

Interactional use of quotation markers *-(ta) nikka/-tay* in Korean and *-tte* in Japanese

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Declaration

Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis is my own original work.

Hyunsu Kim

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I hope I also could give love and support back to people who need my help in future...

In Canberra, December 2016

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I dedicate this work to my mother, Maljin Seo, in heaven.

Abstract

This thesis examines the interactional functions of three indirect quotative markers, *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in the Korean language and *-tte* in the Japanese language in spoken discourse. These markers are typically used in indirect speech to convey the speaker's own voice and/or a third person's voice in casual conversations.

Previous studies in the literature tend to focus on morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of these target markers and little attention has been paid to their expressive meanings, in particular, at the pragmatic/discourse level in the Korean literature. The current study fills up this gap and investigates the meanings beyond the function of indirect quotation of the target markers, as well as sociocultural differences through the comparison of the three markers in the two different languages.

Discourse Analysis has been used as a qualitative methodology and the notions of 'involvement' and 'multivoicedness' have been adopted to describe how speakers employ the target markers to have conversation parties engaged into the ongoing conversation through echoing self-voice and/or the other's voice in interaction. For the analysis of the data, telephone conversations have been used to identify rich and multiple functions of the target markers in a variety of contexts.

The findings from the analysis show that Korean *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* share some similarity of functions with the Japanese *-tte*. For instance, the functions of Korean *-(ta) nikka* such as hearer-oriented recollection, speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection have been found in Japanese *-tte* as well. Korean *-tay* also shares the similar functions with Japanese *-tte* such as a topic initial elicitor, evidence-leaking marker and context-detailing marker. However, the function of face-saving marker is unique to *-tte*, and this function has not been observed in *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay*. It is discussed that this difference between Korean and Japanese in terms of the face-saving function is due to the different cultural values that affect the use of these markers by social members: interaction can be influenced by *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari* for the Japanese cultural values, and intimacy, affection and solidarity for the Korean cultural values. Briefly summarised, consideration is a primary concern for Japanese in their interaction, while intimacy is for Koreans.

This thesis also discusses that the target markers are used as a particular linguistic strategy by the speaker in verbal exchanges, by revealing their intrinsic nature of being interactional and dialogical, whereby their meanings are constructed in the interactional process. In particular, contexts play an important role, since speakers manipulate contexts when they use the target markers, representing their attitudes toward the content and the interlocutor in different ways.

In sum, this thesis gives insight into understanding of how people use language for their communication purposes and how expressive meaning is embedded in language and everyday interactions. Moreover, the findings from this thesis contribute towards better understanding of second or foreign language education and socio-cultural differences in language use in different societies.

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Abbreviations

ATTR	Attributive
AUX	Auxiliary
BE	Various forms of the 'be' verb
BE-past	Past forms of various forms of the 'be' verb
CD	Conditional
CIR	Circumstantial
CJR	Conjecture
CL	Classifier
CN	Connective
COM	Committal
COMP	Comparative construction
COP	Copula
COR	Correlative
DEC	Declarative
DET	Determinative
EXC	Exclamation
FIL	Filler
SFP	Sentence-final particles
HON	Honorific
HOR	Hortative
IE	Informal ending
IJ	Interjective
IMP	Imperative
INT	Intentional
INTR	Interrogative
LINK	Linking suffix

LK	Linker (linking nominals)
LOC	Locative
NEC	Necessitative
NEG	Negative marker
NOM	Nominaliser
OBJ	Object marker
PAS	Personal address suffix
PASS	Passive
PAST	Past form
PENAME	Personal names
PL	Plural
POL	Polite marker/expression
POT	Potential
PRESUM	Presumptive
PROG	Progressive form
PUR	Purpositive
QT	Quotation
QUE	Question marker
RES	Result particle
RET	Retrospective
SIM	Simultaneous
STAT	Stative form
SUB	Subject marker
TEMP	Temporal
TOP	Topic marker
VOC	Vocative

Transcription conventions

,	continuing (slight rise)
?	appeal
.	final
...	pause

Other symbols used outside transcriptions to indicate the status of some examples

*	unacceptable
?	not impossible but generally considered inappropriate
(())	unintelligible speech

Introduction

1.1 Aims and background

People quote their own or others' utterances frequently in their daily conversations. Quoting is an essential part of our language life and plays an important role in conveying and sharing our thoughts, feelings and experiences with others. With respect to reported speech, Coulmas (1986: 2) says:

Utterances can be made the subject of other utterances. They can be criticised, questioned, commented on, or simply be reported. Language can be used to refer to language. We can talk about talk. This is true for all natural languages and is, indeed, a fundamental feature whose absence disqualifies any sign system as a human language.

The aim of this study is twofold. Firstly, it explores the function of three indirect quotative markers, *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in Korean and *-tte* in Japanese, with special reference to their use in the interactional context of spoken discourse. Secondly, it compares the socio-cultural aspects involved in the use of these markers in Korean and Japanese, in order to identify what contributes to the functional differences between *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and *-tte*.

Korean and Japanese are regarded as typologically similar languages, and are often classified as Altaic languages along with native Manchu, Mongolian and the Turkic languages (Lee and Ramsey 2000). The two languages are both SOV and show a number of similarities in morpho-syntactic structure. These similarities are well summarised in Müller-Gotama (1993: 99). Müller-Gotama states that ‘both languages have a very variable, though strictly verb-final, clause-internal word order; both use noun suffixes and postpositions to identify the grammatical roles of the participants in a clause; both have extensive inflectional morphologies, particularly of the verb; and both are topic-prominent languages, with Japanese using *wa* and Korean using *nun* to mark the grammatical topic’.

The target markers *-(ta) nikka/-tay* in Korean and *-tte* in Japanese also share some similarities. For instance, they are indirect quotation expressions occurring in sentence-final position.¹ Further, these markers are frequently used in spoken casual speech, especially in face-to-face conversation, and rarely used in written contexts or high formal speech (Han 1986, 2004, 2009; Jeon 2002; J. Lee 2004; J. Ha 2006; Maynard 1997b; Kato 2007). Examples of these markers from telephone conversations below show how they are used as indirect quotative markers in sentence-final position. (1) is an example of Korean *-(ta) nikka*, (2) is of Korean *-tay*, and (3) is of Japanese *-tte*.²

- (1) *Kulenikka wuli emma-ka cham taytanha-tanikka.*
 so our mum-SUB really great-TANIKKA
 ‘So, (I told you) our mum is really great.’

¹ ‘Indirect quotation’ means here that another’s speech is paraphrased in the current speaker’s voice (Tannen 1989: 98).

² Subjects are frequently omitted in Korean and Japanese, if contexts are known to both the speaker and the hearer.

- (2) *Kanhowen-i nalpoko ttal kath-tay.*
 nurse-SUB me.to daughter PRESUM-TAY
 ‘The nurse said to me that the baby inside me seems to be a girl.’
- (3) *Kotoshi ippaide moo shigoto yameru-tte.*
 this.year full.in no.more job quit-TTE
 ‘(She said that) she would quit her job by the end of this year.’

To be brief, in example (1), by using *-(ta) nikka* the speaker repeats her utterance that was enunciated earlier in a previous context, reminding the hearer what she said before about her mother who is great, in the current context. In example (2), by using *-tay* the speaker quotes a nurse’s utterance that the baby seems to be a girl. In example (3), by using *-tte* the speaker tells the hearer that her acquaintance would quit her job, quoting the acquaintance’s utterance. The fact that the markers are used as indirect quotative markers has been pointed out in a number of previous studies (Horiguchi 1995; Suzuki 1998; Sohn and Park 2003; Han 2009; K. Lee 2010; Kato 2010).

What is important here is the fact that the target markers do not merely quote a message or information, but also indicate certain effects on the hearers. For instance, in example (1), the speaker conveys her previous utterance, and at the same time she signals a metamessage of ‘You would fully understand what I am saying’ with the use of *-(ta) nikka*. In examples (2) and (3), speakers convey a third person’s utterances, but if speakers use *-tay* or *-tte* to introduce a new topic during the conversation, it can be inferred that the speaker intends to invite the involvement of the hearer, by signalling a metamessage such as ‘Did you know that?’ and ‘Could you listen to this, please?’

Despite these features of the markers, the majority of previous studies of the Korean *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* have focused on their morpho-syntactic and semantic properties (e.g. Kwon 1983, 1998; Han 1986, 2004, 2009; T. Kim 1998; W. Huh 1995; H. Kim 1995; Bang 1995; J. Y. Park 1998; Jeon 2002; J. Lee 2004; K. Lee 2005; J. Ahn

2006; Bae 2010), and neglected their functions in interactional usage, as pointed out by some scholars (Sohn and Park 2003; O. Sohn 2009).³

As for the Japanese *-tte*, this marker has been explored by a large number of scholars (including Morishige 1954; Tanaka 1977; Sunagawa 1988a, 1988b, 1989; Kamio 1990; Niwa 1994; Moritoki 1994; Horiguchi 1995; Maynard 1996, 1997b; Yamazaki 1996; Saegusa 1997; Suzuki 1998, 1999; H. Huh 1999; Kamada 2000; Nomura 1999, 2000; Iwao 2003, 2005; Kitazawa 2003; Kato 2007, 2008, 2010; K. Lee 2010). Although these studies have provided insightful analyses of *-tte*, few studies examined *-tte* in actual conversation discourses from an interactional point of view, as pointed out by Kato (2007, 2010). Further, pragmatic meanings attributed to this marker vary from scholar to scholar. This reflects a lack of concepts with which to analyse the function of *-tte* in an integral and unified way.

In sum, the present study explores the ‘interactional functions’ of the indirect quotative markers *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in Korean and *-tte* in Japanese, and provides a unified account of their properties in spoken discourse, thereby shedding light on some aspects of the mechanism with which we deliver our thoughts and experiences by quoting our own and others’ voices in everyday conversation.

It also clarifies some issues of cross-cultural communication by comparing the functions of these markers at discourse level. To achieve these aims, the current study ultimately attempts to address the following five questions.

- (i) What are the functions of each marker in spoken conversation?
- (ii) Why are these markers mainly used in spoken conversation while rarely used in written texts?
- (iii) Why are these markers used in informal speech rather than in formal speech?

³ Refer to Chapter 2 for details of previous studies.

- (iv) What are the similarities and differences between the functions of *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and *-tte*?
- (v) How are the similarities and differences culturally characterised?

1.2 Scope of the study

Korean has a number of quotative expressions which include *-(ta) nuntey*, *-(ta) mye*, *-(ta) myense*, *-(ta) ko*, *-(ta) canha*, *-lay*, *-key* and so forth. The present study has chosen the two markers *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in comparison with the Japanese marker *-tte*, since these markers share a great deal of similarities and dissimilarities each other with regard to quotation. They also have a significant potential to make a contribution to the area of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies.

1.2.1 Standard Korean/Japanese

The current study investigates *-(ta) nikka/-tay* in Korean and *-tte* in Japanese within the range of the modern standard languages. The current study will focus on Standard Korean (or *Phyocwune*), which is based on the Seoul dialect or ‘Seoul speech’.

According to Lee and Ramsey (2000), there are three definitions which show the concept of ‘Seoul speech’ to be considered the standard language. Firstly, ‘the language of *Kyengseng* (today’s Seoul) shall be the standard’ was proclaimed in 1912 in the document ‘*Emwun* Orthography for Use in Primary Schools’. Secondly, this is more precisely established in the statement, ‘the standard language shall by and large be the speech used in middle-class society in present-day Seoul’ in ‘Unification Proposal for *Hankul* Spelling’ of 1933. Thirdly, it is defined in ‘Rules of the Standard Language’ in 1988 as ‘the standard language as in principle the speech widely used by people with education in present-day Seoul’.

There are seven regional dialectal differences in Korean. Although dialects from different regions are mutually intelligible (Song 2005), there are many differences between dialects, which may affect the use of the target markers differently from standard Korean. Thus, data used for this study were carefully selected and any utterances of non-standard Korean were eliminated from the analysis.

In Japan, the Meiji⁴ Restoration (*Meijiishin*) in 1868 affected the modernisation and unification of language in two ways; unification of spoken and written Japanese, and unification of the different varieties of spoken Japanese, that is, the creation of a standard language (Frellesvig 2010: 379). The publication of an essay '*Kokugo no tame*' (For the national language) by Ueda Kazutoshi in 1895 influenced the establishment of the notion of *kokugo* and a standard language. Ueda suggested 'privileging one variety over others for use in public life, including education, and as an emblem of the nation' (Frellesvig 2010: 380). In 1901, the Ministry of Education decreed that the Japanese language taught in schools should be that of Tokyo, the language of the middle and upper classes of the Yamate area, originating from the Edo-influenced variety of the common language.⁵ In 1902, '*Kokugo-choosa-iinkai*' (National Language Research Council) was set up and contributed to the publication of '*Koogohoo*' (Grammar of the vernacular) in 1916 and '*Koogohoobekki*' (Supplement to grammar of the vernacular) in 1917. In these volumes, it was clearly stated that modern standard Japanese was based on the speech of the educated middle and upper classes of Tokyo. As in the case of Korean, in this study any utterances of non-standard Japanese were excluded from the analysis in order to avoid the influence of dialect variations. The terms Korean and Japanese refer to, respectively, the standard Korean and Japanese throughout the study, unless otherwise specified.

⁴ Meiji was a period of unification in political terms: the creation or building of a unified, modern nation state (Frellesvig 2010: 379).

⁵ According to Frellesvig (2010: 378), Edo Japanese was established not by direct continuation of any particular local dialect of Japanese but by close contact between speakers of different varieties in an urban setting.

1.2.2 *-(ta) nikka*

The morpheme *-nikka* may also be used as a clausal connective⁶ to connect two clauses in a sentence, as shown below.

- (4) a. *Kyewul-i o-nikka chwup-ta.*
winter-SUB come-NIKKA cold-DEC
'Because winter has come, it is cold.'
- b. *Chwup-ta. Kyewul-i o-nikka.*
cold-DEC winter-SUB come-NIKKA
'It is cold because winter has come.'

In (4a), *-nikka* connects the subordinate clause *kyewuli ota* and the main clause *chwupta*. *-nikka* is attached to a verb stem *o-* 'come' and used at the end of the subordinate clause. The semantic connotation of *-nikka* here indicates the reason for it being cold. Further, (4b) shows that the marker may occur at the end of a sentence when the word order is inverted. In this case too, the meaning of the marker, i.e. reason, is sustained. As noted in 1.1, the aim of the current study is to investigate an indirect quotative marker *-(ta) nikka* occurring in sentence-final position, thus the clausal connective *-nikka* for this meaning will be excluded from the analysis of the current study.

From the morphological perspective, *-nikka* may be attached to various sentential endings, such as *-ta* (declarative), *-la* (imperative), *-nya* (interrogative), and *-ca* (hortative) in Modern Korean: i.e. *-(ta) nikka*, *-(la) nikka*, *-(nya) nikka*, and *-(ca) nikka*. They can occur in sentence-final position, as seen in the following examples.

⁶ The clausal connective *-nikka* has been reported to indicate diverse functions, such as 'cause', 'reason', 'providing circumstantial background' and so forth. See S. Lee (1981), Kim and Suh (1994), Suh (1998) and Ahn (2006) for further details of the marker.

- (5) a. *Chelswu-ka hakkyo-ey ka-n-ta-nikka.*
 Chelswu-SUB school-LOC go-ATTR-DEC-NIKKA
 ‘Chelswu goes to school *nikka*.’
- b. *Chelswu-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ss-nunya-nikka*
 Chelswu-SUB school-LOC go-PAST-INTR-NIKKA
 ‘Did Chelswu go to school *nikka*?’
- c. *Hakkyo-ey ka-la-nikka*
 school-LOC go-IMP-NIKKA
 ‘Go to school *nikka*.’
- d. *Hakkyo-ey ka-ca-nikka*
 school-LOC go-HOR-NIKKA
 ‘Let’s go to school *nikka*.’ (P. Lee 1995: 137)

The present study will take the declarative form *-(ta) nikka* as a representative of these variations. Finally, *-(ta) nikka* also can occur in sentence-medial position when the word order is inverted: (e.g.) *Hakkyoey kan-tanikka, Chelswuka*. ‘Chelswu goes to school’. The current study will include the case where the marker is used in an inverted sentence.

1.2.3 *-tay*

There are two morphemes with the form *-tay*. As in the case of *-(ta) nikka*, one morpheme *-tay* may also be used as a sentence-final particle rather than an indirect quotative marker. Its function is to express the speaker’s feelings and attitudes in monologue, as shown below, and it also appears at the end of a sentence.

- (6) *An-mek-nun-ta-ko ha-l ttay-n encey-ko*
 NEG-eat-ATTR-DEC-QT do-ATTR occasion-ATTR when-CN
eccay celehkey manhi mek-ess-tay?
 why like.that a.lot eat-PAST-TAY

‘He/she said he/she wouldn’t eat, but why does he/she eat a lot like that
tay?’ (K. Lee 2005: 244)

Here the speaker expresses his/her displeased feelings toward someone who ate a lot of food after saying that he/she would not eat. The main point of the sentence is to convey the speaker’s unhappy feeling, rather than asking a question, even though it is in an interrogative form.

This *-tay* is distinguished from the indirect quotative marker *-tay* not only in its function but also from the morphological perspective. The indirect quotative marker *-tay* is a contracted form of the quotative construction *-tako + hay* (Han 2004; H. Lee and J. Lee 1999): e.g. *mek* ‘eat’ (verb stem) + *ess* (past tense) + *ta* (declarative ending) + *ko* (complimentiser) + *hay* ‘say’⁷ → *mek ess tako hay* → *mekesstay*. In contemporary Korean, these two forms, the original form (i.e. *-tako hay*), and the contracted form (i.e. *-tay*), are both used, as in the following example.

- (7) a. *Yenghuy-ka hakkyo-ey ka-n-tay?*
 Yenghuy-SUB school-LOC go-ATTR-TAY
 ‘Did Yenghuy say that she goes to school?’
- b. *Yenghuy-ka hakkyo-ey ka-n-ta-ko ha-y?*
 Yenghuy-SUB school-LOC go-ATTR-DEC-QT do-IE
 ‘Did Yenghuy say that she goes to school?’ (Han 2004: 215)

These sentences first of all indicate that *-tay* can be used in an interrogative sentence typically with a rising intonation, as well as in a declarative sentence, as in *Yenghuyka hakkyoey kan-tay* ‘Yenghuy said she goes to school’. More importantly, in these two

⁷ The verbal form *hay* is constructed from *ha* ‘do, say’ + *e* (informal ending). Its primary meaning is ‘do’ (e.g. *il* ‘work’ + *ul* (objective particle) + *hay* ‘do’ → (*cipey ese*) *ilul hay* ‘(He) works (at home)’). When it is used with the *-ko* (quotative linker), as in *-ko hay*, it conveys the meaning ‘to say’. Here the quotative linker *-ko* is preceded by the declarative ending *-ta*, which finalises a sentence or an embedded clause.

sentences, *-tay* is interchangeable with *-tako hay* for the same intended meaning ‘Did Yenghuy say that she goes to school?’

Keeping this in mind, let us return to the case of the other *-tay*. According to Han (2004), this *-tay* cannot be restored from a contracted form of the quotative construction *-tako hay*. Thus *-tay* in the earlier example (6) *eccay celehkey manhi mekess-tay* ‘why does he/she eat a lot like that’ cannot be restored to the original form, **eccay celehkey manhi mekess-tako hay?* This means that this *-tay* does not convey a third person’s utterance, and in this regard, it is distinguished from the indirect quotative marker *-tay*. Given that the aim of the current study is to explore the function of indirect quotative markers, the morpheme *-tay* indicating the speaker’s feeling as in (6) will be eliminated from the analysis of the current study.

1.2.4 *-tte*

In research papers and grammar textbooks, *-tte* is known as an informal variant of *to*, *to iu*, *to iu no wa*, and/or other expressions (Suzuki 1998).⁸ The marker *-tte* may occur in non-sentence-final position, as shown in (8a), as well as in sentence-final position, as shown in (8b) and (8c) below.

- (8) a. *Sumoo-tte supootsu-wa nakanaka omoshiroi-ne.*
 sumo-TTE sport-TOP pretty interesting-SFP
 ‘The sport called *sumo* is pretty interesting, isn’t it?’
- b. *Otoosan-ga-ne, watashi-no tsukutta oryoori tottemo oishi-katta-tte.*
 dad-SUB-SFP I-LK cooked dishes really good-PAST-TTE
 ‘Dad (said that) the dishes I cooked were really good.’

⁸ Here, *to* = quotation marker (also used as a complementiser); *iu* = verb ‘say’; *no* = nominaliser; and *wa* = topic marker.

- c. *Moo dekake-yoo-tte? Kimi hayai-ne, shitakusuru-no*
 already go.out-HOR-TTE you quick-SFP get.ready-NOM
 ‘(You’re saying) let’s go already? You’re quick at getting ready, aren’t
 you?’

The use of *-tte* in (8a) is a kind of a topic marker, and cannot be seen as a quotative marker. Indeed, it can be replaced with the topic marker *wa* for the same intended meaning: (i.e.) *Kuruma wa Eigo de nanddakke?* ‘What is *kuruma* in English?’ In contrast, the sentence-final *-tte* in (8b) and (8c) is used to quote what someone else said: i.e. what dad said in (8b) and what the hearer said in (8c), and is identified as the quotative marker. As such, the present study investigates the cases where *-tte* occurs in sentence-final position, and conveys the function of quotation/hearsay. The current study will also include the function of *-tte* as a self-quotation, as this function is crucial to understanding the speaker’s expressiveness in interaction, as pointed out in Maynard’s study (1996).

1.3 Method

The current research adopts ‘discourse analysis’ (hereafter referred to as DA) as a methodology. DA is a qualitative research method and investigates the ‘social voices’ available to people (Cameron 2001: 15). The prominent feature of DA is that it is concerned with what and how language is used for communication in particular contexts, and how the phenomena of ‘real language’, in contrast to the made-up example sentences of syntactic analysis, can be accounted for in relation to the communicative purposes of the text or the interaction (Cameron 2001: 13).

DA is often regarded as ambiguous and controversial, as the term is employed for various academic disciplines such as linguistics, philosophy, anthropology and psychology (Van Dijk 1997; Simpson 1998; Jaworski and Coupland 1999). Even in

sub-disciplines of linguistics such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, pragmatics, speech act theory and conversation analysis, scholars focus on different aspects of discourse. For instance, sociolinguists lay emphasis on the structure of social interaction represented in conversation, emphasising features of social context particularly in relation to sociological classification. Psycholinguists are interested in issues of language comprehension, investigating problems of comprehension in short constructed texts or sequences of written sentences (Brown and Yule 1983). According to Simpson (1998: 237), the common interest the different disciplines share is that they analyse ‘naturally occurring connected language’ as well as ‘language beyond the level of the sentence’ in a given context. DA studies the purposes and functions of the discourse, together with the context within which the discourse was produced. The ultimate aim of DA is to show how language users are able to communicate with the linguistic elements in context.

As such, DA is necessarily the analysis of language in use beyond the sentence level. Just describing linguistic forms independent of functions exposes limitations, as the forms are designed to serve in speech activity. The discourse analyst is concerned with an investigation of what language is used for.

The current study is situated most closely to ‘interactional sociolinguistics’, which shares the concerns of all three fields of culture, society, and language (Schiffrin, 1994: 97). As will be made clear in the analysis of *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte* in consecutive chapters, this study investigates the markers not only as quotation markers, but also as devices used by the speaker to build and maintain interaction with the interlocutor. The focus will be on the investigation of the markers for ‘expressing social relation and personal attitude’ (Brown and Yule 1983: 1). More specifically, it will explore how these markers function to quote one’s own or someone else’s voices, in order to deliver the speaker’s feelings and emotions in various social contexts. With

regard to interactional function, the current study does not take a sequentially based approach in turn-taking systems. The focus will instead be on how the speaker's use of each marker affects the interlocutor in each language, and how the markers function within the social context of the conversation. The main concepts and notions for the analysis in the current study, i.e. involvement, multivoicedness and the notion of 'face', will be discussed in Chapter 3.

1.4 Data

1.4.1 Data collection

Data for this research is extracted from telephone conversations for naturally occurring language. Seventy-nine telephone conversations for each language by native speakers have been used. The transcripts have been re-transcribed according to discourse analysis transcription and the gloss and translation added.

The Korean corpus is the CALLFRIEND project,⁹ which was produced by the Linguistic Data Consortium in 2003. The corpus consists of 100 transcribed telephone conversations. The transcribed speech covers 15 to 18 minute segments taken from a recorded conversation lasting up to 30 minutes. In total, approximately 1,630 minutes of data are examined for the current study. Of 200 participants, only the information about caller (the speaker on channel A) is provided, but no information is available about the callee (the speaker on channel B). The callers consist of 62 females and 38 males. As for the age of the callers, 55 participants are in their 20s, 24 in their 30s, and 15 in their teens. There are a few participants in their 40s (four persons) and 60s (two persons). All speakers were aware that they were being recorded. They were given no guidelines concerning what they should talk about. Once a caller was recruited to participate, he/she was given a free choice of whom to call. Most participants called family

⁹ The Linguistic Data Consortium is an open consortium of universities, companies and government research laboratories. It creates, collects and distributes speech and text databases, lexicons, and other resources for linguistics research and development purposes.

members or close friends. For each conversation, both the caller and callee are native speakers of Korean. Any dialogue set that includes a speech of a non-Standard Korean speaker has been excluded from the analysis.

The Japanese corpus is from the CALLHOME JAPANESE¹⁰ produced in 1997, which includes transcripts and documentation files. The corpus consists of 120 transcribed telephone conversations between native speakers of Japanese. The transcripts cover a contiguous five or ten-minute segment taken from a recorded conversation lasting up to 30 minutes. In total, approximately 1,080 minutes of data are examined for the current study. The information about both caller (the speaker on channel A) and the callee (the speaker on channel B) are provided. The participants consist of 197 females and 70 males (some participants called to several callees). The age of the participants is presented as adult, juvenile, or elderly in a document containing speakers' information. There are 229 adults, 22 juveniles, and 16 elderly participants. All speakers were aware that they were being recorded. They were given no guidelines concerning what they should talk about. Once a caller was recruited to participate, he/she was given a free choice of whom to call. Most participants called family members or close friends overseas. As in the case of the Korean corpus, any dialogue set that includes the speech of a non-Standard Japanese speaker has been excluded from the analysis.

1.4.2 Presentation of data

Romanisation

Romanisation has been adopted for Korean and Japanese scripts in the present study.

The Yale system has been used for the romanisation of Korean with one modification:

¹⁰ The CallHome Japanese corpus of telephone speech was collected and transcribed by the Linguistic Data Consortium primarily in support of the project on Large Vocabulary Conversational Speech Recognition (LVCSR), sponsored by the U.S. Department of Defence.

instead of using *u* after bilabials (i.e. *p*, *pp*, *ph*, and *m*) *wu* is used (i.e. *pwu*, *ppwu*, *phwu*, and *mwu* instead of *pu*, *ppu*, *phu*, and *mu*).

For the romanisation of Japanese, the Hepburn system has been adopted with one modification: long vowels are expressed by a succession of two short vowels *aa*, *ii*, *uu*, *ee*, and *oo*, instead of short vowels with superscript diacritics (i.e. *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*).

Presentation

The examples have been numbered for each chapter, instead of using continuous numbers for the examples throughout the thesis. Some of the examples are presented more than once, for discussion of different points.

Each example consists of Korean or Japanese in Romanisation, an English gloss and an English translation. When an example is adopted from another source, the gloss, abbreviations and Romanisation for Korean and Japanese in the original data (if they have already been supplied in the data) have all been maintained as far as possible. When the original data does not have the gloss and/or English translation, they will be supplied for the present study.

In English translations, words, or phrases in a single bracket, i.e. (), indicate that they do not appear in Korean and Japanese utterances, but are provided to assist the comprehension of the meanings or intentions of the utterances.

Throughout the thesis, some of the names of scholars are presented with initials in addition to surnames. This is done in order to avoid unnecessary confusion. Whenever the first initial and surname coincide both initials are used to distinguish the respective authors. For example, instead of Lee (1995), P. Lee (1995) is used since there is another scholar with the last name Lee.

1.5 Organisation of the study

This study consists of eight chapters and it is organised as follows.

Chapter 1 presents the introduction to the thesis while Chapter 2 provides a literature review of the current research. As the markers examined in the previous studies are mainly in terms of the morpho-syntactic and semantic approaches, these approaches and further interactional and pragmatic approaches will be reviewed. Chapter 3 sets forth definitions and explications of the notions and concepts used in the current study, such as involvement, multivoicedness, the notion of ‘face’ and Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). The relation between these concepts and the functions of the markers will be addressed.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 examine the functions of the Korean *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and Japanese *-tte*. The target markers can be used in a variety of situations and contexts, but the underlying function is to show the speaker’s strategy for creating and/or inviting the involvement in interaction. Chapter 4 shows that the prominent function of *-(ta) nikka* is a self-quotation which echoes the speaker’s own utterances and indicates the speakers’ attitudes towards the interlocutors. To account for this, three functions of *-(ta) nikka* are proposed: hearer-oriented recollection, speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection. In each function, speakers repeat their utterances with different assumptions and attitudes.

Chapter 5 will explore the speaker’s use of *-tay* in various contexts where he/she uses this marker as a particular strategy to invite interpersonal involvement, by assimilating and reworking a third person’s utterance. The functions of *-tay* include topic initial elicitor, which is used to introduce a new topic by the speaker to build a new conversation. As an evidence-leaking marker, the speaker’s use of *-tay* indicates his/her attitude toward the reliability of the information which is obtained from an external source. The function of *-tay* as a context-detailing marker which is used to

provide a detailed explanation about contexts to maintain interpersonal involvement is also discussed. Another function of *-tay* is the quote-like marker in a rhetorical question wherein it is used by the speaker to represent denial of his/her utterance.

Chapter 6 focuses on *-tte* in Japanese. This chapter shows various functions of *-tte*, which is used to repeat the speaker's own utterance, representing hearer-oriented recollection, speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection. The analysis will further reveal that the utterance marked with *-tte* functions as a topic initial elicitor with which the speaker introduces a new topic to build a new chunk of conversation. It will also show the function of *-tte* as an evidence-leaking marker. That is, the speaker uses the *-tte* marked utterance to express his/her attitude toward the information from an external source that is reliable and trustworthy. In addition, it will be shown that *-tte* is used to provide a detailed explanation about contexts to maintain interpersonal involvement. This chapter further illustrates the function of *-tte* as a face-saving marker. Through the analysis, this study demonstrates that *-tte* is adopted by the speaker as a particular strategy to invite the involvement of the hearer in interaction, and also it encourages the speaker's expressivity by reflecting the multiple voices in social context.

Chapter 7 turns to the use of *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and *-tte* with regard to aspects of Korean and Japanese culture and society. The target markers have their particular functions, sharing some similarities and differences: *-(ta) nikka* shares similar functions with *-tte* such as hearer-oriented recollection, speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection. *-tay* also shares similarities with *-tte* in the functions of topic initial elicitor, evidence-leaking marker and context-detailing marker. However, the function of face-saving marker of *-tte* has not been found among the functions of *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in Korean. This study assumes that the use of the target markers by the speaker is associated with socio-cultural norms that affect and control such usage.

To be brief, the speaker's use of *-tte* can be influenced by Japanese cultural values such as *enryo* ('restraint', 'reserve'), *meiwaku* ('trouble', 'annoyance') and *omoiyari* ('sympathy', 'consideration'), placing more importance on consideration. It will be shown that through the use of *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in Korean culture, intimacy is more likely to be viewed in interaction when expressing one's opinions and thoughts. Chapter 8 will be the final chapter, and will provide a summary of the main findings of the study, cross-linguistic implications, suggestions for further research and concluding remarks.

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature on the target markers. Regarding *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay*, researchers of Korean linguistics have for decades mainly investigated these markers from the viewpoints of morpho-syntax or semantics. As a result, pragmatic or interactional functions of these markers have only been marginally treated. As for *-tte* in Japanese, a number of studies of the pragmatic functions of the marker have been found in Japanese literature, but the intrinsic nature of this marker—why this marker indicates multiple meanings and functions in different contexts—has not been explained in an integrated manner. This means that various theories and concepts were used to account for the characteristics of *-tte* in previous studies, but there is a lack of a unified theory to capture the essential nature of this marker with the use of authentic spoken data. Moreover, attention to *-tte* in sentence-final position in indirect speech has not been the main focus of the previous studies, in particular, in comparison with other languages.

This chapter is organised as follows: Section 2.1 presents the morpho-syntactic and semantic approaches to *-(ta) nikka* from previous studies, followed by pragmatic approaches to this marker. These morpho-syntactic and semantic approaches account for a large part of previous studies. Section 2.2 summarises previous studies of *-tay*. We first focus on morpho-syntactic and semantic accounts, and then on an interactional approach. In Section 2.3, previous studies of *-tte* are outlined in terms of the morpho-

syntactic and semantic approaches. The review of pragmatic approaches to this marker then follows. The final section 2.4 summarises the chapter.

2.1 Korean *-(ta) nikka*

Previous studies of *-(ta) nikka* can be divided into two groups according to their main focus. One group consists of studies which focus mainly on the morpho-syntactic and semantic features and where the pragmatic function is only briefly mentioned. The other group consists of studies which mainly discuss pragmatic features of the marker and morpho-syntactic and semantic features are only briefly noted. For this reason, I will refer to some aspects of pragmatic functions in my review of the morpho-syntactic and semantic approach, and also refer to some morpho-syntactic and semantic features in my review of the pragmatic approach in this section.

2.1.1 The morpho-syntactic and semantic approach

As noted earlier, Korean *-(ta) nikka* has been explored by many researchers. The interests of the majority of these researchers were mainly in the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of the marker. The main studies within this approach are given below:

(1) Morpho-syntactic and semantic approach

H. Choi (1982), H. Lee (1982), Kwon (1983, 1998), Han (1986, 2004, 2009), T. Kim (1994, 1998), W. Huh (1995), H. Kim (1995), Bang (1995), J. Y. Park (1998), J. W. Park (2000), Jeong (2001), Yoo (2003), J. Lee (2004), K. Lee (2005), Ahn (2006), O. Sohn and Y. Kim (2009), Bae (2010)

Of these studies, I will review H. Kim (1995) and Bae (2010) as representative studies, since these are referred to in many other studies. In a study on the fused forms of

indirect quotations, H. Kim (1995) accounts for the morpho-syntactic and semantic characteristics of *-(ta) nikka*. H. Kim notes that *-(ta) nikka* is derived from the combination of *-ko* ‘quotative’ + *ha-* ‘do, say’ + *nikka* ‘(NIKKA)’, and claims that there are two types of *-(ta) nikka*: a contracted one and a fused one. H. Kim defines contraction as the phenomenon of the reduction of forms ‘without change of meaning’, and fusion as the phenomenon where two contiguous morphemes become fused through the reduction of forms ‘accompanying the change of meaning’. This author provides examples in (2) and (3) below, and notes that *-(ta) nikka* in (2a) involves the contracted form of the quotative construction ‘*-ko ha-*’ and *-(ta) nikka* in (3a) involves the fused form of the construction (H. Kim 1995: 45).¹

- (2) a. *Chinkwu-ka po-la-nikka, po-nun-ke-ci.*
 friend-SUB watch-IMP-NIKKA watch-ATTR-NOM-COM
 ‘(I) watch it, because my friend told me to watch.’
- b. *Chinkwu-ka po-la-ko ha-nikka, po-nun-ke-ci.*
 friend-SUB watch-IMP-QT do-NIKKA watch-ATTR-NOM-COM
 ‘(I) watch it, because my friend told me to watch.’
- (3) a. *Cip-ey mwusun il-i iss-ess-nya-nikka?*
 home-LOC what matter-SUB exist-PAST-INTR-NIKKA
 ‘(I repeat) Did something happen at home?’
- *b. *Cip-ey mwusun il-i iss-ess-nya-ko ha-nikka?*²
 home-LOC what matter-SUB exist-PAST-INTR-QT do-NIKKA
 (intended meaning) ‘(I repeat) Did something happened at home?’

¹ English translations for previous studies in this chapter have been provided by the present writer unless otherwise specified.

² (3b) is semantically incorrect.

According to H. Kim, the contracted form (2a) is used to convey a third person's utterance as a quotation indicating the meaning of 'reason', while the fused form (3a) is to emphasise the speaker's previous utterance. Furthermore, the contracted form (2a) can be restored to its original form without the change of meaning, as shown in (2b), but the fused form (3a) cannot be restored to its original form '-ko ha-' as shown in (3b).

H. Kim also shows the difference between the contracted -(ta) *nikka* and the fused -(ta) *nikka* in terms of whether or not there is a restriction to establishing the first person subject. Below, (4) and (5) are example sentences for this difference. Examples are from H. Kim (1995: 46).

(4) a. *Ku yecapoko way kulehkey sa-nunya-nikka, taykkwuto*
 that woman.to why like.that live-INTR-NIKKA response.even
an ha-te-kwun-yo.

NEG do-RET-SFP-POL

'(I) asked the woman why she lives like that, and then she made no response at all.'

b. *Cey-ka ku yecapoko way kulehkey sa-nunya-nikka,*
 I-SUB that woman.to why like.that live-INTR-NIKKA
taykkwuto an ha-te-kwun-yo.

response.even NEG do-RET-SFP-POL

'I asked the woman why she lives like that, and then she made no response at all.'

(5) a. *Ikey kuyamallo thukhyoyak-i-la-nikka.*
 this indeed specific.medicine-COP-DEC-NIKKA

'This is indeed a specific medicine *nikka*.'

*b. *Nay-ka ikey kuyamallo thukhyoyak-i-la-nikka.*

I-SUB this indeed specific.medicine-COP-DEC-NIKKA

(intended meaning) 'This is indeed a specific medicine *nikka*.'

Two sentences in each set in (4) and (5) are exactly the same except that (4b) and (5b) have the first person subject, i.e. *ceyka* (*ce* ‘I (formal)’ + *ka* (subjective marker)) in (4b) and *nayka* (*nay* ‘I (informal)’ + *ka* (subjective marker)) in (5b), while (4a) and (5a) do not. H. Kim explains that *-(ta) nikka* in the examples in (4) is a contracted form and it can take the first person subject, whereas *-(ta) nikka* in examples (5) is a fused form and cannot have the first person subject. If the first person subject were established as in (5b), it would make the sentence semantically incorrect. Based on these examples, H. Kim concludes that only a contracted form may co-occur with the first person subject within the same sentence.

