha* [*sipnikka/seyyo*] ('How are you?')."

to them, is remarkable. As suggested in various research in DMs, most DMs tend to construct a separate prosodic unit, which carries their own distinctive stress and intonation patterns (Heine et al., 2021a,b; Schiffrin, 1987; Traugott; 1995, inter alia). However, when the DM *ney* is used to initiate an utterance, it deviates from this tendency; *ney* and the following utterances together compose one prosodic unit, which is also called intonation unit (Chafe, 1994).[27]

The single phrasing of the DM *ney* and the following utterance is not only limited to a lecture setting where the audience is expected to keep silent before a speaker asks them a question; it is also observed in casual conversations.[28] This will be further illustrated in the next subsection.

3.2.2 Elaborating on a previous utterance

Second, the DM *ney* is used to proceed with a previous statement, allowing a speaker to resume an utterance after a pause in a polite way.

In Excerpt 20 below, where the DM *ney* and the following utterances construct one prosodic unit, Jun and Sue talk about the weather and landscape of Wisconsin where Sue currently lives in. Prior to this exchange, Jun asked Sue about Wisconsin and Sue first provided an explanation of its location. In response, Jun says the scenery in Sue's town should be nice (because it is in the Midwest, a region known for the beautiful natural scenery) in line 1. After listening to Jun's comment, Sue mentions that the weather is good in line 2.

Excerpt 20 [KCO#004: Wisconsin weather and scenery]

01 Jun: 그러면 되게 자연 경관이나 이런 건 좋겠네요.

kulemyen	*toykey*	*cayen*	*kyengkwan-ina*	*ilen*	*ke-n*	*coh-keyss-ney-yo,*
if.so	a.lot	nature	scenery-or	these	thing-TOP	good-SPEC-SFP-POL

[27] Kim et al. (2021) show Korean *ya* as a discourse particle (i.e., DM) occurs without a prosodic break, when it is used with the pragmatic function of taking a conversational turn.
[28] The use of *ney* in a lecture setting is also illustrated in Excerpt 23.

'If so, the scenery should be nice.'

02 Sue: 날씨는 좋아요. 눈도 많이 오고 @@@

nalssi-nun	*coh-ayo.*	*nwun-to*	*manhi*	*o-ko*	@@@
weather-TOP	good-POL	snow-also	a.lot	come-CONN	

'The weather is good. It snows a lot.'

03 Jun: 눈도 많이 오고 @@@

nwun-to	*manhi*	*o-ko*	@@@
snow-also	a.lot	come-CONN	

'It snows a lot.'

04 Sue: @@@ 너@무@ 많이 오고 @

@@@ *ne@mwu@*	*manhi*	*o-ko*	@
too.much	a.lot	come-CONN	

'It snows too much.'

(0.5)

05 **네** 약간 겨울이: 일년에 한: 3 분의 4 약간 이런 느@낌, @@

ney	*yakkan*	*kyewul-i*	*ilnyen-ey*	*han*:	*sam.pwunuy*	*sa*	*yakkan*	*ilen*	*nu@kkim,*	@@
ney	DM	winter-SUB	one.year-per	about	thirds	four	DM	these	feeling	

'It is, I feel like, winter is about four thirds.'

06 Jun: 아 그렇게 비중이 커요? 겨울의 비중이,

a	*kulehkey*	*picwung-i*	*kh-eyo*?	*kyewul-uy*	*picwung-i*,
ah	that.way	proportion-SUB	large-POL.END	winter-GEN	proportion-SUB

'Oh, is it that large (is winter that long)?'

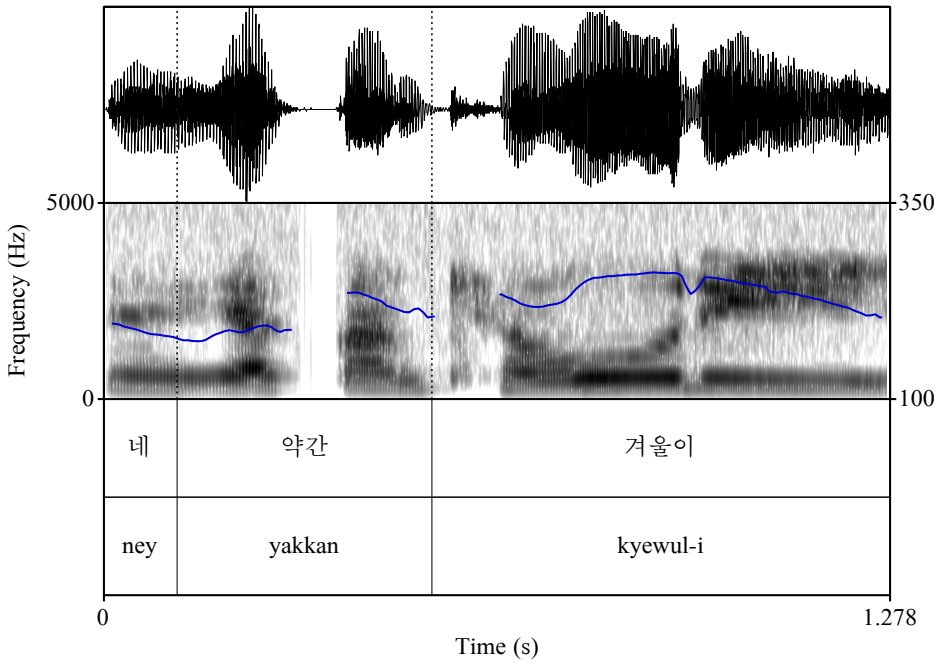
07 Sue: 10 월에 눈이 내려요.

siwel-ey	*nwun-i*	*nayly-eyo.*
October-on	snow-SUB	fall-POL.END

'It snows in October.'

Note Sue's use of the DM *ney* in line 5 while she continues talking about the weather. With this DM *ney*, after a slight pause of 0.5 seconds, Sue elaborates on her previous statement about the weather by providing additional details. Specifically, Sue first mentions that the weather is good and it snows a lot in line 2, and she adds that it snows too much in line 4. After a slight pause of 0.5 seconds, she resumes her statement with the DM *ney* in a falling tone and says the winter season in Wisconsin is long, in line 5. Considering this conversation flow, Sue employs the DM *ney* to signify a cohesive relationship between the previous and following utterance as she restarts her utterance after a pause for detailed elaboration on the weather description.

<Figure 3.11> below shows the acoustic features of Sue's utterance in line 5 where she employs the DM *ney*.



<Figure 3.11. Acoustic feature of the DM *ney* in elaborating on a previous utterance I>

As observed, Sue utilizes the DM *ney* with a falling tone and proceeds with her previous statement. She does not leave a pause (i.e., prosodic juncture) between the DM *ney* and its following utterances, which results in a unified prosodic unit in her utterance.

Excerpt 21 below further illustrates the use of the DM *ney* to proceed with a previous utterance. In this excerpt, Min shares an anecdote with Yun about his use of the English-English dictionaries. Prior to this exchange, Min said that he decided to participate in the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* project due to his interest in language and linguistics.

Excerpt 21 [KCO#003: Uses of English-English dictionaries]

01 Min: 영영 사전 (0.4) 같은 거 많이 보고,
yengyeng *sacen* (0.4) *kathun* *key* *manhi* *po-ko*,
English-English dictionary like thing a.lot look.up-CONN
'I used to look up English-English dictionaries…'

02 Yun: 네.
ney.
ney
'I see.'

03 Min: 음: (looking sideways)
um:
well
'Well…'

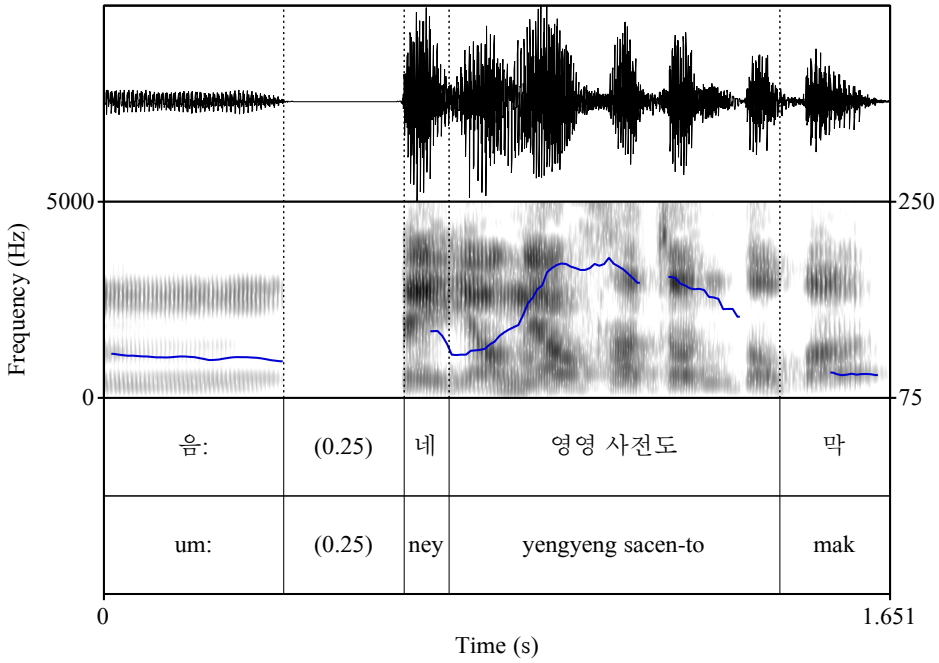
(0.25)

04 → (looking at Yun) 네 영영 사전도 막 (0.3) 여러 가지 종류를 놓고서 막 (..) 이렇게 비교: 해 가면서...
ney *yengyeng* *sacen-to* *mak* (0.3) *yele* *kaci*
ney English-English dictionary-too DM various sort
conglyu-lul *nohko-se* *mak* (..) *ilehkey* *pikyo*: *hay-kamyense…*
type-ACC put-CONN DM like.this comparison do-CONN
'I used to compare English-English dictionaries, putting them together…'

Note that Min employs the DM *ney* in line 4 as he elaborates on the previous statement regarding his use of English-English dictionaries. Initially, Min mentions that he used to 'look up' English words in dictionaries in line 1 — the use of the connective *-ko* 'and' with a slightly rising tone at the end of his utterance signals that more detailed information on the current topic will be provided (cf. Chafe, 1994, 2001; Heritage, 2012; Linell, 2009). At this moment, showing his interest and engagement in Min's story, Yun encourages Min to continue speaking by employing *ney* in line 2, as in Excerpts 9 and10. In response, Min produces "*um*" ('well') and looks sideways, which is a common nonverbal behavior used when people are in a cognitive state of processing, such as thinking about past experiences (Florea et al., 2013; Kendon, 1967; Lee et al., 2002; Underwood, 2005). Recognizing that Min is formulating his thoughts through the verbal (i.e., "*um*") and nonverbal (i.e., looking sideways) cues, Yun does not interrupt Min and waits quietly until he

restarts his utterance. After returning his gaze to the monitor where Yun can be seen, Min eventually resumes his narrative with the DM *ney* in a falling tone and says he used to 'compare' dictionaries when he looked up English words.

<Figure 3.12> below shows the acoustic features of Min's utterance in line 4 while he employs the DM *ney*.



<Figure 3.12. Acoustic feature of the DM *ney* in elaborating on a previous utterance II>

Min first produces "*um*" with lengthening to hold his conversational turn while he is thinking. After a slight pause of 0.25 seconds, he proceeds with his utterances by employing the DM *ney* in a falling tone. He does not leave a pause between the DM *ney* and the following utterance.

Considering this conversation flow where Min provides the additional information about the current topic (i.e., the use of English-English dictionaries), this *ney* in a falling tone which is

accompanied by the change of gaze direction toward a screen is utilized as an interactional resource to smoothly progress his narrative after a pause and secure Yun's attention at the same time.[29] That is, Min politely indicates his intention to proceed with the previous utterance (cf. the use of the DM *ney* in Excerpt 19) and builds a coherence between his previous and following utterance by employing this *ney* at the beginning of his new utterance.

3.2.3 Backtracking a previous utterance

Third, the DM *ney* is used to revise a previous utterance (i.e., self-initiated repair). With this *ney*, speakers trace back to the problematic utterance and withdraw it, showing apologetic stance.

See Excerpt 22 below where Yun asks Min how he responded to a pre-conversation survey ('Are you a speaker of standard Korean or dialect?') for the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* project and Min answers the question.

Excerpt 22 [KCO#002: Standard Korean]

01 Yun: 아니면 당당하게 표준어 화자라고 하셨나요.
animyen *tangtanghakey* *phyocwune* *hwaca-lako* *ha-s-yess-na-yo.*
or confidently standard.language speaker-QT do-HON-PST-Q-POL
'Or, did you say you are a standard Korean speaker?'

02 저는 좀 고민이었는데 사실.
ce-nun *com* *komin-i-ess-nuntey* *sasil.*
I.HUM-TOP little dilemma-BE-PST-SFP honestly
'Honestly, I was thinking about it.'

03 Min: (TSK) 저는 표준어라고 쓰기는 했는데,
ce-nun *phyocwune-lako* *ssu-ki-nun* *hay-ss-nuntey,*
I.HUM-TOP standard.language-QT write-NOMZ-TOP do-PST-CONN
'I wrote 'standard', but…'

(0.25)

04 Yun: 네.

[29] As illustrated in this excerpt, the speaker Min leaves a pause after the DM *mak*, unlike after the DM *ney*, which means there is a prosodic juncture between the DM *mak* and the following utterance.

ney
ney

(0.9)

05 Min: 쓰기는 했는데,:
ssu-ki-nun *hay-ss-nuntey*,:
write-NOMZ-TOP do-PST-CONN
'I wrote, but…'

(0.4)

06 → **네.** 그런 생각이 들더라고요.
ney *kulen* *sayngkak-i* *tul-telako-yo.*
ney such thought-SUB enter-EVID-POL
'Those things come to my mind.'

07 그니까 kind of, kind of standard,
kunikka *kind of*, *kind of standard*,
well kind of kind of standard
'Well, kind of standard?'

08 표준어에 가깝기는 한데,
phyocwune-ey *kakkap-ki-nun* *ha-ntey*,
standard.language-to close-NOMZ-TOP do-CONN
'My Korean is close to standard Korean, but…'

09 음:
um
well
'Well...'

<5 lines are omitted>

15 전라도 사투리랑 뭐 경상도 사투리랑,
cenlato *sathwuli-lang* *mwe* *kyengsangto* *sathwuli-lang*,
Jeolla.do dialect-and DM Gyeongsang.do dialect-and
'Jeolla and Gyeongsang dialect'

16 여기저기 지역 사투리를 좀 섞어서 쓰시는 할머니 밑에서 자라 가지고
yekiceki *ciyek* *sathwuli-lul* *com* *sekk-ese* *ssu-si-nun*
here.and.there area dialect-ACC DM mix-CONN use-HONN-ADN
halmeni *mitheyse* *cala-kaciko*
grandmother under grow.up-CONN
'I was raised by my grandmother who speaks many dialects, so'

In response to Yun's question, Min says, he stated that he is a speaker of standard Korean in line 3 — Min employs the clausal connective *-nuntey* with a slightly rising tone at the end of his utterance, which signals that the previous utterance is background information for the following utterances and that more information will be followed, thereby holding his conversational turn

(Park, 2006; Sohn, 2015). Yun employs *ney* in line 4 to indicate his active engagement (as a verbal backchannel) in ongoing conversation, as in Excerpts 9 and 10. After a pause of 0.9 seconds, Min reiterates part of his previous utterance, "*ssu-ki-nun hay-ss-nuntey*,:" ('I wrote, but'), elongating the last syllable. This is followed by a pause of 0.4 seconds.

Note Min's use of DM *ney* in line 6 to initiate a self-repair with apologetic stance as he restarts his utterance after the reiteration and pause. With this *ney*, he first mentions that a specific thought comes to his mind; he does not leave a pause between *ney* and the following utterances, as I illustrated in previous subsections. After that, by employing the English DM *kind of* ("*kind of*, *kind of standard*,"), he attenuates the degree of assertiveness on his previous statement that he is a native speaker of standard Korean in line 7. Finally, he says his Korean is 'close' to standard Korean in line 8. Considering this conversational flow, Min revises his self-evaluation on his Korean, which may contradict his previous utterance, and the DM *ney* is employed to withdraw his previous statement and self-evaluation. As illustrated above, there is a pause of 0.9 seconds after Yun's *ney* as a backchannel in line 4, and Min elongates his last syllable in line 5 while he is repeating part of his previous utterance to restart his utterance, which is followed by the DM *ney* and a pause of 0.4 seconds. After that, Min withdraws his initial assertion with the DM *ney*, and he indirectly excuses his previous thoughts on himself to be a speaker of standard Korean by mentioning that he was raised by his grandmother who speaks many dialects in lines 15 and 16, for instance, "When I think about my Korean deeply, 'okay', it becomes evident that my Korean is not standard Korean. I have been influenced by my grandmother who speaks many dialects. However, I would assert that my Korean is closely aligned with standard Korean." This implies that Min employs the DM *ney* to initiate a self-repair, after he reflected on his own Korean and realized that his previous assertion is somewhat problematic.

3.2.4 Summarizing

Fourth, speakers use the DM *ney* to recapitulate their previous statements. Notably, this *ney* is accompanied by a speaker's head nod.

In Excerpt 23 below, Lim and Kay talk about the pros and cons of COVID-19. Prior to the exchange, Lim and Kay in the U.S. talked about the impact of COVID-19 on their personal lives. Kay mentioned that an extroverted person might feel uncomfortable because they could not see any people in a working environment, but introverted individuals including himself found it more comfortable, so there are pros and cons of the pandemic. In response, Lim said she was extroverted when she was in South Korea and came to the U.S. after the pandemic broke out.

Excerpt 23 [KCO#024: Pros and cons of COVID-19]

01 Lim: =그러다 보니까, (TSK) 집에만 있다 보니까 (looking at Kay) 초반엔 조:금 우울했던 것 같애[요.]
=kule-ta *ponikka*, (TSK) *cip-ey-man* *iss-ta* *ponikka* (looking at Kay) *chopan-ey-n*
as.being.that-SCTR home-LOC-only stay-SCTR early-in-TOP
co:*kum* *wuwulhay-ss-ten* *kes* *kath-ay*[*yo*.]
DM depressed-PST-ADN NOMZ like-POL.END
'So, because I always stayed at home, I was like I got depressed a little early.'

02 Kay: (with nods) [음:]
네.:
[*um*:]
hm
***ney*.:**
ney
'I see.'

03 Lim: = (looking sideways) 근데 또 지금은 또: 이제 (..) (looking at Kay) 적응을 해@가지고
kuntey *tto* *cikum-un* *tto*: *icey*
DM DM now-TOP DM DM
(..) (looking at Kay) *cekung-ul* *hay@-kaciko*
adaptation-ACC do-CONN
'However, I am used to it now, so'

04 Kay: (with nods) **네.**
ney
ney
'I see.'
(0.4)

05 Lim: **네** (looking sideways) 실내:나 실외에서 할 수 있는 취미 활동 같은 걸 좀 개발을 하다 보니까 쫌=

ney *silnay:na* *siloy-eyse* *ha-l swu iss-nun* *chwimi*
ney inside-or outside-LOC do-can-ADN hobby
hwaltong *kathu-n* *ke-l* *com* *kaypal-ul* *ha-ta ponikka* *ccom=*
activity like-ADN NOMZ-ACC DM development-ACC do-SCTR DM
'I take up what I can do indoors or outdoors as a hobby, so'

06 Kay: =음:
=um
hm
'I see.'

(0.6)

07 Lim: 이제 좀 덜:: 지루한 거 (looking at Kay) 같기도 하고: (nodding) (looking sideways)
icey *com* *tel*:: *cilwuhan* *ke* (looking at Kay) *kath-ki-to*
now DM less bored NOMZ like-NOMZ-also
ha-ko: (nodding) (looking sideways)
feel-CONN
'I feel like, I am not bored as before.'

08 Kay: = (with nods) **네.**
ney.
ney
'I see.'

(0.5)

09 Lim: → (looking at Kay) (with nods) **네.** (0.3) 그런: (looking sideways) 장단점이 있는 것 같애요.
ney. (0.3) *kulen*: (looking sideways) *cangtancem-i*
ney such pros.and.cons-SUB
iss-nun *kes* *kath-ayyo.*
exist-ADN NOMZ like-POL.END
'I feel like, there are such pros and cons.'

10 Kay: (with nods) **네:** °뭐° 그래서 (0.3) (TSK) (with nods) **예** 건강에만 크게 인제 뭐- 문제가- 없으면:...
ney: °*mwe*° *kulayse* (0.3) (TSK) (with nods) ***yey*** *kenkang-ey-man*
ney DM DM yey health-to-only
khukey *incey* *mwe* *mwncey-ka* *eps-umyen*:…
largely DM DM problem-SUB not.exist-COND
'Yeah, if there is no big problem with your health…'

In this excerpt, where *ney* occurs six times and *yey* once, Lim proceeds with her narrative by mentioning that she got a little depressed because she had to stay at home. While Lim shares her personal story with Kay, she frequently changes her gaze direction. She tends to look sideways while she is recalling her previous life.[30]

[30] This nonverbal behavior is often observed while speakers are in a psychological state that they are thinking (Florea et al., 2013; Kendon, 1967; Lee et al., 2002; Underwood, 2005).

Kay uses *ney* with a head nod as a backchannel in lines 2 and 4, signaling that he is listening carefully to Lim's personal story that she initially got depressed but she eventually adapted herself to the new norm, as in Excerpts 9 and 10. After Kay's second *ney* in line 4, which is followed by a pause of 0.4 seconds, Lim continues her narrative with *ney* and says she took up some indoor and outdoor activities as hobbies to adjust to the pandemic, in line 5. With this *ney*, Lim proceeds with her previous utterance and establishes a harmonious connection between her previous and following utterances — she does not leave a pause between this *ney* and the following utterance, as in Excerpts 20 and 21. After that, while directing her gaze toward Kay, Lim adds that she thinks she now feels less bored due to her new hobbies and looks sideways. Kay employs *ney* with a head nod in line 8 as a backchannel (as he does in lines 2 and 5), which is followed by a silent pause of 0.5 seconds.

Note the use of the DM *ney* by Lim in line 9. After the pause of 0.5 seconds, Lim shifts her gaze toward Kay and employs *ney* with a head nod, which is followed by a pause of 0.3 seconds. After that, she mentions there are both pros and cons of the pandemic. Considering her conversation flow and the contextual situation where Kay talked about the pros and cons of the pandemic in the prior exchange (before this excerpt), Lim recapitulates what she mentioned so far (in this excerpt) in line 9, and the DM *ney* is used in this context to resume an utterance. Notably, after line 9 where Lim summarizes her utterance into one sentence with *ney* ('*ney* there are such pros and cons.'), Kay takes a more active role in this conversation. Before this, he used short remarks, such as "*um*" in lines 2 and 6 and "*ney*" in lines 2, 4, and 8, to show his engagement in this ongoing interaction. However, after starting his utterance by employing *ney* with a head nod to show the acknowledgment of Lim's personal life (cf. the use of *ney* in Excerpts 4 and 10), he speaks more extensively and takes a more prominent speaking role than before; he proceeds with

his utterance after a pause of 0.3 seconds by employing *yey*, as in Excerpts 20 and 21, and mentions that Lim will be fine. This shift in Kay's role in this conversation, i.e., from a listener to a speaker, signifies his acknowledgment of Lim's completion of her narrative. Given this, the DM *ney*, in line 9 to initiate a summary of previous utterances, serves as a cue to yield a conversational turn, and he consequently leads the ongoing conversation.

Excerpt 24 below further illustrates the use of the DM *ney* to summarize previous utterances. In the excerpt, Sun asks Jee, who took the COVID-19 test a lot, if there is any difference between self-testing and supervised testing. While Jee is talking about the difference based on her own experiences, in response, Sun employs *ney* and nods in lines 5, 7, and 12, as a backchannel to encourage Jee to continue her narrative, as in Excerpts 9 and 10. Sun also uses "*a*" ('ah') in lines 7 and 12 to express his acknowledgment of Jee's remarks on testing.

Excerpt 24 [KCO#005: COVID-19 testing]

01 Sun: 이게 많이 다른가요?

ike-y *manhi* *talu-nka-yo*?
this.thing-SUB a.lot different-Q-POL
'Is there any difference?'

02 그 셀프:로 하는 거랑 기관에 가서 받는 거랑.

ku *seylphu*:*-lo* *ha-nun* *ke-lang* *kikwan-ey* *ka-se* *pat-nun* *ke-lang*.
DM self-as do-ADN NOMZ-and institution-to go-CONN take-ADN NOMZ-and
'self-testing and supervised testing'

03 Jee: 어:: 뭐 일단 누가 해주면,

e:: *mwe* *itan* *nwu-ka* *hay-cwu-myen*,
well DM first someone-SUB do-BEN-COND
'Well…first, when someone tests you,'

04 Jee: 그: 거기: 해 주는 사람들은 좀 빡세게 하기 때문에 쫌 [깊이] 넣@고@요. @@@

ku: *keki*: *hay* *cwu-nun* *salam-tul-un* *com* *ppakseykey* *ha-ki* *ttaymwuney*
DM there do BEN-ADN person-PL-TOP DM intensely do-NOMZ CONN
ccom [*kiphi* *ne*]*@-ko@-yo*. @@@
DM deep thrust-CONN-POL
'Because people in there do it intensely, so they thrust (diagnosis kit) deep'

05 Sun: [nodding]

06 =그래서 좀@ 괴@롭@[고@요@].

=kulayse *com@* *koy@lop@-ko@-yo@.*
DM DM painful-CONN-POL
'so, It is painful.'

07 Sun: [(nodding) @아@ **네.** @]
a ***ney.***
ah ney
'Oh, okay.'

08 Jee: 아@프@고@ 괴롭고 막 켁켁켁하고
a@phu@-ko@ *koylop-ko* *mak* *kheykkheykkheyk-ha-ko*
hurting-CONN painful-CONN DM ONOMAT (koff)-do-CONN
'It is hurting and painful, so koff koff koff and'

09 Sun: =(nodding) 음:
um:
mm-hmm
'I see.'

10 Jee: =근데 혼자 하면
=kuntey *honca* *ha-myen*
DM alone do-COND
'But, when you do it by yourself,'

11 약간 조금 대충 하는 감이 있기 때문에 @@@
yakkan *cokum* *taychwung* *ha-nun* *kam-i* *iss-ki* *ttaymwuney* @@@
DM a.little roughly do-ADN feeling-SUB exist-NOMZ CONN
'(You will do it) roughly, so'

12 Sun: 아 @@@ **네.** @ **네.** @
a @@@ ***ney.*** @ ***ney.*** @
ah ney ney
'Oh, yeah.'

13 Jee: 테스팅이 잘 @ 되@는@지@ 는 모@르@겠@지@만@
theysuthingi *cal* @ *toy@-nun@ci@-nun@* *mo@lu@-keyss@-ci@man@*
testing-SUB well work-whether-TOP unsure-PROS-CONN
'I am not sure if the testing works well, but'

14 → (H) (0.25) **네.** (with nodding) 혼자 하면 좀 편해요. @@@
ney. *honca* *ha-myen* *com* *phyenha-yyo.* @@@
ney alone do-COND DM comfortable-POL.END
'Okay, I can tell the self-testing is comfortable.'

(3.0)

15 아: @@
a: @@
ah
'Haha."

16 Sun: @@ 괜찮긴 하네. 괜찮긴 하네요. 셀프로 하는 게.
@@ *kwaynchanh-ki-n* *ha-ney.* *kwaynchanh-ki-n* *ha-ney-yo.* *seylphu-lo* *ha-nun* *ke-y.*
fine-NOMZ-TOP do-SFP fine-NOMZ-TOP do-SFP-POL self-as do-ADN NOMZ-BE
'Self-testing sounds good.'

Note that Jee employs the DM *ney* in line 14 as she approaches the end of her utterance. Initially, she describes the supervised testing in line 3, highlighting its discomfort as a medical professional thoroughly thrusts a test kit into one's nasal cavity. After that, with the connective *kuntey* 'but', she talks about self-testing and compares it to the supervised testing in line 10. She says people do not thrust the kit thoroughly (because it is painful) while they are taking the test by themselves, and expresses uncertainty about the reliability of self-testing results. Following her brief inhalation, which is indicated with (H), and a short pause of 0.25 seconds, she resumes her narrative with the DM *ney* which is accompanied by a head nod. After that, she says humorously that self-testing is comfortable. After a salient pause of 3.0 seconds, Sun expresses his agreement with Jee's argument by mentioning that self-testing sounds good. Considering the conversation flow, Jee's *ney* in line 14 is a rhetorical device to build a harmonious relationship between the previous utterances and following utterance in a polite way, as she relaunches her utterance after a pause in order to recapitulate the previous statements on COVID-19 test.

As mentioned earlier in this subsection, when a speaker shares an anecdote, the interlocutor often employs some short remarks to show the active engagement in the ongoing conversation and encourage the speaker to continue speaking. In this excerpt, Sun does indeed use the remarks such as "*um*", "*a*", and "*ney*", before line 14, which starts with the DM *ney*, where Jee says self-testing is comfortable. However, after that, Sun extends his contribution to this ongoing conversation by sharing his personal thoughts on the self-testing after listening to Jee's narrative. Given this, Sun realizes that Jee provided a summary of her previous utterance in line 14, which starts with the DM *ney*, and subsequently yielded the conversational turn to him.

3.2.5 Managing a topic

Fifth, the DM *ney* serves as a topic management strategy, especially for shifting a phase in a lecture setting.

See Excerpt 25 below, which was extracted from '*Sebasi*' (*seysangul pakkunun sikan* 'The Time for Changing the World'), a Korean television program where a guest speaker delivers a lecture to a general audience.[31] In this excerpt, guest speaker Sue asks the audience what they think about Tango after watching a tango performance together.

Excerpt 25 [Sebasi Talk: Tango]

01 (Two dancers left after completing their tango performance.)

02 Sue: → **네** 이렇-게 잠깐 탱고를 보셨는데,
ney *ilehkey* *camkkan* *thayngko-lul* *po-s-yess-nuntey*,
ney like.this for.a.while tango-ACC watch-HON-PST-CONN
'Okay, we watched tango for a while,'

03 탱고가,
thayngko-ka,
tango-SUB
'Tango…'

04 Audience: @@ [(clapping)]

05 Sue: [@@ **네.**]
[@@ ***ney.***]
ney
'Yeah…'

06 Audience: [(clapping)]

07 Sue: [**네** 이렇게 탱고를 보셨는데] 탱고가 뭐 같아요?
[***ney*** *ilehkey* *thayngko-lul* *po-s-yess-nuntey*] *thayngko-ka* *mwe* *kath-ayo*?
ney like.this tango-ACC watch-HON-PST-CONN tango-SUB what look.like-POL.END
'(So far) you have watched tango, so what do you think of tango?'

08 Audience: ###

09 Sue: (moving forward slightly and putting her hand to ear) **네?**
ney?
ney
'Pardon?'

10 Audience: 열[정!]

[31] The format of '*Sebasi*' (*seysangul pakkunun sikan* 'The Time for Changing the World') is similar to that of *TED Talks* which was illustrated in Excerpt 19.

yel[*ceng*!]
passion
'Passion!'

11 Sue: [열]정!
[*yel*]*ceng*!
passion
'Passion!'

12 어우.
ewu
wow
'Yeah.'

13 Audience: ###

14 Sue: (moving forward slightly and putting her hand to ear) **네?**
***ney*?**
ney
'Pardon?'

15 Audience: ###

16 Sue: (moving forward slightly and putting her hand to ear) 뭐라구요?
mwe-lakwu-yo?
what-QT-Q
'What did you say?'

17 Audience: 작업!
cakep!
flirting
'Flirting!'

18 Sue: 작업 @@
cakep @@
flirting @@
'Flirting.'

19 Audience: @@@

20 Sue: 아 사람은 역시 자기가 보고 싶은 것만 [보는 것 같아요.]

a	*salam-un*	*yeksi*	*caki-ka*	*po-ko siph-un*	*kes-man*	[*po-nun*	*kes*
ah	people-TOP	as.expected	self-NOM	see-want-ADN	NOMZ-only	see-ADN	NOMZ

kath-ayo.]
look.like-POL.END
'(I think) people see what they want to see only.'

21 Audience: [@@@]

22 Sue: → 네 탱고는 한마디로 말해서: 두 사람이, (0.3) 안고, (0.4) 함께 걷는 것 (0.4) 인데요.

ney	*thayngko-nun*	*hanmati-lo*	*malhay-se:*	*twu*	*salam-i*,	(0.3)
ney	tango-TOP	one.word-as	mention-as	two	person-SUB	

an-ko,	(0.4)	*hamkkay*	*ket-nun*	*kes*	(0.4)	*i-ntey-yo*.
hug-CONN		together	walk-ADN	NOMZ		BE-SFP-POL

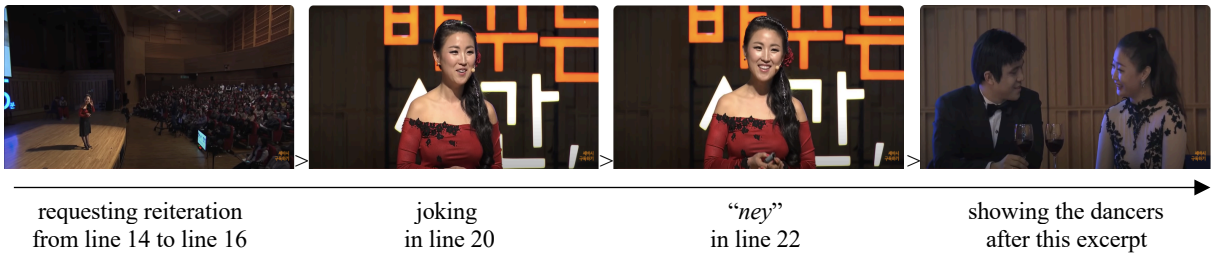
'Okay, Tango is, in one word, hugging and walking together.'