H. Kim’s study has made an invaluable contribution to the recognition of the difference between the contracted *-(ta) nikka* and the fused *-(ta) nikka*. She points out that the function of the contracted *-(ta) nikka* is to connect two clauses and it indicates the meaning of ‘reason’ or ‘time’. In addition, it is used to quote a third person’s utterance. On the other hand, the fused *-(ta) nikka* quotes the speaker’s own utterance and functions as a sentence-final ending. H. Kim claims that it has a new meaning which is distinguished from the contracted *-(ta) nikka*. According to H. Kim, the fused *-(ta) nikka* is used to emphasise the speaker’s previous utterance. H. Kim’s investigation into the restriction to establishing the first person subject also deserves special attention as such restrictions provide an important clue for clarifying the difference between the contracted *-(ta) nikka* and the fused *-(ta) nikka*.

However, focusing heavily on the morpho-syntactical aspect of the markers, the problem with H. Kim’s account is in its incapability to provide a comprehensive account for the use of the fused *-(ta) nikka*. For instance, H. Kim asserts the contracted *-(ta) nikka* conveys the meaning of ‘reason’, but examples in (4) do not indicate the meaning of ‘reason’, rather it indicates a background for a negative result (e.g. *taykkwuto an hatekwunyo* ‘she made no response at all’). Furthermore, H. Kim

claims that the fused *-(ta) nikka* does not indicate the function of ‘quotation’, but a search in a wide range of actual conversation data shows that it is not difficult to find counter examples to her claim. Example (6), which is (2) in Chapter 4, demonstrates this.

(6) [Callfriends ko_4582]

- 1 A: *A, onul way ilehkey phikonha-ci.*
 EXC today why like.this tired-COM
- 2 *Hansikkaci kongpwu kathi hayss-nuntey.*
 one.o'clock.till study together did-CN
 ‘Gosh, why am I tired like this. (We) studied together till 10’clock,
 but...’
(following eight lines are omitted).....
- 11 B: *Mwe, mwe-lul kathi hayss-e?*
 what what-OBJ together did-IE
 ‘What? What did you do together?’
- 12 A: *Kongpwuhayss-tanikka.*
 studied-TANIKKA
 ‘(I told you we) studied.’

In this example, speaker A says that *kongpwu kathi hayssnuntey* ‘(we) studied together’ in line 2, and then he uses the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance to repeat his utterance in response to speaker B’s request in line 12, by saying that *Kongpwuhayss-tanikka* ‘(I told you we) studied’. The speaker’s use of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance here is used to convey his/her prior utterance in the current dialogue. However, the following example (7) in Chapter 4 shows that the speaker conveys her prior utterance with the use of *-(ta) nikka* in an earlier dialogue.

(7) [Callfriends ko_6575]

- 3 A: *Hithe ttattushan palam nao-ki sicakha-nuntey icey.*

- heater warm air come-NOM begin-CIR now
 ‘Now warm air begins to come out from the heater.’
- 4 B: *Nao-nya? Thul-eya-keyss-ta. A chwuw-e.*
 come-INTR turn.on-NEC-DTRE-DEC EXC cold-IE
 ‘Does it come out? It should be turned on. Oh, it’s cold.’
- 5 A: *Kulenikka kke nohu-myen an toy-n-tanikka.*
 so turn.off leave-CD NEG become-ATTR-TANIKKA
 ‘So, that’s why (I said) you shouldn’t turn it off.’

In this example, speaker A does not use the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance to repeat her utterance at the hearer (B)’s request. Instead, she recollects her prior utterance in an earlier dialogue, by saying that *Kulenikka kke nohumyen an toyn-tanikka* ‘So, that’s why (I said) you shouldn’t turn it off. The *-(ta) nikka* marked utterances in examples (6) and (7) are the fused forms but these markers are used as a self-quotation to convey the speaker’s prior utterances in different contexts.

In terms of the functions, H. Kim claims that the fused *-(ta) nikka* functions to indicate ‘emphasis’. However, the term ‘emphasis’ is not sufficient to account for the different functions of *-(ta) nikka* in the two examples above. In fact, the present study demonstrates that the marker may also be used for various functions, such as hearer-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection as a self-quotation. H. Kim does not consider the functions or effects of *-(ta) nikka* in different contexts in her study, thereby oversimplifying the functions of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance. As a result, the study fails to provide a full and systematic account for the functions of this marker. Functions of *-(ta) nikka* in an interactional context will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In a similar vein, Bae (2010) focuses on the morpho-syntactic aspects of *-(ta) nikka*, and discusses the process of the functional shift of verbal endings from non-sentence-final to sentence-final. According to Bae, *-(ta) nikka* is a compound ending which is derived from indirect quotation. Bae goes on to say that *-(ta) nikka* was used in

non-sentence-final position but the meaning of the marker has changed due to its frequent use in sentence-final position by omission of the main clause. In addition, the original form of the marker including a quotative construction ‘-ko ha-’ cannot be restored, since it has undergone a process of grammaticalisation.

Bae notes that through the grammaticalisation, the sentence-final *-(ta) nikka* has now obtained evidential modality. In terms of this evidential modality, the author claims that *-(ta) nikka* has the semantic property of indicating ‘emphasis’, in order to stress speakers’ dissatisfaction with hearers’ non-response, by presenting the following example.

- (8) A: *Mwe ha-y?*
 what do-IE
 ‘What are you doing?’
 B:
 A: *Mwe ha-nya-kwu!*
 what do-INTR-QT
 ‘(I repeat) What are you doing?’
 B:
 A: *Mwe ha-nya-nikka?*
 what do-INTR-NIKKA
 ‘What are you doing *nikka*?’ (Bae 2010: 55)

According to Bae, *-(nya) nikka* (a variant of *-(ta) nikka*) in example (8) above is used to repeat the utterance of speaker A himself in a situation where the two speakers are mutually related, and to emphasise speaker A’s complaint to speaker B who did not give any response.

As is the case with H. Kim (1995), the meaning and function of *-(ta) nikka* are oversimplified in Bae’s study, by describing them as ‘emphasis’ of the speaker’s utterance. Emphasis does not accurately describe the function of *-(ta) nikka* in the

interactional situation, as discussed earlier with the case of H. Kim. For the given example (8) above, at a glance, the use of *-(nya) nikka* in *Mwe ha-nya-nikka* ‘What are you doing?’ seems indeed to emphasise the speaker’s uncomfortable tone. However, the speaker’s second utterance with *-kwu*,³ *Mwe hanya-kwu!* ‘What are you doing?’ can also be seen as ‘emphasising’ the speaker’s tone to urge the hearer to reply. In other words, the notion of emphasis is vague and cannot distinguish the unique function of *-(ta) nikka* from other markers that also emphasise the speaker’s tone involved.

As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, speakers use the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance in order to manifest different attitudes according to various situations in conversation. Bae’s study, like H. Kim’s, does not consider the function and effects of *-(ta) nikka* in various contexts, and exposes a limitation on revealing the particular functions of the marker in interactions due to its focus on the morpho-syntactic and semantic features of this marker. Furthermore, Bae and H. Kim both use invented examples, and thus are not empirical inquiries into the actual use of the target marker in spoken conversations.

2.1.2 The pragmatic approach

The pragmatic functions of *-(ta) nikka* have been discussed in the following studies.

(9) Pragmatic approach

Han (1986, 2004, 2009), P. Lee (1995), Jeon (2002), Ha (2006), E. Kim (2008),

O. Sohn (2009)

As representative works on the pragmatic approach, I will review Han (2004, 2009) and P. Lee (1995), since they are widely referenced in many studies.

³ As also noted in J. Y. Park (1998), *-kwu* is a colloquial version of the quotative marker *-ko*, that expresses the speaker’s feeling of conciliation.

In discussing ‘repetition’ in contemporary Korean, Han (2004, 2009) notes that *-(ta) nikka* has a function to repeat what the speaker has uttered before. Han (2004: 323, 2009: 208-209) presents the following examples of variations of *-(ta) nikka*.

- (10) a. *Ai-ka chayk-ul ilk-e.*
 child-SUB book-OBJ read-IE
Ai-ka chayk-ul ilk-nun-ta-nikka.
 child-SUB book-OBJ read-ATTR-DEC-NIKKA
 ‘A child reads a book. The child reads a book *nikka*.’
- b. *Nwukwu ttaymwuney ilehkey tway-ss-nun-ci*
 who because like.this become-PAST-ATTR-CN
malhay-po-la-nikka.
 tell-AUX-INTR- NIKKA
 ‘Try to tell (me) who made things like this *nikka*.’
- c. *Ettehkey sa-nun kes-i kkaykkusi*
 how live-ATTR NOM-SUB honestly
sa-nun ke-nya-nikka.
 live-ATTR NOM-INTR-NIKKA
 ‘What kind of life is to live honestly *nikka*?’
- d. *Kathi hamkkey ka-ca-nikka.*
 with together go-HOR-NIKKA
 ‘Let’s go together *nikka*.’

According to Han (2004), a sentence (10a) ends in *-(ta) nikka*, (10b) *-(la) nikka*, (10c) *-(nya) nikka*, and (10d) *-(ca) nikka*, but these utterances in example (10) share a common meaning: that is, speakers use these markers to repeat their previous utterances to emphasise or reconfirm when hearers show reactions such as being unresponsive, hesitating, or showing doubtful attitudes toward the speakers’ utterances. In addition, Han (2004, 2009) notes that these markers can be used in monologue but they are used

mainly in two-way conversations in informal speech. Although the function ‘emphasis’ is also regarded as the function of *-(ta) nikka* in the morpho-syntactic account (e.g. H. Kim 1995; Bae 2010), where Han’s approach, and other research using a pragmatic approach, crucially differs from the morpho-syntactic account is that it describes the functions of this marker with respect to interactions, speakers’ attitudes, and speakers’ concerns about hearers.

In a study of quotations, P. Lee (1995) categorises *-(ta) nikka* as ‘non-restorative fusion’. P. Lee (1995) also agrees with the majority of other studies that the original speaker in the *-(ta) nikka* utterance is the speaker himself/herself. According to P. Lee, the speaker repeats his/her previous utterances when the hearer does not show acceptance of the speaker’s previous utterances, such as understanding, agreement, or response toward statement or assertion. P. Lee presents the following examples for ‘*-(ta) nikka*’, ‘*-(nya) nikka*’, ‘*-(la) nikka*’ and ‘*-(ca) nikka*’ in (11) below.

- (11) a. *Chelswu-ka hakkyo-ey ka-n-ta-nikka.*
 Chelswu-SUB school-LOC go-ATTR-DEC-NIKKA
 ‘Chelswu goes to school *nikka*.’
- b. *Chelswu-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ss-nunya-nikka*
 Chelswu-SUB school-LOC go-PAST-INTR-NIKKA
 ‘Did Chelswu go to school *nikka*?’
- c. *Hakkyo-ey ka-la-nikka*
 school-LOC go-IMP-NIKKA
 ‘Go to school *nikka*.’
- d. *Hakkyo-ey ka-ca-nikka*
 school-LOC go-HOR-NIKKA
 ‘Let’s go to school *nikka*.’

(P. Lee 1995: 137)

Although P. Lee has shed light on some aspects of the interactional use of *-(ta) nikka*, his focus is on a general function of quotative markers and the meanings and functions of *-(ta) nikka* are not further developed in Lee's study, leaving a broad spectrum of functions of this marker unexplored in real situations.

The work of Han and P. Lee shows that the pragmatic approach to *-(ta) nikka* notes the important function of expressing the speaker's concern towards the hearer, and provides an account of the pragmatic function of *-(ta) nikka* as indicating 'emphasis', 'reconfirmation' and/or 'complaining'. Nonetheless, it is worth pointing out shortcomings at two points. Firstly, their explanations are too brief, wherein the meanings and functions of *-(ta) nikka* are not further developed in Lee's study. As a result, the detailed functions and effects of this marker in interactions have not been fully explored yet. Secondly, the analysis is mainly based on self-constructed examples and this does not sufficiently clarify the behaviour of *-(ta) nikka* in spoken discourse. The present study will show that there is a case in which the speaker does not use the marker to emphasise or reconfirm his/her own utterance in response to the hearer's reactions such as nonresponse and inattention. Instead, the speaker uses the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance to draw the hearer's attention. Example (12), which is (4) in Chapter 4, demonstrates this point.

(12) [Callfriends 6546]

- 1 A: *Enni*⁴ *isscanha na syaweha-taka kulssey*
 older.sister FIL I shower.take-SIM well
- 2 *kicelha-l ppen hayss-tanikka.*
 faint-ATTR almost did-TANIKKA
 'Sister, you know, I almost fainted while taking a shower.'
- 3 B: *Way?*
 why

⁴ The term *enni* is used by a female to refer to an elder female sibling.

‘Why?’

In this example, speaker A uses the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance, in order to draw the hearer’s attention, by saying ‘Sister, listen, I almost fainted in the middle of taking a shower’. This elicits speaker B’s answer *Way* ‘Why?’ in line 3, which indicates her feeling of surprise.

With the use of the invented examples, it is difficult to see how the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance functions to create and maintain conversations and how various feelings and attitudes of participants can be represented in the use of the marker. This will be discussed in the detailed study of speaker-oriented recollection in Chapter 4.

Having pointed out the issues in previous studies, the current study will pay special attention to the interactional functions of *-(ta) nikka*, and examine real data. The data includes telephone conversations recorded by native Korean speakers, in order to see how speakers adopt the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance by conveying the speaker’s own utterance in verbal interaction, and how they express feelings and attitudes in different ways in a variety of contexts.

2.2 Korean *-tay*

Until recently, *-tay* had not received much attention from Korean grammarians and linguists. The marker is rarely mentioned in the reputable Korean journals and dissertations that often simply cite this marker as a contracted form of ‘*-ta hay*’. Some studies briefly deal with it in the category of a sentence-final ending, presenting different functions and meanings of *-tay* as an indirect quotative marker. This section briefly reviews previous studies of *-tay* in terms of the morpho-syntactic and semantic approach and the interactional approach. K. Lee (2005)’s study will be presented as a representative-syntactic and semantic study of *-tay* focusing on its grammaticalisation. The interactional approach in Sohn and Park (2003) is then reviewed.

sentence-final *-tay* in (13) indicates the speaker's negative evaluation of the proposition in K. Lee's study. However, the present study views *-tay* in example (13) as an indirect quotative marker, since it can restore its original form *-ta hay-* without any difference in meaning, and conveys the third person Chelswu's voice, as in *Chelswunun swukceyto an haywass-ta hay-yo* 'Chelswu said that he has come (to school) even without doing his homework'. In addition, the speaker's negative evaluation of information is a crucial point in relation to the interactional function of the indirect quotative marker *-tay*, as will be discussed for an evidence-leaking marker in Chapter 5.

Example (16), which is (6) in Chapter 5, shows that the *-tay* marked utterance here is employed to provide evidence of the information, which has to do with the negative evaluation of the speaker. Speakers A and B are talking about Gary, who is a student learning English at the same college.

(16) [Callfriends ko_6685]

1 A: *E, eng, ung.*
 yes yes yes
 'Yes, yes, yes.'

2 B: *Kuntey nacwung-ey ku salam class-ka toyn salam-tul-i*
 but later-TEMP that person class-SUB became person-PL-SUB
 3 *ha-nun soli-ka po-nun ke-lang nemwu thulli-tay.*
 do-ATTR voice-SUB look-ATTR NOM-CN too different-TAY
 'But Gary's classmates say that he is too different from what he
 looks like.'

In this example, speaker B conveys information about Gary with the use of *-tay*, which was gained from Gary's classmates. Quoting their voices, B says that Gary is different from what he looks like in lines 2 and 3.

As seen in this example, speaker B provides A with the evidence that Gary is not such a good person as speaker A thinks. After this excerpt, speaker B continues to talk

about Gary, by leaking the negative evaluation on Gary with the use of *-tay* and avoiding responsibility for criticising him directly.

However, the primary concern of K. Lee's study is the grammaticalisation of *-tay*, and the function of this marker as an indirect quotative marker in spoken interaction is not sufficiently explored. The study shows a limited use of *-tay* only, and does not capture the functions such as an evidence-leaking marker in real conversations (see Chapter 5 for details).

2.2.2 The interactional approach

Sohn and Park (2003) attempt to examine the interactional functions of *-tay* in comparison with its long form *-ta (ko) ha-*, using a total of seven hours of naturally occurring audio-taped multi-party conversations obtained from eleven native speakers of Korean in the U.S. Sohn and Park show the difference between the short and long form quotations based on the notion that the contracted form marks 'an emotional or physical state of a third person to which the speaker cannot have direct access' (Choi 1991), by presenting the following example.

(17) The prayer⁵

- 1 H: *But why doesn't the church pray for (her)?*
2 S: *What prayer?*
3 H: *Well, if the pastor is sick*
4 *people should pray for her once in a while.*
5 L: *Nwuka aphu-tay-yo?*
someone sick-TAY-POL
'Is someone sick?'
6 H: *Oh, pastor Y. She had surgery and...*
7 L: *Oh, I didn't know that.* (Sohn and Park 2003: 109)

⁵ The example (17) from Sohn and Park (2003) maintains original texts without any modification. They did not provide Korean utterances except for line 5.

In (17), H and S are talking about a female pastor at church who recently had a serious illness. H starts the conversation by asking the group leader S why the church does not make a formal announcement about the pastor's illness and a prayer request. Upon hearing their conversation, L asks in line 5 'Is someone sick?' using the short form *-tay*, which, according to Sohn and Park, indicates inaccessibility of information directly. Thus, they correctly point out in discussing the quotative nature of *-tay* that the source of the knowledge is located outside the speaker's territory of information.

However, Sohn and Park do not deal with the function of *-tay* in an appropriate manner. According to the authors, the two different forms of indirect quotation are used to denote different degrees of integration of information. They claim that the short form *-tay* shows more assimilated knowledge than the long form, and explain that the information that is more assimilated into the speaker's mind has a higher degree of integration than information that is less assimilated. Sohn and Park present the following example.

(18) **Chanho Park**

- 1 A: *Nayil Park Chanho-ka tencye-yo?*
tomorrow P. C. H. -SUB throw-POL
'Is Chanho Park pitching tomorrow?'
- 2 H: *P.C. -ka tenci-n-tay-yo.*
P.C.-SUB throw-ATTR-TAY-POL
'Chanho Park pitches.'
- 3 M: *Sasungey tocenha-n-ta-ko mwe kule-te-ntey.*
four.winning.to challenge-ATTR-DEC-QT what say-RET-CIR
'Well, I've heard he's trying for his 4th win.'
- 4 H: *YEAH.* (Sohn and Park 2003: 108)

Sohn and Park describe three women talking about the Dodgers baseball game to be held on the next day in the excerpt above. Speaker H received free tickets to the

Dodgers game from her friend. In line 1, A asks H if Chanho Park, who is a famous baseball player from Korea, will be pitching the next day. H answers in line 2, ‘Chanho Park is pitching’ using the *-tay* marked utterance because she did not gain this information by her own effort but from a third person. In line 3, M uses the long form to provide further information which at the same time confirms H’s utterance in line 2, by saying that Chanho Park is trying for his fourth win. According to Sohn and Park, example (18) shows that while both short and long forms indicate that the speakers (H and M) acquired the information through a third party (thus they have limited access to the information), the information marked with the short form *-tay* (line 2 by H) shows more assimilated knowledge than that of the long form (line 3 by M). The authors note that this is because the speaker H wanted to know who the pitcher would be and obtained the information from the person who gave her ticket. On the other hand, the speaker M, who did not have a special interest in the game, overheard the relevant information from the radio.

However, there are many counter examples to Sohn and Park’s claim and *-tay* (short form in their term) can also mark information from external sources such as TV and radio. Observe the following example (19), which is (4) in Chapter 5, from the data set examined for the current study.

(19) [Callfriends ko_4012]

- 1 A: *Enni, kuntey na-nun ssentheylosyen-ul palu-myen elkwul-ey*
 sister but I-TOP suntan.lotion-OBJ put.on-CD face-LOC
- 2 *twutuleki-ka na-n-ta.*
 rash-SUB get-ATTR-DEC
 ‘Sister, I get rashes on my face if I put on suntan lotion.’
- 3 B: *Ung ung?*
 yes yes
 ‘Yes, yes?’
- 4 *Kulaykacikoissci ssentheynto conglyu-ka yelekaci-ka iss-tay.*

and.so suntan.too kind-SUB variey-SUB exist-QT
5 *Nay-ka* *kuttay* *mwusun* *syo-lul* *pwass-nuntey*,
I-SUB at.that.time some show-OBJ saw-CIR
‘So, you know what, (I heard that) there are various kinds of suntans too,
I saw a show at that time.’

In (19), Speaker A tells to speaker B that she gets rashes on her face when she puts on suntan lotion. Speaker B responds that ‘(I heard that) there are various kinds of suntans, I saw a show’ in line 4, which is information obtained from an external source, a TV show, with the frame of indirect quotation *-tay*. As shown in this example, it is difficult to identify the peculiar function of *-tay* in simple comparison with its long form, and the different degrees of integration of knowledge do not differentiate the usages of the short form and long forms.

In sum, Sohn and Park’s study is a very important step towards our understanding of the interactive nature of *-tay*. They attempt to explain the functions of *-tay* in terms of the degree of integration of information. However, there are many counter-examples to their claim, and thereby their study does not provide a convincing account for the difference between the short form *-tay* and the long form. Chapter 5 will discuss further the functions of *-tay*.

2.3 Japanese *-tte*

A large number of studies of *-tte* as a quotation marker are found in the literature of Japanese linguistics (Tanaka 1977; Sunakawa 1988a, 1988b, 1989; Kamada 1987, 1988, 2000; Kamio 1990, 1994, 1997; Moritoki 1994; Niwa 1994; Horiguchi 1995; Yamazaki 1996; Maynard 1996; Saegusa 1997; Watanabe 1997; Suzuki 1998, 1999; H. Huh 1999; Nomura 1999, 2000; Fujita 2000, 2001; Suzuki 2000; Mushin 2001; Yamauchi 2001; Kuriyama 2002; Iwao 2003, 2005; Kitazawa 2003; Cho 2004; K. Lee 2010; Kato 2007, 2008, 2010; Chen and Matsumura 2012). Mention of various functions of *-tte*, such as

quotation/hearsay and counter-question is commonly found in these studies. In addition, focus has been on the constraints under which the marker may be used, and the linguistic clues to identify the original speaker this marker quotes within the context. However, there are few studies which predominantly focus on *-tte* in sentence-final position, let alone examine its functions cross-linguistically by comparing it with similar grammatical items in Korean.

In what follows, studies by Horiguchi (1995) and Yamazaki (1996) will be reviewed as representatives of the semantic and morpho-syntactic approach. Then, a review of Suzuki (1998) and Kato (2010) for the pragmatic approach will follow. The reason for focusing on these studies is that they provide insightful yet differing views of *-tte*. The current study explores this gap in opinions, and provides a unifying account in support of both schools of thought.

2.3.1 The morpho-syntactic and semantic approach

Previous studies that take a morpho-syntactic and semantic approach are the following.

(20) Morpho-syntactic and semantic approach

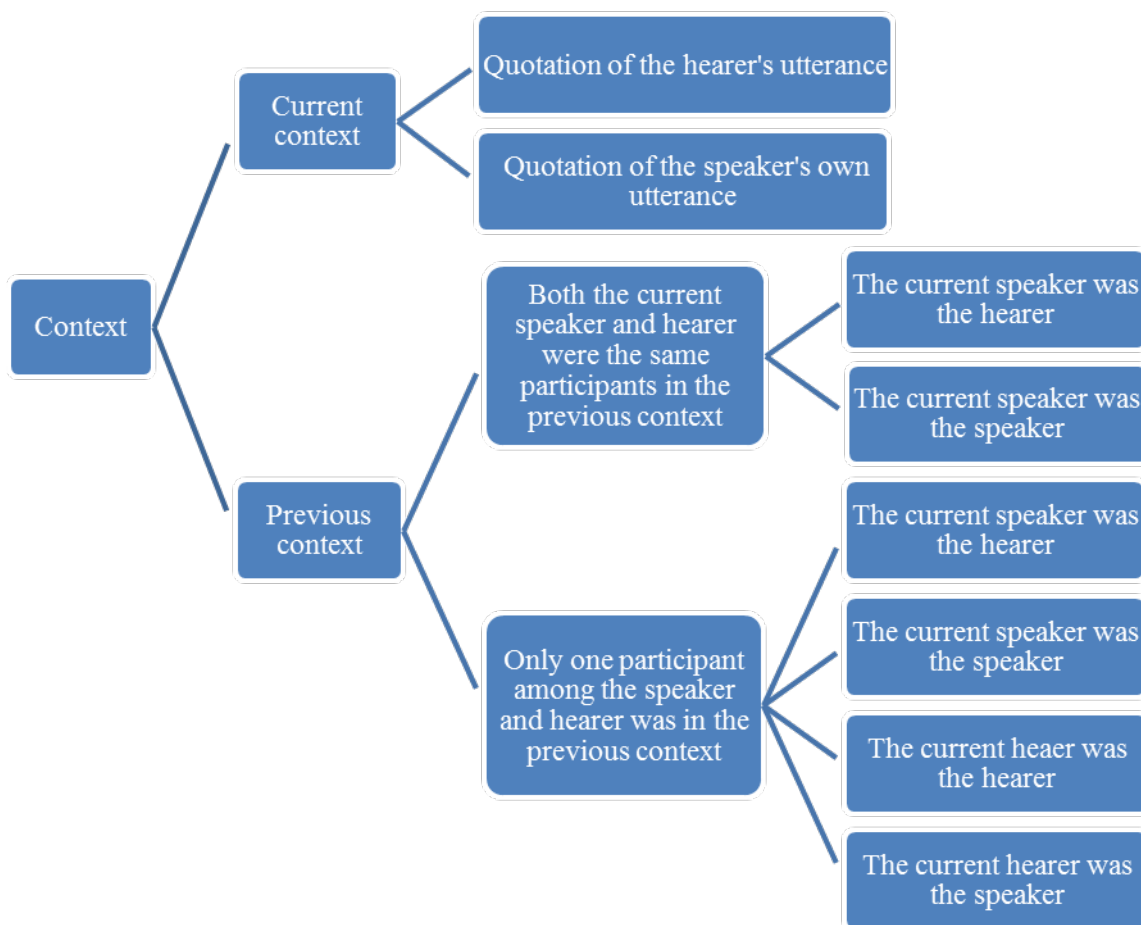
Tanaka (1977), Moritoki (1994), Niwa (1994), Horiguchi (1995), Yamazaki (1996), Saegusa (1997), Watanabe (1997), Nomura (1999, 2000), Fujita (2000, 2001), Mushin (2001), Yamauchi (2001), Kuriyama (2002), Kitazawa (2003), Iwao (2003, 2005)

The prominent features that have been identified in previous studies of *-tte* in sentence-final position are manifest in the classification of this marker into subsets under the functions of quotation, hearsay and counter-question. An analysis of two of

the above-mentioned studies, Horiguchi (1995) and Yamazaki (1996) is provided below, as these can be considered to exemplify the rest for these prominent features of *-tte*.

Horiguchi (1995) examines the expressions of sentence-final *-tte* in conversations by using Japanese textbooks. This study categorises the usage of *-tte* into eight subsets, by showing in what situations *-tte* can be replaced with *to iu* (quotation), *sooda* (hearsay) or *kikikaesu/toikakeru* (confirm/counter-question).

Figure 2.1: Eight usages of *-tte* from Horiguchi (1995)



Horiguchi makes up two classes out of the above-mentioned eight usages of *-tte*, depending on whether the utterances are made in the current context or a previous one. In the current context, *-tte* has two subcategories: (i) quotation of the hearer's utterance,

and (ii) quotation of the speaker's own utterance. In the previous context, *-tte* has two main categories: (i) both the current speaker and hearer were the same participants in the previous context, and (ii) only one participant was in the previous context. Further, there are six subcategories under the two main categories, depending on who was the speaker or hearer in the previous context.

Horiguchi discusses the fact that the *-tte* marked utterances can be replaced with *to iu* (quotation) and *sooda* (hearsay), by noting the cases in which this replacement is impossible. For instance, in the first case of the two main categories in which both the current speaker and hearer were the same participants in the previous context, and if the current speaker was the hearer in the previous context, the expression *-tte* can be replaced with *to iu*.

- (21) A: *Raamen-no futani daigakunooto tsukatta-tte-sa.*
 ramen-LK lid-for university.notebook used-TTE-SFP
 '(You said) you used your university notebook for the ramen's lid.'
- B: *Datte, are-wa atashi-no nooto-yo.*
 because that-TOP I-LK note-SFP
 'Because, that is my notebook.' (Horiguchi 1995: 17)

In (21), speaker A, who was the hearer, indirectly quoted what speaker B said in a previous context which happened twenty years ago. The marker *-tte* can be replaced with *to iu*, i.e. *Ramenno futani daigakunooto tsukatta-toitta*.⁶ This alternation would not change the meaning of the utterance.

The second case of the two main categories is when only one participant among the speaker and hearer was in the previous context. This case can also be divided into four cases. For instance, the current speaker was the hearer in the previous context and

⁶ *To itta* is a past form of *to iu*.

the current hearer is present in the current context only, but he/she knows the quoted information. This scenario is shown in the following example by Horiguchi.

- (22) A: *Kondo-no sensei-wa kibishii-n-da-tte-ne.*
 new-LK teacher-TOP strict-NOM-BE-TTE-SFP
 ‘(Someone said/I heard that) your new teacher is strict.’
- B: *Un. Machigaeru-to, nankaimo iwaserushi,*
 yes mistake-CD a.number.of.times speak.make.and
shukudai-o wasureru-to tataserushi.
 homework-OBJ forget-CD stand.make.and
 ‘Yes, (the teacher) makes students speak a number of times if they
 make a mistake, and makes them stand if they forget to do homework.’
 (Horiguchi 1995: 19)

The current speaker A heard from somebody that the current hearer B’s teacher is strict, and tells hearer B the information, by using the *-tte* marked utterance in example (22). Hearer B already knows the information, as it is about his /her teacher. In this case, the two participants share the information that the teacher is strict, and *-tte* can be replaced with both *to iu* (someone said) and *sooda* (I heard).

However, the following example shows that the current hearer is present in the current context only, and he/she has no access to the quoted information.

- (23) A: *Sensei, shukudai-no koto nanika it-teta?*
 teacher homework-LK matter something said-PROG
 ‘Was the teacher saying something about homework?’
- B: *Ashita-no hirimadeni dashi-nasai-tte.*
 tomorrow-LK lunch.by submit-IMP-TTE
 ‘(He/she said to) submit it by lunch time tomorrow.’
 (Horiguchi 1995: 19)

In (23), A is the hearer, and he/she has no access to the information quoted by speaker B. In this case, *-tte* can be replaced with *to iu* but *sooda* cannot be used instead of *-tte*.

According to Horiguchi, the *-tte* marked utterances can be replaced by *sooda* when it takes the form of *-ndatte*, as in (22). However, Horiguchi states that if *-ndatte* is used with interrogatives, it cannot be replaced by *sooda*. Observe the following example (24) in which the current speaker A was not the participant in the previous context, but the current hearer B was present as the hearer.

- (24) A: *Saki-chan-ni-wa sono koto itta?*
Saki-PAS-to-TOP that matter told
'Did you tell Saki about that matter?'
- B: *Aa.*
yes
'Yes.'
- A: *De, Saki-chan na-n-da-tte.*
so Saki-PAS what-NOM-BE-TTE
'So, what did Saki tell?' (Horiguchi 1995: 22)

In this case, A can ask what Saki told B in the previous context, by using *-tte*. This *-tte* cannot be replaced by *sooda*, since it is used with the interrogative *na(n)* 'what'. As such, Horiguchi attempts to replace the expression *-tte* by *to iu* (quotation) and *sooda* (hearsay). According to Horiguchi, the *-tte* marked utterances can be replaced by *sooda* when it takes the form of *-ndatte*, except for the case in which the marker occurs with interrogatives, as in example (24).

Horiguchi gives insight into the nature of *-tte* as quotation and hearsay, focusing on the structure of *-tte* and the categorisation of this marker based on the deixis—who can be the speaker or hearer—and the type of context—whether it is used in the previous context or current context, and semantics based on the replacement with *to iu* (quotation) and/or *sooda* (hearsay). However, she fails to capture the interactional

nature of *-tte* beyond quotation and hearsay, and cannot provide an explanation as to why this marker has various other functions in conversations, despite the fact that this marker is inherently interactional and dialogical, such that its meanings and functions are realised through spoken interactions. In addition, limited examples from Japanese textbooks have been used without an empirical study of the actual use of the *-tte* marked utterance in oral exchanges.

Yamazaki (1996) states that *-tte* has four usages, which are quotation, hearsay, thematisation, and emphasis.⁷ Examples (25a) and (25b) below show the usage of quotation and hearsay of *-tte*, respectively.

- (25) a. *Ohayoo-tte itta.*
 good.morning-TTE said
 ‘(I) said good morning.’ (Yamazaki 1996: 3)
- b. *Otoosan-ga kondo mini kuru-tte.*
 father-SUB this.time see.to come-TTE
 ‘(I heard) father comes to see me this time.’ (Yamazaki 1996: 4)

However, Yamazaki’s categories are not clear and reveal at least three shortcomings. Firstly, the treatment of *-tte* is inappropriate. According to Yamazaki (1996), the quotative *-tte* is an informal form of *-to*. However, as he also points out, the usage of *-tte* is more restricted compared to formal *-to*; for example, *-tte* cannot be combined with the particles *-shika* ‘only’, *-sae* ‘even’, *-sura* ‘even’, etc. Observe the following examples in (26).

- (26) a. *Imanotokoro, shujutsu-ga seikoosuru kanoosei-wa*
 at.this.point surgery-SUB success possibility-TOP

⁷ Yamazaki (1996) examines only the first two usages, quotation and hearsay in his study. The author does not clearly state the reason.

gobugobu-to-shika ie-nai.

half-TO-only can.say-NEG

‘At this point, there is nothing to say but possibility of a half success for surgery.’

*b. *Imanotokoro, shujutsu-ga seikoosuru kanoosei-wa*

at.this.point operation-SUB success possibility-TOP

gofungofun-tte-shika ie-nai.

half-TTE-only can.say-NEG

According to Yamazaki (1996: 3), the particle *-shika* can be attached to *-to* as in (26a), but not to *-tte* as in (26b). Yamazaki does not explain why *-tte* cannot be combined with the particles. However, the above examples suggest that *-tte* cannot simply be treated as an informal version of *-to* with which it is otherwise identical. This in turn means that we need a comprehensive analysis in terms of its usages beyond the morpho-syntactic and semantic level, in order to understand the function of the marker in depth.

Secondly, Yamazaki’s account of the use of *-tte* as the ‘hearsay’ marker is unclear when the marker is used by the speaker to request confirmation from the hearer. The hearsay *-tte* is used by itself or in the form *-(n) datte* (*-n* ‘(nominaliser)’ + *da* ‘(copula)’ + *tte*) which, according to Yamazaki (1996), describes the request-for confirmation function .

(27) *Kookoo-no toki warukatta-n-da-tte-ne, Ryu-san.*
high.school-LK time delinquent-NOM-COP-TTE-SFP Ryu-PAS
‘Ryu, (I heard) you were delinquent in high school.’

(Yamazaki 1996: 10)

Yamazaki accounts for the difference between reported speech and the request-for-confirmation function in terms of the quantity of information. That is, reported speech is used when the speaker has more information than the hearer, whereas the request-for-

confirmation function is used when the speaker has equal or less information than the hearer. However, this criterion is problematic, since there is a possibility that the speaker has more information than the hearer but still requires confirmation from the hearer if the speaker presupposes that the hearer has the information. Thus, the use of *-tte* cannot accurately be described in terms of the state of information that the speaker or the hearer possesses.

Thirdly, Yamazaki (1996) discusses criteria concerning whether the use of *-tte* is quotation or hearsay, but the lack of clarity is also seen in this criterion. For instance, Yamazaki (1996) presents two factors that determine the use of *-tte*: (i) the type of information and (ii) transferring method. Regarding the type of information, there is no restriction on the quoted content in the usage of quotation, but the content transferred by the speaker should be linguistic information in the hearsay usage as in the example (28) below.

- (28) (The speaker looks at the rain symbol on a weather forecast, and says)
Ashita-wa ame-da-tte.
 tomorrow-TOP rain-COP-TTE
 ‘It says that tomorrow will be rain.’ (Yamazaki 1996: 7)

According to Yamazaki (1996), in this case, a fixed sign such as the rain symbol = rain can be used as the hearsay, but non-linguistic information such as traffic signals, clocks and/or music cannot be used for the hearsay usage as demonstrated below.

- (29) (The speaker looks at the hands of a clock pointing to six o’clock)
 **Moo rokuji-desu-tte. Hayaku kaeri-mashoo.*⁸
 already six.o’clock -BE-TTE quickly return-HOR
 ‘(Intended meaning) It says that it’s already six o’clock. Let’s go home

⁸ In this utterance, *-desutte* is a polite version of *-datte*.

quickly.’

(Yamazaki 1996: 7)

However, the author does not provide clear definitions of linguistic information and non-linguistic information. As a result, the criteria for distinguishing linguistic information from non-linguistic information by Yamazaki are ambiguous.

In summary, although Yamazaki provides a detailed analysis of the function of *-tte*, it largely relies on the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of this marker, focusing on the distinction between quotation and hearsay uses of *-tte*. As also acknowledged by himself, Yamazaki does not fully explicate the function of *-tte*, including its expressive meanings or interactional functions, and his study lacks an empirical observation of this marker in context, failing to provide an integrated and systematic account for the interactive nature of *-tte*. The current study is an attempt to set the foundation for investigations to shed light on this knowledge gap.

2.3.2 The pragmatic approach

This section reviews previous studies on *-tte* from a pragmatic perspective. Studies that take such an approach are listed below.

(30) Pragmatic approach

Maynard (1996), Suzuki (1998), H. Huh (1999), Kato (2007, 2010)

In what follows, this study focuses on Suzuki (1998) and Kato (2007) as representative studies.

Suzuki (1998) attempts to find shared features of the uses of *-tte* and *-nante* with regard to the notion of incorporation of information. Incorporation of information refers to the process by which the speaker acquires a piece of information and internalises it. Suzuki explains that the process is influenced by several variables such as evidentiality,

the degree of the speaker's conviction, and the speaker's emotional attachment to the information. She refers to psychological distance in terms of the degree of incorporation of information. Suzuki (1998: 431) further notes that the degree of incorporation is high when the speaker has digested and integrated information into his/her belief system, and the degree is lower when the process of incorporation is blocked for some reason. According to the author, the forms of *-tte* and *-nante* are used to express the speaker's psychological distance from information, thus these forms are used when the degree of incorporation of information is low.

Naturally occurring discourse data was used for Suzuki's study. The data was taken from taped conversations by four Japanese students at an American university, twelve Japanese undergraduate students in a Japanese university, and some written texts. Based on the data, Suzuki attempts to examine all the uses of *-tte* and *-nante* as complementisers, topic markers, description markers and sentence-final expressions. By doing this, the author attempts to demonstrate the speaker's psychological distance in relation to the function of quotation markers, which is to represent others' voices.

Focusing on *-tte*, as a sentence-final expression, Suzuki notes that it is used when the degree of incorporation is low, as noted earlier; that is, by using *-tte* the speaker would show some distance from what somebody other than the speaker said. The marker *-tte* is also used as a self-quotation in sentence-final position when the speaker emphasises his/her statement, as in example (31) below.

- (31) A: *Nanka benkyoshitenakatta kara zenzen*
 somehow was.not.studying because at.all
 'Because I was not studying at all.'
- B: *Mata mata*
 again again
 '(You are kidding) again.'
- A: *Hontoo na n da tte.*

true LK NOM COP

‘It’s true (I’m telling you).’

(Suzuki 1998: 446)

According to Suzuki, speaker A says that she was not studying at all in high school, and speaker B does not believe her or pretends not to believe her. Then, speaker A replies, saying ‘it’s true’ using *-tte*. By doing so she adds emphasis to her statement. Quoting Maynard’s (1996) self-quotation, Suzuki asserts that the speaker dissociates the information from him/herself by presenting it as if it represents someone else’s voice to give the information credibility, even though the information actually comes from the speaker him/herself.

Suzuki notices another function of *-tte* which is associated with playfulness.

(32) A: *Kubininatta hito ga iru yoo na nyuansu de...*

got.fired person SUB exit appear LK nuance with

‘(He was talking) with the nuance that there was somebody who got fired.’

B: *Sore wa anata desu tte.*

‘That’s you (said in a playful tone).’

(Suzuki 1998: 448)

The author explains that the reason speaker B uses *-tte* instead of expressing ‘that’s you’ in his utterance, as seen in the example above, is that the speaker introduces the perspective of ‘other’ into the discourse, in order to detach him/herself from the utterance. Suzuki notes that the expression ‘that’s you’ could be taken as a face-threatening utterance, thus the speaker uses *-tte* to avoid the potentially embarrassing situation. As such, Suzuki accounts for the function of the *-tte* marked utterance with regard to the concept of ‘face’ here. This is important evidence for the function of *-tte* which is used to avoid potential face-threatening acts.

Suzuki’s study sheds light on the psychological aspects of *-tte* with respect to

evidentiality and the speaker's emotional attachment to the information; however, the problem with Suzuki's study lies in the use of the notion of incorporation of information. For instance, Suzuki claims that the speaker's psychological distance is the key factor dictating the use of *-tte*. However, this account of the speaker's psychological distance does not consider the features of a bare expression such as emotive aspects in language use. As Suzuki also admits, emotional attachment is the most difficult variable to define with respect to the notion of incorporation of information. In fact, the use of *-tte* is not limited to the cases stated in Suzuki's points and there are cases in which the speaker's psychological distance cannot be managed in reality. Consider the following extract from telephone conversations below.

(33) [Callhome ja_1586]

- A: *Aa, moo ira-nai, ira-nai.*
 EXC any.more need-NEG need-NEG
Moo sonna ichimangosenemmo tsuiyashi-ta-n-da-ttara
 any.more such 15,000.yen.even spend-BE-past-NOM-BE-CD
moo ira-nai.
 any.more need-NEG
 'Ah, I don't need any more, I don't need any more. I don't need any more if you spent 15,000 yen.'
- B: *Iiyo, sore-wa moo ano...*
 all.right it-TOP already well
 'It's all right. It already well...'
- A: *Moo katsu... iya, ira-nai-tte, ira-nai-tte.*
 already no need-NEG-TTE need-NEG-TTE
 'Already...no, (I said) I don't need any more, I don't need any more.'

In (33), speaker A is talking to speaker B, who is speaker A's mother and bought presents for her daughter's acquaintances in America, spending about 15,000 yen. Speaker B asks her daughter if she needs more presents and speaker A says repeatedly

that she doesn't need any more. This extract reflects the fact that the speaker's use of *-tte* cannot be explained in terms of incorporation of information; the speaker does not detach herself from the information to give credibility or to avoid a potential face-threatening act. Instead, speaker A uses *-tte* to repeat her previous utterance *moo iranai iranai*, which was made at the beginning of the example (33), because speaker B does not listen to speaker A. What can be observed in the use of the *-tte* marked utterance here is speaker A's direct expression which conveys her feelings and attitudes, by sending the metamessage that 'I said I don't need any more, please listen to me' toward her mother who continues to offer in spite of her daughter's refusal.

In order to adequately capture the function of *-tte*, the nature of spoken discourse needs to be taken into account; the characteristics of spoken language cannot be sufficiently explained by the incorporation of information, since they involve an exchange of participants' attitude and feelings/emotions (Maynard 2001; D. Lee 2007), which the current study shall discuss in terms of 'involvement'. The present study regards the essential function of *-tte* as creating the speaker's involvement and/or inviting the involvement of the hearer in interaction, when this marker is used at a sentence-final position.

The rest of this section now examines other examples to show the additional functions of *-tte* through Kato (2007)'s study. A pragmatic approach to *-tte* is also seen in Kato (2007). The author analyses a variety of discourse data including TV shows and conversations recorded by native speakers of Japanese, and largely categorises the usage of *-to* and *-tte*, which occur in sentence-final position, into five functions, and furthermore provide fifteen subsets under these main categories, as follows:

- (i) to display the basic type of quotation
- (ii) to add in the discourse the information which is related to the information that

appears in the prior context

(function of confirming inference, presenting inference, confirming detailed information)

- (iii) to represent the mental attitude of the speaker upon transferring and receiving information

(function of presenting inference, assertion, displaying difficulty of understanding, demanding detailed information, displaying negative feelings, surprise)

- (iv) to convey information, displaying the type of information clearly

(function of message conveyer, hearsay message)

- (v) to show the boundaries of the speech by the expression of the speaker's consciousness of utterance

(function of mitigating illocutionary force, self-performance, consenting self-

validation, displaying a boundary of acknowledgement) (Kato 2007: 7)

As such, Kato shows the various usages of *-tte*, by categorising them in detail and with discourse data, which is noteworthy for the understanding of how this marker displays multiple functions in conversations. However, as the author admits, some functions, such as the usage of confirming detailed information under the main category (ii), overlap with the speaker's use of *-tte* to confirm information when they have difficulty in understanding in the main category (iii). Consider the following example which shows the usage of confirming detailed information under the main category (ii).

- (34) A: *Ima-no aizuchi-wa nanka chotto,*
these.days-LK backchannel-TOP something bit
shisugita-kana-toka-ne, omotchau-yo,
too.much-SFP-something.like-SFP end.up.thinking-SFP
omowazu.
unconsciously

‘(I) end up thinking unconsciously that backchannels used these days are, something like, a bit, too much.’

B: *Un, sooda-ne, un soodane-tte?*
yeah that.is.right-SFP yeah that.is.right-TTE
‘Yeah, that is right, yeah, that is right (Is that right)?’

A: *Uun, yaa sonna-n-janaku-temo.*
well no like.that-NOM-NEG-CN
‘Well, no, even if it’s not like that.’ (Kato 2007: 13)

In (34), speaker A tells about the situation that backchannels are overused these days, and speaker B agrees with A’s opinion by saying *soodane* ‘that is right’. Then he/she uses the *-tte* marked utterance, by saying *soodane-tte?* ‘That is right, (is that right)?’ With the use of the *-tte* marked utterance, B asks for confirmation from A. Next, consider the following example (35) in which the speaker displays difficulty of understanding under the main category (iii).

(35) 1: *Eeto, X-san-no shumi-wa nan-desu-ka ?*
well X-PAS-LIK hobby-TOP what-BE-QUE
‘Well, what is X’s hobby?’
2: *Ano, sumimasen. Shumi-tte. Ano.*
well sorry hobby-TTE well
‘Well, sorry. What is hobby...well.’
1: *Suki-na koto.*
like-LIK thing
‘What you like to do.’ (Kato 2007: 17)

In (35), speaker 1 asks speaker 2 about his/her hobby, and speaker 2 cannot answer immediately because he/she does not understand the meaning of *shumi*. The speaker 2 uses *-tte* here, and according to Kato, it expresses the speaker’s mental attitude that he/she has difficulty in understanding the word *shumi*. However, a closer look at this

example reveals that speaker 2's use of *-tte* can also be interpreted as asking for confirmation, since speaker 1's answer provides the definition of *shumi* in detail.

Another problem with Kato's study is that it sometimes accounts for the function of *-tte* with insufficient context. For instance, in discussing the function 'to show the boundaries of the speech by the expression of the speaker's consciousness of utterance', Kato states that *-tte* is used to transfer the utterance, which is a speaker's self-performance, to the hearer who is not able to understand the speaker's language and cannot react to the speaker's utterances, such as infants and animals. She then provides the following example.

- (36) *Hinako-chan*⁹ *tabemasu-ka-tte.* *Kore, tabemasu-ka-tte.*
Hinako-PAS eat-QUE-TTE this eat-QUE-TTE
'Hinako, will you eat? Will you eat this?' (Kato 2007: 23)

In this context, the speaker is talking to an infant, and Kato states that the speaker is conscious of her utterance which is play, and attempts to relieve her embarrassment using *-tte*. However, Kato's classification of this case as one of the functions of *-tte* is problematic, as it is difficult to know general contexts wherein the frequent occurrence of *-tte* is observed. Furthermore, there is an absence of the hearer's reaction in this example. To capture the interactive nature of *-tte*, the hearer's reaction plays an important role in interpretation of interaction. Moreover, the situation where the speaker uses this marker for self-performance to the hearer who is an adult is also possible. In other words, this function cannot be limited to the speaker's use of *-tte* to the hearer who is an infant or animal.

In summary, the problem with Kato's study lies in its focus on showing a variety of usages of *-tte*, without the concepts to explain the characteristics of *-tte* in a unified

⁹ *Chan* (ちゃん) is used to address children as well as adults with a close relationship.

way, and consequently it cannot provide a satisfactory account for the interactional functions of this marker. This study provides a holistic picture of the use of *-tte* by using concepts, such as ‘involvement’ and ‘multivoicedness’ (see Chapter 3). This approach provides the ability to explore the different functions of *-tte*, by giving insight into why the intrinsic nature of this marker is multi-functional, and why contexts play an important role in revealing those functions of the marker. In addition, although the marker shows multiple functions according to contexts, the ultimate reason for speakers’ use of *-tte* is to invite hearers’ involvement in interactions, by expecting reactions from hearers in order to construct and maintain dialogue. The key concepts adopted for this study will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of how the target markers *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and *-tte* have been analysed in previous studies. It has shown that the primary concern of the previous studies on *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in Korean linguistics has been with the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of these markers, and their pragmatic or interactional functions have been only marginally dealt with. As for *-tte* in Japanese literature, various theories and concepts have been adopted to investigate the meanings and functions of this marker, but there is a lack of a unified account of why this marker indicates multiple meanings and functions in different contexts.

As a whole, it has been demonstrated that the interactive nature of these markers has not been sufficiently delineated from a holistic point of view, and the focus of previous studies has been only on partial aspects of these markers when they are used in sentence-final position. As noted several times, the notion of involvement and multivoicedness has been adopted for the present study and Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will show how these are useful for bridging the knowledge gaps in the uses of these markers.

An integrated analysis of the functions of the target markers is provided, in order to comprehensively account for the issues related to the use of these markers, such as their frequent use in spoken language and their various functions in interaction. In addition, using naturally occurring spoken discourse data of telephone conversations, the present study discusses how this marker is employed as a strategy by the speaker to create the involvement of the speaker and/or the interlocutor in interaction. Further, this study will investigate speech act qualification with special regard to illocutionary force in the use of *-tte* marked utterance, by comparing with the target markers, *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in the Korean language, in order to observe how these markers operate differently in the Japanese and Korean languages.

The Key Notions

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents key notions associated with the analysis of *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in Korean and *-tte* in Japanese that follows in subsequent chapters. As discussed in Chapter 2, although some studies in the previous literature give insights into the target markers when these markers are used as indirect quotation markers conveying the speaker's own voice and/or the other's voice, their interactional functions have not been fully investigated in either the Korean literature or the Japanese literature. The reason why these markers manifest a broad range of functions in spoken conversations is that they are intrinsically interactional and dialogical, thereby serving as a means of involving interlocutors in interactions. Various theories and concepts are adopted in previous studies, as discussed in the previous chapter, but there is a lack of synthetic analysis to describe the fundamental characteristics of the target markers from a holistic point of view. For this reason, the current study adopts notions such as 'involvement' and 'multivoicedness', in order to delineate a variety of meanings and functions of the target markers in an integrated way.

The outline for this chapter is as follows. Section 3.1 discusses the notion of involvement and Section 3.2 presents the speaker's attitude. In Section 3.3, the relations between 'repetition' and 'quotation' will be discussed. Section 3.4 illustrates 'multivoicedness' with respect to quotations. The concepts of 'involvement' and 'multivoicedness' will in particular provide a basis for the analysis of the present study with regard to the interactional functions of the target markers through the quotation

strategy. Section 3.5 will present a brief account for the notion of ‘face’ and Natural Semantic Metalanguage. Section 3.6 is a summary of the chapter.

3.1 The notion of involvement

Verbal communications take place typically between two or more individuals. A person might talk to himself/herself without a particular interlocutor, but this can be regarded as a special case of verbal communication. To participate in verbal exchanges, participants need to interact with each other, through which they deliver and receive a variety of signals and exchange ideas and feelings. This verbal interaction is created and maintained by ‘involvement’ of participants in the conversation.

According to Caffi and Janney (1994: 344), the term ‘involvement’ originates in the Latin *involvere* which literally means ‘to roll’ or ‘to wrap up’. In linguistic literature the term involvement is defined in widely different ways, depending on the main focus of the research. For instance, Chafe (1982, 1985) describes involvement as a psychological, internal state shown in observable linguistic phenomena—while Gumperz (1982: 4) observes conversational involvement as the basis of all linguistic understanding; that is, on the basis of conversational involvement ‘interlocutors cooperate and interpretive conventions are shared’. Besnier (1994) states that involvement is a significant feature of spoken language, in particular, face-to-face conversation. According to Besnier (1994: 279), involvement is a ‘prerequisite to the success of any conversational encounter’, and it can be created by ‘the presence of a shared body of linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge among conversationalists’.

Tannen (1984: 30) writes that involvement can be explained with regard to uses of linguistic strategies as ‘conventionalised ways of establishing rapport’. Tannen (1989) then adds further to her account of involvement which is captured with regard to overall rhetorical effects, or senses of vividness evoked by the strategic use of narratives,

reported speech, imagery, and so on. Tannen goes on to state that it is described with regard to metamessages of rapport, successful communication, shared feelings, etc., as a means of enhancing social cohesion (Tannen 1989). As such, although the notion of involvement has been employed somewhat in different ways in linguistic literature due to different research interests of scholars, the common view is that involvement is a ‘fundamental element to initiate and maintain verbal interaction’ (Lee 2007: 365).

The notion of involvement has been used in pragmatics very often in relation to emotive communication (Caffi and Janney 1994), including emotions, feelings, and attitudes. Arndt and Janney (1987) use ‘involvement’ to identify the speaker’s attitude toward increasing or decreasing the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the other participants. They distinguish ‘emotional involvement’ from ‘interpersonal involvement’. According to Arndt and Janney (1987), ‘emotional involvement’ is signalled by more or less spontaneous expression of momentary personal affective states, such as verbal intensity, pitch prominence and body posture.¹ On the other hand, ‘interpersonal involvement’ is categorised as approach-avoidance signals produced directly for the benefit of the hearer. Daneš (1994: 263) refers to involvement with emotion, which is ‘the most typical and natural manifestation of people’s involvement of language’.

With these features, the notion of involvement is an important element to differentiate spoken discourse from written discourse. For instance, Chafe (1985: 105) explains the involvement of spoken language compared to the detachment of written language: ‘the fact that writing is a lonely activity whereas speaking typically takes place in an environment of social interaction causes written language to have a detached quality that contrasts with the involvement of spoken language’. According to Chafe, there are three kinds of involvement of spoken language: involvement of the speaker

¹ Arndt and Janney (1987) divide emotional involvement cues into two: primary and secondary cues. The primary cues consist of verbal intensity, pitch prominence and body posture. The secondary cues consist of sudden increases in informality and sudden increases in directness.

with himself (ego involvement), involvement of the speaker with the hearer and involvement of the speaker with the subject matter. Chafe (1985: 117) explains that: (i) Ego involvement is represented in the use of first-person pronouns, references to the speaker's mental processes, and phrases such as *I mean*, *I don't know* and *as I say*. (ii) Involvement with the hearer is observed in the use of a second person pronoun, addressing the hearer by name, responding to a hearer's question or making a request, asking for confirmation with *right?*, *OK?*, or the use of *you know*. (iii) Involvement of the speaker with the subject matter includes exaggeration, exclamation, the use of expressive vocabulary, direct quotations, or vivid particles such as *just* and *really*.

In contrast, written language shows less ego expression, less direct interaction with the reader, and less involvement of the writer with the subject matter. Tannen (1985) also accounts for the different features between spoken discourse and written discourse in terms of the concept of involvement. According to Tannen (1985: 124), 'there is something typically spoken about face-to-face conversation and something typically written about expository prose' and a key dimension distinguishing discourse types is closely connected with 'relative focus on involvement in speaking', which is contrasted to 'relative focus on information in writing'.

To summarise, the notion of 'involvement' is a unique feature that differentiates spoken language from written language, and is an element crucial to initiating and maintaining verbal exchanges. Relevant to our discussion is that the target markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay*, and *-tte* inherently possess this property of involvement. For example, in (1a) below, the speaker indicates his absence from school these days. With the use of *-(ta) nikka* native speakers of Korean immediately understand that there is a hearer and the speaker invites the hearer to the conversation, which can be rephrased with a metamessage 'Look! Listen to me carefully' (in addition to its main message 'I told this before'). Through the use of *-(ta) nikka* utterance, the speaker indicates his ego

involvement, reminding the hearer of the main message, and expressing his rebuking attitude towards the hearer who did not pay attention to the speaker's previous utterance.

- (1) a. *Hakkyo a cikum-un an tanni-n-tanikka.*
 school EXC now-TOP NEG go-ATTR-TANIKKA
 'School, Ah, (I told you) I don't go to school at the moment.'
- b. *F-lul hankwamok-eyse tases myeng-ina cwess-tay.*
 F-OBJ one.subject-LOC five CL-even gave-TAY
 '(A professor) gave as many as five people F for one subject.'
- c. *Ichijikanmae guraini ike-ba daijoobu-na-n-da-tte.*
 one.hour.before about go-CD alright-LK-NOM-BE-TTE
 'It will be okay if I go there an hour earlier (before the flight).'

In (1b), the speaker conveys information that a professor gave a grade of F to five students in the beginning of the conversation. In (1c), the speaker is going on a trip and informs her mum, who is worried about her daughter, that she would be okay if she goes to the airport an hour earlier before departure. The use of *-tay* in (1b) and *-tte* in (1c) too indicates the speaker's invitation of the hearer to the conversation, which may be interpreted as 'Look! Listen to me carefully'.

As seen in the examples above, the three interactive markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tte* and *-tay* indicate the speaker's attitude, 'I want to tell you something, so listen', or in Chafe's terms 'involvement of the speaker with himself (ego involvement), involvement of the speaker with the hearer and/or involvement of the speaker with the subject matter'. In this connection, the notion of involvement will provide the frame to explain the interactive nature of conversational interaction: the hearer responds actively in interpreting the speaker's utterance, the speaker expects the act of listening; in Bakhtin's (1986) sense, 'all language is dialogic'.

3.2 Speakers' attitudes

The current study will explore the expressive meaning of the markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*, by identifying the speaker's attitudes.

According to Lyons (1977), the notion of 'linguistic meaning' consists of three parts: descriptive, social and expressive meanings. Firstly, descriptive meaning, which is frequently referred to as referential, propositional, or denotative meaning in linguistic literature, is 'the mapping of linguistic signs onto the entities and processes they describe'. Secondly, social meaning includes the social categories such as gender, social class, ethnicity, etc. Thirdly, expressive meaning consists of feelings, moods, and attitudes of the speaker or writer toward the message and the communicative context. What is directly related to the use of our target markers is the third one, expressive meaning, and 'attitude' in particular.

In general, western psychologists distinguish the terms feelings, emotions, moods, attitudes and affect. 'Feelings' are a broad category of subjective personal states of inner physiological arousal (Besnier 1990: 421). 'Emotions' are a subset of empirically investigable and identifiable feelings that are relatively transitory and intense and are caused by particular objects, ideas, or outer incentive events (Kagan 1978: 16-17). 'Moods' are not necessarily triggered by specific inner states or definite objects, and last longer than emotions (Davidson 1984: 321). 'Attitudes' are defined in the fourth edition of the Macquarie Dictionary as 'position, disposition, or manner with regard to a person or thing', and play an important role in maintaining social and psychological equilibrium and accommodating to different situations (Plutchik and Kellerman 1980: 30).

The term 'attitude' has also been adopted by a number of linguists, for example, Tannen (1985: 131) mentions that 'one cannot speak without showing one's attitude toward the message and the speech activity.' Daneš (1994: 253) also states that

‘attitude’ as ‘the most conspicuous feature of language-users’ involvement with language may be seen in the different attitudes they take towards language and its use.’

Furthermore, adopting the notion of ‘attitude’ in conjunction with ‘involvement’, D. Lee (2007) shows that involvement can be realised through a variety of attitudes of the speaker. He views the features of Japanese particles *ne* and *yo* as the speaker’s attitude of ‘incorporative’ and ‘monopolistic’ markers, respectively. He presents the following examples (D. Lee 2007: 367).

- (2) a. *Eiga, omoshirokatta.*
movie was.interesting
‘The movie was interesting.’
- b. *Eiga, omoshirokatta ne.*
movie was.interesting NE
‘The movie was interesting.’
- c. *Eiga, omoshirokatta yo.*
movie was.interesting YO
‘The movie was interesting.’

The three expressions above indicate that the speaker’s positive feeling as an evaluation of a movie he/she has watched in a different way. Example (2a) indicates a simple statement of evaluation, while (2b) with *ne* and (2c) with *yo* mark the speaker’s attitude of inviting the involvement of the hearer. According to D. Lee (2007), speakers use incorporative markers to express their attitudes of inviting hearers’ involvement through which they are committed to align with hearers with respect to the content and feeling conveyed in the utterance. On the other hand, with monopolistic markers, speakers express their attitude of inviting hearers’ involvement through which they are

committed to enhance their position as a deliverer in conveying the content and feeling towards hearers.²

Above, I have briefly considered the notion of ‘attitude’ from the psychological point of view, and from the linguistic perspective as well. The present study will use the notion of ‘attitude’ to describe expressive meanings created by speakers. In order to understand the particular attitude represented by the speakers in the use of *-(ta) nikka* and *-tte*, the following sets of examples are considered.

(3) *Kanta.*
will.go
‘(I) will go’

(4) *Iku.*
will.go
‘(I) will go’

Both utterances in (3) and (4) are descriptive information in which the speaker is informing the interlocutor that he/she goes somewhere. Next, the utterances marked respectively with *-(ta) nikka* and *-tte*, are compared to the above utterances.

(5) *Kan-tanikka.*
will.go-TANIKKA
‘(I) will go *tanikka*’

(6) *Iku-tte.*
will.go-TTE
‘(I) will go *tte*’

² Ogi (in press) further analyses a variety of interactive markers in Japanese in terms of involvement and various attitudes of the speaker. See also A. Kim (2005) for the ‘definite’ attitude of the speaker.

By adding *-(ta) nikka* and *-tte*, the meaning can be roughly translated into English as ‘Look! I told you I would go (somewhere)’. However, the translation cannot fully convey the exact meaning of the *-(ta) nikka* and *-tte* marked utterances due to its limit in expressing the speaker’s attitude. If the *-(ta) nikka* and *-tte* marked utterances are used to repeat the speaker’s previous utterance due to the hearer’s non-response in a certain context, these markers can convey the rebuking and reprimanding attitude of the speaker as in ‘I said I would go, why don’t you understand?’

As seen briefly but clearly in the examples above, interpreting the speaker’s attitude plays an important role in realising meaning in interaction. For instance, Bakhtin (1986: 97) remarks that ‘unless one accounts for the speaker’s attitude toward the other and his utterances (existing or anticipated), one can understand neither the genre nor the style of speech’. Considering the expressive meanings of the target markers in conversation, the term ‘attitude’ will be adopted from a moderate empirical standpoint.

3.3 Repetition and quotation as linguistic strategies

The ‘reported speech’ is important for understanding of the nature of the target markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*, since these markers are used in reported speech as linguistic strategies to create the involvement of the speaker himself/herself or to invite the involvement of the hearer in interaction. Tannen (1989) also remarks the connection between involvement and reported speech. That is to say, ‘involvement’ is captured in overall rhetorical effects, or the sense of vividness evoked by the strategic use of repetition and reported speech (what Tannen calls constructed dialogue), as well as imagery and detail. Further, in discussing ‘repetition’, Bakhtin (1986: 109) remarks that ‘a sentence can be repeated within the bounds of the one and the same utterance (non-arbitrary repetition, self-quotation), but each repetition makes it a new part of the

utterance, for its position and function in the entire utterance have changed'. Reported speech or quotation is based on repeating one's own or others' words; it is not a simple reproduction of what was said, but adds a new part or function to the utterance. As will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 6, the synchronic repetition is inextricably tied to the function of *-(ta) nikka* and *-tte* in the current study. By using these markers, speakers make a new part of the utterance, and facilitate comprehension.

According to Tannen (1989), there are two types of repetition, namely synchronic repetition and diachronic repetition. Synchronic repetition is to repeat one's own or another's words within a discourse. Tannen (1989: 54) states that distinguishing forms of repetition and variation in conversation depends on several criteria. For instance, it is possible to differentiate self-repetition and allo-repetition (repetition of others). Repetition can also be identified by a scale of fixity in form, from repeating the same words in the same rhythmic pattern to paraphrasing similar ideas in different words. Diachronic repetition is to repeat words from a discourse distant in time, so-called 'reported speech'. Diachronic repetition, in other words, quotation, is generally assumed to have two forms: 'direct quotation' and 'indirect quotation'. In a widely-accepted schema, 'direct quotation' is understood to apply when another's utterance is framed as dialogue in the other's voice, while 'indirect quotation' is when another's speech is paraphrased in the current speaker's voice (Tannen 1989: 98).

Further, the difference between direct quotation and indirect quotation is also well illustrated in Coulmas (1986). Coulmas (1986) defines 'direct quotation' as evoking the original speech situation and conveying the words of the original speaker in direct discourse. On the other hand, 'indirect quotation' adjusts the reported utterance to the speech situation of the report in indirect discourse. Coulmas goes on to say that the speaker perspective or point of view of the reporter creates the fundamental difference

between the two. In direct speech, the reporter adopts the original speaker's point of view as it were, as in the following example.

- (7) 'Have you pray'd to-night, Desdemona?' asked Othello, and Desdemona answered: 'Aye, my lord.'

According to Coulmas (1986: 2), the speaker in (7) conveys his report like a dialogue despite Desdemona's absence in the report situation. Othello's utterance presupposes the presence of Desdemona, and Desdemona's utterance the presence of Othello. Thus, the reporter in direct speech stands behind the characters whose words he reports. However, in indirect speech, the reporter steps forth, by relating a speech event from his own point of view. Coulmas presents the following example.

- (8) Othello asked his wife whether she had said her nightly prayers, which she affirmed.

Coulmas accounts for the difference between (7) and (8) in several aspects. Firstly, there is no direct address in (8) as direct address requires the presence of the addressee. For instance, the second pronoun and vocative 'Desdemona' in Othello's utterance in (7) are replaced by a third person pronoun 'she' and a descriptive term 'his wife', which reflects the reporter's point of view. In addition, the tense of Othello's utterance is changed from the present perfect tense in (7) to ante-preterit in (8). Finally, Desdemona's utterance in (7) is reduced to a relative clause in (8).

As such, Coulmas (1986: 3) remarks that the reporter in indirect speech can present information about the reported speech event from his point of view based on his knowledge about the world. This is because the reporter does not claim to give the

actual words uttered by the original speaker(s) or his report is restricted to the original utterance. According to Coulmas (1986: 3), what is noteworthy in indirect speech is the speech of the reporter and the speech situation of the report.

As mentioned in Tannen (1989) and Coulmas (1986) above, there are differences between ‘direct quotation’ and ‘indirect quotation’ in many aspects. However, as pointed out by Tannen, although the differentiation between direct quotation and indirect quotation is made on the surface, many equivocal cases arise in actual discourse. Coulmas (1986: 6) also states that ‘a simple dichotomy of direct versus indirect cannot do justice to the complexities of reported speech’. The concern of the present study in this section is not to show the differences between direct quotation and indirect quotation, as their boundary is ambiguous and complex. Instead, this study reveals the functions of the target markers with which speakers repeat their utterances within a discourse or from a discourse distant in time, not only to transfer the information or message but also to express something beyond quotation, such as the speaker’s certain attitudes and point of views.

Thus far some features of repetition and reported speech have been discussed. These features are important for the discussion in further chapters, since the ‘(indirect) reporting’ is the intrinsic nature of the target markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*.

3.4 Multivoicedness

The target markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte* share a common property: they are used in reported speech and indicate multiple functions depending on the context in which each marker is used. In this section, the concept of multivoicedness with regard to the nature of these markers is discussed. The concept ‘multivoicedness’ originates in Bakhtin’s theory of *heteroglossia* which can be defined as ‘co-existence of numerous voices (*polyglossia*) or socio-ideological contradictions that intersect and interanimate one

another in a single language' (Bakhtin 1981: 291-292, as cited in G. Kim 2004). To take an example, the term 'nigger' connotes racism and it is heteroglossic, as its derogatory past and historical meaning co-exist (G. Kim 2004: 57). The concept 'multivoicedness' is discussed by Wertsch (1991: 13), who states that 'human communicative and psychological processes are characterised by a dialogicality of voices' (as cited in Maynard 1996). The 'multivoicedness' resonates in language, and quotation clearly marks different voices in discourse among language devices, since multiple voices are converged in it, including self-utterance and the other's utterance.

In Maynard's (1996, 1997a, 1997b, 2005) study, it was discussed that Japanese direct-style self-quotation enables speakers to perform different character roles. To be more specific, the multivoicedness allows a speaker to express himself/herself as the wife of her husband, the mother of her child, a teacher in her classroom, and so on. With the use of quotation, a speaker can also create a new meaning in his/her own voice by transferring the other's utterance, which is different to the meaning of the original utterance. Multiple meanings are produced through conversations in which speakers take part and in a new context of situation. According to Maynard (1996), reported speech functions to echo 'multivoicedness' in 'semiotic contexts' (speaker-created semantically motivated context) and self-quotation occurs when self-expression is highly encouraged. It functions to manipulate a broader range of expressiveness in interaction and facilitates discourse functions such as dramatisation and distancing.

With respect to quotation/reported speech, Tannen (1989) defines it as 'constructed dialogue', which is used not only to convey one's own voice or someone else's voice but also to create involvement by constructing a 'talk'. Quoting Bakhtin (1981: 338) that 'every conversation is full of transmissions and interpretations of other people's words', Tannen (1989: 110) claims that 'the act of transforming others' words into one's own discourse is a creative and enlivening one'.

All utterances retain the polyphonic nature that results from the multiple resonances of the people, contexts, and genres to which the utterance has been related (Tannen 1989: 99). This nature is well reflected in the use of the target markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*, which indicates a self-voice and/or the other's voice, by reflecting diverse socio-cultural aspects. For instance, the markers show an intimate relationship between the speaker and the hearer, since they are used in casual speech between the participants who are equal in social status. In addition, the use of the markers represents the characteristics of spoken discourse: the speaker invites the involvement of the hearer, expressing his/her attitudes and displaying multiple functions (or multi-voices) depending on contexts. Analysing the target markers with the concept of 'multivoicedness' will shed light on the sociocultural and contextual properties of language.

Another important point of adopting multivoicedness with respect to the target markers is that it premises the process of assimilating and reworking the other's utterance in interaction. Regarding this point, Bakhtin (1986: 89) states that the speech experience of the individual is shaped by interaction with others and individual utterances are filled with others' words, by the process of assimilating and reworking, as noted below:

This is why the unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances. This experience can be characterised to some degree as the process of *assimilation*—more or less creative—of others' words (and not the words of a language). Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness', varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate.

In other words, every utterance is not original in interactional settings. It was already uttered by someone else and one repeats it with different interlocutors in different

situations. One assimilates and reworks in using the utterance with his/her expression and evaluative tone. The utterance can be delivered by different speakers with different meanings since each speaker has different intention to use it. This is clearly observed in reported speech/quotation. The utterance conveyed by the current speaker is different from the one by the original speaker, as the utterance is created by the current speaker's expression by the process of assimilating and reworking. As Maynard (1996) mentions, quotation extends speakers' expressivity far beyond mere referential meaning. Therefore, the current speaker conveys the utterance of the original speaker with his/her own expressivity. This is the reason Tannen (1989) calls reported speech constructed dialogue.

The present study provides a detailed discussion of speakers' expressivity through their use of *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte* as a quoting strategy in the following chapters. The discussion includes how speakers repeat their utterances using *-(ta) nikka* and *-tte*, by echoing self-voice to express their particular attitudes, and how speakers assimilate and rework the other's voices with the use of *-tay* and *-tte* with their own evaluative tone.

Finally, multivoicedness is a useful concept to understand the quoting strategy which makes it possible to form 'dialogic relations' between participants. According to Bakhtin (1986), when people talk about something that they have experienced, they are actually reflecting the dialogues they have had with others previously. This means that an individual utterance cannot be separated from the perspective of others. In this sense, Bakhtin talks about the chain of dialogues, by stating that every dialogue results from a previous one and at the same time every new dialogue is going to be present in future ones. Bakhtin (1986: 114) notes:

Two juxtaposed utterances belonging to different people who know nothing about one another if they only slightly converge on one and the same subject (idea), inevitably

enter into dialogic relations with one another. They come into contact with one another on the territory of a common theme, a common idea.

The present study finds that the use of the target markers *-tay* and *-tte* represent overtly the ‘dialogic relations’, since these markers are used in indirect speech, by reflecting the meanings that speakers had made in interactions with hearers in previous contexts. Every time they repeat the previous utterances in new contexts by adopting a strategy of quotations, they form ‘dialogic relations’ between participants in previous contexts and participants in new contexts. They are inevitably connected under a common theme.

In this chapter, the concepts of ‘involvement’ and ‘multivoicedness’ have been discussed. These concepts will provide a fundamental and unified way of accounting for the interactional functions of the target markers. Basically, this study follows Bakhtin (1986)’s position that language is social, interactional and dialogic and that language echoes multiple voices.

3.5 The notion of ‘face’ and Natural Semantic Metalanguage

The notion of ‘face’ is also significant for the analysis of the target markers, especially *-tte* in Japanese, as well as for a discussion of cultural values in later chapters. The notion of ‘face’ is widely discussed in the pragmatics literature. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), the notion of ‘face’ is derived from that of Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term. Goffman (1967: 5-7) refers to face as the ‘image of self’ and something that is ‘diffusely located in the flow of events’ of an interaction and it becomes manifest only when people make appraisals of these events. Brown and Levinson assume that all competent adult members of society have ‘face’: the public self-image that every member wants to claim for him or herself.

According to Brown and Levinson (1978: 66), ‘face’ consists of two aspects: (i) negative face, which is the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-

distraction, that is, to freedom of action and freedom from imposition; and (ii) positive face, which is the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants. They restated the two aspects of face as ‘basic wants’ rather than as ‘norms’ by defining negative face as ‘the want of every “competent adult member” that his action be unimpeded by others’ (1978: 67), and positive face as ‘the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others’. There are acts which intrinsically threaten face (Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs)), such as orders, requests, advice, offers, promises, expressions of hatred, criticism, disagreement, etc. Except in the case where the speaker wants to do the FTAs with maximum efficiency, he/she will try to minimise the face threat by choosing an appropriate strategy such as avoiding the FTAs, or performing along with the FTAs a redressive act. ‘Positive politeness’ is what Brown and Levinson call redress directed to the addressee’s positive face wants: ‘redress consists in partially satisfying that desire by communicating that one’s own wants (or some of them) are in some respects similar to the addressee’s wants’ (1978: 106). Negative politeness, on the other hand, is ‘redressive action addressed to the addressee’s negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded’ (1978: 134).

As stated above, certain illocutionary acts can be ‘face-threatening acts’ and have the potential to damage the hearer’s positive face, or the hearer’s negative face, or the illocutionary act may potentially damage the speaker’s own positive face. In order to reduce the possibility of damage to the hearer’s face or to the speaker’s own face, he or she may adopt certain strategies. These strategies will be discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to the usage of the *-tte* marked utterance.

In addition, some cultural values by Wierzbicka (2003) will be presented for the Japanese language and Korean language in Chapter 7. Wierzbicka (2003, 2008) and

some researchers (Tannen 1984; Matusmoto 1988; Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002; Goddard 2011) have argued that the concept of face by Brown and Levinson is western-biased, pointing out that the basic conceptual tools introduced and relied on by Brown and Levinson, in particular the notion of 'face', have in fact a strong Anglocentric bias. Wierzbicka (2008: 13) argues that 'comparing communicative norms and cultural values through English leads inevitably to an Anglocentric bias', and she offers an alternative to the use of English called 'Natural Semantic Metalanguage' (NSM), a formal language based on empirically established semantic primes and intelligible through natural languages such as *I, you, want, feel, know, say, think, hear* and so on.