In this excerpt, Sue employs *ney* six times: in lines 2, 5, 7, 9, 14, and 22. She first employs *ney* in line 2 to politely attract the audience's attention and signal her intention to resume her talk after the tango performance (cf. the use of *ney* in Excerpt 19). However, while she is speaking, some audience laughs and claps. Acknowledging the audience's enjoyment of the performance through their applause, she employs *ney* in line 5 as a backchannel to the applause (cf. the use of *ney* in Excerpts 9 and 10), which is overlapped by the applause. As the applause subsides, she restarts her utterance in line 7, once again using *ney*, and poses a question about the audience's thoughts on tango. Some audience provides their answers, but due to the physical distance between the podium and the floor where the audience is sitting, Sue was not able to catch the answers and she thus guides them to repeat, using *ney* with a rising tone in lines 9 and 14, as in Excerpt 14. [Note: Unlike the speaker in Excerpt 14, who is engaged in a virtual conversation conducted on *Zoom*, Sue is physically present together with the audience.] As briefly noted before in Chapter 3.1.6, while she is requesting the audience's reiteration by employing *ney* with a rising tone, Sue slightly leans toward the audience and even places her hand on her ear. With the audience's reiteration in lines 10, 15, and 17, Sue lifts the mood in line 14 by joking that people see what they want to see. After the audience laughs, she employs the DM *ney* in line 22 to restart her utterance and provides an answer ('Okay, Tango is, in one word, hugging and walking together.') to her own question ('What is tango?').

Note that the DM *ney* in lines 2 and 22 is used to manage a topic as Sue (re)starts her utterance. The first DM *ney* in line 2 occurs after two dancers left the podium, as previously mentioned above. Before and while the dancers showcased a tango performance, Sue took a moderator role. Meanwhile, when the performance ended, Sue takes a lecturer role and resumes her lecture, which is started with *ney*, but her utterances are overlapped by the audience's applause.

Considering Sue reiterates her overlapped utterance in line 7, she was about to ask the question in line 2 which is eventually delivered in line 7 ('What do you think of tango?'). This indicates Sue's intention to shift a phase in this discourse from showing the audience the tango performance to engaging in interaction with the audience. The second DM *ney* in line 22 is used for the same purpose. As illustrated above, before Sue employs *ney*, Sue and the audience engage in bidirectional communication through questions, answers, and comments. However, with this *ney*, Sue stops such interaction and delivers what she prepared for her lecture from line 22. Sue proceeds with the previous topic, i.e., tango, by employing *ney*, yet she shifts the phase from the active bidirectional communication (e.g., question-answer-assessment sequence) into unidirectional speech delivery mode. Given this, Sue wraps up the former type of interaction and initiates a new type of interaction, and in this context, Sue's *ney* signifies this phase-shift.

As previously mentioned, the target audience for this lecture (and TV program) is the general public. Notably, the broadcaster enhances the TV viewers' experience by incorporating visual elements including changes in camera focus. This adjustment aligns with the phase-shift in Sue's lecture, as shown in <Figure 3.13> below.



<Figure 3.13. Camera movement before and after the DM *ney* in phase-shift>

The leftmost figure illustrates how Sue requests the audience's reiteration both verbally and nonverbally. As mentioned above, while Sue is employing *ney* with a rising tone, she slightly

leans toward the audience and places her hands to her ear. In this context, a cameraman captures a long shot to depict the interaction between Sue and the audience. However, when Sue starts joking, the cameraman switches to a close-up of Sue. After Sue uses *ney* to conclude the preceding interaction (i.e., bidirectional communication) and initiate a new interaction (i.e., unidirectional delivery), the camera moves toward the tango dancers in a very short time, and returns to focus on Sue. While TV viewers are watching Sue's lecture which was recorded with this camera movement, they can not only perceive the dynamic, live interaction between Sue and the audience on the spot (i.e., lecture hall) but also recognize the phase-shift during Sue's lecture indirectly through this change in camera focus. This fosters an immersive connection between the TV viewers and Sue (and the audience, as well), and enables the viewers to engage more deeply in Sue's lecture.

As illustrated thus far, the DM *ney* serves multiple functions at the beginning of utterances: i) initiating an utterance in a polite way, ii) elaborating on or iii) backtracking a previous statement in a polite way, iv) summarizing prior statements in a polite way, and v) managing a topic in a polite way. Admittedly, these functions are not mutually exclusive, which is attributed to the categorial fluidity of the DMs.[32] They are overlapped to some extent as they all occur at the utterance-initial position.

However, upon closer examination, each function has distinct characteristics. Specifically, in the first function, the DM *ney* is used at the 'outset' of an interaction to initiate an utterance. In the second function, however, it is employed during an 'ongoing' interaction to expand upon a speaker's previous statement, which often follows a brief pause. In contrast, the third function involves modifying a speaker's preceding utterance, which is often accompanied by the apologetic stance. The fourth function occurs as a speaker approaches the end of the utterance, signaling

[32] Rhee (2020a: 295) suggests that the reason for the overlapped functions is that no criteria for functional classification of DMs have been established and the labeling of the functions is dependent on "the granularity of the analysis".

readiness to yield the conversational turn. Lastly, the fifth function of the DM *ney* at the utterance-initial position signaling a speaker's intention to transition to a new phase.[33]

Notably, the position of the DM *ney* is not limited to the utterance-initial position. In the next subsection, I will analyze the use of the DM *ney* in the middle of an utterance to fill a pause.

3.2.6 Filling a pause

Sixth, the DM *ney* occurs in the middle of an utterance to mark hesitation in speaking. With this *ney*, speakers hold their conversational turn in a polite way while they are formulating and/or reorganizing their thoughts. In this use, it occurs as an independent prosodic unit. In addition, a speaker's gaze does not go directly toward the listeners, as illustrated in Excerpts 26 and 27 below.

In Excerpt 26, Eun and Ara, who attend the same university, talk about a General Education course. Prior to this exchange, Eun said that she took a Spanish language course for one semester but was no longer enrolled, because it was hard for her to study the Spanish language while she was studying the Russian language as her major at the same time.

Excerpt 26 [KCO#002: GE courses][34]

01 Ara: 어, 진짜요? 근데 [그] 교양 외국어,
e, *cincca-yo*? *kuntey* [*ku*] *kyoyang* *oykwuke,*
oh real-POL but DM General.Education foreign.language
'Oh, really? but the GE foreign language,'

02 Eun: [네.]
ney.
ney
'Yeah,'

03 Ara: 한 학기 # 두 번 들어야 되지 않아요?
han *hakki* # *twu pen* *tul-eya* *toy-ci* *anh-ayo*?

[33] Rhee (2020a) suggests that a phase shift entails a smooth and continuous transition, while a topic shift entails disjointed transition, which may lead away from the previous subject.

[34] A GE course refers to General Education (or General Elective) courses in a college, which provides students with an opportunity to study fundamental ideas in various fields beyond their major. In Korean, it is called *kyoyang kwamok* (*kyoyang* 'educated' + *kwamok* 'course').

one semester # twice take-should-NEG-POL.END
'I think we should take two semesters, don't we?'

04 Eun: 맞아요. 맞아요.
mac-ayo. *mac-ayo.*
right-POL right-POL.END
'Right.'

05 (with claps) 근데,:
kuntey,:
however
'However,'

06 Ara: =외국어[를]?
=*oykwuke*-[*lul*]?
foreign.language-ACC
'GE foreign language course'

07 Eun: [그 거]를: (moving her head to the bottom right slightly and looking down at the bottom)
[*ku ke*]-*lul*:
that thing-ACC
'That (GE foreign language requirement)…'

08 → (with tilted head; looking down at the bottom) **네:**
***ney*:**
ney
'Well…'

09 (looking at Eun) 영어를: (0.5) 일 이를 다 들으면:
yenge-lul: (0.5) *il* *i-lul* *ta* *tul-umyen*:
English-ACC one two-ACC all take-COND
'I mean, when you take English I and II,'

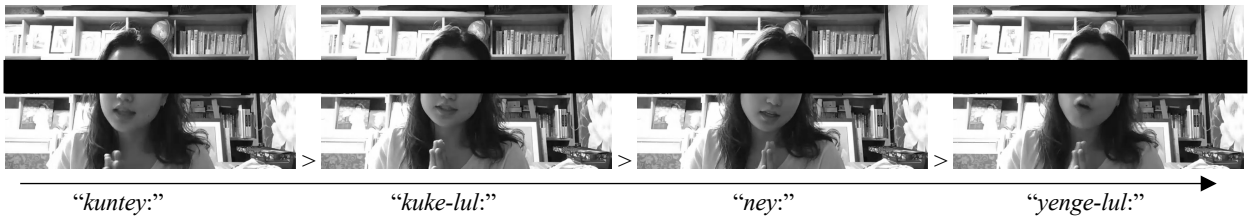
10 그게 이제 뭐가 만[회가] 돼가지고,
kukey *icey* *mwe-ka* *man*[*hoy-ka*] *tway-kaciko*,
that DM something-SUB make.up-SUB become-CONN
'it can make up (the requirement).'

11 Ara: [아:]
[*a*:]
ah
'Oh, I see.'

In this excerpt, Ara asks a question about a General Education course requirement at their university to confirm whether her knowledge is correct in lines 1 and 3 — this is because Eun said she took a Spanish language course only for one semester, which is against Ara's knowledge that they are required to take a foreign language course for one academic year (two semesters). Eun

employs *ney* in line 2 to show her active engagement in the ongoing conversation, as in Excerpts 9 and 10, while Ara is asking about the course requirement to her.

Note Eun's use of the DM *ney* in line 8 which occurs between "*kukelul*" (that thing-ACC) in line 7 and "*yengelul*" (English-ACC) in line 9. Eun first says "*kukelul*", and tilts her head to the bottom right — her gaze goes toward bottom right — and employs the DM *ney*. She then returns her gaze to Ara as she continues utterance by mentioning "*yenge-lul*" (English-ACC), as illustrated in <Figure 3.14> below. Notably, she elongates the last syllable of her utterances.



<Figure 3.14. Gaze direction change while employing the DM *ney* to fill a pause>

This nonverbal behavior (i.e., looking sideways) and verbal behavior (i.e., using anaphora *kuke* 'that thing' for *yenge* 'English' and lengthening the last syllable of each utterance) may be a cue that Eun wants to hold her conversational turn while she is searching for what and how to say next. As noted before, speakers often avoid direct eye contact with the interlocutors during the cognitive process of thinking (Florea et al., 2013; Kendon, 1967; Lee et al., 2002; Underwood, 2005). Considering Eun's gaze shift toward Ara as she continues her previous statement about the GE requirement by eventually choosing the word *yenge* 'English', she employs the DM *ney* with lengthening to signal her intention to retain her conversational turn while she is finding the next words. Ara notices Eun's intention through these (non)verbal behaviors, and she thus refrains from

interrupting Eun's utterance. Without Ara's interruption, Eun can resume her utterance, mentioning that it would be acceptable when they take English I and II.

The DM *ney* with the function of filling a pause, however, is not always accompanied by lengthening, as illustrated in Excerpt 27 below.

Excerpt 27 [KCO#003: *Siheung* and COVID-19]

01 Han: 결혼하고는 잠깐 거기 시흥에서 살았어요.
kyelhonha-ko-nun *camkkan* *keki* *sihung-eyse* *sal-ass-eyo.*
get.married-CONN-TOP for.a.while there Siheung-LOC live-PST-POL.END
'I once lived in Siheung after I got married.'

02 =미국 오기 전까지.
=mikwuk *o-ki* *cen-kkaci.*
the U.S come-NOMZ before-until
'Before I came to the U.S.'

03 Dae: (with nods) =으응 경기[도]:
=uung *kyengki*[*to*]*:*
um-mhm Gyeonggi.do
'Gyeonggi-do.'

04 Han: (with nods) [##] **네.** **네.** 경기도 시흥.
[##] ***ney.*** ***ney.*** *kyengkito* *sihung.*
ney ney Gyeonggi.do Siheung
'Right. Siheung, Gyeonggi-do.'

05 Dae: (with nods) **네.** °아 그러셨구나.°
ney. *°a* *kule-s-yess-kwuna.°*
ney ah being.that-HON-PST-SFP
'Ah, you did.'

06 (shaking her torso)

(1.4)

07 (tut)

(0.3)

08 (blinking)

09 (slightly looking down at the bottom)

10 → **네.**
ney.
ney
'Yeah.'

11 뭐.
mwe.

DM
'Well.'

12 (TSK) (TSK) 코로나 19 이후의 경험,
(TSK) (TSK) *kholona sipku ihwu-uy kyenghem*,
COVID-19 after-GEN experience
'Experience after COVID-19?'

13 @@ (looking up) 그 수업 중에도 되게 많이 물어봤거든요.
@@ *ku swuep cwungey-to toykey manhi mwule-pwa-ss-ketun-yo.*
DM class during-too very a.lot ask-EXP-PST-SFP-POL
'I was asked a lot in class.'

14 뭐 코로나:가: 터지고,: 뭐 막 삶에 무슨 변화가 생겼는지,
mwe kholona:*-ka*: *theci-ko*,: *mwe mak salm-ey*
DM COVID-19-SUB outbreak-CONN DM DM life-at
mwusun pyenhwa-ka sayngk-yess-nunci,
what change-SUB occur-PST-if
'about the life change after the COVID-19 outbreak.'

Prior to this exchange, Han and Dae introduced themselves and talked about their current location. In this excerpt, Han says he once lived in Siheung, and, in response, Dae employs "*uung*" and mentions the province Gyeonggi-do, which includes the city (Siheung), to show her awareness of where Han talks about. After that, they both use *ney* with a head nod (Han in line 4 and Dae in line 5) to confirm each speaker's correct acknowledgment, as in Excerpt 4.

Note that Dae employs *ney* in line 10 as she takes a moment to contemplate her response. After the conversation about Han's hometown, a noticeable pause (i.e., gap) of 1.4 seconds follows. Subsequently, breaking the silence, Dae produces a dental click sound (/ǀ/) which is indicated with (tut) in the transcription, blinks her eyes, and looks down slightly. After that, she employs *ney* and the DM *mwe* which has a function of filling a pause (Lee et al., 2017; Rhee, 2016b; Suh, 2007). She then makes an ingressive hissing sound twice which is indicated with (TSK) in the transcription, and starts talking about the experience after COVID-19. Considering this contextual situation, She produces some noises (i.e., the dental click sound and ingressive hissing sound) and employs the DM *mwe* in order to fill a silence and take the conversational turn while she is looking

for a new conversation topic after the interlocutors talked about Han's hometown. By inserting *ney* in this context along with the noises and the DM *mwe*, she actively fills the silence and signals again in a polite way that she is thinking about the next conversation topic

3.2.7 Finishing an utterance

Lastly, the DM *ney* also occurs at the end of utterances. With this *ney*, speakers politely mark the end of their utterance and yield the conversational turn to their interlocutors. Notably, this *ney* is delivered in a relatively undertone and is often accompanied by distinctive nonverbal behaviors such as a head nod and gaze change.

In Excerpt 28 below, Sun and Jee talk about remote work. Prior to this exchange, Jee asked Sun if he worked remotely during the COVID-19 pandemic. In this excerpt, Sun answers the question by mentioning that he goes to work while most people work from home. While Sun is talking, Jee shows her acknowledgment of Sun's response, using "*uum*" in line 2 and "*a*" in line 4.

Excerpt 28 [KCO#005: Remote work]

01 Sun: 다른:: 부서는: 재택을 하는 분이 되게 많은데,
talun:: *pwuse-nun*: *caythayk-ul* *ha-nun* *pwun-i* *toykey* *manhu-ntey,*
other department-TOP telecommuting-ACC do-ADN people.HON-SUB very a.lot-CONN
'As for other departments, there are a lot of people who telecommute,'

02 Jee: 으음=
uum=
mhm-hm
'Yeah.'

03 Sun: =저는 어쩔 수 없이
=ce-nun *eccel swu epsi*
I.HUM-TOP inevitably
'As for me, inevitably'

04 Jee: 아::
a::

ah
'Ah.'

05 Sun: =출근을 해야 해서 하고 있어요.
chwulkunul hay-yahay-se *ha-ko iss-eyo*.
go.to.work-should-CONN do-PROG-POL.END
'I should go to work, so I do.'

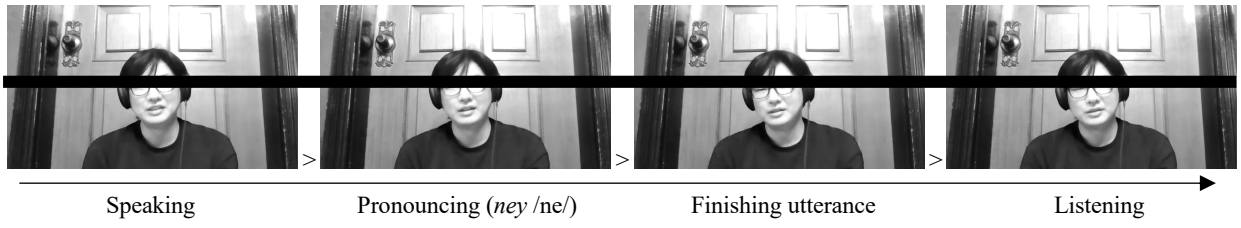
06 =°**네.**°
=°***ney.***°
ney
'Yeah.'

07 (moving his head to the left slightly; looking downwards)

(1.5)

08 Jee: 근데 뭔가 분위기가 재택을 할 수 있어도…
kuntey *mwenka* *pwunwiki-ka* *caythayk-ul* *ha-l swu iss-eto*
DM DM atmosphere-SUB telecommuting-ACC do-can-even.when
'But, when people can work from home, the atmosphere is (the company does not encourage…).'

Note Sun's use of the DM *ney* in line 6 which occurs at the end of his utterance. After Sun employs the polite marker *-yo* in a falling boundary tone at the end of line 5, which indicates the end of utterance and marks the (informal) polite speech level (see Section 2.1), he immediately starts a new utterance by employing the DM *ney* in an undertone. This *ney* is accompanied by the nonverbal behavior of changing his head posture and gaze direction, as illustrated in <Figure 3.15> below.



<Figure 3.15. Gaze direction change while employing DM *ney* to finish an utterance>

While Sun is speaking, he looks at Jee on the screen. However, he moves his head slightly to the left after employing *ney*, and looks down for about 1.5 seconds, which may be a cue that he yields a conversational turn to Jee (cf. Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987; Kendon, 1967; Rossano, 2012; Torres et al., 1997). After a silent pause of 1.5 seconds, Jee initiates her utterance with the DM *kuntey* to signal a topic shift (Sohn, 2016; Sohn and Kim, 2014) and then expresses her personal opinion on telecommuting in line 8. In response, Sun holds his head straight again and looks at Jee on the screen. Given this, for the pause of 1.5 seconds while Sun diverts his gaze elsewhere, not at Jee, there is a negotiation between Sun and Jee in yielding and taking a conversational turn, i.e., turn allocation. Sun employs the DM *ney* in an undertone with a gaze change in order to signal that he just finished his utterance and wants to yield a conversational turn to Jee, both verbally and nonverbally. In response, Jee initiates her utterance in acknowledgment of Sun's intention through the (non)verbal cues.

Notably, the use of the DM *ney* to indicate the end of utterances is well observed when speakers unintentionally end their utterances in the intimate speech level within a context where they are expected to use the (informal) polite speech level, as illustrated in Excerpts 29 and 30 below.[35]

In Excerpt 29 below, Jee says that she is studying in the U.S., and Sun nods to show that he is listening to her carefully. After looking at Sun's nods, Jee employs *ney* to proceed with her previous utterance, as in Excerpts 20 and 21, and says she experienced the COVID-19 both in the U.S. and South Korea — there is no prosodic juncture between *ney* and the following utterance, as we examined in this section so far. Prior to this exchange, Jee asked Sun about his current location, and Sun answered he is in South Korea.

[35] See Chapter 2.1 for details about speech levels in Korean language.

Excerpt 29 [KCO#005: Daily life under the COVID-19 pandemic]

01 Jee: 저는 지금 미국에서 유학을 하고 있어가지고,:

ce-nun *cikum* *mikwuk-eyse* *yuhak-ul* *ha-ko* *isse-kaciko*,:
I.HUM-TOP now the U.S.-LOC study.abroad-ACC do-PROG-CONN
'I am studying in the U.S., so…'

02 Sun: (nodding)

03 Jee: **네** 한국: 왔다 갔다 하긴 했는데,

ney *hankwuk*: *wassta kassta* *ha-ki-n* *hay-ss-nuntey*,
ney South Korea come.and.go do-NOMZ-TOP do-PST-CONN
'I came and went to South Korea…'

<3 lines are omitted>

07 Jee: 그래서 한국 코로나도 좀 경험하고, @

kulayse *hankwuk* *kholona-to* *com* *kyenghemha-ko*, @
DM South Korea COVID-19-too little experience-CONN
'So, I experienced the COVID-19 in South Korea, too, and…'

08 미국- 에서 뭐 거의 대부분 지내긴 했지만,

mikwuk- *eyse* *mwe* *keuy* *taypwupwun* *cinay-ki-n* *hay-ss-ciman,*
the U.S. LOC DM almost most stay-NOMZ-TOP do-PST-CONN
'I usually stayed in the U.S., but…'

(0.7)

09 → (with slight nods and smiles) °**네.**°
°***ney.***°
ney
'Yeah.'

10 Sun: (nodding)

11 그니까, 한국하고 미국하고 그 상황의 차이가 큰가요?

kunikka, *hankwuk-hako* *mikwuk-hako* *ku* *sanghwang-uy* *chai-ka* *khu-nka-yo*?
DM South Korea-and the U.S.-and that situation-GEN difference-SUB big-Q-POL
'So, is there a big difference between the COVID-19 situation in South Korea and the U.S.?'

Note Jee's use of the DM *ney* in line 9. While she is talking about her life in the COVID-19 pandemic, she uses connectives with a slightly rising tone at the end of her utterances not only to signal her intention to continue her narrative but also to build a coherence between her previous and following utterances: -*kaciko* 'so' in line 1, -*nuntey* 'but' in line 3, -*ko* 'and' in line 7, and -*ciman* 'but' in line 8. Considering Jee's use of the connectives until line 7, as mentioned above, the connective -*ciman* 'but' in line 8 may also sound to Sun that Jee is about to continue speaking.

However, after Jee uses the connective -*ciman* 'but', she abruptly stops speaking. After a pause of 0.7 seconds, she employs *ney* in an undertone with a slight nod and smile, in line 9. At this moment, Sun nods and takes the conversational turn by asking a question to Jee in line 11.[36] Considering this contextual situation where Sun changes his role in this conversation from a listener to a speaker after Jee's *ney* in line 9, Sun realizes that Jee just finished her utterances and yields a conversational turn to him in line 9, through the verbal (i.e., *ney* in undertone) and nonverbal (i.e., head nod and smile) cues.

Excerpt 30 below further illustrates the aforementioned use of the DM *ney*. In the excerpt, Sue and Jun are talking about Sue's employment status.

Excerpt 30 [KCO#004: College Teaching Assistantship]

01 Sue: 안 잘려서 다행이에요. @@@

an *cally-ese* *tahayng-i-eyyo*. @@@
NEG get.fired-CONN glad-BE-POL.END
'It is such a relief that I am not fired.'

02 Jun: 아 거기도 학생인데 뭔가 막 (..) 짤리:고, 고용되고 이런 게 있는 건가요?

a *keki-to* *haksayng-i-ntey* *mwenka mak* (..) *ccalli*:*-ko*, *koyongtoy-ko*
ah there-too student-BE-CONN DM DM get.fired-CONN get.hired-CONN
ilen *key* *iss-nun* *ke-nka-yo*?
this thing BE-ADN NOMZ-Q-POL
'Ah, are students fired and hired there?'

03 Sue: 아: 그, 조교직이: 조교직을 이제 하는데: 그 조교도 이제 월급을 받아요.

a: *ku*, *cokyocik-i*: *cokyocik-ul* *icey* *ha-nuntey*:
ah DM assistant.position-BE assistant.position-ACC DM do-CONN
ku *cokyo-to* *icey* *welkup-ul* *pat-ayo,*
that assistant-too DM monthly salary-ACC receive-POL.END
'I am working as an (teaching/research) assistant, and we get a monthly salary.'

04 Jun: (with nods) **네.**
ney.
ney
'Okay.'

05 Sue: =근데 이제 계약이 이게 뭐 (..) 1 년마다 갱신을 해야 돼서:

[36] A head nod is commonly observed in turn allocation (cf. Allwood et al., 2007; De Stefani, 2020; Duncan, 1972; Kendon, 1972).

=kuntey icey kyeyyak-i ikey mwe (..) *il nyen mata kayngsin-ul hay-ya tway-se*:
DM DM contract-SUB DM DM one year every renewal-ACC do-should-CONN
'But, we have to renew the contract every year, so'

(0.5)

06 솔직히 **네** 뭐 (0.4) 제일 잘리기 쉬운 (0.4) 위치인 거죠 뭐 @@
*solcikhi **ney** mwe* (0.4) *ceyil calli-ki swi-wun* (0.4) *wichi-i-n ke-c-yo*
honestly ney DM most get.fired-NOMZ easy-ADN position-BE-ADN NOMZ-COMM-POL
mwe @@
DM
'Honestly, yeah… the position is very unstable.'

07 Jun: 음::
um::
hm
'Hmm'

08 Sue: =말단이니까.
=maltan-i-nikka.
lowest.position-BE-SFP
'Because I am in the lowest position.'

09 → (looking down at the bottom) (0.3) **네.**
ney
ney
'Yeah.'

10 Jun: 아 그쵸. 그:건 좀 그렇네요.
a ku-ch-yo. ku: ke-n com kuleh-ney-yo.
ah that.being.so-COMM-POL that thing-TOP DM not.good-SFP-POL
'Ah, right. It is not good…'

At the beginning of this exchange, Sue expresses relief that she is not fired in line 1, and Jun asks Sue whether even students like her can be fired. Sue responds to the question by mentioning that she is serving as a teaching assistant (TA) at her college and receives a monthly salary. While listening, Jun encourages Sue to extend her narrative with *ney* which co-occurs with a head nod in line 4, as in Excerpts 9 and 10. Sue subsequently says there is a contract renewal every year so her position is unstable, from line 5 to 6 where she employs the DM *ney* in line 6 to proceed with her previous utterance, as in Excerpts 20 and 21.[37] After Jun produces "*um*" in line

[37] Sue's disaffiliative stance toward the situation is marked by the DM *mwe* (Cha, 2017; Rhee, 2016b; Suh, 2007) in lines 5 and 6.

7 to indicate his acknowledgment of Sue's situation, Sue emphasizes her unstable employment by mentioning, "*maltaninikka*" ('because I am in the lowest position') in line 8, which is followed by a slight pause of 0.3 seconds.

Note Sue's use of the DM *ney* in line 9 which is accompanied by a gaze shift from Jun to elsewhere. After this *ney*, Sue ends her utterance and Jun contributes to this ongoing conversation by changing her role in this conversation from a listener to a speaker. Jun first indicates his agreement with Sue's statement by using "*kuchyo.*" ('Right.') (cf. the use of the committal *-ci* in Excerpt 8), and subsequently expresses his own opinion about Sue's situation by commenting, 'It is not good.' in line 10. Considering the conversational flow where Jun takes a more prominent speaking role in response to Sue's *ney*, the conversational turn that Sue held is yielded to Jun in line 9 where the DM *ney* occurs. In other words, there is negotiation between Sue and Jun on turn allocation, and Jun perceives that Sue finished her utterance and wanted to yield a conversational turn to him through the aforementioned (non)verbal behavior.

The use of the DM *ney* to indicate the end of utterance occurs in Excerpts 29 and 30 is highly noteworthy as it shifts a speech level in conversation. In the Korean language system, a speech level is typically marked at the end of utterance (see Chapter 2.1). For instance, the auxiliary postpositional particle *-yo*, which is freely attached to the words at the end of utterance, indexes a speaker's awareness of politeness toward the interlocutor, marking the informal polite speech level (cf. Brown, 2015; Sohn, 2007; Yoon, 2020).

The DM *ney* in Excerpts 29 and 30 is employed when speakers abruptly end their utterance which is of intimate speech level due to the omission of the polite marker *-yo* — the DM *ney* is used after the clausal connective *-ciman* and the sentence-final particle *-nikka*, respectively. Considering this register (Biber, 1995; Biber and Conrad, 2019) of the *Multilingual COVID-19*

Conversation project (see Section 1.3), where conversation participants have never met each other before and they thus are expected to show respect and politeness toward the interlocutors, the use of the intimate speech level may threaten the interlocutors' face (*chemyeon* in Korean). Being aware of this, speakers employ the polite expression *ney* after they end their utterance without the polite marker -*yo*, to mitigate the potentially face-threatening act, i.e., the use of intimate speech level. With this DM *ney*, they elevate the intimate speech level which was marked by the omission of -*yo* to the informal polite speech level. In this respect, the DM *ney* in Excerpts 29 and 30 serves not simply as an index of speakers' intention to finish their utterances but also as an interactional device to offset the face-threatening act caused by the omission of the polite marker -*yo*.

3.2.8 Interim summary

In this section, I have explored the various discourse-pragmatic functions of the DM *ney*, depending on its positions in utterances.

First, the DM *ney* is used at the beginning of utterances when a speaker i) starts an utterance (Excerpt 19), ii) elaborates on a previous utterance (Excerpt 20 and 21), iii) backtracks a previous utterance (Excerpt 22), v) summarizes previous statements (Excerpt 23 and 24), and vi) shifts a phase (Excerpt 25) in a polite way. This usage of the DM *ney* is characterized by the absence of a prosodic juncture between itself and the following utterance, which may diverge from the general tendency of DMs to carry distinctive stress and intonation patterns (Heine et al., 2021a,b; Schiffrin, 1987; Traugott; 1995, inter alia).

Second, the DM *ney* occurs in the middle of utterances to fill a pause (Excerpts 26 and 27). Unlike when it occurs at the utterance-initial position, speakers leave a pause between the DM *ney* and the following utterance in this use, and this DM *ney* thus constructs a separate prosodic unit

(also called intonation unit). While employing this *ney*, speakers do not look at their interlocutors; their gaze goes elsewhere, not toward their interlocutors. In addition, it is sometimes used with lengthening to hold a conversational turn.

Lastly, the DM *ney* is used at the utterance-final position to indicate the end of utterance and yield a conversational turn (Excerpts 28, 29, and 30). This *ney* is delivered in a relatively undertone, and it is accompanied by distinctive nonverbal behaviors to signal a speaker's intention to yield a conversational turn, such as gaze shift (cf. Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987; Kendon, 1967; Rossano, 2012; Torres et al., 1997).

Chapter 4 Discussion

Despite its relatively short history as a word of the standard language, the polite expression *ney* has become one of the most frequently used expressions in the contemporary Korean speech community. Notably, its various usages share the core function of conveying a speaker's attitudinal stance of politeness, regardless of its usage domain, yet they convey an additional stance differently depending on its usage domain. This chapter discusses the development of the various discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney*, alongside theoretical considerations of stance and grammaticalization, and argues that the multifunctionality of *ney* is a consequence of grammaticalization.

4.1 Functional extension of the Korean interjection *ney*

Korean speakers employ the polite expression *ney* in various interaction contexts to build effective communication and cultivate interpersonal relationships. The emergence of *ney* as a versatile linguistic device across (meta)textual levels well illustrates how linguistic devices develop and expand their usage domain by aligning with the requirements and expectations of a speech community, which reflects the dynamic interplay between language, culture, and society (Davidse et al., 2010; Iwasaki, 1997; Kim, 2018; Koo and Rhee, 2013; Matsumoto, 1997, 2008; Onodera, 2007; Park, 2010; Sohn, 2015; Traugott and Dasher, 2002, inter alia).

To facilitate my discussion on how the Korean interjection *ney* has acquired various discourse-pragmatic functions from a grammaticalization perspective, I will first explore the socio-cultural factors that have contributed to the functional extension of *ney*.

The intricate relationship between language, culture, and society has been extensively explored in various scholarly literature (Agar, 1994; Agha, 2007; Halliday and Hasan, 1991 [1985];

Ide, 2005; Sohn, 2005, inter alia). In Korea, where social hierarchy between individuals is emphasized for stable interpersonal relationships, a wide array of honorifics has developed, which encompass both polite and humble expressions (Huh, 1972; Kim, 2018; Kim-Renaud, 2001; Koo and Rhee, 2016; Rhee, 2004, 2011b, 2019; Sohn, 2015).[38]

The significance of honorifics in Korean culture and society is well illustrated in the 'Survey Report on the Language Awareness of the Citizens', which was conducted by the National Institute of Korean Language in 2020. According to the survey, the majority of Korean speakers (5,000 participants in total) hold positive attitudes regarding the use of honorifics, with 73.1% expressing favorable inclinations, 23.9% maintaining a neutral stance, and only 3% showing negative opinions (National Institute of Korean Language, 2020).[39] This survey result implies that, despite the challenges associated with acquiring, producing, and comprehending honorifics (Kwon and Stuart, 2016; Lee et al., 2017; Song et al., 2019; Wang, 2019), there remains a socio-cultural expectation for individuals to use honorifics appropriately in accordance with contextual nuances to indicate their relative status vis-à-vis their interlocutors.

I argue that, within this context, the polite expression *ney* has extended beyond mere reaction to the interlocutor's utterance and has become integrated into a speaker's own utterance, with the hedging function of demonstrating a speaker's awareness of politeness toward the

[38] Hall (1976) suggests that individuals in high-context cultures, commonly observed in many East Asian countries, prioritize collectivism and strong interpersonal connections. In contrast, individuals in low-context cultures lean toward individualism and may experience feelings of isolation, leading to more fragmented relationships (Hall, 1976: 39). Korean society is acknowledged for its high-context culture, emphasizing the interpersonal harmony within the community (Kim et al., 1998; Rhee, 2009, 2024; Sohn, 2005).

[39] Those who held positive views toward the use of honorifics were asked to select one of four options to elaborate on their opinions: i) 'Honorifics can reflect the Korean cultural value emphasizing the importance of politeness.' chosen by 41.8%; 'Honorifics can serve as a tool for marking politeness and humility.' chosen by 27%; 'Honorifics can contribute to the richness of Korean language by providing various language expressions.' chosen by 24.7%, 'Honorifics can create a soft and harmonious atmosphere when used appropriately.' chosen by 6.5%. of the respondents.

interlocutor. This extension in the usage domain has been accompanied by the development of *ney* into a discourse marker for navigating not only at a propositional level but also at a situational level of discourse, adhering to the Korean socio-cultural norm which emphasizes the importance of politeness.