For instance, saying 'No' is regarded positively in Israeli culture but not in Anglo-American culture, when expressing refusal. In Japanese culture, silence would be preferred rather than saying 'No', in order not to disrupt harmony (Nakane 1970: 35). These different attitudes can be portrayed as follows (Wierzbicka 2003: 92-93).

Anglo-American culture

I say: No

I don't want you to feel something bad because of this

I will say something more about it because of this

Israeli culture

I say: NO

I think I don't have to say anything more about it

Japanese culture

I can't say: NO

I will say something else because of this

The present study will use NSM to account for the difference between Japanese and Korean cultural values in interaction in Chapter 7. The main ideas of Wierzbicka (2003: 69) with regard to cultural values can be summarised as: (i) people in different societies, and different communities adopt different ways of speaking, and this difference is profound and systematic, (ii) these different ways of speaking can be explained in terms of independently established different cultural values.

3.6 Summary

This chapter first discussed the notion of involvement which has been widely adopted in pragmatic areas, and which is useful to provide a comprehensive and unified account with regard to the characteristics of spoken discourse including the speaker's attitude. In discussing involvement, the term 'attitudes' was presented to describe expressive meaning, and the reason for the employment of the 'attitude' of the speaker throughout this study was stated. It was also stated that our target markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte* possess the fundamental feature of marking repetition, and the chapter discussed direct and indirect quotation with regard to the target markers. The concept of 'multivoicedness' was also outlined and it was noted that this concept is the basis of the current study. That is, language is social, interactional and dialogic, and speakers echo multiple voices by using quotation strategy. In other words, speakers echo self-voice and the others' voices in the use of *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*, by evaluating, assimilating and reworking the repeated utterances. The notion of 'face' and NSM were briefly introduced for further discussion with regard to the function of a face-saving marker in Chapter 6 and aspects of Korean and Japanese society and culture in language use in Chapter 7.

Focusing on the notion of involvement and multivoicedness discussed in this chapter, the next three chapters examine the interactional functions of *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte* by analysing the spoken discourse data.

Self-voice *-(ta) nikka*¹

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the interactional function of *-(ta) nikka* as a self-quotation marker is explored. When speakers use *-(ta) nikka* with interlocutors in conversation, they repeat their own utterances with different motivations and attitudes according to contexts.

Three functions of *-(ta) nikka* are identified in the data of spoken discourse, the corpus of telephone conversations. The first function of *-(ta) nikka* that will be illustrated is ‘hearer-oriented recollection’, wherein the use of the *-(ta) nikka* utterance of the speaker is triggered by the hearer. The second function of *-(ta) nikka* is ‘speaker-oriented recollection’ in which the speaker uses this marker based on his/her own knowledge about what happened before, in order to draw the hearer’s attention. The third function that was found in this study is ‘mutually understood recollection’, in which the speaker’s use of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is based on presupposition. In other words, the speaker uses this marker when he/she presupposes that information and/or knowledge are already shared with the hearer. Overall, it will be shown that *-(ta) nikka* is used to express the speaker’s ego involvement and/or invite the hearer’s involvement to create and maintain conversations, by echoing self-voice.

¹ The content of Chapter 4 was published in the *Journal of Pragmatics* with the title ‘Self-voice “-nikka” in the Korean language’ (H.S. Kim 2015: 73-87).

As reviewed in Chapter 2, a number of previous studies have discussed *-(ta) nikka*, focusing mainly on its morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects and treating pragmatic aspects marginally. A review of the literature shows that (i) some morpho-syntactic and semantic research has been done to give insight into the function of *-(ta) nikka* in having a trace of quotative constructions and indicating the meaning of ‘emphasis’ (H. Kim 1995; Bae 2010), and (ii) pragmatic research has been done to shed light on the function of the marker in conveying the speaker’s own utterances and indicating a certain kind of attitude toward the hearer (P. Lee 1995; Han 2004, 2009). However, detailed pragmatic functions and effects of the marker, e.g. how and in what context the marker indicates these functions, have not yet been fully explored. In addition, these studies used invented examples and as a result they lack empirical inquiry into the actual use of the target marker in interaction. As a more fundamental issue, it should also be clarified whether or not these functions are sufficient to describe the behaviour of *-(ta) nikka* in spoken discourse. The interactional nature of this marker is significant in maintaining the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the hearer. To fill this gap, the current study focuses on the interactional functions of *-(ta) nikka*, in particular, examining the actual data in order to see how *-(ta) nikka* functions as a self-quotation, and how the speakers manifest a range of expressiveness in verbal exchanges.

Chapter 4 is organised in the following manner. The first three sections, 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 discuss three interactional functions of *-(ta) nikka*, the hearer-oriented recollection, speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection, respectively. Section 4.4 then presents differences between the three different interactional functions of *-(ta) nikka*. Section 4.5 examines the use of *-(ta) nikka* in comparison with *-(ta) ko*, another self-quotation. Section 4.6 provides a summary of the chapter.

4.1 Hearer-oriented recollection

This section explores the first function of *-(ta) nikka*, which is a hearer-oriented recollection. This function is triggered by the hearer, in other words, the use of *-(ta) nikka* by the speaker is caused by the hearer's incomprehension. The structure [[X] *-(ta) nikka*] is used to facilitate the discussion.² [X] is the 'inset' and the *-(ta) nikka* portion is the 'frame'. Consider the examples (1) and (2) below, which have been extracted from a telephone conversation. Prior to this conversation, speaker B has said that he does not go to school these days.

(1) [Callfriends ko_6635]

- 1 A: *Ne kongpwu-nun ha-nya? Hakkyo tany-e acikto?*
 you study-TOP do-INTR school go-IE still
 'Do you study? Do you still go to school?'
- 2 B: *Hakkyo a cikum-un an tani-n-tanikka.*
 school EXC now-TOP NEG go-ATTR-TANIKKA
 'School, ah, (I told you) I don't go to school at the moment.'

In (1), speaker A requests B to provide the information whether or not speaker B goes to school currently. Speaker B replies that he does not go to school at the moment and uses the frame of *-(ta) nikka*. In this case, speaker B's use of *-(ta) nikka* can be interpreted as 'I told you that I don't go to school at the moment', indicating that A should know this. By using the *-(ta) nikka* utterance, the speaker indicates that he is repeating his utterance in the current dialogue, and expresses his rebuking attitude towards the hearer who did not pay attention to the speaker's previous utterances. Needless to say, if B's reply were a 'plain' statement without *-(ta) nikka*, i.e. *an tanye* 'I don't go (to school)', it would simply indicate the fact that B does not go to school, and the speaker's attitude, 'I said this before and I am not happy that you don't remember it', would not be expressed.

² Maynard (1996) also used this structure to discuss a self-quotation in Japanese, following Sternberg (1982).

A similar argument can be made for the example (2) below, in which speaker A asks for clearer information from speaker B about what he/she did. To hear that, speaker B answers *Kongpwuhayss-tanikka*, which means ‘I told you that I studied’.

(2) [Callfriends ko_4582]

1 A: A, *onul way ilehkey phikonha-ci.*
EXC today why like.this tired-COM

2 *Hansikkaci kongpwu kathi hayss-nuntey.*
one.o'clock.till study together did-CIR

‘Gosh, why am I tired like this. (We) studied together till 1o’clock, but...’

.....(following eight lines are omitted).....

11 B: *Mwe, mwe-lul kathi hayss-e?*
what what-OBJ together did-IE

‘What? What did you do together?’

12 A: *Kongpwuhayss-tanikka.*
studied-TANIKKA

‘(I told you we) studied.’

The inset [X] represents a proposition that ‘we studied’, and the *-(ta) nikka* frame indicates that the speaker said it before in line 2. Once again, speaker A manifests reprimanding attitudes toward the speaker B who causes speaker A to repeat the same utterances in the current dialogue.

As seen in the examples above, the utterance marked with *-(ta) nikka* is used as a self-quotation in which the speaker repeats their utterance in response to the hearer’s reaction. Further, the use of *-(ta) nikka* by the speaker shows her negative attitude toward the hearer who did not indicate their understanding of what the speaker was talking about. However, the use of *-(ta) nikka* does not always show the speaker’s negative attitudes such as rebuke and reprimand toward the hearer. To discuss the

different attitude of the speaker in the hearer-oriented recollection, the following example (3) is analysed.

(3) [Callfriends ko_6708]

- 1 A: *E*, (breath) *ya cham, inggwulliswikhulaysu-nun*
 EXC VOC FIL English.class-TOP
- 2 *ettehkey caltoy-nya?*
 how well.become-INTR
 ‘Oh, hey, how is your English class going?’
- 3 B: *Inggwulliswikhulaysu-yo? Awu cikum na (())³*
 English.class-POL EXC now I
- 4 *ttaymwuney michi-keyss-e.*
 because crazy-DTRE-IE
 ‘My English class? Ugh, I am going crazy because of that now.’
- 5 A: *Way?*
 why
 ‘Why?’
- 6 B: *Thwukhamyen Tongsek, (laugh) thwukhamyen Tongsek*
 often Tongsek often Tongsek
 ‘Often Tongsek, often Tongsek (The teacher asks so many questions to me).’
- 7 A: (laugh) *Cinccaya cincca thwukhamyen kulay?*
 really really often do
 ‘Really? Does he do that to you often?’
- 8 B: *HOW DID YOU FIND- WHAT IS- WHAT IT UH- POPULATION?*
- 9 *WHAT IS- WHAT IS ((TEN PERCENT?)) michi-keyss-tanikka. (laugh)*
 crazy-DTRE-TANIKKA
 ‘How did you find- what is- what is uh- population? What is- what is ((ten percent?)) (I told you) I am going crazy.’
- 10 A: *Kukes pwa.*
 that look
 ‘Look (I told you so)!’

³ (()) indicates unintelligible speech in the data.

In (3), speaker A asks speaker B if his English class is going well in line 1, and speaker B answers by saying that he is going crazy because of it in lines 3 and 4. Then, speaker A asks the reason and speaker B answers *Thwukhamyen Tongsek, thwukhamyen Tongsek*, which literally means ‘Often Tongsek, often Tongsek’ in line 6. Tongsek is speaker B’s name and he implies that his teacher always designates him to say something in class. To hear that, speaker A requires confirmation from speaker B if the teacher really designates him so often in line 7. In lines 8 and 9, speaker B mimics the teacher’s way of talking, and then he repeats his utterances *michikeyssta* in inset with *-(ta) nikka* frame, which means ‘I told you I am going crazy’.

What can be observed here is that speaker B’s use of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is triggered by speaker A’s desire for confirmation. However, this case is different from the earlier cases (1) and (2) in which speakers manifest their negative attitudes such as rebuke and irritation towards hearers. This is clearly shown in line 9 where speaker B laughs after saying ‘(I told you) I am going crazy’. Therefore, speaker B’s attitude in (3) is regarded as an indication of building co-affective ground, by sending a metamessage that ‘I want you to know how I feel’ rather than blaming speaker A for his requirement for confirmation.

The speaker’s negative attitudes in the use of *-(ta) nikka* has also been pointed out in some previous studies (cf. Chapter 2). For instance, P. Lee (1995) mentions that the speaker repeats his/her previous utterances when the hearer does not show an attitude of accepting the speaker’s previous utterances, and a *-(ta) nikka* utterance indicates the speaker’s attitude of complaining to the hearer who does not pay attention to his/her utterances. However, the present study has identified two cases of the function of hearer-oriented recollection of *-(ta) nikka*. Firstly, the speaker repeats his/her prior utterance with the use of *-(ta) nikka*, because the hearer requested confirmation. In this case, the speaker manifests his/her negative attitude toward the hearer who does not

show understanding of the speaker's prior utterance, by sending a metamessage that 'Look! Listen to me. I'm saying this repeatedly, why don't you understand?' Secondly, the speaker repeats his/her prior utterance to indicate his/her intention to share his/her feelings about the information or message that is conveyed by the *-(ta) nikka* utterance with the hearer, by sending a metamessage that 'Look! Listen to me. I want you to know how I feel'.

Both cases show that the speaker's use of *-(ta) nikka* is interactional, since the speaker expects understanding from the hearer by the use of *-(ta) nikka*. In addition, these examples also illustrate the high degree of the involvement in the use of *-(ta) nikka*. That is, the use of the marker immediately indicates the speaker's invitation of the hearer's involvement, as also shown in the above metamessages 'Look! Listen to me'. This of course presupposes the speaker's ego involvement (Chafe's (1985) term; cf. Chapter 3) in the conversation. As such, the speaker's use of *-(ta) nikka* creates involvement with the hearer, by eliciting responses such as agreement and sympathy as shown in line 10. The use of the speaker's *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance also reflects multivoicedness, since it echoes the speaker's different attitudes, intimate relationship with the hearer, and the characteristics of spoken language.

In 4.1, the cases of hearer-oriented recollection in the use of self-quotation *-(ta) nikka* have been used discussed. The indirect style of self-quotation used by the speakers presents their particular attitudes in the course of interaction. In the next section, the current study will discuss the use of the self-quotation *-(ta) nikka* which conveys not only information through linguistic expression, but also displays the speaker's attitude toward the hearer.

4.2 Speaker-oriented recollection

Here, we will continue to explore the function of *-(ta) nikka*, but we will focus on its function of speaker-oriented recollection.

With this function, the speaker uses *-(ta) nikka* based on his/her own knowledge about what happened before, in order to invite the involvement of the hearer. Unlike the hearer-oriented recollection, the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is not used to repeat the speaker's utterance in this function, even though it seems to be repeated. In addition, the information conveyed by the speaker is not shared with the hearer.

Example (4) below illustrates the function of speaker-oriented recollection of *-(ta) nikka*, which is extracted from the Korean telephone conversations.

(4) [Callfriends 6546]

- 1 A: *Enni*⁴ *isscanha na syaweha-taka kulssey*
 older.sister FIL I shower.take-SIM well
- 2 *kicelha-l ppen hayss-tanikka.*
 faint-ATTR almost did-TANIKKA
 ‘Sister, you know, I almost fainted while taking a shower.’
- 3 B: *Way?*
 why
 ‘Why?’
- 4 A: *Thalcin-tway-kaciko.*
 exhaust-PASS-CN
 ‘Because I was exhausted.’
- 5 B: (laugh)
- 6 A: *Wuli emma mak kikepha-ko.*
 my mum FIL be.frightened-CN
 ‘My mum was, just, frightened.’
- 7 B: *Cinccalo? Ssulecyess-e?*
 really collapsed-IE
 ‘Really? Did you collapse?’

⁴ The term *enni* is used by a female to refer to an elder female sibling.

In (4) inset [X] is framed by *-(ta) nikka* in the first sentence in line 2. Usually, *-(ta) nikka* is used when speakers provide a response or in the middle of a conversation. However, in this case, speaker A frames her utterances with *-(ta) nikka* and starts to build the conversation by saying ‘Sister, listen, I almost fainted in the middle of taking a shower’. Why does speaker A need to use *-(ta) nikka* here, instead of just saying *na syawehataka kicelhal ppen haysse*, ‘I almost fainted in the middle of a shower’?

Note that *isscanha* ‘you know, guess what’ in the inset carries the feature of spoken discourse which attracts the hearer’s attention. A similar effect can be observed in English equivalents, ‘you know’ or ‘you know what’, which invite the hearer to show interest through the use of a second person pronoun and also an interrogative. Thus, it is clear that through the use of *-(ta) nikka* with along with the discourse filler *isscanha*, speaker A invites the involvement of the hearer by recalling what happened to the speaker previously and attempting to arouse the hearer’s interest. If speaker A did not use *-(ta) nikka* here, her utterance, *na syawehataka kicelhal ppen haysse*, ‘I almost fainted in the middle of a shower’ would simply state what happened to her, and her reinforced attitude of inviting the hearer’s involvement would not be indicated. The use of *-(ta) nikka* in (4) produces the effect that the hearer has a closer and more intimate access to the feelings of the speaker’s experience.

While (4) illustrates the use of *-(ta) nikka* to recall the speaker’s past experience, the intended force of his/her utterance is expressed in a different way. Observe the next example in (5).

(5) [Callfriends ko_4296]

1	A:	<i>Kuliko na khayp nulk-ess-e.</i>
		and I very old-PAST-IE
2		<i>Nemwu soksanghan il, soksanghan il-i</i>
		too distressed matter distressed matter-SUB
3		<i>manhi sayngki-nikka nulk-tela salam-i.</i>

- many happen-CN get.old-RET person-SUB
 ‘And, I became very old. A person gets old, because great distress happens.’
- 4 B: *Cincca?*
 really
 ‘Really?’
- 5 A: *Kewul po-ko na khayp nollass-tanikka.*
 mirror look.at-CN I very surprised-TANIKKA
- 6 *Wancen halmeni twayss-e.*
 completely grandmother became-IE
- 7 *Ya ne, neto na po-myen nolla-l-kel.*
 VOC you you.too me look.at-CD surprise-ATTR-PRESUM
 ‘I was very surprised by looking at myself in the mirror. (I) became completely a grandmother. You will be surprised as well if you look at me.’
- 8 B: *Ewu ya.*
 oh dear
 ‘Oh dear.’
- 9 A: *Halmeni-ya. Salcci-ko mak melito khayp*
 grandmother-IE gain.weight-CN FIL hair.too very
- 10 *cicepwunhay-kaciko. Ahyu, cwuk-ul mas-i-ta.*
 messy-CN EXC die-ATTR flavour-COP-DEC
 ‘I’m a grandmother. (I) gained weight and my hair is very messy. Ugh, it’s unbearable.’
- 11 B: *Weynilini.*
 oh.dear
 ‘Oh dear.’

Here, speaker A begins her conversation by saying in lines 1, 2 and 3 that she became very old because of upsetting experiences. Then, speaker B reacts by asking ‘really?’ in line 4, showing her disbelief. In response to speaker B’s reaction, speaker A says *Kewul poko na khayp nollass-tanikka*, ‘I was very surprised by looking at myself in the mirror’ in line 5.

Probably, competent native speakers of the Korean language would know that the inset [X] with the frame of *-(ta) nikka* indicates a somewhat different meaning from the inset [X] without *-(ta) nikka* in this context. The utterance without the marker, i.e. *Kewul poko na khayp nollassta*, ‘I was very surprised by looking at myself in the mirror’ would simply state the speaker’s feeling when she watched herself in the mirror and the speaker’s particular intention to invite the hearer’s involvement would not be expressed. The speaker’s use of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance carries a more affective meaning with paralinguistic features, such as intonation and tone of voice. Thus, one can assume that the speaker A recollects what she has experienced before in the use of *-(ta) nikka* with a rising intonation to convey her intense feeling. In the case of the example (5) above, the intended force of the speaker is convincing the hearer who does not believe the speaker’s utterance. The speaker’s *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance implies that ‘Yes, listen, it is true. I looked very old and was very surprised when I saw myself in the mirror’. The colloquial adverb *khayp* ‘very’ is used here, and this intensifier also strengthens the speaker’s feeling of surprise, and thereby, the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance indicates the strong desire to make the speaker’s speech and feeling understood. When she hears the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance, speaker B shows her emotional sympathy by the interjection *Ehyu ya*, which means ‘Oh dear’ in line 8.

The effect of the *-(ta) nikka* utterance is to increase the degree of involvement of the hearer as well as of the speaker by stimulating the hearer’s interest in recalling what happened to the speaker previously. In the use of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance, it is possible to observe that the speaker attempts to convey affective meaning, and at the same time the speaker expects to build co-affective ground with the hearer, by sending a metamessage that ‘Listen to me, I want you to know what happened to me’.

A primary feature for the function of speaker-oriented recollection of *-(ta) nikka* is the role that it plays in recollecting the speaker’s own knowledge about what

happened before, thereby to express his/her ego involvement of the speaker, and at the same time to invite the involvement of the hearer. In this function of the speaker-oriented recollection, the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is used as if the speaker repeated his/her utterance with this marker. The following example verifies this point and shows that the speaker's use of *-(ta) nikka* connotes pseudo-repetition.

(6) [Callfriends ko_6551]

- 1 A: *Kulay cengsin-i eps-nun kes kathta.*
 yes wits-SUB out.of-ATTR thing PRESUM
- 2 *Kulayto enni ike-nun sippwun isang*
 but older.sister this-TOP ten.minutes more.than
- 3 *cina-yatoy-ki ttaymwuney kuttaykkacinun hay-yatway.*
 pass-NEC-NOM because then.till do-NEC
 'Yes, you seem to be out of your wits. But sister, this should be used more than ten minutes, so we should talk on the phone till then.'
- 4 B: *Ung.*
 yes
 'Yes.'
- 5 A: *Um, cwungkan-ey an-kkunhki-myen tahayng-i-n ke-ko*
 um middle-TEMP NEG-cut-CD lucky-COP-ATTR NOM-CN
- 6 *kkunhki-myenun tto tasi hay-yatoy-nun kes-i-ko.*
 cut-CD again once.more do-NEC-ATTR thing-COP-CN
 'Um, it should be lucky if the phone call isn't broken up in the middle of conversation, and if it is broken up, then I should make a phone call again.'
- 7 B: *Kukey way kkunhki-n-ke-ya, totaychey.*
 that why disconnected-ATTR-NOM-IE on.earth
 'Why on earth was that disconnected?'
- 8 A: *Khemphyuthe-ka syestawun twayss-tanikka.*
 computer-SUB shut.down became-TANIKKA
 'The computer shut down.'
- 9 B: *Nappun kes.*
 bad thing

‘A bad thing.’

- 10 A: *Kulenikka ku khemphyuthe-ka komwulttakci-la kulay.*
so that computer-SUB junk-CN that.is
‘That’s because that computer is junk.’

In (6), speaker B asks why the phone call between her and speaker A was disconnected before in line 7. Speaker A explains that the disconnection of the phone call was due to her computer’s shutting down, by framing her utterances with the self-quotation marker *-(ta) nikka*. The *-(ta) nikka* utterance in this context gives a flavour of ‘repetition’, that is, ‘I said the computer shut down’. However, there is no clue that speaker A repeats her utterance, thereby it is possible to assume that the speakers have no shared information. The speaker’s use of *-(ta) nikka* as a function of the speaker-oriented recollection here is, again, to stimulate the hearer’s interest and anticipates a certain reaction from the hearer. Speaker A could have just said *Khemphyutheka syestawun twayse*, ‘Because the computer shut down’, by using the clausal ending, *-se* to explain the reason, however, the speaker’s marked ego involvement, as well as the invitation of the hearer’s involvement, would not be indicated. Furthermore, by using *-(ta) nikka*, the speaker expects to form co-affective ground, such as sympathy and agreement. This is well observed in speaker B’s response in line 9, in which she blames the problem on the computer, saying *Nappun kes*, which means ‘A bad computer’. The utterance made by speaker B here shows her sympathy for speaker A’s irritated feeling about the disconnection of the phone call.

In summary, the function of speaker-oriented recollection of *-(ta) nikka* is (i) self-voice expressed by the speaker himself/herself in the form of pseudo-repetition; and (ii) self-voice seeking to build co-affective ground based on the speaker’s past experience, by sending a metamessage of ‘Listen to me, I want you to know what happened to me’.

4.3 Mutually understood recollection

This section explores the function of mutually understood recollection of *-(ta) nikka*. The reason for using the label mutually understood recollection for this function is that the speech act is the speaker's use of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance to recollect mutual knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. This means that the information is already shared between the speaker and the hearer in an earlier conversation. Therefore, the speaker uses *-(ta) nikka*, presupposing that the hearer would already know the information.

To discuss the function of mutually understood recollection of *-(ta) nikka*, example (7) taken from the Korean telephone conversations is examined.

(7) [Callfriends ko_6575]

- 1 A: *Honlan. Kachikwan-uy honlan.*
 confusion values-LK confusion
 'Confusion, confusion of values.'
- 2 B: *Ahyu, way ilehkey chwup-nya, kuntey?*
 boy why like.this cold-INTR by.the.way
 'Boy, why is it cold like this, by the way?'
- 3 A: *Hithe ttattushan palam nao-ki sicakha-nuntay icy.*
 heater warm air come-NOM begin-CIR now
 'Now warm air begins to come out from the heater.'
- 4 B: *Nao-nya? Thul-eya-keyss-ta. A chwuw-e.*
 come-INTR turn.on-NEG-DTRE-DEC EXC cold-IE
 'Does it come out? It should be turned on. Oh, it's cold.'
- 5 A: *Kulenikka kke nohu-myen an toy-n-tanikka.*
 so turn.off leave-CD NEG become-ATTR-TANIKKA
- 6 *Na-n chanpalam nao-l ttay pakkey naka-iss-ess-canha.*
 I-TOP cold.air come.out-ATTR when outside go-PROG-PAST-SFP
 'So, (I said) you shouldn't turn it off. I was outside when the cold air was coming out from the heater.'
- 7 B: (laugh)

In (7), speaker A uses the *-(ta) nikka* frame again in line 5, with an inset of *Kulenikka kke nohumyen an toynta*, which means ‘So, you shouldn’t turn it off’. Before this conversation, speaker B was saying that she feels cold, because she turned off her heater. On the other hand, speaker A did not turn off her heater, and she feels that warm air begins to come out of the heater in line 3. Speaker A’s utterance with *-(ta) nikka* in line 5 can be interpreted as ‘I said you shouldn’t turn off your heater’. Therefore, it is possible to assume that speaker A might have told speaker B in the previous context about the heater which should not be turned off, and she repeats her utterance with the *-(ta) nikka* frame in this context. Speaker A’s *-(ta) nikka* utterance is based on what she said before, and this implies that speaker B would already know the previous utterance of speaker A. What can be observed here is, first, speaker A’s presupposition that speaker B would understand what speaker A means with the *-(ta) nikka* utterance, by recollecting her previous utterance. Therefore, secondly, this *-(ta) nikka* utterance is based on a mutual understanding between speakers A and B. Although motivated by what the speaker said before, this function is distinguished from that of the speaker-oriented recollection, since the information is not shared between the speaker and the hearer in the speaker-oriented recollection.

To elaborate the discussion of the function of the mutually understood recollection of *-(ta) nikka*, the following example from the Korean telephone conversations is analysed.

(8) [Callfriends ko_5008]

- 1 A: *Sinwu.*
 sister-in-law
 ‘I’m *sinwu* (one’s husband’s sister).’
- 2 B: *Sinwu-i-n-ka?*
 sister-in-law-COP-ATTR-INTR
 ‘Is she your sister-in-law?’

- 3 A: *Ani olkhey toy-nun-ke-ci.*
no sister-in-law become-ATTR-NOM-COM
- 4 *Nay-ka sinwu-ka toy-ci.*
I-SUB sister-in-law-SUB become-COM
- 5 *Mostoyn sinwu mak ile-.*
bad sister-in-law FIL
'No, she will be *olkhey* (the wife of one's brother). I will be a *sinwu*. A wicked sister-in-law...'
- 6 B: *Olkhey? E. ung kulay mac-e. Ewu ku pwulssangha-ta.*
sister-in-law yes yes yes right-IE EXC FIL pathetic-DEC
'*Olkhey?* Yes. Yes, right. Oh, she is pathetic.'
- 7 A: *Ya ku enni-n cengmal sicip cal on-ke-ci.*
VOC that sister-TOP really marry well come-NOM-COM
- 8 *Nay-ka ilehkey coha-se.*
I-SUB like.this good-CN
'Hey, she marries well, because I am a good sister-in-law.'
- 9 B: *Cengmal wancenhi ta coh-untey, wancenhi han myeng*
really perfectly all good-CIR perfectly one CL
- 10 *ttaymwuney wancenhi.*
because perfectly
'Really, everything is perfectly good, but, because of one person, completely...'
- 11 A: *Wuli enni, ayu mwuncey-lanikka.⁵ Nato kekceng-tway.*
my sister EXC problem-LANIKKA I.also worry-PASS
'My sister, oh she is a problem. I also worry.'

In (8), speaker A talks about her future sister-in-law who will marry speaker A's younger brother. Speaker B is speaker A's friend and she knows speaker A's family members well. Before starting this conversation, speaker A was saying that she cannot attend her brother's wedding ceremony as she is in America to learn English. Also, speaker A said that her mother does not care whether or not her daughter attends the

⁵ The declarative ending *-ta* in *-(ta) nikka* is replaced with *-la*, when the copula *i-* precedes. The copula *i-* is omitted if it is used after a vowel, thus there is no *i-* between *mwuncey* and *lanikka* in *mwunceylanikka*.

wedding ceremony. In this conversation, speaker A tells a joke that she would be a wicked *sinwu* (one's husband's sister), and speaker B says that speaker A's future sister-in-law is pathetic in line 6. Then, speaker A refutes this in lines 7 and 8 by saying that her future sister-in-law marries well, as she will have a good *sinwu*. Speaker B agrees with it, but she has concerns about one person, and she does not mention who it is in lines 9 and 10. Hearing that, speaker A notices that what speaker B wants to refer to is speaker A's sister, and speaker A uses the *-(ta) nikka* utterance by saying that *Wuli enni, ayu mwuncey-lanikka*, which means 'My sister, oh she is a problem' in line 11.

Once again, speaker A uses *-(ta) nikka* here, presupposing that speaker B would know well speaker A's sister who has a problem with relationships with other people. This means that speaker A told speaker B about her sister's problem in an earlier context, and speaker A repeats her utterance in this context. With the use of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance, speaker A invites the involvement of speaker B to maintain an ongoing conversation, by sending the metamessage that 'Listen. You should fully understand what I am saying'.

As seen in the two examples above, speakers use *-(ta) nikka* to quote self-utterance which was made in previous contexts, and they repeat the previous utterance in the current context, by presupposing that the information or knowledge is shared with hearers. The *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is also employed to express the speaker's feelings and attitudes when recollecting his/her utterance. In order to discuss this feature, the present study will show another instance extracted from the telephone conversation.

(9) [Callfriends ko_6575]

- 1 A: *Nay-ka wuli appa sengkyek-ul a-nuntey.*
 I-SUB my dad personality-OBJ know-CIR
 'I know my dad's personality, so.'
- 2 B: *Ung.*
 yeah

- ‘Yeah.’
- 3 A: *Cham, sangchel-ul namhanthey cal cwu-si-nun*
 really hurt-OBJ others.to easily give-HON-ATTR
- 4 *sengkyek-i-ketun.*
 personality-COP-SFP
 ‘Really, his personality hurts other people easily.’
- 5 B: *Ung.*
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’
- 6 A: *Kacoktulhantheyna.*
 family.to.or
 ‘To family, or.’
- 7 B: *Ung.*
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’
- 8 A: *Kulenikka ponsim-i anila-nun kes-un a-nuntey,*
 so real.intention-SUB NEG-ATTR NOM-TOP know-CIR
- 9 *ponsim-i kulenikka ilehkey ilpwule kule-nun*
 real.intention-SUB so like.this deliberately as.such-ATTR
- 10 *ke anila-nun kes a-nikka mwe-lako kuleci-nun*
 NOM NEG-ATTR NOM know-CN something-QT as.such-ATTR
- 11 *anh-ciman, cham kuke-l tangha-nun salam-tul-un.*
 NEG-CN really it-OBJ put.up.with-ATTR people-PL-TOP
 ‘So, I know it is not his real intention, but, real intention, so, I know he
 does not do that deliberately, so I don’t say something, but really, people
 put up with it...’
- 12 B: *Maum-i aphu-ci. Ahyu.*
 heart-SUB hurt-COM EXC
 ‘People are sick at heart. Phew.’
- 13 A: *Kulehci. Kulenikka wuli emma-ka cham taytanha-tanikka.*
 right therefore our mum-SUB really great-TANIKKA
 ‘Right. Therefore, our mum is really great.’
- 14 B: *Kulehci. Ttak kuke-l ta khepe-lul ha-si-nikka.*
 right exactly that-OBJ all taking.care.of-OBJ do-HON-CN
 ‘That’s right, because she takes care of everything exactly.’

In (9), speaker A is having a conversation with speaker B, who is an older sister of speaker A. Speaker A is talking about her father who easily hurts people regardless of his intention. In line 11, speaker A stops her talking after saying *cham kukel tanghanun salamtulun*, ‘really, people put up with it’. Then, speaker B continues speaker A’s talk in line 12, saying *Maumi aphuci*, ‘People are sick at heart’. In line 13, speaker A says ‘Therefore, our mum is really great’, which is framed by *-(ta) nikka*, and this can be interpreted as ‘Our mum is really great, as I said before’. Why is the indirect style of self-quotation used here? And more specifically, why does speaker A find it necessary to overtly frame her utterance with *-(ta) nikka*?

One approach to answering this question centres around the use of ‘presupposition’, which is pervasive in language. The self-voice observed here is the kind attributed solely to the speaker, but it is connected to the hearer as well. In addressing this perspective, this study draws on some clues from Bakhtin (1986: 68-69).

The desire to make one’s speech understood is only an abstract aspect of the speaker’s concrete and total speech plan. Moreover, any speaker is himself a respondent to a greater or lesser degree. He is not, after all, the first speaker, the one who disturbs the eternal silence of the universe. And he presupposes not only the existence of the language system he is using, but also the existence of preceding utterances—his own and others’—with which his given utterance enters into one kind of relation or another (builds on them, polemicizes with them. Or simply presumes that they are already known to the listener). Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances.

Although speaker A does not overtly mention that the utterance ‘therefore, our mum is really great’ was made previously, she relates her utterance to what she said or thought before by using *-(ta) nikka*. In other words, speaker A signals her utterance that was enunciated in the previous context by *-(ta) nikka* and presupposes that the hearer should fully understand how speaker A feels about her mother. Speaker B responds to speaker A’s utterance, by saying ‘That’s right, because she takes care of everything’ in line 14.

This shows that speaker B agrees with speaker A's thoughts and knows the reason why her mother is great, as the two speakers share a mutual understanding of their father's character.

Expressing speaker A's feeling about her mother with the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance as in the example above increases the degree of involvement, and also produces the effect of the hearer's 'solidarity' discussed in Brown and Gilman (1960). The speaker's use of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance indicates not a simple statement but a certain expectation that the hearer would understand the speaker's feelings, and further, that the speaker wants to share their feelings with the hearer.

So far, the functions of mutually understood recollection have been examined. In this function, the speaker uses the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance to recollect his/her previous utterance based on presupposition. The last example (10) will clarify the fact that the information and/or knowledge were already been shared between the speaker and the hearer in the previous context.

(10) [Callfriends ko_6722]

- 1 A: *Nalnalithikha-ko.*
 delinquent-CN
 ‘(He/She) looks like a delinquent.’
- 2 B: *Aytul mwe ha-ko nol-a?*
 children what do-CN hang.out-IE
- 3 *Keki nol teyto eps-canha.*
 there play place.even no.exist-SFP
 ‘What do they do to hang out? There is no place to hang out, you know.’
- 4 A: *Cincca nol teyto eps-ko.*
 really hang.out place.even no.exist-CN
- 5 *Chincca enni maltaylo*
 really older.sister word.like
- 6 *yeki toykey wihemhan tey-i-n-kapwa.*
 this quite dangerous place-COP-ATTR-PRESUM

- 7 *Salamtul-i ta yesessi nem-umyen*
 people-SUB all six.o'clock pass-CD
- 8 *naka-cimal-lako mak kulayse.*
 go.out-NEG-QT FIL so
 ‘There is no place to hang out, really. Like you said, (I guess) this is a quite dangerous place. People told me not to go out after 6 o’clock, so...’
- 9 B: *Ke- ke pwa.*
 that that look
- 10 *Nay-ka mwunkoli cap-ko ca-yatoy-n-tanikka.*
 I-SUB door.handle hold-CN sleep-NEC-TANIKKA
 ‘Look, (I told you so). I (told you that) you should sleep holding a doorhandle.’
- 11 A: *E, maca. Maca. Cincca. Wancen. Ung.*
 yes right right really completely yes
 ‘Yes, right. Really. Completely. Yes.’

In the example (10), speakers A and B are friends, and they are talking about a new town where speaker A recently moved to. From line 4 to 8, speaker A tells B that her new town is dangerous and she heard from people that she must not go out after 6 o’clock. Upon hearing that, speaker B says *Ke pwa*, ‘Look, (I told you so)’ in line 9, and she goes on to say *Nayka mwunkoli capko cayatoy-n-tanikka*, ‘I (told you that) you should sleep holding a doorhandle’ in line 10. Speaker B’s utterance *Ke pwa* ‘Look (I told you so)’ overtly marks that she reminds speaker A of what she said before. That is, speaker B warned A to secure the door at some point in the past. Speaker A’s utterance *Chincca enni maltaylo*, ‘As you told me, really’ in line 5 also verifies that she remembers B’s previous utterance. The use of a *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance by speaker B sends a metamessage that ‘Listen. You should fully understand what I’m saying’.

The illocutionary force of the speaker’s use of *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is recollecting the previous utterance, by presupposing that the hearer would already know

the proposition and he/she would fully understand what the speaker says. The communication taking place here is interactional since it takes place between the speaker and the hearer. The effects of self-quotation observed are (i) involvement of the hearer in interaction, eliciting a response from the hearer, and (ii) by recalling the previous utterances of the speaker in an earlier dialogue based on shared knowledge, *-(ta) nikka* as self-quotation expresses the speaker's feelings and attitudes toward the hearer, which is different from the other two functions of *-(ta) nikka*. This can be clearly identified if different metamesages are considered, as will be shown in Section 4.4.

In summary, the function of mutually understood recollection of *-(ta) nikka* is (i) self-voice expressed by the speaker himself/herself and (ii) self-voice seeking to relate the speaker's current utterances to the previous thoughts while expressing the particular feelings and attitudes of the speaker.

4.4 Differences between three interactional functions of *-(ta) nikka*

So far, the three interactional functions of *-(ta) nikka* have been discussed. In previous studies the function of *-(ta) nikka* tended to be oversimplified as 'emphasis', 'reconfirmation', or 'complaint' (H. Kim 1995; P. Lee 1995; Han 2009; Bae 2010). However, the current study clearly shows that the speaker's use of *-(ta) nikka* manifests different attitudes according to contexts, by indicating ego involvement and/or involvement with the hearer, as well as multiple voices. These involvements and multivoicedness are realised through metamesages in a concrete way. Table 4.1 below summarises the differences between the three interactional functions with respect to repetition and metamesages.

Table 4.1: Differences between the three interactional functions of *-(ta) nikka*

	Hearer-oriented recollection	Speaker-oriented recollection	Mutually understood recollection
Repetition	Synchronic repetition	No repetition/based on the speaker's past experience	Diachronic repetition/based on presupposition
Metamessages	'Listen. I am saying this repeatedly, why don't you understand?'/ 'I want you to know how I feel'	'Listen to me, I want you to know what happened to me'	'Listen. You should fully understand what I am saying'

As seen in the table above, the speaker's use of *-(ta) nikka* is different in each function with regard to repetition and metamessages. In hearer-oriented recollection, speakers use *-(ta) nikka* when they repeat their own utterances within a discourse, i.e. synchronic repetition (Tannen 1989; cf Section 3.3). There are two cases. Firstly, the case in which the speaker shows his/her negative attitude toward the hearer who did not indicate their understanding of what the speaker was talking about. In this case, the speaker sends a metamessage with the use of *-(ta) nikka* that 'I am saying this repeatedly, why don't you understand?' In the second case, the speaker repeats his/her prior utterance to indicate his/her intention to share his/her feelings about the information or message that is conveyed by the *-(ta) nikka* utterance with the hearer, by sending a metamessage that 'I want you to know how I feel'.

In speaker-oriented recollection, the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is not used to repeat the speaker's utterance. Instead, the speaker uses this marker based on his/her past experience to draw the hearer's attention, by seeking the hearer's agreement and

responses. In this case, the speaker uses *-(ta) nikka*, by sending the hearer a metamessage that ‘Listen to me, I want you to know what happened to me’.

In mutually understood recollection, speakers use the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance based on their presupposition that the information and knowledge was already shared with hearers. Thus, diachronic repetition (Tannen 1989; cf Section 3.3) is observed here to repeat words from a discourse distant in time. In this case, the speaker sends the hearer a metamessage that ‘Listen. You should fully understand what I am saying’.

The metamessages are particularly important, since they obviously show emotive meanings such as the speaker’s feelings and attitudes in a concrete way. In the current study, the natural languages, such as *I, you, want, feel, know, say, think, hear* and so on, are used to give the meanings of the metamessages (Wierzbicka 1985a, 1985b, 2003, 2008; Goddard 2011). It is believed that these words can account for what is meant by emotions and feelings more explicitly, by transferring our understanding of *-(ta) nikka* from abstractness to concreteness in relation to the concepts of involvement and multivoicedness.

4.5 *-(ta) nikka* vs. *-tako*

This chapter has discussed *-(ta) nikka*, which indicates three interactional functions in spoken conversations, by manifesting the speaker’s different attitudes towards the hearer according to contexts. When considering the speaker’s attitudes and assumptions, it is worth comparing *-(ta) nikka* with another marker in the Korean language with similar functions, in order to clarify the characteristics of *-(ta) nikka* further.

As is the case with *-(ta) nikka*, *-(ta) ko* has undergone grammaticalisation from indirect quotation marker and it now indicates the speaker’s attitudes in sentence-final position in spoken interaction (K. Lee 2005). The marker *-(ta) ko* shares some

similarities with *-(ta) nikka*, and has been discussed in a number of studies on sentence-final endings in the Korean language (Kwon 1983; W. Huh 1995; H. Kim 1995; J.Y. Park 1998; H. Lee and J. Lee 1999; Jeon 2002; Yoo 2003; Han 1986, 2004, 2009; I. Lee 2005; K. Lee 2005; Ha 2006; E. Kim 2008; Sohn 2009; Bae 2010; Nam 2010).

That is, this marker is used to repeat the prior utterances of the speaker and the hearer. It is assumed that *-(ta) ko* originates from the quotative construction ‘*-ko ha-*’, as is the case with *-(ta) nikka*. However, this marker has different functions depending on intonation (H. Kim 1987; Han 2009). With the rising intonation, *-(ta) ko* is used by the speaker to request the repetition or confirmation of the prior utterance by the hearer, as in ‘*Hakkyoey kantako?*’ ‘Did you say to go to school?’ (Han 2009: 200). Yet this marker is used to repeat the speaker’s prior utterance by the hearer’s request when it is used with falling intonation, as in ‘*Papul meknuntako*’ ‘I told you to eat your meal’ (Han 2009: 202). According to Han (2009), if this marker is used with a fast rising intonation, it indicates the speaker’s attitudes such as surprise, unbelievingness, and negative view toward the hearer’s prior utterance. J. Y. Park (1998) remarks that *-(ta) nikka* and *-(ta) ko* are similar in meaning and they are interchangeable, by presenting *-(nya) nikka* and *-(nya) ko*, the variants of *-(ta) nikka* and *-(ta) ko*, respectively, in the following example.

- (11) A: *Tto eti-ya?*
 again where-IE
 ‘Where again?’
 B: ...
 A: *Tto eti-nyako!*⁶
 again where-NYAKO
 ‘(I repeat) Where again!’

⁶ *-tako* is a representative form for *-tako* (declarative), *-nyako* (interrogative), *-lako* (imperative), *-cako* (hortative), and J.Y. Park (1998)’s example shows the usage of *-nyako*. The possible embedded mood forms have been discussed further in C. Lee (1988). Rising intonations with these forms indicate reclamatory questions (Bolinger 1986).

B: ...

A: *Tto eti-nyanikka!*
again where-NYANIKKA

‘(I repeat) Where again!’

(J.Y. Park 1998: 106)

Quoting P. Lee (1995: 181), Park states that *-(nya) ko* expresses the speaker’s feeling of conciliating and *-(nya) nikka* irritating, while these two markers are replaceable.

Although the degree of the speaker’s feelings is different between two markers, there is similarity between *-(nya) nikka* and *-(nya) ko* in the example above by Park, where the speaker uses these markers due to the hearer’s non-response, and this is regarded as the function of hearer-oriented recollection in the present study. However, the difference between these two markers is made clear if the other functions of *-(ta) nikka* are considered: speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection. This is because an utterance marked with *-(ta) ko* does not include the speaker’s intention to draw the hearer’s attention, and expectation that the hearer should fully understand the conveyed information. The following two extracts, which were presented to discuss the functions of *-(ta) nikka* for the speaker-oriented recollection in (4) and the mutually understood recollection in (9) respectively, show the difference, when the same segment is replaced with *-(ta) ko*. They are represented here as (12) and (13), respectively.

(12) [Callfriends 6546]

1 A: *Enni issanha na syaweha-taka kulssey*
older.sister FIL I shower.take-SIM well

2 *kicelha-l ppen hayss-tako.*
faint-ATTR almost did-TAKO

‘Sister, you know, I almost fainted while taking a shower *tako*.’

(13) [Callfriends ko_6575]

13 A: *Kulenikka wuli emma-ka cham taytanha-tako.*
therefore our mum-SUB really great-TAKO
'Therefore, our mum is really great *tako*.'

If *-(ta) nikka* is replaced with *-(ta) ko* in the two extracts above, they simply reflect that speakers repeat their utterances in response to hearers' requests such as 'I could not hear you. Could you please repeat what you said?' or 'What did you say?' Therefore, speakers do not signal their attitudes of 'Listen to me, I want you to know what happened to me' as in the function of speaker-oriented recollection in (12) or 'Listen. You should fully understand what I'm saying' as in the function of mutually understood recollection in (13).

4.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed the speaker's use of *-(ta) nikka* in terms of three functions. The first function of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is a hearer-oriented recollection. This function is triggered by the hearer's incomprehension, indicating the speaker's negative attitude of rebuke towards the hearer who did not pay attention to the speaker's previous utterances. However, there is the case in which the speaker repeats his/her utterance, by signalling his intention to share his/her feelings with the hearer.

The second function of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is a speaker-oriented recollection in which the speaker uses *-(ta) nikka* based on his/her own knowledge about what happened before, in order to invite involvement by the hearer. In this function, the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is not used to repeat the previous utterance of the speaker, which is a distinctive feature of this function. In contrast to the other functions of *-(ta) nikka*, the information conveyed by the speaker is not shared with the hearer. Instead, the reason why the speaker uses *-(ta) nikka* utterance is to draw the

hearer's attention to what the speaker has experienced. By using *-(ta) nikka*, the speaker stimulates the hearer's interest and anticipates a certain reaction from the hearer. At the same time, the speaker expects to form a co-affective ground with the hearer.

The third function is a mutually understood recollection in which 'presupposition' plays an important role in connecting the speaker's utterance with the hearer. In other words, the speaker's *-(ta) nikka* utterance is based on a mutual understanding, and this implies that the information and knowledge are already known to both the speaker and the hearer. What can be observed in the function of mutually understood recollection is the speaker's presupposition and involvement of the hearer in interaction, by eliciting a response from the hearer.

This chapter also discussed the difference between *-(ta) nikka* and another similar marker *-tako* in the Korean language. It was shown that the difference between *-(ta) nikka* and *-tako* is distinctive when these markers are compared in terms of the functions of speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection. Although these two markers are interchangeable in some cases, for example, in the function of hearer-oriented recollection, they are different in expressing the speaker's attitudes and assumptions.

The three types of functions of *-(ta) nikka* presented in this chapter show that *-(ta) nikka* is an interactive marker, thereby its meanings and functions are realised by the surrounding contexts. In addition, speakers express their attitudes and motivations with the use of this marker in a different way according to context. Moreover, this marker indicates an interactive nature in that speakers use *-(ta) nikka* to create a high degree of involvement, by expecting reactions and responses from interlocutors, and signalling their intention to build co-affective ground with interlocutors.

A third person's voice ‘-*tay*’

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the interactional function of *-tay* will be investigated. While *-(ta) nikka* is adopted by speakers to quote their own utterance displaying various attitudes of the speaker, *-tay* is used to mark a third person's utterance only, by indicating its inherent interactional and dialogical nature. This study will examine the speaker's use of *-tay* in various contexts where he/she uses this marker as a particular strategy to invite the involvement of the hearer, by assimilating and reworking the other's voice.

As discussed in Chapter 2, previous studies of *-tay* pay more attention to the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of the marker and the interactional function of *-tay* has not been fully investigated. Although Sohn and Park (2003)'s study sheds light on our understanding of *-tay* from interactional point of view, there are counter-examples to their claim and their account does not provide convincing explanations for the different functions between *-tay* and its long form. Consequently, they do not describe the interactional function of *-tay* in a consistent way.

In brief, findings of the current study can be summarised as follows. Firstly, the *-tay* marked utterance is used to introduce a new topic by the speaker during interaction, in order to evaluate the information with the hearer. Secondly, the speaker uses the *-tay* marked utterance to provide evidence based on an external source and/or a third person's utterance. Thirdly, *-tay* is used to detail contexts when the speaker provides the hearer with the background information about activities and events that are

gained from a third person. Fourthly, the speaker adopts *-tay* to express his/her particular attitude in a rhetorical question.

As such, through this chapter, it will be demonstrated that *-tay* has multiple functions which are realised in a variety of interactional contexts. In addition, it will be shown that a quoting strategy is used to create involvement of the speaker with the hearer and/or the subject matter in interaction, by echoing the other's voice. In examining the interactional functions of *-tay*, the focus has been on discovering the patterns of speakers' use of *-tay*, as this marker emerges in a large majority of cases, and on understanding the pragmatic acts of meaning-making in surrounding contexts, by observing what people do with this marker. Therefore, the different context would allow another analyst to reach the same conclusions.

Chapter 5 is organised in the following manner. The first four sections explore the interactional functions of *-tay* based on the telephone conversational data; that is, as topic initial elicitor in 5.1, as evidence-leaking marker in 5.2, as context-detailing marker in 5.3, and as a quote-like marker in a rhetorical question in 5.4. Section 5.5 provides a summary of the chapter.

5.1 Topic initial elicitor

This section examines the speaker's use of *-tay* as a topic initial elicitor to mark the introduction of a new topic in the conversation. Button and Casey (1984) state that a number of features are observed that are relevant for the operation of topic initial elicitors for establishing a topic in conversation. These features are: (i) topic initial elicitors segment talk; (ii) they present a newsworthy event; and (iii) they provide an open, though bounded, domain from which events may be selected as possible topic initials. These features can be applied to the function of *-tay* as topic initial elicitor. For instance, the speaker's use of *-tay* marks a new segment of talk, by displaying that talk

will proceed further, not from prior talk, but from his/her inquiry. In addition, the *-tay* marked utterance presents a newsworthy event report which has not been topical in the prior talk.

Let us observe (1) below, in order to see how the speaker uses *-tay* to introduce a new topic, and also to invite involvement of the hearer, by quoting someone else's voice. Prior to this extract, speakers A and B have been talking about their friend Chaeok. Speaker A then draws the attention of speaker B, saying that she will tell a very interesting story in lines 1 and 2. After a brief response from B in line 3, speaker A comes up with a new topic with the *-tay* marked utterance in line 4.

(1) [Callfriends ko_5637]

- 1 A: A *cham*, *ya Enyoung-a nay-ka nemwu nemwu wuski-n*
EXC hang.on VOC Enyoung-VOC I-SUB really really fun-ATTR
- 2 *yayki hana ha-y-cwe-yatwa-y.*
story one do-IE-give-NEC-IE
'Ah, hang on. Hey Enyoung, I have to give you a really very interesting story.'
- 3 B: *Ung, ung? Mwe?*
yeah yeah what
'Yeah, yeah? What?'
- 4 A: *Issci, Haesu-ka* (laugh) *Hanhako cikum naka-koiss-tay.*
FIL Haesu-SUB Han.with now go.out-PROG-TAY
'Look, Haesu, (I've heard) Haesu is now going out with Han.'
- 5 B: *Han?*
Han
'Han?'
- 6 A: *E.*
yeah
'Yeah.'
- 7 B: *ARE YOU KIDDING ME?*
- 8 A: *Han nwukwu-n-ci alci.*
Han who-ATTR-COM know

- ‘You know who Han is, don’t you?’
- 9 B: *E.*
yeah
‘Yeah.’
- 10 A: *E, ceki, Han YOU KNOW MY EX-BOYFRIEND.*
yeah FIL Han
‘Yeah, well, Han, you know, my ex-boyfriend.’
- 11 B: *OH MY GOD!*
.....(following forty five lines omitted).....
- 57 A: *Nemwu wuski-cianh-ni?*
very funny-NEG-INTER
‘Very funny, isn’t it?’

As can be understood in line 4, speaker A employs *-tay* to inform speaker B that Han, A’s ex-boyfriend, is going out with Haesu, who is regarded as a friend or acquaintance of the speakers A and B, considering the context of this conversation. The information conveyed by A is new to speaker B, since B’s responses indicate her surprise at lines 5, 7 and 11. Following the conversation presented above, speaker A goes on, saying how her ex-boyfriend Han and Haesu met, and from whom she gained the information. After this segment, speaker A says ‘*Nemwu wuskicianhni?*’ which means literally ‘Isn’t it funny?’ in line 57. However, contextually we can see that the information introduced by speaker A in (1) is not actually a funny or interesting story. The illocutionary force of speaker A’s utterance is seen as criticising, by implying ‘How can it happen?’ It becomes quite clear if readers can assume the relationship between speaker A and her ex-boyfriend Han. The reason why speaker A introduces the information with the use of *-tay* is that she feels unhappy with the story of Han and Haesu, and invites the hearer to talk about it.

In Chapter 3, the fact that a quotation strategy extends the speaker’s expressivity beyond mere referential meaning was discussed. In other words, the speaker conveys

his/her expression with an evaluative tone when he/she conveys information. The *-tay* marked utterance in (1) conveys new information based on what the speaker heard, and at the same time it signals the speaker's intention to evaluate the information with the hearer.

To elaborate this discussion, let us examine the following example (2), which shows an instance of the speaker's use of *-tay* to bring up a new topic for a talk. In this dialogue, speaker A is talking about what happened in a business research method class at his university.

(2) [Callfriends ko_6516]

- 1 A: *Kulayse. Ku ipen-ey caymiss-nun, caknyen hakki-ey*
so that this-TEMP interesting-ATTR last.year semester-TEMP
- 2 *caymiss-nun saken-i hana iss-ess-ta.* (laugh)
interesting-ATTR event-SUB CL exist-PAST-DEC
'So, this time it's interesting, there was an interesting event in the
semester last year.'
- 3 B: *Mwey-eyyo?*
what-POL
'What was that?'
- 4 A: *F-lul hankwamok-eyse tases myeng-ina cwess-tay.*
F-OBJ one.subject-LOC five CL-even gave-TAY
'(I've heard that the professor) gave as many as five people F for one
subject.'
- 5 B: *E eti guraydyuaythukwa-eyse-yo? Nwuka-yo?*
where graduate.department-LOC-POL who-POL
'Where? Did that happen at the graduate department? Who did it?'
- 6 A: *Ung.* (laugh) *Ung? Saylo on marketingkyoswu-ka,*
yes. what newly came marketing.professor-SUB
- 7 (breath) *business research method-eyse.*
business research method-LOC
'Yes. What? A marketing professor who newly came, (it happened) in
the class of business research method.'

While *-tay* is used to evaluate the topic introduced by the speaker, there are also instances of *-tay* marked utterance used to construct ‘dialogic relations’ (Bakhtin 1986).¹ The following example will show that the speaker adopts the *-tay* marked utterance to build up a new conversation, and forms ‘dialogic relations’ by reflecting the meanings that speakers had made in interactions with hearers in previous contexts. When the speaker repeats the previous utterances in new contexts, he/she forms ‘dialogic relations’ between participants in previous contexts and participants in new contexts.

Prior to this conversation, speaker A has been talking about discovery cards and she has begun to change her topic, by inserting her older sister’s utterance.

(3) [Callfriends ko_6510]

- 1 A: *Kulaykaciko apeci-ka kucekkey o-sy-ess-tay.*
 so father-SUB two.days.ago come-HON-PAST-TAY
- 2 *siksaha-si-le.*
 have.meal-HON-PUR
 ‘So, (My older sister said that) my father came to have a meal two days ago.’
- 3 B: *Ung.*
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 4 A: *Kulaykaciko o-sye-kaciko kule-te-lay.²*
 so come-HON-CN as.such-RET-QT
- 5 *Nay-ka icey wulicip sa-nun-kes.*
 I-SUB now my.home buy-ATTR-NOM
- 6 *Samsip nyen sanghwanha-n-tanikka,*
 thirty years repay-ATTR-TANIKKA
- 7 *wuli emma nemwu hansimha-n-kapwa.*

¹ See the discussion of ‘dialogic relations’ in Section 3.4 in Chapter 3.

² The marker *-lay* in *kule-te-lay* is a phonetic variant of *-tay*. In this usage, *kule-si-te-lay* with the honorific marker *-si* is more appropriate, since it conveys the utterance of speaker A’s father who is the subject to be respected. According to C. Lee (2011, 2012), the retrospective suffix *-te*, which is the direct perceptual evidential marker, marks ‘aloofness’ when it co-occurs with *-lay*.

- my mum very pathetic-ATTR-PRESUM
 ‘So, my father came and said, buying my home now...My mum seemed to think I am pathetic, because I said that I will be repaying my home loan for thirty years.’
- 8 B: (laugh)
- 9 A: *Kuleteni ne kuke ta naykona-myen ne ilhunsal*
 then you that all pay.after-CD you seventy.years.old
 10 *ta toy-n-tay.*
 almost become-ATTR-TAY
 ‘Then, (she said that) I will become almost seventy years old after repaying it all.’
- 11 B: (laugh) *Swuncinha-sy-e.*
 naïve-HON-IE
 ‘She is naïve.’
(following twenty nine lines omitted).....
- 41 B: (laugh) *Ani kulayse kyellon-un mwe-ya,*
 no so conclusion-TOP what-IE
 42 *apenim-i apeci-ka te pothaynta-nun ke-ya?*
 father-SUB father-SUB more support-ATTR NOM-IE
 ‘No, so, what is the conclusion, is it that your father will provide more support?’
- 43 A: *E. Te pothaycwu-n-tay.*
 yes more support-ATTR-TAY
 ‘Yes, (my sister said that) my father will provide more support.’

In line 1, speaker A starts her new conversation, by quoting her older sister’s voice with the use of the *-tay* marked utterance. According to A’s older sister, their father came over to her home for dinner, and talked about A’s purchase of home. Speaker A’s mother, who probably had a conversation with A before, said that A would be almost seventy years old after repaying all her home loan, at lines 9 and 10. Her utterance is conveyed by A with the use of the *-tay* marked utterance. B’s response at line 11, *Swuncinhasye* ‘She is naïve’ shows her evaluation of the utterance by A’s mother.

Speaker A uses the *-tay* marked utterance again at line 43, by saying that her father will provide more support. This utterance was transferred by A's older sister earlier, then by A in the current context.

As seen in this dialogue, speaker A echoes multiple voices by inserting her parents' utterances as well as her older sister's in the use of the *-tay* marked utterance. In this regard, the quoting strategy employed by the speaker here can be regarded as forming 'dialogic relations' between the participants. In Bakhtin's words:

Two juxtaposed utterances belonging to different people who know nothing about one another if they only slightly converge on one and the same subject (idea), inevitably enter into dialogic relations with one another. They come into contact with one another on the territory of a common theme, a common idea (Bakhtin 1986: 114).

Maynard also notes the following:

Inserting conversation in discourse is a strategy that overtly signals the multivoicedness of discourse. In language, depending on its purpose, and consequently, depending on the devices and strategies used in actual expressions, discourse may be more or less open and more or less responsive to dialogic interpretation (Maynard 2005: 844).

Although speaker A's parents and sister are not present in this conversation, they enter into 'dialogic relations' with speakers A and B through the quoting strategy. In addition, inserting another conversation makes it possible to add dynamics to the talk, since it allows the speaker to echo multiple voices simultaneously.

The speaker's use of the *-tay* marked utterance in line 1 is used as topic initial elicitor, by laying the foundation of a new chunk of talk. However, the *-tay* marked utterances in lines 10 and 43 indicate different functions. These functions are regarded as a context-detailing marker which will be discussed in Section 5.3. In addition, the speaker's use of the *-tay* marked utterances in this context contribute to forming 'dialogic relations' between participants by bonding the other's voice to conversation and to the same topic.

The examples consistently show that the effect of the *-tay* marked utterance is interactional, since it invites the hearer's involvement to build a new conversation. Moreover, *-tay* as a topic initial elicitor indicates the involvement of the speaker with the subject matter that expresses his/her particular interests in the talk.

5.2 Evidence-leaking marker

In this section, the function of *-tay* as an evidence-leaking marker based on the other's voice will be explored. The speaker's use of *-tay* indicates the reliability of the information which is gained from an external source. What is different to the function of topic initial elicitor is that the speaker does not present a new topic with the *-tay* marked utterance but uses this marker to suggest his/her opinion on the information presented by the interlocutor.

The following example of *-tay* is used to express the speaker's attitude toward the information.

(4) [Callfriends ko_4012]

- 1 A: *Enni, kuntey na-nun sentheylsye-ul palu-myen*
 older.sister by.the.way I-TOP suntan.lotion-OBJ put.on-CD
- 2 *elkwul-ey twutuleki-ka na-n-ta.*
 face-LOC rash-SUB come.out-ATTR-DEC
- 'Sister, by the way, I get rashes on my face if I put on suntan lotion.'
- 3 B: *Ung, ung.*
 yes yes
- 'Yes, yes?'
- 4 B: *Kulaykacikoissci sentheynto conglyu-ka yelekaci-ka iss-tay.*
 and.so suntan.too kind-SUB various-SUB be-TAY
- 5 *Nay-ka kuttay mwusun syo-lul pwass-nuntay,*
 I-SUB at.that.time some show-OBJ saw-CIR
- 'So, (I heard that) there are various suntans, I saw a show at that time.'
- 6 A: *E, e.*

- yes yes
 ‘Yes, yes.’
- 7 B: (breath) *Senthey-n-i phipwu-ey hupswuha-nun ssentheynto iss-ko*
 suntan-SUB skin-LOC absorb-ATTR suntan.too exist-CN
- 8 *cakichelem phipwu thulepul-i iss-nun salam-un*
 you.like skin trouble-SUB exist-ATTR person-TOP
 ‘There is a suntan lotion absorbed into skin too, and the person who has
 skin trouble like you...’
- 9 A: *Ung, ung.*
 yes yes
 ‘Yes, yes.’
- 10 B: *Kunyang ilehkey wieytaka phaykman ha-nun-ke-ya.*
 just like.this on pack.only do-ATTR-NOM-IE
- 11 *hipwu-ey hupswu-ka an toy-nun sangthay-eyse.*
 skin-LOC absorb-SUB NEG become-ATTR condition-LOC
 ‘Just pack on it like this, if the condition skin does not absorb it.’
- 12 A: *E, a, a.*
 yes ah ah
 ‘Yes, ah, ah.’
- 13 B: *Kulen ssentheynto iss-tay. Kulenikka hanpen mwule-po-ci.*
 that suntan.too exist-TAY so once ask-AUX-COM
 ‘(I heard that) there is that kind of suntan lotion too. So, try to ask
 (someone).’

In (4), speaker A says to speaker B that she gets rashes on her face when she puts on suntan lotion. Speaker B responds saying ‘(I heard that) there are various kinds of suntan lotions, I saw a TV show then’ in lines 4 and 5, which is information obtained from an external source, a TV show, with the frame of indirect quotation *-tay*. Speaker B continues her talk about kinds of suntan lotions, and in 13, she says that ‘(I heard that) there is such a suntan lotion, so try to ask’, using *-tay* again here. Why does speaker B represent the information by way of representing the other’s voice, that is,

somebody else's words, instead of just stating that 'there are various kinds of suntan lotions' or 'there is such and such a suntan lotion'?

According to Chafe (1985), expressing the attitudes of speakers toward the knowledge or information in communication has to do with the reliability of that knowledge, or the reasoning that resulted in the information. Within linguistics, such phenomena have been categorised under the heading 'evidentiality' (Chafe and Nicholas, in press). Chafe (1985) states that one type of evidentiality has to do with marking knowledge more specifically as having been derived from a particular kind of evidence, usually either from sensory evidence or from hearsay.

Close inspection of (4) reveals the intention of the speaker as expressed in the use of indirect quotation. She is not fully convinced of the truth of the information since she has not learned the information by experience. However, speaker B wants to give speaker A the information, which is reliable and trustworthy. Furthermore, she wants to suggest speaker A try other suntan lotions that do not cause skin trouble. By using the indirect quotation marker *-tay*, the speaker tries to show the reliability of the information to support her opinion.

To elaborate this discussion, let us examine the following example (5). Prior to the conversation below, speaker B has been talking about sesame oil. Her friends ate the food speaker B's mother cooked, and they had diarrhoea. Speaker B assumes that the diarrhoea is due to sesame oil.

(5) [Callfriends ko_4314]

- 1 A: *Nay-ka yocum ku yengyang po-ketun-yo.*
 I-SUB these.days FIL nutrition check-COR-POL
 'I check that nutrition these days.'
- 2 B: *Yey.*
 yes
 'Yes.'

- 3 A: *Chanolla-ka coh-tay-yo kaps-un*
 canola-SUB good-TAY-POL price-TOP
 ‘(I heard that) canola oil is good, the price.’
- 4 B: *Chanolla-ka mwe sikmwulseng mwusun sikmwul-i-yey-yo?*
 canola-SUB something phytogenic what plant-COP-IE-POL
 ‘Canola oil is something phytogenic, what is the plant?’
- 5 A: *Molu-keyss-eyo.*
 do.not.know-DTRE-POL
- 6 *Seouleyse-to kakkum chanollasencen-ul manhi hayss-nuntey.*
 Seoul.in.too sometimes canola.advertisement-OBJ a.lot did-CIR
 ‘I don’t know. Sometimes there was a lot of advertisement in Seoul too.’
- 7 B: *A ollipuoil-un nemwu pissa.*
 EXC olive.oil-TOP too expensive
 ‘Oh, olive oil is too expensive.’
- 8 A: *Ollipuoil-un pissa-ntey na-nun hyang-i pyello*
 olive.oil-TOP expensive-CIR I-TOP fragrance-SUB not.so
 9 *an-coh-tela-ko.*
 NEG-good-RET-CN
- 10 *Kuntey cehuy siemenim-i*
 by.the.way my mother.in.law-SUB
 ‘Olive oil is expensive, but its fragrance is not good for me. By the way, my mother-in-law...’
- 11 B: *Ung. Kuliko nemwu nukkiha-ko.*
 yes and too oily-CN
 ‘Yes, and it is too oily.’
- 12 A: *Kholleysuthulol ttaymwuney kuke-ka cokum nas-tay-yo,*
 cholesterol because.of that-SUB a.bit better-TAY-POL
 13 *ollipuoil-i.*
 olive.oil-SUB
 ‘(My mother-in-law said that) olive oil is better because of cholesterol.’
- 14 B: *Yey.*
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 15 A: *Yey, kulayse kuke-lul sanwass-nuntey,*
 yes so it-OBJ bought-CIR

‘Yes, so I bought it but...’

.....(following seven lines omitted).....

- 23 A: *Kuntey sinmwun-ey po-nikka ani chayk-ey po-nikka*
by.the way newspaper-LOC read-CN no book-LOC read-CN
- 24 *vege ceki ollipuoilina canolla-lul mek-ula-ko sseiss-tela-ko-yo.*
vege FIL olive.oil.or canola-OBJ eat-IMP-QT written-RET-QT-POL
- 25 *Kulenikka taumeynun chanolla sa-sey-yo.*
thus next.time canola buy-HON-POL
- ‘By the way, I read a newspaper, no, a book, where it was written to eat
vege...well, olive oil or canola oil. So, buy canola oil next time.’

In (5), speaker A uses the *-tay* utterance, conveying the information that canola oil is good in line 3. In line 7, speaker B says that olive oil is too expensive. Hearing that, speaker A supports B’s opinion on olive oil, and adds her opinion that she doesn’t like the fragrance of olive oil at lines 8 and 9. While speaker B continues to tell her negative opinion on olive oil, that it is too oily, at line 11, speaker A quotes her mother-in-law’s utterance, by saying that olive oil is a bit better than canola oil because of cholesterol in lines 10, 12 and 13, and she bought olive oil in line 15. After this segment, A tells B that the prices of canola, vegetable and corn oil are similar except for olive oil in omitted lines. Then, speaker A suggests speaker B buy canola oil next time in line 25, saying that she gained the information from a book in lines 23 and 24.

Again, speaker A’s use of *-tay* here marks the information that is obtained from an external source which is reliable and objective. Regarding the context in the excerpt above, the main point that speaker A wants to say is to recommend that speaker B buys canola oil, as seen in line 25. A quoting strategy is used here, first, to support the speaker’s opinion that canola oil is good, by providing information from a book as evidence. The speaker’s use of the *-tay* marked utterance is also used to provide reasoning by inserting a third person’s utterance; that is, speaker A bought olive oil as she gained the information about it from her mother-in-law. As such, the *-tay* marked

utterance in this context is used to mark evidence with certain kinds of reliability and reasoning.

While the speaker's use of *-tay* indicates the reliability of the information to suggest something, it can be used to inform knowledge and detach the speaker from the responsibility for conveying the knowledge in a different context. The following example shows that the *-tay* marked utterance is employed to provide evidence of the information, which has to do with the negative evaluation of the speaker in an implicit way. Prior to the conversation below, speakers A and B have been talking about Gary, who is a student learning English at the same college. Speaker A has said that Gary seems to be a very nice guy, but speaker B provides an opposite view of Gary in the use of *-tay*, which is gained from others.

(6) [Callfriends ko_6685]

1 A: *E, eng, ung.*

yes yes yes

'Yes, yes, yes.'

2 B: *Kuntey nacwung-ey ku salam class-ka toyn salam-tul-i*

but later-TEMP that person class-SUB became person-PL-SUB

3 *ha-nun soli-ka po-nun ke-lang nemwu thulli-tay.*

do-ATTR voice-SUB look-ATTR NOM-CN too different-TAY

'But Gary's classmates say that he is too different from what he looks like.'

4 A: *Eng. Cengmal-i-ya?*

yes really-COP-IE

'Yes. Really?'

5 B: *Salam-i ai kulenikka phyengsoeyn coh-tay. Kuntey,*

person-SUB FIL in.other.words usually good-TAY but

'(They say that) the person, well, in other words, usually he is good, but...'

6 A: *Ung.*

yes

- ‘Yes.’
- 7 B: *Ttak enu swunkan-ey caki kipwun-ey kesulli-myenun*
just some point-TEMP oneself nerve-LOC jangle-CD
- 8 *kipwunnappaha-nun key nwun-ey poi-n-tay-n-ta.*
feel.bad-ATTR NOM eyes-LOC seen-ATTR-TAY-ATTR-DEC
‘(They say that) his bad feeling is obvious to them if something jangles
his nerves just at some point.’
- 9 A: *Cengmal-i-ya?*
really-COP-IE
‘Really?’
- 10 B: *Ku thi-ka nal cengtolo phak ku*
FIL mark-SUB visible degree completely FIL
- 11 *phyoceng-i pyenha-n-tay.*
facial.expression-SUB change-ATTR-TAY
‘(They say that) his facial expression is completely changed and becomes
visible.’
- 12 A: *He. Eme weynil-i-ya.*
EXC EXC what.on.earth-COP-IE
‘Huh, oh, what on earth is it.’
- 13 B: *Kuttaypwuthe mak isanghayci-n-tay, salam-i.*
then.from FIL become.weird-ATTR-TAY person-SUB
‘(They say that) he becomes weird from then.’
- 14 A: *Ememe, ememe. Cengmal?*
EXC EXC really
‘Oh my gosh, oh my gosh. Really?’
- 15 B: *Ne-n acik kulen ke eps-ess-e?*
you-TOP yet such thing no.exist-PAST-IE
‘Didn’t you have such a thing yet?’
- 16 A: *Wuli-n kulen ke eps-ess-e.*
we-TOP such thing no.exist-PAST-IE
‘We had no such a thing.’
- 17 B: *E, kulayse nay-ka pokieynun salam kwaynchanh-un kes*
well so I-SUB view.in person nice-ATTR NOM
- 18 *kath-untay, aytul-i kule-tela-ko.*
PRESUM-CIR they-SUB say-RET-QT

‘Well, so, in my view he looks like a nice person, but they said that.’

In (6), using the *-tay* marked utterance, speaker B conveys information about Gary based on what she heard from other people who are Gary’s classmates. Quoting their voices, B says that Gary is different from what he looks like in lines 2 and 3. Speaker B goes on to talk about Gary, saying that he is a good person in line 5, but his bad feelings are visible when something gets on his nerves in lines 7, 8 and 10, 11 and that he becomes weird, in line 13.

As seen in this example, speaker B provides A with the evidence that Gary is not such a good guy as speaker A thinks, by using the *-tay* marked utterance. In lines 17 and 18, speaker B says that ‘In my view, he looks like a nice person but they said that’. From this utterance, it can be assumed that speaker B wants to inform speaker A that Gary’s personality is somewhat different from what they think. Although speaker B did not experience or observe Gary’s bad side, she is leaking the negative evaluation on Gary through her report and avoiding responsibility for criticising him directly. However, there is another way of interpreting this excerpt with respect to the cultural context in Korea. That is, the reason why speaker B informs A of the negative information about Gary is grounded on intimacy, affection, and solidarity. These are regarded as cultural values in Korea and the speaker’s use of *-tay* here can reflect her thoughtful feeling for the interlocutor arising from the solidarity of her friendship. This point will be discussed in Chapter 7 in detail.

The effect of the *-tay* marked utterance is interactional, since it elicits the hearer’s responses such as request to confirm in lines 4 and 9 and surprise in line 12. This reflects that the speaker invites the involvement of the hearer with the use of the *-tay* marked utterance.

Thus far the present study has examined cases where the *-tay* marked utterance is used to provide evidence which is obtained from an external source and/or a third

person's utterance. Different types of attitudes have been observed according to contexts. In the first two cases, the speaker expresses his/her attitude toward the information which is reliable and trustworthy to suggest something to the hearer. In the second case, the speaker expresses her attitude to shift the responsibility for knowledge to others, but still desires to inform the hearer with information obtained from someone else. Both cases create the involvement with the hearer, since the speaker expects responses and reactions from the hearer, as well as provides information. Further, the function of *-tay* as an evidence-leaking marker reflects multivoicedness, since it conveys a third person's voice through the speaker's voice, by indicating the speaker's different attitudes.

5.3 Context-detailing marker

In this section, the function of *-tay* as a context-detailing marker will be explored. The speaker's use of *-tay* functions to detail contexts in order to provide the hearer with the necessary information about the background knowledge on activities and/or events that the speaker heard from a third person. This function indicates the speaker's involvement with the subject matter. That is, it shows the speaker's ongoing personal commitment to what is being talked about. Sohn and Park (2003: 114) also allude to this function, claiming that *-tay* is 'deployed to build up the event as a coherent narrative' and at the same time to add the speaker's personal stance' in story telling or conversational narrative. The present study will show how the speaker adopts the *-tay* marked utterance to tell a story, by selecting important information obtained from a third person. Further, it will discuss how the speaker structurally orders the information and establishes thematic connection in a story.

To examine this function, let us present the following example from the telephone conversations. In (7) below, the speaker A explains about Ilyoung and his

friends' arranged schedule for the trip to Niagara. Speaker A adopts the *-tay* marked utterances seven times to indicate what will happen during the journey based on what she heard from Ilyoung.