Excerpt 31 below, extracted from the *COVID- 19 Conversation Project* data, intends to show multi-functional *ney* across the propositional and situational levels. In this excerpt, Jee, who is in the U.S., and Sun, who is in South Korea, first talk about their current location from lines 1 to 4. After that, Sun attempts to compliment Jee for staying up late (due to the time difference between the two), but his utterance is interrupted as Jee directs the conversation to discuss COVID-19. After Sun delivers what he intended to say before, in line 9, Jee shares her personal experiences during the pandemic from the omitted lines (11 to 21) until line 24.

Excerpt 31 [KCO#005: Current location and COVID-19]

01 Jee: 한국에 계신 거::죠?
hankwuk-ey *kyeysi-n* *ke*::*-c-yo*?
Korea-in BE.HON-ADN NOMZ-COMM-POL
'You are in Korea, right?'

02 Sun: (with a nod) **네.** 저는 한국이에요.
ney. *ce-nun* *hankwuk-i-eyyo*.
ney I.HUM-TOP Korea-BE-POL.END
'Yes, I am in Korea.'

03 Jee: 아:: 저는: 그:: 미국 서부에 있어서,:
a:: *ce-nun*: *ku*:: *mikwuk* *sepwu-ey* *iss-ese*,:
ah I.HUM-TOP DM the U.S. west.coast-in BE-CONN
'Ah, I am on the West Coast, the U.S., so…'

04 Sun: (with widening eyes) 아:
a:
ah
'Oh.'

05 Jee: (with a nod) **네.**
ney.
ney
'Yeah.'

06 코로나 [관련]돼서,
kholona [*kwanlyen*]*twayse*,
COVID-19 regarding
'Regarding COVID-19…'

07 Sun: [밤 늦게까지-]
[*pam nuckey-kkaci-*]
night late-until
'Until late night…'

08 Jee: **네?**
ney?
ney?
'Sorry?'

09 Sun: 밤 늦게까지- 고생하신다고=
pam *nuckey-kkaci-* *kosayngha-si-n-tako=*
night late-until work.hard-HON-PRES-QT
'(I said) you worked hard until the late hours of the night.'

10 Jee: =아:, 이거 끝나고 자도- 뭐 그렇게 늦진 않아서 괜찮아요. @@
=a:, *ike* *kkuthna-ko* *ca-to-* *mwe* *kulehkey* *nuc-ci-n*
ah this.thing finish-CONN sleep-COND DM that.much late-COMM-TOP
anh-ase *kwaynchanh-ayo*. @@
NEG-CONN fine-POL.END
'Ah, it is not too late if I go to sleep after this (conversation), so I am fine.'

<11 lines are omitted>

22 Jee: 그래서 한국 코로나도 좀 경험하고, @
kulayse *hankwuk* *kholona-to* *com* *kyenghemha-ko*, @
DM South Korea COVID-19-too little experience-CONN
'So, I experienced the COVID-19 in South Korea, too, and…'

23 미국- 에서 뭐 거의 대부분 지내긴 했지만,
mikwuk- *eyse* *mwe* *keuy* *taypwupwun* *cinay-ki-n* *hay-ss-ciman,*
the U.S. in DM almost most stay-NOMZ-TOP do-PST-CONN
'I usually stayed in the U.S., but…'

(0.7)

24 (with slight nods and smiles) **°네.°**
°*ney.*°
ney
'Yeah.'

25 Sun: (nodding)

26 그니까, 한국하고 미국하고 그 상황의 차이가 큰가요?
kunikka, *hankwuk-hako* *mikwuk-hako* *ku* *sanghwang-uy* *chai-ka* *khun-ka-yo*?
DM South Korea-and the U.S.-and DM situation-GEN difference-SUB big-Q-POL
'So, is there a big difference between the COVID-19 situation in South Korea and the U.S.?'

Notice how Sun employs *ney* in line 2 at a propositional level and Jee employs *ney* in lines 5 and 8 at a situational level, and in line 24 at a discourse level. In line 2, Jee asks if Sun is in South Korea, assuming that he is in South Korea, which is marked by the committal *-ci-* (Kawanishi and Sohn, 1993; Lee, 1999). Sun provides an affirmative response to the question by employing *ney*, displaying "affiliation" (Stiver, 2008: 34-36; see also Pomerantz, 1984; Steensig and Drew, 2008), which indicates a speaker's support of the interlocutor's stance, with Jee and confirming her assumption (cf. the use of *ney* in Excerpts 1 and 2) — and this *ney* aligns Sun with Jee, marking mutual understanding. Next, Jee says she is in the U.S., and Sun shows his surprise with *a* 'Oh.', which is accompanied by widening eyes. Subsequently, Jee employs *ney* with a nod to provide confirmation that Sun's understanding (which may make him surprised) is correct (cf. the use of *ney* in Excerpt 4). Jee then starts talking about COVID-19 for the project in line 6, but her utterance is interrupted by Sun's utterance. Jee employs *ney* with a sharply rising tone, at a situational level, to request Sun's reiteration, indicating disalignment with Sun due to the overlap and conveying her disaffiliative stance (Steensig and Drew, 2008; Stiver, 2008) toward the situation (cf. the use of *ney* in Excerpt 14). In response, Sun reiterates his previous remark about Jee, and Jee reciprocates by mentioning that she is fine. After that, Jee talks about her personal life during the pandemic from line 11 to 23, and ends her utterance by employing *ney* at a discourse level to mark the end of her utterance and yield the conversation turn to Sun. As Sun just listens without distinct (non)verbal cues, except for looking at her, while Jee is speaking, Jee's use of *ney* primarily conveys her attitudinal stance of politeness toward Sun and indicates another attitudinal stance reflecting her intention to negotiate the conversation turn.

As illustrated above, the various uses of *ney* serve the overarching function of marking politeness, yet distinguish themselves through nuanced differences in marking stance. To compare

the stance conveyed through *ney* as a response form and a discourse marker, from a microscopic perspective, I adopt Rhee's (2016c) classification of stance depending on various conceptual categories, as follows:

> a. ATTITUDINAL: Cold, Friendly, Enthusiastic, Indifferent, Helpless, Intentional, Directive…
>
> b. EPISTEMIC: Certain, Likely, (Im)possible, Confident, Suppositive…
>
> c. EMOTIONAL: Positive, Negative, Neutral…
>
> d. EVIDENTIAL: (In)direct, Inferential, Reportative, Nonvisual, (Non-)witnessed, Sensory…
>
> (Rhee, 2016c: 397-398)[40]

In response, *ney* conveys an attitudinal stance (mainly, polite attitude) toward the interlocutor and an emotional stance toward the proposition of the previous utterance, which typically occurs at the beginning of an utterance. For instance, Korean speakers employ *ney* as an affirmative response (similar to *yes* in English) after positively evaluating the truth of the proposition based on their personal judgment, which often co-occurs with a head nod to show an affiliative stance (Aoki, 2011; De Stefani, 2020; Heritage, 1998; Kärkkäinen and Thompson, 2017; Maynard, 1987; McClave, 2000; Stiver, 2008, inter alia). Notably, unlike English, Korean uses *ney* ('Yes.') to provide an affirmative response even to negative interrogative sentences. For example, when asked, "Aren't you hungry?", a speaker may respond with "*ney* (Yes), I am not hungry." instead of "*ani-yo* (No), I am not hungry.", aligning the response with the truth condition of the situation. Additionally, *ney* serves as an acceptance token for offers or requests, conveying affiliation toward the proposition of them with the evaluation of its feasibility. Similarly, it can

[40] See also Rhee (2011a: 405).

also provide confirmation as a positive (and also preferred) response to the interlocutor's request for confirmation.

These interactions, where the polite expression *ney* is employed in response, are common in daily life, as observed in various studies on conversation analysis and ethnomethodology (Atkinson and Heritage, 2003 [1984]; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2017; Goffman, 1983; Schegloff, 1996; Steensig and Drew, 2008, inter alia). Notably, they exhibit conceptual similarities with subtle differences in nuances. Specifically, as an aligned response to the previous utterance, affirmation and confirmation both entail affiliation followed by acknowledgment. Yet, confirmation tends to emphasize the verification or validation of information. In contrast, acceptance involves not only acknowledgment but also agreement with a proposition (such as proposals, requests, or invitations), signifying a speaker's willingness to adopt it. Agreement, however, emphasizes mutual understanding and common ground between interlocutors.

Considering these conceptual similarities, the polite expression *ney* has become widely adopted in diverse social interaction scenarios to indicate a speaker's politeness and affiliation, through metonymy (Heine, 2002; Heine et al., 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 2003 [1993]; Rhee, 2004, 2016a; Traugott and König, 1991), with the function of conveying politeness with a positive, rather than negative, connotation. That is, the original function of *ney* would be 'to indicate alignment, conveying affiliation in a polite way,' and *ney* has acquired the peripheral functions along the way, such as politely providing confirmation or acceptance, indicating agreement, and so on.

With its adaptability in diverse interactional contexts, *ney* has extended its usage domain beyond a propositional level, politely indicating a speaker's alignment with the situation of ongoing interaction and signaling affiliation to the interlocutor's stance. For instance, *ney* confirms

that the interlocutor's understanding is correct. Additionally, it signals a speaker's attentive listening and encourages the interlocutor to continue speaking. Furthermore, when used ritualistically, *ney* conveys an affiliative stance toward the conclusion of interaction, marking alignment with the interlocutor's intention when saying, "Goodbye." This use of *ney* signifies a speaker's acknowledgment of the interlocutor's farewell expressions, indicating a departure from the ongoing interaction and ensuring a conclusion to the exchange in a polite way. Conversely, when a speaker employs *ney* with noticeable voice modulation to reverse its original function of indicating affiliation, it conveys a disaffiliative stance toward the ongoing interaction, serving as a directive while requesting clarification or demanding an apology (similar to *Sorry*?, *What*?, or *Huh*? in English) (cf. Lee and Sohn, 2022; Yap et al., 2023). This usage prompts clarification or requests approval for previously declined offers or requests. Moreover, *ney* is occasionally elongated to interrupt the interlocutor and/or request an apology, when a speaker finds the ongoing interaction undesirable and seeks to rectify the situation.

Additionally, *ney* has expanded its usage domain into discourse and developed into a discourse marker for negotiating conversation turns in a polite way by being integrated into a speaker's own utterance, with its effectiveness in demonstrating the awareness of politeness due to its concise nature.[41] As illustrated in Chapter 3.2, *ney* as a discourse marker exhibits greater flexibility in its location within utterances compared to its function as a response form. This strategic incorporation of *ney* in discourse allows a speaker to express politeness while speaking. As a discourse marker, *ney* serves more intersubjective functions, compared to *ney* in response. It marks a speaker's willingness to express politeness and intention to manage conversation flow, which includes taking, holding, and yielding a conversation turn, whether posited at the beginning,

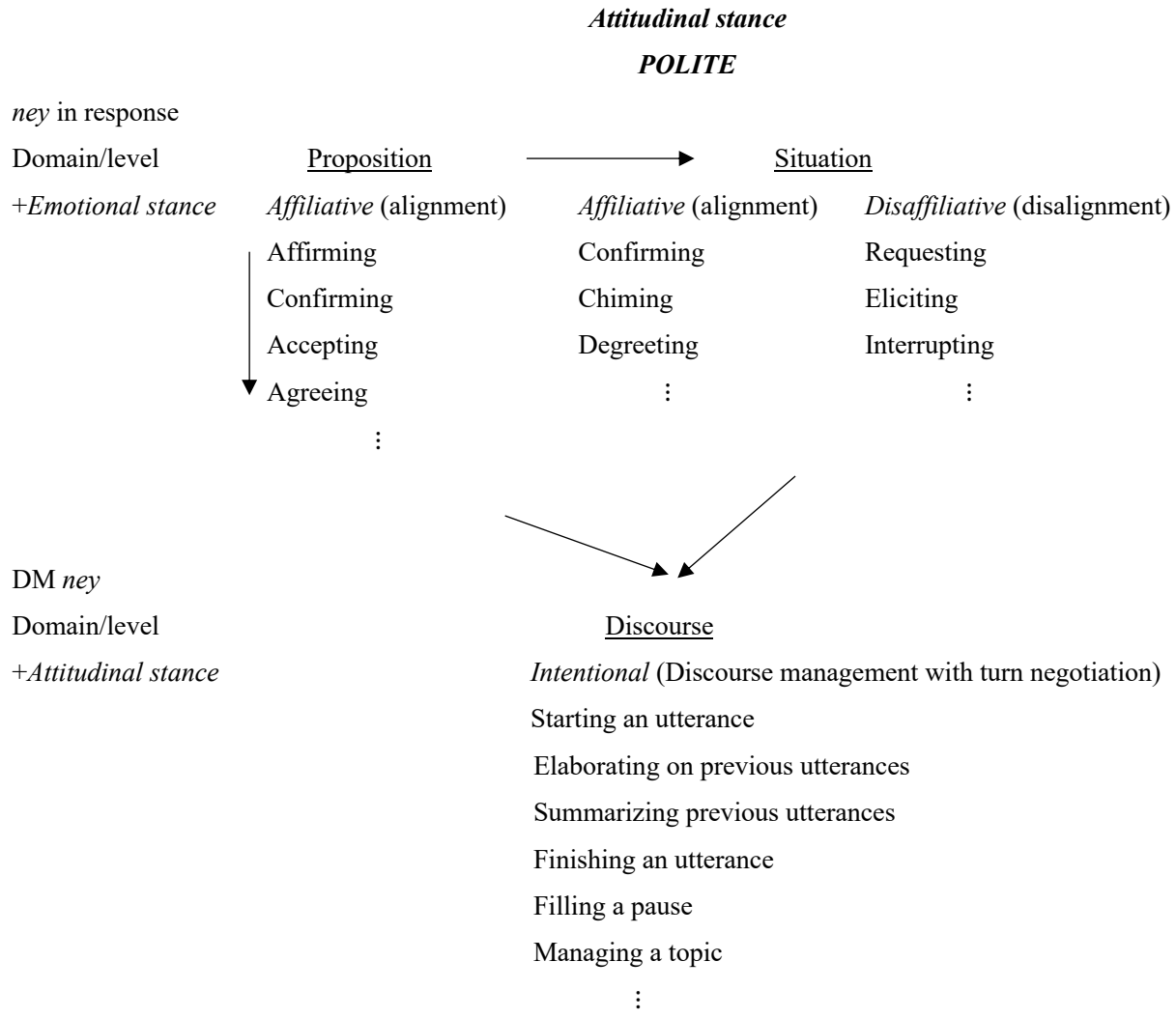
[41] *ney* demonstrates a speaker's awareness of politeness toward the interlocutor—a function lacking in its casual form, i.e., *e* and *ung* (cf. Chapter 2.1).

middle, and end of an utterance, respectively (see Chapter 3.2 for more detailed illustrations). This use of *ney* reflects a speaker's attentiveness to interpersonal dynamics and the commitment to upholding politeness. In other words, the discourse marker *ney* not only expresses politeness but also organizes discourse in a polite way, thereby building interpersonal relationships with the interlocutor at any time. This instantaneous cognitive-communicative use of *ney* with a discourse-oriented function represents a functional extension from its original role within proposition domains to discourse and pragmatic domains, which exemplifies a linguistic phenomenon known as cooptation, where a language expression is inserted into sentences/utterances for metatextual purpose (Heine et al., 2013, 2016, 2017; Heine and Kaltenböck, 2021; Kaltenböck et al., 2011).[42]

The development of the Korean interjection *ney* into a discourse marker, indeed, highlights its adaptability and versatility within the Korean speech community, where its usage extends beyond a mere affirmative response and serves as a discourse marker for building and managing discourse in accordance with the Korean socio-cultural norms of politeness. Throughout this developmental process, its initial function of marking an emotional stance, i.e., (dis)affiliation, would be bleached, yet the function of conveying an attitudinal stance would become more prominent.

The developmental trajectory of *ney* can be schematically represented in <Figure 4.1>, where arrows indicate developmental paths. Stances conveyed through the use of *ney* are italicized, and the shared stance of politeness is bolded.

[42] There are controversies over the term 'instantaneous' use. For example, Degand and Evers-Vermeul (2015) and Brinton (2017) maintain that functional change is a result of a gradual process rather than an instantaneous act of innovation (Heine et al., 2021b: 45-48).



<Figure 4.1. Usage domain extension of the Korean interjection *ney*>

ney in response occurs both at the propositional and situational levels, where it signals a speaker's emotional stance of (dis)affiliation toward the proposition or situation as well as the attitudinal stance (i.e., polite stance) toward the interlocutor. At the propositional level, *ney* typically conveys a speaker's polite and affiliative stance. As noted earlier, due to the similarities of the talk-in-interaction scenarios where *ney* can occur, it has acquired the various peripheral functions, such as providing confirmation/acceptance and indicating agreement, which have

developed from the original function of providing affirmation — this is because it is regarded as an expression which not only carries a positive connotation but also conveys politeness within the speech community. As a speaker's perspective shifts from a proposition to an encountered situation, *ney* conveys not only affiliative but also disaffiliative stance toward the situation by modulating the voice, along with the shared attitudinal stance of politeness.