(7) [Callfriends ko_4434]

- 1 A: *Ilyoungi-ka aytul teyli-ko kasstaon-tay.*
 Ilyoung-SUB them take-CN go.come-TAY
 'Ilyoung said that he will take them and come back.'
- 2 B: *Ung.*
 yes
 'Yes.'
- 3 A: *Kuleyihawuntu tha-ko pamseywese pesutha-ko kan-tay.*
 Greyhound ride-CN night.throughout bus.ride-CN go-TAY
 4 *yelsikan tha-ko kan-tay. Yelsikan.*
 ten.hours ride-CN go-TAY ten.hours
 '(He said that) they will go by Greyhound bus throughout the night. (He said that) it takes ten hours, ten hours.'
- 5 B: *Ung. (breath) Ehyu, oppatap-ney, hyengta-we.*
 yes EXC older.brother.like-SFP older.brother.like-IE
 'Yes, oh, he is like an older brother, like an older brother.'
(following five lines omitted).....
- 11 A: *Ka-se tochakha-myen thoyoil saypyek-i-canha.*
 go-CN arrive-CD Saturday daybreak-COP-SFP
 12 *Achim, kulayse mwe kwukyengha-ko thoyoilnal kekise halwu*
 moring so FIL look.around-CN Saturday there one.day
 13 *can-tay, halwu ca-ko.*
 stay-TAY one.day sleep-CN
 'If they arrive, it will be daybreak on Saturday, you know. Morning, so, well, (he said that) they will look around and stay one day on Saturday, stay one day and...'
- 14 B: *E, e.*
 yes yes
 'Yes, yes.'
- 15 A: (breath) *Ilyoilnal pamina say- welyoil saypyek-ey on-tay.*

- Sunday night.or Monday daybreak-TEMP come-TAY
 ‘(He said that) they will come back on Sunday night or at daybreak on Monday.’
- 16 B: *Canun tey-nun ta kwuhaynwass-tay?*
 sleep place-TOP all got-TAY
 ‘Did they get a place to sleep?’
- 17 A: *Ani, keki ka-se kunyang mak can-tay,*
 no there go-CN just like sleep-TAY
- 18 *Kunyang isanghan yekwan ilentey ka-se.*
 just strange motel like.this go-CN
 ‘No, (he said that) they will just like to go there and sleep, just, go to a strange motel like this.’
- 19 B: *Kulemyen*
 then
 ‘Then...’
- 20 A: *Kulenikka mwe ney-myeng tuleka-nun pang-i iss-tay,*
 so something four-CL enter-ATTR room-SUB exist-TAY
- 21 *sainsil.*
 four.people.room
 ‘So, something...(he said that) there is a room for four people.’

In (7), speaker A produces a series of the *-tay* marked utterances in lines 1, 3, 4, 13, 15, 17 and 20 in order to provide detailed information about the future trip of Ilyoung and his friends. Firstly, speaker A says that Ilyoung will take his friends to Niagara in line 1, and they will use a Greyhound coach in line 3. The bus trip takes ten hours to get there in line 4. Then, the speaker A continues his talk, by saying that they will stay at the destination on Saturday in lines 12 and 13, and come back at daybreak on Monday in line 15. In response to speaker B’s question of whether or not they searched for a place to sleep in line 16, speaker A uses the *-tay* marked utterance in lines 17 and 20, in order to explain that they will sleep there at a sort of motel with a room for four persons.

Then, why does speaker A use the *-tay* marked utterance consecutively in (7)? Firstly, the speaker uses *-tay* here to mark that she obtained the information from Ilyoung, by indicating her lively interest in the subject matter being communicated. Secondly, it is seen that speaker A handles a chunk of the information with the use of *-tay*, by selecting the information from her point of view. Thirdly, speaker A's use of the *-tay* marked utterance details contexts, by providing the relevant information about future events which will occur to Ilyoung and his companions during the trip. All this information by A is thematically connected in the use of the *-tay* marked utterance, creating mutual access to the surrounding environment for Ilyoung and his friends' trip, and thus they share and attend to their talk. This is well observed by Gumperz (1982). Quoting Goffman (1974), Gumperz states as follows:

Any utterance can be understood in numerous ways, and that people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of interaction. In other words, they define the interaction in terms of a frame or schema which is identifiable and familiar (Gumperz 1982: 103).

As can be seen in (7), the information by the speaker with the use of the *-tay* marked utterance is structurally ordered, including who, what, where, how, when and why. The use of *-tay* does not determine meaning here, but it contributes to interpretations of contexts for the hearer. In addition, the speaker's use of *-tay* foregrounds relevant information from her point of view, by transferring the other's voice.

This thesis uses the terms 'foregrounding' in Chafe's (1972) sense: 'foregrounding' refers to establishing a particular referent in the foreground of the interlocutor's consciousness as a 'focus', while other discourse referents remain within the background. Chafe (1972: 50) provides a metaphorical explanation by considering what goes on in a discourse as if they were states and events unfolding on a stage, so that it is possible to say that '...at any particular point in the discourse there are certain things which are on stage. It is whatever is on stage that I am calling foregrounded'.

To elaborate the discussion of the function of the *-tay* marked utterance as a context-detailing marker, the following example is presented. The example below shows how the speaker uses this marker in order to foreground the important information which is relevant to the teacher, who was one of the teachers of the speaker when she was a middle school student. The information conveyed by the speaker is based on what she heard from others. Below, the speakers are talking about the relationship between the teacher and her former student, who became her husband later on.

(8) [Callfriends ko_6494]

1 A: *Ung, ung.*
yes yes
'Yes, yes.'

2 B: *I salami-i- i sensayng-nim-i yeca sensayng-nim-i-ntey*
this person-SUB this teacher-PAS-SUB woman teacher-PAS-COP-CIR
3 *kotunghakkyo-lul ani ce tayhak ttak colepha-ko chespencgay*
highschool-OBJ no FIL university just graduate-CN first
4 *pallyengna-n tey-ka namca cwunghakkyo-y-ess-tay.*
job.get-ATTR place-SUB boys middle.school-COP-PAST-TAY
'(I heard that) this person, teacher, is a woman, and she graduated from a
high school, no, university, and then she got her first job at a boys'
middle school.'

5 A: *Ung, ung.*
yes yes
'Yes, yes.'

6 B: *Kulayse kekise onyencengto issta wuli cwunghakkyolo*
so there five.years.about stayed our middle.school.to
7 *wa-se incey kaluchi-ki sicakhayss-ta. Kuntey,*
come-CN now teach-NOM began-DEC but
'So, she stayed there about five years and came to our school and began
to teach. But...'

8 A: *Ung.*

- yes
‘Yes.’
- 9 B: *Koyngcanghi com chinhay-ss-tay.*
very a.little close-PAST-TAY
- 10 *Kuntey incey ku cwunghakkyocolephan aytul-i yayney-ka*
by.the.way now FIL middle.school.graduated students-SUB they-SUB
- 11 *tayhak-ul on-ke-ya. Wuli kaluchi-nun kusai-ey.*
university-OBJ came-NOM-IE our teaching-ATTR that.while-TEMP
‘(I heard that) they were very close. By the way, the students who graduated from the middle school entered university, now while we are teaching.’
- 12 A: *Ung. A tayhaksayng-i tway-kacko?*
yes EXC university.students-SUB became-CN
‘Yes, ah, they became university students?’
- 13 B: *Ung. Kulaykaciko keki keki tayhakkyo isscanha*
yes so there there university FIL
- 14 *kulenikka kathi hay-se cham manhi tany-ess-tay.*
so together do-CN very much hang.out-PAST-TAY
- 15 *kulenikka toykey chinhay-ss-tay.*
so very close-PAST-TAY
‘Yes. So there, there is university, isn’t it? So, (I heard that) they hung out together many times. So, (I heard that) they were very close.’
.....(following eighteen lines omitted).....
- 34 B: *Kuntey nacwungey wa-se incey kyelhon-ul ha-n-tay.*
but later.on come-CN now marriage-OBJ do-ATTR-TAY
‘But, later on, (I heard that) they now would get married.’

A repetitive use of the *-tay* marked utterance when telling a story about the teacher and her former student in (8) above is used to provide the background information about the teacher’s marriage. That is, the teacher got her first job to work for a boys’ middle school where she met a student, her future husband, from lines 2 to 4, and the relationship between the teacher and her student in lines 9, 14 and 15. Then, speaker B says that she heard about the teacher’s marriage in line 34.

As can be seen in this conversation, speaker B does not organise the information in a random way. In other words, she rearranges a story from her viewpoint based on what she heard from a third person. By the use of the *-tay* marked utterance, speaker B details the surrounding contexts and focuses on the important information about the teacher's marriage to her student, for example, they were very close in line 9 and went out together frequently in line 14. Here, the *-tay* marked utterance shows how the stream of talk is divided into each event, and how *-tay* works to identify focused items, distinguishing given from new information and main points from the structure. All the information indicated by *-tay* affects establishing thematic connections. The use of *-tay* is also crucial to maintaining interpersonal involvement, since it contributes to the hearer's access to the information and makes a decision how to interpret the event based on the information provided by the speaker's *-tay* marked utterance. In this respect, the function of *-tay* can be described as 'contextualisation cue', as in Gumperz (1982). According to Gumperz (1982: 131), 'a contextualisation cue is any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions' and 'speakers signal and the hearers interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows'.

The effect of the *-tay* marked utterance by the speaker here is that it invites the hearer's involvement, as it elicits the hearer's reaction such as understanding and question. See for example line 12 in (8). In addition, the speaker uses the *-tay* marked utterance to express the speaker's involvement with the subject matter being talked about, as evidenced with the use of adverbs such as *Koyngcanghi* (very) in line 9 and *toykey* (very) in line 15 to exaggerate the event. In addition, the speaker's use of the *-tay* marked utterance sends a metamessage that 'Listen. I know something and I want to let you know', by creating the involvement with the subject matter and the hearer.

5.4 The quote-like marker in a rhetorical question

This section examines the function of *-tay* as a quote-like marker in rhetorical questions. For this function, the *-tay* marked utterance can be used in a form of indirect quotation marker in dialogue, in order to express the speaker's attitudes in a rhetorical question. In particular, this function can be observed in emotive communications such as argument and refutation. However, examples for this case have not been found in telephone conversational data. It is assumed that speakers were conscious of their conversations which were being recorded. Therefore, they might have not exposed their negative emotions including anger in arguing. For this reason, this study presents an example extracted from a drama script,³ as there are various emotive communications in dramatic situations. In fact, this function of *-tay* is frequently observed in real situations reflecting a speaker's negative attitudes and it is regarded as one of the significant functions of the marker.

Before proceeding with the discussion, I would like to revisit the previous study by Sohn and Park (2003) to compare the function of *-tay* in a rhetorical question. In that study, *-tay* was discussed to mark inaccessibility of information. In other words, *-tay* indicates that the source of the knowledge is located outside the speaker's territory of information. Observe the following example, which was given as (13) in Chapter 2 and represented here as (9).

(9) **The prayer**⁴

- 1 H: But why doesn't the church pray for (her)?
2 S: What prayer?
3 H: Well, if the pastor is sick

³ In order to be consistent with the 'real' conversational data in both Korean and Japanese, this research has focused on the real telephone conversations in both languages. However, it seems that arguments and disputes are rare and this particular usage of *-tay* has not been found in the telephone conversations.

⁴ The example (9) from Sohn and Park (2003) maintains original texts without any modification. They did not provide Korean utterances except for line 5.

- 4 people should pray for her once in a while.
- 5 L: *Nwuka aphu-tay-yo?*
 someone sick-TAY-POL
 ‘Is someone sick?’
- 6 H: Oh, pastor Y. She had surgery and...
- 7 L: Oh, I didn’t know that. (Sohn and Park 2003: 109)

At the beginning of this extract, speakers H and S are talking about a female pastor at church who recently had a serious illness. In line 5, another speaker L overheard their talk briefly, and asks if anyone is sick. Her utterance ‘*Nwuka aphutayyo*’ includes *-tay* as in *aphu-tay-yo* (‘sick’-TAY-‘(semi-formal ending)’), and even though it is translated as ‘Is someone sick?’ here, its literal meaning is ‘Did they say that someone is sick?’

The above example shows that *-tay* may be used with an interrogative word (wh-word) *nwuka* ‘who’ and simply asks a ‘real’ question (typically with a rising intonation (H%)).⁵ However, if *-tay* is used with a different intonation (typically with a sharper later rising intonation (LH%)) in a different context, it marks the speaker’s negative attitude toward the hearer.⁶ Observe the following example from the drama script ‘*Queen of inner support*’.

(10) [*Queen of inner support*, Episode 11]

- 1 Jie: *Tangsin swusangha-y.*
 you suspicious-IE

⁵ Jun (2000: 144, 151-152) presents the intonational structure of Seoul Korean which has two intonationally defined prosodic units: Intonation Phrase (IP) and Accentual Phrase (AP). An IP is marked by a boundary tone (%) and final lengthening. According to IP tones, H% is defined as a rising boundary tone that is the most commonly used in seeking information (i.e. a yes-no question), and LH% as a rising boundary tone that is more localised than H%, rising sharply from a valley well within the final syllable. This is very commonly used in questions, continuation rises, and explanations, as well as to signal being annoyed or unpleasant.

⁶ According to Jun and Oh (1996), wh-phrases in Korean are ambiguous due to the lexical ambiguity of wh-words. They discuss prosodic characteristics which disambiguate three types of wh-phrases: wh-question, yes/no-question, and incredulity question (a kind of echo question giving incredulity meaning). Oh and Lee (1994) also distinguish the three types of wh-phrases and state that the intonation used in incredulity questions indicates the speaker’s negative attitude.

- 2 *Way an-kelenoh-te-n pimilpenho-lul kelenoh-ko kulay?*
 why NEG-set-RET-ATTR secret.number-OBJ set-CN be.so
- 3 *Mwe nay-ka po-myen an-toy-nun kelato iss-e?*
 something I-SUB read-CD NEG-NEC-ATTR thing.even exist-IE
 ‘You are suspicious. Why did you set a secret number— when you
 didn’t before? Is there something that I must not read?’
- 4 Dalsu: *Nwu-ka kuleh-tay?*
 who-SUB like.that-TAY
- 5 *Na-n kunyang hoysa-eyse il-hata-po-myen cenhwaki*
 I-TOP just company-LOC work-SIM-AUX-CD mobile.phone
- 6 *noh-ko eti kasstawa-yaha-l ttayto*
 leave-CN somewhere come.back-NEC-ATTR occasion.too
- 7 *iss-ko hay-se.*
 exist-CN do-CN
 ‘Who said that? I just (did it), while working at the company, sometimes
 I should go out without my mobile phone then come back, so...’

In (10), Jie is doubtful about her husband Dalsu’s behaviour, as he set a secret number for his mobile phone. In line 3, Jie asks Dalsu if there is something she should not read in his mobile phone. In line 4 Dalsu denies it by using the *-tay* marked utterance as in *Nwuka kuleh-tay?*, whose literal meaning is ‘Who said that?’ Dalsu may deny it by simply indicating a negation *ani* ‘no’ or *epse* ‘there isn’t any’. In comparison with these utterances, the *-tay* marked utterance with an interrogative word here indicates Dalsu’s unpleasant feeling towards Jie’s doubt, and conveys a strong denial and claim of his innocence. Note that ‘*Nwuka*’(who, someone) is used here as a person who can prove the speaker’s integrity. Thus, the utterance *Nwuka kulehtay* ‘Did someone say that?’ implies that ‘No one, including myself, possibly said such a thing’.

Example (10) shows that *-tay* is adopted to deny the hearer’s assumption strongly, and to claim the speaker’s innocence by putting forward someone else

In (11), the speaker uses *-tay* to express his/her negative attitude toward someone who acts contrary to his utterance. The sentence-final ending *-tay* here can be used in two situations: (i) the speaker regards himself/herself as the hearer in monologue (ii) the speaker mumbles to himself/herself irrespective of the hearer's presence in dialogue.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, the speaker's use of the *-tay* marked utterance has been discussed by presenting the interactional functions such as topic initial elicitor, evidence-leaking marker to indicate the reliability of the information, context-detailing marker and *-tay* as a quote-like marker in rhetorical questions.

Firstly, the interactional function of the *-tay* marked utterance that is used to introduce a new topic in conversation in order to evaluate the topic with the hearer was illustrated. The cases where the speaker forms 'dialogic relations' between participants, by inserting multiple voices in conversation, were also detailed. The function of *-tay* as an evidence-leaking marker based on an external source was shown. In this function, the two different attitudes of the speaker have been observed according to contexts. Firstly, the speaker expresses his/her attitude toward information which is reliable and trustworthy. Secondly, the speaker expresses his/her attitude to avoid responsibility for conveying the knowledge. Further, the function of *-tay* as a context-detailing marker, in which the speaker's use of *-tay* signals contexts by providing the hearer with the detailed information, was discussed. This function is crucial to maintaining interpersonal involvement, as the hearer decides how to interpret information on the basis of the cue provided by the speaker. For the final function of *-tay*, this chapter discussed the rhetorical expression of the *-tay* marked utterance. Due to the nature of this marker, which is used to quote a third person's utterance only, the speaker pretends to quote someone else's voice to convey his/her own utterance. By doing so, the speaker

refers to his/her own action as a conveyer of information, and expresses his/her attitude of strong denial of the hearer's assumption. Since *-tay* is an interactive marker, it indicates multiple functions according to contexts and represents its nature of being interactional and dialogical.

The difference between each function of *-tay* with regard to the metamessages show how involvement and multivoicedness can be realised in an explicit way. Below is the table which shows a summary of different metamessages with the use of *-tay* in each function.

Table 5.1: Different metamessages with the use of -tay

The interactional functions of <i>-tay</i>	Metamessages with the use of <i>-tay</i>
Topic initial elicitor	Listen. I want to talk about this with you now
Evidence-leaking marker	Listen. This is true, because someone also said this
Context-detailing marker	Listen. I know something and I want to let you know
The quote-like marker in a rhetorical question	I feel unpleasant because someone does something or something happens

As seen in the Table 5.1, these metamessages are significant to make a distinction between different functions of *-tay*. The speaker's different metamessages, or attitudes can be manifested through the use of *-tay*, which are sent to the hearer during interaction. More importantly, they show how involvement and multivoicedness can be realised in a concrete way. The following chapter discusses the interactional functions of *-tte* in the Japanese language.

Multi-voice ‘-tte’

6.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the interactional function of *-tte* in Japanese. A number of studies of Japanese *-tte* have been conducted (Tanaka 1977; Kamio 1988, 1990; Moritoki 1994; Niwa 1994; Horiguchi 1995; Yamazaki 1996; Maynard 1996; Saegusa 1997; Suzuki 1998; H. Huh 1999; Nomura 1999, 2000; Iwao 2003; Kitazawa 2003; Cho 2004; S. Park 2008; Kato 2007, 2010; K. Lee 2010). However, as discussed in Chapter 2, only a few studies pay attention to *-tte* in sentence-final position, and the interactional function of this marker have not been sufficiently investigated.

In this chapter, the use of *-tte* in sentence-final position will be examined in depth, looking at how the speaker indicates ego involvement and/or invites the involvement of the hearer, expressing his/her attitudes through interaction. To be more specific, it will be demonstrated that the marker conveys five functions. Firstly, *-tte* is used to repeat the speaker's own utterance, by representing hearer-oriented recollection, speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection. Secondly, the speaker uses the *-tte* marked utterance to express his/her attitude toward the information from an external source that is reliable and trustworthy. Thirdly, the *-tte* marked utterance functions as a topic initial elicitor with which the speaker introduces a new topic to build a new chunk of conversation. Fourthly, the speaker adopts the *-tte* marked utterance as a context-detailing marker to tell a story by providing necessary information about surrounding situations and contexts from

his/her standpoints. Finally, *-tte* marked utterance is used as a face-saving marker: the speaker avoids the responsibility of criticising a referent directly, and at the same time the speaker saves his/her own positive face.

Chapter 6 is organised in the following manner. Section 6.1 focuses on the source of quotation, and presents the function of ‘recollection’, that is, motivated by a prior utterance provided by the hearer, the speaker, or an utterance understood by both parties. Section 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4 will then discuss functions of *-tte* from a discourse-organisational dimension. Section 6.2 investigates the function of *-tte* as an evidence-leaking marker based on an external source. Section 6.3 discusses the function of *-tte* as a topic initial elicitor. In Section 6.4, the function of a context-detailing marker will be presented. Section 6.5 will focus on its pragmatic effects, and discuss the function of a face-saving marker. Section 6.6 provides a summary of the chapter.

6.1 Recollection

This section discusses the function of a self-quotation *-tte*, which is adopted by the speaker as a strategy of representing his/her particular feelings and attitudes, and also of inviting the involvement of the hearer in interaction. More specifically, *-tte* displays the three different functions, namely, hearer-oriented recollection, speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection.

6.1.1 Hearer-oriented recollection

The speaker’s use of *-tte* may be triggered by the hearer; that is, the speaker repeats his/her utterance due to the hearer’s lack of understanding and/or non-response. Consider the example (1) below, which has been extracted from the telephone conversations. Prior to this conversation, the two participants, A and B, have been talking about speaker A’s

acquaintance who will give her (A) a lift to the airport, and speaker B has been suggesting speaker A to go to the airport well before departure time. A then answers B.

(1) [Callhome ja_1800]

- 1 A: *Un, daijoobu. Amari hayakutemo-tte itta mono-de*
 yes alright not.very early.even.if-QT said thing-LINK
- 2 *ichijikanmae guraini ike-ba daijoobu-na-n-da-tte.*
 one.hour.before about go-CD alright-LK-NOM-BE-TTE
 ‘Yes, it’s alright. (I heard that) going too early is not good, so it will be okay if I go there an hour earlier (before the flight).’
- 3 B: *Moo nijikanmaeni it-tara? Daijoobu?*
 already two.hours.before go-CD alright
- 4 *Nanka toraburu-to komaru-deshoo, hitoride.*
 something.like trouble-QT get.into.difficulty-BE alone
 ‘How about going there two hours before? Is it okay? If there is something like trouble, you will get into difficulty, alone.’
(following five lines omitted).....
- 10 B: *Sorede sanjini de-te daijoobu?*
 so three.at leave-LINK okay
 ‘So, you leave at 3 o’clock, is it okay?’
- 11 A: *Daijoobu-tte.*
 alright-TTE
 ‘(I said) it’s okay.’

To hear speaker B’s suggestion, speaker A says *daijoobu*, ‘it’s alright’ at line 1, and at line 2 she tries to convince speaker B by providing a third person’s utterance with the use of *-tte* that getting to the airport too early is not good and going there an hour before the flight would be okay. This *-tte* is an evidence-leaking marker which is distinguished from the function of the hearer-oriented recollection, and will be discussed in Section 6.2 later. Despite of the speaker A’s conviction, speaker B is still worried about potential trouble at

the airport, and asks A repeatedly if she is okay with getting there an hour early. Then, speaker A repeats her utterance *Daijoobu* with the *-tte* marked utterance in line 11, which means ‘(I said) it’s okay’.

As shown in this example, speaker A’s use of a self-quotation *-tte* is caused by speaker B, who is not convinced of speaker A’s utterance and reiterates the same questions. In response to speaker B’s unconvinced questions, speaker A repeats her utterance with the use of *-tte* and this shows speaker A’s metamessage of ‘I am saying this repeatedly, so I want you to understand what I am saying’ or ‘I am saying this repeatedly, why don’t you understand?’

The communication observed in the hearer-oriented recollection of *-tte* is interactional, as the use of *-tte* by the speaker occurs in two-way conversation as an answer and at the same time it requires the hearer’s understanding, by expressing the speaker’s attitudes of convincing.

6.1.2 Speaker-oriented recollection

The speaker’s use of the *-tte* marked utterance indicates speaker-oriented recollection in which the speaker uses this marker based on his/her own knowledge, and invites the involvement of the hearer. The distinctive feature which is different from the hearer-oriented recollection is that the *-tte* marked utterance is not actually used to reiterate the speaker’s prior utterance by the hearer’s incomprehension in this function. Example (2) in this section illustrates a case in which the speaker marks his/her knowledge and thoughts with the *-tte* marked utterance, in order to draw the hearer’s attention based on his experience.

(2) [Callhome ja_0988]

- 1 A: *Un. Koko-o kyookaini i-ttara-sa, ano,*
yes here-OBJ church.in liken-CD-SFP well
- 2 *Uchimura Kanzo-ga it-teita mitaini-sa,*
Uchimura Kanzo-SUB said-PROG something.like-SFP
- 3 *minna kagi shime-te-sa, itsu osowareruka*
all key lock-LINK-SFP when attack.or
- 4 *wakara-nai-tte iu kikenchitai-deshoo.*
know-NEG-QT say dangerous.zone-CJR
'Yes. If (we) liken here to a church...well, something like Uchimura Kanzo was saying, all turn their keys in their lock, it should be a dangerous zone where people don't know when they might be attacked, as you know.'
- 5 B: *Un, un.*
yes yes
'Yes, yes.'
- 6 A: *Zenzen.*
not.at.all
'Not at all.'
- 7 B: *Chigau?*
wrong
'Is it wrong?'
- 8 A: *Sonna koto mattaku nai. Datte, kuruma-wa*
that.kind.of matter not.at.all NEG because car-TOP
- 9 *kagitsukeppanashi-de hitobanjuu oiteokushi, ieni kagi-o*
key.left.on-LINK all.night leave.on.and home.at key-OBJ
- 10 *kakeru kotonanka-nai-tte.*
lock.up thing.like-NEG-TTE
'That kind of thing doesn't happen. Because, I leave my keys in the car all night, and no need to lock up at home, you know.'
- 11 B: *Ee, kiken-janai-no?*
EXC danger-NEG-SFP
'Oh, isn't it dangerous?'
- 12 A: *Zenzen!*

at.all

‘Not at all!’

From lines 1 to 4, speaker A talks about how the region where he lives is regarded as a dangerous zone. Then, he denies it at line 6, by saying that the region is in fact not dangerous at all. Upon hearing that, speaker B asks if A’s utterance is true in line 7, indicating his unexpectedness of speaker A’s denial. From line 8 to line 10, speaker A explains the reason why he thinks like that, by saying *Datte, kurumawa kagitsukeppanashide hitobanju oiteokushi, ieni kagio kakeru kotonanka nai-tte*, ‘Because, I leave my key in the car all night, and no need to lock up at home, you know’.

It should be noted here that the utterance would still convey the intended meaning without *-tte*: i.e. *Datte, kurumawa kagitsukeppanashide hitobanju oiteokushi, ieni kagio kakeru kotonanka nai*, ‘Because, I leave my key in the car all night, and no need to lock up at home’. What does then *-tte* do here? The marker *-tte* is used as a kind of self-quotation whereby he recollects his actual experiences, *kakeru kotonanka nai* ‘no need to lock up’, which is against B’s expectation that the region where A lives would be dangerous. This use of *-tte* offers a feature such as ‘Listen’ or ‘You know’, and compared to the one without the marker, it further adds the speaker’s cue to specifically draw the hearer’s attention to what he is saying, by sending a metamessage ‘Listen to me, I want you to know what happened to me’. By the use of *-tte*, the degree of the mutual involvement is increased, since the hearer (B)’s involvement is clearly shown in his question at line 11 *Ee, kikenjanaino?* ‘Oh, isn’t it dangerous?’, which displays his feelings of surprise.

As such, the function of *-tte* as speaker-oriented recollection is to increase the degree of the interpersonal involvement between two participants, by recollecting what the speaker has experienced and drawing the hearer’s attention to his/her utterance. Unlike the

hearer-oriented recollection, the speaker does not repeat his/her utterance at the hearer's request; instead, the speaker-oriented recollection represents the speaker's intention to invite the involvement of the hearer in interaction.

6.1.3 Mutually understood recollection

As noted in Chapter 4 for the discussion of the function of *-(ta) nikka*, the function of mutually understood recollection in the current study refers to a speech act which is recollecting the speaker's prior utterance. The prominent feature which is distinguished from the functions of hearer-oriented recollection and speaker-oriented recollection is that the utterance is already shared between the speaker and the hearer in an earlier context, and thus the speaker uses *-tte*, by presupposing that the hearer would know what he/she is enunciating in the current context.

To discuss this function in the use of Japanese *-tte*, let us examine the following example from the telephone conversations. A is a daughter and B is her mother. Prior to this conversation, speaker B has been talking about her video camera which was used at her acquaintance Rie's concert. Then she said it suddenly stopped during the filming, even though she had checked and recharged her battery. Upon hearing that, speaker A asks as below.

(3) [Callhome ja_1099]

1 A: *Nani? Sumi-tte?*

 what completion-TTE

 ‘What? (What does it mean by) completion?’

2 B: *Otoosan-ga kai-teita kamini juudenshitearu toka-sa.*

 dad-SUB wrote-PROG paper.on recharged something.like-SFP

 ‘On the paper your dad was writing, recharge (has been completed)’

- something like...’
- 3 A: *Dakara itta-deshoo.*
so told-CJR
- 4 *Konomae nuichatte oi-tara hoodensuru-kara.*
the.other.day unplug.end.up leave-CD discharge-CN
- 5 *Moo moo ikkai juudenshite-tte.*
more more once recharge-TTE
‘So, I told you, didn’t I? If it is left unplugged, it will discharge, so...(I told you) recharge it once more the other day.’
- 6 B: *Un.*
Yes
‘Yes.’

In (3), speaker B says in line 2 that she saw some words on the paper A’s father was writing, which said that the battery of the video camera was recharged. In response to this, speaker B illuminates in line 3 that she had said something about this before, by saying *Dakara ittadeshoo*, ‘I told you’. Then speaker B recollects details of what she said the other day by using *-tte* in line 5. It is clear that speaker B’s use of *-tte* is to indicate that she is repeating or quoting her prior utterance in the current context, which is thus something that she shares in common with speaker A.

Likewise, the *-tte* marked utterance here functions as a self-quotation to convey the speaker’s own utterance and recollect the speaker’s previous utterance, which was understood mutually between the participants. As is the case with the function of mutually understood recollection of *-(ta) nikka* in the Korean language, the speaker sends a metamessage with the use of *-tte* utterance that ‘Listen. I said this before, so you should fully understand what I am saying’.

The function of recollection of *-tte* shows that the speaker’s use of the *-tte* marked utterance is interactional, as it invites the involvement of the hearer in conversation, by

expecting responses and reactions from the hearer. For example, in (3) above, in responding to speaker A's utterance with *-tte*, speaker B deploys *Un* 'Yes' and shows her understanding in line 6. Also, in (2), the speaker's use of *-tte* elicits the hearer's question *Ee, kikenjanaino?* 'Oh, isn't it dangerous?' in line 11. As such, the speaker's use of *-tte* creates a high degree of involvement, by signalling his/her intention to build and maintain conversations with the hearer.

6.2 Evidence-leaking marker

In this section, the function of *-tte* as an evidence-leaking marker based on the other's voice will be explored. As is the case with the function of *-tay* in the Korean language, the speaker's use of the *-tte* marked utterance indicates the reliability of the information which is gained from an external source. The type of the information conveyed by the speaker is grounded in objective knowledge.

Observe the following example below. Prior to this conversation, speaker B has been talking about her friend's pregnancy and the difficulty of child-rearing, and that she doesn't know the difficulty, as she has no experience of pregnancy.

(4) [Callhome ja_2237]

- 1 A: *Un. demo ima yukkuridemo daijoobu-deshoo.*
 yes but now without.hurrying.even.if alright-CJR
 'Yes, but now it would be alright even if (you have a baby) without
 hurrying.'
- 2 B: *Un?*
 pardon
 'Pardon?'
- 3 A: *Ima-ne nihonde-ne bebibuumudemo-nai-n-da-kedo,*
 now-SFP Japan.in-SFP baby.boom.even.if-NEG-NOM-BE-CN

- ‘Now in Japan even if it is not a baby boom, but...’
- 4 B: *Un.*
yes
‘Yes.’
- 5 A: *Att, nanka-ne sanjuu-ne sanjuuyon-no onnanohito-ga-ne,*
EXC something-SFP thirty-SFP thirty.four-LK woman-SUB-SFP
6 *hajimete akachan umu-no-ga hayat-teiru-n-da-tte.*
first baby give.birth-NOM-SUB trend-PROG-NOM-BE-TTE
7 *Konoaida terebide yat-teita.*
the.other.day television.on did-PROG
‘Ah, well...thirty... (I heard that) there are now many women who give birth
to a baby for the first time at thirty-four years old. It was on TV the other
day.’
- 8 B: *Un. att hontoni.*
yeah EXC really
- 9 *Nandakke demo-sa kootaishihi-san-mo,*
what.was.it but-SFP crown.princess-PAS-also
‘Yeah, ah, really? What was it...but the crown princess also...’
- 10 A: *Masako-san? Un.*
Masako-PAS yes
‘Mrs. Masako? Yes.’
- 11 B: *Un. Masako-san-shihi-no Masako-san moo*
yes Masako-PAS-crown.princess-APP Masako-PAS already
12 *sorosoro toshi-deshoo.*
soon age-CJR
‘Yes. The crown princess Mrs Masako, she is already getting to that age
soon.’

After hearing speaker B’s talk, speaker A states her opinion in line 1 that being pregnant later would be all right. Then she supports her own opinion by providing the information from TV, by saying that *Sanjuuyonno onnanohitogane hajimete akachan umunoga*

hayatteirunda-tte ‘(I heard that) there are many women who give birth to a baby for the first time at thirty-four years old’ in lines 5, 6 and 7. Speaker B then brings up the case of the crown princess Mrs Masako, who has no baby even though she is over thirty years old.

This example illustrates that *-tte* can function as an evidence-leaking marker. As stated in the function of *-tay* in Chapter 5, expressing the attitudes of speakers toward the knowledge or information in interaction is associated with the reliability of that knowledge or the information. Under the heading ‘evidentiality’, Chafe (1985) states that one type of evidentiality has to do with marking knowledge more specifically as having been derived from a particular kind of evidence, usually either from sensory evidence or from hearsay. From the example above, it is clear that the speaker’s use of *-tte* indicates her intention of supporting her own opinion, by indexing reliable and objective information that she gained from an external source.

Let us examine another instance in (5) below to discuss the function of *-tte* as an evidence-leaking marker. Prior to this conversation, speaker B has been telling speaker A about her lack of confidence and emotional highs and lows, referring to manic-depressive disorder. Upon hearing that, speaker A gives her opinion that everybody has either an impatient state or a depression state in lines 1 and 2, as below.

(5) [Callhome ja_1593]

- 1 A: *Ningen-tte dareshimo daitai sono soo jootai*
 human-QT everyone generally that impatient state
- 2 *utsu jootai mot-teiru-janai.*
 depression state have-STAT-NEG
 ‘As for humans, generally everybody has a tendency to be either
 impatient or depressed, haven’t they?’
- 3 B: *Un.*
 yes

- ‘Yes.’
- 4 A: *Daitai are-na-n-desu-tte-ne. Bunretsukishitsuka*
 generally that-LK-NOM-BE-TTE-SFP schizothymia.or
- 5 *soutsukishitsuka dochirakani daitai taibetsu-sareru-n-desu-tte.*
 cyclothymia.or either.into usually divide-PASS-NOM-BE-TTE
 ‘Generally, (it is said that humans) are divided into either schizothymia
 or cyclothymia.’
- 6 B: *Aa.*
 EXC
 ‘Ah!’
- 7 A: (laugh) *Demo sore-ga ii-janai. Genin-ga nakute*
 but that-SUB okay-NEG cause-SUB no.exist
- 8 *soo nat-teit-tara kowai-kedo.*
 as.such become-STAT-CON scary-CN
 ‘But that is okay then, isn’t it? It would be scary if there was no cause
 and (I) became as such, but...’

After giving her opinion, speaker A uses the *-tte* marked utterance to quote something in line 4, *Daitai arenandesu-tte-ne* ‘Generally it is said’, and elaborates what she wants to say by using the *-tte* marked utterance again in line 5, *Bunretsukishitsuka soutsukishitsuka dochirakani daitai taibetsusarerundesu-tte* ‘Generally, (it is said that humans) are divided into either schizothymia or cyclothymia’. Here, speaker A’s use of the *-tte* marked utterance indexes her knowledge which was obtained from an external source. Then, in line 7, she makes an evaluation, by saying that it is okay to have manic-depressive disorders to some degree, in order to set speaker B’s mind at ease. By using a quoting strategy, speaker A conveys the information and thoughts to support her opinion. In addition, the speaker expresses her attitude toward the information and knowledge which is reliable and trustworthy.

As we have seen through the examples (4) and (5), the speaker's use of *-tte* marked utterance functions as an evidence-leaking marker to support his/her own opinion, conveying the speaker's attitude towards the information that is objective and not only from the speaker's own knowledge but also from an external source. What can be observed here is that the speaker intends to convince the hearer of what the speaker is saying and to relieve anxiety about depression. Further, the use of *-tte* increases the degree of interpersonal involvement, which attracted the hearer's responding with exclamations at line 8 'Yeah, ah, really?' in the example (4) and line 6 'Ah!' in (5).

6.3 Topic initial elicitor

Speakers may use *-tte* to mark a new topic in conversation. The shift of topics frequently occurs in interaction, and it is often generated with clear boundaries. The data provides instances in which speakers use *-tte* marked utterances to create a topic by a quoting strategy and to invite the involvement of the hearer. What is worth noticing is that the speaker begins his/her talk, by confirming the information known to both the speaker and hearer. Let us examine the following example. Prior to the excerpt below, speakers A and B have been talking about other topics such as a lost pendant and taking a bath. In lines 1 and 2, speaker A says that she will put speaker B through to her sister thirty minutes later when she finishes recording telephone conversations with B.

(6) [Callhome ja_2085]

1 A: *Un. Sorede sanjuppun. Soone, sono ato-da-ttara*
 yes so thirty.minutes well that after-BE-CD

2 *kawaru. Kawattemo ii-kara.*
 put.through put.through.through okay-CN

'Yes. So, thirty minutes. Well, after that I will put you through (to her),

- because it is okay to put you through (to her) though.’
- 3 B: *Un.*
yes
‘Yes.’
- 4 A: *Kitanarashi-no ojisan nakunatta-n-da-tte?*
Kitanara.city-LK uncle died-NOM-BE-TTE
‘(I have heard that) your uncle in Kitanara-city died, is it right?’
- 5 B: *Soona-no-yo.*
that.is.right-NOM-SFP
‘That’s right.’
- 6 A: *Aa soo. Jaa, are-janai.*
EXC that.is.so well that-NEG
- 7 *Obasanmo nanka gakkuri ki-te-shimatta-janai?*
aunt.too like flagging come-LINK-ended.up-NEG
‘Ah, is that so? Well...the aunt must be, like, flagging too.’
- 8 B: *Un. Dakedo obasan-wa-ne, yahari onna-wa tsuyoi-ne.*
yes but aunt-TOP-SFP as.expected woman-TOP strong-SFP
‘Yes, but my aunt...as expected, a woman is strong.’
- 9 A: *Un. Un.*
yes yes
‘Yes. yes.’
- 10 *Tsuyoiyori kambyo tsukaremo aru-kara*
strong.than nursing fatigue.too exist-CN
- 11 *hottoshi-te-shimatta-no-kamo-ne.*
relieved-LINK-ended.up-NOM-CJR-SFP
‘Rather, she might feel relieved because she was tired from nursing him.’