Additionally, this monosyllabic word, *ney*, has become integrated into a speaker's own utterance, with a metatextual function (Traugott, 1995, 2018; see also Heine et al., 2021a,b), as its usage domain has extended into the discourse level. This conforms to the general pattern observed in the development of a discourse marker, where language expressions expand their scope of use as a speaker's perspective shifts toward the ongoing conversation with awareness of the interlocutor's presence (Ahn, 2022; Ahn and Yap, 2013; Brinton, 2006; Eckardt, 2006; Eom and Rhee, 2021; Fitzmaurice, 2004; Heine et al., 1991, 2021a,b; Rhee, 2016c; Traugott, 1982, 1995, 2003, 2018; Traugott and Dasher, 2002, inter alia). Notably, as illustrated above, in this use, *ney* typically conveys a speaker's attitudinal stance, rather than emotional stance; the primary function of the discourse marker *ney* is to indicate the attitudinal stance of politeness toward the interlocutor and signal the intention to manage the conversation flow. Whether starting, elaborating on, finishing an utterance, or filling a pause, *ney* organizes discourse and negotiates conversation turn, which reflects a speaker's consideration for the interactional dynamics.

This development of the various discourse-pragmatic functions, along with marking different stances, is an example of language development through (inter)subjectivity, which has been discussed in various ways by scholars with different foci (Ghesquière, et al., 2014; Iwasaki and Yap, 2015; Lyon, 1982; Narrog, 2017; Nuyts, 2012, 2015; Traugott, 1982, 2003, 2007b, 2010, inter alia); subjectivity is "the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal

manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and his own attitudes and beliefs." (Lyons, 1982: 102) while intersubjectivity refers to "the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of his or her awareness of the addressee's attitudes and beliefs, most especially their "face" or "self-image"" (Traugott, 2010: 4).

As illustrated above, the original function of *ney* would be to express a speaker's attitudinal stance of politeness and emotional stance of (dis)affiliation toward the proposition of the previous utterance or the ongoing discourse context. When a speaker employs the polite expression *ney*, it is used through intersubjectivity to demonstrate a speaker's awareness of politeness toward the interlocutor with the consideration of the interlocutor, as politeness has a deictic function of encoding relative social status through a comparison between interlocutors. Simultaneously, *ney* in response also serves a subjective function, conveying a speaker's (personal) emotional stance toward the proposition or context based on personal judgment. However, when *ney* is used at the discourse level by being incorporated into a speaker's own utterance, with the domain extension, this discourse marker *ney* has more intersubjective and interactive function than *ney* in response. By employing the discourse marker *ney*, a speaker negotiates conversation turns in a polite way with awareness of the interlocutor's presence and the procedural consideration of the ongoing interaction in order to construct his/her own utterance and build coherence while speaking.

4.2 Grammar and grammaticalization of the Korean interjection *ney*

In this section, I will argue that the emergence of the discourse marker *ney* can be seen as an example of grammaticalization, discussing the fluidity of grammar and the general tendencies of grammaticalization that *ney* follows.

The development of discourse markers has been controversial, which has been fueled not only due to their non-obligatory occurrence in sentences or utterances but also due to scholars' different conceptualizations of 'grammar' and 'grammatical' (Bybee, 2001; Heine, 1998; Heine et al., 2021a,b; Rhee, 2004, 2007; Traugott, 1995, 2014; see also Himmelmann, 2004): whether it constitutes grammaticalization or pragmaticalization. Unlike 'traditionally' regarded grammatical expressions such as prepositions (common in SOV languages such as English, while postpositions are used in SVO languages such as Japanese and Korean), the occurrence of discourse markers is optional, and their position within sentences or utterances is flexible. Moreover, while grammaticalization typically involves a gradual movement toward the syntax level (cf. Hopper, 1987; Lehmann, 2015 [1982]; see also Bybee, 2001, 2007; Rhee, 2004, 2007), where lexical items or constructions acquire grammatical functions or where less grammatical items develop into more grammatical ones, the emergence of discourse markers often shows relatively abrupt movement toward the discourse level (cf. 'cooptation' in the previous section). Since the traditional and canonical concepts of grammar and grammaticalization do not seem to clearly explain these distinctive aspects, the concept of pragmaticalization has been proposed to account for the emergence of discourse markers (Aijmer 1996; Dostie, 2009; Erman and Kostinas, 1993; Norde, 2009).

In case of the Korean interjection *ney*, when it serves as a discourse marker with the various discourse-pragmatic functions, admittedly, it deviates from typical characteristics of grammar. For instance, its position within sentences or utterances is not fixed, so it might not be considered as a grammatical expression but rather "a pragmatic item" (Dostie, 2009: 203). The discourse marker *ney* can occur at the utterance-initial position to start an utterance, at the utterance-medial position to fill a pause and hold the conversation turn, and at the utterance-final position to indicate the end

of utterance and yield the conversation to the interlocutor (see Chapter 3.2 for detailed illustrations). Additionally, its occurrence is not mandatory and does not affect grammaticality. The discourse maker *ney* seems to merely function as a hedging device to mark politeness, reflecting a speaker's intention to adhere to the Korean socio-cultural norm on politeness in pragmatics and/or discourse levels. Moreover, as *ney* is an interjection, which is indisputably a function word (Biber et al., 1999; Heine, 2023; Quirk et al., 1985), its acquisition of new functions may be seen as an instance of pragmaticalization, not grammaticalization.

Nonetheless, however, I suggest that the emergence of *ney* as a discourse marker is an example of grammaticalization for two reasons: i) grammar is not a static concept, and thus the term 'grammaticalization' encompasses 'pragmaticalization' and ii) the development of the discourse marker *ney* follows the common patterns observed in grammaticalization processes.

First, grammar is inherently flexible. When viewed strictly, grammar is perceived as a "well-delineated, self-contained, autonomous, *a priori* system" — yet for the students of grammaticalization, who examine grammar from a more flexible perspective, grammar can be modified and created within discourse (Rhee, 2007: 115; see also Heine et al., 2021a,b; Hopper, 1987; Hopper and Traugott, 2003 [1993]; Rhee, 2016a [1998]; Traugott, 1995). As a social convention and agreement for effective communication, grammar derives from speakers' cognitive system and comes into being through repeated usage (Bybee, 2006; Hopper, 1987; Iwasaki, 2015; Linell, 2005; Pawley and Syder, 1983; see also Rhee, 2004, 2007, 2022).[43] From this perspective,

[43] In a similar vein, Heine (2023) introduces the concept of interactives to explain the multifaceted interactional nature of linguistic items, categorizing into a) attention signals, b) directives, c) discourse markers, d) evaluatives, e) ideophones, f) interjections, g) response elicitor, h) response signal, i) social formulae, and j) vocative. Notably, the Korean *ney* embodies several of these subtypes. Specifically, *ney* serves as an attention signal, particularly in attendance-checking setting; it conveys a speaker's stance toward the interlocutor's utterances or even ongoing interaction, functioning as a evaluative and directive; it constructs discourse and builds coherence as a discourse marker; it elicits the preferred response in situations where the interlocutor do not provide it, as a response elicitor; and it is ritually used when departing from ongoing interaction, serving as a form of social formula.

grammar encompasses not only syntax but also pragmatics, allowing discourse and pragmatic functions to be regarded as grammatical functions (Brinton, 2010; Rhee, 2007; Traugott, 2003; Traugott and Trousdale, 2013).

In this vein, grammaticalization encompasses pragmaticalization when they are considered different concepts (cf. Brinton, 2010; Heine et al., 2021a,b; Rhee and Koo, 2014). Grammaticalization refers to not only the development from a lexical word to a grammatical item, but also the extension from a less grammatical status to a more grammatical status; the term 'grammaticalization' indeed emphasizes the transfer into grammar or being more grammatical, as it is defined as "the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status" (Kuryłowicz (1975 [1965]: 52). When considering only the development from a lexical item to a grammatical one as grammaticalization from a narrow perspective, all instances of grammaticalization would begin with a lexical item. For example, prepositions and conjunctions often develop from nouns and verbs (or constructions). In this view, the development is clear-cut: a lexical item becomes a grammatical one through grammaticalization with frequent use and semantic bleaching. However, from a wider and more flexible perspective toward grammar and grammaticalization, grammatical items can also undergo grammaticalization, acquiring additional grammatical functions. Embracing the latter view of grammar and grammaticalization, the development of discourse markers can be considered as acquiring new grammatical properties.[44] That is, the multifunctionality of the Korean interjection *ney* with the usage domain extension, is a result of grammaticalization — and the emergence of

[44] See Ahn and Yap, 2022; Brinton, 2008, 2010; Heine, 2023; Heine et al., 2021a,b; Kim et al., 2021; Rhee, 2023; Traugott, 1995; Traugott and Dasher, 2002 for examination on the development from grammatical items from a grammaticalization perspective.

the discourse marker *ney* with the function of marking [+polite] in discourse organization and turn negotiation is indeed an example of grammaticalization.

As highlighted in the previous section, honorification constitutes a highly developed grammatical system of the Korean language, and it holds significant importance. Being integrated into the grammatical system of the Korean language, *ney*, which is a concise yet powerful device to demonstrate a speaker's awareness of politeness toward the interlocutor, facilitates discourse organization and fosters harmonious interpersonal relationships.[45] Initially, the Korean interjection *ney* would serve as an affirmative response only, yet it has acquired various discourse-pragmatic functions with the usage domain extension. Subsequently, in contemporary Korean, *ney* is frequently used as a discourse marker with the function of marking politeness in organizing discourse and managing conversation turns. This functional expansion of *ney* signifies a development from a primary interjection (with the function of providing an affirmative response) to a multifunctional discourse marker, which follows a general tendency in grammaticalization that grammatical expressions develop "from less grammatical to more grammatical" (Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 4; see also Brinton, 2017; Bybee et al, 1994; Degand and Evers-Vermeul, 2015; Heine, 2023; Heine et al., 2021a,b; Himmelmann, 2004; Hopper and Traugott, 2003 [1993]; Rhee, 2004, 2016a [1998]; Rhee and Koo, 2014).[46]

Second, the emergence of the discourse marker *ney* can be explained through grammaticalization mechanisms, as it follows the principles thereof. As illustrated in Chapter 2.2.1, while only *yey* was initially acknowledged as an expression of standard Korean, historical

[45] Givón (1993: xvi) mentions that "Grammar is our path to concise, coherent expression."
[46] Note that exceptional cases can also be found in some languages (Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 4). Traugott and Trousdale (2013) suggests that there are two major approaches to grammaticalization: i) reduction and increased dependency (GR) and ii) expansion (GE) which seems to deviate the traditional concept of grammaticalization (such as the emergence of discourse markers).

dictionaries reveal that not only *yey* but also *ney* and *nyey* were used in speech communities at least from the late 19th century to the 20th century. Additionally, the 'Sejong Historical Corpus,' which comprises extant literature from the 15th century to the 20th century, features several instances of *yey* and *nyey*, despite their intrinsic nature, as an interjection, of being frequently used in spoken language (see Chapter 1.3 for more illustration about the corpus). Excerpts 32 and 33 below illustrate some of the earliest instances of *nyey* and *yey* in conversations, which were extracted from a newspaper published in the early 20th century. Considering that the conversations were presented in newspapers targeting common people, both *nyey* and *yey* were prevalent during the early 20th century, even if one of them would be a dialectal expression or sound variant.

Excerpt 32 [*tayhanmayilsinpo* in 1904, Request-Acceptance]

A: 안져라 네게 ᄒᆞᆫ마ᄃᆡ ᄒᆞᆯ 말 잇다

ancy-ela.	*ney-key*	*hAnmatAy*	*hA-l*	*mal*	*is-ta*.
sit-HORT.END	you-to	one.word	say-ADN	words	exist-PLN.END

'Sit here. I have something to say to you.'

B: 녜 무ᄉᆞᆷ 말ᄉᆞᆷ이야요

nyey	*mwusAm*	*malsAm-i-yayo*.
nyey	what	words.HON-BE-POL.END

'Okay, tell me.'

Excerpt 33 [*tayhanmayilsinpo* in 1904, Argument-Agreement]

A: 갓장ᄉᆞ와 탕건 장ᄉᆞ가 불샹ᄒᆞ겟소

kascangsA-wa	*thangkencangsA-ka*
broad.brimmed.hat.seller-and	Tanggeon (men's traditional headgear).seller-SUB

pwulsyanghA-keyss-o.
poor-FUT.PROS-BLT.END
'Broad brimmed hat sellers and Tanggeon (men's traditional headgear) sellers would become poor.'

B: 예 그러ᄒᆞ나 수난 사ᄅᆞᆷ도 만히 잇지오

yey	*kulehAna*	*swuna-n*	*salAm-to*	*manhi*	*is-ci-o*.
yey	DM	earn.a.profit-ADN	people	a.lot	BE-COMM-BLT.END

'Right, but there are also many people who earn a profit.'

nyey in Excerpt 32 provide acceptance of a request ('Sit here and listen to me.'), while *yey* in Excerpt 33 indicates agreement with the interlocutor's argument ('Some sellers would become poor.'), which implies that *nyey* and *yey* had already acquired various functions, in early 20th century, beyond providing affirmative responses in a polite manner.

It is notable that *ney* was initially perceived as a non-standard expression and/or was absent from certain historical dictionaries, while *yey* was consistently listed in all historical dictionaries except for the elementary school Korean dictionary, which exclusively listed *ney* (cf. Table 2.4 in Chapter 2.2.1). Another notable thing is the transition in listings over time. Initially, only *nyey* was listed, and *ney* was not, but over time, only *ney* was listed, and *nyey* was not. Eventually, only *ney* was acknowledged as a standard Korean expression, alongside *yey*, even though both *ney* and *nyey* bleach *twuumpepchik* 'Initial sound rule' (see Chapter 2.2.1 for detailed illustrations). Considering that *ney* was initially regarded as a dialectal or incorrect expression of *yey*, and *nyey* is similar to *ney* morphologically and phonologically, it may be reasonable to argue that the contemporary Korean *ney* developed from *nyey*, undergoing phonetic erosion, which is one of the grammaticalization mechanisms.

The grammaticalization of *ney* into a discourse marker, subsequent to its development from *nyey*, adheres to key principles of grammaticalization, which include i) divergence which refers to the development of new grammatical functions beyond its source meanings/functions, ii) layering which refers to the development of additional expression for a function, and iii) specialization which refers to the grammaticalized words are used with its special function (Hopper, 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 2003 [1993]; Rhee, 2016a [1998], inter alia). In contemporary Korean, *ney* and *yey* serve the same function of marking politeness as a response form and a discourse marker, albeit with slight differences in marking formality, which is attributed to the grammaticalization

of *ney* (and *yey* as well). Specifically, both *ney* and *yey* exist for the same function as layering, and they have acquired the function of discourse organization and turn negotiation as a discourse marker, while still being used in response to the interlocutor's utterances, which exemplifies divergence. Subsequently, as *ney* has become frequently used to mark politeness to adhere to the socio-cultural norm in Korea, regardless of the degree of formality, *yey* has taken on a specialized role of marking formality, which exemplifies specialization. As a result, in the contemporary Korean speech community, *ney* and *yey* are observed to be intermixed to indicate varying degrees of formality and politeness across different speech registers.

Drawing upon this finding, I argue that the mixed use of *ney* and *yey* is employed as a discourse strategy to convey varying degrees of formality and politeness, and further build interpersonal relationships. For my discussion, I will examine the mixed use of *ney* and *yey* in the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* data, where conversation participants are expected to use both *ney* and *yey* (see Chapter 1.2). As illustrated in the previous research (Kim, 2009; Song, 2019), the use of *ney* is indeed prevalent in the data. Speakers employ *ney* with various discourse-pragmatic functions (see Chapter 3) much more frequently than *yey* during a conversation — in some data, *yey* was not used at all. Additionally, male speakers tend to use *yey* more frequently than female speakers, albeit its low frequency overall.

Excerpt 34 below, which was already examined in Section 3, illustrates how a speaker organizes a conversation with the mixed use of *ney* and *yey*. Jun is a male speaker and Sue is a female speaker. As illustrated in the previous research, *ney* is used more frequently than *yey* during conversation; *ney* occurs four times while *yey* occurs only once. Specifically, Jun employs *ney* in lines 7, 9, and 11, and *yey* in line 13, while Sue employs *ney* in line 10.

Excerpt 34 [KCO#004: Participants' name]

01 Jun: (with bows) @@@@ 처음 뵙겠습니다. @@@@

	@@@@ *cheum*	*poyp-keyss-supnita.*	@@@@
	first	see.HUM-FUT.PROS-DEF.END	

'Glad to meet you.'

02 Sue: @@@@ 처음 뵙겠습니다. @@@@

@@@@ *cheum*	*poyp-keyss-supnita.*	@@@@
first	see.HUM-FUT.PROS-DEF.END	

'Glad to meet you.'

03 Jun: [#그#]

[*#ku#*]

DM

'Well…'

04 Sue: [#처음 아까#] (with waving hands) 이름 들어가면 안 되죠 참 여기 아.

[*#cheum akka#*]		*ilum*	*tuleka-myen*	*an*	*toy-c-yo*		*cham*	*yeki*	*a.*
first	earlier	name	enter-COND	NEG	should-COMM-POL		DM	here	ah

'Oh, right. Our name should not be here.'

05 Jun: 아 여기 대화 중에 이름이 들어가면 안 되나요?

a	*yeki*	*tayhwa*	*cwungey*	*ilum-i*	*tuleka-myen*	*an*	*toy-na-yo*?
ah	here	conversation	during	name-SUB	enter-COND	NEG	should-Q-POL

'Ah, should our names not be here?

06 Sue: 아까 뭐 그런 거 들어가면 안 된다고 말- 안 들어갈 거라고 말씀을 [하셨던 것 같애서…]

akka	*mwe*	*kulen*	*ke*	*tuleka-myen*	*an*	*toy-n-tako*	*mal-*
just.now	DM	such	thing	enter-COND	NEG	should-PRES-QT	saying

an	*tuleka-l*	*ke-lako*	*malssum-ul*	[*ha-s-yess-te-n*
NEG	enter-ADN	NOMZ-QT	words.HON-ACC	say-HON-PST-QT-ADN

kes	*kath-ayse…*]
NOMZ	like-CONN

'I feel like, I heard just before that such things (name) should not be added, won't be added, so…'

07 Jun: [(with nods) **네.**]

ney.

ney

'Okay.'

08 Sue: 그럼 그냥 호칭을 생략하@고@ 대화를 진[행] 하는 걸로

kulem	*kunyang*	*hoching-ul*	*saynglyakha@-ko@*
if.then	just	address.term-ACC	omit-CONN

tayhwa-lul	*cinhayngha-nun*	*ke-llo*
conversation-ACC	proceed-ADN	NOMZ-as

'Then, (let's) have a conversation, omitting address terms (names)…'

09 Jun: [(with slight nods) **네.**] (nods)

ney.

ney

'Okay.'

10 Sue: 네. 알겠습니다.

ney. *al-kess-supnita.*
ney know-FUT.PROS-DEF.END
'Okay, I see (I assume that we have a conversation without mentioning our names.)'

11 Jun: **네.**
ney.
ney
'Okay.'

(3.0)

12 Sue: 혹시…
hoksi…
by.any.chance
'By any chance,'

13 Jun: **예.**
yey.
yey
'Yes. (I am listening. Go ahead.)'

14 Sue: 지금 한국에 계시는 건가요?
cikum *hankwuk-ey* *kyeysi-nun* *ke-nka-yo*?
now South Korea-LOC BE.HON-ADN NOMZ-Q-POL
'Are you in South Korea?'

In this exchange, Jun and Sue exchange greetings in the deferential speech level marked by the sentence-ender *-pnita* to demonstrate politeness toward each other and set a formal tone for their interaction (see Chapter 2), which is accompanied by laughter to show their nervousness arising from the fact the participants had not met each other before (Glen, 2003; Chafe, 2007; Holt, 2013; Jokinen and Hiovan, 2016; Mazzocconi, Tian, and Ginzburg, 2020). Subsequently, while Jun is about to speak, Sue mentions a policy of not revealing their name during the conversation in order to adhere to a guideline of the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation*, expressing her assumption that Jun already knows the policy which is marked by the committal *-ci* (Kawanishi and Sohn, 1993; Lee, 1999). At this moment, Sue downgrades her speech level from deferential to informal polite in order to soften the mood (Eun and Strauss, 2004; Strauss and Eun, 2005; Yoon, 2014, inter alia) before they start a conversation for the linguistic research. After that, they agree not to disclose their names and continue the conversation after a remarkable pause of 3.0 seconds,

which will be illustrated below. After Sue acknowledges Jun's agreement with the policy, she switches back from the informal polite to the deferential speech level in line 10. This speech level shifting (also called style shift) from informal polite to deferential may indicate Sue's intention to frame the conversation as a formal interaction rather than a casual one (Yoon, 2014; Brown, 2015). Following the pause of 3.0 seconds, Sue employs *hoksi* 'by any chance' to initiate a new phase of the conversation, transitioning from exchanging greetings and setting up the conversation to engaging in the actual conversation for the *Multilingual COVID-19 Conversation* project. By employing *yey*, Jun shows his readiness to answer Sue's question which is started with *hoksi* 'by any chance'.

Note that Jun employs *yey* instead of *ney* at this point. This *yey* not only indicates Jun's recognition of the formal setting, which is being recorded and will be analyzed as data, but also conveys his awareness of politeness toward Sue to a great extent. In other words, this *yey* indexically constructs a persona for Jun as someone who is polite and positions him within a formal setting (cf. Song, 2019). Notably, after this exchange, *yey* is not used until the end of the conversation, which may be attributed to the transition from formal to informal in the conversation setting as time passes. Given that not only a moderator (researcher) encourages the participants to feel free to have a conversation and leaves them alone in the meeting room, but they also share common ground (Clark, 1996; Enfield, 2013) on COVID-19 and are of similar age, they may gradually feel more comfortable as time passes. This can be observed in the following conversational flow, where they talk about their personal matters (such as family issues and political views) as if they are engaged in a casual conversation, with *ney* being frequently used. That is, the use of *ney* and *yey* in this excerpt demonstrates how they are employed in different conversational settings. *yey* is used during an exchange which can be classified as a formal setting,

particularly as the initial stage of the conversation by unacquainted pairs to participate in the language research project (cf. Song, 2019: 96-97), while *ney* is used in a relatively informal, casual one.

Excerpt 35 below further illustrates how a speaker presents himself as engaging in a formal setting by employing *yey* at the beginning of a conversation. In the excerpt, a female speaker Lim and a male speaker Kay greet each other after a moderator (researcher) leaves the meeting room, which is similar to the participants in the previous excerpt.

Excerpt 35 [KCO#024: Greetings]

01 Lim: 음. 안녕하세요:
um. *annyengha-s-eyyo*:
hmm how.are.you-HON-POL.END
'Hello.'

02 Kay: **네.** 안녕하세요,:
ney. *annyengha-s-eyyo*,:
ney how.are.you-HON-POL.END
'Hello.'

03 Lim: 저희가 그 그 코비드 나인틴에 대해서: 얘기하는 건가요?
cehuy-ka *ku* *ku* *khopitu nainthin-ey tayhayse:* *yaykiha-nun* *ke-nka-yo*?
we.HUM-SUB DM DM COVID-19-regarding have.a.conversation-ADN NOMZ-Q-POL
'Are we going to talk about COVID-19?'

04 Kay: (TSK) **네.** 그런 것 같습니다.
(TSK) ***ney.*** *kule-n* *kes* *kath-supnita*.
ney being.that.so-ADN NOMZ like-DEF.END
'Yes, I think so.'

05 저도 @ 내용에 대해서는 뭐: 이게 처음: 해보는 거라서,:
ce-to @ *nayyong-ey tayhayse-nun* *mwe*: *ike-y* *cheum*: *hay-po-nun* *ke-lase*,:
I.HUM-also content-regarding-TOP DM this-SUB first do-ATTM-ADN NOMZ-CONN
'I am also…well…it is my first time to do this…'

06 **예.**
yey.
yey
'Yeah.'

07 Lim: **네.** [저도 처음이라서]
ney. [*ce-to* *cheum-i-lase*]
ney I.HUM-also first-BE-CONN
'Yeah, it is my first time, too...'

08 Kay: [잘 모르겠어-]
[*cal molu-keysse*-]
well not.know-FUT.PROS
'I don't know…'

09 **예.**
yey.
yey
'I see.'

10 Lim: [코비드 나인틴]
[*khopitu nainthin*]
COVID-19
'COVID-19'

11 Kay: [그냥 이렇게] 그냥 자유롭게 코비드 나인틴에 대해서 그냥 얘기 나누는 건가 보죠?
[*kunyang ilehkey*] *kunyang* *cayulopkey* *khopitu nainthin-ey tayhayse*
simply being.this.so simply freely COVID-19-regarding
kunyang *yayki nanwu-nun* *ke-nka* *po-c-yo*?
DM have.a.conversation-ADN NOMZ-Q PFM-COMM-POL
'Well, this is freely to talk about COVID-19, isn't it?'

12 Lim: **네:**
ney:
yes
'Yes, I think so.'

13 그 혹시 뭐: 어떻게 지내세요.
ku *hoksi* *mwe*: *ettehkey cinay-s-eyyo*.
DM by.any.chance DM how.are.you-HON-POL.END
'Well…how are you.'

14 코비드 나인틴 그거 된지 좀 오래 [됐는]
khopitu nainthin *kuke* *toy-nci* *com* *olay* [*tway-ss-nun*]
COVID-19 that.thing become-since DM long become-PST-SFP
'It was such a long time ago after COVID-19 broke out.'

15 Kay: [아:] **네.** 저는: 오히려: 이제:
[*a*:] ***ney.*** *ce-nun*: *ohilye*: *icey*:
oh ney I.HUM-TOP rather DM
'Oh, I am, rather…'

16 (clearing his throat) (TSK) 되게 잘 지내고 있어요.
(clearing his throat) (TSK) *toykey* *cal* *cinay-ko iss-eyo*.
very well live-PROG-POL.END
'I am doing very well.'

17 Lim: [아.]
[*a*.]
ah
'I see.'

18 Kay: [이]제 제가 하는 일 자체가 이제 그 테크 기업에서 어: 엔지니어로 일하고 있어요.
[*i*]*cey* *cey-ka* *ha-nun* *il* *cachey-ka* *icey* *ku*
DM I.HUM-SUB do-ADN job by.itself-SUB DM DM
theykhu *kiep-eyse* *e*: *eyncinie-lo* *ilha-ko iss-eyo*.
technology corporation-in uhm engineer-as work-PROG-POL.END

'Yeah, my work is… I am working as an engineer for a technology company.'

19 Lim: 오: 네.
o: ***ney.***
oh ney
'Oh, I see.'

20 Kay: =네.
=***ney.***
ney
'Yeah.'

Note that *ney* occurs six times while *yey* occurs twice; Lim employed *ney* twice, while Kay uses *ney* four times and *yey* twice. Specifically, Kay uses *ney* in line 2 to start his utterance and acknowledge Lim's greeting simultaneously (cf. line 5 in Excerpt 12). Subsequently, when Lim asks if they are supposed to talk about COVID-19, Kay responds affirmatively with *ney* in line 4, as in Excerpt 1. He then continues on his utterance by mentioning that this is his first time participating in the project. He displays uncertainty about his previous response by slurring the end of his utterance with elongation, which is followed by *yey* in line 6 to mark the end of his utterance and yield the conversational turn in a polite way, as in Excerpts 29 and 30. After that, Lim mentions that she has not participated in this project before, but her utterance is overlapped by Kay's utterance expressing his uncertainty about what to do during the conversation. This is followed by *yey* to mark the end of his utterance as he does in line 6. Subsequently, Kay asks Lim a question similar to Lim's previous one about whether it is acceptable to discuss COVID-19, and Lim answers the question affirmatively by employing *ney*. Following this, Lim asks Kay how he has been doing during the pandemic. Kay begins his response with *a* which is followed by *ney* to express his acknowledgment of Lim's utterance, as in Excerpt 24. He then introduces himself as an engineer. Lim shows her interest in Kay's response by employing *ney* and Kay reciprocates Lim's *ney* with *ney* to acknowledge her interest, as in Excerpt 9.

It is worth noting Kay's mixed use of *ney* and *yey* at the beginning of this exchange, which highlights how they are used depending on contextual situations. As illustrated above, Kay first uses *ney* in line 2 to initiate his greeting to Lim and in line 4 to provide an affirmative response to Lim's question. However, when he talks about what to do for the project in their conversation, he switches to using *yey*. In contrast, when he responds to Lim's remark about COVID-19, he returns to using *ney* in lines 15 and 20. This pattern Kay's use of *ney* and *yey* parallels what was discussed in the previous excerpt. Kay employs *yey* to show an apologetic stance toward his uncertainty about how to conduct the conversation with Lim and convey his humility and politeness. In other words, by using *yey*, Kay positions himself as someone who wants to show humbleness and politeness to a great extent in a formal setting, which is being recorded for a language research project. However, after they decide to talk freely about COVID-19, which transitions into a relatively more casual conversation than before, Kay switches back to using *ney*. Considering Kay's mixed use of *ney* and *yey* in these different contextual situations, which can be categorized into informal and formal settings, *yey* indexes politeness and formality to a greater extent than *ney* does. This finding is consistent with the previous research indicating that *ney* is typically used in informal settings, while *yey* is more commonly used in formal settings.

Lastly, I examine the mixed use of *ney* and *yey* when interlocutors engage in a relatively free and casual conversation, which may provide further insights into how they are used differently in the contemporary Korean speech communities.

See Excerpt 36 below, where two speakers (a female speaker Lim and a male speaker Kay) intermix *ney* and *yey* in this exchange as they freely share their personal opinions on mask-wearing; Lim employs *ney* in line 9 and *yey* in lines 12 and 14, while Kay uses *ney* in line 6 and *yey* in lines

2 and 19. This exchange is conducted by Lim and Kay, which occurs eight minutes after the previous excerpt.

Excerpt 36 [KCO#024: Mask-wearing]

01 Lim: 제가 여기 와서는 솔직히 저는 마스크 쓰는 사람들을 @ 잘 못 봐가지[구:]
cey-ka *yeki* *wa-se-nun* *solcikhi* *ce-nun* *masukhu*
I.HUM-SUB here come-CONN-TOP honestly I.HUM-TOP mask
ssu-nun *salam-tul-ul* @ *cal* *mos* *pwa-kaci*[*kwu*:
wear-ADN person-PL-ACC well cannot see-CONN
'After I came here (the U.S.), I didn't often see people wearing masks.'

02 Kay: [**예: 예:**]
[***yey*: *yey*:**]
yey yey
'I see.'

03 [맞아요.]
[*mac-ayo*.]
correct-POL.END
'Right.'

04 Lim: [오히려] 이제 실내에 가고: 저나 저희 가족들이나 좀 쓰지:
[*ohilye*] *icey* *silnay-ey* *ka-ko*: *ce-na* *cehuy* *kacok-tul-ina* *com* *ssu-ci*:
rather DM inside-to go-CONN I.HUM-or my.HUM family.member-PL-or DM wear-COMM
'Rather, when going inside…and my family members or I wear a mask'

05 저는 아직도 쓰고 있거든요. [마@스@]크@
ce-nun *acik-to* *ssu-ko iss-ketun-yo*. [*ma@su@*]*khu@*
I.HUM-TOP still-also wear-PROG-SFP-POL mask
'I am still wearing a mask.'

06 Kay: [**네: 네:**]
[**ney: ney:**]
ney ney
'I see.'

07 Lim: 실내 갈 때는 쓰는데 여기 보면은 별로 안 쓰고 다니니까.
silnay *ka-l* *ttay-nun* *ssu-nuntey* *yeki* *po-myen-un* *pyello*
inside go-ADN when-TOP wear-CONN here see-COND-TOP not.really
an *ssu-ko* *tani-nikka.*
NEG wear-CONN go.around-SFP
'I wear a mask when I go inside, but people rarely wear a mask here when I see.'

08 Kay: 보니까 그 뭐 인도나 뭐 중국 한국에서 오신 분들은
po-nikka *ku* *mwe* *into-na* *mwe* *cwungkwuk* *hankwuk-eyse*
EXP-CONN DM DM India-or DM China Korea-from
o-si-n *pwun-tul-un*
come-HON-ADN person.HON-PL-TOP
'People who come from India, China, or Korea…'

09 Lim: [**네.**]

[***ney***.]
ney
'Yeah. (Go ahead.)'

10 Kay: [이제] 좀 많이 조심하시는 것 같고요.
[*icey*] *com* *manhi* *cosimha-si-nun* *kes* *kath-ko-yo*.
DM DM a.lot cautious-HON-ADN NOMZ like-CONN-POL
'I feel like, they are very careful.'

11 실내에서 특히나 [마스크]를 많이 쓰시는 거 같고
silnay-eyse *thukhina* [*masukhu-lul* *manhi* *ssu-si-nun* *ke* *kath-ko*
inside-in especially mask-ACC a.lot wear-HON-ADN NOMZ like-CONN
'I feel like, most people wear a mask, especially inside'

12 Lim: [**예:**]
[***yey***:]
yey
'I see.'

13 Kay: 한: 뭐 그냥 여기 원체- 원래 계셨던 오래 계시던 분들은: 마스크 잘 안 쓰시는 것 같더라고요.
han: *mwe* *kunyang* *yeki* *wenchey-* *wenlay*
approximately DM originally here originally originally
kyeys-yess-ten *olay* *kyeysi-ten* *pwun-tul-un*:
BE.HON-PST-ADN long BE.HON-ADN person.HON-PL-TOP
masukhu *cal* *an* *ssu-si-nun* *kes* *kath-telako-yo*.
mast well NEG wear-HON-ADN NOMZ like-EVID-POL
'Well…as for the people who have stayed here (the U.S.) for a long time, they rarely wear a mask.'

14 Lim: **예:** 맞아요.
yey: *mac-ayo*.
yes correct-POL.END
'Yes, you are right.'

15 저도 그렇게 느꼈어요.
ce-to *kulehkey* *nukk-yess-eyo*.
I.HUM-also that.way feel-PST-POL.END
'I felt the same way.'