Then in line 4, speaker A changes the topic to the death of speaker B’s uncle who lived in Kitanara-city, by asking confirmation from speaker B with the use of a *-tte* marked utterance. After this conversation, speakers A and B elaborate the talk about speaker B’s uncle and aunt, his hospitalisation, his disease, and so on. In what manner then does

speaker A use the *-tte* marked utterance to begin her new talk? The use of *-tte* here is seen as ‘requesting for clarification’ of the information. That is, the speaker first recollects what she heard from others and by adding *-tte*, she further requests the hearer to clarify whether or not what she heard is correct. In the above example, speaker A asks the hearer, speaker B, to clarify whether or not her (speaker B’s) uncle in Kitanara city died, as seen at line 4. Furthermore, what is important is the fact that it reflects the speaker’s intention to build a new conversation and evaluate the topic with the interlocutor, e.g. the death of speaker B’s uncle in (6), as noted earlier. In this regard, I argue that the *-tte* marked utterance may function as ‘topic initial elicitor’ (Button and Casey 1984).

According to Button and Casey (1984), a number of features are observed when topic initial elicitors operate to establish a topic in conversation. These features are: (i) topic initial elicitors for segmenting a talk; (ii) though making news inquiries they do not, themselves, present a newsworthy event; and (iii) they provide an open, though bounded, domain from which events may be selected and offered as possible topic initials. These features can be applied to the function of *-tte* as a topic initial elicitor. For instance, as illustrated by the example (6) above, the speaker’s use of *-tte* marks a new segment of talk, by displaying that talk will proceed further, not from prior talk, but from his/her inquiry. In addition, the *-tte* marked utterance presents a newsworthy event report which has not been topical in the prior talk.

Observe another instance (7) below that shows the function of *-tte* as a topic initial elicitor. Prior to this conversation, the two participants have been talking about clothing and tuition fees, and speaker A tells in line 1 that the amount of tuition fees in America is similar to that in Japan. Then, after receiving responsive tokens, *Sooka sooka* ‘That’s right, that’s right’ from the other speaker B, speaker A changes topic with the use of the *-tte* utterance, by asking if speaker B bought her home.

(7) [Callhome ja_1966]

- 1 A: *Sore-o kangaeru-to nanka dokkoidokkoi-kana-to*
it-OBJ consider-CD something.like similar-SFP-QT
- 2 *omou-n-da-kedo.*
think-NOM-BE-CN
'If I consider it, I think, something like, it is similar but...'
- 3 B: *Un. Soo-ka soo-ka.*
yes that.is.so-QUE that.is.so-QUE
'Yes. That's right, that's right.'
- 4 A: *Soreyori, ouchi kata-n-da-tte-ne!*
by.the.way home bought-NOM-BE-TTE-SFP
'By the way, (I heard that) you bought a home.'
- 5 B: *Aa, soona-no-yo. Demo shigatsu-na-n-da-kedo-ne,*
EXC that.is.right-NOM-SFP but April-LK-NOM-BE-CN-SFP
- 6 *hikkoshi-wa.*
move-TOP
'Ah, that's right. But I will move in April.'
- 7 A: *Un. Demo subarashii.*
yes but wonderful
'Yes, it's wonderful.'

Speaker A splits the conversation at line 4 with a different topic to those of the prior talk. She presents a newsworthy event report that she gained from a third party regarding speaker B's purchasing of a home. Here, by using the *-tte* marked utterance, speaker A attempts to confirm the fact that speaker B bought her new home, and established the foundation of a new conversation. Therefore, speaker A's use of *-tte* functions as a topic initial elicitor to introduce a new topic at line 4. Speaker B confirms her purchasing a new house in lines 5 and 6, and speaker A makes a comment *subarashii* 'wonderful' in line 7. After this segment, the two speakers further develop a conversation about the topic, by talking about the purchase of houses by their mutual friends.

The effect observed in the function of the topic initial marker of *-tte* is that, in initiating a new topic, the speaker specifically invites the involvement of the hearer, which can be expressed as ‘Listen. I heard this. Is it true?’ With this feature, the speaker’s use of the *-tte* marked utterance includes his/her expectation of a certain response or reaction from the hearer. As seen in examples (6) and (7), interlocutors provide confirmation from speakers’ *-tte* marked utterance at lines 5 *Soonanoyo* ‘That’s right’ in (6) and 5 *Aa, soonanoyo* ‘Ah, that’s right’ in (7). The function of topic initial marker of *-tte* clearly shows that this marker is interactional and dialogical, thereby it is used to build and maintain a conversation by participants in verbal exchanges. In addition, multivoicedness can be observed here, since the speaker’s use of the *-tte* marked utterance echoes a third person’s utterance through the speaker’s utterance, by indicating the speaker’s particular attitude.

6.4 Context-detailing marker

This section will examine a case where the speaker’s use of *-tte* marks information which is crucial to the interpretation of contexts that build coherence through interaction. In this function, speakers tell of an episode using the *-tte* marked utterance in a sequential way by providing necessary information about the surrounding situation and background knowledge. In the following example, speaker A tells of her experience of meeting a scary taxi driver.

(8) [Callhome ja_1263]

1	A:	<i>Sorede-ne,</i>	<i>ori-te</i>	<i>kinoo</i>	<i>notta</i>	<i>takushi-ga-ne,</i>
		so-SFP	get.off-LINK	yesterday	got.on	taxi-SUB-SFP
2		<i>nanka</i>	<i>kowai</i>	<i>takushi-datta-no-yo.</i>		
		somehow	scary	taxi-BE-past-NOM-SFP		

- 3 *Takushii-no hito-ga ichiban untenshi-te ikitaku-nai*
 taxi-LK person-SUB most drive-LINK go.want-NEG
- 4 *chiiki-na-n-da-tte.*
 region-LK-NOM-BE-TTE
 ‘So, I got off (the train) and got on a taxi yesterday. It was a somehow scary taxi. (I heard that) the region is the area that a taxi driver wants to go the least.’
- 5 B: *Hyaa!*
 EXC
 ‘Oh!’
- 6 A: *Sore-ga naze-ka-to-ii-to sugoku, ano sonnani*
 that-SUB why-QUE-QT-say-CD very well not.so
- 7 *okane-ni nara-nai-tte ii-no-to, ano,*
 money-RES become-NEG-QT say-NOM-CN well
- 8 *koosokutoka-janaku-te zenbu shita-o hashira...*
 highway.or-NEG-LINK all under-OBJ run
- 9 *chibeta-o hashiranakutewanaranai-kara-da-tte.*
 ground-OBJ run.have.to-CN-BE-TTE
 ‘If I say why it is, very...well, (I heard that) it is not worth much money, and...well, it’s not like a highway, the car has to run all under...the driver has to drive along the lower ground.’
(following six lines omitted).....
- 16 A: *Takushii-no untenshu-san-ga mat-teita tokoro-wa yojikangurai*
 taxi-LK driver-PAS-SUB waited-PROG place-TOP four.hours.about
- 17 *mat-te yatto hitori-no okyakusan-o tsukamaeru-n-da-tte.*
 wait-LINK barely one-LK customer-OBJ catch-NOM-BE-TTE
 ‘(I heard that) the place where the taxi driver waits, he waits about four hours and barely catches a customer.’
(following three lines omitted).....
- 18 A: *Sorede yojikan mat-te Tsukamoto-ja wariniawa-nai-tte,*
 so four.hours wait-LINK Tsukamoto-BE break.even-NEG-TTE
- 19 *sore-o enento kika-sareta-no.*
 that-OBJ endlessly heard-PASS-SFP

‘So, (the taxi driver said that) he waited four hours, so going to Tsukamoto doesn’t break even, I heard it endlessly from him.’

By quoting the taxi driver’s utterances with the use of the *-tte* marked utterance, speaker A explains the reasons why the driver was angry with her. Firstly, her destination is the most hated region among taxi drivers, as in *ikitakunai chiikinanda-tte* ‘the area that the taxi driver does not want to go’ in lines 3 and 4. Then the second reason is that the drivers have to drive along the lower ground under the highway to get there, as in *chibetao hashiranakutewa naranaikarada-tte* ‘since (the driver) has to drive the lower ground’ in line 9. The third reason is that the driver has to wait about four hours for a customer, and her destination, Tsukamoto, does not let them break even, as in *Tsukamotoja wariniawanai-tte* ‘Tsukamoto does not break even’ in line 18.

As seen in the example above, the *-tte* marked utterances are used sequentially in a story, by presenting linked information that supports the hearer’s understanding of situational context. In (8) above, speaker A heard from the taxi driver about his experience, and then she retells the story to speaker B. In conveying the taxi driver’s utterance, speaker A uses the *-tte* marked utterance, by selecting the information systematically from her point of view, in order to help B’s understanding.

As such, by binding the stream of talk, the speaker builds up and maintains his/her conversation. What the *-tte* marked utterance indicates is structured ordering of information that contributes to making events a coherent whole. The use of *-tte* does not determine meaning here, but it foregrounds relevant information through transferring the other’s voice. All the information indicated by *-tte* is relevant to the details of context, and establishes coherency of discourse.

To deepen our understanding of the function of *-tte* as context-detailing marker, let us examine another instance. In (9) below, speakers A and B are talking about an episode involving their friend Katchan, who experienced an earthquake. Note that speaker A uses the *-tte* marked utterance five times to quote Katchan's utterance, in lines 1, 4, 6, 11 and 14 below.

(9) [Callhome ja_2225]

- 1 A: *Att daijoobu-datta-tte. Un.*
 EXC okay-BE-past-TTE yes
 'Ah, (she said that her family) were okay. Yes.'
- 2 B: *Un, yokatta-ne. Kawaisoo-ne, koo terebide,*
 yes was.good-SFP poor-SFP this TV.on
 'Yes, that's good. Poor things, this on TV...'
- 3 A: *A a asa-ne, moo ano choodo*
 EXC EXC morning-SFP already well just
 4 *asa-no shokuji-no shitakushi-teita-n-da-tte.*
 morning-LK meal-LK prepared-PROG-NOM-BE-TTE
 'Ah, ah, morning...already, well, (she said that) she was just preparing for the morning meal.'
- 5 B: *Un, un, un, un.*
 yes yes yes yes
 'Yes, yes, yes, yes.'
- 6 A: *Sooshitara gatagata gatagata-tte kitta-n-da-tte.*
 then rattle rattle-QT came-NOM-BE-TTE
 'Then, (she said that she heard) a rattle.'
- 7 B: *Aa Kat-chan-no tokomo yahari kita.*
 EXC Kat-PAS-LK place.too also came
 'Ah, it came to Katchan's place too.'
- 8 A: *Isoide Kat-chan-tachi-ga papatoka it-te-ne.*
 in.a.hurry Kat-PAS-PL-SUB father.or say-LINK-SFP
 9 *Hayaku hi-o kese-tte it-te-ne. Chodo*

- quickly fire-OBJ put.out-QT say-LINK-SFP just
 10 *asa-no-de Kat-chan-wa hi-o keshi-te sugu-ne*
 morning-LK-LINK Kat-PAS-TOP fire-OBJ put.out-LINK soon-SFP
 11 *ano, to-o ake-ni itta-n-da-tte.*
 well door-OBJ open-PUR went-NOM-BE-TTE
 ‘(I heard that) Katchan’s family members hurried calling their father
 something like...she said to put out the (cooking) fire quickly. It was just in
 the morning, you see. Katchan put out the fire and soon, well, went to open
 the door.’
- 12 B: *Un.*
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 13 A: *Moo hoohoo-no karadade ake-ni it-te. Tonikaku*
 already in.a.rush-LK body.with open-PUR go-LINK anyway
 14 *to-o akenakereba-tte.*
 door-OBJ open.have.to-TTE
 ‘(She said that) she was already in a rush and went to open the door.
 (She thought that) she has to open the door anyway.’
 (following seven lines omitted).....
- 22 A: *Moo kowa-katta-tte it-teita.*
 IJ scary-PAST-TTE said-PROG
 ‘Boy! (She) was saying that she was scared.’

By quoting Katchan’s utterance, speaker A indicates the surrounding situation and background of the earthquake in Katchan’s house, and the context in detail. In line 1, A uses the *-tte* marked utterance, *daijoobudatta-tte* ‘(she said that her family) were okay’ conveying the information that Katchan and her family were okay. In line 4, Katchan was preparing for the morning meal when the earthquake occurred, as in *asano shokujino shitaku shiteitanda-tte* ‘(she said that) she was just preparing for the morning meal’. In line 6, speaker A says *Sooshitara gatagata gatagatatte kittanda-tte* ‘Then, (she said that she

heard) a rattle’. Lines 10 and 11 then show how Katchan and her family behaved when they felt the earthquake, as in *Katchanwa hio keshite sugune too akeni ittanda-tte* ‘Katchan put out the fire and soon she went to open the door’ and lines 13 and 14 elaborate this situation by adding Katchan’s thought and utterance at that time, as in *Tonikaku too akenakereba-tte* ‘(She thought that) she has to open the door anyway’.

In (9), the use of *-tte* by speaker A indicates three different timeslots in retelling this story; that is, Katchan’s experiences of the event of earthquake, telling the story that Katchan experienced to speaker A, and retelling the story that speaker A heard from Katchan to speaker B. Therefore, speaker A’s use of *-tte* not only reflects a past event that happened to Katchan but also speaker A’s point of view. Note that speaker A uses *-tte* with the quotative verb *it-teitta* ‘(she) was saying’ in line 22 to convey Katchan’s feeling of fear, which contrasts to *-tte* in lines 1, 4, 6, 11 and 14. These are selected systematically by the speaker to arrange the event of Katchan as a coherent story from the speaker’s standpoint.

Speakers in (8) and (9) also echo multivoicedness, since they convey the third person’s utterances through their own utterances, by sending a metamessage that ‘I know something and I want to let you know’. The reason why speakers present a large amount of information with the use of *-tte* is because they want to share the information with hearers and maintain conversations. The speaker’s presentation of information is structurally ordered to tell a story, for example, when the earthquake occurred, what Katchan was doing at that time, how Katchan and her family behaved in that situation and so on. By organising relevant information coherently and in an orderly way, the speaker’s use of *-tte* utterance contributes to the interpretation by the hearer. It is also clear through this attitude of the speakers that the speaker consecutively uses *-tte* as a strategy to invite the involvement of the hearer in interaction, by providing information that is relevant to understanding context.

6.5 Face-saving marker

Some scholars in the previous studies discuss the function of *-tte* in connection with the concept of ‘face’. For instance, Maynard (1996) asserts that the speech act qualification is achieved through the incorporation of multiple voices, and various interpretations of speech act qualification are possible depending on contexts.¹ She presents the following example from a girl’s comic book for the speech act of mitigating.

(10) (Hoshina and Sari are beginning to fall in love)

Hoshina: *Kedo/ omeeno/ me de/ wakaruru*
but your eyes with understand
‘But I understand you by (looking into) your eyes.’

Sari: *Kaa*
(embarrassed)
‘Ohh...(embarrassed)’

Hoshina: *Naan chatte/ na*
such say SFP
‘Umm, just kidding.’

(Makino 1992: 80)

In this example, Hoshina tries express his feeling of love towards Sari. According to Maynard (1996: 222), Hoshina feels embarrassed and vulnerable in expressing his feeling of love due to possible rejection or being taken too seriously. Immediately after expressing his feeling, he qualifies his own speech in a form of self-quotation by adding, *Naan chatte na*, a colloquial blunt male version of *Nante itteshimatte ne* ‘(Lit.) I ended up saying so; I shouldn’t be saying this’ which results in mitigating parody. By doing so, he achieves his purpose of confessing love without losing face. Here, Maynard provides important evidence for *-tte* which is used to save the speaker’s positive face.

¹ Lakoff (1980) refers to ‘qualification’ as speech act qualification, by noting that performatives may be qualified by the user.

As reviewed in Chapter 2, Suzuki (1998) and Kato (2007) also note that the *-tte* marked utterance is adopted by the speaker to avoid potential face-threatening acts. These authors agree with their arguments to some degree in that the function of *-tte* can be explained in terms of face-threatening acts (FTAs). However, in previous research of *-tte*, this function has not been fully described, in particular with regard to the socio-cultural contexts, despite the fact that its use is crucial to a deeper understanding of Japanese culture as well as Japanese language. In what follows, I will discuss the function of *-tte* as a face-saving marker, but first, I will briefly recap the concept of ‘face’ (Brown and Levinson 1978 and revised in 1987).

According to Brown and Levinson (1978), all competent adult members of society have ‘face’: the public self-image that every member wants to claim for him or herself. Brown and Levinson (1978: 66-67) remark that ‘face’ consists of two aspects, by defining negative face as ‘the want of every “competent adult member” that his action be unimpeded by others’, and positive face as ‘the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others’. The authors state that certain illocutionary acts such as orders, requests, advice, offers, promises, expressions of hatred, criticism, disagreement, etc., can be ‘face-threatening acts’. These acts have the potential to damage the hearer’s positive face, or the hearer’s negative face, or the illocutionary act may potentially damage the speaker’s own positive face. In order to reduce the possibility of damage to the hearer’s face or to the speaker’s own face, he or she may adopt certain strategies.²

² Many researchers have argued that the concept of face by Brown and Levinson is western-biased (Doi 1971, 1973; Sugiyama Lebra 1976; Tannen 1984; Matusmoto 1988; Wierzbicka 2003). Citing Nakane (1967, 1972), Doi (1971, 1973), Sugiyama Lebra (1976) and others, Matsumoto (1988: 405) points out that such a notion cannot be considered as basic to human relations in Japanese culture and society; the important concern to a person in Japanese culture is not his/her own territory, but the position in relation to the others in the group and his/her acceptance by those others. Further discussion will be provided in Chapter 7. Despite Brown and Levinson’s distinction between positive and negative face, and the associated debate regarding the cultural

Moving now to discuss the function of *-tte* in conjunction with the concept ‘face’, let us examine the following excerpt from data of the telephone conversations. Prior to this conversation, speaker A has been talking about Robin, who is a friend of speaker A and working in the same company. Speaker A has said that she feels uncomfortable with Robin’s unpleasant behaviour, which resulted in distrust.

(11) [Callhome ja_1741]

- 1 A: *Sorede atsu deetotoka-tte it-tara-sa, iyana*
 so EXC date.like-QT say-CD-SFP unpleasant
- 2 *kaosuru wake.*
 face.do reason
 ‘So, ah, if I talk about a date like, then he makes an unpleasant face.’
- 3 B: *Nande?*
 why
 ‘Why?’
- 4 A: *Dooshite jibun-ga shiawase-no tokini-ne,*
 why oneself-SUB happiness-LK time.at-SFP
- 5 *tomodachini sore-o-ne, ie-nai-no-tte.*
 friend.to it-OBJ-SFP can.say-NEG-SFP-TTE
- 6 A: *Kurushii tokidake-no tomodachi-janai-deshoo-tte.*
 painful time.only-LK friend-NEG-CJR-TTE
 ‘Why, can’t you say that you are happy to your friends when you are happy?
 (We) are not friends only for painful times, are we?’
- 7 B: *Un. Sooyo-ne.*
 yes that.is.right-SFP
 ‘Yes, that’s right.’
- 8 A: *Jibun-ga shiawase-nara shiawase-tte watashitachini-ne*

variation/universalism of this distinction, it is a useful analytical concept to account for the pragmatic function in interaction.

oneself-SUB happy-CD happy-QT us.to-SFP
 9 *itte-yo-tte*.
 tell-SFP-TTE
 ‘If you are happy, then (you should) say to us that you are happy.’

In (11), speaker A continues revealing her thoughts about Robin who does not talk about the relationship with his girlfriend and he makes an unpleasant face if speaker A asks about it. It is noteworthy that speaker A’s use of *-tte* marked utterance is a self-quotation which is used to express what she wanted to say to Robin, but she could not in reality. From line 4 to line 5, speaker A says that *Dooshite jibunga shiawaseno tokinine tomodachini soreone, ienaino-tte* ‘Why can’t you say that you are happy to your friend when you are happy?’ Also, in line 6, speaker A says that *Kurushii tokidakeno tomodachijanaideshoo-tte* ‘(We) are not friends only for painful times, are we?’ And in lines 8 and 9, speaker A goes on to say that *Jibunga shiawasenara shiawasette watashitachinine itteyo-tte* ‘If you are happy, then (you should) say to us that you are happy’. All these utterances are used in a way that A is talking with Robin in the current context, since the sentence-final particles *no* and *yo* in lines 5 and 9 as well as the conjecture *deshoo* in line 6, deliver a flavor of direct speech. These particles and *deshoo* bring up the effect of making it sound as if A were speaking directly to Robin. The self-quotation used here seems to be related to the function of *-tte* in Maynard’s study in which ‘the speaker plays different character roles’ with the use of self-quotation (Maynard 1996). Maynard (1996) states that the speaker can perform different characters in interaction according to a context, even if the quoted and the quoter are physically the same person. The author asserts that speakers use self-quotation to manipulate a broader range of expressiveness in interaction, facilitating discourse functions such as dramatising and distancing.

The current study argues that speaker A's use of *-tte* utterance is a strategy by which she did not perform the speech act due to the possibility of damage to Robin's 'face'. Here, the strategy of 'Do not perform FTA' is closely related to the usage of the example presented above, which is adopted when something is potentially so face-threatening that you don't say it. In other words, the speaker decides to say nothing to Robin in the previous context but she performs a different character as if it were someone else's voice in the current context.

In (11) above, it can be said that speaker A decides to say nothing directly to Robin due to the possibility of damaging his negative face. Rather, by stating her own voice in the form of *-tte* the speaker still wishes to achieve a similar effect which the speech act, i.e. expressing her unpleasant feeling towards Robin, would have achieved if it had been uttered directly towards him (Robin). In this regard, the *-tte* marked utterance functions as a face-saving marker here: It is employed by speaker A as a strategy not to damage Robin's negative face, and at the same time it is used to save the speaker's own positive face through interaction with speaker B. Due to the nature of the information conveyed by speaker A, which is negative information about Robin, it can damage the speaker's positive face. Further, the *-tte* marked utterance enunciated by speaker A has the effect of reducing the level of the responsibility of condemning Robin directly.

Let us examine another example for the function of face-saving marker below. In this case, the speaker uses *-tte* to convey the information from a third person. Prior to this conversation speakers A and B have been talking about Rui and his friend Tekkun.

(12) [Callhome ja_1725]

1	A:	<i>Yahari</i>	<i>iru-n-da-yo,</i>	<i>sooiu</i>	<i>hito.</i>
		as.expected	exist-NOM-BE-SFP	such	person

- ‘As expected, there is such a person.’
- 2 B: *Sorede, nanka tomodachimo i-nai-shitoka it-te.*
 so something.like friend.also exist-NEG-and.or said-LINK
- 3 *Sore kuwaete iu koto-ka-toka omo-tta.*
 that add say matter-QUE-or think-PAST
 ‘So, something like, (he said) something like, he has no friend and...(I) thought, something like, is that the sort of matter to add and say?’
- 4 A: *Tomodachimo inaishi. Rui-kun tomodachi-janai-no?*
 friend.also exist.and Rui-PAS friend-NEG-SFP
 ‘No friend and... isn’t Rui his friend?’
- 5 B: *Tomodachi i-nai-shitoka-tte.*
 friend exist-NEG-and.or-TTE
- 6 *Nanka shinyuu-rashii-yo. Kookoojidaikara-no.*
 something close.friend-PRESUM-SFP high.school.days.from-LK
 ‘(He said) something like, he has no friend. (They) seem the sort of close friends from high school days.’
- 7 A: *Yahari sono hito bakananda-yo.*
 after.all that person idiot-SFP
 ‘After all, that person is an idiot.’
- 8 B: *Un. Henda-to omou.*
 Yes strange-QT think
 ‘Yes. I think he is weird.’

In (12), speaker A states his opinion that there exist genius people like Tekkun in line 1. Upon hearing that, speaker B quotes Tekkun’s utterance in line 2 *tomodachimo inaishitoka itte* ‘(he said) something like, he has no friend and...’ and shows his negative attitude toward Tekkun’s utterance in line 3, by saying *Sore kuwaete iu kotokatoka omotta*. It literally means that ‘I thought, something like, is that the sort of matter to add and say?’ but in this situation it seems to be appropriate to translate as ‘There is no need to say that/ it was not necessary to say that’. Then, A asks a confirmation from B if Rui is Tekkun’s

friend in line 4. In response to A's request, B answers with the *-tte* marked utterance in line 5, by reminding A of Tekkun's utterance, *Tomodachi inaishitoka-tte* '(He said) something like, he has no friend'. Then, B adds that Rui and Tekkun appear to be sort of close friends from high school days in line 6. From this statement, it is obvious that B's answer with the *-tte* marked utterance implies 'Rui is Tekkun's close friend, but he said he has no friend, I wish you would understand what I am saying, you know'. Upon hearing that, speaker A criticises Tekkun in line 7, by saying *Yahari sono hito bakanandayo* 'After all, he is an idiot', and this is followed by B's statement of his negative opinion on Tekkun in line 8, *Hendato omou* 'I think he is weird'.

As is the case with example (11), speaker B's use of *-tte* utterance in (12) is adopted as a particular strategy to save his face since his illocutionary acts such as expressions of hatred and criticism of Tekkun have the potential to damage speaker B's own positive face. This is apparent if we consider speaker B's approach of expressing negatives in relation to Tekkun. In other words, speaker B employs Tekkun's utterance to criticise his behaviour before expressing his own opinion and thought. Moreover, speaker B's way of expressing his opinion is somewhat indirect compared to speaker A's. For example, B's criticism on Tekkun in line 7 *Hendato omou* 'I think he is weird' is less explicit than A's in line 6 *Yahari sono hito bakanandayo* 'After all, that person is an idiot'. This is evidenced in the verb *omou* 'think' in the Japanese language, which is used to express one's opinions and thoughts in an indirect way. In addition, B's frequent use of the particle *toka* 'or/something like' in lines 2, 3, 5 has the similar effect of softening one's definite opinion. By using the *-tte* marked utterance, speaker B avoids the responsibility of criticising Tekkun directly, and at the same time he saves his positive face.

The speaker's use of the *-tte* marked utterance in the function of face-saving marker is interactional, since it is used by the speaker to express his/her negative attitudes, by

eliciting the interlocutor's responses such as agreement and understanding, e.g. *Sooyone* 'That's right' at line 7 in (11), and *Yahari sono hito bakanandayo* 'After all, he is an idiot' at line 7 in (12). In addition, the *-tte* marked utterance reflects multivoicedness, since multiple voices including the speaker's voice and a third person's voice are merged together in it, by sending implied metamessages to the hearer.

6.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed the interactional functions of *-tte*, which is used to convey the speaker's own utterance, namely, a self-quotation as well as a third person's utterance. Firstly, this chapter has presented the function of 'recollection', by noting that the speaker's use of *-tte* is motivated by a prior utterance by the hearer, the speaker, or an utterance understood by both parties. The function of the self-quotation includes hearer-oriented recollection, speaker-oriented recollection and mutually understood recollection. In these functions, speakers reiterate their own utterances, by reminding interlocutors of their previous utterances and by manifesting different attitudes through each function. This chapter has also discussed the function of *-tte* as an evidence-leaking marker, a topic initial elicitor and a context-detailing marker from a discourse-organisational dimension. In the function of evidence-leaking marker, the speaker indicates his/her attitude toward the information obtained from an external source, which is reliable and trustworthy. After the discussion of *-tte* as an evidence-leaking marker, the discussions in this chapter also presented how the *-tte* marked utterance is used as a strategy to introduce a new topic, in order to create a new conversation and to invite the involvement of the hearer. Furthermore, it was argued that speakers adopt the *-tte* marked utterance to tell a story, by providing a detailed explanation about contexts from their perspectives, which plays a critical role in hearers' interpretation and understanding. Finally, this chapter discussed the function of *-tte*

as a face-saving marker with regard to FTAs. In this function, speakers use *-tte* marked utterance to save speakers' positive face.

It has also been discussed that *-tte* indicates a broader function in interaction, compared to *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in the Korean language. As is the case with *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay*, different metamesages with the use of *-tte* are presented below, in order to show how involvement and multivoicedness can be realised in a concrete way.

Table 6.1: Different metamesages with the use of -tte

The interactional functions of <i>-tte</i>	Metamesages with the use of <i>-tte</i>
Recollection (hearer-oriented/speaker-oriented/mutually understood recollection)	I'm saying this repeatedly, why don't you understand?/Listen to me, I want you to know what happened to me/I said this before, so you should fully understand what I am saying
Evidence-leaking marker	This is true, because someone also said this
Topic initial elicitor	Listen. I heard this. Is it true?
Context-detailing marker	I know something and I want to let you know
Face-saving marker	I wish I said this/I wish you would understand what I'm saying

What can be observed in these metamesages is that speakers use *-tte* to express ego involvement and/or invite the involvement of the hearer, in order to build and maintain conversations, by representing their multiple voices according to different contexts.

The use of *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and *-tte* with regard to aspects of Korean and Japanese culture and society

7.0 Introduction

So far the present study has discussed the functions of Korean *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and Japanese *-tte* in spoken discourse, by examining data from daily telephone conversations between family and friends. Through the discussion, it has been demonstrated that each marker represents particular functions according to contexts, with its primary property of echoing self-voice and/or the other's voice. Those functions can be summarised as follows ('x' indicates observed functions).

Table 7.1: The functions of Korean *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and Japanese *-tte*¹

Indirect quotative markers	<i>-(ta) nikka</i>	<i>-tay</i>	<i>-tte</i>
Hearer-oriented recollection	x		x
Speaker-oriented recollection	x		x
Mutually understood recollection	x		x
Topic initial elicitor		x	x
Evidence-leaking marker		x	x
Context-detailing marker		x	x
Quote-like marker in a rhetorical question		x	
Face-saving marker			x

As shown in this table, the three markers have their specific functions, sharing some similarities and differences. For instance, Korean *-(ta) nikka* indicates the functions of hearer-oriented recollection, speaker-oriented recollection, and mutually understood recollection. These functions have also been observed in the use of *-tte* in the Japanese language. Likewise, the functions of *-tay* such as topic initial elicitor, evidence-leaking marker and context-detailing marker have been identified in the functions of *-tte*. However, the function as a face-saving marker has been found in the use of *-tte* only. As briefly noted in Chapter 6, the face-saving marker *-tte* is crucial to a deeper understanding of Japanese culture as well as Japanese language, but it has not been fully described in the previous studies, especially in relation to aspects of Japanese culture and society.

¹ The present study does not deal with a ‘quote-like marker in a rhetorical question’ in Japanese and ‘face-saving marker’ in Korean. Indeed, it is worth noting that Yamazaki (1996) mentions the Japanese *-tte* as having a ‘quote-like function in a rhetorical question’ and it is assumed that the Korean *-tay* also has a face-saving function. In addition, there is a possibility that the function of *-tte* as a face-saving marker can be found in other Korean markers, i.g. *-(ta) ko* has a function of a self-quotation. However, for this study, these functions have not been found in telephone conversations and equivocal and ambiguous data has been excluded to avoid any confusion.

This chapter is organised in the following manner. Section 7.1 provides a preliminary discussion of cultural values. Section 7.2 presents the speaker's use of *-tte* with regard to cultural values in Japan and Section 7.3 discusses the different values in Korea. Section 7.4 summarises the chapter.

7.1 Different cultural values

In earlier chapters (see Chapters 3 and 6), it was briefly noted that the concept of 'face' in politeness theory has been widely used in a variety of cultures, but there is controversy among some scholars due to its western-biased perspective. For example, Wierzbicka (2003) points out that the notion of 'face' has in fact a strong Anglocentric bias, by saying that Brown and Levinson see two principles as the most important ones in human interaction: 'avoidance of imposition' ('negative face') and 'approval of the other person'. Matsumoto (1988) also states that Brown and Levinson have overemphasised the notion of individual freedom and autonomy, and have ignored the interpersonal or social perspective on face (in Spencer-Oatey 2007). The author goes on to say that the notion of 'face' is based on individuals and their rights that have long been acknowledged as playing an increasingly dominant role in European and American culture. According to Matsumoto (1988: 405), such a notion cannot be considered as basic to human relations in Japanese culture and society, since the important concern to a person in Japanese culture is not his/her own territory, but the position in relation to the others in the group and his/her acceptance by those others. The author argues that the Japanese concepts of face are qualitatively different from those defined as universals by Brown and Levinson.

S. Choi and K. Kim also state that the concept of 'face' in western culture is somewhat different to that in Korea. According to S. Choi and K. Kim (2000: 202), while it has been treated as having significance in the context of self-esteem or impression-

management in psychological literature in western culture, the *chemyon* (face) in Confucian culture is directly linked to the very concept of a human being in Korea. In the Confucian model of humanity, losing social face should induce or result in a sense of shame, which differentiates human beings from non-human beings. Confucianism has greatly influenced social life and culture in Korea, in particular, the forming of a significant concept of *chemyon*, reflecting Korean culture. Traditionally, Korean people have observed *chemyen* when interacting with others. *Chemyen*'s equivalents in English are 'face', 'self-esteem', or 'outside show'. According to M. Park (1979), Koreans are generally more concerned with how others think of them than with how they regard themselves. This well reflects how *chemyen* is associated with people's consciousness and behaviour in Korean society. Quoting Crane (1978: 101), Koo provides a good example for *chemyen* as follows:

If one wanted a loan security, he must locate a borrower with much *chemyen* to be saved. If a man's *chemyen* is involved in the loan and saving face is valued at more than the loan, then he will repay it. If there were little *chemyen* to be saved, then the loan might be insecure, regardless of the borrower's real assets (Koo 1989: 121).

According to these authors, the concept of 'face' needs to be considered in relation to aspects of different culture and society. Regarding cultural differences in different societies, the present study attempts to interpret the functions of the target markers in terms of different cultural values that can affect and control interactions. In particular, this study will discuss the speakers' different motivations to use *-tte* in Japanese and *-tay* in Korean for the functions of a face-saving marker and evidence-leaking marker, respectively.²

The effort to discover the differences between different societies and different language communities in their ways of speaking is found in the study of cross-cultural

²The Korean marker *-(ta) nikka* is excluded for the discussion of cultural values, since the marker does not indicate the similar function to the Japanese *-tte* as a face-saving marker to convey the speaker's own utterance.

pragmatics (Ochs 1976; Kochman 1981; Tannen 1981; Eades 1982; Hijirida & Sohn 1983; Schiffrin 1984; Goddard 1985; Katriel 1986; Ameka 1987; Harkins 1988; Wierzbicka 1985a, 1985b, 2003). The main ideas of cross-cultural pragmatics in language studies are well summarised in Wierzbicka (2003: 69) as follows:

- (i) In different societies, and different communities, people speak differently.
- (ii) These differences in ways of speaking are profound and systematic.
- (iii) These differences reflect different cultural values, or at least different hierarchies of values.
- (iv) Different ways of speaking, different communicative styles, can be explained and made sense of, in terms of independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities.

These ideas are particularly important to understand culture-specific aspects in the use of the target markers in Japanese and Korean cultures. For instance, the characteristic of *-tte* as a face-saving marker can be attributed to Japanese culture, in other words, the expression is constrained by Japanese cultural norms. More specifically, the speaker's use of *-tte* reflects his/her attitude of avoiding giving an opinion directly, since this direct opinion can be viewed as socially and culturally unacceptable behaviour in a given situation. Although *-tte* does not directly index this aspect, this study will show that the speaker's use of this marker can be influenced by the cultural values of Japan.

In the consecutive sections, the present study will discuss the possible differences between the Japanese *-tte* and Korean *-tay* with regard to their cultural values, since these values can affect speakers' use of these markers by manifesting their different assumptions and motivations.

7.2 The Japanese cultural values *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari*

This section will focus on discussing the Japanese cultural values of *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari* in close relation to the use of the *-tte* marked utterance.

Let us first recall the example (11) in Chapter 6 that has been used for discussing the function of *-tte* as a face-saving marker.

(11) [Callhome ja_1741]

- 1 A: *Sorede atsu deetotoka-tte it-tara-sa, iyana*
 so EXC date.like-QT say-CD-SFP unpleasant
- 2 *kaosuru wake.*
 face.do reason
 ‘So, ah, if I talk about a date like, then he makes an unpleasant face.’
- 3 B: *Nande?*
 why
 ‘Why?’
- 4 A: *Dooshite jibun-ga shiawase-no tokini-ne,*
 why oneself-SUB happiness-LK time.at-SFP
- 5 *tomodachini sore-o-ne, ie-nai-no-tte.*
 friend.to it-OBJ-SFP can.say-NEG-SFP-TTE
- 6 *Kurushii tokidake-no tomodachi-janai-deshoo-tte.*
 painful time.only-LK friend-NEG-CJR-TTE
 ‘Why, can’t you say that you are happy to your friends when you are
 happy? (We) are not friends only for painful times, are we?’
- 7 B: *Un. Sooyo-ne.*
 yes that.is.right-SFP
 ‘Yes, that’s right.’
- 8 A: *Jibun-ga shiawase-nara shiawase-tte watashitachini-ne*
 oneself-SUB happy-CD happy-QT us.to-SFP
- 9 *itte-yo-tte.*
 tell-SFP-TTE
 ‘If you are happy, then (you should) say to us that you are happy.’

In the data, speaker A has been talking about her friend Robin, who does not express his feelings clearly, and she feels uncomfortable with Robin's distrustful behaviour. Using the *-tte* utterance, speaker A says what she perhaps wanted to say directly toward Robin, but she did not perform this speech act in reality. For instance, speaker A might want to directly tell Robin that *Dooshite jibunga shiawaseno tokinine tomodachini soreone, ienaino-tte* 'Why can't you say that you are happy to your friend (speaker A) when you are happy?', and *Kurushii tokidakeno tomodachijanaideshoo-tte* '(We) are not a friend only for painful times, are we?' Also, speaker A reveals her thought about Robin, by saying *Jibunga shiawasenara shiawasette watashitachinine itteyo-tte* 'If you are happy, then (you should) say to us that you are happy'.

In Chapter 6, it was discussed that the speaker's use of the *-tte* marked utterance here is a strategy by which the speaker did not perform the speech act directly to the intended person (Robin in this case), and as a result, could avoid possibly damaging Robin's face, while she could still achieve her goal (i.e. expressing her unpleasant feeling towards Robin) in an indirect manner. What underlies the use of *-tte* in this case is the Japanese cultural value of *enryo*, which is, according to Kodansha dictionary and Wierzbicka (2003), normally translated as 'reserve', 'modesty', 'hesitation' and 'restraint'. Smith (1983: 44-45) gives insight into the concept of *enryo*, by stating that 'Japanese are at pains to avoid confrontation...much of the definition of *a good person* involves restraint in the expression of personal desires and opinions'. Wierzbicka (2003: 74) remarks that this restraint manifests as one of the most recognisable Japanese cultural values. By citing Smith (1983: 83-84), she goes on to say that one way of describing *enryo* is 'to avoid giving opinions and to sidestep choices when they are offered'. Wierzbicka also notes that what applies to the expression of one's wants applies also the expression of one's opinions. This, too, comes under the value of *enryo*. According to these authors, the reason why

Japanese people tend to be reluctant to give their opinions in a direct way, and avoidance of hurting others' feelings by expressing unpleasant feeling toward other people is based on their cultural concept of *enryo*. Wierzbicka asserts that the concept of *enryo* provides an essential key to understanding Japanese culture, and it can only be understood if we translate it into culture-independent, universal or near-universal concepts such as *want*, *think*, *say*, *good or bad*, in the following way:

enryo

X thinks:

I can't say to this person: I want this, I don't want this

I think this, I don't think this

Someone can feel something bad because of this

X doesn't say it because of this

X doesn't do some things because of this

If we consider the concept of *enryo* by Wierzbicka above, the reason why speaker A in the example (11) in Chapter 6 did not perform the speech act in the face-to-face conversation with Robin is explained as follows.

Speaker A thinks:

I can't say to Robin: I want this, I don't want this

I think this, I don't think this

Robin can feel something bad because of this

Speaker A doesn't say it because of this

Speaker A doesn't do some things because of this

The concept of *enryo* enables the hearer to interpret the use of *-tte* in the way that the speaker intends: she has avoided giving her opinions directly to Robin, but instead she adopts a strategy of performing the speech act as if it had been uttered.

Regarding the use of *-tte*, we can also consider the Japanese value of *meiwaku* along with *enryo*. The meanings of *meiwaku* are defined as ‘trouble’, ‘annoyance’ and ‘inconvenience’ in Kodansha’s dictionary. According to Suzuki (1976), Japanese culture can be seen as a ‘culture of anticipatory perception’ and a ‘culture of consideration’—a culture bent on preventing displeasure. Lebra (1976: 41) also remarks that one should note how often in speech the Japanese refer to the need not to cause *meiwaku*, ‘trouble’, for another person, not to be in his way, and not to hurt his feelings. Their actual behaviour tends to be circumspect and reserved, so as not to offend other people.

In addition, Wierzbicka (2003) proposes another concept of empathy whose equivalent in Japanese is *omoiyari*. Japanese culture places very high value on *omoiyari*, anticipating what other people might feel. Japanese people are highly sensitive to other people’s (unexpressed) feelings that cause the Japanese to conceal their true feelings, in the Japanese word *tatemaie*. Wierzbicka asserts that this emphasis on empathy or *omoiyari* is closely related to the Japanese reluctance to verbalise feelings at all, since they fear that such behaviour may hurt or offend other people. In addition, for Japanese people, feelings should be understood without words; in other words, feelings cannot be really expressed by words. There is a proverb in Japan ‘*Shitashii nakanimo reigiari*’, it means that there exist manners even between people who have an intimate relationship. This reflects how Japanese people are conscious of *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari* in their interpersonal relationships.

While Japanese people, in general, tend to be reluctant to give their opinions directly and verbalise their feelings, there are cases where Korean people express their

opinions and thoughts directly in informal situations. For instance, when someone meets his/her acquaintance after a long interval, and he/she thinks his/her acquaintance looks unhealthy, then he/she would say, *Elkwuli manhi sanghayssney*, which means ‘Your face went bad a lot (your face has changed for the worse)’. This kind of expression can be a face-threatening act but it is usually seen in everyday conversation in Korea. In addition, many verbal expressions that can be a face-threatening act are allowed between in-group members such as family and friends. Even insulting utterances as in *Ne way kulehkey musikkani?*, which means ‘Why are you so ignorant?’ are possible between two close friends (Sohn 1983: 109). Byon (2006) also presents the following ‘threatening remarks’ that are adopted in highly informal conversation.

An pillyecwu-myen mac-nun-ta.
 NEG lend-CD beat-ATTR-DEC
 ‘If you don’t lend it to me, you will be beaten.’

Pillyecwu-cianh-umyen honna.
 lend-NEG-CD scold
 ‘If you don’t lend it to me, you will be scolded.’ (Byon 2006: 183)

Byon remarks that these expressions are natural among intimate Korean friends, and he suggests that the two instances above are seen as teasing expressions rather than genuine negative threatening remarks that cause severe FTA effects.

As seen in the examples presented, expressing one’s opinions or thoughts directly in everyday conversations, even if it could be a FTA, seems to be common between close relationships in Korea, while it is less common in Japan. Dashdorj (2003: 356) describes Korean people as not being able to conceal their emotions such as joy, anger, sadness, fear,

pleasure and displeasure, and they expose them directly. Ahn (2004: 26) compares Korean people with Japanese people, by stating that Japanese are rather conscious of other people and do not expose themselves easily. In contrast, Korean people are not as conscious of other people and they express their emotions intensely.

So far, the Japanese cultural values *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari* have been discussed with respect to the speaker's use of *-tte* as a face-saving marker. It is safe to say that *-tte* may be used as a useful strategy to convey the cultural values, *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari* through which the speaker can save his/her own face by performing the speech act as if it were someone else's voice, as well as face of a referent.

It should be noted here that this does not mean that Korean does not have any linguistic expressions to indicate the speaker's unpleasant feeling about a third person. For instance, *-(ta) ko* is used as a self-quotation to convey the speaker's opinions or thoughts, as below.

- (1) A: *Na-n ilehkey sayngkakha-y.*
 I-TOP like.this think-IE
 2 *I casik-tul cengmal mwuchaykimha-tako.*
 this jerk-PL really irresponsible-TAKO
 'I think like this. These jerks are really irresponsible.'
 3 B: *Nwukwu yayki?*
 who talk
 'Who's talk?'
 4 A: *I chayk ssun salam-tul.*
 this book wrote people-PL
 'People who wrote this book.'

(Cho 2004: 95)

In (1), speakers A and B are talking about the writers who wrote a book. Using *-(ta) ko* in line 2, A states his/her negative opinion about the writers, by saying *I casiktul cengmal mwuchaykimha-tako* ‘These jerks are really irresponsible’, because they did not consider future generations who will have to edit the book.

However, *-(ta) nikka* does not have this function, and this is the reason why this marker has been excluded from the discussion of the Korean cultural values to compare them with the Japanese *-tte*.

7.3 The Korean cultural values intimacy, affection and solidarity

In this section, I would like to say a few words reflecting the values of Korean culture, and tentatively propose that the central place of cultural values in Korea is occupied by intimacy, affection and solidarity.

Before discussing the Korean cultural values, let us compare the two examples below. The first example (12) below was presented in Chapter 6 as an example of face-saving Japanese *-tte*.

(12) [Callhome ja_1725]

- 1 A: *Yahari iru-n-da-yo, sooiu hito.*
 as.expected exist-NOM-BE-SFP such person
 ‘As expected, there is such a person.’
- 2 B: *Sorede, nanka tomodachimo i-nai-shitoka it-te.*
 so something.like friend.also exist-NEG-and.or said-LINK
- 3 *Sore kuwaete iu koto-ka-toka omo-tta.*
 that add say matter-QUE-or think-PAST
 ‘So, something like, (he said) something like, he has no friend and...(I)
 thought, something like, is that the sort of matter to add and say?’
- 4 A: *Tomodachimo inaishi. Rui-kun tomodachi-janai-no?*

- friend.also exist.and Rui-PAS friend-NEG-SFP
 ‘No friend and... isn’t Rui his friend?’
- 5 B: *Tomodachi i-nai-shitoka-tte.*
 friend exist-NEG-and.or-TTE
- 6 *Nanka shinyuu-rashii-yo. Kookoojidaikara-no.*
 something close.friend-PRESUM-SFP high.school.days.from-LK
 ‘(He said) something like, he has no friend. (They) seem the sort of close
 friends from high school days.’
- 7 A: *Yahari sono hito bakananda-yo.*
 after.all that person idiot-SFP
 ‘After all, that person is an idiot.’
- 8 B: *Un. Henda-to omou.*
 Yes strange-QT think
 ‘Yes. I think he is weird.’

In this example, speakers A and B are talking about Tekkun who is known as a genius. However, speaker B thinks Tekkun’s behavior is suspicious because it is different to what he says. To show Tekkun’s negative aspect, B directly quotes Tekkun’s voice, by saying *Tomodachimo inaishitoka-tte* ‘(He said) something like, he has no friend’ in line 5. As discussed in Chapter 6, B expresses criticism indirectly by quoting the targeted person’s utterance, and at the same time he saves his own positive face.

The second example is (6) in Chapter 5, which was presented in discussing the evidence-leaking marker *-tay* in Korean, which indicates the reliability of the information to suggest something, and can be used to inform knowledge and detach the speaker from the responsibility for the knowledge.

(6) [Callfriends ko_6685]

- 1 A: *E, eng, ung.*
 yes yes yes

- ‘Yes, yes, yes.’
- 2 B: *Kuntey nacwung-ey ku salam class-ka toyn salam-tul-i*
 but later-TEMP that person class-SUB became person-PL-SUB
- 3 *ha-nun soli-ka po-nun ke-lang nemwu thulli-tay.*
 do-ATTR voice-SUB look-ATTR NOM-CN too different-TAY
 ‘But Gary’s classmates say that he is too different from what he looks like.’
- 4 A: *Eng. Cengmal-i-ya?*
 yes really-COP-IE
 ‘Yes. Really?’
- 5 B: *Salam-i ai kulenikka phyengsoeyn coh-tay. Kuntey,*
 person-SUB FIL in.other.words usually good-TAY but
 ‘(They say that) the person, well, in other words, usually he is good, but...’
- 6 A: *Ung.*
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 7 B: *Ttak enu swunkan-ey caki kipwun-ey kesulli-myen-un*
 just some point-TEMP oneself nerve-LOC jangle-CD-TOP
- 8 *kipwunnappaha-nun key nwun-ey poi-n-tay-n-ta.*
 feel.bad-ATTR NOM eyes-LOC seen-ATTR-TAY-ATTR-DEC
 ‘(They say that) his bad feeling is obvious to them if something jangles
 his nerves just at some point.’
- 9 A: *Cengmal-i-ya?*
 really-COP-IE
 ‘Really?’
- 10 B: *Ku thi-ka nal cengtolo phak ku*
 FIL mark-SUB visible degree completely FIL
- 11 *phyoceng-i pyenha-n-tay.*
 facial.expression-SUB change-ATTR-TAY
 ‘(They say that) his facial expression is completely changed and becomes
 visible.’
- 12 A: *He. Eme weynil-i-ya.*
 EXC EXC what.on.earth-COP-IE
 ‘Huh, oh, what on earth is it.’

- 13 B: *Kuttaypwuthe mak isanghayci-n-tay, salam-i.*
 then.from FIL become.weird-ATTR-TAY person-SUB
 ‘(They say that) he becomes weird from then.’
- 14 A: *Ememe, ememe. Cengmal?*
 EXC EXC really
 ‘Oh my gosh, oh my gosh. Really?’
- 15 B: *Ne-n acik kulen ke eps-ess-e?*
 you-TOP yet such thing no.exist-PAST-IE
 ‘Didn’t you have such a thing yet?’
- 16 A: *Wuli-n kulen ke eps-ess-e.*
 we-TOP such thing no.exist-PAST-IE
 ‘We had no such a thing.’
- 17 B: *E, kulayse nay-ka pokieynun salam kwaynchanh-un kes*
 yes so I-SUB view.in person nice-ATTR NOM
- 18 *kath-untey, aytul-i kule-tela-ko.*
 PRESUM-CN they-SUB say-RET-QT
 ‘Yes, so, in my view he looks like a nice person, but they said that.’

In the example above, speakers A and B are talking about Gary, who is a student learning English at the same college. While speaker A has said that Gary seems to be a very nice guy, speaker B provides negative information about Gary with the use of *-tay*, based on the information gained from Gary’s classmates. Although speaker B did not have the experience of observing Gary’s bad side, she is leaking the negative evaluation of Gary through her report and avoiding responsibility for criticising him directly.

The two examples presented above share something in common, that is, the target markers *-tte* and *-tay* are used by speakers to avoid responsibility and to criticise a referent indirectly. However, the Japanese example has a different pragmatic implication from the Korean example, since the values of two cultures differ. As discussed in Section 7.2, the Japanese people in general tend to be reluctant to verbalise feelings and give their opinions

in a direct way, so as not to offend other people. This is based on their cultural values *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari*.

Yet, if the cultural values in Korea are considered in this interaction, it can be interpreted in a different way. Regarding this conversation, five Korean people out of six³ provided the answer that the reason speaker B gave speaker A the negative information about Gary is for the sake of speaker A. This means that speaker B is concerned about speaker A, as they are friends and have an intimate relationship. With respect to intimacy, Wierzbicka (2003: 105) defines it as ‘readiness to reveal to some particular persons some aspects of one’s personality and of one’s inner world that one conceals from other people; a readiness based on personal trust and on personal good feelings’. Wierzbicka presents ‘intimacy’ as follows:

Intimacy

X thinks: I feel something

I want to say it to someone

I can say it to Y

I feel something good towards Y

Y feels something good towards me

I can say it to Y because of this

I can’t say it to other people

X says it to Y because of this

³ I give thanks to six native speakers of Korean (friends and family members) who contributed to the confirmation of this interpretation of *-tay*.

If we consider ‘intimacy’ between speaker A and B in example (6) of Chapter 5, speaker B’s inner thoughts can be represented as follows:

B thinks: I feel something about Gary

I want to say it to someone

I can say it to A

I feel something good towards A

A feels something good towards me

I can say it to A because of this

I can’t say it to other people

B says it to A because of this

If there is no intimacy between speaker A and B, it would be unnecessary for B to give negative information about Gary to A, because this can damage speaker B’s positive face or *cheymyen* which is exercised to save one’s public self-image. In spite of such a potential risk, speaker B conveys the information about Gary to inform speaker A of his personality and B’s act is based on the intimate relationship with A. However, Japanese speakers would not interpret the Japanese example in a similar way to the Korean.

Intimacy is highly regarded in Korean society and *ceng* can be a source of linguistic evidence for the claim that Korean people are particularly sensitive to intimacy. Korean people are known as people with warmth and affection, which is connoted in the Korean word *ceng* which can be translated in English as affection, emotion, feeling, love and sympathy. Korean people describe themselves as *Cengi manhun mincok*, which means ‘people with a rich affection’. Imagine that you are invited to a Korean family home and offered food by the host. The host would say ‘Take some more rice! You must, otherwise

there is no affection’. From a Japanese speaker’s point of view, this Korean way of speaking may appear to reflect lack of consideration for other people, a tendency to be bossy and so on.

A variety of expressions are used in daily conversations with regard to *ceng*, and some examples are listed quoting from Sohn.

Hanpen cwu-myen ceng eps-ta.
once give-CD affection no.exist-DEC
‘Affection cannot be had by giving only once.’

Ceng tun-ta.
love get.to-DEC
‘Get to love...’

Ceng tteleci-l soli ha-cima-sey-yo.
affection separate-ATTR talk do-NEG-HON-POL
‘Don’t talk about anything that may hurt our affectionate relationship.’

(Sohn 1983: 129)

Ceng is regarded as essential to building intimate and warm relationships among Korean people. *Ceng* is the foundation of relationships and is found in every relationship of Korean people (Lim 1995). Sohn also refers to the significance of the role of *ceng*, affection in interaction in Korean society, as below:

The Korean people may be characterised largely as emotional or affective, owing probably to their collectivistic consciousness. In most social interactions among Koreans, emotion plays a major role. Without personalisation, human relationships can hardly proceed smoothly in Korea (Sohn 1983: 128).

Generally, it is said that Korean people like giving and receiving, and there is a proverb *Onun cengi isseya kanun cengi issta*, which means ‘to give as one gets’ or ‘you scratch my back and I will scratch yours’. While Japanese people regard receiving a present from someone as a kind of debt that should be returned, Korean people tend to view the exchange of a present as sharing affection.

Together with intimacy and affection (*ceng*), solidarity can also be considered as a possible cultural value of Korean in interpreting the example (6) of Chapter 5. That is, the speaker’s use of *-tay* is motivated by solidarity. Korean people show strong solidarity between family members and close friends and their solidarity is often discussed in relation to ‘groupness’ and/or ‘collectivism’. In general, ‘groupness’ and/or ‘collectivism’ are most widely used among scholars (Brandt and Chang 1980; Sohn 1983; Koo 1989; Byon 2006) to refer to Koreans’ cultural values. For instance, ‘groupness’ can be observed in the word *wuli*, which means ‘we’ in English. *Wuli* is frequently used in conversations, and it is used even to refer to one’s family members such as *wuli emma* (our mum), *wuli appa* (our dad) and *wuli enni* (our older sister), instead of using my mum, my dad and my older sister, respectively. This illustrates that solidarity, in particular among family members and close friends, is valued in Korean culture.

In a study comparing Koreans with Americans in cognitive values, Sohn (1983) states that there exists a number of terms including ‘*wuli*’ to represent the sense of deep human interrelatedness and interdependence due to collectivism in Korean society as follows:

hyoto ‘filial duty’, *unhyey* ‘gracious favour’, *inyen* ‘connection’, *yemlye*, *simlye* ‘concern’, *cheymyen* ‘face’, *inceng* ‘feeling, love’, *kyemson* ‘modesty’, *toli* ‘morality’, *nwunchi* ‘reading other’s mind’

These terms are frequently used in daily conversations and also they shed light on Confucianism, which has had a great influence on constructing cultural values in Korea, as mentioned earlier. From the Yi dynasty (1392-1910) to the present, Confucianism has provided a strong basis for the ideas and interpersonal relationships of Korean people. According to Sohn (1983), there are five relationships in Confucianism: loyalty between king and subject, filial piety between parents and child, distinction between husband and wife, precedence between senior and junior (in terms of age, sex, generation or social status), and confidence between friends (cited from Chang 1977: 154). For Korean people, the relationship between parents and their children includes the virtues of loyalty, obedience, service and sacrifice, as well as sincerity and respect (Sohn 1983: 104). The term ‘friend’ also involves people who have deep and long lasting friendships and interact using extremely intimate speech style. Regarding this cultural value, it is possible to say that the speaker’s motivation to use *-tay* in (6) results from the solidarity of her friendship.

7.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the use of the Japanese *-tte* with respect to aspects of culture and society. It was shown that the function of *-tte* as a face-saving marker can be reinterpreted in terms of the cultural values in Japan such as *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari* that can affect and control the use of this marker. To compare with the Japanese cultural values, the Korean equivalents such as intimacy, affection and solidarity, were discussed. In Korea, these cultural values can also have an influence on interaction, manifesting different motivations and attitudes of the speaker from those of Japanese.

Conclusion

8.0 Introduction

This thesis has investigated three discourse markers *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in the Korean language and *-tte* in the Japanese language with respect to their interactional functions in spoken discourse. Further, this thesis has explored the functional differences between *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*, by comparing the socio-cultural aspects of Korean and Japanese.

This chapter presents a conclusion, by summarising the answers to the research questions established for this thesis, which were:

- (i) What are the functions of each marker in spoken conversation?
- (ii) Why are these markers mainly used in spoken conversation while rarely used in written texts?
- (iii) Why are these markers used in informal speech rather than in formal speech?
- (iv) What are the similarities and differences between the functions of *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and *-tte*?
- (v) How are the similarities and differences culturally characterised?

The target markers have similar properties in some aspects. For example, they are used as indirect quotation markers in casual speech, despite the fact that they indicate different functions in interaction with respect to the contexts in which they occur. Through Chapters 4 to 6, analyses of *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in Korean and *-tte* in Japanese have been provided in order to illustrate particular functions for each marker, which is significant from a contrastive analysis perspective. In Chapter 7, their similarities and differences were discussed based on the findings from previous chapters. This helped shed light on our understanding of the target markers within their respective languages and across the languages.

In this chapter, Section 8.1 presents summaries of this thesis' findings on *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte* and Section 8.2 discusses their similarities and differences. In Section 8.3, linguistic implications will be provided. Section 8.4 provides suggestions for further studies and Section 8.5 presents concluding remarks.

8.1 A summary of the main findings on *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and *-tte*

Throughout this thesis, it has been demonstrated that the Korean *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and the Japanese *-tte* are used by speakers as a particular linguistic strategy to create interpersonal involvement from hearers in spoken conversations. It has also been discussed how speakers express their feelings and attitudes with the use of these markers, transferring different metamessages. In addition, it has been shown that the different functions of the target markers emerge depending on the different social, interactional and dialogic contexts in which they are used, by reflecting multivoicedness.

Chapters 1 and 2 provided the aims and background and a literature review for this thesis. After outlining a scope of the study, Chapter 1 presented methodology and data. Chapter 2 provided a literature review for the target markers, showing that the interactive nature of these markers has not been sufficiently investigated in an integrated

way, and that the focus of previous studies has been only on partial aspects of these markers. The present study proposed that the notion of involvement and multivoicedness provide a comprehensive account of the issues with respect to the use of *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*, such as their frequent use in spoken language, and their various functions in interaction. In Chapter 3, key concepts for the subsequent chapters were outlined, such as involvement, attitude, repetition and multivoicedness. It was proposed that speakers use quoting strategy, by inviting the involvement of the hearer in interaction and by echoing multiple voices. The present study also illustrated the concept of 'face' and Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) to discuss a face-saving marker and cultural values.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 then analysed the functions of *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* in the Korean language and *-tte* in the Japanese language. Chapter 4 presented three functions of *-(ta) nikka* in interaction: hearer-oriented, speaker-oriented and mutually understood recollection. For the hearer-oriented recollection, it was discussed how this function is triggered by the hearer's incomprehension, indicating the speaker's negative attitude of rebuke towards the hearer who did not pay attention to the speaker's previous utterances. In addition, the case in which the speaker repeats his/her utterance, in order to invite the involvement of the hearer and share his/her feelings was discussed.

In the second function of the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance, it was discussed how the speaker uses *-(ta) nikka* based on his/her own knowledge about what happened before, in order to invite the involvement of the hearer. In this function, the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance is not used to repeat the previous utterance of the speaker, which is a distinctive feature of this function. In contrast to the other functions of *-(ta) nikka*, the information conveyed by the speaker is not shared with the hearer. Instead, the reason why the speaker uses the *-(ta) nikka* utterance is to draw the hearer's attention to what

the speaker has experienced. By using *-(ta) nikka*, the speaker stimulates the hearer's interest and anticipates a certain reaction from the hearer.

In a mutually understood recollection, 'presupposition' plays an important role in connecting the speaker's utterance with the hearer. In other words, the speaker's *-(ta) nikka* utterance is based on what he/she said before, and this implies that the hearer would already know the previous utterance of the speaker. What can be observed in the function of mutually understood recollection is the involvement of the hearer in interaction, by the speaker eliciting a response from the hearer and by recollecting the speaker's previous utterances or thoughts.

Chapter 5 was devoted to the function of *-tay*, by presenting its interactional functions such as a topic initial elicitor, evidence-leaking marker, context-detailing marker and the quote-like marker in a rhetorical question. It was shown that the *-tay* marked utterance is used to introduce a new topic in conversation, in order to evaluate the topic with the hearer. The case where a speaker forms 'dialogic relations' with participants by inserting multiple voices in conversations was discussed. The function of *-tay* as an evidence-leaking marker was presented. In this function, the speaker expresses his/her attitude toward information which is reliable and trustworthy. In addition, the case in which the speaker expresses his/her attitude to shift the responsibility for knowledge to others was discussed.

Further, it was illustrated that *-tay* as a context-detailing marker signals contexts by providing the hearer with detailed information. This function is crucial to maintaining interpersonal involvement, as the hearer decides how to interpret information on the basis of the cue provided by the speaker. Finally, the rhetorical expression of the *-tay* marked utterance was discussed. Due to the nature of this marker, which is used to quote a third person's utterance only, the speaker pretends to quote someone else's voice to convey his/her own utterance. By doing so, the speaker refers

to his/own action as a conveyer of information, and expresses his/her attitude of strong denial.

In Chapter 6, the interactional functions of *-tte* were discussed. This marker is used to convey the speaker's own utterance, namely, self-quotation, as well as the third person's utterance. The function of the self-quotation includes hearer-oriented, speaker-oriented and mutually understood recollection. In these functions, speakers reiterate their own utterances, by reminding interlocutors of their previous utterances and by manifesting different attitudes through each function.

The chapter also discussed the function of *-tte* as an evidence-leaking marker with which the speaker indicates his/her attitude toward the information obtained from an external source, which is reliable and trustworthy. After the discussion of *-tte* as an evidence-leaking marker, the chapter presented how the *-tte* marked utterance is used as a strategy by the speaker to introduce a new topic, in order to create a new conversation and to invite the involvement of the hearer. It then presented how the speaker adopts the *-tte* marked utterance to tell a story by providing a detailed explanation about contexts that play a critical role in the hearer's interpretation, and discussed the function of *-tte* as a face-saving marker with regard to face-threatening acts (FTAs). In this function, the speaker uses the *-tte* marked utterance to save the hearer's negative and/or the speaker's own positive face. In addition, this function reflects unique cultural aspects in Japanese interaction.

The use of the Korean *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and Japanese *-tte* with respect to aspects of Korean and Japanese culture was discussed in Chapter 7. Through the discussion, it was shown that these target markers share some similarities and some differences. It discussed how the concept of 'face' has been criticised as western-biased, and that cultural variations should be considered. Regarding this point, it was presented how

cultural values in Japan such as *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari* affect and control the use of *-tte*, by comparing them with their Korean counterparts.

Thus far a summary of the main findings of *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte* has been provided. This summary shows the interactional functions of each marker in spoken conversation, and at the same time it provides the answer to the research question (i), (ii) and (iii). The next section presents the similarities and differences between the functions of *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*, in order to answer the research questions (iv) and (v).

8.2 Similarities and differences between the functions of *-(ta) nikka/-tay* and *-tte*

This thesis discussed the similarities and differences between Korean *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* and Japanese *-tte* in Chapter 7. The table below was used to show the similarities and differences between the functions of *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*. X in *Table 8.1* indicates observed functions.

Table 8.1: Summary of the possible functions associated with *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*

Indirect quotative markers Functions	<i>-(ta) nikka</i>	<i>-tay</i>	<i>-tte</i>
Hearer-oriented recollection	X		X
Speaker-oriented recollection	X		X
Mutually-understood recollection	X		X
Topic initial elicitor		X	X
Evidence-leaking marker		X	X
Context-detailing marker		X	X
Quote-like marker in a rhetorical question		X	
Face-saving marker			X

As seen in the table, the functions of Korean *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* largely overlap with those of Japanese *-tte*. For instance, the functions of Korean *-(ta) nikka* such as hearer-

oriented, speaker-oriented and mutually understood recollection have been found in Japanese *-tte*. Korean *-tay* also shares similar functions with Japanese *-tte* such as a topic initial elicitor, evidence-leaking marker and context-detailing marker. However, the function of face-saving marker for *-tte* has not been identified in *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay*. This shows that the function of *-tte* as a face-saving marker is unique to the Japanese context, reflecting the socio-cultural differences between Korean and Japanese markers. Between people from different cultures, the resulting lack of pragmatic use of the target markers may lead to different expectations and serious misunderstandings in communications.

In Chapter 6, the function of the face-saving marker for *-tte* in the Japanese language was discussed with respect to certain illocutionary acts which can be ‘face-threatening acts’ and have the potential to damage the hearer’s positive face, or enhance the hearer’s negative face, or the illocutionary act may potentially damage the speaker’s own positive face. To reduce the possibility of damage to the hearer’s face or to the speaker’s own face, he or she may adopt certain strategies such as ‘Do not perform FTAs’, which is closely related to the usage of the *-tte* marked utterance when something is potentially so face-threatening that he/she does not say it. In addition, it was discussed that the speaker adopts the *-tte* marked utterance to reduce the level of responsibility in criticising a referent, by saving his/her positive face.

In Chapter 7, it was discussed how the concept of ‘face’ has been controversial among scholars due to its anglocentric perspective. Regarding this point, the cultural values in Japanese society of *enryo*, *meiwaku* and *omoiyari* were considered in contrast to expressing one’s feelings and attitudes, which is not so much restricted by cultural values in Korea. For instance, Japanese culture highly regards *enryo* as the value of refraining from expressing disagreement with the majority opinion, and *meiwaku*, not to hurt another person’s feelings and offend other people. *Omoiyari*, which is high

sensitivity to other people's (unexpressed) feelings, anticipating what other people might feel, is also an important cultural value in interacting with people.

Given this point, it can be suggested that when a marker is used in Japan but its Korean counterpart is not, this testifies to culturally different ways of discourse organisation which are associated with the nature of the social order and norms. Such orders and norms are produced by communities of language users who gain common ways of viewing the world through their interaction, and their uses of language reflect their attitudes and values. In this regard, this thesis gives insight into the importance of contrastive analyses through the cross-cultural comparison of the two different languages.

This section has provided a brief discussion of the similarities and differences between the Korean *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* and the Japanese *-tte*, by answering the research question (iv). In addition, it discussed that different cultural values can affect the use of language between interactants, by answering the research question (v).

8.3 Linguistic implications

This research has attempted to account for linguistic phenomena in terms of the behaviour of speakers who are engaged in verbal communication, by examining the three markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*. From an interactional linguistic point of view, this study has provided a discussion of how languages are shaped by interaction and how interactional functions are realised by particular linguistic forms and ways of using them.

With respect to the use of the target markers *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte* in spoken interaction, one of the implications that can be drawn from the interactional perspective is that language forms and functions have to be considered in a more situated context rather than an abstract system. According to Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2001: 4), 'an

interactional perspective on language entails a radical re-thinking of notions such as competence—the abstract knowledge of linguistic structure and their well-formedness—which has been thought to provide the wherewithal for performance’. This underscores the point that was made in investigating the interactional functions of the target markers. As Goodwin (1981) points out, it is not possible to conceptualise linguistic productions as the product of a single speaker any longer. He goes on to claim that sentence, clause production and speech production in general must be considered as interactional achievements.

As shown in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the three interactive markers, *-(ta) nikka*, *-tay* and *-tte*, were adopted by speakers as a linguistic strategy to invite the involvement of interlocutors in interaction, by indicating that they are interactional and dialogical. The meanings and functions of the target markers are realised differently according to contexts, reflecting that their use is context-sensitive.

For instance, it was shown in previous chapters that speakers’ different attitudes in the use of *-(ta) nikka* were determined by hearers with whom they interacted and contexts in which they were placed. In a hearer-oriented recollection, speakers showed a negative attitude towards hearers who did not pay attention to the speakers’ previous utterances. In a speaker-oriented recollection, the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance was used by speakers who intended to draw the hearers’ attention to what speakers had experienced. By using *-(ta) nikka*, speakers stimulate hearers’ interest and experience a certain reaction from the hearer. In a mutually understood recollection, speakers used the *-(ta) nikka* marked utterance on the basis of ‘presupposition’ in order to involve hearers in interaction, by expecting a response from them and recollecting the previous utterances. As can be seen in the interactional functions of *-(ta) nikka*, more situated contexts play an important role in providing much broader functions than those in isolated sentences.

Similarly, it was demonstrated that speakers employed *-tay* to invite the involvement of hearers in interaction, and functions of this marker were identified according to interlocutors and different contexts. For instance, *-tay* was used to introduce a new topic in conversation, by indicating the speaker's metamessage that 'Listen. I want to talk about this topic with you now'. In the function of *-tay* as an evidence-leaking marker, the speaker expressed his/her attitudes toward information which is reliable and trustworthy. The *-tay* marked utterance was also used as a context-detailing marker, by signalling contexts which played an important role in hearers' interpretation and maintenance of interpersonal involvement. In the rhetorical expression of the *-tay* marked utterance, speakers pretended to quote someone else's voice for a strong denial. Examining discourse markers in interactions in a variety of contexts is crucial to understanding the interactive nature of language and the characteristics of spoken discourse.

A further implication drawn from this thesis with regards to the interactional approaches to the analysis of expressive meaning is associated with 'humanistic linguistics'. The central idea of this thesis is that people use particular linguistic strategies to build and maintain interactions. In the analysis of the target markers, Korean *-(ta) nikka /-tay* and Japanese *-tte*, the prerequisite for this thesis was that people use a quoting strategy not only to merely convey messages and content but also to exchange expressive meanings of language.

With respect to the use of the target markers, speakers represented their feelings and attitudes in a given situation. Such emotive aspects are the property of human beings, but orthodox linguistics focuses on referential meanings for its inquiry, and non-referential meanings such as social and expressive meanings tend to be neglected as an unexplainable aspect of linguistic behaviour unsuited for scientific investigation, as pointed out by some scholars (Besnier 1990; Caffi and Janney 1994). However, human

emotions are omnipresent in linguistic form on many different levels of structure in many different ways. For instance, somatic metaphors in many speech communities are used to express emotions (e.g. ‘the heart is sick’ in Korea or ‘the liver is angry’ in Japanese). In addition, emotions are represented in the use of onomatopoeias, interjections, exclamations, insults and expletives (Anttila 1975; Goffman 1978; Tannen 1988). A quoting strategy is also used to convey the speaker’s own utterance or others’ utterance, by marking ‘the speaker’s or writer’s emotional involvement’, and enhancing ‘the heteroglossic nature of discourse’, and subtly leaking ‘the reporter’s stance on the replayed situation’ (Besnier 1990: 426). Emotions can be expressed in a different way from the literal meaning. Besnier (1990: 430) quotes Bateson (1972)’s work on double-binding and schizophrenia, in which *I love you* can be enunciated with an aggressive tone of voice, implying sarcasm and irony and have affective functions in interaction.

As such, emotions are never absent from discourse and interactions and they can be displayed in a variety of ways across different contexts. In this regard, linguistic inquiry has to pay equal attention to non-referential meanings of discourse with respect to emotive aspects, since these are interwoven and related in a complex manner. These emotive aspects of language especially play an important role in verbal communication. Tannen (1989: 196) emphasises that individuals interact with each other in their natural environments, so ‘the scientific study of language must include the close analysis of particular instances of discourses as they naturally occur in human and linguistic context’. This implies that equal emphasis should be placed on the discourse study that needs to be investigated in terms of both referential and non-referential meanings.

8.4 Suggestions for further studies

This thesis provides a contrastive study by comparing similarities and differences between the two languages, Korean and Japanese. Below are some suggestions for further studies.

Firstly, it would be meaningful to compare other markers used in sentence-final position in the Korean language with those in the Japanese language. It is known that there are rich systems of sentence-final endings in the Korean language and they contribute to expressing a variety of emotions, feelings and attitudes in interaction. It is estimated that there are more than seventy different inflectional morphemes which have different functions and meanings (Lee and Ramsey 2000). Yet, a number of studies in Korean linguistic literature show that those morphemes have been examined largely under the category of sentence-final endings from morpho-syntactic points of view. However, if each morpheme is investigated in a wide range, it would be beneficial to identify its various functions and expressivities, and further it would contribute to clarifying unique characteristics of the Korean language.

Secondly, research on language with respect to second language education and culture from an interactional perspective would be helpful for teaching and learning Korean and Japanese as a foreign language. As mentioned earlier, more people are learning the Korean language as a foreign language worldwide. However, the research on the Korean language has not been done rigorously in comparison with other second or foreign languages. Thus, further research on the Korean language, comparing its interactional function with those of other languages, will contribute to delineating the characteristics of the Korean language as well as understanding sociocultural norms in relation to language use by members of society. Kramersch (1993) notes:

If...language is seen as social practice, culture becomes the very core of language teaching. Cultural awareness must then be viewed both as enabling language proficiency and as being the outcome of reflection on language proficiency (Kramersch 1993: 89).

As discussed for the function of *-tte* as a face-saving marker in the Japanese cultural context, expressing one's feelings and attitudes can be affected by sociocultural norms. Bolinger (1982: 530) remarks that culture restrains or encourages the display of affect, and all conceivable patterns of verbal nonverbal vocal and kinesic expression are influenced. Culture-specific differences in expressing feelings and attitudes can lead to misunderstanding in encounters between foreigners (Arndt and Janney 1985). This reflects that it is important to understand cultural norms in teaching and learning other languages and that it needs to be encouraged based not only on abstract systems of language, but also on the understanding of other cultures in real communication.

Thirdly, the findings in this study underscore the need to incorporate other areas of the linguistics field such as cognitive and emotive activities for a deeper understanding of human linguistic interaction. Emotion and cognition in emotive communication are inextricably connected together. Russell (1961: 227) states that real emotions may not exist without appropriate cognitions. According to Buck (1984: 58), emotional experiences are interconnected with some type of direct 'cognitive readout'.

To achieve this incorporation of other areas of linguistics, it would be useful to begin with developing a systematic conceptual framework. For instance, Arndt and Janney (1991) attempt to establish a conceptual framework for an unified approach to research on emotive communication in pragmatics, by providing the concepts of emotional, cognitive and emotive communication, as discussed earlier. In addition, research on non-propositional verbal, prosodic and kinesic signals would be beneficial for the unified approach, as they are cognitively mediated to express feelings and attitudes in face-to-face settings (Stankiewicz 1964). Such non-propositional signals have not been dealt in the current study due to the nature of data from telephone conversations and drama scripts. Using data such as video recordings would be

practical to observe prosodic and kinesic signals for cognitive and emotive communication.

8.5 Summary

In conclusion, this thesis demonstrated that indirect quotative markers can convey not only self-utterance and/or the other's utterance but also the speaker's particular attitudes beyond quotations, by investigating the interactional functions of Korean *-(ta) nikka* and *-tay* and Japanese *-tte* in spoken discourse. They are interactive markers and they are inherently interactional and dialogical, thereby their meanings are realised by interactions and contexts. Moreover, these markers constitute a social reality, reflecting sociocultural norms and variables in their use by speakers. I hope that the findings in this study contribute to interactional studies that must be an integral part of linguistic theory and practice. I also hope that this study sheds light on cross-linguistic examination of interaction across different cultures.

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