16 근데 또 드는 생각이 마스크는 또 다 같이 써야지 효과가 있다고 하는[데:]
kuntey *tto* *tu-nun* *sayngkak-i* *masukhu-nun* *tto* *ta* *kathi*
DM DM come.into-ADN thought-SUB mask-TOP DM all together
sse-ya-ci *hyokwa-ka* *iss-tako* *ha-nun*[*tey*:]
wear-should-as effect-SUB exist-QT say-CONN
'However, the thought came to my mind is that masks are effective when people wear a mask all together, which I heard that '

17 Kay: [음 음]
[*um* *um*]
uhm uhm
'I see.'

18 Lim: 나만 쓰면은 좀 이상해 보이기도 하고 이게 효과가 있는 건지 없는@ 건@지@ [약간 @]
na-man *ssu-myen-un* *com* *isanghay* *poi-ki-to* *ha-ko*
I-only wear-CONN-TOP DM strangely be.seen-NOMZ-also do-CONN
ike-y *hyokwa-ka* *iss-nun* *ke-nci* *eps-nun@* *ke-n@ci@* [*yakkan @*]
this.thing-SUB effect-SUB exist-ADN NOMZ-or not.exist-ADN NOMZ-or DM

'When only I wear a mask, it seems a little strange, and I am not sure whether it is effective or not.'

19 Kay: [예: 예:]
[***yey: yey:***]
yey yey

'I see.'

In this excerpt, Kay starts with *yey* in line 2 to show his attentive listening and encourage Lim to continue speaking. However, he switches to *ney* in line 6 with the same function as the preceding *yey*. Meanwhile, Lim initially uses *ney* in line 9 but switches to *yey* in line 12 to indicate her active listenership while listening to Kay's utterance. She continues to use *yey* in line 14 with the function of expressing her agreement with Kay's statement about mask-wearing habits in the U.S. Lastly, in line 19, Kay employs *yey* to express interest in Lim's opinion on masks.

In this exchange, there is minimal distinction in the usage of *ney* and *yey* compared to what I examined in the previous excerpts. However, it is noteworthy that Lim, the female speaker, abruptly starts employing *yey* instead of *ney*, which may be influenced by Kay's language behavior. As previously noted, Kay frequently alternates between *ney* and *yey* during this conversation. This may exemplify how a male speaker employs *ney* and *yey* to indexically mark speech registers, as discussed in the previous research (Kim, 2009; Song, 2019). Prior to this exchange, Kay consistently alternated between *ney* and *yey*, while Lim primarily used *ney*, as shown in the previous excerpt. Additionally, there is no significant difference in the conversation settings or topics during this exchange, unlike in the previous excerpts. Considering all these aspects, it is reasonable to suggest that Lim adopts *yey* following Kay's linguistic demeanor. While being exposed to Kay's use of *yey*, which indexically marks a high level of politeness and formality, Lim recognizes the need to demonstrate her awareness of the conversational setting in this recorded conversation for linguistic research where speakers are expected to show politeness toward the interlocutor, who has never met before. This suggests that the alternation between *ney* and *yey* is

influenced not only by the contextual situation but also by the characteristics of the interlocutors (Labov, 2006; Coupland, 2007; Tagliamonte, 2012).

As discussed thus far, speakers intermix *ney* and *yey*, not only to adjust the level of formality but also to modulate the degree of politeness and humbleness (cf. T-V distinction in Brown and Gilman (1960)). *ney* is used to convey a sense of politeness and informality, while *yey* is employed to express politeness and formality. This observation suggests that *ney* and *yey* are stored in speakers' lexicon as a marker of speech register and speakers choose between them based on the contextual situation. The mixed use of *ney* and *yey* within the contemporary Korean speech community reflects the flexibility and adaptability of language usage, where speakers select a certain expression that best fits the context and their communicative goals. This suggests that Korean speakers intermix *ney* and *yey* as an interactional device for modulating the degree of familiarity, politeness, and formality while they are building interpersonal relationships through linguistic nuance in talk-in-interaction.

4.3 Summary

The concepts of 'grammar' and 'grammatical' are defined variably by scholars depending on their different perspectives. In this chapter, I examined the Korean interjection *ney* from a broader and more flexible perspective toward grammar and grammaticalization. I argued that the development of the discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney* and its emergence as a multifunctional discourse marker *ney* are results of grammaticalization. Additionally, the high frequency of *ney* within a speech community has led it to acquire various discourse-pragmatic functions and further

develop into a discourse marker, imbued with a grammatical function of marking [+polite] in discourse organization and turn allocation.[47]

As illustrated in Chapter 2.1.2, interactions can be classified into primary interjections and secondary interjections depending on whether they have their own lexical meanings and can belong to other word classes such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs (Ameka, 1992a, 2006; Ameka and Wilkins, 2006; Evans, 1992; Norrick, 2007, 2009). The Korean *ney* is a primary interjection because it does not have a lexical meaning and belongs solely to the interjection category, unlike the secondary interjections (such as *Help*! and *God*!), which can also function as lexical items in different contexts. When adopting the narrow definition of grammaticalization, the secondary interjections would evidently be a result of grammaticalization as they developed from lexical items. However, the case of primary interjections would be controversial since their source is already a grammatical item and they emerge within the grammatical system. Nonetheless, when treating grammar with a focus on its flexible and innovative features, the development of *ney* can be seen as an instance of grammaticalization.

I also discussed the similar but nuanced use of the Korean interjections *ney* and *yey* (and *nyey*), depending on the contextual situation in the contemporary Korean speech community, as a corollary of the grammaticalization of *ney*. *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey* would initially be used with the same function, as a sound variant, within a speech community until the mid-20th century. However, historical dictionaries indicate that *ney* was not a word of standard language and its usage would not be found in historical corpus.[48] However, *ney* was eventually acknowledged as a standard

[47] As illustrated in Chapter 3, *ney* is one of the most frequently used expressions in contemporary Korean, which aligns with the crosslinguistic tendency where linguistic forms that are used most often tend to be the shortest (Zipf, 1935; see also Hopper & Traugott, 2003).

[48] Additionally, previous research on *yey* (and *ney*) does not highlight *ney* or suggests that *yey* is representative usage (Lee, 1993; cf. Kim, 1989; Ahn, 2012).

language expression alongside *yey* in the late 20th century due to its wide and frequent use within the speech community. This shift was influenced by the social perception that the Seoul dialect was sophisticated and that speakers of the Seoul dialect were refined and well-educated (cf. Kwon, 2023; Lee and Ramsey, 2000; Park, 2020; Shin et al., 2013; see also Tagliamonte, 2012).

Additionally, I suggested that *ney* developed from *nyey* through phonetic erosion due to the high frequency, given the morphological and phonological similarity between *ney* and *nyey*, and the transition in dictionary listings where *ney* became listed *nyey* became unlisted. *ney* extended its usage and became prevalent across various contexts throughout South Korea, gradually replacing *yey*. Eventually, *ney* acquired the status of a word of standard Korean, with its wide use which has contributed to its grammaticalization as it has acquired various discourse-pragmatic functions and further developed into a discourse marker. However, *nyey* was not acknowledged as a standard Korean expression and it is rarely used in contemporary Korean. Consequently, *yey* gradually decreased in usage and it is now specialized in marking formality. The development of *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey* can be clearly explained through grammaticalization principles (Hopper, 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 2003 [1993]; Rhee, 2016a [1998], inter alia), such as layering, divergence, and specialization.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

5.1 Summary

Hitherto, this dissertation has explored the multifaceted Korean interjection *ney* from the pragmatic, multimodal, and historical perspectives.

As a concise yet powerful device demonstrating a speaker's awareness of the Korean socio-cultural norm of politeness, *ney* has been employed in diverse interaction scenarios, thereby acquiring various discourse-pragmatic functions. Within the contemporary Korean speech community, *ney* is used with over 17 functions, which can be broadly classified into a response form and a discourse marker depending on its target.

When responding to an interlocutor's utterance or ongoing interaction, *ney* can provide an affirmative response, confirmation, or acceptance, indicate agreement, show active listenership, signal a speaker's presence or departure, request an interlocutor's reiteration, elicit a speaker's desirable response, and interrupt an undesirable utterance — all in a polite manner. As a discourse marker, *ney* constructs speaker's utterance and negotiates conversation turns with the interlocutor in a polite way, with functions such as starting an utterance, elaborating on previous utterances, backtracking or summarizing previous utterances, managing a conversation topic, filling a pause, and finishing an utterance.

Korean speakers employ *ney* with distinctive nonverbal behaviors and phonetic features to effectively deliver their intention. Through the integration of verbal and nonverbal modalities, Korean speakers build effective communication and cultivate interpersonal relationships in a polite way, while employing *ney* with various discourse-pragmatic functions.

<Table 5.1> below illustrates the general tendencies of a speaker's nonverbal behavior and phonetic features while using *ney*.

	Discourse-pragmatic functions	Phonetic features	Non-verbal behaviors
Response form	Providing affirmative response	Falling (neutral) tone	Nodding
	Providing confirmation	^same	^same
	Providing acceptance	^same	^same
	Indicating agreement	^same	^same
	Showing active listenership	^same	^same
	Indicating presence	^same	Nodding/Raising a hand
	Indicating departure	Slightly rising tone with lengthening	Bowing
	Requesting an interlocutor's reiteration	Rising tone	Leaning forward
	Eliciting speaker's desirable response	^same	^same
	Interrupting an undesirable utterance	Neutral tone with lengthening	
Discourse marker	Starting an utterance	Slightly rising tone; no pause between *ney* and following utterances	
	Elaborating on a previous utterance	Falling (neutral) tone; no pause between *ney* and following utterances	
	Backtracking a previous utterance		
	Summarizing		
	Managing a topic		
	Filling a pause	Falling tone; pause between *ney* and following utterances	Not looking at listeners directly
	Finishing an utterance	Undertone	Nodding/Smiling/ Looking down at the bottom

<Table 5.1. Discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney*
with different phonetic features accompanied by non-verbal behaviors in general tendency>

When *ney* is used to provide a speaker's affirmation, confirmation, and acceptance, indicate a speaker's agreement, or show active listenership, it occurs in a falling or neutral tone accompanied by a head nod to convey the speaker's affiliative stance toward the proposition (Aoki, 2011; De Stefani, 2020; Heritage, 1998; Kärkkäinen and Thompson, 2017; Maynard, 1987; McClave, 2000; Stiver, 2008, inter alia). When *ney* signals a speaker's presence in response to a summon, it is accompanied by a hand raise. When *ney* indicates departure in response to an interlocutor's closing salutation, it occurs in a slightly rising tone with lengthening, often accompanied by a bow — a polite gesture to be used in greetings in Korean society.

Conversely, when *ney* is used to convey a speaker's disaffiliative stance toward the interlocutor's utterance or ongoing interaction, the speaker manages vocal qualities accordingly. For example, *ney* in a sharply rising tone accompanied by a forward-leaning posture requests the interlocutor's reiteration of troublesome utterances or solicit a preferred response as a response to the interlocutor's dispreferred utterances. Additionally, *ney* with lengthening interrupts an interlocutor's utterance and discourages further talking.

As a discourse marker, *ney* occurs in a slightly rising tone to start an utterance to attract the interlocutor's attention. However, When elaborating on a previous utterance, it occurs in a falling or neutral tone. These two usages of the discourse marker *ney* are characterized by the absence of a prosodic juncture between *ney* and the following utterance, which diverges from the general tendency of discourse markers to carry distinctive stress and intonation patterns (Heine, 2021a,b; Schiffrin, 1987; Traugott; 1995, inter alia). In other usages, *ney* constructs a separate intonation unit. When *ney* fills a pause and holds a conversation turn, a speaker's gaze does not typically go toward the interlocutor. When signaling an intention to finish an utterance and yield a conversation

turn to the interlocutor, *ney* occurs in an undertone, which is accompanied by nodding, smiling, or looking down.

Additionally, this dissertation examined the historical development of *ney*. Initially considered merely a Seoul dialect of the standard Korean word *yey*, *ney* was eventually acknowledged as a word of standard language in the late 20th century due to its wide and frequent use. The use of *ney* attributed to socio-cultural factors that emphasize politeness and consider the Seoul dialect sophisticated led to its acquisition of various discourse-pragmatic functions and further development into a multifunctional discourse marker.

This dissertation also argued that the various discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney* could be seen as an instance of grammaticalization, contributing to the debate on whether the emergence of discourse markers is a result of grammaticalization or pragmaticalization. Viewing grammar from a broader perspective that emphasizes its flexibility and adaptability, I suggested that the development of various discourse-pragmatic functions of *ney* follows general tendencies observed in grammaticalization: phonetic erosion, layering, divergence, and specialization.

By examining the diachronic usage of *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey* (which is an archaic form of *ney*) in historical dictionaries and corpus data, I argued that the original function of multifunctional *ney* in contemporary Korean is to provide a polite affirmative response. I also argued that the grammaticalization of *ney* has influenced the usages of *yey* and *nyey*. All three expressions, i.e., *ney*, *yey*, and *nyey*, were used with the same functions as a sound variant in the Korean speech community until the late 20th century, exemplifying layering. Initially, *ney* was regarded as less polite than others and even an incorrect expression because it was a shortened form of *nyey*. However, as *ney* became preferred over *nyey*, it eventually acquired the status of a standard

language expression, while *nyey* fell out of common use and was even considered an incorrect expression.

ney acquired various discourse-pragmatic functions through metonymy and further developed into a multifunctional discourse marker. Despite its evolution into a discourse marker, *ney* continues to be used as a response form, illustrating divergence. The broader and more frequent use of *ney* in ordinary interactions has led to the specialization of *yey* for formal context. Consequently, Korean speakers intermix *ney* and *yey* to modulate their speech register. This development illustrates that grammaticalization is a powerful and explanatory theory for understanding how a linguistic device develops and expands its usage domain by aligning with socio-cultural norms, reflecting the dynamic interplay between language, culture, and society.

5.2 Future directions

This dissertation contributes to our understanding of various aspects of interjection and offers insights into the analysis of naturally occurring conversation data. It also raises important questions about the typical features of discourse markers, highlighting that not all discourse markers adhere to the general tendency of constructing a separate intonation unit.

However, the motivation behind this notable phenomenon remains unclear and warrants further research. Cross-linguistic studies of discourse markers across different linguistic and cultural contexts could illuminate the shared and distinctive characteristics of discourse markers across different linguistic and socio-cultural contexts. By extending this research to other languages and contexts, we can gain a more comprehensive view of the dynamic interplay between language, culture, and society.

I shall conclude my dissertation with a quote that encapsulates the essence of illustration, discussion, and argument on the Korean interjection ney:

"One short interjection may be more powerful, more to the point, more eloquent than a long speech. In fact, interjections, together with gestures, the movements of the muscles of the mouth, and the eye, would be quite sufficient for all purposes which language answers with the majority of mankind." (Max Müller, 1866: 410) (Heine, 2023: 9)

Appendix A

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in glossing the Korean data.

ACC: Accusative

ADN: Adnominalizer

ATTM: Attemptive

BEN: Benefactive

BLT: Blunt

COMM: Committal

COND: Conditional

CONN: Connective

CSL: Causal

DEF: Deferential

DM: Discourse marker

END: Sentence-ender

EVID: Evidential

EXP: Experiential

FUT: Future

GEN: Genitive

HON: Honorific

HORN: Hortative

HUM: Humiliative

INCH: Inchoative

INT: Intimate

INTL: Intentional

LOC: Locative

MOD: Modal

NEG: Negative

NOM: Nominative

NOMZ: Nominalizer

ONOMAT: Onomatopoeia

PFM: Performative

PL: Plural

PLN: Plain

POL: Polite

PRES: Present

PROG: Progressive

PROS: Prospective

PST: Past

PUR: Purpose

Q: Question

QT: Quotative

SCTR: Scene Transferentive

SPEC: Speculative

SFP: Sentence Final Particle

SUB: Subject particle

TOP: Topic marker

Appendix B

Extended Yale Transliteration System

This dissertation adopts an extended version of the Yale Transliteration System to transliterate the Korean data.

ㄱ *k*	ㄲ *kk*	ㅡ *u*
ㄴ *n*	ㄸ *tt*	ㅣ *i*
ㄷ *t*	ㅃ *pp*	ㅐ *ay*
ㄹ *l*	ㅆ *ss*	ㅒ *yay*
ㅁ *m*	ㅉ *cc*	ㅔ *ey*
ㅂ *p*		ㅖ *yey*
ㅅ *s*	ㅏ *a*	ㅘ *wa*
ㅇ (*ng* for syllable-final)	ㅑ *ya*	ㅚ *oy*
ㅈ *c*	ㅓ *e*	ㅝ *we*
ㅊ *ch*	ㅕ *ye*	ㅟ *uy*
ㅋ *kh*	ㅗ *o*	ㅙ *way*
ㅌ *th*	ㅛ *yo*	ㅞ *wey*
ㅍ *ph*	ㅜ *wu*	ㆍ A
ㅎ *h*	ㅠ *yu*	ㆍㅣ Ay

Appendix C

Transcription Conventions

This dissertation follows a transcription convention below, which is based on Du Bois (2014).

[	Overlapping talk begins
]	Overlapping talk ends
=	Latching between lines
.	Falling tone
?	Rising tone
,	Slightly rising tone
:	Stretching sound
-	Cut-off
(..)	Micro-pause
(0.2)	Length of silence in tenths of a second
@	Laughter
(H)	Hearable inhalation
()	Noticeable non-verbal behavior (e.g., (with nods))
#	Unintelligible sound
(TSK)	Alveolar click (ingressive hissing)
→	Target line

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